

# M V S E

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*1995-1996*



Annual of the  
Museum of Art and Archaeology

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI—COLUMBIA



# MVSE

Volumes Twenty-Nine & Thirty  
1995–1996

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University of Missouri–Columbia

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The Museum Shop is open from noon to 4:45 p.m., Tuesday through Sunday. Extended Shop hours are granted for special requests. The Museum is wheelchair accessible. Telephone: (573) 882-3591.

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*Cover:*  
1996 Members' Choice  
South Italian amphora  
ca. 330-320 B.C.  
by the Ganymede Painter (acc. no. 96.1)

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## INTERIM DIRECTOR'S REPORT



Fig. 1 Owen Koeppe

THE YEARS 1995 AND 1996 WERE CHALLENGING for the Museum. The previous director, Morteza Sajadian, resigned at the end of February 1995. I became interim director (Fig. 1), bringing experience in university administration and biochemistry and a love for this Museum, which reported to my office (the Provost's) during the 1970s. Also during these two years, there were changes in three of the four administrative positions above the Museum—the provost, the MU campus chancellor and the

University president. These administrative uncertainties contributed to making the search for a permanent director more difficult.

In spite of the transitions outlined above, the Museum was able to maintain almost the same level of activities as in previous years. This was due principally to a dedicated and talented staff who continued to maintain excellent work. There was some turnover within the staff, but the Museum was fortunate to find replacements with equal talent and dedication. Most of those who left accepted other positions within the University that represented promotions. Two other factors contributed to maintaining the Museum's high level of activities.

First, the Museum Associates, a community- and university-based support group of around 600 members, continued its strong support despite a transition in MU's administrative leadership. This group provided financial and moral support, staffed the Museum Shop, worked as Docents and sponsored a variety of events.

Second, the University's central administration increased its attention to and support of the Museum. Shortly after the departure of the previous director, two outside consultants reviewed the Museum and made recommendations. Both were complimentary of the accomplishments of the Museum, internally as a laboratory for teaching and research, and externally in outreach to various local, state and national publics. They expressed concerns about space limitations particularly for collection storage, financial support from the University, the need for computer upgrades and the need



for computerization of the collection records. In late 1996 the University made a commitment to replace all the Museum's computers, to assist in the purchase of museum collection software and to assist in the entry of collection records into that software.

### Exhibitions in 1995–1996

Exhibitions were classified either as Permanent Installations or as Special Exhibitions. Permanent Installations included *Aspects of Antiquity* in the Saul and Gladys Weinberg Gallery of Ancient Art, artifacts from the Early Christian and Byzantine Gallery, works from the European and American Gallery, *Isms and Others in the Twentieth Century* in the Modern Gallery and *Expressions of Africa* in the McLorn Gallery. Several important developments occurred.

In early March of 1995—following more than a year of rebuilding and reinstallation—the Gallery of Ancient Art reopened (Fig. 2). New display cases (Fig. 3) were sealed to protect art objects from dust and to stabilize humidity levels. The new design permits easy movement of viewers to various areas of the gallery. Drawers located under the display cases allow viewers to see numerous small objects in the collection. A resource center with books and a video monitor allows visitors to investigate on their own. The gallery also has space for small, temporary exhibitions. One of these was *Finds from Jewish Ossuary Tombs* (Fig. 4), which the Department of Religious Studies adopted for a class.



Fig. 3 New display cases in the Gallery of Ancient Art reveal *Aspects of Antiquity*.



Fig. 2 The Gallery of Ancient Art, March 1995

The redesign project was carried out under the direction of Curator of Ancient Art Jane Biers and then-Director Morteza Sajadian. Chief Preparator Greig Thompson and his assistants were heavily involved in the design and reinstallation of the artworks.

Early in 1996, a new coin

display case was constructed in a corridor wall next to the Ancient Gallery. On exhibit are approximately 100 Greek and Roman coins (Fig. 5) from the late seventh century B.C. to the fourth century A.D.

Positioned in the European and American Gallery is the Museum's Kress Study Collection, which consists of fourteen paintings completed between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries A.D. These were given to the Museum in 1961 by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation. In 1994, under former director Morteza Sajadian, the Museum received an award from the Kress Foundation to support research, publication and conservation of the paintings. Most of the conservation work was carried out in February of 1996 by Jenny Sherman, a Kress Fellow at the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University (Fig. 6). A Kress Collection research symposium followed in April. Participants included distinguished scholars from all parts of the country. The symposium presentations will be published later. Then-Curator of European and American Art Christine C. Neal organized most of these activities.



Fig. 4 Finds from Jewish Ossuary Tombs was a temporary exhibit.

In September 1996 a painting by Mark Rothko was unveiled as part of the exhibition, *Isms and Others in the Twentieth Century*. Thanks to an application submitted by Neal, the Museum was the first recipient of an implementation grant from the Museum Loan Network. This grant funded the expenses associated with the loan of the Rothko painting from the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. The painting remained on exhibit for more than a year (Fig. 7).

Special Exhibitions are created from the Museum's permanent collections or from a variety of other sources and are displayed for about two or three months. Three small galleries in the Museum are allocated for these exhibitions, which are often supported by the Missouri Arts Council (MAC).

During the first three months of 1995, the *Africa through the Eyes of Women Artists* exhibition showed works of contemporary artists who are African women or women of African descent. The exhibition consisted of color photographs of artists at work and a selection of artworks such as batik cloth, mudcloth, a beaded calabash and an embroidered chief's or fon's robe.



Fig. 5 Roman coins and Greek coins are displayed in the corridor, which connects two main galleries.

Artists featured in the exhibition included women from the state of Oregon and from Nigeria, Mali and Cameroon. Exhibit Touring Services at Eastern Washington University managed the exhibition.

The *Missouri Arts Council Visual Artists' Biennial* (MACVAB) exhibition opened at the Museum in April 1995 under the direction of Neal. It featured works by three contemporary Missouri artists selected from a statewide competition: Dawn Marie Guernsey (St. Louis) told stories with her paintings and drawings by focusing on domestic scenes, Zhi Lin (Springfield, originally from China) painted five large wall-hangings depicting *Five Capital Executions in China* in brutal detail and Christo-

pher Ketchie (Kansas City) constructed wall-hung and free-standing abstract sculptures using found objects such as a football helmet, school chairs and frying pans. After this exhibition closed at the Museum, it toured eight venues in the state through the fall of 1996. The Museum received grants from MAC for the preparation and management of several previous *Biennials*. Due to budget reductions, however, the Council did not fund this show in 1997.

During the summer of 1995, the Museum featured *Waterways West: Photographs from the Missouri River Portfolios*, an exhibition of contemporary black and white photographs by John P. Wickersham, a philosopher and photographer from St. Louis County. The exhibition portrayed the Missouri River's great beauty and variety, its devastating potential and its historic importance.

That fall the Museum featured its largest exhibition to date of contemporary ceramic work: *Built, Thrown and Touched: Contemporary*



Fig. 6 Jenny Sherman, a Kress Fellow at the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University, assisted the Museum of Art and Archaeology, February 1996.

*Clay Works*, sixty works by thirty-three American artists. To complement this show, a number of ceramic works from the Museum's permanent collection were displayed in the Modern Gallery. In conjunction with the show, a ceramic exhibition in the George Caleb Bingham Gallery of the Department of Art and a lecture by independent art critic and Curator Matthew Kangas took place simultaneously.

Thanks to the generous gift of D. Michael Cheers (Fig. 8), New African Visions, Inc., the Museum acquired *Songs of My People*. Cheers attended the University of Missouri's School of Journalism, and he is one of the three writers and photojournalists to originate the idea for the exhibition. *Songs of My People* consists of 152 black and white photographs by African Americans about African-American lifestyles, viewpoints and experiences. Photographs were selected from more than 55,000 taken by about fifty photographers, both emerging and well-known. Between 1992 and 1994, the exhibition toured the United States and six cities in Europe. A select grouping from *Songs of My People* was displayed in the Museum from November 1995 through the spring 1996 semester. Then-Curator Neal delegated its organization to Assistant Curator Debra Page, who directed all of the installations, including the ones in the Corridor Gallery. The remaining photographs were displayed at twelve sites across the campus and around the community.



Fig. 7 Greig Thompson, chief preparator, left, and Brad Steinmetz, assistant preparator, place a veil on the Mark Rothko painting from the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.

Throughout the spring 1996 semester the Museum exhibited *The Education of a Beaux-Arts Architect: Student Drawings by E. J. Eckel*. Edmond Jacques Eckel was born in France and studied architecture at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. He immigrated to Missouri in 1969 and established himself as St. Joseph's premier architect. Today, twenty-five Eckel-associated properties are listed on the National Register of Historic Places. The Albrecht-Kemper Museum of Art in St. Joseph loaned drawings used in the exhibition. Cocurators

were Preston Thayer, visiting assistant professor of art history, and Curator Neal.

During the summer of 1996, three exhibitions were built from items in the Museum's permanent collection and directed by three Museum staff members. Registrar Jeff Wilcox curated the first: *Echoes of Ancient America: Art from Lost Civilizations of the New World*.

Opening in December 1995, it featured more than fifty artworks and artifacts from Central and

South America that date from as early as 800 B.C. to the early 1500s. The second exhibition, *Primarily Colors*, was curated by Chief Preparator Greig Thompson. This exhibition was approached from a perceptual rather than an art historical point of view. Items were selected principally for their color rather than their subject matter or cultural origin. Viewers drew interest from particular colors and their relationship to geometric shapes, such as the circle, square, triangle and rectangle. The third, *Collection Connections*, demonstrated the artistic uses of line, shape and texture across geographic locations and time periods. Then-Curator Neal delegated the organization of *Collection Connections* to Graduate Assistant Debra Page.

A traveling exhibition in the fall of 1996, *Art of the Eye: an Exhibition on Vision* featured twenty-four works by contemporary American artists. The works incorporated a variety of mediums and were created by artists with visual impairments ranging from glaucoma to total blindness. Many of the works attempted to demonstrate how things appear to those with certain types of visual impairments. The show was organized by FORCAST Public Artspace Productions of Minneapolis and is owned by the Delta Gamma Foundation. Longtime Museum supporter, former Museum Associates president and Delta Gamma alumna Darlene Johnson contributed enormously to the organization of this show, which ultimately resulted in the show's success.

During 1995 and 1996 the *Save Outdoor Sculpture! (SOS!)* survey was



Fig. 8 Photojournalist D. Michael Cheers, of New African Visions, Inc., presented a Midday Gallery lecture on *Songs of My People*.

completed under the coordination of former graduate student Marie (Nau) Hunter. Funding started in 1994 from the cosponsors of the nationwide project, the National Museum of American Art, the Smithsonian Institution and the National Institute for the Conservation of Cultural Property, with additional funding from MAC. The Museum's project surveyed sculpture outdoors and accessible to the public in the state of Missouri, except for the metropolitan areas of Kansas City and St. Louis. More than fifty volunteer surveyors were trained at six sites in the state. Some surveying involved historic preservation classes at Southeast Missouri State University and the University of Missouri-Columbia. Results of the survey containing information about more than 200 sculptures are documented in a computer database and in a paperback book published by the national SOS! Office and Museum Associates. A traveling exhibit of thirty-eight photographs offered additional information on some of the sculptures surveyed. The exhibit increased appreciation for the need for preservation work that resulted in several restoration projects.

### Missouri Folk Arts Program

The Missouri Folk Arts Program was transferred to the Museum in 1993. It is funded by MAC and the NEA's Folk Arts Program. The University provides office space, some equipment, the Museum's director, fiscal officer, graphic artist, editor and preparator to the program. The Program has two major parts, the Traditional Arts Apprenticeships Program (TAAP), directed by Dana Everts-Boehm, and the Missouri Performing Traditions (MPT), directed by Julie Youmans.

TAAP seeks to match interested apprentices with master folk artists from Missouri. As master artists pass on their skills and knowledge, some of Missouri's artistic heritage is conserved. About twenty of these partnerships are funded annually. Skills of master artists include playing musical instruments, blacksmithing, performing African-American gospel music, dancing, spinning, johnboat-making and many others.

MPT sponsors and promotes a variety of performances throughout the state. Examples are instrumental music, storytelling, dancing, poetry reading, singing and narrations about various cultures such as African-American and



Native American (Figs. 9, 10).

The Folk Arts Program is also involved in many things that do not fit exactly under TAAP or MPT. One of particular interest, the Bootheel Underserved Arts Community Project, was carried out in 1994 and 1995 and was supported by a grant from MAC. The wide range of artistic expression in Missouri's Bootheel was studied and documented in *Art and Heritage of the Missouri Bootheel: A Resource Guide*. A traveling exhibit was constructed and has been shown at venues in the Bootheel, as well as other parts of the state. Much of the work was done by C. Ray Brassieur, an historian-folklorist with the State Historical Society of Missouri.



