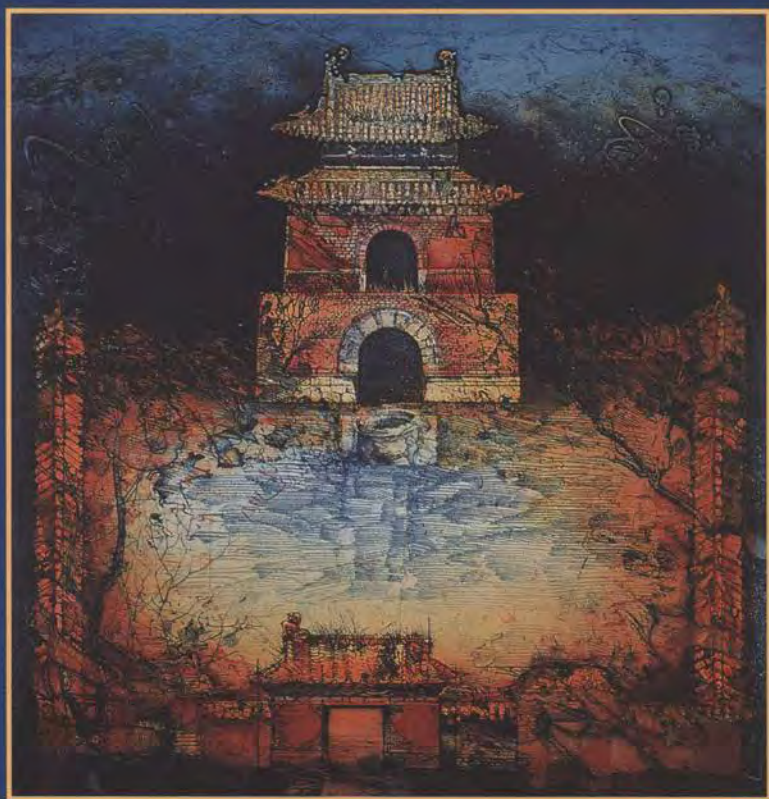


MVSE

VOLUME TWENTY-SIX 1992



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

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The Museum of Art and Archaeology is open Tuesday through Friday from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m., and Saturday & Sunday from noon to 5 p.m; closed Mondays, national holidays, and Christmas Day through New Year's Day. Admission is free. Guided tours are available if scheduled at least two weeks in advance. The museum is completely wheelchair accessible. Telephone: (314) 882-3591. The *Muse* 26 issue is available for \$12.00 each. Back issues are also available for \$12.00 each. Checks should be made payable to the Museum of Art and Archaeology. Correspondence should be addressed to Editor, *Muse*, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, Pickard Hall, Columbia, Missouri 65211.

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SAUL S. WEINBERG

1911 - 1992

To the memory of Saul S. Weinberg
co-founder and director emeritus,
Museum of Art and Archaeology, this
issue of *Muse* is respectfully dedicated.

Let us honor the life we knew
in this one kind and sparkling man
and beyond that celebrate life itself
expressed as it could only speak through him.

A lot of what we remember is actually our own—
come find your own humor, your love, your wisdom, your generosity
that was so easily reflected in his.

And, as we sort through the intangibles
and take our keepsakes home,
take also a little of his essence
of what truly belonged to no one but him.

Take it like a cutting from the Tree of Life
to plant in your back yard
or graft in a far land
Take it with blessing and surety
that this spirit is of vigorous stock
It will take to the challenge of winter's cold and dark
and burst right out again in spring.

Miriam Dyak*

* daughter of Saul S. Weinberg

DIRECTOR'S REPORT

MORTEZA SAJADIAN

In 1992, while celebrating thirty-five years of service to the university community, the Museum of Art and Archaeology saw the end of an era with the passing of Professor Saul S. Weinberg, founder and director emeritus of the museum. He was best known for his work on the cultures of the Aegean and the Near East in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age, as well as his important excavations in Greece, Cyprus and Israel. Dr. Weinberg came to the University of Missouri-Columbia in 1948, and in 1957 he established the study collection which later grew to be the Museum of Art and Archaeology. In 1960, after the Department of Art History and Archaeology was reestablished, he became its first chair. Later he found a more suitable home for the department and the museum in Pickard Hall and remained director of the museum until he retired in 1977. Throughout his distinguished career, which included a number of international fellowships and awards, he was a passionate advocate of museums, both as preserver of artistic heritage and as an educational source for students and the general public.

As a mentor, he was an encyclopedia of knowledge about many areas of archaeology and art history, but despite his great achievements, he retained an amazing humility. He was the guiding light for the museum; and his wisdom and sense of humor will be sorely missed by all of us.

In this *Muse*, as we mark the passing of Saul S. Weinberg and recall his legacy, I am especially indebted to have the counsel of Dr. Gladys D. Weinberg, who began this publication, now in its twenty-seventh year, and was its editor through 1984.

Considering a ten percent reduction in the museum's budget due to university-wide cutbacks and the decreasing storage and working spaces in Pickard Hall, everyone associated with the Museum of Art and Archaeology can look back to 1992 with great satisfaction. In the past year, the permanent collections have enjoyed respectable growth, special projects have encouraged vital scholarship, and imaginative educational programming has attracted ever larger and more diverse audiences from the university and the community at large.

A number of grants this past year have made it possible for us to continue our high level of productivity in research and programs. These grants included National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) and National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) planning and implementation funds for the organization and documentation of a major traveling exhibition on early Greek art, *From Pasture to Polis: Art in the Age of Homer*; an Institute of Museum Services (IMS) conservation grant for cleaning and matting works on paper and the renovation of the museum's prints and drawings storage room; a Missouri Arts Council (MAC) grant in support of the Missouri Visual Artists' Biennial (MVAB) exhibition and touring program, an on-going cooperative effort with the MAC, and other smaller grants in support of our general exhibition and educational programs.



Advisory group for MVAB exhibition and touring program. Clockwise around table: Morteza Sajadian, Nancy Kranzberg, Amanda Cruz, Marianne Berardi, Daniel Strauss, Christine Neal, Keith Davis, Leon Hicks, Sidney Larson.

EXHIBITIONS

As reported last year, the planning of the museum's next major exhibition, *From Pasture to Polis*, began officially in 1991-1992 with an NEH planning grant. This year Susan Langdon, exhibition curator, traveled to museums around the country to examine objects of the Greek Geometric period (1000-700 B.C.) for possible loans for the exhibition. Dr. Langdon also organized a national advisory committee of experts, who gathered in Columbia in April for a two-day conference to discuss and review the humanistic themes and the list of possible objects for the exhibition.

In conjunction with this exhibit and in collaboration with the university's Office of Extension Teaching, the museum offered a summer course on the theme of Art in the Age of Homer for public school teachers and museum docents. Participants in the course explored the artistic, religious and cultural traditions of the Geometric period in Greece, and engaged in a round-table discussion on developing curriculum-based programming for the schools.



Installation view of *Capturing the Spirit: Portraits of Contemporary Mexican Artists* in the Modern Gallery.

In 1992, the museum presented eleven exhibitions, four of which marked the American quincentennial. Among these was, *Capturing the Spirit: Portraits of Contemporary Mexican Artists*. Comprised of forty photographs by nationally recognized Columbia photographer Carole Patterson, the exhibition was complemented by the book *Out of the Volcano*, written by the noted linguist Margaret Sayers Peden, University of Missouri professor emeritus. The Columbia venue of this exhibition was organized by the Museum of Art and Archaeology in partnership with the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service (SITES), which will circulate nationally. Other programs ranged from two exhibitions on pre-Columbian art and textiles from the permanent collection, to an exhibit of animals in ancient art, *All That Creepeth Upon the Earth: Animals in Art from the Ancient World*. The museum's registrar Jeffrey Wilcox and the curator of ancient art Dr. Jane Biers organized the show.

While assisting with a number of other projects, the curator of European and American art Christine Neal also organized four exhibitions of works on paper from the permanent collection, with such diverse themes as *Focus on the Figure*, *Twentieth-Century Women Artists*, *Face it! Twentieth-Century Portraits and Self-Portraits*, and *Twentieth-Century German Prints*. All four complemented courses taught in the department of Art History and Archaeology, Women Studies, and German, Russian, and Asian Studies. Also on the schedule for 1992 were a traveling exhibition of Brazilian contemporary folk art, *Brazilian Naïve Art*, and a show of

recent paintings by the prominent Missouri artist Douglass Freed, which grew out of the thesis topic of Art History M.A. candidate James White, who also wrote the essay for the exhibition catalogue.

The graduate students in the museum studies program organized two exhibitions in 1992. This year's themes were *The Myths and Stories of Geta Bratescu*, comprised of works on paper and textile by a contemporary Romanian artist who was shown in the United States for the first time, and *Threads of Life: Peruvian Textiles*, from the permanent collection. This was organized by Teresa Militello, a graduate student in the museum studies program and the Department of Anthropology.

ACQUISITIONS

In 1992, the registrar's office accessioned ninety-six works of art. Twenty were purchased with special funds, while the remaining were gifts from individuals. The most significant purchases were a Geometric pyxis, acquired in conjunction with the upcoming exhibition of Geometric art, and a late fifth century B.C. red-figure style Attic bell-krater which helps to fill a gap in the holdings of Attic vases.

The collection of European and American prints grew significantly this year, with important additions resulting from both gifts and purchases. To enhance existing holdings and acquisitions of last year, the Museum acquired two prints by Francisco Goya to help complete the series *Los Caprichos*, which was given to the Museum in 1991. Acquiring the four prints still missing from this series is a top priority for the print collection. When this has been achieved, the Museum plans a major exhibit of this outstanding series. Also to strengthen existing holdings, the Museum acquired, through a gift of the MU Student Fee Capital Improvement Committee, a 1971 print by Pablo Picasso, supplementing their initial gift of a 1933 Picasso etching.

The print collection achieved a number of "firsts" in 1992. Prints by two Russian artists, Wassily Kandinsky and Marc Chagall (gift of Museum Associates), are the first works by these artists to enter the collection. Chagall's color lithograph of 1974, *The Odyssey: The Stories of Gods and Goddesses: Mythological Themes in Western Art*, is a fine example of this artist's whimsical style. Kandinsky's *Unanimité*, a lithograph of 1939, was a gift of Ms. Clotilde Moller. This abstract composition is an example of many of the artist's works from this period.

For the ancient, European and American collections, the year was characterized by formulating long-range plans and implementing the initial stages of these plans. The curator of ancient art, Jane Biers, completed a status report of the collection,

describing the strengths and weaknesses of the collection of ancient art and making recommendations for future growth. In the summer of 1992, the curator of European and American art, Christine Neal, working with Jeffrey Wilcox, registrar, and Aimée Leonhard, assistant conservator, assessed the museum's holdings in these fields for their relevance to the teaching purposes of the university. This assessment allowed a long-range acquisition plan to be developed, with the goal of acquiring in areas of both strength and weakness, to add to the breadth and depth of the collection.

Furthermore, this assessment identified works for potential deaccessioning which would relieve cramped storage spaces. As it now stands, constantly diminishing storage space will soon begin to restrict further acquisition. Our limited storage areas requires that all spaces be used as effectively as possible. Thus, plans were formulated by students in the museum studies program in conjunction with staff members to reorganize storage areas for both paintings and prints and drawings.

Under the able direction of Jeffrey Wilcox, the registrar, who not only handles all photographic processing and requests but also helps me with those areas of the collections under my responsibility, the museum's collections management began to move into the computer age.

The conservation laboratory continued to be involved in the treatment of works in the museum's collections. Thirty-three works on paper and six objects received remedial treatment. We also treated six objects outside of the museum, including artifacts for the Boone County Historical Society. Three pre-Columbian textiles were sent to the St. Louis Art Museum for conservation treatment and were later incorporated in the fall exhibition, *Threads of Life: Peruvian Textiles*.

EDUCATION

In 1992, the museum adapted and initiated many programs in response to the changes within the museum, as well as in conjunction

Participants in one of the Children's Educational programs developed by Luann Andrews.



with university courses. Educational programs for visitors of all ages, a key element of the museum's mission, were refined and expanded. Our energetic curator of education, Luann Andrews, developed a number of exciting family programs related to our exhibitions, and led two museum-sponsored trips for elementary school children and their parents to Kansas City and St. Louis to visit a number of museums and collections. Working in collaboration with the Center for Gifted Education, she also developed specialized classes focusing on particular aspects of the museum's collections. Our wonderful cadre of thirty-four docents responded as always with their usual good spirits and efforts by giving more than 400 tours and outreach programs.

Staff changes were few in 1992. Charlotte Overby, our multi-talented assistant preparator who also served as the coordinator of the 1991-1992 Missouri Visual Artists' Biennial program, completed her Master's degree in journalism and concentrated on pursuing a career with a magazine. Danah Coester, graphic designer, also left the staff to complete her graduate work in journalism and to manage a design project for the government of Malawi in southwest Africa. We wish them both well in their new pursuits. Joining the staff as assistant preparator was Greig Thompson, well-known in the Columbia area as a ceramic artist and formerly a member of the Stephens College faculty.

Museum Associates had another exceptionally successful year, highlighted by an art auction which, under the direction of Darlene Johnson, who epitomizes the ideal museum patron, raised more than \$39,000 in cash and \$18,000 in acquisitions. On behalf of the Museum of Art and Archaeology, I would like to express our deepest gratitude to the Museum Associates Board and to all Associates who continue their unfailing support of the museum under the energetic leadership of President Betty Revington Burdick. Their enthusiasm and financial support are a tremendous asset to the museum; they encourage the staff to work harder and more diligently towards two considerable challenges now facing us: the need for additional exhibition, research and storage space, so that we may take full advantage of the educational potential of our collection, and an increase in our outside funding in order to cushion the museum from the university's financial strain.

As always, it is particularly gratifying to be able to acknowledge the excellent work of the museum staff. Their creativity, professionalism, and hard work made it possible for the museum to accomplish much during 1992.

MOLDED BOWLS FROM TEL ANAFA AND ELSEWHERE

SAUL S. WEINBERG

Ten seasons of excavation at Tel Anafa in Upper Galilee, 1968-70, 1972-1973, 1978-1981 and 1986, have shown the site to be one of the richest late Hellenistic settlements yet revealed.¹ Among the copious finds were great quantities of red-slipped pottery, often called by the misnomer "Pergamene" ware, or the equally misleading name "Eastern Sigillata A" ware. It is the Late Hellenistic fine ware that occurs primarily on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean but has a widespread distribution in Turkey and Greece and even farther west.

What is much less well known is a parallel production of molded relief bowls, made of the same clay and with the same red slip. Both the plain red-slipped ware and the molded bowls appeared at Tel Anafa in the third quarter of the second century B.C., and lasted to the end of the Hellenistic settlement, around 80 B.C.; elsewhere they continued into the first century after Christ. About a thousand fragments of such bowls have been found at Tel Anafa.² It is also possible to identify complete examples of this Syro-Palestinian relief ware in museum collections, including our own. It was most surprising to find that in 1960 — eight years before the beginning of the Tel Anafa excavation — we had acquired for the Museum of Art and Archaeology a bowl that is the very epitome of the earlier Syro-Palestinian relief style!

This bowl (Fig. 1), purchased in Philadelphia, is said to have come from Hama (Emesa), north of Homs, in Syria, just above the Lebanese border.³ It is hemispherical, with an everted lip. The fabric is a fine, light buff clay typical of the Tel Anafa fine ware (Munsell 7.5YR 7/4). Both interior and exterior are covered by a slip that varies in color from light red-brown to dark brown near the lip on one side; it is entirely worn off on high spots at the bottom.

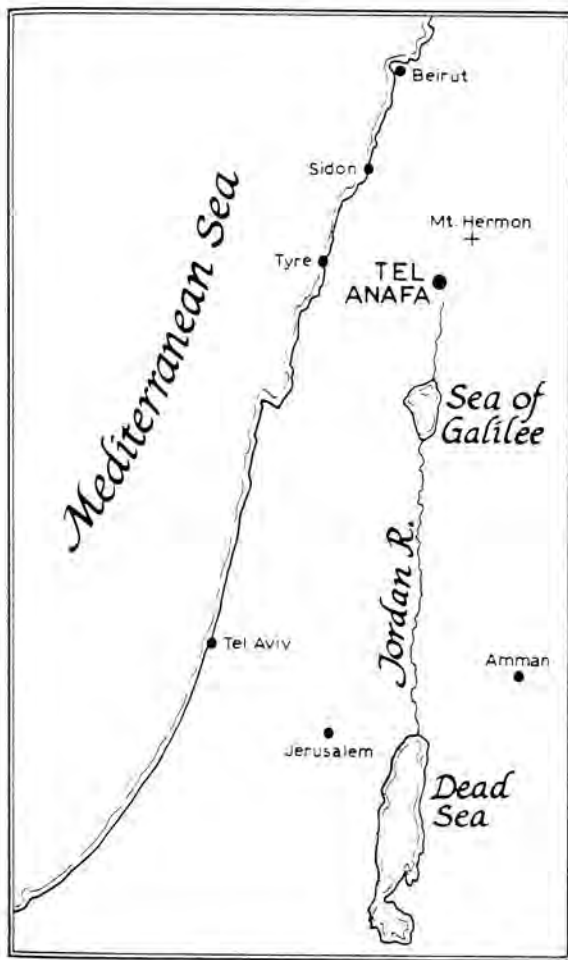
The relief decoration is in three zones, above a base medallion encircled by beading; the medallion consists of a four-petaled rosette with small tri-lobed leaves between the petals. The wide zone above the medallion is filled with six palm fronds alternating with six heart-shaped leaves. Above this is a narrower zone which has a band of dolphins and rosettes in the upper half, arranged in groups — each rosette



Fig. 1. Molded relief bowl (two views) in Missouri.



Fig. 2. Sherds from molded relief bowls found at Hama. From *Hama, Fouilles et recherches, 1931-1938*, III, 2, figs. 12, 52 and 53.



The site of Tel Anafa in Upper Galilee.

flanked by dolphins. The third zone, near the top of the bowl, has a band of tongue-and-dart in the upper part. Rows of beading separate the zones.