Fig. 9 Dean Frenzel, right, and her apprentice, Sally Charles, both of St. Louis, display an Irish step-dance dress decorated with Celtic embroidery. Photo by Dana Everts-Boehm.

### Acquisitions

The Museum has some endowment resources for the purchase of acquisitions. There were very few purchases, however, during 1995 and 1996. I thought that such purchases should await the appointment of a permanent director. Most of what was acquired during these two years was through gifts, which are summarized later.

Each year the Museum Associates purchase at least one item for the Museum's collection. In 1995 this was an abstract bronze sculpture by Missouri artist Larry Young—who exhibits internationally and coincidentally earned two Olympic medals in race walking. A large amphora, or two-handled vase, painted in the fourth century B.C. in an area of southern Italy was selected in 1996.

### Education

The Museum continued a variety of education programs that targeted University students, faculty and staff, as well as audiences in the community and across the state. During semesters, ongoing events include Midday Gallery lectures at 12:15 on Wednesdays, three or more special afternoon



Fig 10 Travis Inman, left, and Levi Roden play their old time fiddles in Springfield. Photo by Dana Everts-Boehm.

and evening lectures in the Museum's auditorium by University faculty, visiting scholars, graduate students and occasional lectures sponsored by the Central Missouri Society of the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA). Most evening events coincide with special exhibitions and are often funded by Museum Associates.

For many years the Museum has had cooperative programs with Columbia Public Schools and has received grants from the city

of Columbia's Office of Cultural Affairs for related program expenses. The grant that was active through most of 1995 and 1996 supported the development of a ninth through twelfth grade, curriculum-based art survey program. This was the first time the public school's involvement required the use of the Museum's resources. The program has four components: an in-service workshop for teachers; Docent-led Museum tours for students; an artist-in-residence activity with classroom demonstrations by artists at the University and in the community; and two exhibitions of student artwork at the Columbia Art League.

In the past, all Columbia Public School children in the second grade or fourth grade visited the Museum during the school year. In one program, fifty-nine classes of second-graders and five high school classes in advanced jewelry-making visited two related exhibitions at the Museum. The high school students then created jewelry. Eighty-seven of the objects created by forty-four students were exhibited at the Columbia Art League.

Each summer the Museum conducted two, two-day programs for children between the ages of six and twelve. The 1995 programs related to the reinstalled Weinberg Gallery of Ancient Art. Those in 1996 used *Primarily Colors* (Fig. 11). I was pleased and surprised to see how much science, architecture



Fig. 11 The summer '96 education program *Tickle Me Pink* included lots of hands-on activity.



and knowledge of different cultures could be woven into the children's programs.

The Museum's Curator of Education, Luann Andrews, continued to lead innovative school programs and supervise the training of volunteer Docents (Fig. 12). This is a demanding program that requires auditing an art history course for two semesters and attending weekly sessions at the Museum. These sessions are conducted by Curator Andrews, both Museum curators and additional staff. Virtually all tours are conducted by these volunteer Docents.

I ended my eighteen months as interim director in September 1996. I was succeeded by Marlene Perchinske, who previously worked for sixteen years at the Museum of Modern Art in New York before moving to Columbia in 1992. She has been enthusiastically received by the staff. After a national search, she was named director.

I reiterate my appreciation to the dedicated and talented staff and to the generous and supportive Museum Associates. Both provide the means for maintaining the Museum's high level of activities during my tenure. I believe the Museum is poised to move forward to a significantly higher level of accomplishment. I urge the continued trend to increase University support and to find solutions to the serious lack of adequate building space that exists. It is difficult, if not impossible, for the Museum to move ahead in its present quarters.



Fig. 12 Docent Emeriti are Ed Ford, Nancy Frazier and Carol Lane with presenter Luann Andrews, curator of education/public and docent programs.

Interim Director  
Owen Koeppe



Fig. 1 A package of teriaca purchased in Venice in 1961. The ingredient opium (opio) is crossed out.

## THERIAC: A PANACEA FOR ALL PERIODS

Cathy Callaway

With advances in medical science and with the development of so many new medicines over the centuries, it is astonishing to find one medicine that was taken for more than two thousand years—from the third century B.C.E. to at least the early twentieth century.<sup>1</sup> This medicine is *theriac*. The name is derived from the Greek word *therion*, meaning “a wild beast.”<sup>2</sup> Originally, theriac was the name given to an antidote used to counteract the bites of venomous creatures. In time, theriac acquired many ingredients and became a cure for everything—the ultimate panacea (Fig. 1).

Evidence for the existence of theriaca is twofold: 1) various medical and historical texts, and 2) a number of lead caps for medicine bottles.<sup>3</sup> The latter are identified by inscriptions that mention where the medicine was made and its name. A considerable number of these lead disks were found during excavations at ancient Corinth. There were four types of these disks or bottle tops, each distinguished by the emblems upon them, and they have been described in *Corinth XII*.<sup>4</sup> Since that publication, ten more of these lead caps have been discovered in Corinth. Isolated examples of these disks have been found elsewhere,<sup>5</sup> including sixteen specimens that belong to the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri–Columbia. These lead caps were picked up on the beach in Istanbul by the late George Zacos, who donated them to the Museum in 1974.

The circular lead seals vary slightly in size and have vertical flanges.<sup>6</sup> Each one bears a central design surrounded by an inscription, both of which are in relief. The inscriptions are in Italian and include three elements: the name of the medicine, the name of the design depicted and the place of manufacture—Venice in every case. Venice was the most esteemed center for the manufacture of theriac. Other locations include the Italian cities of Florence, Bologna and Genoa, as well as more remote places such as Constantinople and Cairo.<sup>7</sup>

Actual safeguards for the manufacture of theriac were not seen until the



Fig. 2 Lead bottle tops with an eagle in profile, number 1 or acc. no. 74.29, and number 2 or acc. no. 74.30.

seventeenth century when regulations were imposed on apothecaries, and public production was instituted. This occurred first in France at Montpellier in 1606.<sup>8</sup> According to G. W. Corner:

The fame of theriac was so great that the drug passed out of the hands of legitimate physicians and became an article of commerce among the people. To that rascally mediaeval army of peripatetic mountebanks, palmers, medicant friars and pardoners, was added a troop of *triacleurs* who wandered from place to place selling their nostrum to the rustics... In self-defense, therefore, in the seventeenth century the regular profession began to hedge about the preparation and sale of theriac with diverse laws and customs tending toward uniformity. The drug was often compounded in public by reputable men in order that the populace might know that everything was done in proper manner.<sup>9</sup>

Gladys D. Weinberg suggests three possibilities for the appearance of the bottle caps in Corinth: 1) the medicine was made before such regulations were in force, 2) the manufacturers received special permission to make the drug, or 3) the medicine was an illicit product. Rebecca Robinson, an excavator of the Temple Hill area in Corinth, concludes that the second

assumption is probably the correct one and doubts that the lead caps in Corinth can be dated before 1606. Robinson notes that the bottle caps from Temple Hill were found in eighteenth- to nineteenth-century lots and should be dated accordingly.<sup>10</sup> Theriac's use in Corinth probably coincided with the appearance of Venetian imports in Greece and continued throughout the following centuries, as in the rest of Europe.

The sixteen caps in Missouri consist of five distinct types. The most common type (numbers 1–9) has an eagle standing with its head in profile and its body facing the viewer (Fig. 2). The eagle is crowned, its wings are spread, and its tail is visible between its legs. These examples are made from several different molds.<sup>11</sup> All have a border of letters between two raised lines; many of the inscriptions are difficult to read. The best preserved is on number one, which reads as follows:

TERIACA • F(INA) ALL • A QVILA NERA VEN •  
 “Fine theriac. At [the sign of] the Black Eagle. Venice.”

In the Missouri collection, three examples depict the second type (numbers 10–12): a male bust with a laurel crown appears in right profile on these disks.<sup>12</sup> Two of these caps show the bust of a handsome young man in profile; the third representation (number 12) is more crude. To the right is a small, winged lion of St. Mark, the symbol of Venice; tails of the wreath's



Fig. 3 Lead bottle top with crowned male bust (and inscription showing TESTA D'ORO), number 12 or acc. no. 74.24.



Fig. 4 Lead bottle top with ostrich and snake, small winged lion and DORO, number 13 or acc. no. 74.26.



Fig. 5 Lead bottle top with two-headed eagle on citron. Courtesy of Temple Hill Excavations, Corinth, Greece MF 78-79.



Fig. 6 Lead bottle top with pilgrim, number 16 or acc. no. 74. 39.

ribbons flow to the left (Fig. 3). Each of these examples is from a different mold. The inscription seen in the encircling border of two raised lines reads:

TERIACA FINA ALLA TESTA DORO IN  
VENEZIA•

“Fine theriac at [the sign of] the Golden Head in Venice.”

There are two examples in the Missouri collection of the third type—an ostrich (numbers 13–14)—and each is from an entirely different mold. On both caps an ostrich faces left and holds a snake in its mouth (Fig. 4). On one of these (number 14), the ostrich is depicted with short legs and an ungainly neck.<sup>13</sup> In the left field is a small winged lion, similar in appearance to the lions depicted on the caps with crowned male busts (numbers 10 and 12). In the upper left field behind the ostrich’s head are the letters DO, followed by RO on the upper right. Like the other types of caps in the Missouri collection, an inscription appears on the outer edge of the top between raised borders. Neither inscription is perfectly legible, but they may be tentatively restored by referring to an example found in Corinth (*Corinth XII* No. 2837), which bears a similar image:

[THERIACA] FINA AL STRUZZO [IN VEN].

“Fine theriac at [the sign of] the Ostrich in Venice.”

The fourth type of cap in the Missouri collection (number 15) shows a two-headed eagle perched on the top of a large citron.<sup>14</sup> There is a lion of St. Mark to the right, and on the left is another unidentifiable winged beast. Thanks to a Corinth example (Fig. 5), the semi-legible inscription can be restored to read:

[TERI]ACA [F •AL •CEDRO•IM]PERIALE•VEN\*

“Fine theriac at [the sign of] the Imperial Citron.Venice.”

To date, the final lead bottle cap in the Missouri collection (number 16) is unique. On it appears a bust of a bearded male in frontal view, with a hat in relief.<sup>15</sup> To the left of the male is a staff, which is topped by two spoons with a piece of cloth attached to the upper spool (Fig. 6). The figure's hat is two-cornered, and again, the figure is framed by an inscription between raised borders:

TERIACA...AL PEL[LEGR]INO•IN•VENET.

“Theriac at [the sign of] the Pilgrim in Venice.”

The various emblems on the seals, 1) the eagle, 2) the wreathed male bust, 3) the ostrich, 4) the citron with the two-headed eagle and 5) the pilgrim, along with their descriptive inscriptions, probably represent private trademarks. The existence of the Farmacia Testa d'Oro (or the Pharmacy of the Golden Head), which used the laureate male bust as a trademark, can be traced to as late as 1961 (Fig. 7). The use of these trademarks, signifying the private pharmacy that produced the contents, along with the statement of origin, might illustrate the attempt of the manufacturers to distinguish their product from a counterfeit one. Perhaps they were prompted by a regulation that demanded the identification of the origin of the product. The inferior design of number twelve might well represent an attempt to imitate a known trademark while passing off an inferior product<sup>16</sup> (Fig. 8).

The symbols have an iconographical importance of their own. For example, the winged lion is the attribute of St. Mark and another reference to the city of Venice. The eagle, when seen on Roman coins, is an emblem of imperial power, while the two-headed eagle is related to the Janus symbol.<sup>17</sup> These symbols were either adopted by specific pharmacies, or else the pharmacy in question



Fig. 7 Sign on door of the Pharmacy of the Golden Head, under the Rialto Bridge, Venice, 1961. Courtesy Gladys Weinberg.



Fig. 8 Lead bottle top with crowned male bust, number 10 or acc. no. 74. 25.



created its own, as in the case of the laureate male bust for the Pharmacy of the Golden Head. Some of the symbols on the lead bottle caps, in addition to representing the pharmacy of origin, may reflect the exotic provenance of some of the ingredients. Just as the orders and reports of the Byzantine Empire were sealed with embossed lead, the lead caps on the theriac containers also served to protect and certify the authenticity of their contents.

Different theriacs could be made from herbs or from a combination of herbs, minerals and animal substances. The main purpose of theriacs was originally to counteract the venom of wild animals, while antidotes were conceived for poisons. Both theriacs and antidotes probably originated at the beginning of the third century B.C.E., perhaps in Alexandria.<sup>18</sup> The celebrated medical writer Galen (129–200 C.E.), personal physician to several emperors including Marcus Aurelius, ascribed his earliest prescription of a theriac to an Apollodorus.<sup>19</sup> One of the latter's prescriptions for the medicine contains six herbal elements and opium,<sup>20</sup> which appears frequently in later recipes for theriac.

The "scientific" beginnings of theriaca are attributed to Mithridates, a king of Pontus, who ruled after 115 B.C.E. and was more concerned about being poisoned by enemies than being bitten by a wild beast. Mithridates reportedly tested simple drugs on condemned criminals and then combined them into one antidote for protection against all poisons. This antidote was called eponymously "mithridatium" (Galen *Anti.* 1.1/XIV 2 K). According to Pliny the Elder, the notes of Mithridates, including the recipe for theriac, were retrieved by Pompey the Great after the king's death in 63 B.C.E. and brought to Rome.<sup>21</sup> There is some confusion as to the designation "theriac." A number of remedies claimed the name before it was applied to a remedy that contained viper flesh, which is said to have been concocted by Andromachus, the physician to the Emperor Nero in the first century C.E.<sup>22</sup> According to Galen, Andromachus removed some ingredients from mithridatium and added others, such as the viper's flesh. Thus he created a theriac, which he called "Galene" or "tranquility."<sup>23</sup> In time, this became the recipe that completely appropriated the name theriac.

The most documented period in theriac history ranges from the first to second centuries C.E. Not until the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, however, is there testimony of the regular use of theriac by a specific person.<sup>24</sup> According to Dio Cassius:



It was not his custom to eat during the day except for the drug called theriac. This drug he took not so much because he feared anything as because his stomach and chest were in bad condition. And it is related that this practice enabled him to endure the disease as well as other hardships.

(*Roman History* 72)

Of the emperor's use of theriac Galen reports thus:

And when it happened that he got very sleepy during his daily duties, he removed the poppy-juice. Thereupon, it happened that because of his former mixture... he spent a greater part of each night sleepless. It was due to this, then, that he was compelled to add the poppy-juice again, since this had already become a habit.

(*Antidotes* 1.1/XIV 3-4 K)

Marcus Aurelius does not appear to be taking the medicine to counteract possible threats on his life. Instead, the Emperor, famous stoic and author of *The Meditations*, took it to deal with what was perhaps chronic pain. Both Dio and Galen prompt one to conclude that the Emperor was an opium addict.<sup>25</sup>

Andromachus gave his prescription for theriaca in verse, a fact that was praised by Galen because in that form it was easier to remember and fewer alterations were likely to be made. The poem, consisting of 176 verses in Greek, is addressed to Nero and recounts the ingredients of Galene and the dangers it prevents (*Anti.*1.6/XIV 32-42 K). A hundred years later, Galen cites the poem, discusses the drug and gives its dosages.<sup>26</sup> Galen believed that Andromachus secured the right to the name theriac not just because it protected against the bite or sting of a wild beast, but because it actually contained the flesh of a wild beast (*Ther.*5/XIV 232 K).

The main ingredients of theriaca were squills, viper's flesh and hedychrom—all of which were formed into lozenges.<sup>27</sup> Squill is a Mediterranean bulbous herb used as a stimulant, and hedychrom is a compound of herbs meant to overcome any nasty flavor or smell of other ingredients. Fifty-five herbs, each of which had a different and complicated preparation,



Fig. 9 *St. Jerome in his Study* circa 1435 by Jan van Eyck, courtesy the Detroit Institute of Arts. A jar on the shelf is labeled *theriac*, which was an aid in composition.

were mixed with the prescribed amount of the squill, viper, hedychrom, honey, poppy-juice, cinnamon and other exotic ingredients. This mixture was then matured for the proper period. Twelve years was preferred, but Marcus Aurelius used it within two months (*Anti.*1.13/XIV 65 K; *Ther.*14/XIV 268–269 K).

In one of his works (*Ther.*12/XIV 259–269 K) Galen lists sixty-four ingredients with their amounts, including honey and wine, for Andromachus' recipe. Ingredients were dictated not only by prescription, but by fashion, supply and demand. One can imagine that the preparation of theriac could be modified in order to satisfy any client. Physicians each prescribed their own recipes for theriac, and no doubt the ingredients for theriac were carefully guarded. In Rome, Galen sought out the *marsi*—the *theriodeiktai* or “displayers of wild

animals”—snake-hunters, charmers and druggists in order that he might obtain advice about poisons, as well as about which snakes to include in his antidotes.<sup>28</sup> Drugs and spices were brought from Arabia and India, while root-cutters from Crete sent herbs, roots and all, sealed with a special seal in wicker baskets to be reserved in the royal storerooms at Rome.<sup>29</sup> As the demand for more exotic and even aged ingredients increased, some supplies became depleted. While theriac was in vogue in Marcus Aurelius' lifetime, many of the hard-to-obtain ingredients were omitted. After his death, the drug fell out of fashion and rarer ingredients were reintroduced.<sup>30</sup> Surely some of the ingredients found in the theriac taken by Marcus Aurelius were

required in later recipes. The importance of their purity and quality is reflected in the twentieth-century instructions included with the drug,<sup>31</sup> as well as in the inscriptions on the lead bottle caps. The F(INA) especially conveys the guarantee of a certain grade of theriac and vouches for its method of preparation.

Galen recommended that theriac be taken with water or wine. The dosage was given as the size of an Egyptian bean, or an Avellan nut, depending on the last time the patient had eaten. Theriac should never be taken after a heavy meal or in a hot climate and should never be given to children (*Ther.17/XIV* 284–287 K). Galen might have been surprised to see theriac taken in India and regularly dispensed to children in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.


Information about theriaca in the third to fifth centuries of the common era is scarce, but we have several references to it in the sixth and seventh centuries. Both Aëtius and Paul of Aegina mention theriaca.<sup>32</sup> There is a later record of it having been sent to King Alfred the Great, who died in 901 C.E., by the Patriarch of Jerusalem. Theriac also appears at the court of Louis IV of France (936–954 C.E.). After this period there is another lacuna in our knowledge of theriac until the medical writings of the Greeks and Romans, which had been translated into Arabic, came west again, along with the works of Muslim physicians.<sup>33</sup> In the twelfth century, theriac was manufactured in Venice, the home of the most celebrated product and the most important place for this study.<sup>34</sup> After the twelfth century there are any number of references to its use (Fig. 9). For example, in 1348, the Medical Faculty of Paris recommended theriac. King Henry V of England (1413–1422) had a treacle box. Reportedly, theriac was prepared in the town hall of Lyons in 1592. During the sixteenth century, celebrations honored the preparation of theriac in Germany. In 1603 the pharmacy in Venice near the Rialto Bridge began to make theriac (Fig. 7).<sup>35</sup>

Pharmacopoeias, authoritative publications issued with a list and description of drugs and medicinal products, together with the standards established under law for their production,



Fig. 10 French pharmacy jar owned by Gladys Weinberg and purchased in 1972 in Athens, Greece.

dispensation and use, are useful references with which to chart the appearance of theriaca. The drug was mentioned in the 1625 *Pharmacopœia* in London. During Louis XIV's reign (1643–1714) theriac was produced on a huge scale. The last issue of the *Pharmacopœia* in England in which Galene (theriac) was mentioned appeared in 1746. Theriac, however, appeared in the German *Pharmacopœia* in 1862 and in the French *Pharmacopœia* in 1884. Sonnini, who visited the Aegean during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, found it commonly used in the islands—especially on children: “Scarcely a day passes without a little child swallowing some of this drug...so that it may be asserted that, in the ARCHIPELAGO, a child consumes more of this treacle during its first two years than the man of our countries, the greatest admirer of this composition [drug], during his whole life.”<sup>36</sup> Travelers in the mid-1800s found it in India (tiriak) and Arabia (tiryâk).<sup>37</sup> Finally, theriac could be purchased in Venice as recently as 1961, though without some of the ingredients it once contained (Fig. 1).

Lead bottle caps, such as those in the University of Missouri collection, and other physical evidence such as paintings (Fig. 9), pharmacy jars (Fig. 10) and modern labels (Fig. 1), give a welcome glimpse into the history of this once popular medicine. The early origins of theriaca are confirmed by literary evidence that dates as early as the third century B.C.E. Perhaps even more extraordinary is the fact that theriac could still be purchased in this century. The lead bottle caps appear to be just one method of protecting the consumer from imitations, copies or fraud of this valuable medicine. This panacea or wonder drug was used by emperors, kings, ordinary citizens and children. It was prescribed to combat poisons and venoms but was also found useful in the treatment of various ailments brought on by a range of conditions. Whether one suffered from lack of sleep, nerves, stomach illness or the plague, theriaca was considered the appropriate treatment. 

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## NOTES

1. Gladys Davidson Weinberg was instrumental in both the inception and continuation of this project. Since her monumental work, *Corinth XII: The Minor Finds* (Princeton 1952), she has pursued different leads for theriaca and graciously handed over all the information she had accrued over the years. I also wish to thank Lawrence Bliquez, David Jordan, Nancy Bookidis, Charles K. Williams II and Rebecca Robinson for their contributions.

2. “Theriac” is the anglicized form of the Greek adjective *theriake*. The adjectival form usually appears alone, the noun *antidosis* (“antidote”) being implied, although sometimes it is expressed. The Latin form is *theriaca*. The Greek neuter plural *Theriaka* is the title of certain works on animals and their bites. The Latin form is identical. G. Watson, *Theriac and Mithridatium* (London 1966) p. 4, discusses the term and also cites “treacle,” as an English derivative from “theriac,” which had the same meaning until the end of the seventeenth century (Oxford English Dictionary [1693] s.v. “The chief use of vipers is for the making of treacle.”) “Treacle” might be most familiar to readers of Lewis Carroll’s *Alice in Wonderland*. During the Mad Hatter’s Tea-Party, the Dormouse begins a story about three little girls who lived in the bottom of a well and survived on treacle (Fig. 11). Three explanations for its appearance here are: 1) that the treacle referred to by the Dormouse is molasses, 2) that it is water drawn from a well and thought to have a medicinal value, expressed by the name given to theriaca at that period in history, or 3) that this actually refers to a compound of theriaca. See *The Annotated Alice* ed. Marvin Gardner (New York 1960) p. 100.



Fig. 11 John Tenniel drawing from *The Annotated Alice*, p. 103. The Mad Hatter and the March Hare try to put the Dormouse into the teapot.

3. There are a variety of methods for closing up the contents of bottles and jars. For example, the albarelli, or drug pots, found in Frankish Corinth were capped either with parchment and a string or with clay stoppers; the latter were locally made and unglazed. C.K. Williams II and O.H. Zervos, “Frankish Corinth: 1993,” *Hesperia* 63 (1994) pp. 16–17, 19.

4. The group found at Corinth before 1952 can be seen in *Corinth XII*, pp. 315–316 and 329, nos. 2833–2839, plate 134. Most of the lead seals bear a similar impression of two “Moors” facing each other with an inscription that reads, according to the author:

THERIACA•FINA•ALI•DVE•MORI•VEN•:

“Fine theriac. At the sign of the Two Moors. Venice.”

Other types include a profile bust of a laureate male head, an ostrich holding a snake in its mouth and an apple. These types will be referred to again.

5. For isolated caps, see numbers 144 and 145 in A.W. Dunn’s *A Handlist of the Byzantine Seals and Tokens in the Barber Institute* (The Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham, England 1983). Both have male laureate busts facing right, with a circular inscription between concentric lines that mentions the medicine theriaca. The latter has also been published by V. Laurent, “Capsules Métalliques de thériaque Vénitienne à la Testa d’oro,” *Bulletin des Sciences Historiques de l’Académie Roumaine* 28 (1947) pp. 205–207. In addition, see T. Gerassimov, “Capsules en Plomb de Flacons a Theriaque Vénitienne,” *Izvestiia* 26 (1963) pp. 277–280, Russian with French summary.

6. Usually 0.023 m to 0.025 m in diameter, but *Corinth XII* no. 2836 is a curious exception, measuring 0.042 m in diameter.

7. C.J.S. Thompson, *The Mystery and Art of the Apothecary* (London 1929) p. 62 and pp. 214–215. “Since Venice, with its great fleet, had the most direct trade with the Mediterranean lands whence most of the ingredients came, its product was considered the best,” G.W. Corner, “Mithridatium and Theriac, the Most Famous Remedies of Old Medicine,” *Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin* 26 (1915) p. 224.

8. *Corinth XII* p. 316.