It appears that of the large variety of decorative motives used on such molded relief bowls, the heart-shaped leaf is the signature motif. Not only does it appear on the Missouri bowl (which may be from Hama), but it was so common at Hama (Fig. 2) that the authors of a report on the Hellenistic pottery named the motif *fleurs* — or *feuilles* — *cordiformes*.⁴ It is present on Cyprus and at Tarsus, Antioch, Tel Anafa and Samaria, besides Hama, but it has not been found in any other Greek or Near Eastern production center of relief ware.⁵ Using it as our identifier, it is now possible to bring bowls previously known as Pergamene into our Syro-Palestinian group. Foremost

among these is a bowl in the Yale University Art Gallery (Fig. 3).⁶ This bowl is smaller than the one at Missouri, but the scheme of decoration is essentially the same: a six-petaled rosette at the bottom, above it a wide band filled by six heart-shaped leaves alternating with six long, ribbed leaves, above that a wavy vine with leaves and bunches of grapes, at the top a narrow band of tongues. Baur found parallels for the heart-shaped leaf in a different and more common leaf type which is narrower and does not have the stem at the base nor the tendrils rising from the stem at either side. We can see that it is exactly the type of heart-shaped leaf that occurs on the Missouri and Tel Anafa examples. The buff clay and the red-brown to brown mottled slip are also characteristic.



Fig. 3. Relief bowl (two views) in Yale University Art Gallery. Photo courtesy of the museum.



Fig. 4. Relief bowl in The Art Museum, Princeton University. Museum purchase, gift of the Caroline G. Mather Fund.

The presence of the *fleur cordiforme* has made possible the recent identification of a bowl in The Art Museum, Princeton University (Fig. 4) as belonging to the same series.⁷ It had been identified as Pergamene from its buff to red clay and red to brown glaze. Its size is almost identical to the Missouri bowl. The decorative scheme of the Princeton bowl varies somewhat from both the Missouri and the Yale bowls. Above the rosette on the bottom is a band of alternating acanthus and diamond-shaped leaves. The next higher zone has alternating *fleurs cordiformes* and pedestals.⁸ The main zone is filled by clusters of laurel leaves forming a wreath, a motif paralleled on a sherd from Samaria.⁹ At the top is a band of tongue-and-dart and then a simple, outplaying rim.

The bowls just described, hemispherical in shape, with the wall rising vertically above the line of the hemisphere and ending in an everted rim, are the earlier type at Tel Anafa, first appearing in the third quarter of the second century B.C. They were joined, or followed, by a smaller bowl with a flattened bottom, splaying sides and a slightly everted lip. The first to distinguish two types of "local" bowls, earlier and later, was Frederic Waagé in his study of the pottery from Antioch, but no good date for the first appearance of either type could be obtained from the evidence at that site.¹⁰ More recently, in his typology for eastern sigillatas, John Hayes has dated these later



Fig. 5. Relief bowl (two views) of later type, in Missouri.

bowls (his Form 25) in the first half of the second century after Christ, but this is certainly too late for the examples from Tel Anafa.¹¹ Pinpointing the date of the appearance of the later type must wait for the study of the earliest contexts in which pieces of the later bowls were found.

Of this later bowl type, we have an example in Missouri (Fig. 5).¹² The main differences in shape from the earlier bowls are the flat bottom, the splaying sides, the high rim clearly marked off from the lower body, and the simple rounded lip. But there is a great difference in the scheme of decoration: no rosette on the bottom, a single, wide, decorated lower zone with scattered motives, quite different from those on the earlier bowls. The decoration is composed of six single leaves of *nymphaea caerulea*, alternating with horned faces or masks (Fig. 6) in three-quarter view to the left. I have not found any parallel for this motif. The upper zone, of equal height, is blank. The lines separating the zones are continuous, never dotted as they often are in the earlier bowls.



Fig. 6. Drawing of horned mask in relief on bowl shown above. Drawing by Greg Olson.



Fig. 7. Relief bowl of later type, in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Mainz.

For this type of bowl, too, we have been able to recognize complete examples in a number of museums. One is in Mainz (Fig. 7).¹³ The sparse decoration of the lower zone consists of four acanthus leaves alternating with four colonnettes having capitals in the form of a double volute, the lower one turned down and the upper turned up, surmounted by a Niké figure, apparently holding a wreath. The colonnettes are like those in the middle zone of the bowl in Princeton (see Fig. 4); this shows one of the few connections between the earlier and later types.

A second bowl in Mainz has as its single decorative motif a branch with leaves and buds that runs around the whole lower zone.¹⁴ The two bowls were said to be from the same factory; they have the same shape and the same clay and slip. It was suggested that the vases should be dated to the second half of the first century B.C.



Fig. 8. Relief bowl (two views), transitional from early to later type. Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design (14.040), gift of Mrs. Gustav Radeke.

Another bowl said to be Syrian is in the Museum of the Rhode Island School of Design (Fig. 8).¹⁵ In shape, and partly in decoration, it is transitional from the early to the late bowl type. To the earlier type belong the rosette on the bottom, the band of shells separating the two zones, and the splayed rim; to the later belongs the single, wide, decorated zone with the open-spaced decoration consisting of alternating long, slender palm fronds and acanthus leaves, five of each.

The later type of Syro-Palestinian bowl was probably more widespread in the Near East than the earlier type. A large quantity of the later bowls was found, many sufficiently complete to recover entire profiles, at Antioch on the Orontes, in the very north of the region.¹⁶ At the extreme south as well, at Oboda in the Negev, the later type of bowl seems to predominate.¹⁷ Even farther away, to the east, at Dura-Europos on the Euphrates River, a whole bowl of the later type was found.¹⁸

Thus we see that for at least a hundred years, beginning about the middle of the second century B.C., a Syro-Palestinian center of production of relief bowls existed, possibly in the vicinity of Tel Anafa or of Hama, farther north. These are the sites which have produced by far the greatest quantity of this relief ware. Wherever the center of production was located, its products are found widespread throughout the Syro-Palestinian region, to which it seems to be confined.

NOTES

¹ S. Weinberg, *Muse* 3 (1969), pp. 16-23; 4 (1970), pp. 15-24; 5 (1971), pp. 8-16; 6 (1972), pp. 8-18; 8 (1974), pp. 14-28; *Israel Exploration Journal* 21 (1971), pp. 86-109; S. Herbert, *Muse* 12 (1978), pp. 21-29; 13 (1979), pp. 16-21; 14 (1980), pp. 24-30; 15 (1981), pp. 23-29; *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 234 (1979), pp. 67-83; *Israel Exploration Journal* 37 (1987), pp. 272-273. (1st series sponsored by the Museum of Art and Archaeology; 2nd series jointly sponsored by University of Missouri and University of Michigan).

² The relief ware from all ten campaigns is being prepared for final publication by Dr. Leslie Cornell.

³ Acc. no. 60.37, H. 9.3 cm, D. rim 14.6 cm. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Jane C. Biers, Curator of Ancient Art at the Museum of Art and Archaeology, for permission to publish the two bowls in the museum, and to Jeffrey B. Wilcox, Registrar, for the fine, new photographs of them. Dr. Biers has also very kindly obtained the photographs of the bowls from other museums, as well as permission to publish them.

⁴ *Hama, Fouilles et recherches 1931-1938*, III, 2 (Copenhagen, 1971), pp. 25-26 (A. P. Christensen) and pp. 138-140 (C. Friis Johansen) citing a large bibliography of parallels; for the motif at Hama see particularly fig. 12:101 (from a group having strong affinities with terra sigillata), fig. 52:57, fig. 53:58 and 59 (sigillata).

⁵ The author of the Hama report did not know of the occurrence of the *fleur cordiforme* motif at Tel Anafa, recorded thus far only in the M.A. thesis of Leslie Cornell. See L. Cornell, "Hellenistic Moulded Relief Bowls from the Excavations at Tel Anafa," University of Missouri-Columbia, 1972, pl. X:2-3.

⁶ P.V.C. Baur, "Megarian Bowls in Yale University," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 45 (1941), pp. 229-248; for this bowl see 238, no. 200, fig. 8, Inv. no. 1913.200, H. 7.3 cm, D. rim 13.5 cm. I am indebted to Dr. Susan Matheson for permission to publish this vase, as well as for new photographs of it.

⁷ The identification was made by Dr. Jane C. Biers, who noted the bowl, Inv. no. 48.73, H. 9.5 cm, D. rim 14.5 cm on a visit to Princeton. For the photograph of it, and permission to publish, I am grateful to Dr. Robert Guy, then Curator of Ancient Art.

⁸ For such pedestals on a fragment from Tel Anafa, see Cornell (supra n. 5), pl. 1:5.

⁹ J. W. Crowfoot, G. M. Crowfoot and K. M. Kenyon, *Samaria-Sebaste III, The Objects from Samaria* (London, 1957), p. 278, fig. 63.14.

¹⁰ *Antioch on the Orontes*, IV, Part 1, *Ceramics and Islamic Coins*, F. O. Waagé, ed. (Princeton, 1948), pp. 29-30, fig 18.

¹¹ J. W. Hayes, "Sigillate orientali," in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale, Atlante delle forme ceramiche*, II, *Ceramica fine romana nel bacino mediterraneo (tardo ellenismo e primo Impero)* (Rome, 1985/86), p. 25.

¹² Acc. no. 70.198, H 6.1 cm, D. 13.9 cm, buff clay (5YR 7/4), orange-red slip.

¹³ T. Kraus, *Megarische Becher im Römisch-Germanischen Museum zu Mainz* (Mainz, 1951), p. 12, no. 16, fig. 5:2, pl. 4:2. H. 6.3 cm, D. 13.1 cm.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12, no. 15, fig. 5:1, pl. 4:1.

¹⁵ A. H. Ashmead and K. M. Phillips, Jr., *Classical Vases*, in *Catalogue of the Classical Collection, Museum of Art, The Rhode Island School of Design* (Providence, 1976), no. 53, pl. 107, Acc. no. 14.040, H. 6.7 cm, D. rim 12.3 cm.

¹⁶ See above, n. 10.

¹⁷ A. Negev, *The Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Pottery of Nabataean Oboda*, *Qedem* 22 (Jerusalem, 1986), pp. 4-7, figs. 1, 3, 5, 6, 18, 23.

¹⁸ D. H. Cox, *The Excavations at Dura Europos, Final Report*, IV, I, 2, *The Greek and Roman Pottery* (New Haven, 1949), p. 12, no. 70, pl. III.

DRINKING A TOAST TO ROMAN VICTORY: A CALENIAN WARE CUP IN MISSOURI*

JAMES TERRY

Calenian ware, named after the ancient Campanian town of Cales,¹ is an attractive but problematic class of Italian black-glazed pottery. In a monograph published in 1909, Rudolf Pagenstecher divided the Calenian material into three basic types: *Medaillonschalen* (vessels with central relief medallions), *Omphalosschalen* (vessels with central bosses surrounded by relief friezes), and *gutti* (discoidal oil containers with central relief medallions).² The *Medaillonschalen* and *gutti* are generally limited in their decoration to single figures and small groups, but they present a wide variety of subjects: gods and goddesses, Dionysiac figures, Amazons, warriors, heroes, masks, comic actors, and animals, both real and mythical. The *Omphalosschalen* offered a larger field for decoration, and more complex mythological scenes are common: the Apotheosis of Herakles, the Rape of Persephone, Odysseus and the Sirens, Dionysiac processions, and Eros in combat. Some Calenian vessels bear Latin trademarks identifying the workshop that produced them.³ On several examples, the designations CALENOS and CALEBUS appear alongside the name of the workshop's owner. This, together with the discovery of mold fragments at Cales, led Pagenstecher to identify Cales as the production site. But more recent finds of similar mold fragments from Mondragone, Paestum and Capua show that Cales did not have a monopoly on the production of Calenian ware.⁴ Finds of this ware are most common in Campania, but Apulia and Etruria have also produced significant quantities, and isolated finds have been reported as far afield as Cartagena and Corfu.⁵ Pagenstecher dated the production of Calenian ware from the beginning of the third century B.C. into the first century A.C. He assigned the "flowering" of the style to the last half of the third century and the first two decades of the second century B.C.⁶

A Calenian ware *kylix* in the collection of the Museum of Art and Archaeology (Fig. 1) belongs to Pagenstecher's *Omphalosschalen* type.⁷ It presents several interesting technical and iconographic features. The wide, shallow cup is set on a tall, flaring ring foot. The fabric is light brown to buff. With the exception of the hollow interior



Fig. 1. A Calenian kylix (drinking cup) in Missouri.

of the foot, the surface is covered entirely with a dark glaze. Because of its metallic, reflective quality, the glaze is better described as gunmetal, rather than black. The most distinctive features of the cup are the two elegant, high-swung loop handles, which attach horizontally to the wall below the rim. One is broken and mended, the other partially broken off and restored. Relief decoration appears on the floor. In the center, set in a shallow depression, is a small boss. This is surrounded by concentric grooves and a circular bead-and-reel border in low relief. In the main decorated zone is a frieze of six ship's prows facing to the right. Below each prow is a fish; above each is a dolphin facing left, inverted with respect to the prows. A shield appears in front of each prow, with a second inverted dolphin above, facing right. This circular frieze is bordered along the top by a second band of bead-and-reel.

Analysis of the kylix reveals that it was produced in several stages.⁸ The first step was making a mold. This began as a solid, slightly convex disk of clay with a hole in the center. The potter pressed stamps into the mold to create the decorative scheme in intaglio. From the way the decorative elements overlap on the Missouri kylix, we can deduce the order in which they were stamped into the mold. First, the inner bead-and-reel pattern was stamped, probably with a ring-shaped stamp made for this purpose. Then came the fish, the two sets of dolphins (each from its own stamp), the



Fig. 2. Underside of the Missouri cup, showing the potter's finger marks.

prows, the shields, and finally the outer bead-and-reel. The potter used the fish stamps to divide the surface of the mold into six equal zones; thus he was able to stamp the prows at even intervals. When the stamped decoration was complete, the mold was fired.

In the next step, the potter applied a disk of wet clay to the mold. Finger marks on the back of the cup (Fig. 2) show where he pressed the clay in to fill the deepest hollows.⁹ The mold was then turned over and lifted off the clay disk. The hole in the center of the mold facilitated this procedure.

The potter now had a complete impression of the design in relief. The clay disk was placed on the wheel and the potter raised and levelled the rim of the cup. The floor was then finished with concentric grooves and the central boss was attached with slip. Next, the foot, which had been formed separately on the wheel, was joined to the cup. The handles, also formed separately, were pressed into the wall of the vessel and the joints were smoothed. Finally, after the cup had dried enough for the attachments to be secure, the potter picked it up gently by the foot and dipped it into the refined slip that produced the metallic glaze. (Three brownish, inadequately glazed spots on the foot show where the potter placed his fingertips as he dipped). The cup was now ready for firing.



Fig. 3. A silver cup from Montefortino, Italy (ca. 300 B.C.), one of a pair in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Rogers Fund, 1908 (08.258.52).

Scholars have often observed that Calenian ware forms imitate Hellenistic metal vessels.¹⁰ The Missouri kylix is no exception. Both the profile and the distinctive line of the handles are paralleled in a silver cup from Montefortino (Fig. 3) that has been dated ca. 300 B.C.¹¹ A South Russian silver cup, dating from around 200 B.C., also bears a close resemblance to the Missouri cup.¹²

A Calenian ware *phiale* in the National Museum in Naples (Fig. 4) provides an instructive comparison for our kylix.¹³ The Naples *phiale* shows nine prows facing to the right; the Missouri kylix has only six. Here we see the advantage of the Missouri potter's careful spacing technique. The Naples potter simply stamped each prow against the preceding one until he ran out of

room—a technique which produces a cramped, inelegant composition. Unlike the Missouri kylix, the Naples *phiale* carries a trademark. On the ram beneath one of the prows the letters L. CANOLIIIIO can be distinguished (Fig. 5). The mark belongs to Lucius Canoleius, the master of the most prolific Calenian workshop.¹⁴



Fig. 4. A Calenian ware *phiale* from the workshop of Lucius Canoleius, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples.



Fig. 5. Detail of workshop trademark on *phiale* in Figure 4.

A short, raised foredeck appears on each prow on both the Naples and Missouri vessels. Aft the foredeck the Naples phiale features two oval shields, the Missouri kylix only one. Three human heads appear near the foredeck in the Missouri kylix. These are absent in the Naples example. Apart from these minor differences, the details of naval architecture are quite similar in the two objects. The stemposts are thick and curved slightly backward, resembling a thumb in profile. Each prow has an apotropaic eye near the bow and a three-pronged ram at the waterline. Each prow also displays a massive, rectangular rowing frame that projects at a right angle from the hull. This type of rowing frame may be observed on the sculpted prow that serves as the base of the Nike of Samothrace. Similar rowing frames are depicted on the Nilotic mosaic at Palestrina and on a fresco from Pompeii now preserved in Naples.¹⁵

In an important series of articles published in the 1940s and 50s Gisela Richter pointed out close similarities between the relief decoration of Calenian ware phialai of the Apotheosis of Herakles type and silver phialai depicting the same scene.¹⁶ Calenian potters undoubtedly borrowed decorative schemes from metal vessels, but not to the exclusion of other sources. Coins offered another ready supply of images. For example, the Roman she-wolf suckling the twins Romulus and Remus appears as the reverse type of the Herakles/she-wolf didrachm, first minted in 269 B.C.¹⁷ A Calenian *Medaillonsschale* in Brussels presents a virtually identical scene.¹⁸

The most likely model for the prows on the Naples and Missouri vessels is the Roman *aes grave* ("heavy bronze"), a series of early Republican bronze coins. A prow was introduced as a reverse type in the *aes grave* coinage in about 235 B.C.¹⁹ Comparing an early *as* (one-pound unit) of the *aes grave* series (Fig. 6) to the Missouri cup, we note the correspondence in the shapes of the stempost, the ram, the projecting rowing frame (more severely truncated on the coin), the short foredeck and the apotropaic eye on the bow. These similarities suggest that the



Fig. 6. Roman libral *as* (one-pound bronze coin) with a ship's prow as the reverse type. Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.

artisan who made the mold for the Missouri kylix was familiar with these widely circulated coins and created an original design based on this motif.