9. Corner, pp. 224–225.

10. Ms. Rebecca Robinson graciously shared the draft of her work on the



Temple Hill excavations and allowed the publication of one of the bottle caps from that area (inv. no. MF 78–74) as a parallel for one in the collection at the University of Missouri–Columbia. She notes that Dr. Weinberg had already revised her dating of the bottle caps, which appeared in *Corinth XII* along these same lines.

11. Numbers 1–9 (acc. nos. 74.29–74.37): nine circular lead bottle caps of distinct types. DIAMS (all measurements use the metric system): no. 1 (acc. no. 74.29) =  $0.025 \times 0.007$ ; no. 2 (acc. no. 74.30) =  $0.0245 \times 0.006$ ; no. 3 (acc. no. 74.31) =  $0.023 \times 0.005$ ; nos. 4 and 5 (acc. nos. 74.32 and 74.33) =  $0.024 \times 0.005$ ; no. 6 (acc. no. 74.34) is difficult to see, DIAM:  $0.025 \times 0.005$ ; no. 7 (acc. no. 74.35) =  $0.0245 \times 0.006$ ; no. 8 (acc. no. 74.36) =  $0.0235 \times 0.006$ ; no. 9 (acc. no. 74.37) =  $0.025 \times 0.004$  (flattened). All have the impression of an eagle crowned in profile, with its body shown in a frontal position, wings spread and tail down between its legs. One type of eagle has uplifted wings delineated with feathers.

12. Number 10 (acc. no. 74.25) lead bottle seal, DIAM: 0.038, flattened, thickest end 0.003. The circular bottle seal bears a stamp on the upper surface of a wreathed male bust in profile to the right. The features are florid; the eye unusually large. Numbers 11 and 12 (acc. nos. 74.23 and 74.24) are two bottle caps of roughly the same size, DIAM: 0.038 and 0.0375, both flattened. Each has a wreathed male bust in profile to the right with heads and features smaller and finer than number 10. A small winged lion of St. Mark is apparent to the right. Each has an inscription encircling the head; number 11 is nearly obliterated. Compare to *Corinth XII* no. 2836 with perhaps a different inscription.

13. Numbers 13 and 14 (acc. nos. 74.26 and 74.27) are two inscribed lead bottle tops, DIAM.  $0.023 \times 0.0025$ ;  $0.025 \times 0.004$ . These are circular with their impression in relief. An ostrich faces left holding a snake in its mouth. Number 14 is badly preserved, but the snake is more visible due to the flattened state of the lead seal itself. The inscription on number 13 is somewhat easier to read: FINA AL STRUZ is legible.

14. Number 15 (acc. no. 74.28) DIAM:  $0.025 \times 0.006$ . A circular bottle cap

with two-headed eagle on citron and inscription in relief. A parallel was found in Corinth in the Temple Hill excavations of 1978 (inv. no. MF 78–74), which provides a perfectly legible inscription:

TERIACA•F•AL•CEDRO•IMPERIALE•VEN\*

15. Number 16 (acc. no. 74.39) DIAM: 0.028 x 0.007. A bearded male with hat, frontal view.

16. See *Corinth XII* p. 316 and no. 2835 for another example of this.

17. See G.G. Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols in Christian Art* (New York 1975) and J.E. Cirlot, *A Dictionary of Symbols* (New York 1962), under specific symbols. For the eagle, see T.G.H. Drance, "The eagle: an antique obstetrical amulet," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 8 (1940) pp. 128–132.

18. According to Watson, p. 70, although fragments of poetry referring to the drug date as far back as the fourth or third century B.C.E.

19. *Anti*, 2.14/XIV 181 & 184 K. The bulk of Galen's writings on theriaca can be found in three works. The titles and abbreviations for these are as follows: *De antidotis* in two books (*Anti*. 1 or 2); *De theriaca ad Pisonem* (*Ther*.); and third *De theriaca ad Pamphilium* (*Ad Pamp.*), a short work and perhaps not by Galen. The texts of Galen referred to are those in C.G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia*, in twenty volumes; the above works are contained in vol. XIV (Leipzig 1827; repr. 1965). "K" denotes the volume and page in Kühn.

20. The history of opium is complex and perhaps best left to other studies. Opium is found in Crete as early as Late Minoan III (1550 B.C.), see P.G. Kritikos, "Der Mohn, das Opium und ihr Gebrauch im Spatminoicum III," *Praktika* 35 (1960) pp. 56ff, esp. p. 71. In Egypt, opium was used at least in the eighteenth dynasty (1500 B.C.E.), see Kritikos pp. 60ff, and R.S. Merrillees, "Opium Trade in the Bronze Age Levant," *Antiquity* 36 (1962) pp. 287–292. See also G. Majno, *The Healing Hand* (Cambridge, MA 1975) pp. 109–111 and pp. 144–146.



21. Pliny the Elder (23–79 C.E.) *Natural History* (*N. H.*) 23.149; 25.5–25.7. Also see *N. H.* 29.24–29.25 for a description of the antidote mithridatium.

22. Pliny does not help solve the confusion; at one point he talks of viper lozenges, which the “Greeks” called “theriaci” (*N. H.* 29.24 and 69). Pliny (*N. H.* 20.264) and Galen (*Anti.* 2.14/XIV 183 K) cite a “theriac” (their term) as early as Antiochus III (223–187 B.C.E.), which was created to protect users from the bites of serpents.

23. *Ther.* 5/XIV 232–233 K; *Anti.* 1.1 and 6/XIV 2–3 and 32 K; *Ad Pamp.* XIV 307 K. The name might reflect the fact that Andromachus increased the opium content (according to Majno, p. 415).

24. Watson p. 87.

25. There are humorous references in Lucian to the Emperor’s addiction to mandragora, another narcotic plant. See E.C. Witke, “Marcus Aurelius and Mandragora,” *Classical Philology* 60 (1965) pp. 23–24. As Watson states on page 89, however, “If antidotes and theriacs enabled him to find the strength to write his *Meditations*, even for this service alone the world owes them lasting gratitude.”

26. Galen cites Andromachus’ poem in its entirety in two of his works (*Anti.* 1.6/XIV 32–42 K and *Ther.* 6/XIV 233 K). The formula for the theriac of Nicander of Colophon (second century B.C.E.) was reported by Pliny and Galen to be inscribed in verse on stone in the temple of Asclepius on the island of Cos. See C.H. La Wall, *Four Thousand Years of Pharmacy* (Philadelphia 1927) p. 71.

27. A description of hedychroum can be found in *Anti.* 1.10/XIV 51–54 and *Ther.* 13/XIV 262–263 K, where Galen also gives instructions on how to form these lozenges from the different ingredients. Pliny the Elder supplies details on how the lozenges of viper flesh are formed (*N. H.* 29.21). For preparation in general, see *Anti.* 1.15/XIV 82–99 K; *Ther.* 13–14/XIV 262–270 K; and *Ad Pamp.*(end)/XIV 306–310 K. See also Watson pp. 48–49.

28. See V. Nutton, "The Drug Trade in Antiquity," in *From Democedes to Harvey: Studies in the History of Medicine* (London 1988) pp. 138–145, esp. p. 139, on the *marsi*. The activities of these *marsi* include cutting off the heads and tails of the snakes, skinning and gutting them, and then washing the flesh.

29. Some of these, according to Galen, would remain untouched for years. See *Anti.* 1.13/XIV 62–67 K for Galen's description of his own problems with cinnamon. After the death of Marcus Aurelius, his son and successor, the Emperor Commodus showed no interest in theriac. When the Emperor Severus (193–211 C.E.) requested some, Galen had lost his suppliers. See also Watson p. 50 and Nutton p. 142.

30. Nutton p. 142.

31. A partial translation of the Italian on the package label, and the instructions for using its contents follows: (See Fig. 1).

USE: for intestinal trouble, nerves, parasites, and pain of the stomach.

DOSAGE: a teaspoon for an adult, from one third to a half a teaspoon for a child two years old, twice a day.

RENOWNED MAKER OF FINE THERIACA

of the pharmacy of the GOLDEN HEAD

of the heirs of G. B. SILVESTRINI

VENICE—THE RIALTO BRIDGE—VENICE

Theriaca of the elder Andromachus

A DIVINE INVENTION

The THERIACA (fina = refined) is a most useful medicine in the care of the nervous and wormy intestines—against the ache of the belly—and in so many other troubles that for the sake of brevity they will not be enumerated; a medicine famous due to all the effectiveness of the famous THERIACA of the Pharmacy of the Golden Head of VENICE.

IN ORDER TO AVOID therefore the purchase of Teriaca of no efficacy and also of questionable safety, always ask for TERIACA of the PHARMACY of the Golden Head of Venice.

Only then can you be secure that you have a certified TERIACA.

DEMAND that each pot be sealed with a label—and carries the trademark HEAD OF GOLD—VENICE.

Protect yourself against imitations and copies—to avoid frauds ask for “Teriaca of the Pharmacy of the Golden Head—Venice.”

32. Aërius (sixth century) and Paul of Aegina (seventh century), the latter of whom was the last of the Byzantine physicians at Alexandria before it was captured in 642 A.D. by the Arabs (Watson pp. 95–97). According to Corner, p. 223, most of the ingredients of theriaka belong to the class Paul of Aegina called “desiccative and heating.” In short, the theriac of Andromachus was “an opiated sudorific.”

33. Watson pp. 96–98. This information was much needed by the Italians, he maintains, because they were ready and resourceful poisoners.

34. Watson pp. 98, 104. The following survey was culled from Watson, pp. 98–150.

35. See Jan Morris, *Venice* (London 1960; repr. 1974) pp. 91–92, who comments on the marks made by caldrons of theriaca, which are still visible, and H.V. Morton, *A Traveller in Italy* (London 1964) pp. 388–392, who informs his readers that one can still buy theriaca.

36. C.S. Sonnini, *Travels in Greece and Turkey* (London 1801) pp. 347–348.

37. Henry Beveridge, *History of India* (Calcutta 1858–1886) II:V p. 108, and Charles Montagu Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (London 1888) II p. 13.



Fig. 1. Bone statuette, Asia Minor, A.D. 200, Columbia, Missouri, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, H. 11.6 cm. (a. front view, b. profile view, c. back view) acc. no. 74.138.



Fig. 2. Bone statuette, Asia Minor, A.D. 200, Columbia, Missouri, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, H. 19.1 cm. (a. front view, b. profile view, c. back view) acc. no. 74.136.

WOMEN IN CONTEXT: EIGHT STATUETTES FROM THE  
ROMAN PERIOD  
Archer St. Clair

THE COLLECTION OF THE MUSEUM OF ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY INCLUDES eight statuettes of women that were acquired in 1974 as part of a group of Roman bone objects (Figs. 1–8). Except for brief mention at the time of their acquisition, they remain unpublished. They constitute a valuable addition to the corpus of small-scale Roman sculpture from Asia Minor and are of interest to scholars not only as artifacts or works of art but as important and underused evidence for the social and cultural history of the Roman empire.<sup>1</sup>

Considerable variety exists within this group. The figures range in height from slightly over 11 to more than 19 centimeters. Two are clearly naked and a third, although far more schematically rendered, was perhaps intended as such (Figs. 1, 2, 7). The remainder appear to wear long garments that accentuate their columnar appearance. Stylistically, the range is from realistic to a highly schematic rendering of the human form. Despite these differences, however, the statuettes share basic characteristics. Except for one three-quarter-length figure (Fig. 1), they are full-length, and they are rigidly frontal in pose. All are carved from bone and belong to a category of figures commonly referred to as “articulated” because the arms are carved separately and attached to the bodies with pins. Only one of the figures retains its original arms (Fig. 4), but in the other figures the holes for their attachment are clearly visible in the profile views. Because articulation of arms and legs is frequently associated with dolls, both ancient and modern, these small figures have been classified as dolls since their acquisition.