The Greeks and Romans used prows as symbols of naval victory. The original rostrum, a speaker's platform in the Roman forum, was embellished with *rostra*, the prows of ships captured at the Battle of Antium in 336 B.C.²⁰ The appearance of the prow on the *aes grave* can be linked to another historical event, the First Punic War (264-241 B.C.). The key event in the first years of that conflict was the battle of Mylae in 260, in which a large Roman fleet under the command of the consul C. Duilius defeated the Carthaginian fleet. Following that victory, Duilius celebrated a naval triumph (the first in Roman history) and was further honored with a *columna rostrata*, a column decorated with prows, in the Forum Romanum.²¹ In 241, after a series of reverses for the Romans, a decisive sea battle took place at the Aegates Islands. The Roman victory there crushed the sea power of Carthage and led directly to the final surrender. Polybius, our most reliable source for this period, notes that prior to the huge naval battles at Mylae and the Aegates Islands, "no forces of such magnitude ever met at sea."²² The outcome of the war was particularly stunning in view of the fact that the Roman navy had only a handful of ships at the beginning of hostilities. Thus, the First Punic War saw the emergence of Rome in a short time as the dominant sea power in the western Mediterranean.²³

The stemposts of Greek warships of the fourth century were generally slender and outward-curving, the so-called "gooseneck" type.²⁴ The thicker, slightly inward-curving, thumb-shaped stempost made its first appearance on Greek coins in the early years of the third century.²⁵ The Romans probably adopted this type for their warships during the First Punic War.²⁶ It was certainly in use by the time of the introduction of the prow reverse type in the *aes grave* coinage. However, alongside the thumb-shaped stempost in the early *aes grave* coins there appears a variant which ends in a pronounced volute.²⁷ This type occurs more frequently in the later issues of *aes grave*, and is virtually the only type to appear on the *aes grave* and other Roman coins after the outbreak of the Second Punic War in 218 B.C.²⁸

The massive, projecting rowing frame is perhaps the most interesting feature shared by the prows on the *aes grave* coins and the Calenian ware vessels. The naval historian Lionel Casson has linked this feature to the introduction of the multi-rower sweep in the large polyremes which appeared in the second half of the fourth century B.C.²⁹ Polybius states explicitly that the fleets used by the Romans through the First



Fig. 7.
Detail of one
of the prow
reliefs on the
Missouri cup.

Punic War consisted chiefly of quinqueremes.³⁰ The oars on one type of quinquereme may have been arranged in three tiers, with the top two tiers manned two-to-an-oar and the lowest oars pulled by one man each.³¹ In a detail of the Missouri kylix (Fig. 7) we can just make out three parallel tiers of oarports arranged in a quincunx pattern on one of the rowing frames. Thus, the prow we see pictured could well be from a

three-tiered quinquereme, the type of warship used so successfully by the Roman navy during the First Punic War.

On the basis of all the available evidence I would propose a date for the Missouri cup between 235 and 218 B.C. Parallels for the form of the cup are found in silver kylikes of the third century B.C. It is likely that the relief decoration on our kylix was inspired by the *aes grave* with the prow reverse type, and so the cup should postdate the introduction of those coins. The coin evidence also suggests that the simple thumb-shaped stempost may have gone out of style with Roman shipbuilders by the beginning of the Second Punic War, an argument against a date after 218 B.C. The allusion to Roman naval supremacy, inherent in the symbol of the prow, fits well with a date shortly after the First Punic War. This proposed date would place the Missouri kylix within the flowering of the Calenian style, according to Pagenstecher's chronology.

Many questions about the production sites, techniques, chronology and iconography of Calenian ware remain unanswered. We need an updated inventory of Calenian ware and a fresh examination of the iconographic parallels for its relief decoration. Comparison with Roman coin types may prove especially useful, perhaps bringing us closer to a datable sequence of Calenian forms.

NOTES

* The author wishes to thank Professor Lionel Casson for his kind advice in preparing this article.

¹ Cales, modern Calvi Risorta, lies about ten miles northwest of Capua. Originally a self-governing town of the Ausones tribe, Cales was captured by Rome in the Latin War (340-338 B.C.). Rome established a colony there in 334 B.C. See E. T. Salmon, *The Making of Roman Italy* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1982), pp. 10, 40, 53, 57 and idem, *Roman Colonization under the Republic* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1970), pp. 55-57.

² *Die calenische Reliefkeramik. Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Ergänzungsheft 8* (Berlin, 1909) [hereafter: *Reliefkeramik*], supplemented by "Calena," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 20 (1912), pp. 146-173. Definition of types: *Reliefkeramik*, p. 2. Pagenstecher's monograph is still the only comprehensive study of Calenian ware. As Jean-Paul Morel noted (*Céramique campanienne: les formes*, 2 vols. [Rome, 1981], vol. 1, p. 40) it is essentially a catalogue of reliefs, very incomplete and inexact regarding the profiles of the vessels. The *Medaillonschalen* and *gutti* present special difficulties. See M.-O. Jentel, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* [hereafter: *CVA*]. *Musée du Louvre* vol. 15, pt. IV E, pls. 2-9; idem, *Les gutti et les askoi à reliefs étrusques et apuliens* (Leiden, 1976); A. Rocco, "Alcune raffigurazione dei gutti caleni," *Iapigia* 20, fasc. 4 (1942), pp. 213-217; and J. W. Hayes, *Greek and Italian Black-Gloss Wares and Related Wares in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Toronto, 1984), pp. 53-56.

³ *Reliefkeramik*, pp. 147-151. Less than thirty per cent of the *Omphalosschalen* and less than ten per cent of the *Medaillonschalen* catalogued by Pagenstecher have inscriptions. On the *gutti*, inscriptions are very rare (only one example in Pagenstecher's catalogue). For contrasting views on the significance of the potters' signatures, see P. Mingazzini, "L'officina di Lucio Canoleio Caleno," *Archeologia classica* 10 (1958), pp. 224-226 and L. Sanesi, "Sulla firma di un ceramista caleno e sulla questione dei vici," *La parola del passato* 33 (1978), pp. 74-77.

⁴ Mold fragments from Cales: *Reliefkeramik*, pp. 23-24, 85, 89 (nos. 5, 133h, 138). Also possibly from Cales: no. 16c (p. 32). Additional mold fragments were discovered during excavations at Cales in the early 1960s: W. Johannowsky, "Relazione preliminare sugli scavi di Cales," *Bollettino d'arte* 46 (1961), p. 267, n. 52, figs. 19a and b. Mold from Mondragone: L. Sanesi, "Frammenti inediti di ceramica calena," *Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti* 51 (1976), pp. 191-192, fig. 1. *Guttus* mold from Paestum: G. M. A. Richter, "Calenian Pottery and Classical Metalware," *American Journal of Archaeology* 63 (1959), pp. 242-243, pl. 1, fig. 1. Mold with fern pattern from Capua: *ibid.*, p. 247 n. 77, pl. 60, fig. 49. Some scholars have suggested a link with Etrurian workshop traditions, although no finds of molds, kiln-wasters, or inscriptions have confirmed this. See J. D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting* (Oxford, 1947), pp. 192, 241, 308; N. Lamboglia, "Per una classificazione preliminare della ceramica campana," *Atti del 1° Congresso Internazionale di Studi Liguri* (Bordighera, 1952), p. 163; Morel, *Céramique campanienne*, vol. 1, p. 525 n. 152.

⁵ *Reliefkeramik*, pp. 135-139, 187-188. A. García y Bellido, "Cerámica calena en España," *Archivo español de arte y arqueología* 25 (1952), p. 389. C. Domergue, "Céramique de Calès dans les antiques mines d'argent de Carthagène," *Archivo español de arte y arqueología* 42 (1969), pp. 159-165.

⁶ *Reliefkeramik*, pp. 165-166, followed by Morel, *Céramique campanienne*, vol. 1, p. 46.

⁷ Acc. no. 60.11, H. 4.6 cm, D. 14.8 cm.

⁸ The technical analysis that follows differs in some details from that offered by Morel, *Céramique campanienne*, vol. 1, p. 489 n. 3.

⁹ Cf. G. M. A. Richter, "A Greek Silver Phiale in the Metropolitan Museum," *American Journal of Archaeology* 45 (1941), p. 387, fig. 27.

¹⁰ Beginning with Pagenstecher: *Reliefkeramik*, pp. 159-163.

¹¹ G. M. A. Richter, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Handbook of the Greek Collection* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 127, pl. 107d. A. Oliver, Jr., *Silver for the Gods* (Toledo, Ohio, 1977), pp. 64-65, nos. 31-32. For the find context: E. Brizio, "Il sepolcreto gallico di Montefortino," *Monumenti antichi* 9 (1899), pp. 695-697, pl. 9.

¹² Cup from Kerch: D. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1966), p. 95, pl. 30a. Cf. also the silver kylix from Boscoreale in H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Silver Plate in the British Museum* (London, 1921), p. 5, pl. 3, no. 15 and three cups from Paterno in Oliver, *Silver*, p. 65, nos. 32a, b and c.

¹³ CVA. *Napoli, Museo Nazionale* vol. 2, pt. IV E, p. 5, pl. 2; *Reliefkeramik*, pp. 82-83, no. 128 a. The prows on another phiale in Paris appear to be identical, although the subsidiary ornament differs: CVA. *Musée du Louvre* vol. 15, pt. IV E, p. 33, pl. 13: 2.

¹⁴ *Reliefkeramik*, pp. 152-159.

¹⁵ The Nike base (ca. 200 B.C.) is well illustrated in L. Basch, *Le musée imaginaire de la marine antique* (Athens, 1987), figs. 747-766, 769-770. The Paestrum mosaic (ca. 80 B.C.): L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanhip in the Ancient World* (2nd ed., Princeton, 1986), pl. 116. Fresco from Pompeii: Basch, *Le musée imaginaire*, figs. 955-956.

¹⁶ G. M. A. Richter, "Greek Fifth-Century Silverware and Later Imitations," *American Journal of Archaeology* 54 (1950), pp. 357-370; "A Greek Silver Phiale," pp. 363-389; "Calenian Pottery," pp. 241-249, pls. 51-60.

¹⁷ M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, (2 vols., Cambridge, 1974), vol. I, p. 137, no. 20; vol. II, p. 714, pl. I. 8. R. Thomsen, *Early Roman Coinage*, (3 vols., Copenhagen, 1957-61), vol. I, p. 146; vol. III, pp. 119-122.

¹⁸ CVA. *Bruxelles, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* vol. 3, pt. IV E, p. 6, pl. 4, no. 2b. *Reliefkeramik*, p. 33, no. 19b. Similarly, the "Arethusa" decadrachms of Syracuse provided the model for the relief decoration of a group of black-glazed medallion bowls that may be seen as forerunners of Calenian ware. *Reliefkeramik*, pp. 16-18. Morel, *Céramique campanienne*, vol. 1, p. 46. Richter, "Calenian Pottery," p. 241 and n. 6. The scene on the Brussels plate is a mirror image of that on the didrachm. Compare the cup with reversed Arethusa profile: CVA *Goluchow, Musée Czartoryski*, pt. IV E, p. 40, pl. 52:6.

¹⁹ Favoring a date ca. 235 B.C. are P. Le Gentilhomme, "Les quadrigati nummi et le dieu Janus," *Revue numismatique* ser. 4, 37 (1934), pp. 15-16; H. Mattingly, "The First Age of Roman Coinage," *Journal of Roman Studies* 35 (1945), pp. 71-74; Thomsen, *Early Roman Coinage*, vol. III, pp. 148-150, 168-170; and R. A. G. Carson, *Principal Coins of the Romans 1: The Republic* (London, 1978), p. 17, no. 26. This dating takes into account both the significance of the prow as a symbol of naval victory (see below) and the probable meaning of the obverse type on the *as*, the head of the god Janus. According to Livy (1.19. 3) and Varro (*Ling.* 5. 165) the gates of the Temple of Janus in Rome were closed in 235 B.C. in token of the establishment of peace after the end of the First Punic War. Crawford and Sydenham prefer a date of ca. 225 B.C. (Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, vol. I, pp. 42, 44-45. E. A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* [London, 1952], p. xx). Crawford's argument for this date, based on comparison of the *aes grave* prows to the prow on a coin of Antigonos Doson, is unconvincing. Neither author offers an explanation for the appearance of the prow symbol at this moment in history. For further discussion, see J. H. Thiel, *A History of Roman Sea Power before the Second Punic War* (Amsterdam, 1954), pp. 57-59. For the coin of Antigonos Doson, see I. L. Merker, "The Silver Coinage of Antigonos Gonatas and Antigonos Doson," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 9 (1960), pp. 39-44, 50-51 and O. Morkholm, *Early Hellenistic Coinage* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 135, no. 436, pl. XXIX.

²⁰ Livy 8. 14. 12. Pliny *HN* 34. 11. 20. Varro *Ling.* 5. 155.

²¹ Pliny *HN* 34. 11. 20. Quintilian *Inst.* 1. 7. 12. Tacitus *Ann.* 2. 49. 29-31. Silius Italicus. *Punica* 6. 663-669. Florus *Epit. Gest. Rom.* 1. 18. 10. Reconstruction of the column of Duilius in W. L. Rodgers,

Greek and Roman Naval Warfare (London, 1937), p. 276. For more on the naval triumph and the *columna rostrata* see L. Pietila-Castren, *Magnificentia publica* (Helsinki, 1987), pp. 28-34.

²² Polybius 1. 63. 8.

²³ On this development, see F. Meijer, *A History of Seafaring in the Classical World* (London, 1986), pp. 167-185 and L. Casson, *The Ancient Mariners* (2nd ed., Princeton, 1991), pp. 143-151.

²⁴ E. g. relief fragment from the Acropolis (ca. 400 B.C.) in A. Köster, *Das Antike Seewesen* (Berlin, 1923, repr. ed. Berlin, 1969), p. 110, fig. 28. Coin of Memnon of Rhodes (ca. 337-330 B.C.) in L. Basch, "Roman Triremes and the Outtriggerless Phoenician Trireme," *The Mariner's Mirror* 65, 4 (Nov., 1979) p. 307, fig. 22. Hemidrachm of Cius (ca. 334-323 B.C.) in Mørkholm, *Early Hellenistic Coinage*, p. 94, no. 266, pl. XVI.

²⁵ Tetradrachms and staters of Demetrios Poliorketes minted at Salamis, ca. 300-295 B.C. E. T. Newell, *The Coinages of Demetrios Poliorketes* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 24-38, nos. 14-18, 21-24, pls. II-III. Mørkholm, *Early Hellenistic Coinage*, p. 78, nos. 162-163, pl. X. I do not subscribe to Newell's theory (followed by Mørkholm) that these prows represent defeated galleys from which the tips of the stemposts have been sawn for trophies. Other coins of Demetrios Poliorketes (e. g. Newell's pl. XVII, 11-12) clearly show thumb-shaped stemposts, and Newell's arguments about the condition of the prows on the Salamis tetradrachms and staters would not apply in these cases. See also the comments of Basch, *Le musée imaginaire*, p. 341.

²⁶ Roman ships built during the First Punic War were reportedly modeled on captured Carthaginian vessels: Polybius 1. 20. 15; 1. 59. 8. Carthaginian shipwrights may have adapted up-to-date naval designs, including the new type of stempost, from contact with the Hellenistic kingdoms of the eastern Mediterranean. The stempost question is complicated, however, by the appearance of coins from Carthaginian-ruled Spain which depict prows with slim stemposts terminating in birds' heads. E. S. G. Robinson, "Punic Coins of Spain and their Bearing on the Roman Republican Series," in R. A. G. Carson and C. H. V. Sutherland, eds., *Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to Harold Mattingly* (Oxford, 1956), pp. 37-38, 49, and G. K. Jenkins and R. B. Lewis, eds., *Carthaginian Gold and Electrum Coins*, pp. 45, 116, pl. 22, no. 461.

²⁷ The volute stempost may be another innovation borrowed from the East. It appears on coin issues of Corcyra that predate the Roman occupation of 229 B.C. P. Gardner, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum: Thessaly to Aetolia* (repr. ed., Bologna, 1963), p. 133, no. 305, pl. XXIII, 17.

²⁸ We can follow this development in the excellent illustrations in E. Haeberlin, *Aes Grave* (Frankfurt, 1910). The thumb-shaped stempost and the volute variant exist side by side in the earliest coins of the sequence (compare pl. 12, no. 7 with pl. 11, no. 1). The volute becomes more common in the later issues on the libral weight standard (pls. 19-21). Finally, after the semilibral weight reduction, all the stemposts end in volutes and the volutes become more exaggerated (e. g., pl. 45, no. 40). Hannibal's invasion of Italy during the Second Punic War caused financial strains that probably led to the weight reduction of the *aes grave* to the semilibral standard. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, vol. 1, p. 43; idem, *Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic* (Berkeley, 1985) p. 55 and n. 5.

²⁹ Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, pp. 143-151.

³⁰ Polybius 1. 20. 10; 1. 59. 8.

³¹ Meijer, *History of Seafaring*, p. 119, fig. 8.2. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, p. 102. For differing views, see J. Rougé, *Ships and Fleets of the Ancient Mediterranean* (Middletown, Conn., 1981), p. 94 and Basch, *Le musée imaginaire*, 338-342.

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THE JUDGEMENT OF PARIS: AN EXCERPT ON A ROMAN RELIEF MIRROR

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Gilded bronze reliefs are characteristic of a group of Roman mirrors of otherwise simple design.¹ Most of the mirrors are small, 9-12 cm in diameter; all have an unadorned, round, reflecting surface of polished high-tin alloy of bronze and are without handles.² The gilded reliefs were attached to the backs of the mirrors and are usually framed by a plain convex rim, although a few examples have pierced decoration, or some other ornamental border.³ Only about seventy-five examples of this type of mirror are known. Wolfgang Züchner listed fourteen in 1942;⁴ Gisela Zahlhaas in her 1975 study catalogued thirty-five, incorporating Züchner's list.⁵ Since 1975 others have appeared on the art market and at least one in an excavation. Dietrich Willers listed the additional examples known to him,⁶ and in the most recent study Elizabeth Milleker added ten more.⁷

There are a number of problems concerning the origin and date of the series. The workshop or shops that produced the mirrors have not yet been discovered. Zahlhaas suggested Asia Minor or North Africa.⁸ Willers preferred Asia Minor on the basis of the greater numbers probably from that region that have come to light since 1975.⁹ Scholars also dispute the dating of the type. Zahlhaas argued that stylistic parallels for the scenes on the mirrors date to the second century, some extending into the first decade of the third; she placed the series in about A.D. 130-230, but with an origin as early as the Flavian period.¹⁰ Milleker prefers the second century.¹¹ Cornelius Vermeule also favors the second century for most of the mirrors but sets the beginning of the series at ca. A.D. 90; he believes that the type lasted about 100 years.¹² Others, however, have proposed a first-century or even earlier date for the whole series.¹³ Unfortunately, few mirrors have been found in excavations, and even then the contexts have not proved particularly useful for dating most of them.¹⁴ Only three mirrors have potentially useful excavation contexts. Grave 2 of an East Thracian tumulus from which came mirror no. 30 contained seven coins dating from the reigns of Vespasian to Hadrian (A.D. 69-138); the grave is dated to the mid-second century.¹⁵ The second mirror, no. 33, comes from a grave dated by two coins to after A.D. 141.¹⁶ The third mirror, excavated by the German Archaeological Institute in the Kerameikos



Fig. 1. Roman mirror, showing an excerpt from the Judgement of Paris. Gilded bronze, (77.124) gift of Professor and Mrs. Chester G. Starr in memory of Dean Thomas A. Brady.