All the statuettes retain traces of paint. On the more schematically rendered figures the pupils and outlines of the eyes and eyebrows are rendered with black paint. Traces of paint, including black on the hair and red, yellow and white on the garments of the figures indicate that they were painted as well. While it is not certain that the paint is original, the presence of similar coloring on examples excavated from second- to third-century contexts at Dura Europos confirms that such figures were routinely painted



Fig. 3. Bone statuette, Asia Minor, A.D. 200, Columbia, Missouri, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, H. 12.9 cm. (a. front view, b. profile view, c. back view) acc. no. 74.132.

in antiquity (Fig. 9).<sup>2</sup> Two of the figures have pierced ears (Figs. 1, 8), and some may have worn necklaces or bracelets—adornments common to both cult figures and dolls.<sup>3</sup>

The eight Missouri-owned figures belong to a relatively large group of similar statuettes that appeared on the market beginning in the 1960s. They continue to be sold today with a provenance most often listed as southeastern Turkey or Syria. They have been acquired by various institutions and private collectors.<sup>4</sup> Study of these figures has been hindered by the lack of precise documentation in the form of archaeological context or other information that might aid in dating and more precisely localizing them. Many of the statuettes remain unpublished, and they have received little attention as a group. A number of examples from private collections, however, were included in Michel Manson's unpublished 1978 dissertation on dolls.<sup>5</sup>

Despite marked differences in style and execution, the similar conception of these figures, notably the columnar form that flares slightly at top and bottom, has led scholars to see a common aesthetic at work, perhaps over a broad period of time. Similarly, the articulated construction of these figures has led to the assumption of a common function, namely as dolls.<sup>6</sup> Such assumptions, however, fail to take into account the nature of the material from which the figures were carved and, in particular, the constraints bone places upon the artist and its effect on the object's final form. An examination of the Missouri figures provides a cautionary tale in this regard and suggests that the function of these figures bears re-examination.

All of the figures are carved from bone, specifically long bones that form the appendicular skeleton



Fig. 4. Bone statuette, Asia Minor, A.D. 200, Columbia, Missouri, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, H. 11.2 cm. (a. front view, b. profile view, c. back view) acc. no. 74.134.

of mammals, in this case probably cattle or sheep (Fig. 10).<sup>7</sup> With the exception of the tallest figure, which is carved from two long bones joined together (Fig. 2), each figure is carved from a single bone. The bones most commonly used were the metapodial or cannon bones, either the front leg (metacarpus) or the rear (metatarsus). These bones were probably reserved for craftsmen by butchers.<sup>8</sup> They are basically hollow cylinders with expanded articular ends (Fig. 11). In the case of the Missouri statuettes, the articular ends have been sawed off, while the flaring ends of the bones have been retained and exploited for the heads and bases of the figures, which gives them their undeniably columnar appearance. On some, the bases have a raised rim that further stabilizes them (Figs. 1, 4, 6). On others, one articular end has been retained, usually the distal end of cattle or sheep metapodials. This then is used for the lower portion of the figure, with the articular condyles shaped to form the feet (Figs. 9, 12). The natural vertical indentation formed by the fusion of two digits in cattle metapodials is sometimes used to suggest legs (Fig. 12). The more crudely carved figures best preserve the original shape of the bone. Most of the statuettes are summarily carved on the sides and back, revealing the unpolished surface of the bone as well as evidence of the use of saw and chisel for preliminary shaping. The central medullary (marrow) cavity, which occupies the interior of the diaphysis (Fig. 11), is a conspicuous feature of our statuettes when they are viewed from top or bottom (Fig. 13). Originally, however, these holes may have been closed by plugs cut from a longitudinal section of long bone, providing an uninterrupted surface at the top of



Fig. 5. Bone statuette, Asia Minor, A.D. 200 or later, Columbia, Missouri, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, H. 11.8 cm. (a. front view, b. profile view, c. back view) acc. no. 74.137.



Fig. 6. Bone statuette, Asia Minor, A.D. 200-300, Columbia, Missouri, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, H. 16.5 cm. (a. front view, b. profile view, c. back view) acc. no. 74.139.





Fig. 7. Bone statuette, Asia Minor, A.D. 200–300 or later, Columbia, Missouri, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, H. 11.7 cm. (a. front view, b. profile view, c. back view) acc. no. 74.133.

the statuette and perhaps at the bottom as well.<sup>9</sup>

In addition to shape, bone possesses other distinctive qualities that affect the final form of the carved object. It is composed of two types of tissue: an inner cancellous tissue, sponge-like in texture, and an outer compact tissue, smooth, dense, hard and suitable for carving (Fig. 11). Because they are subjected to bending and torsion, long bones have a greater proportion of compact tissue and thus are desirable for carving. Nonetheless the amount of tissue that can be successfully carved is limited, especially when compared to a material such as ivory, which could be carved to a considerable depth.<sup>10</sup> On several of the statuettes, exposed areas of sponge-like cancellous tissue are clearly visible, especially in areas such as the neck and head (Figs. 4, 6, 7). Also characteristic of bone are tiny, dark spots visible on the surfaces. These mark the ends of nutrient foramina, the small canals that carry blood vessels. Their presence is another means by which bone is distinguished from ivory in the carved state.



Fig. 8. Bone statuette, A.D. 200 or later, Columbia, Missouri, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, H. 14.8 cm. (a. front view, b. profile view, c. back view) acc. no. 74.140.

As noted, the identification of these statuettes as dolls rests primarily on the fact that their arms are articulated, a feature often, but not exclusively, associated with dolls. Yet the nature of the material from which they are carved suggests that separately attached arms were a practical solution and therefore are not a reliable indicator of function. The bone's shape and limited amount of compact tissue meant that arms could be carved as part of the body only if they were held close to it and then with difficulty. An extended arm would be impossible. Although only one of the Missouri figures retains its arms, other surviving examples suggest that the position of the arms was standard: bent at the elbow and extended in front of the body at chest level (Fig. 4). The arms thus



were necessarily made separately and attached to the body. Figures carved from wood and from stone were similarly constructed with separately attached arms in antiquity, and they served a variety of purposes.<sup>11</sup> Further complicating the issue of function is the fact that none of our statuettes has articulated legs, although articulation of both arms and legs is characteristic of the majority of figures identified as dolls.<sup>12</sup> A final detail, which may also argue against this function, is the presence on all but one of the figures of two holes, one above the other, for the attachment of each arm to the body. Once fixed, the pins rendered the arms immobile. This is a marked contrast to figures that are generally characterized as dolls, where the limbs are attached by means of a single pin or wire that allows them to move forward,



Fig. 9. Bone statuettes, Dura Europos, A.D. 200-300, New Haven Yale University Art Gallery, inv.1932.397, H. 14.9 cm., 1932.1700 H. 9.3 cm., Arms 1938.711, 1938.712 (*I Claudia*, 146-147, no. 82).

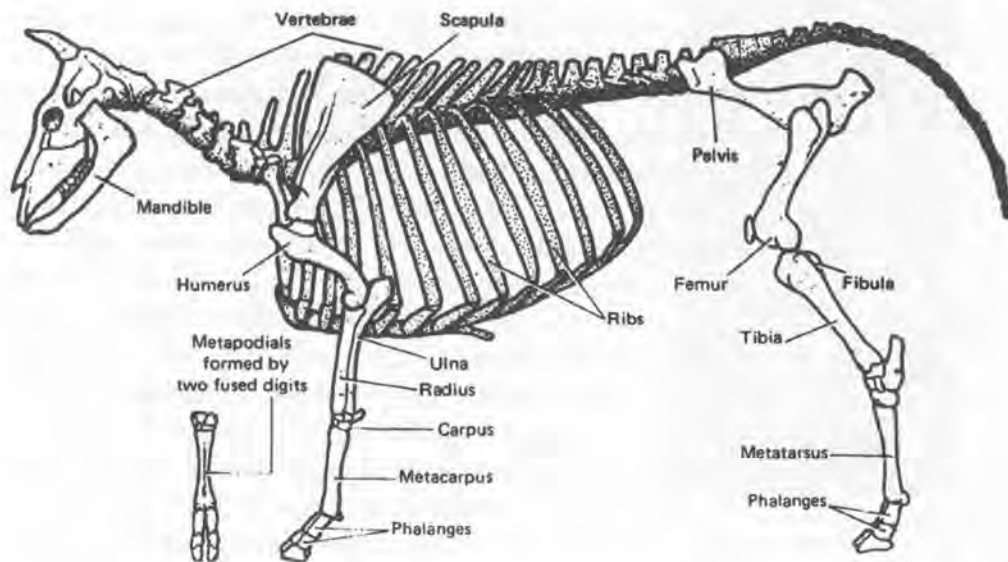


Fig. 10. Mammalian (cattle) skeleton (photo: MacGregor, *Bone, Antler, Ivory, and Horn*, 8, Fig. 7).



Fig. 11 Section of metatarsal bone showing marrow cavity, cancellous bone and compact bone (photo: St. Clair and McLachlan, *The Carver's Art*, 8, Fig.7).



Fig. 12 Bone statuette with distal end of bone used for legs and feet (formerly in the collection of N. Thierry, Paris.) Drawing by Scherrie Goettsch.

backward, or in a full circle (Fig.14).<sup>13</sup>

Rather than relegating these statuettes to the realm of dolls then, I would argue for their placement within a broader category of small-scale figures that might have served ritual or cult purposes as well, as ex-votos for example, or as cult figures within small-scale shrines. This category includes a large number of figures with articulated arms and fixed legs in several materials that survive from antiquity. The vast majority of these figures are female.<sup>14</sup>

Wooden examples, both naked and clothed, survive from Egypt from as early as 2000 B.C. (Fig.15).<sup>15</sup> Terra-cotta examples make an appearance during the course of the fourth century B.C. and remain popular in the Greek world through the Hellenistic period. The terra-cotta figures are nude with straight legs held together and arms attached at the shoulders by means of a wire or pins.<sup>16</sup> Examples in marble and alabaster survive from Mesopotamia with arms attached below the shoulders (Fig.16). On surviving examples, one arm is straight and the other extended forward, palm up. The fact that some of these figures wear a crescent headdress and jewelry associated with Ishtar has led scholars to identify these figures as cult images.<sup>17</sup> Their dating remains problematic with suggestions ranging from the third century B.C., based on style, to the second century A.D., based on archaeological context.<sup>18</sup>

Articulated figures in bone and ivory belong more typically, although not exclusively, to the Roman world.<sup>19</sup> Along with metal and stone, these materials began to displace terra-cotta in the first century A.D. While a few unarticulated Hellenistic types remained popular in terra-cotta, by the third century A.D. bone and ivory were among the most popular materials for small-scale sculpture. Surviving examples include dolls with articulated arms and legs, which survive primarily from the Western Empire and date from the second to the fourth century A.D. Bone appears to have been especially popular in the East where, along with ivory, it was used to depict figures of the highest rank in addition to cult figures and private portraits.<sup>20</sup> Figures with fixed legs and

articulated arms attached below the shoulders survive from first and second century A.D. contexts in Seleucia and in lesser numbers from Babylon (Fig.17).<sup>21</sup> The figures are highly stylized and difficult to date precisely, but they appear to be a less-refined version of the alabaster figure-type associated with Ishtar, which occurs in the same contexts. Based on hairstyles, these figures have been dated primarily to the first and second centuries A.D.<sup>22</sup>

The Missouri figures with articulated arms belong to a second Eastern group associated primarily with Syria and southeastern Turkey, although most figures entered the antiquities market without a confirmed provenance.<sup>23</sup> Important exceptions are examples excavated from secure second- to third-century contexts at Dura Europos (Fig.9), the Roman outpost on the Euphrates renowned for its well-preserved synagogue and Christian building.<sup>24</sup> These examples confirm a Syrian provenance for figures of this type and provide a valuable *terminus ante quem* for a particular style of figure within this group.

The Museum's collection provides good examples of both the wide range of types and the considerable variety in style within this group. In several cases it provides better evidence for dating and function than has hitherto been available. Nonetheless, the lack of a secure context for these statuettes, combined with the lack of comparable securely dated material in other media, make analysis and dating—especially of the more schematically carved examples—difficult. In some cases, however, hairstyles provide a general, if not always precise, guide to dating, presuming these figures reflect the current fashion of the time and place in



Fig. 13. Bone statuette, Columbia, Missouri, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (View a. from top and b. bottom) acc. no. 74.138.



Fig. 14. Ivory articulated doll, second century, Rome, Capitoline Museum, inv. 469, (photo: *Creperia Tryphaena*).



Fig. 15. Wooden statuette, Egypt, ca. 2000 B.C., Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum (after Elderkin, "Jointed Dolls," 456-457, Fig. 1. Drawing by Scherrie Goetsch).



Fig. 16. Alabaster statuette, Babylon, third- to second-century B.C, Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. A020127 H., 23 cm.

which they were made. It must be remembered, however, that given the simplified nature of these carvings and the distance from centers of imperial fashion, dating based on hairstyle alone remains tentative.

One of the most distinctive statuettes in the collection is a truncated figure that ends below the top of the legs with a base defined by a protruding rim (Fig. 1). The body is carefully modeled with the breasts, navel and pubis clearly defined. The neck, marked by incised creases, supports a head with a broad face, small mouth and nose and large eyes with clearly defined pupils, lids and incised brows. The hair begins low on the forehead and is drawn back smoothly from a central part to a bun at the back of the neck. The bun is missing, although there are three holes, one at the center, the others to either side, for its attachment, probably by means of a decorative pin.<sup>25</sup> The head is surmounted by a crescent-shaped diadem, and the ears are pierced. Traces of white and yellow paint remain on the front and back of the figure. The arms were attached by a pin at each shoulder. Both the hairstyle and the lunate diadem are associated with the empress Sabina, which makes a date in the early second century A.D. likely.<sup>26</sup> Four other bone statuettes, associated by their hairstyles with Sabina or with empresses of the Antonine period, belong to this subgroup, which is distinguished by the truncated, three-quarter figures and by the fact that the arms are attached at the shoulders through a single hole on each side.<sup>27</sup> The figures are clothed, but they are characterized by a similar subtle modeling of the body and clearly defined physiognomy, features that distinguish this subgroup from the majority of the statuettes. It is possible that the cruder truncated figure from Dura Europos, however,

is of this type (Fig.9). Manson, who identified this group as dolls, suggested that they were originally full-length figures whose legs were cut off at a later date to create statuettes.<sup>28</sup>

But the Missouri statuette contradicts this notion. The protruding rim that defines and creates a firm base clearly is a part of the original conception, indicating that this, and surely the other statuettes in this subgroup, were conceived as three-quarter figures from the beginning. Precedents for such truncated figures—with legs cut off above the knees—survive from the fifth century B.C. in terra-cotta and are depicted on Attic grave reliefs from the same period, where they are held by young girls. Although traditionally identified as dolls, Joan Reilly has convincingly argued for their function as votives, dedications intended to ensure the child's healthy development into womanhood.<sup>29</sup>

By far the largest figure in the collection is formed from two pieces of long bone joined together just below the hips (Fig.2). The figure sustained damage to the left side of the face, and there are breaks in the lower torso and legs. The torso is subtly modeled with the navel clearly indicated, although the breasts are without nipples, a detail that may have been rendered in paint. The pubis is indicated by a "V" and the thick legs, separated by a shallow indentation, end in block-like feet with crudely indicated toes. The thick neck with softly modeled creases supports a head with squared jaw. The nose and mouth are carefully modeled, but in this case the eyes, recessed beneath curved brows, are only summarily indicated, with details rendered in black paint, traces of which remain. The hairstyle is characterized by a central part with thick black hair drawn loosely to the back on either side and a flat bun on top of the head. Although cruder, the hairstyle can be related to that of the articulated ivory doll from Rome (Fig.14), which has been dated to the mid-second century A.D. based on a similar hairstyle with a wide braided bun worn by Faustina the Elder.<sup>30</sup> The back of the head is flat and uncarved, but the back of the torso and legs are carefully modeled. In profile, the figure is less successful, realism



Fig. 17. Bone statuette, Nippur, A.D. 100, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum, (after *American Journal of Archaeology* 1930, XXXIV, p. 474. (View a. front and b. back) Drawing by Scherrie Goettsch.

having been eschewed in favor of using the full thickness of the bone to create stability. The break at the top of the legs clearly reveals the medullary cavity and the limited amount of carvable compact tissue available to the artist. Visible at the shoulder are the two holes, both drilled twice, that fixed the arms in place. Two similar, but cruder, statuettes were included in Manson's study and were dated tentatively to the late first and second centuries A.D. on the basis of hairstyle.<sup>31</sup> Both are carved from a single long bone, and on both a raised edge below the neck suggests a tunic, although the lower body and legs are unclothed. While this is confusing, it should be remembered that whatever their function, such statuettes were likely designed to be clothed. Statues often were clothed within cult settings, for example, and the removable arms facilitated dressing and undressing.<sup>32</sup>

With one possible exception (Fig. 7), the remaining statuettes in the Museum's collection are clothed. Four of the figures wear long, form-fitting tunics that accentuate their columnar appearance. The raised edge is visible at the neck, and incised or raised linear designs decorate the lower portion of the garments (Figs. 3–6). On one statuette the horizontal indentation at chest level, which appears as well on one of the figures excavated at Dura Europos, was perhaps meant to suggest a tunic gathered beneath the breasts (Figs. 6, 9). Two of the statuettes have bases defined by a raised rim (Figs. 4, 6). In most cases the backs of the figures are plain, with flattened heads and little attempt at modeling, which contributes to the columnar effect in profile views. Arms were attached through two holes on each side of the bodies. Only one of the figures preserves its arms. They are typical for this type of figure, with short upper arms and long forearms extended at chest level (Fig. 4). In this example one of the two pins used to secure the arm is missing.

The most refined of the clothed statuettes (Fig. 3) is characterized by a softly modeled body beneath a long tunic that retains traces of brownish paint. In profile, it is clear that the raised decorative bands on the tunic serve to broaden the base and stabilize the figure. The facial type is similar to that of the large nude (Fig. 2). The hair, which retains evidence of black paint, is drawn back on either side from a central part. There is no bun at the back, which is summarily modeled, but several vertical incisions suggest that the hair may have been drawn up to form a pyramidal bun on top of the head in the manner of some portraits of Faustina the Elder and her daughters.<sup>33</sup> The top of the head is damaged, which makes it difficult to place the figure



more precisely within the second century based on hairstyle, but it appears to have been designed to receive a separate bun or adornment.

Two statuettes, more stylized in conception, have similar raised decoration at the bottom of the garment, and the bodies are similarly modeled with a suggestion of breasts beneath the clothing (Figs. 4, 5). The backs are flat. The heads of the figures differ. The large head of the figure with preserved arms (Fig. 4) is reminiscent of the more realistic figures with a small mouth and long nose. The hairstyle is a tower-like affair, rising in a V-shaped pattern from a raised band at the forehead. The second figure has more stylized features and hairstyle (Fig. 5). The mouth, nose and brows have been reduced to almost geometric simplicity. The hairstyle combines a V pattern at the center with hair pulled back horizontally on either side. The head is crowned by a modius. A third statuette (Fig. 6) combines a far more stylized body with a different facial type. The mouth is wide and thin-lipped, and the nose is pointed and less prominent than in the other examples. Both the eyes and brows retain traces of black paint. The hair is drawn back in a V-shaped pattern to form a tower-like coiffure. Dating these stylized figures on the basis of hairstyle is difficult. The figure with preserved arms (Fig. 4) calls to mind the second-century hairstyle associated with Plotina, wife of Trajan, characterized by a band at the forehead topped by an elaborate pile of hair that flows from a central part, albeit in the form of an inverted V.<sup>34</sup> Manson dates a closely related bone figure tentatively to the first century A.D.<sup>35</sup> However, hair delineated by a series of upright V's is common in highly schematized works of art from later periods, a fact that complicates dating.<sup>36</sup>

The cylindrical modius, or calathos, that surmounts the heads of two of the figures is a common feature on statuettes of this type (Figs 5, 7). It was particularly popular in Asia Minor in antiquity and was associated with Hecate, Serapis and Artemis of Ephesus, as well as with priestesses of Demeter and other cults.<sup>37</sup> The black paint that delineates the eyes, brows and curl in front of each ear and that colors the hair is especially well-preserved on the example that uses the whole long bone to create a crude figure (Fig. 7).<sup>38</sup> A figure from Dura Europos provides a parallel, although the type of bone used differs (Fig. 9). On both, the raised edge at the neck suggests clothing, but the crudely incised dot and curving line on the Missouri figure indicate nudity, a contradiction already noted on more refined statuettes.<sup>39</sup> This figure clearly could not stand on its own, and the

darkened area at the center probably reflects stain and wear from being held.

The last statuette in this group (Fig. 8) bears little resemblance to the others, but finds a close parallel in a figure in a private French collection, dated tentatively by Manson to the early second century A.D.<sup>40</sup> The statuette is broken at the base, and there is considerable damage on the back, which was originally carved as well. The figure wears a belted tunic with V-shaped folds rendered by incisions. Below the belt the garment is decorated with horizontal incisions and a zigzag pattern at the hem. The third and lowest level, which is slightly recessed, bears the shallow incisions of a toothed chisel used in preliminary preparation of the bone. The round head rests on

a thick neck on which the characteristic fleshy creases have hardened to a series of tightly spaced bands. The features are small and pinched, and the brow slopes downward over small eyes. The cap-like hairstyle is rendered in a pattern of raised squares.<sup>41</sup> The head is pierced at the sides for earrings. The Paris example is considerably taller and makes use of the full length of the long bone, including the distal end to suggest feet. This was probably the case with the Missouri figure as well. Here again the extreme schematization and lack of context make dating difficult, and a date considerably later than that proposed by Manson is possible.

While it is possible that some of these figures functioned as dolls, in many cases their function as cult figures, whether as ex-votos or as statuettes within small shrines, seems equally likely.<sup>42</sup> The lack of articulated legs, the fact that, on most, the arms were designed to be fixed by two pins on each side rather than being mobile, the rigid frontal poses, the extended arms and the presence on many of the modius associated with deities and priestesses suggest that these figures belong in the category of statuettes that served more varied purposes. A primary function of such small-scale sculpture might have been within the context of private household shrines or *lararia*, where, as expressions of religious piety, they shared space with the household gods.<sup>43</sup> The *lararium* provided the focus of private piety and devotion to *genius familiaris* and *caesaris* in the form of painted images or often small-scale statues or busts. Some *lararia* were apparently veritable museums of images commemorating both deities and mortals.<sup>44</sup> Arguing in



Fig. 18. Bone statuette, Columbia, Missouri, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, H. 11.7 cm., acc. no. 74.135.



favor of such a function is a male figure that was acquired with the female statuettes and that probably served such a purpose (Fig. 18). The statuette depicts a figure of high rank, possibly a consul, holding a mappa as a badge of authority. Two similar statuettes, also in bone, survive (one in Hanover, Germany, the other in Fulda, Germany) as does a bone statuette of high quality (now in Princeton, New Jersey) depicting an empress.<sup>45</sup> These figures are not articulated; in each case their gestures did not require extended arms, but in scale and form they resemble the statuettes under scrutiny. Like Missouri's female figures, these statuettes probably functioned within a private setting, although their function as ex-votos within a public cult setting also is possible.<sup>46</sup>

Although it is not possible to reconstruct their context or display setting with certainty, the Missouri statuettes bear witness to the variety of small-scale sculpture in bone, as well as to more private aspects of Roman life that until recently have received little attention from art historians concerned primarily with the public sphere. The statuettes suggest that, at least in the Eastern Empire, small-scale sculpture was a flourishing industry that produced objects for a variety of purposes, from dolls to deities, and for a large and varied market. This large body of material, which remains understudied, has the potential to add considerably to our understanding of life outside the sphere of grand public sculpture and the public manifestation of religion within the Roman Empire. More intimate in scale and conception, the Missouri statuettes bear witness to a more personal piety. Whether their purpose was apotropaic, funerary, dedicatory or a combination thereof remains uncertain, but they can no longer be dismissed as mere toys. Like the simple earthen tokens decorated with crude images of saints so valued by Christians from late antiquity,<sup>47</sup> their power came *not* from their beauty or the inherent value of the material from which they were made, but from the faith of the believer. MIV  
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## NOTES

1. S.S. Weinberg, "Acquisitions," *Muse* 9 (1975) 8, Nos. 132, 133, 134, 136–140. These statuettes were discussed in a paper I delivered at the 1993 Byzantine Studies Conference, Princeton University, Princeton, N.J. ("Portrait of an Empress," *Byzantine Studies Conference Abstracts of Papers* [Princeton 1993] pp. 83–84).
2. *I Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome*, ed. E.E. Kleiner and S.B. Matheson (New Haven 1996) pp. 146–147, no.82.
3. M. Sommella in *Creperia Tryphaena. Le scoperte archeologiche nell'area del Palazzo di Giustizia*, ed. G. Devoto, et al. (Venice 1983) pp. 49–56, no.10.
4. Palestine and Lebanon also suggested as sources of some figures. M. Manson, *Les poupées dans l'empire romain, le royaume du bosphore cimmerien et le royaume Parthe*, Ph.D. dissertation, l' E.P.H.E. (Paris 1978) pp. 97–118. They continue to appear at auction (Sotheby's, New York, Sale 6863, June 13, 1996, no. 83).
5. Manson (*Les poupées*, pp. 97–118) includes thirty-three statuettes of this type.
6. See Manson (*Les poupées*, pp. 164–176) for a history of scholarship on dolls. For a reexamination of depictions of truncated "dolls" on Attic grave reliefs, see J. Reilly, "Naked and Limbless: Learning about the feminine body in Athens," *Naked Truths: Women, Sexuality, and Gender in Classical Art and Archaeology*, ed. A.O. Koloski-Ostrow and C.L. Lyons (London and New York 1977) pp. 154–172.
7. The bones of other domestic and wild animals could also be employed. For an introduction to the material, see A. MacGregor, *Bone, Antler, Ivory, and Horn: The Technology of Skeletal Materials since the Roman Period* (London, Sydney, Totowa, N.J. 1985) pp. 1–9; *The Carver's Art: Medieval Sculpture in Ivory, Bone, and Horn* ed. Archer St. Clair and Elizabeth McLachlan (New Brunswick 1989) pp. 7–10.
8. The fused ulna, radius and tibia were popular. Axial bones such as shoulder

blades and ribs, as well as mandibles were carved occasionally (MacGregor, *Bone, Antler, Ivory, and Horn* pp. 8–9).