Fig. 2. Roman mirror, drawing by John Huffstot, scale 1:1.

cemetery in Athens in 1941 or 1942, was found with Roman glass balsamaria of the first half of the second century.¹⁷ Thus, these three mirrors were all found in second-century graves. Unfortunately, this evidence is not conclusive for dating these particular mirrors, since they may be heirlooms.¹⁸ In view of this possibility and the scant excavation evidence, dating of individual mirrors has to be based on stylistic comparanda, most of which belong to the second century.

The subjects of the reliefs are often appropriate for mirrors. Thus, the Three Graces were popular, as were Venus, and Eros or groups of Erotes.¹⁹ Some of the mirrors depict myths in which beauty or love played an important part. Such a subject is found on a mirror in the Museum of Art and Archaeology — one of the most elaborate of the group (Figs. 1 and 2).²⁰ It shows the Trojan prince Paris seated in the center of a rocky landscape. He wears Phrygian trousers and bonnet, a short belted tunic, and a chlamys that hangs down his back.²¹ His curly hair falls to his shoulders. He sits on a rock, his left leg forward and his right back, and with his outstretched left hand he leans on a *pedum* (shepherd's crook).²² His right elbow is propped on his left hand, and he rests his head on the fingers of his right hand as he looks back over his shoulder. Behind him stands Eros with legs crossed and one hand on Paris' shoulder. A small dog sits on the rocks at Paris' side, and in the foreground stands a group of three small cattle, one facing right, the second lying down to the right, and the third behind, facing downhill to the left. On the right, a small goat rears up against a tree that frames the scene, and a second tree stretches its bare branches upward on the left. In the background stands a small shrine approached by three steps. Within it the statue of a deity is visible holding out an object in its right hand; its left arm is bent, with hand on hip.²³ In front of the shrine a round altar bears offerings. The sides of the altar are decorated with reliefs, but details cannot be made out. The composition of the scene is crowded; it encompasses the whole surface of the disc. The trees effectively frame the composition, and the rocky landscape is emphasized by the uneven stance of one of the cattle. Although the shrine and altar in the background are small, no feeling of depth has been obtained; the huge seated figure and the small cattle in the foreground prevent any illusion of perspective. This may have been a deliberate artistic device — the use of a larger scale for the two central figures emphasizes their importance.²⁴

Paris is the protagonist in the well known myth of the Judgement of Paris. The story began at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, where all the gods were present. When Eris (Strife) threw an apple into the assembly with the words "for the fairest,"²⁵

the goddesses Athena, Hera, and Aphrodite each claimed the apple for her own. Zeus, declining to arbitrate, declared that Paris, son of Priam, king of Troy, should be the judge, and ordered Hermes to lead the three goddesses to him. As an infant Paris had been exposed on Mt. Ida because his mother Hecuba, while pregnant, dreamed that she gave birth to a torch from which serpents issued. He was rescued by shepherds who brought him up on Mt. Ida. Here he was leading a peaceful life when Hermes brought the three goddesses to him. Paris' choice of Aphrodite, who promised him Helen, wife of Menelaus king of Sparta, was the cause of the Trojan War. Paris' abduction of Helen brought the Greek fleet to Troy and, after ten years, the destruction of the city and the death or enslavement of its inhabitants. The story of the Judgement was one of the most popular of the Greek myths, as many representations attest.²⁶ The earliest extant examples are on an ivory comb from Sparta, dated 650-625 B.C., and on the slightly earlier Chigi vase.²⁷ The Judgement is depicted on Greek vases and appears on Etruscan mirrors and *cistae*.²⁸ In Roman times it was a popular subject for wall-paintings; it also occurs in marble relief work, and on gems, lamps, mosaics and coins.²⁹ Although the subject was frequently shown on Etruscan mirrors, its use on Roman mirrors had not hitherto been attested.³⁰

The scene on the mirror is an excerpt copied from a larger depiction of the Judgement. It is very like the Ludovisi relief in the National Museum, Rome (Fig. 3).³¹ This large marble panel, or sarcophagus front, shows the whole scene. Paris sits beneath a tree in the same attitude as on the mirror, looking back over his left shoulder. On the left stand the three goddesses and Hermes, who is placed between Aphrodite and Athena, so that Aphrodite is closest to Paris. A female figure between Paris and Aphrodite, but standing at a lower level than the goddess and thus linked to Paris, has been identified as the nymph Oenone.³² At the right side of the relief, looking toward Paris, sits a bearded figure, probably a mountain personification, and behind him there is a partially preserved female figure, perhaps a nymph. The head of a goat can be seen behind Eros and a sheep stands in the upper right corner. Cattle probably once filled the center foreground; only the head of one is preserved. All that remains of a figure in the right foreground is one hand. The Missouri mirror depicts the focal point of this composition, the group of Paris and Eros, and, in general, these two groups are strikingly similar. Close examination of the mirror reveals, however, a number of differences. The drapery on the mirror is more simplified; it lacks the bunched folds below Paris' upper left arm, and the tunic apparently is sleeveless. Paris' plump cheeks and round chin also contrast with the more angular planes of his



Fig. 3. The Judgement of Paris, Ludovisi Relief, Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome.
Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.

face on the marble relief. Furthermore, the curved end of the pedum is uppermost on the mirror but apparently downward on the relief. The figure of Eros also displays some differences. While the pose is similar, on the mirror Eros is shown with his head in three-quarters view and without much hair; he leans on Paris' shoulder. On the relief Eros' head is seen in almost straight profile; he has a topknot and curly hair reaching to his shoulders; he stands more upright. In three details, however, the two representations are remarkably close: the three-quarters view of Paris' head, his gaze that looks outward, not at Eros, and the position of the fingers of his right hand against his head. Apart from Paris and Eros, however, the mirror is quite different. Hermes and the three goddesses and the nymph Oenone are missing, as are the subsidiary figures on the right of the relief; a shrine and altar have been added to the background. The trees on the mirror have bare branches, in contrast to the leafy boughs of the tree on the Ludovisi relief.³³

Another Roman marble relief stands in the same relationship to the Ludovisi relief as does the mirror (Fig. 4). Now in the Palazzo Spada in Rome, it was found with seven others in 1620 during restoration work in S. Agnese fuori le Mura in Rome.³⁴ It also depicts only Paris and Eros, and their relationship is very like that of the figures on the mirror. Unlike the Ludovisi relief, the lower part of the Spada relief is preserved, whereas Paris' head and arms, his left leg, and Eros from the arm upward

are all restored. The Spada relief has a dog at Paris' side, as on the mirror, but sitting in a less upright position. Again, the group on the mirror differs from the Spada figures in certain details. Although on both works Paris sits to the left with his knees bent, on the Spada relief he holds the pedum between his legs (as seems to be the case on the Ludovisi relief). While the mirror preserves the only evidence for Paris' left leg, the simplified treatment of the folds of drapery over the left thigh cannot help the Spada restoration. On the mirror Eros has his legs crossed, but his feet are seen from the front, whereas on the relief his left foot is hidden behind his right, which is seen in profile. The mirror confirms, however, that, as has long been recognized, the



Fig. 4. Paris, relief, Palazzo Spada, Rome.
Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.

position of Paris' right arm is incorrectly restored on the Spada relief, and that he should be looking outward and not at Eros.³⁵

Cattle are shown in the foreground on both the mirror and the Spada relief. Three cattle fill the lower part of the relief. In contrast to the mirror they are represented in large scale, but their poses are very similar. Both the mirror and the relief show a cow on the left standing on a fairly steep slope with head down to the left (head and front legs of the animal on the relief restored), and at the front a cow lying down facing right. On the Spada relief the third animal stands with head to the left, whereas on the mirror the animal (also standing) faces right. A major difference between the Spada relief and the mirror, apart from the scale of the animals, is that on the relief a rocky ledge separates Paris from the



Fig. 5. Pastoral Relief: Prince Paris Watching his Flock on Mount Ida. The Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum purchase, 75:1942.

animals below; whereas on the mirror, although the scale is unconvincing, the cattle are treated more as an integral part of the whole scene. The cattle on the Spada relief suggested to some scholars that the Spada Paris and Eros group was copied from a horizontal composition depicting the Judgement, and that the cattle were copied from another composition to fill up the vertical space of a tall relief.³⁶ Unless, however, the mirror is a copy of the Spada relief, it would seem that cattle were an integral part of the original composition, as the preserved head of one on the Ludovisi relief also indicates. Two other reliefs, one in Munich, the other in St. Louis, depict a similar group below a rocky ledge with a seated figure above. The St. Louis relief (Fig. 5) is thought to represent Paris on Mt. Ida;³⁷ the figure on the Munich relief is identified as a mountain god or as Polyphemus.³⁸ The depiction of three of the cattle is similar on these two reliefs: two stand with heads to the right and a third at the right faces left with head lowered. Although this third animal might at first seem to be the same as the one on the left of the mirror and of the Spada relief, there is a basic difference. On the last two, the cattle are standing on a steep slope, whereas in the Munich and St. Louis reliefs they stand with lowered heads on flat, or almost flat, ground. The Munich relief has been cited as an example of the kind of composition from which this part of the Spada relief was copied. The St. Louis relief is a further indication that this grouping of cattle was a well-known motif.

The association of Paris and Eros in a Judgement scene is the unusual feature of the depictions on the mirror and the two reliefs (more commonly Eros stands next to Aphrodite), but parallels do exist in both Greek and Roman art. In Greek vase-painting Eros is sometimes depicted leaning on Paris' shoulder, as, for example, on a hydria in Karlsruhe of ca. 420-410 B.C. and on a lekythos in Athens, dated ca. 400 B.C.³⁹ Although Eros is sometimes associated with Paris in South Italian vase-painting, he more frequently attends Aphrodite, and when he is depicted near Paris the relationship is not so close as on the Attic vases.⁴⁰ In Roman art, in addition to the Ludovisi and Spada reliefs and the Missouri mirror, a sarcophagus built into the wall of the Villa Medici in Rome, although now very battered, apparently once had an Eros whispering into Paris' ear, as well as two other Erotes,⁴¹ and a fragmentary marble relief in Berlin preserves the head and torso of Paris and a small figure of Eros hovering at his ear (Fig. 6).⁴² The Eros of the Berlin relief differs from the Eros on the Ludovisi and Spada reliefs and on the mirror, but Paris holds his right hand in the same position.⁴³ Amongst the wall-paintings from Pompeii, several show a bust of Paris with Eros tugging at him, whispering in his ear, or stretching out his hand to encourage him, very like the Attic vase-paintings and the Berlin relief;⁴⁴ but no painted versions of the whole scene of the Judgement exist using this motif. In the surviving Judgement scenes from Pompeii a different tradition is followed. Paris and Hermes are often associated, with Paris seated and Hermes standing next to him; the three goddesses are shown approaching, or standing in a group before Paris.⁴⁵

The Judgement of Paris is not common on smaller objects such as gems, coins and lamps; but when it does appear, surprisingly, the whole scene is often shown, despite the difficulty of fitting all five main figures into a small space. The whole scene is depicted on at least eight gems.⁴⁶ One of these seems to be following the same tradition as the Missouri mirror.⁴⁷ Excerpts from the Judgement are represented on other gems that show Paris and Aphrodite.⁴⁸ On coins, the Judgement occurs only on drachmae minted in Egypt in the second and third centuries, and here the whole scene is preferred.⁴⁹ A terracotta lamp shows the same composition as one of the coins, but reversed.⁵⁰ These examples indicate that there was a tradition of showing the whole scene even on small objects, and that the maker of the mirror chose to depict an excerpt for reasons other than limitations of space.

The discussion thus far has shown that the figures of Paris and Eros are close to the marble reliefs, and that the grouping of cattle on the mirror and on the Spada relief is also similar. Since both the mirror and the Spada relief are excerpts, it is informative

to compare them in other ways. On the mirror the enormous figure of Paris looms over his tiny cattle. If the figures of Paris and Eros are removed, however, it becomes clear that the scene on the mirror shows several of the elements of a sacral-idyllic landscape: a shrine, a statue of a god, an altar, grazing animals, and trees. The group of Paris and Eros seems to have been superimposed on a scene evidently derived from a painting. If the figures of Paris and Eros were reduced in scale and placed in the landscape, the mirror would undoubtedly be considered a copy of a sacral-idyllic landscape painting.⁵¹ It differs from the Spada relief whose figures are all of the same scale and in which there is no attempt to show landscape, although the cows, the rocks, the shrine, and the tree growing through it are an allusion to a pastoral setting.

The source for the Ludovisi and Spada reliefs has often been discussed. Wace thought that the Paris on the Spada relief was "a statue type, probably going back to the same original as the Paris of the Galleria delle Statue in the Vatican."⁵² Other scholars have argued differently,⁵³ but it seems obvious that the Paris on the Spada relief must be discussed in connection with the Ludovisi relief. The consensus on the antecedent of the latter is that it is probably derived from a lost Hellenistic work, presumably a painting.⁵⁴ Although very different in style, the Berlin relief and the wall-paintings with the bust of Paris and Eros whispering in his ear also



Fig. 6. Paris and Eros, relief in the Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, SK 928.

belong to the same tradition. The mirror, however, is so close in certain details that it must be sharing with the Ludovisi and Spada reliefs not just the same tradition but a common ancestor. Can the sacral-idyllic landscape elements of the mirror support the contention that the origin of all of them is a painted work? Has the Ludovisi relief taken its figures from a painting, suppressing the sacral-idyllic landscape, which has survived as a landscape only on the mirror? The maker of the mirror thus has excerpted from the original painting the Paris/Eros group, abandoned the other figures, but retained the shrine, the altar, the trees, and the grazing cattle. The cattle, grouped as on the Spada relief, provide a link from a painted landscape to both works — from painting to Spada, from painting to mirror. Not only do we have in these two excerpts the distinctive Paris/Eros group, but also apparently the grazing cattle of the painted landscape.

The connection to other Roman works is important for dating the Missouri mirror. Since the chronological boundaries of this type of mirror are uncertain,⁵⁵ a date for the mirror depends on stylistic parallels. Certain details — the way Paris sits, the placement of his fingers as he leans his head on his right hand, the stance of Eros — are so close to the Ludovisi and Spada reliefs as to suggest the same date for all three works. With one exception,⁵⁶ the Ludovisi relief has been dated to the second century, the majority of scholars favoring the Hadrianic or early Antonine period.⁵⁷ The Spada relief is usually dated to the late Hadrianic or early Antonine period.⁵⁸ A date ca. A.D. 130-160 may therefore be suggested for the Missouri mirror.⁵⁹ This date accords with the meager evidence for the three mirrors of this type that have a useful excavation context.⁶⁰

NOTES

¹ I wish to express my appreciation to Robert Cohon and Bonna Wescoat for taking the time to read my manuscript and for their helpful comments.

For a brief summary of the development of Roman mirrors see G. Lloyd-Morgan, "The Antecedents and Development of the Roman Hand Mirror," *Papers in Italian Archaeology I: the Lancaster Seminar, BAR Supplementary Series 41, i*, (1978), pp. 227-235, and idem in *A Guide to Etruscan Mirrors*, N. de Grummond, éd. (Tallahassee, 1982), pp. 39-48.

² For analysis of the reflecting surfaces of two mirrors in the Metropolitan Museum of Art see E.J. Milleker, "The Three Graces on a Roman Relief Mirror," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 23 (1988), p. 80, n. 47.

³ The reliefs were made by repoussé technique. First, a thin bronze disc was hammered into one or more metal or stone matrices in which the design had been formed in intaglio. The use of more than one matrix was pointed out, surely correctly, by Milleker for the mirrors she discussed. She suggested that three separate matrices were used for a single mirror, one for the group of the Three Graces with ground line, and one for each of the vases that stand beside the group (Milleker, *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 23 (1988), p. 77). After removal from the matrix, the relief was turned over onto a bed of pitch, details were added by chasing, and the relief was gilded, probably using the fire gilding process. In this technique an amalgam of gold and mercury is applied to the surface of the object to be gilded, or mercury is rubbed onto the surface, and gold leaf applied on top of it. When the object is heated, the mercury evaporates and the gold remains, bonded to the surface. This method leaves traces of mercury in the gold. For a recent discussion of this technique see W.A. Oddy, M.R. Cowell, P.T. Craddock, and D.R. Hook, "The Gilding of Bronze Sculpture in the Classical World," *Small Bronze Sculpture from the Ancient World* (Malibu, 1990), pp. 103-124.

⁴ W. Züchner, *Griechische Klappspiegel* (*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Ergänzungsheft* 14, 1942), pp. 150-152.

⁵ G. Zahlhaas, *Römische Reliefspiegel* (*Kataloge der Prähistorischen Staatssammlung München* no. 17, Kallmünz, 1975). Rev: M. Mackensen, *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter* 40 (1975), pp. 158-159.

⁶ D. Willers, "Vom Etruskischen zum Römischen. Noch einmal zu einem Spiegelrelief in Malibu," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986), pp. 30-32. Willers listed thirty-five additions to Zahlhaas' list, continuing her numbering system, but six of them should probably be excluded from the group. Jucker thought that no. 60 did not belong (See Willers, *Getty Museum Journal* 14 [1986], pp. 31-32.); nos. 64-68 are different types. Note also that no. 61, a mirror with Apollo and Daphne, is in the Kerameikos Museum, Athens, not the Agora Museum, and is now published in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* III (1986) s.v. Daphne, no. 38; no. 39 equals W. Hornbostel et al., *Kunst der Antike: Schätze aus norddeutschem Privatbesitz* (Mainz, 1977), no. 69, not no. 72; nos. 43 and 58 are only mentioned by Hornbostel, not illustrated, and no. 48 is illustrated below, not above, in Hornbostel, *Aus Gräbern und Heiligtümern, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe* (Mainz, 1980), p. 273.

⁷ Milleker, *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 23 (1988), pp. 69-81. See p. 78, n. 4, nos. 1 - 6 and p. 81, appendix, nos. 1, 5, 7 and 11 for ten additional mirrors. Note that her n. 4, no. 5 and p. 81, appendix, no. 6 were recently on the art market (*Art of the Ancient World*, Royal-Athena Galleries, no. 68, vol. 7, part 1 (1992), nos. 154 and 153). No. 154, however, looks like a mirror listed by Zahlhaas as once in the Bardo National Museum, Tunis (Zahlhaas, *Reliefspiegel*, no. 27).