9. Bone plugs frequently were used to close the marrow cavity of domed gaming pieces and dice. See J.C. Beal, *Catalogue des objets de tableterie du Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine de Lyon* (Lyon 1983) p. 346, no.1230, pl. LIX.

10. For ivory, see MacGregor, *Bone, Antler, Ivory, and Horn*, pp. 14–19; *The Carver's Art*, pp. 1–6; A. Cutler, *The Craft of Ivory: Sources, Techniques, and Uses in the Mediterranean World: A. D. 200–1400* (Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection Publications No. 8) (Washington, D.C. 1985). Not only was bone an acceptable substitute in a shortage of ivory, but bone was preferred for some types of objects. Often ivory and bone were used interchangeably and in combination on furniture and boxes. To all but the expertly trained eye, the two were indistinguishable.

11. In Egypt, for example, large- and small-scale figures in wood were carved with separate arms (S. Lloyd, *The Art of the Ancient Near East* [London 1961] p. 118, Fig. 80).

12. K. Elderkin, "Jointed Dolls in Antiquity," *AJA* 34 (1930) pp. 455–479.

13. For the construction of such dolls, see Sommella in *Crepercia Tryphaena* pp. 49–56.

14. Scattered examples of male and infant figures survive. For the various types of articulated figures, see Manson, *Les poupées* pp. 36–78.

15. Elderkin, "Jointed Dolls in Antiquity," pp. 456–457, Figs. 1, 2.

16. Manson, *Les poupées* p. 20, pl.V, 5.

17. Manson, *Les poupées* pp. 293–294, No. A.1–1, pl. LVI. For other examples, see pp. 93–94, 293–298, pl. LVII.

18. Manson, *Les poupées* pp. 93–94.

19. The earliest example of a bone figure with articulated arms and legs dates to the third century B.C. See Elderkin, "Jointed Dolls," p. 455 (Metropolitan Museum, inv. 21.212.43).

20. For examples of late antique statuettes in bone, see A. St. Clair, "Imperial Virtue: Questions of Form and Function in the Case of Four Late Antique Statuettes," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 50 (1996) pp. 112–124. Ivory examples include the third-century portrait statues from Ephesus (Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei* [Mainz am Rhein 1979] pp. 191–194, nos. 157–161).

21. Manson, *Les poupées*, p. 299, A. 2–3, pl. LVIII, 2–3. For other examples, see pp. 95–96, 298–306, pls. LVIII–LIX.

22. Only one of the bone figures preserves its arms, which are straight. Because of their lower quality and the less-valuable material, in addition to their articulation, Manson (*Les poupées*, pp. 95–96) identified the bone figures as dolls. Because they were found in tombs and domestic contexts along with other statuettes that appear to be cult figures, their function remains problematic.

23. See note 4. Thirty-three figures of this type are included in Manson's catalogue (*Les poupées*, pp. 97–118, 306–329).

24. *I Claudia* pp. 146–147, no. 82.

25. The separate attachment of hair and adornment is not unusual. For an example of a separately attached chignon (also missing) on a portrait from the Antonine period, see Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik*, pp. 341–343, no. 342, pl. 250.

26. A full-length statue from Perge shows Sabina veiled but with a similar diadem and hair (J. Inan and E. Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor* [London 1966] pp. 72–3, no. 36, pl. XXII). See also a terra-cotta statuette from Smyrna dated to the end of the first century (A. Delhaye-Cahen, "Terres cuites romaines de Smyrne. Étude des têtes féminines des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles," *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* pp. 40–42 [1968–1970] 88, no. 37) and a

funerary relief from Rome dated ca. 110–120 (*I Claudia*, 201, no.151).

27. Manson, *Les poupées*, pp. 310–312, 327–329, nos: B.1.–B. 6 (354) Coll. de Serres; B.1–B. 7(355) Coll. de Serres; B.1.–B. 30 (378) Coll. Thierry; B.1–B. 33(381) Liebieghaus Museum, Frankfurt, inv. 1476, pls. LXXXIV–VII.

28. *Les poupées*, p. 311.

29. “Naked and Limbless,” pp. 154–173.

30. Sommella in *Crepercia Tryphaena*, pp. 49–56.

31. *Les poupées*, pp. 318–319, 324, nos: B.1–B.15 (363), Coll. de Serre; B.1–B.24 (372), Coll. Drouot, pls. LXXIII, LXXVI.

32. See C. Mango, “Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder,” *DOP* 17 (1963) p. 62.

33. This hairstyle characterizes the only portrait of the Elder Faustina that survives from Asia Minor. See Inan and Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture*, pp. 75–76, no. 41, pl. XXVI, 2–3; For a bone figure with similar hairstyle, see Manson, *Les poupées*, pp. 318–319, no. B.1–B.15 (363), pl. LXXVI. The variety of similar hairstyles associated with the Antonines is illustrated in *I Claudia*, p. 47, p. 49, figs.7, 15, 17, 18, 21. A terracotta head from Smyrna dated A.D. 139–161 has a high pyramidal bun (Delahaye-Cahen, “Terres cuites,” 84, no.34).

34. For example, a portrait head of Plotina in the Museo Nazionale, Rome, inv. 339 (Delahaye-Cahen, “Terre cuites,” 45, Fig. 8), and a second-century funerary relief from Rome of a deceased woman as Venus (*I Claudia*, 183, Fig.1)

35. *Les poupées*, pp. 317–318, no. B.1.–B.14 (362), Coll. de Serre, pl. LXXVII.

36. For example, see a seventh- to eighth-century Coptic tapestry fragment from Egypt (*Age of Spirituality*, ed. K. Weitzmann [New York 1979] p. 91, No.81).

37. Manson discusses thirteen figures with the modius, which is common on coins and in other media (*Les poupées*, pp. 112–113).
38. The curl at the ear is a common feature of painted and sculpted portraits of the third century A.D. For example, see Inan and Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture*, pp. 134–135, no. 163, pl. XCV.
39. See above, p. 35 and note 27.
40. *Les poupées*, pp. 315–316, no. B.1–B.12 (360), Coll. de Serre, pl. LXXXIII.
41. Similarly rendered hair appears on a five-part diptych, usually assigned to Syria and dated in the sixth century (W. E. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters* [Mainz am Rhein 1976] p. 87, no. 125, pl. 66).
42. Such categorization does not exclude the possibility that some of these figures may have functioned as dolls. Texts indicate that the distinction between doll and votive offering was fluid. For example, before marriage Greek girls dedicated their dolls to Artemis or to other protecting goddesses; fully articulated dolls have been found in temples of Artemis, Aphrodite and Athena. Roman girls dedicated their dolls to Venus following Greek custom or to the Lares and Penates. For a discussion of the evidence, see K. Elderkin, “Jointed Dolls in Antiquity,” pp. 455–479, and more recently Manson, *Les poupées*, pp. 164–176, and Reilly, “Naked and Limbless,” pp. 154–173.
43. Beate Schneider argues for a similar function for small-scale imperial portraits from the first through the third century (*Studien zu den kleinformatischen Kaiserporträts von den Anfängen der Kaiserzeit bis ins dritte Jahrhundert* [Munich 1976] pp. 99–109, 144–75).
44. Schneider, *Studien*, p. 107, p. 162. See also St. Clair, “Imperial Virtue,” pp. 115–116.
45. St. Clair, “Imperial Virtue,” pp. 112–124, Figs. 1, 14–16.

46. Given the existence of such household shrines and lararia, Manson's suggestion that domestic findspots for many bone figures are proof of their function as dolls (*Les poupées*, pp. 176–178) is arguable. Reilly ("Naked and Limbless," pp. 154–159) notes the variety of findspots and of function for Greek articulated and non-articulated statuettes.

47. See G. Vikan, *Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*. Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection Publications 3 (Washington, D.C. 1982).



Figs. 1 a and b. Base of a hydria handle (front and side views), bronze, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia, acc. no. 87.1, Weinberg Fund.



## A LACONIAN LADY IN MISSOURI

Leslie Hammond

MENTION OF GREECE AND THE SITE OF ANCIENT SPARTA, SURROUNDED BY mountains in the region of Laconia, brings to mind a male-dominated, militaristic society devoid of artistic culture.<sup>1</sup> But this describes the later Archaic and Classical Sparta. Artifacts dating from at least the eighth century B.C., from the goddess Artemis Orthia's sanctuary in Sparta, attest to a city rich in culture with interests other than warfare. This scenario is illuminated by a fragmentary, bronze vessel handle that has a close connection with the Laconian region and the goddess Orthia and her cult.

The fragment, in the collection of the Museum of Art and Archaeology, is the base of a vertical handle with a female protome or head (Fig. 1),<sup>2</sup> and it clearly represents the Daedalic style that emerged just before the seventh century B.C. The quintessence of this style is illustrated by frontal figures in a variety of sizes and mediums including stone, clay, bone, ivory and metal.<sup>3</sup> The heads of these objects affirm the Daedalic style. An oval or U-shaped face is framed by wig-like hair arranged in vertical and horizontal tresses. The hairstyle gives the figure a flat head with a low forehead and emphasizes its long nose.<sup>4</sup>

The Missouri female fully conforms to features of this Daedalic style. The protome has a U-shaped face. Her large, incised, almond-shaped eyes are emphasized by eyebrows that appear to spring from her long nose. Her hair is parted in the middle and pulled to each side in three waves. Four tresses, decorated with incised hatch marks, frame the face on either side. The figure wears a *polos*, a cylindrical headdress, composed of a convex band decorated with a chevron pattern, while the upper part of the headdress is defined by a series of upright ovals that form a tongue or leaf pattern.<sup>5</sup> At the base of her neck is a raised horizontal edge, preserved only on the viewer's right. Perhaps it represents the neckline of a garment or a transitional element between the base of the handle and its



Fig. 1 b.

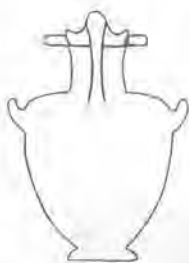


Fig. 2. Line drawing of a ceramic hydria (after I. Phoca and P. Valanis, *Greek Pottery: A Culture Captured in Clay* (Athens 1990) p. 8. Drawing by Leslie Hammond.

point of attachment to the belly of the vase.

This vertical handle, made in a mold by the lost-wax process,<sup>6</sup> would have been fastened by metal bolts or rivets to a bronze vessel called a hydria, a water vessel that has three handles: two horizontal for carrying and one vertical for pouring (Fig 2). The name comes from the Greek word for water — τὸ ὕδωρ. The handle clearly demonstrates the technique of attaching a handle to a vessel. Two half-spools, decorated with incised vertical bands, are connected to the left side of the head by a horizontal convex rod; the same construction would have been found on the right. The undecorated rod connecting the two half-spools has a hole that has been filled in where a rivet attached the handle to the vessel.

Although time has preserved few complete bronze hydriai, numerous examples of vertical bronze hydria handles exist. They include a special class of handles decorated with female protomes. This so-called “Telesstas-Hydria” group is named after one of the bronze handles that preserves an inscription. The Missouri handle shares a number of characteristics with this well-defined group, and its placement with them provides its date and provenance.

In 1957, G. Hafner defined the “Telesstas-Hydria” group as a result of the name inscribed on a bronze handle that is now in Mainz, Germany (Fig.3).<sup>7</sup> This handle is of unusual importance, not only because it preserves the rim of the vase to which it was attached, but because its rim is inscribed in Laconian letters with the name ΤΕΛΕΣΣΤΑΣ. This inscription is critical



Fig. 3. Hydria handle, bronze, Institut für Klassische Archäologie, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz, neg. no. R 73.

because it suggests a Laconian date and origin for the vessel.<sup>8</sup> The inscription includes the five-bar sigma, a hallmark of early Laconian script that can be dated to the first quarter of the sixth century B.C. (Fig.4).<sup>9</sup> This inscribed handle, said to come from Levadia in Greece, is the anchor of Hafner’s “Telesstas-Hydria” group and the standard to which other examples should be compared. The decoration on this handle is similar in many ways to the Missouri handle. The Mainz protome also wears a *polos* decorated with double parallel lines arranged vertically at regular intervals. This pattern ornaments

the convex band that sits directly on the head of the female, as well as the main uppermost portion of the *polos* itself. Other aspects of the Mainz protome, such as hairstyle and facial features, are like that of the handle in Missouri.