Since Milleker's article was published additional mirrors have appeared: (1) Erotic scene, D. 10.6 cm, Numismatic Fine Arts Classical Auctions, Inc., December 11, 1991, no. 126; (2) Venus and Adonis, D. 10.1 cm, The Art Museum, Princeton University (y1990-48); *Earth and Metal*, no. 120, Fortuna Fine Arts, Ltd., 1990; *Record of The Art Museum, Princeton University* 50 (1991), p. 60; (3) Artemis with hound, Paris art market, 1990; (4) Herakles in an architectural setting, Paris art market, 1990; (5) Venus, Day Foundation, Memphis. I thank J. Robert Guy for informing me about nos. 3-5.

⁸ *Reliefspiegel*, pp. 67-68.

⁹ *Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986), p. 33.

¹⁰ Zahlhaas, *Reliefspiegel*, pp. 38-43, 63-65, 71. She based an origin in the Flavian period on mirror no. 15 (p. 56, pl.17) which contains an imperial portrait, that is possibly Flavian. Mackensen in *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter* 40 (1975), p. 159 placed the inspiration for the beginning of the series in the Trajanic period, later than the Flavian origin suggested by Zahlhaas. He pointed out that the portrait is closer to coin types of Trajan.

¹¹ *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 23 (1988), p. 77. She notes inconsistencies in the individual dating of similar mirrors.

¹² C. Vermeule, "Roman Pictorial Mirrors," *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin* 14 (1980), p. 25.

¹³ G. Lloyd-Morgan in *Etruscan Mirrors*, p. 43 and *Description of the Collections in the Rijksmuseum G.M.Kam at Nijmegen*, IX, *The Mirrors* (Nijmegen, 1981), p. 88 favored the first century for the manufacture of the type, her group T. She dismissed Zahlhaas' dating, but her own reasons for placing the group in the first century are less than convincing. Apart from the possible Flavian portrait on mirror no. 15 (on which see n. 10 above), she referred to an example in Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum no. N12264, which has a handle that can be dated before A.D. 79. The mirror is not illustrated nor is a publication reference given, but if it has a handle it does not belong to the group, one of whose characteristics is the absence of a handle. Willers in *Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986), pp. 32-34 also pointed out inconsistencies in the individual dating of similar mirrors but favored a date around 100 B.C. for the start of the series.

¹⁴ Although seven of the nine North African mirrors were excavated (Zahlhaas, *Reliefspiegel*, nos. 3, 8, 11, 13, 16, 27, 28), the publications provide almost no information about the context. Only for one, no. 13, is a list given of the contents of the tomb where the mirror was found; otherwise provenance is mentioned only briefly. Mirror no. 10 from Philippopolis was found in a tomb in a cemetery dated by coins to the second-fourth centuries (*Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare* 1 [1921], p. 60 English summary, pp. 45-46 description of tomb and finds, in Bulgarian). A mirror found on Cyprus in 1984 comes from a Hellenistic tomb reused by the Romans and containing several burials. One hundred and forty objects were recovered, but the publication does not state whether the mirror was found with an identifiable burial group (*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 108 [1984], p. 908, fig. 47; W.A. Daszewski, *Proceedings of the Seventh British Museum Classical Colloquium, April 1988*, p. 126, n. 38; Milleker, n. 4, no. 3).

¹⁵ A.M. Mansel, "Grabhügelforschung im östlichen Thrakien," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1941, col. 150.

¹⁶ A.V. Radulescu, El. Coman, C. Stavru, "Un sarcofago di età romana scoperto nella necropoli tumulara di Callatis (Mangalia)," *Pontica* 6 (1973), p. 265.

¹⁷ *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1942, col. 240; *Lexikon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* III (1986) s.v. Daphne, no. 38; Willers, *Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986), no. 61. The mirror will be included in a forthcoming article by Dr. Karin Braun, who kindly informed me about the contents of the grave.

¹⁸ Willers in *Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986), p. 33 pointed this out in connection with mirror no. 30, although the evidence he cited to show that East Thracian tombs often contain objects that are not homogeneous is not totally convincing. A pair of silver cups discussed by L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford ("Les vases en argent à échassiers conservés à Istanbul," *Mélanges Mansel* 1 [Ankara, 1974], pp. 335-343) shows signs of use but is dated to the Augustan period, close to the date proposed by Mansel for the tomb, i.e. before A.D. 45. However, Willers may be correct that mirror no. 30 is an heirloom, although there is no proof for this mirror, or for the other two found in graves.

More conclusive evidence for dating this type of mirror may come from the recent discovery in the Chersonesos of two molds for matrices for mirrors of this type, to be published by Dr. Michail Treister in the *Acts of the XIth International Colloquium on Classical Bronzes, Madrid, May 1990* and in *Archaeologia*, in Ukrainian with English and Russian summaries. The molds apparently date to A.D. 87-88.

¹⁹ Milleker discussed eleven mirrors depicting the Three Graces, nine of which are similar to each other, differing only in details such as the types of vases shown on each side of the group (*Metropolitan Museum Journal* 23 [1988], pp. 69-81).

²⁰ Acc. no. 77.124. Gift of Professor and Mrs. Chester G. Starr in memory of Dean Thomas A. Brady. D. 10.5 cm. Part of relief at right edge missing; smaller areas missing throughout; gilding worn; reflecting surface encrusted. *Muse* 11 (1977), p. 3, fig. 3; *Art Journal* 37 (1978), p. 261; Willers, *Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986), p. 31, no. 57; Vermeule, "Roman Pictorial Mirrors," p. 37.

²¹ Paris' arms appear to be bare. This is unusual in depictions of oriental garb in Graeco-Roman art. As well as the long trousers, bonnet and cloak, figures such as Paris, Attis, Ganymede, Mithras and Orpheus normally wear either a long-sleeved, double-belted tunic, or a sleeveless tunic with a single belt, over a long-sleeved undergarment. See R.M. Schneider, *Bunte Barbaren, Orientalenstatuen aus farbigem Marmor in der römischen Repräsentationskunst* (Worms, 1986), p. 19.

²² The crook is rather more spindly than the usual representation of the *pedum*.

²³ There is not enough detail to distinguish the object held in the right hand, which might have enabled identification of the deity, nor is the stance peculiar to any particular god.

²⁴ I owe this observation to Dr. Wescoat, who felt that the artist's manipulation of scale was an interesting aspect of the mirror.

²⁵ The reference to Strife and the apple does not occur in the literature before the second century after Christ (Hyginus, *Fabulae* 92; Mary Grant ed., *The Myths of Hyginus* [Lawrence, Kansas, 1960], pp. 82-83).

²⁶ For depictions in ancient art see Ch. Clairmont, *Das Parisurteil in der antiken Kunst* (Zürich, 1951); I. Raab, *Zu den Darstellungen des Parisurteils in der griechischen Kunst* (Frankfurt/Bern, 1972). Reviews of Clairmont: L.B. Ghali-Kahil, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 76 (1952), pp. 661-663; D. von Bothmer, *American Journal of Archaeology* 57 (1953), pp. 138-140; R. Hampe, *Gnomon* 26 (1954), pp. 545-551; J. Boardman, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 74 (1954), pp. 231-232.

²⁷ E.-L.I. Marangou, *Lakonische Elfenbein- und Beinschnitzereien* (Tübingen, 1969), pp. 97-98, 107-110, figs. 78 a, c; for the scene on the Chigi vase see T. Rasmussen in *Looking at Greek Vases*, T. Rasmussen and N. Spivey, eds. (Cambridge, 1991), p. 61, figs. 23, 24.

²⁸ Clairmont, *Urteil*, K1-K202; K203-K231. See also L. Bonfante, *Studi etruschi* 45 (1977), pp. 154-155 and n. 18 for Etruscan mirrors.

²⁹ Clairmont, *Urteil*, K235-K288.

³⁰ See M. Comstock, C. Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Bronzes* (Boston, 1971), no. 400A; Vermeule, "Roman Pictorial Mirrors," p. 30, fig. 3 for a mirror thought to be possibly part of the Judgement, which more probably represents Minerva, Venus and Persephone in a landscape setting (Zahlhaas, *Reliefspiegel*, nos. 5-8).

³¹ Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Inv. 8563, H. 1.10 m., L. 2.20. B. Palma and L. de Lachenal, *Museo Nazionale Romano, Le Sculture I, 5, I Marmi Ludovisi nel Museo Nazionale Romano*, A. Giuliano, ed. (Rome, 1983), pp. 152-156, no. 65, with earlier bibliography.

³² For Oinone see E. Zahn, "Oinone," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1983, pp. 585-592.

³³ As Dr. Wescoat pointed out (personal correspondence), the tree behind Paris is, however, in the same relationship to him on the Ludovisi relief as is the right-hand tree on the mirror, and on both relief and mirror a goat is present to the right of the group, albeit in a different position.

³⁴ For a recent reference with earlier bibliography see S. Lehmann, "Die Reliefs im Palazzo Spada und ihre Ergänzungen," in *Antikenzeichnung und Antikenstudium in Renaissance und Frühbarock. Akten des internationalen Symposions, 8.-10. September 1986 in Coburg*, R. Horprath and H. Wrede, eds. (Mainz, 1989), pp. 221-263.

³⁵ For restorations see T. Schreiber, *Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder* (Leipzig, 1894), pl. IX; P. Zanker in W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom II* (Tübingen, 1966), p. 757; Lehmann, *Reliefs*, pp. 246-247, fig. 42.

³⁶ A.J.B. Wace, "The Reliefs in the Palazzo Spada," *Papers of the British School of Archaeology at Rome* 5 (1910), p. 189; Zanker in Helbig, *Führer*, pp. 757-758.

³⁷ St. Louis Art Museum, Acc. no. 75.42, H. 34 cm, W. 46.7 cm, Th. 8.8 cm, marble. *The St. Louis Art Museum Handbook of the Collection* (St. Louis, 1975), p. 44; C.C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America* (Malibu, 1981), p. 234, no. 195, dated late first or early second century.

³⁸ A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek* (Munich, 1900), p. 247, no. 251, "mountain god"; J. Sampson, "Theodor Schreiber's Hellenistische Reliefbilder," *Papers of the British School of Archaeology at Rome* 42 (1974), p. 35, no. 75, "Polyphemus"; D. Ohly, *Glyptothek München, griechische und römische Skulpturen* (Munich, 1981), p. 107, Room XIII, no. 13, "mountain god."

³⁹ Karlsruhe 259, J.D. Beazley, *Athic Red-figure Vase-painters*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1963), p. 1315, no. 1; idem, *Paralipomena*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1971), p. 477; T.H. Carpenter, *Beazley Addenda*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1989), p. 362. Lekythos, Athens C.C. 1942, Clairmont, *Urteil*, K173. On a fragmentary Attic red-figure pyxis lid (Clairmont, *Urteil*, K175) Eros leans on Paris' shoulder, but Paris does not turn his head toward him.

⁴⁰ A.D. Trendall and A. Cambitoglou, *The Red-figured Vases of Apulia*, I and II (Oxford, 1978, 1982), p. 169, no. 30, pl. 55, 1-2 (Eros hovers in the field above Paris); p. 535, no. 294 (fragment with head of Paris and flying youth [Eros] to right).

⁴¹ G. Koch and H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage, Handbuch der Archäologie* (Munich, 1982), p. 172. The Eros figure behind Paris is broken away, and the relief is difficult to see, since it is built into the villa high up on the garden facade, but there is a protuberance on Paris' right back, and the surface there seems rough as if the marble is broken. There are also possible traces of Eros' wing. Paris does not, however, have his head turned over his shoulder toward Eros.

⁴² *Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen mit Ausschluss der Pergamenischen Fundstücke* (Berlin, 1891), p. 377, no. 928 (illustrated).

⁴³ A fragmentary relief showing a seated figure in Phrygian costume has been identified as also from a scene of the Judgement, but the position of the hand, which is unlike that of the Spada and Ludovisi figures of Paris, supports Vermeule's argument, based mainly on the figure's pose (to the right with head turned back to the left), that it more likely belongs to a relief showing two captive Phrygian barbarians. For identification as Paris see Clairmont, *Urteil*, K247; C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs II* (Berlin, 1890), pp. 18-19, pl. 5, 15. For identification as a barbarian see C. Vermeule and D. von Bothmer, "Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis: Ancient Marbles in Great Britain. Part Three: 2," *American Journal of Archaeology* 63 (1959), p. 332, pl. 82, fig. 39; Vermeule, *Sir John Soane's Museum, Catalogue of the Classical Antiquities*, 1 (Boston, 1975), pp. 332-333, no. 302. I thank Cornelius Vermeule for the reference to the earlier article.

⁴⁴ W. Helbig, *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* (Leipzig, 1868), nos. 1271-1278, 1287.

⁴⁵ Clairmont, *Urteil*, K257-K258, K260-K262. For those not listed in Clairmont see K. Schefold, *Die Wände Pompejis* (Berlin, 1957), pp. 67, 73, 133, 208, 211(?).

⁴⁶ Clairmont, *Urteil*, K282-K287; J. Overbeck, *Die Bildwerke zum thebischen und troischen Heldenkreis* (Stuttgart, 1857), no. 90, pl. XI, 6; *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen* (hereafter AGDS) I, 3 (Munich, 1972), p. 92, no. 2707. Hampe, *Gnomon* 26 (1954), p. 546, thought that four of the gems listed by Clairmont (K284-K287) should have been omitted since, as Clairmont noted, their antiquity is questionable. On the other hand, Clairmont K287, a gem with Paris, Hermes and the three goddesses, is accepted as genuine by Antje Krug (AGDS I, 3, p. 92, comparisons for no. 2707).

⁴⁷ The onyx in Florence (Overbeck, *Bildwerke*, no. 90, pl. XI, 6) shows Paris seated left with Eros standing behind him. The three goddesses stand on the left with Hermes between them and Paris. Cattle may be shown in the exergue.

⁴⁸ AGDS IV (Wiesbaden, 1975), no. 964 (with references to other gems with the same subject); *Description of the Collection in the Rijksmuseum G.M. Kam at Nijmegen*, X, *The Engraved Gems* (Nijmegen, 1986), no. 156. Other gems depict the head of Paris, or Paris standing alone (AGDS II, no. 210, early 5th c. B.C.; AGDS III [Wiesbaden, 1970], nos. 265, 266?; Clairmont, *Urteil*, K288), but these are not necessarily connected with the Judgement, or may not depict Paris, and in some cases may in fact be female heads (E. Zwierlein-Diehl, *Glaspasten im Martin-von-Wagner-Museum der Universität Würzburg* [Munich, 1968], p. 78, no. 79).

⁴⁹ Clairmont, *Urteil*, K276-K281; C.W.A. Carlson, "The Judgment of Paris on Drachmae of Roman Egypt," *Journal of the Society for Ancient Numismatics* 5 (1973-74), pp. 61-62, and "Judgment of Paris Drachmae," *ibid.* 6 (1975), pp. 40-42.

⁵⁰ *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*, ser. 6, 12 (1936), p. 391, fig. 20.

⁵¹ Cf. C.L. Raghianti, *Pittori di Pompei* (Milan, 1963), pl. 95; E. Strong, *Art in Ancient Rome*, II (New York, 1928), fig. 384; E.L. Wadsworth, "Stucco Reliefs of the First and Second Centuries Still Extant in Rome," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 4 (1924), pl. 30. For discussion of the characteristics of sacral-idyllic painting see S.R. Silberberg, *A Corpus of the Sacral-idyllic Landscape Paintings in Roman Art* (Ann Arbor, 1981).

³² Wace, "Palazzo Spada," p. 189.

³³ R.M. Carra, "Il rilievo di Paride ed Eros," *Bollettino d'arte* 53 (1968), pp. 178-183, thought the origin for the Spada relief was to be found in the Meidias Painter School (see n. 39 above) and followed Becatti in thinking that the Meidias Painter School version was based on a lost painting by Parrhasios. For earlier (pre-1968) theories about the Spada relief see Carra, p. 182, n. 2. Hellenistic painting or relief work from Alexandria, a pre-Augustan, an Augustan source, an eclectic work, a Hadrianic origin have all been proposed. C.A. Brokaw, "A New Approach to Roman Pictorial Relief," *Marsyas* 2 (1942), pp. 27-28, felt that the Spada relief, although carved later than the time of Pompeian painting, uses motives found in such painting. Its composition, however, is related to painting of a later period.

³⁴ See G. Cultrera, *Saggi sull'arte ellenistica e greco-romana* (Rome, 1907), pp. 181-188; P. Montuoro, "Osservazioni intorno a un rilievo con giudizio di Paride nella collezione Ludovisi," *Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti* 33 (1924), pp. 227-239; R. Paribeni, *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano*, 4th ed. (Rome, 1922), no. 58; A. Adriani, *Divagazioni intorno ad una coppa paesistica del Museo di Alessandria* (Rome, 1959), pp. 33-34, 73-74, n. 176. Lachenal in the latest catalogue of the Ludovisi Collection offers no opinion (Palma, *Marmi Ludovisi*, p. 155).

³⁵ See pp. 31, 33 above.

³⁶ C.C. van Essen, "Per la cronologia della scultura romana," *Archeologia classica* 7 (1955), pp. 50-53, who dates the Ludovisi relief to A.D. 45-55, clearly much too early.

³⁷ See Montuoro, "Osservazioni," p. 251, ca. A.D. 130-160; J. Sieveking, "Das römische Relief" in *Festschrift Paul Arndt* (Munich, 1925), p. 34, early Antonine; Clairmont, *Urteil*, K239, Hadrianic to early Antonine; Carra, *Bollettino d'arte* 53 (1968), p. 180, Hadrianic; Helbig, *Führer* III (Tübingen, 1969), p. 255, no. 2336, "Frühzeit der Sarkophagkunst"; H. Sichtermann and G. Koch, *Griechische Mythen auf römischen Sarkophagen* (Tübingen, 1975), p. 55, before mid-second century; idem, *Römische Sarkophage*, pp. 172, 264, A.D. ca. 170-200; Palma, *Marmi Ludovisi*, p. 155, Hadrianic.

³⁸ F. Wickhoff, *Roman Art* (English trans., London/New York, 1900), p. 36 n., Antonine; Wace, "Palazzo Spada," p. 198, ca. A.D. 160; J.M.C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School* (Cambridge, 1934), p. xxx, Hadrianic; Brokaw, *Marsyas* 2 (1942), p. 27, "not Pompeian but later"; Helbig, *Führer* II (Zanker), (Munich, 1966), p. 766, early Antonine, copies of Hadrianic works; Carra, *Bollettino d'arte* 53 (1968), p. 182, Hadrianic to Antonine; N.B. Kampen, "Observations on the Ancient Uses of the Spada Reliefs," *L'Antiquité classique* 48 (1979), p. 583, n. 1 for bibliography, p. 584 and n. 4, summary of dating of Spada reliefs; R. Brilliant, *Visual Narratives* (Ithaca, NY, 1984), p. 83, accepts a late Hadrianic or early Antonine date.

³⁹ The Pompeian paintings with the theme of Eros whispering to Paris are apparently not close stylistically to the mirror or the Spada and Ludovisi reliefs. This assessment is, however, based on only one example, Helbig no. 1271, now in the Naples Museum. The other paintings listed by Helbig are still in Pompeii and destroyed or not easily accessible. The Berlin relief is undated.

⁴⁰ See pp. 31, 33 above.

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THREE EARLY BYZANTINE ORNAMENTS

BARBARA DEPPERT-LIPPITZ

Silver and gold jewelry played an important role in the expansion of Roman/Late Antique metalworking techniques and in the decorative repertoire of Byzantine art. An interesting group of Byzantine jewelry -- two silver bracelets and a gold medallion -- formed an important addition to the collection when acquired by the Museum of Art and Archaeology in 1968.¹ The three objects are said to have been found in a tomb in Hebron (Palestine).

The bracelets are quite similar in type and in certain details, but they differ in size, decoration and technique. Each is composed of a broad flat hoop, the ends of which are concealed by a medallion-like circular plaque, or roundel. The hoop of bracelet A (Fig. 1) consists of a solid frame made of strong silver wires, circular in section, which enclose filigree decoration — two parallel rows of somewhat heart-shaped double C-volutes facing a rope braid made of twisted wires. Each volute is formed of flat wires, producing a delicate, lace-like impression, although the whole construction is, in fact, quite solid. The double C-volute pattern is repeated on the roundel, where it is encircled by a rope braid and forms the main element of the roundel's decorative border. The roundel encloses a gilded circular plaque on which is the repoussé figure of an eagle with outspread wings, head turned to the left, holding a leafy branch in its spurs.

Bracelet B is similarly constructed but slightly smaller (Figs. 2 and 3), and it has a larger circular plaque. The hoop consists of a strip of silver sheet in openwork with



Fig. 1. Silver and gilt bracelet with filigree hoop (A).



Fig. 2. Silver and gilt bracelet with openwork scroll (B).

additional engraving, and it is reinforced on both sides by a molded rim. It features a carefully composed vegetal scroll with integrated animals, birds, leaves and miniature scenes extended along the length of the hoop. (This is called, in the literature, a “peopled” or “inhabited” scroll.) The scroll consists of a single stem or vine, with whorls that curl into roundels. The circular plaque to which both ends of the hoop are fastened displays an outer border composed of double C-volutes, similar to the one on bracelet A, with the slight difference that it is also framed by twisted wire cables on the inner border. The gilded center, surrounded by a dotted line, is decorated with an eight-pointed star in repoussé, formed by two squares, one superimposed obliquely on the other and both intertwined. Framed within it is an eagle spreading its wings, facing front, with head turned to the left. The star is formed of double dotted lines while the spaces between are filled with raised dots.

Bracelets like these, composed of flat hoops combined with a separately made circular plaque, are the leading standard type of the Late Antique and Early Byzantine periods.² Unlike our examples, where the plaques are fastened rigidly and hide the ends of the hoop, the central element is usually set between the ends of the hoop and joined by hinges, thus allowing the hoop to be opened. It is unlikely that the creator of our bracelets, who could master so many different techniques, was not able to make hinges. We must therefore assume that the two bracelets are examples of the artist’s own particular concept of the basic type. In fact, these bracelets seem to add another version to the remarkable range of interpretations of the standard type, which includes elaborate works like the pearl- and gem-encrusted bracelets from the so-called Assiut hoard,³ as well as comparatively flimsy examples made from sheet gold.⁴



A noteworthy aspect of bracelet B is the stylistic discrepancy between the decoration of the hoop and that of the circular plaque. On bracelet A, the double C-volute border of the plaque repeats the ornamental pattern of the hoop, and creates a stylistic homogeneity between these elements. In contrast, there is no relation — either stylistic or technical or ornamental — between the plaque and the hoop of bracelet B. Possibly the plaque is not the original one but was added later to match bracelet A. This conjecture is supported not only by the lack of stylistic cohesion but by the fact that the plaque is attached upside down. At first glance, the double C-volutes decorating the hoop of one of our bracelets and the plaques of both do not attract much attention. They are, however, a significant decorative device which enjoyed great popularity with Late Roman and Early Byzantine goldsmiths. Introduced in the early third century, they continued to appear on goldwork of the fourth and fifth centuries. C-volutes are the characteristic decoration on a particular kind of Late Roman fibula, the so-called “crossbow” type.⁵ These are well known from numerous examples in bronze and gilded bronze, even in gold, and also from representations such as that on the diptych from Monza.⁶ Filigree disks composed of C-volutes and a beaded edging are the most common type of clasp for necklaces during the Early Byzantine period.⁷

In contrast to the abstract design of bracelet A, bracelet B features a more naturalistic theme. The “inhabited” or “peopled” scroll is a decorative device that can be traced back to the Hellenistic period, while it achieved its full flowering in Roman art and continued to enjoy great popularity during the Early Byzantine period.⁸ It is often found on wall-paintings and in architectural decoration. Peopled scrolls are a favorite subject for mosaics at this time, but the motif is also well documented in other kinds of decorative art.⁹ It has been suggested that the minor arts were an important factor in its continuation.¹⁰ Variations of the theme include the vine scroll with wine-making putti and the scroll animated with hunting scenes. Both are favorite subjects in Late Roman art.

Fig. 3. Extended drawing of bracelet B, showing scroll with figures. Drawing by John Huffstot.



Fig. 4. Gold bracelet with openwork scroll. Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California, 83.AM.2273, late 4th century. Photo courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum.

Several gold bracelets in openwork with peopled scrolls are known at other sites. On a bangle in the treasure from Ténès, dated to ca. A.D. 400, vine leaves and doves are integrated into an undulating scroll.¹¹ The circular hoop of an openwork bracelet in the so-called treasure from Desana (Italy), dated to the late fifth century, features a vine scroll with leaves and grapes, dividing the surface into semicircular sections, each enclosing a vintage scene or a bird pecking at a grape.¹² On a similar bracelet of unknown provenance, now in the British Museum, four genre scenes of vintage and hunting are integrated into a scroll-work background.¹³ On a bracelet belonging to a late fourth-century treasure, now in the Getty Museum, a carefully composed openwork frieze of a floral scroll is interrupted by miniature hunting scenes (Fig. 4).¹⁴ All these bracelets show different interpretations of the same basic theme; it is unclear whether the differences should be explained as the work of a number of contemporary workshops or whether they reflect a chronological development.

A remarkable feature of the inhabited scroll of bracelet B is a certain regularity in the arrangement of scroll-fillers. Starting at the right of the circular plaque, the first whorl contains a large vine leaf, which seems to indicate that the scroll is meant to represent a vine. The second whorl encloses a long-legged animal with head turned backward — probably a dog — in front of a branch and a leaf. In the third whorl is a bird, the head turned backward. The long beak suggests a crane. The fourth loop repeats the vine leaf, while the fifth displays a bear, its forelegs resting on a branch. The sixth and central whorl encloses a human figure holding a large bird with both hands. This figure appears to form a group with the figure in the next whorl, who faces left and holds an unidentified object in his outstretched hands. The next two whorls repeat the vine leaf and the bird; the latter is followed by a dog in front of an

apple tree. The last two whorls repeat the bird and the vine leaf. The meaning of the two central scenes with human figures is unclear. Perhaps the vine leaves, birds and animals are meant to indicate that the scenes are set in the country.

The dominant elements of the bracelets are the circular plaques with their repoussé gilded centers and rich filigree borders. Both plaques feature an eagle, although with significant variations. On bracelet A the king of birds is shown in a three-quarter view with raised head and lifted wings. Details like the beak, the fine plumage on the body and the feathers of the wings and tail are rendered with great care.

Bracelet B offers a rather stiff, heraldic eagle, presenting a full frontal view of the bird with open wings, the head shown in profile. Similar representations of the eagle appear quite often in the Roman period and are usually interpreted as symbols of the Roman empire. For later examples (not very numerous), a Christian interpretation of the eagle as the victorious Christ is tempting.¹⁵ It is, however, more likely that the eagles on our bracelets are only decorative elements.¹⁶ A most interesting detail is the octagonal star on the plaque of bracelet B. It recalls the back of a repoussé plaque of a bracelet belonging to a hoard found at Varna (Bulgaria),¹⁷ dated to the late fifth or early sixth century. On this plaque a similar octagon encloses a standing bird. The octagonal star formed by two squares is a decorative device used in Roman art from the Early Imperial period onward.¹⁸ Like other intricate geometric motives, it was particularly popular during the third and fourth centuries. A remarkable example of the use of the octagonal star occurs even in the late fifth-early sixth century. It is the central decoration of a large silver dish found in the Sutton Hoo Ship Burial, and contains the figure of a bird, possibly an eagle, spreading its wings.¹⁹

The little gold medallion (Fig. 5), said to have been found together with the two bracelets, is a circular plaque with a beaded border attached to the edge and a ring soldered to each side, the joins reinforced by gold granules. The center of the medallion is decorated in repoussé with a male bust, the



Fig. 5. Gold medallion with bust of an emperor in relief (C).

head turned to the right, surrounded by a beaded border, also in repoussé. A diadem and a large fibula on the right shoulder leave no doubt that this is meant to be an emperor. A mock inscription is impressed on both sides of the head. Although the medallion does not seem to be a direct copy, it was obviously meant to give the impression of a mounted coin. The bust recalls Early Byzantine coin portraits in general, but the emperor cannot be identified.

The use of coins for jewelry started in the late second or early third century. Gold coins, gilded silver coins and imitations of coins were mounted on finger rings, bracelets and pendants. In Early Byzantine jewelry, figural decoration in repoussé is sometimes achieved by stamping coins or medallions onto gold sheet. Equally common is the imitation of a coin impression.²⁰ In all probability our small medallion was part of a necklace or a belt, the two rings serving as links.

Typological and stylistic comparisons suggest a fifth-sixth century date for the two bracelets as well as for the medallion. The bracelets may well have been worn as a pair. The tomb obviously was that of a wealthy woman, who probably possessed other objects, now lost.

NOTES

¹ Acc. no. 68.175 A-C. Chorn Memorial Fund. Dimensions: Bracelet A, D. 8.1, width of hoop 2.1, D. plaque 1.1 cm. Bracelet B, D. 7.7, width of hoop 2.5, D. plaque 3.8 cm. Medallion (C), D. 3.1 cm, weight 4.3 grams. *Muse* 3 (1969), p. 11, illus.

² Cf. C. Lepage, "Les bracelets de luxe romains et byzantins du II^e au VI^e siècle: Etude de la forme et de la structure," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 21 (1974), p. 14, figs. 22, 24, 26.

³ K.R. Brown in *Age of Spirituality, Catalogue of the Exhibition at The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1977-1978*, K. Weitzmann, ed. (New York, 1979), no. 300, with further references.

⁴ Cf. M.C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks collection, Vol. II, Jewelry, Enamels and Art of The Migration Period* (Washington, 1965), no. 2 A, pl. VI.

⁵ E. Keller, "Die spätrömischen Grabfunde in Südbayern," *Münchener Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 8 (1971), pls. 55, 56.

⁶ Cf. B. Küllerich and H. Torp, "Hic est: hic Stilicho. The Date and Interpretation of a Notable Diptych," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 104 (1989), pp. 319-371, with further references.

⁷ Cf. M.C. Ross, *Catalogue*, nos. 6, 7, 11.

⁸ J.M.C. Toynbee and J.B. Ward-Perkins, "Peopled Scrolls: A Hellenistic Motif in Imperial Art," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 18 (1950), pp. 1-43, pls. 1-26; E. Kitzinger, *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1976), p. 71; C. Dauphin, "Byzantine Pattern Books: A Re-examination of the Problem in the Light of the 'Inhabited Scroll,'" *Art History* I, 4 (1978), pp. 400-423.

⁹ Cf. the limestone lintel: *Muse* 2 (1968), p. 5; *Age of Spirituality*, no. 146.

¹⁰ Toynbee and Ward-Perkins, "Peopled Scrolls," p. 42.

¹¹ K. Brown, "A Note on the Morgan Bracelets in The Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Byzantine Studies* 9, Pt. 1 (1982), pp. 49-51, fig. 2.

¹² V. Bierbrauer, *Die ostgotischen Grab- und Schatzfunde in Italien* (Spoleto, 1975), pl. XVII, 2.

¹³ F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, in the Department of Antiquities, British Museum* (London, 1911), no. 2817; C. Lepage, "Bracelets," p. 15, fig. 24; J. Heurgon, *Le Trésor de Ténès*, pl. 26, 4.

¹⁴ B. Deppert-Lippitz, "A Group of Late Antique Jewelry in the Getty Museum," *Occasional Papers on Antiquities* 8 (Malibu, 1993), pp. 120-121, figs. 12 a - c, (D. 6.3 cm).

¹⁵ Cf. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* I (Paris, 1907), pt. I, cols 1036-1038; J.P. Kirsch, "L'aigle sur les monuments figurés de l'antiquité chrétienne," *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétienne* 3 (1913), pp. 112-126. Cf. also R. Wittkower, "Eagle and Serpent," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 2 (1938/9), pp. 293-325.

¹⁶ Cf. R. Newbold, "The Chalice of Antioch," *American Journal of Archaeology* 29 (1925), p. 360.

¹⁷ *Age of Spirituality*, no. 299 with further references; for the hoard see D.I. Dimitrov, "Un trésor en or byzantin de la basse époque de Varna," *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique à Varna* 14 (1963), pp. 65-79.

¹⁸ Cf. F. Baratte in H.A. Cahn and A. Kaufmann-Heinimann, *Der spätromische Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst, Basler Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte* 9 (Basel, 1984), pp. 191-192, with further references.

¹⁹ R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial: a Handbook*, Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, British Museum 3rd ed. (London, 1979), p. 99, pls. 49-51, 76.

²⁰ Cf. for instance the bracelet M.C. Ross, *Catalogue*, no. 2 A.

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AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY COLLABORATION: FRAGONARD, ROBERT AND THE ABBÉ SAINT-NON

PATRICIA CROWN

Some of the complexities of art production in the mid-eighteenth century are exemplified by the relationship of two French prints acquired by the Museum of Art and Archaeology of the University of Missouri. Hubert Robert's *Gardens with a Classical Fountain*, an etching with aquatint by the abbé Jean Claude Richard de Saint-Non in 1767, and Jean Honoré Fragonard's *The Little Park*, etched by Fragonard himself circa 1763, are the products of three men: two professional artists and an art patron who was also an enthusiastic printmaker.¹ Fragonard's etching is after one of his own drawings and thus is an "original" print, that is, one drawn and executed by the artist and not copied from another's work. Saint-Non's etching is a reproductive or interpretive print after a drawing made by Robert, and purchased or otherwise acquired by Saint-Non. The distinction between original and reproductive prints was somewhat less important in the eighteenth century than it became in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; the cult of originality was only beginning to flourish.² There were economic reasons for eighteenth-century artists to cede or dilute some of their putative uniqueness. The number and importance of prints increased during the period as art collecting, art travel, art commerce, the trade in antiquities and historical artifacts of all kinds increased. Books illustrated with prints were a means of diffusing the rococo style in general, as were prints of designs for interior decoration, pavilions, fountains (usually fanciful), furniture and views of gardens, issued separately or collected into volumes.³ Robert and Fragonard knew that prints made after their drawings would be published or otherwise promulgated by the wealthy and influential Saint-Non. Prints could function as a kind of advertisement for the artist's other more ambitious or expensive productions, such as paintings.

The drawings after which these prints were made were produced in 1759-1761 when Robert and Fragonard were in Italy together with Saint-Non. At various times the men travelled together, resided together at the Villa d'Este, and were part of the international artistic circles that formed in Rome and other Italian capitals in the middle of the eighteenth century. The subjects are inspired by aspects of Italian landscape and architecture, but do not reproduce the appearance of any specific

place. Both display liveliness of surface and intricacy of linear design made more intricate by a subtle and variegated pattern of chiaroscuro. The human figures are very small in comparison to the trees, architecture, and sky. These are all typical features of the rococo style, as is the illusion that the drawings were executed spontaneously, without the intellectual and time-consuming effort required for planned composition or careful finish. Spontaneity is one of the chief myths perpetuated about the rococo style, and cherished most by those who at the same time insist on the style's artificiality, a word which implies calculation. Rococo artists did cultivate the appearance of graceful ease in their work, of the effortless associated with the natural flow of inspiration. Both Robert and Fragonard display these qualities in their works.

The two artists knew each other, worked side by side and drew from the same motifs. They were proximate contemporaries who had received their professional training in Paris. Fragonard had studied (futilely, for a short time) with Chardin, and then very fruitfully with Boucher. Robert's education was first for an ecclesiastical career, an education that included some Classical learning; subsequently he studied art with René Michel Slodtz, a member of a dynasty of French sculptors. Neither artist ever studied at the Royal Academy. This point must be stressed because of the importance usually and understandably attributed to the Academy's role in all aspects of eighteenth-century French art, and in view of the two artists' subsequent careers both within and outside the Academy. Fragonard became a pupil at the *École Royale des Élèves Protégés*, a school created to complete the instruction of future masters of French painting before they left for Rome. Thus, Fragonard studied in an academic institution only *after* he had won an important academic distinction: the *Grand Prix de l'Académie Royale de Peinture*, i.e. the *Prix de Rome*. This was a travelling fellowship enabling and requiring its holder to study in Italy under the auspices of the French Academy.⁴

In 1760 Fragonard stayed with Saint-Non at the Villa d'Este in Tivoli, which Saint-Non had rented for the summer. The villa was set in extensive and profusely overgrown gardens and parks. Fragonard made numerous studies and finished drawings of these gardens and of views from them. *The Little Park* (Fig. 1), probably executed in Paris after Fragonard's return from Italy, is based upon a slight red chalk sketch made at the villa.⁵ Because of the remarkable similarities of subject, style and materials employed by Robert and Fragonard at this time, it has long been supposed that both artists stayed at the Villa d'Este. There exists at least one identifiable view



Fig. 1. Abbé Jean Claude Richard de Saint-Non, *Garden with a Classical Fountain*, (91.275), gift of Museum Associates.

of the garden by Robert from this period. While there are no documents to prove their simultaneous residence, it is evident that the artists and Saint-Non were all in close working contact during the summer of 1760.⁶ In April of 1761 Saint-Non returned to Paris, bringing Fragonard with him on the five-month-long journey. Saint-Non arranged for Fragonard to make drawings of the places they passed through, of antiquities and of paintings. He executed about three hundred drawings after Poussin, Lafranco, Tiepolo, Tintoretto and others. Saint-Non kept a journal of this trip and probably intended to publish it along with Fragonard's drawings. He did not do so, but he did publish his own etchings after many of the drawings Fragonard made on the journey (*Les Griffonis*, see below) and he provided the young painter with a kind of artistic education that would not otherwise have been available to him.⁷

Robert was in Rome because he too was connected with the French Academy. He was a pensioner there and a special student. This place had been arranged for him by an influential family friend, the Comte de Stainville, later the Duc de Choiseul.⁸ Robert spent eleven years in Italy, where he met, among others, Piranesi and Pannini,



Fig. 2. Jean Honoré Fragonard, *The Little Park*, (90.127).

two artists famed for their architectural drawings and prints, especially of ruins ancient and not so ancient, a genre which would prove to be important in the development of Robert's subsequent career, when he became known as "Robert des ruines." Saint-Non took Robert with him to Naples in 1760 and commissioned from him drawings which were to illustrate publications on Italian cities, antiquities and works of art, especially his *Voyage pittoresque de Naples et des deux Siciles*, 1781-86. Saint-Non published a group of prints after Robert's drawings of landscape and buildings in 1762, and another group after his drawings of antiquities in 1765. Finally, forty-six prints after Robert's drawings were included in *Les Griffonis* (1792), a miscellaneous collection of 299 of Saint-Non's prints after Fragonard, Rubens, Ango, Clodion, Tiepolo, Della Bella, Rembrandt and others. Number 109 of this collection is *Gardens with a Classical Fountain (Vue d'une fontaine antique)*, the print now in the collection of the Museum of Art and Archaeology (Fig. 2).⁹

Jean Claude Richard de Saint-Non (1727-91) was an erudite aristocrat who was in a position to patronize the arts in various ways, especially by supporting individual

artists, as has been seen in the cases of Robert and Fragonard. He devoted himself and his riches to collecting art, to drawing and printmaking. He copied the works of Renaissance and Baroque artists, drew garden views, ancient ruins, Classical fragments, and made caricatures. It was fashionable in the middle of the eighteenth century for gentlemen of artistic tastes to be caricatured, and to caricature one's friends was a sign of casual, sophisticated good humor. Saint-Non was modest about his own work, deprecating his prints as "wretched scratchings" (*méchants griffonis*) and eager to learn from the skilled technicians whom he cultivated. He seems not to have meddled with their work, nor imposed his wishes and suggestions too heavily on Robert and Fragonard when they produced all those drawings for him on the travels which he subsidized. Fragonard, Robert and Saint-Non apparently remained on good terms all their lives. Pierre Rosenberg draws attention to the continuing friendship between Fragonard and Saint-Non by quoting from Saint-Non's biographer:

Due to a particular event, the productions of this artist [most certainly Fragonard] suddenly began to fetch extraordinary prices. The abbé de Saint-Non, who owned a large number of them, gave them back, saying, "My friend, I have greatly appreciated these works, but I have been unaware of the value that others attached to them; I return them to you so that you may benefit from their favor with the public, and derive from them the profit that you are entitled to expect."¹⁰

Saint-Non was an *amateur*, that is, not only an admirer of art, a connoisseur and a collector, but a practicing artist as well. During the seventeenth century, around the time of the establishment of the French Royal Academy, terms such as *curieux*, *amateur*, *connoisseur* came into use to describe those who were interested in the arts but were not themselves artists. Early in the eighteenth century the definitions had crystallized. The *curieux* were those who collected miscellaneous rare objects or complete series of such things as "seashells, insects, weapons, and so on."¹¹ Such a person was a relatively passive accumulator of curiosities. The *amateur connoisseur* was different; he was represented as a critic, a man of judgement and erudition who knew history, philosophy and ancient literature, one whose view of art had a wider compass and a more balanced comprehension than the limited survey of the artisan. The *amateur* was master of all aspects of art except execution.¹² By the middle of the century, however, even practical participation, actual manual work, became accept-

able for gentlemen. The continually recurring argument, dating from the Renaissance, concerning the artist's status — was he a mere mechanic, was he not a genius, could he be a gentleman — was not concluded, but its terms were expanded. Madame Pompadour, Lalive de Jully, C.H. Watelet and others of elevated social status learned and practiced etching. Saint-Non was, as has been said, particularly adept at, and fond of aquatint, a technique that permitted tonal effects, sometimes very subtle ones, and etching, which characteristically was light, delicate and free. Saint-Non was elected to the Royal Academy of Art in 1777 as an *honoraire-associé libre*, a category of membership that had been instituted for laymen who had demonstrated recognized knowledge of and activity in the arts.¹³ It was Saint-Non's activities and technical knowledge as a working artist that made him different from the ordinary, casually interested nobleman who acquired artifacts and paid artists for this or that interior design, portrait, chimney surround, ceiling rosette, drawing of Vesuvius. In Saint-Non's career it can be seen that distinctions between professional artist and amateur, patron and practitioner, originator and copyist were fluid.

Another somewhat soft-edged category is that of the "capriccio," in which these two prints belong. That is, the pictures incorporate parts of actual places, actual fragments of architecture, sculpture and other elements, but they are imaginative juxtapositions and variations of those elements. In the eighteenth century there was a vogue for views of Italy, the topographically accurate *vedute* in which such artists as Canaletto, Piranesi and Guardi specialized. These painters, and other more or less well known artists in the international colonies in Italy, like Robert Adam, C.L. Clérisseau, and Hughes Taraval, produced *vedute* and at the same time fanciful landscapes which, combining memory and imagination, were open to multiple possibilities of meaning. Sometimes, as in the case of Piranesi particularly, the distortions and ambiguities characteristic of the witty licence of capriccios grew so mysterious, bizarre and even nightmarish that they became the defining elements of another kind of subject, the architectural grotesque.¹⁴ Fragonard's and Robert's landscape subjects, however, remain poetic pastorales, with ruins inhabited by shepherds, women washing clothes, musicians, itinerants of all kinds, staffage that lends a dreamy, somewhat melancholy mood to the pictures. These artists, by artful arrangement of components and manipulation of light and shadow, infused the actual Italian countryside with a kind of contemplative air, an invitation to the viewer to meditate on the beauties of nature enhanced by time and accident.

This kind of architectural and landscape capriccio was intimately connected with eighteenth-century garden design and the esthetic category known as the pictur-

esque.¹⁵ In the paintings that Fragonard is best known for — “The Progress of Love” series, for instance, he places his figures and characters in informal or picturesque gardens, that is, landscapes that seem part garden, part wilderness — landscapes in which sculpture, urns, walls, pavilions have been placed to enhance the effects of the luxuriant, seemingly uncontrolled vegetation. *The Little Park* is a particularly fine example of this kind of landscape garden and its use by Fragonard. The symbolic framework of the garden of love was of course part of a long tradition used by many French eighteenth-century painters, among them Fragonard’s immediate predecessors Watteau and Boucher, whose painted gardens were idealized or even theatrically stylized. Fragonard’s garden settings owe much to his experiences of Italian landscape and the capriccios he fabricated from them. They may also have been given form, in part, by his acquaintance with Claude Henri Watelet, a friend of Saint-Non and like him an amateur artist of elevated social status. Watelet was the leading exponent in France of the picturesque garden, which had developed in England earlier in the century and became widely admired and imitated in Europe. He published a treatise on the topic in 1774, by which date he had become a long-time friend of Robert’s.

While Fragonard painted picturesque gardens and landscapes, Robert became a designer of actual picturesque gardens. In 1778 he was named Dessinateur de Jardins du Roi, and among other projects created some parts of the parks at Versailles, Fontainebleau, and Rambouillet. In planning and executing these and other gardens, it was Robert’s custom to begin with a painted view, one in which he combined various elements, artificial and natural, and into which he always introduced small figures. He was following the procedures of the capriccio, bringing together diverse components, some imaginary, some real.¹⁶ The print of *Gardens with a Classical Fountain* is very much in this spirit, and clearly an early example of Robert’s thinking about garden design.

Saint-Non’s motto, which he had printed in his publications, was “Les arts sont à la vie ce que les fleurs sont aux jardins” (the arts are to life as flowers are to gardens).¹⁷ This motto, which links the most appealing aspect of cultivated nature with the beauty of art, may be seen as a pervasive principle in eighteenth-century aesthetics. Saint-Non’s graceful, nonchalant modesty about his accomplishment as an amateur and patron is like the rococo artist’s skill in disguising effort and difficulty. It is like the seeming naturalness of the picturesque garden. They are all manifestations of a more subtle artifice.

NOTES

¹ Saint-Non, Acc. no. 90.127. Gilbreath-McLorn Fund. Dimensions: (sheet) 29.5 x 41.0 cm; (image) 25.3 x 32.3 cm. Fragonard, Acc. no. 91.275. Gift of Museum Associates. Dimensions: (sheet) 10.7 x 14.8 cm; (image) 10.3 x 14.0 cm. Saint-Non's print after Robert's drawing is reproduced in Louis Guimbaud, *Saint-Non et Fragonard d'après des documents inédits* (Paris, 1928) opposite page 98, where it is called *Fontaine Antique*. In Claude Gabillot, *Hubert Robert et son temps* (Paris, 1895) it is called *Vue d'une belle fontaine antique (sur le devant, des laveuses)*, p. 283. In Saint-Non's publication of his prints, the *Griffonis* (1792), it appears as *Vue d'une fontaine antique*. See Jean de Cayeux, "Introduction au catalogue critique des *Griffonis* de Saint-Non," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Art Français* 108 (1963), p. 340. The Fragonard etching entitled *Le petit parc* is discussed and reproduced with related works: copies, variant drawings and prints, including an etching by Saint-Non, in Pierre Rosenberg, *Fragonard* (New York, 1988), pp. 153-154. It is also discussed by Victor Carlson in *Regency to Empire: French Printmaking 1715-1814* (Baltimore Museum of Art, 1984), pp. 150-151. *Le petit parc* is the title given to all these variations.

² George Levitine, "French Eighteenth Century Printmaking in Search of Cultural Assertion" in *Regency to Empire*, pp. 10-21, discusses these distinctions, and the social and professional hierarchies that informed eighteenth-century printmaking.

³ See Alastair Laing, "French Ornamental Engravings and the Diffusion of the Rococo" in *Le Stampe e la diffusione delle immagini e degli stili*, ed. Henri Zerner, Comité International d'Histoire de l'Art XXIV (Bologna, 1979) pp. 109-127.

⁴ For a detailed description of Fragonard's early years and training as well as his biography in general see Rosenberg, *Fragonard*. For Robert's biography see J. de Cayeux and Catherine Boulot, *Hubert Robert* (Paris, 1989).

⁵ Eunice Williams in *Claude to Corot: The Development of Landscape Painting in France*, ed. Alan Wintermute (New York, 1990), pp. 186-188.

⁶ V. Carlson has thoroughly analyzed the evidence concerning this association in *Hubert Robert: Drawings and Watercolors* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1978) pp. 20, 38.

⁷ Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, pp. 188-120 describes the trip and its benefits for Fragonard.

⁸ A recent and extensive exhibition dealing with Robert's and Fragonard's various Italian journeys is *J. H. Fragonard e H. Robert a Roma*, ed. P. Rosenberg and Jean-Pierre Cuzin (Rome, 1990).

⁹ Guimbaud, *Saint-Non et Fragonard*, pp. 99, 127, 196, 205-206; J. de Cayeux, "Introduction au catalogue critique des *Griffonis* de Saint-Non," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 108 (1963), pp. 297-370. There exists a counter-proof of this print in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and two paintings based upon its theme; see pp. 340-341.

¹⁰ Gabriel Brizard, *Notice sur Jean Claude Richard de Saint-Non*, (Paris, 1792), quoted in Rosenberg, *Fragonard* p. 150; L. Guimbaud, *Saint-Non et Fragonard*; Georges Wildenstein, "L'abbé de Saint-Non: artiste et mécène," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 54, pp. 225-244. Most recently Rosenberg and Barbara Brejon de Lavergnée have edited *Saint-Non, Fragonard, Panopicon Italiano: Un diario di viaggio ritrovato, 1759-1761* (Rome, 1986), which contains a biography of Saint-Non. This work was not available to me.

¹¹ L. A. Oliver, *Curieux, Amateurs and Connoisseurs: Laymen and the Fine Arts in the Ancien Régime*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins, 1976, pp. 8, 38.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 120-121.

¹³ J. de Cayeux and C. Boulot, *Hubert Robert*, p. 108.

¹⁴ This is the form that the capriccio took in Goya's work, when it had been removed from its associations with landscape and architecture. Goya's announcement for his *Caprichos* in 1792 says: "Painting, like Poetry, chooses from the universal what it considers suitable to its own ends: it reunites in a single fantastic personage circumstances and characteristics that nature had divided among many. From such a combination, ingeniously arranged, results [a work] for which a good artificer deserves the title of inventor and not that of servile copyist." Translated by José López-Rey in Fred Licht, ed., *Goya in Perspective* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1973), pp. 130-131.

¹⁵ Kimerly Rorschach's article, "French Art and the Eighteenth-century Garden" in *Claude to Corot: The Development of Landscape Painting in France*, ed. A. Wintermute (New York, 1990), pp. 111-121, is an excellent and broad-ranging essay on this multiform subject. Also see Mary Sheriff, *Fragonard: Art and Eroticism* (Chicago and London, 1990), pp. 58-94.

¹⁶ J. de Cayeux, *Hubert Robert et les jardins* (Paris, 1987) is a comprehensive survey of Robert as designer and painter of gardens.

¹⁷ Guimbaud, *Saint-Non et Fragonard*, p. 155.

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ACQUISITIONS

1992

EGYPTIAN ART

Scarab, Late period, 760-330 B.C., faience (69), gift of Mrs. Richard C. Smith.

Sherd from a Vessel, Upper Egypt, Roman period, faience (50), anonymous gift.

Four Sherds from Vessels, Middle Kingdom, 2040-1633 B.C., pottery (51-54), anonymous gift.

GREEK AND ROMAN ART

Greek

Red-figured Bell-Krater showing Female Pyrrhic Dancer, Attica, ca. 420 B.C., pottery (85), Weinberg Fund.



Greek, Red-figured Bell-Krater showing Female Pyrrhic Dancer. H. 32.5 cm (85).



Greek, *Kernos*. H. 10.8 cm (74).

Kernos, Teano ware, South Italy, Campania, 330-310 B.C., pottery (74), Weinberg Fund.

Coin, Egypt, Alexandria, reign of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161), 153-154, bronze (8), Weinberg Fund.

Pendant in the Form of a Recumbent Wild Goat, South Italy, late 6th or early 5th c. B.C., amber (3), Weinberg Fund.

Lidded Pyxis with Four Horses, Workshop of Agora P4784, Attica, Late Geometric II, 735-720 B.C., pottery (1 a and b), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.



Roman, *Coin*, obverse and reverse, D. 34 mm (8).

Greek, *Lidded Pyxis with Four Horses*, Workshop of Agora P4784, D. 31.4 cm.



Roman

Three Sherds from Vessels, African Red Slip ware, Roman, pottery (57-59), anonymous gift.

Two Sherds from Plates, Egyptian Red Slip ware, Roman, pottery (55, 56), anonymous gift.

Three Coins, ranging in date from the reign of Antoninus Pius, 138-161, to Constantine II as Caesar, 317-337, bronze (43-45), gift of Saul and Gladys Weinberg.



Roman, Coins of Constantine as Caesar, obverse and reverse, D. 18.5 mm (45).

WEST ASIAN ART

Anatolia

Scaraboid Seal with Pipes-player, Anatolia, Cilicia, Geometric period, second half of 8th c. B.C., serpentine (2), Weinberg Fund.

Byzantine

Thirty-two Coins, ranging in date from the reign of Justinian I, 527-565, to Manuel I, 1143-1180, bronze (9-37), (46-48), gift of Saul and Gladys Weinberg.



Byzantine, Coins of Nicephoros II, obverse and reverse, D. 30 mm (17).

SOUTH ASIAN ART

India

Court Scene Showing a Nobleman with Female Attendants, Late Mughal period, 19th c., tempera, ink, and gold on paper (65), gift of Clotilde Moller.

Sarasvati, Bengal, 20th c., brass (70), gift of Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Poehlman.

Pakistan

Relief Depicting Buddha with Attendants at a Tomb, Gandhara, 3rd-4th c., schist (71), gift of Alan D. and Ann K. Wolfe.



Pakistan, Relief Depicting Buddha with Attendants at a Tomb, H. 22.5 cm (71).

EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN ART



Robert F. Bussabarger,
Bust, 50.8 x 38 cm (72).

Paintings

Robert F. Bussabarger, American, b. 1922, *Bust*, ca. 1975, watercolor (72), gift of Helena Mullett, Walter C. Melton, and Deborah Melton Anderson in memory of their mother Dorothy Pennell Mullett.

Frank Stack, American, b. 1937, *Figure Study*, 1992, watercolor (76), gift of Museum Associates.

Drawings

Douglass Freed, American, b. 1944, *Preliminary Drawing for "Six Panel L Structure in Blue and Gold, Balenkanche,"* 1990, pencil on paper (38), gift of the artist.

Frank Stack,
Figure Study,
33.3 x 25 cm (76).



Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes, *Corrección*, 21.5 x 14.8 cm (plate), (61).

Graphics

Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes, Spanish, 1746-1828, *¿Está vuestra merced? ... pues, como digo.. ¡eh! cuidado! Si no...,* pl. 76 from *Los Caprichos*, 1st edition, 1799, etching and burnished aquatint (62), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes, *Corrección*, pl. 46 from *Los Caprichos*, 1st edition, 1799, etching and burnished aquatint (61), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Henri Matisse, French, 1869-1954, six prints comprising *Ulysses: The Calypso Episode; Aeolus, Cave of the Winds; The Cyclops; The Episode of Nausicaa; The Circe Episode; Symbolic Landscape: Ithaca*; 1935, soft ground etchings (79.1-79.6), gift of Museum Associates.

Henri Matisse, *The Episode of Nausicaa*, 29.2 x 23 cm (plate), (79.4).



Pablo Ruiz y Picasso,
Untitled, 36.7 x 48.6 cm
(plate), (7).



Jörg Schmeisser, *Zustande II*, 49.5 x 37.5 cm (plate), (6.1).

Pablo Ruiz y Picasso, Spanish, 1881-1973, Untitled, 1971, etching (7), gift of the MU Student Fee Capital Improvements Committee.

Jörg Schmeisser, German, b. 1942, seven prints comprising the series *Zustande II: Waves, Momijigari; Y; Flames; Looking Back; Torso; Landscape*; 1984, etchings (6.1-6.7).

Jörg Schmeisser, *Enter the Forbidden City, Beijing*, 1981, etching (5), gift of the artist in honor of Gladys and Saul Weinberg (cover).

Jörg Schmeisser, *Ming Mausoleum near Beijing*, 1984, etching (4), gift of the artist in honor of Gladys and Saul Weinberg.



Romare Bearden, *Firebirds*,
55 x 38 cm (image), (84).

Romare Bearden, American, 1913-1988, *Firebirds*, 1979, lithograph (84).

Romare Bearden, *Pilate*, 1979, lithograph (83).

Romare Bearden, *Three Women*, 1979, lithograph (82).

Romare Bearden, *Conjunction*, 1979, lithograph (81).

Marc Chagall, Russian, 1889-1985, *The Odyssey: The Waves Swallow Up Ulysses*, 1974, lithograph (80), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.



Marc Chagall, *The Odyssey: The Waves Swallow Up Ulysses*, 42.7 x 32.1 cm (image), (80).



Helen Frankenthaler, *Ramblas*, 67 x 50.7 cm (plate), (75).

Frank Stack, American, b. 1937, *Male Torso*, 1983, lithograph (77), gift of the family of Frank Stack.

Helen Frankenthaler, American, b. 1928, *Ramblas*, 1987-88, lithograph and etching (75), gift of Museum Associates.

Everett Gee Jackson, American, b. 1900, *The Fishing Barge*, ca. 1935, lithograph (66), gift of Vera and Boyd O'Dell from the Glen Lukens Collection.

Wassily Kandinsky, Russian, 1866-1944, *Unanimité*, 1939, lithograph (63), gift of Clotilde Moller.



Wassily Kandinsky, *Unanimité*, 33 x 41 cm (image), (63).



Carole Patterson, *Julio Galán*,
33.9 x 47.5 cm (image), (39).

Photographs

Carole Patterson, American, b. 1937, *Julio Galán*, 1990, hand colored black and white photograph; *Empty Chairs: Tamayo's Garden*, 1990, black and white photograph; *Leonora Carrington*, 1990, black and white photograph; *Francisco Zúñiga*, 1990, toned black and white photograph (39-42), gift of the artist.

Sculpture

Josephine Stealey, American, b. 1950, *X Marks the Spot II*, 1992, handmade and colored paper (78), gift of Museum Associates.



Josephine Stealey, *X Marks the Spot II*,
H. 49 cm (78).



Sabra Tull Meyer,
*Relief Plaque with
Profiles of Saul and
Gladys Weinberg*,
H. 37 cm (60).

Sabra Tull Meyer, American, b. 1927, *Relief Plaque with Profiles of Saul and Gladys Weinberg*, 1992, bronze (60), gift of Museum Associates.

Sabra Tull Meyer, American, b. 1927, *Preparatory Model and Casting Parts for "Relief Plaque with Profiles of Saul and Gladys Weinberg,"* 1992, modeling clay, wood, latex, plaster, and wax (68 a-d), gift of the artist.

Decorative Arts

Studio of René Lalique, French, 1860-1945,
Vase, glass (64), gift of Clotilde Moller.

Commemorative Coin, Venetian, 17th c.,
bronze(49), gift of Saul and Gladys Weinberg.

Textiles

Geta Brătescu, Romanian, b. 1926, *Medea's
Hypostases #5*, 1980, textile (67).



Studio of René Lalique, *Vase*, H. 16.6 cm (64).

EXHIBITIONS

INSPIRED BY THE PAST: WORKS ON PAPER BY JÖRG SCHMEISSER

Through January 12. This exhibition showed works by German-born artist Jörg Schmeisser from the permanent collection as well as those on loan. Schmeisser, who currently lives and teaches in Australia, draws inspiration from his world-wide journeys and translates his vision into minutely detailed, beautifully colored etchings.

KABUKI ACTORS AND UTAGAWA KUNISADA

Through January 19. This exhibition marked the first time the museum's extensive collection of color woodblock prints by one of Japan's most prolific artists has been shown. The exhibition featured the depiction of scenes taken from the theater and the world of beautiful women.

RECENT WORKS BY DOUGLASS FREED

February 6 - March 22. Innovations in color, texture, structure and media were visible in this one-person exhibition of work by nationally-known Sedalia artist Douglass Freed. Beautiful color and graceful marks combine with precisely geometric structures to create a variety of moods, depths and movements. The most recent works in the exhibition, metal structures, reveal Freed's latest direction.



Recent Works by Douglass Freed

CAPTURING THE SPIRIT: PORTRAITS OF CONTEMPORARY MEXICAN ARTISTS

April 3 - May 10. Comprised of photographic portraits taken by Columbia photographer Carole Patterson. This exhibition of forty black and white images portrayed some of Mexico's most well-known artists and literary figures, such as Julio Galán, Rufino Tamayo, Leonora Carrington and Francisco Zúñiga. Toured throughout the United States by SITES in conjunction with the Christopher Columbus quincentennial, the exhibition was accompanied by *Out of the Volcano*, a publication that combined essays about the figures by Margaret Sayers Peden with Patterson's photographs.

THE MYTHS AND STORIES OF GETA BRĂTESCU

April 11 - May 10. Organized by the students in the Museum Studies Program, this exhibition was the first United States one-person exhibition of works by Romanian artist Geta Brătescu. The exhibition comprised drawings illustrating *Faust*, lithographs and textiles relating to the story of Medea, and a multi-piece collage work. The students organized and installed the exhibition, and also wrote the accompanying gallery guide.



The Myths and Stories of Geta Brătescu



Animals in Art from the Ancient World

ALL THAT CREEPETH UPON THE EARTH: ANIMALS IN ART FROM THE ANCIENT WORLD

May 30 - August 2. This exhibition drew mainly upon the permanent collection, highlighting representations of animals from Egypt, Palestine, Iran, and the Classical world, from ca. 1550 B.C. to the 4th century after Christ. Animals in three-dimensional form as well as those painted on pottery were exhibited, providing insight into the roles of animals in these cultures.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY GERMAN PRINTS

June 13 - August 2. This exhibition of works on paper, drawn from the museum's permanent collection, highlighted the accomplishments of German graphic artists and revealed the variety of printmaking techniques they employed, including lithography, woodcut and intaglio processes. Ranging in date from the early decades of the century to the 1970s, the works reflected the tumultuous events of that country.

FOCUS ON THE FIGURE: TWENTIETH-CENTURY NUDES FROM THE PERMANENT COLLECTION

July 13 - September 20. The human form has been the subject of artistic examination for many centuries, and twentieth-century artists continue to find it a source of both examination and inspiration.

Most of the works in this exhibit were drawn from the permanent collection, and represented a variety of media, including paintings, prints and sculpture. The works ranged in date from the beginning of the century to the 1980s; subjects were studio nudes, religious themes and allegorical figures.



Focus On the Figure

THREADS OF LIFE: PERUVIAN TEXTILES

September 26 - December 6. The rich artistic achievements of pre-Columbian Peru were examined through textiles from 500 B.C. to 1500 A.D. The high level of technical competence was evidenced in the weavings displayed in this exhibition.

PRE-COLUMBIAN ART FROM THE PERMANENT COLLECTION

September 26 - March. Fifty diverse objects were exhibited including works in stone, terracotta, gold and metal alloys. Most objects were decorated with or formed into animals or human images and served as religious or ceremonial tools.

BRAZILIAN NAIVE ART

October 1 - November 8. This traveling exhibition highlighted the works of eight contemporary artists, both men and women, from Brazil. Vibrant color and a narrative element characterized the works, which, however, differed in stylistic approach. Both sculptures and paintings were included in this exhibition.



Brazilian Naive Art

TWENTIETH-CENTURY WOMEN ARTISTS

November 21 - February 21, 1993. In its collection the museum has numerous works in different media by women artists of the twentieth century, which had never before been displayed as a group. This exhibition encompasses works by both well-known artists such as Helen Frankenthaler, and under-recognized artists including Phoebe Cole and Anne Ryan whose work is gaining increased acclaim and attention. The works in the exhibition surveyed the twentieth century and exemplified the varied subjects, styles and media that characterize this period.

FACE IT! TWENTIETH-CENTURY PORTRAITS AND SELF-PORTRAITS



Face It!

December 19 - February 21, 1993. Artists have rendered portraits and self-portraits for centuries, and these subjects continue to be of interest. This exhibition highlighted twentieth-century works from the permanent collection, revealing the increased interest in psychological examination of the self and in others which typifies the modern era.

LOANS & EXHIBITIONS TO OTHER INSTITUTIONS

LOANS

To The Carousel Gallery, Faust Park, Chesterfield, Missouri, St. Louis County Department of Parks and Recreation, six pre-Columbian artifacts and one French eighteenth-century gold snuff box for the exhibition *Seeds of Change: Heartland Harvest*, May 31 - December 31.

EXHIBITIONS

To the Springfield Art Museum, Springfield, Missouri, January 5 - February 9; Margaret Harwell Art Museum, Poplar Bluff, Missouri, March 28 - April 24; Kansas City Artists' Coalition, Kansas City, Missouri, July 10 - August 15. Twenty-three works of art by five contemporary Missouri artists: Kenneth Anderson, St. Louis; Nathan Fores, Kansas City; John Hilgert, St. Louis; Ronald Leax, St. Louis; Warren Rosser, Kansas City, for the exhibition *Missouri Visual Artists' Biennial 1991-1992*.

To the Margaret Harwell Art Museum, Poplar Bluff, Missouri. Twenty-eight pre-Columbian artifacts for the exhibition *From Cloudy Mountain to Desert Valley: Art Before Columbus from Ancient Mexico and Peru*, November 1 - 29.

OTHER MUSEUM ACTIVITIES

LECTURES

FEBRUARY 20

Roberto Escobar, Chilean composer and philosopher, professor, Universidad de Chile, "Prehistoric Man in the Southern Zone of the Americas: A Humanist View."

APRIL 10

Geta Brătescu, Romanian artist, "Myths and Stories."

NOVEMBER 13

Zoe Annis-Perkins, conservator of textiles, St. Louis Art Museum, "Maura F. Cornman Conservation Lecture."

MIDDAY GALLERY EVENTS

JANUARY 22

Patricia Crown, associate professor, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Women in Art."

JANUARY 29

Christine C. Neal, associate curator of European and American art, "Degenerate Art."

FEBRUARY 5

Women and Creativity, video, PBS, 1981.

FEBRUARY 12

Sundiata Cha-Jua, Black Studies Program, "Racial Formation Theory: Toward a New Paradigm in Afro-American History."

FEBRUARY 19

J.M. White, graduate student, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Douglass Freed."

FEBRUARY 26

Vera Townsend, professor emerita, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Form as Content."

MARCH 4

Picasso - A Painter's Diary, Part One: The Formative Years, film, 1980.

MARCH 11

Picasso - A Painter's Diary, Part Two: From Cubism to Guernica, film, 1980.

MARCH 18

Picasso - A Painter's Diary, Part Three: A Unity of Variety, film, 1980, and Christine C. Neal, associate curator of European and American art, "Picasso on Paper."

APRIL 1

Morteza Sajadian, director, "Fakes and Forgeries."

APRIL 8

Carole Patterson, photographer, "Capturing the Spirit: The Photographer's Perspective."

APRIL 15

Margaret Sayers Peden, professor emerita, Department of Romance Languages, "Out of the Volcano."

APRIL 22

Mexico: The Land and the People, video, 1986.

JUNE 17

Jane C. Biers, curator of ancient art, "Animals in Art from the Ancient World."

JUNE 24

The Grand Museum: The Vatican, video.

JULY 1

The Grand Museum: The Uffizi, video.

JULY 8

The Grand Museum: The Prado, video.

JULY 15

James Calvin, associate professor, Department of Art, "More than Skin Deep."

JULY 22

Jane Mudd, graduate student, Department of Art, "Jane Mudd: Paintings and Influences."

JULY 29

David Allison, graduate student, Department of Art, "Personal Work: Photographs and Serigraphs, 1972-1992."

AUGUST 5

Christine C. Neal, associate curator of European and American art, "The Human Form Revealed."

SEPTEMBER 23

Birgit Wassmuth, associate professor, School of Journalism, "Highlights from DOCUMENTA IX: The Most Important and Controversial International Art Expo."

SEPTEMBER 30

Morteza Sajadian, director, and Teresa Militello, graduate student, Museum Studies and Department of Anthropology, "Pre-Columbian Art from the Permanent Collection."

OCTOBER 7

Christine C. Neal, associate curator of European and American art, "Brazilian Naive Art."

OCTOBER 14

Patrick Peritore, associate professor, Department of Political Science, "The Brazilian Political Game."

OCTOBER 21

Pedro Fonseca, visiting assistant professor, Department of Romance Languages, "The Colonial Experience in Brazil."

OCTOBER 28

Louanna Furbee, professor, Department of Anthropology, "Past as Present: The Reinterpretation of Traditional Mayan Themes."

NOVEMBER 4

Barbara Overby, master weaver, "Pre-Columbian Weaving Techniques: A Demonstration."

NOVEMBER 11

Peru, video, 1991.

NOVEMBER 18

Teresa Militello, graduate student, Department of Anthropology, "People and Art of the New World."

DECEMBER 2

John Klein, assistant professor, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "About Faces: The Modern Portrait and Self-Portrait."

SYMPOSIUM

FEBRUARY 22

"100 Years of Teaching Art History and Archaeology"

Co-sponsored by the Department of Art History and Archaeology Blake-More Godwin Fund and the Museum of Art and Archaeology

Ross Allen Fox, curator of European art,
Mead Art Museum, Amherst College

Karen Hendricks, assistant professor,
Jacksonville State University

Karl Kilinski, II, associate professor,
Southern Methodist University

Stephanie Jernigan Maloney, associate
professor, University of Louisville

Julie Anne Finkbeiner Plax, assistant
professor, University of Arizona

Nancy B. Reed, associate professor,
Texas Tech University

Barbara A. Watkinson, associate professor,
College of William and Mary

FILMS

JUNE 16

Metropolis (restored), 1928.

JUNE 23

Scarlet Street, 1945.

JUNE 30

M, 1931.

JULY 7

The Big Heat, 1953.

JULY 14

Kings of the Road, 1976.

JULY 21

Hammett, 1982.

JULY 28

State of Things, 1983.

AUGUST 14

Paris, Texas, 1984.

LATIN AMERICA FILM SERIES

Co-sponsored by the Center for International Studies and the Museum of Art and Archaeology

SEPTEMBER 27

Bye Bye Brazil, 1980.

OCTOBER 4

"The Land" *Short Films
from Latin America.*

OCTOBER 11

Frida, 1987.

OCTOBER 18

"Masculine/Feminine" *Short
Films from Latin America.*

OCTOBER 25

The Official Story, 1985.

NOVEMBER 1

"Change and Conflict" *Short
Films from Latin America.*

NOVEMBER 8

"Heroes and Healers" *Short
Films from Latin America.*

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

The museum organized several programs for schools and the general public. Children and adults attended gallery talks and took field trips to St. Louis and Kansas City to learn more about museum-related topics.

In 1992, the number of students from the surrounding public and private schools visiting the museum increased to 5972, as compared with 4584 in the previous year. There were also over 250 tours conducted for special adult groups.

MOORE and MORE!

February 17

In conjunction with Memorial Day, students took a trip to the Truman Museum and Library in Kansas City. They also visited the Henry Moore Sculpture Garden and the children participated in a session at Hallmark's Kaleidoscope while their parents went to the adjacent Visitor's Center.

GHASTLY GARGOYLES!

March 15

Children explored life during the Middle Ages; castles, cathedrals and the practical purpose of Gargoyles. They were used to carry rainwater away from the sloped roofs of cathedrals.

CAMERAS from CANS and PHOTOGRAMS

April 26

After viewing the photographic exhibition *Capturing the Spirit: Portraits of Contemporary Mexican Artists*, participants learned the basics of photography and how a camera can be made using household objects such as cans and boxes.

As a year-long project in collaboration with the Center for Gifted Education of the Columbia Public Schools, **The Conservation of Paper** and **The Egyptians: Their Significant Past and its Significance to our Present** were topics used to focus on particular aspects of the museum's collection.

SUMMER '92 ROUNDTABLE

A course with an overview of the upcoming exhibition *From Pasture to Polis: Art in the Age of Homer*, exploring the artistic traditions of the Geometric period in Greece.

Mysteries in the Museum and **The Greeks and the Romans** were year-long, curriculum-based programs which gave over two thousand fourth and sixth graders a gallery tour as well as hands-on experience with artifacts.

ANIMAL CRACKERS

July 21

The children toured the exhibition *All that Creepeth upon the Earth: Animals in Art from the Ancient World*, identifying animals and discussing how the objects were made. A live owl and hawk were special guests at the gallery talk.

COBRA, CROCODILE

July 21

Students were shown ancient representations of animals, including a crocodile, hawk, owl and scarab beetle. Artistic style and the various media used were discussed. The children were shown a preserved scarab beetle and crocodile.

TREK TO ST. LOUIS

July 23

Families toured St. Louis, they rode a train at the Zoo, saw an Animal Exhibit at the Museum and watched a video at the Dog Museum.

MUSEUM OF ART
AND ARCHAEOLOGY
STAFF LIST

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JACQUE F. DUNN

Assistant Director

JANE C. BIERS

Curator of Ancient Art

CHRISTINE C. NEAL

Associate Curator of European
and American Art

SUSAN LANGDON

Adjunct Associate Curator of
Ancient Art

JEFFREY B. WILCOX

Registrar and Photographer

LUANN ANDREWS

Curator of Education: Docent
and Public Programming

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Senior Secretary

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Assistant Coordinator,
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NORMAN NEELY

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BETTE WEISS

Museum Shop Manager

MARY CAMPBELL

Museum Shop
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Ginger Fletcher
Leslie Hammond
Viola Nelson
Sylvia Rohr
Janette Rozgay

GLADYS D. WEINBERG

Research Fellow

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AND ARCHAEOLOGY
DEPARTMENT FACULTY

KATHLEEN WARNER SLANE

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EDZARD BAUMANN

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PATRICIA CROWN

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NORMAN LAND

On leave of absence,
fall 1992 through winter 1993

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OSMUND OVERBY

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