Τ Ε Λ Ε Ζ Ζ Τ Α Ζ

Fig. 4. Inscription on the Mainz handle (after Hafner pl. 16).

Unlike the Missouri handle, however, the vertical handle in Mainz is complete, preserving two half-spools decorated with vertical bands on each side of the head. Four sets of double lines divide the handle vertically into three parts. Vertical elements are also visible in the locks of hair. These vertical divisions, however, are balanced by the horizontal. Most obvious are the snakes that extend horizontally at the top of the handle. Additional horizontal details include the top of the *polos* and two hatched, horizontal lines at the top of the handle. The entire composition is one of harmony—a



Fig. 5. Vertical and two horizontal handles, bronze (© Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung, inv. no. misc. 10389, neg. no. ant. 3867).



Figs. 6 a and b. Hydria handle in the Olympia Museum (front and side views), bronze (© Deutsches Archäologisches Institut–Athens, neg. nos. Ol. 923, Ol. 924).

balance of horizontal and vertical elements.

Other examples from the “Telesstas-Hydria” group include a vertical hydria handle in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin. Said to come from the region of Epirus in Greece, this handle is one of three—one vertical and two horizontal—from the same bronze hydria (Fig. 5).<sup>10</sup> The vertical handle of this group, as with the previously discussed examples, has at its base a female protome wearing a *polos*. While her facial features are similar to those found on the Mainz and Missouri handles, the tresses of hair on both sides of her face are decorated with herringbone incisions, and the hair above her brow extends straight across the forehead rather than being arranged in waves. Snakes are also found at the top of this handle. Although the Berlin vertical handle is similar to those found in Mainz and Missouri, the horizontal handles differ in their method of attachment. A rod extends directly from each side of the handle and is terminated by one half-spool, rather than two. Additionally, the protomes on these handles have wavy hair above their brows rather than the straight-cut hair on the vertical handle. Nevertheless, the facial characteristics of the protomes on the horizontal handles unite them with the vertical examples of the group.

Two other vertical hydria handles, one found at Gela, Sicily (not illustrated here) and the other from Olympia, Greece (Fig. 6), also constitute part of the “Telesstas-Hydria” group.<sup>11</sup> Both the Gela and Olympia protomes are rendered with the same facial features as the Mainz, Berlin and Missouri handles. As with the vertical Berlin and Mainz handles, the Gela and Olympia handles are complete.<sup>12</sup>

Finally, included among the pieces that constitute the “Telesstas-Hydria” group is a vertical handle with a female protome from Greece, now in the Louvre.<sup>13</sup>

Like others, the top of this handle has snakes, but their heads are raised, and beards connect the lower mouths of the reptiles to their bodies (Fig.7). Although this handle is similar in composition to the previous examples, there are slight differences in detail. Like the Missouri handle, the Louvre female wears the typical *polos*, decorated with a tongue or leaf pattern. The hairstyle, however, is modified. The division of the hair in the middle of the forehead creates a wider central part that results from the elaboration of waves into curls. The four long tresses on each side of the face do not appear to emerge from behind the ears, but rather from the side of the head, with each tress resting on top of the next. A stacking arrangement of the tresses can also be seen on the Mainz handle. The shape of the protome's face on the Louvre handle is fuller and more round in appearance than those previously discussed. Overall, the decoration of the Louvre handle seems to be more elaborate when compared to the other handles.<sup>14</sup> These details, however, are minor in comparison with the numerous similarities that link the Louvre handle to this group.

Bronze hydria handles were first discussed as a general class of objects in 1925 by A. Neugebauer.<sup>15</sup> It was not until 1936, however, when Politis compared the hydria handle protomes to bone and terra-cotta heads from Laconia, that these types of handles were considered to be Laconian in origin.<sup>16</sup> As mentioned, in 1957, Hafner published the group of five vertical hydria handles with female protomes. Focusing his work on the handle with the Laconian inscription now in Mainz, he confirmed the earlier attribution of Politis. Hafner suggested there was a "Telesstas Master" named for that Laconian inscription. He credited this master with the production of these vertical handles and associated him with a workshop that functioned around 600 B.C. in Laconia.<sup>17</sup>

In a 1982 publication, however, C. Rolley



Fig. 7. Hydria handle in the Louvre Museum, bronze, Br. 2645. Photo courtesy of the Louvre Museum.

enlarged the “Telesstas-Hydria” group of “vases à tête de femme” to eight handles by adding three examples: a hydria in Nîmes, which has a female at the base of the handle and reclining lions at the rim; a vertical handle from a private collection in Germany; and a handle from Capua that has a female protome at the base and duck heads at the rim.<sup>18</sup> Rolley assigned a date to this group of eight handles on the basis of two criteria: the profile of the vase, if preserved, and the style of the female protome. He pushed the original date of the group into the second quarter of the sixth century B.C.<sup>19</sup>

A further contribution to the study of these handles came in 1986 when Marlene Herfort-Koch published *Archaische Bronzeplastik Lakoniens*. The purpose of her publication was to compile objects attributed to Laconian bronze workshops on stylistic grounds. Herfort-Koch discusses the “Gruppe der Telesstas-Hydria,” which she expanded to a group of twenty-four objects.<sup>20</sup> She adds not only hydria handles without female protomes, some plain and some with images other than heads, but also adds objects that are not handles. Examples include one protome from Amyklai and two *fibulae*, or pins, from the Orthia sanctuary.<sup>21</sup> Her chronological analysis of her grouping is based on style.<sup>22</sup> Herfort-Koch notes a close relationship between the Gela, Olympia and Berlin handles and suggests the dates ca. 610 to 600 B.C. for each. She considers the Mainz handle to be from a slightly later period, with a date ca. 600 to 590 B.C. She contends, however, that the Louvre handle illustrates the “ripeness” of the group, and dates it ca. 590 to 580 B.C.

For the purpose of this study, however, the “Telesstas-Hydria” group is limited to vertical hydria handles that have female protomes at their base and snakes at the top, which serve as rim attachments.<sup>23</sup> This approach seems especially important when devising a chronology for the group on stylistic grounds. Because the general composition of the handles and the style of the protomes vary only slightly within this group, these five handles can be attributed to one workshop in Laconia active ca. 610 to 590 B.C. This date, based primarily on Hafner’s chronology, is confirmed by the date assigned by L. H. Jeffery to the inscription on the Mainz handle.<sup>24</sup>

As discussed above, the Missouri hydria handle is similar in composition and style to the “Telesstas-Hydria” group, to which it may now be joined. Consequently, the date of the Missouri handle may be suggested as ca. 610



to 590 B.C. Through analogies with the more complete examples in this group, the handle originally may have been about 17 to 18 centimeters in height. Additionally, the presence of snakes on the other examples, used as connecting devices, also suggests that the Missouri example probably included these reptilian attachments.

Because these handles are associated with the Laconian region, it is possible that their decoration was inspired by an image of, or perhaps created as a dedication to, a deity from that area. Were the handles and the vessels to which they belonged created in this specific manner because of their shape, decoration, content and function or for a combination of these reasons? Is there a specific meaning in the selection of the hydria shape or, more specifically, in its decoration? Was the use of the protome only a fashionable way to mask the joining of the handle to the vessel or is another more specific iconographic reference suggested? The answers to these questions emerge from study of Artemis Orthia, goddess of one of the major Laconian sanctuaries.

H. Rose, contributing to R. Dawkins' original publication of the Spartan sanctuary of Artemis Orthia and her cult, writes that Orthia is "one of the most puzzling and most vehemently discussed cults in the Greek world."<sup>25</sup> In addition to her later association with initiation rites during which Spartan boys were flogged, Artemis Orthia has been assigned a variety of other functions. Dawkins claims that the goddess is a fertility deity for man and beast, a protectress in childbirth and overseer of the rearing of children. Others consider her as ruler of the moon or even as an offshoot of the Ephesian Goddess Artemis, who presides over the entire natural realm. R. Willettes notes that "the cult of Artemis Orthia was of the same nature as the cult of Limnatis, goddess of the marshes."<sup>26</sup> This statement makes an interesting reference to the location of the sanctuary, on the banks of the Eurotas River, which frequently floods. In general, sanctuaries of Artemis are located at the edge of cultivated territory. This is true at Sparta.<sup>27</sup> Despite the variety of these associations, only Orthia is attested as the goddess of this sanctuary prior to the Roman era. It was not until this period that she was first called "Artemis Orthia," as is evidenced by roof tiles stamped with her name.<sup>28</sup> She was never addressed as simply "Artemis."<sup>29</sup>

The name Orthia is associated with "uprightness" and "straightness." Some consider this to mean the way in which Orthia allowed mothers to

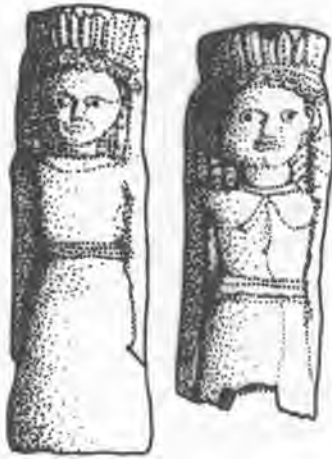


Fig. 8. Orthia figures, bone (after Dawkins, *Orthia*, pl. CXIX, 1 and 4.) Drawings by Leslie Hammond.

“rise up” from the birth bed or her ability to guide straight the child being born. This name, however, also seems to be associated with the way in which Orthia’s cult statue stood.<sup>30</sup> Pausanias confirms this in Book 3.16.7–9:

The place named Limnaeum (marshy) is sacred to Artemis Orthia. The wooden image there they say is that one which Orestes and Iphigenia stole out of the Tauric land. They call it not only Orthia, but also Lygodesma (willow-bound), because it was found in a thicket of willows, and the encircling willow made the image stand upright.<sup>31</sup>

Artistic representations also attribute these features to Orthia. L. Kahil defines the Orthia type as a frontal female, standing upright, legs together, arms to the side, wearing a *peplos* on her body and a *polos* on her head.<sup>32</sup> Indeed, evidence from the British excavations of the Artemis Orthia sanctuary in Sparta confirms this. Votives, in several media, show a woman standing in a stiff pose, wearing a *peplos* and crowned with a *polos* made of leaves.<sup>33</sup> Dawkins referred to a group of bone *xoanon* (wooden, plank-like) figurines as representing Orthia (Fig. 8).<sup>34</sup> Some of these figures show only the head and shoulders, while others portray the whole body. Another object considered to represent the likeness of Orthia is a protome on a 2.7-centimeter square piece of bone (Fig. 9).<sup>35</sup> Other protomes on round pieces of bone are known, but these heads lack *poloi*.<sup>36</sup> Is this what the cult statue of Orthia looked like? The archaeological and literary evidence seem to say yes.

In her dissertation, I. Romano presents general aspects of the appearance of early Greek cult images. When discussing pose, she notes that the early standing cult images appear frontal, rigid and pillar-like, with their feet together or with one foot slightly advanced. The arms are usually held in one of three positions: both arms straight at the side, both arms bent at the elbows and held forward, or one arm bent and the other raised above the head.<sup>37</sup> Literary, epigraphical and archaeological evidence suggests that these early wooden cult images were also usually small, well under life size.<sup>38</sup>



Pausanias (3.16.10–11) confirms this about Orthia's images:

By them stands a priestess, holding the wooden image. Now it is small and light but if ever the scourgers spare the lash because of a lad's beauty or high rank, then at once the priestess finds that the image grows so heavy that she can hardly carry it.<sup>39</sup>

Head ornaments of early cult images were apparently important. Romano considers that "some types of head apparel are symbols of the nature of the particular deity—the helmet is an obvious symbol for a warrior divinity."<sup>40</sup> She also discusses the *polos*, fillet and *stephane*. These headdresses might have served to distinguish the sacred significance or the divinity of a figure.<sup>41</sup> The *polos* appears to have been a common feature of the early female cult images of the Eastern type. Artemis of Ephesus and Hera of Samos certainly wore *poloi*.<sup>42</sup>

Various bone objects from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia emphasize the importance of this type of crown. One particular find, "of unknown purpose," is shaped and decorated as if it could have been a small *polos* (Fig.10).<sup>43</sup> Additionally, some oblong strips of bone from 10 to 12 centimeters in length are divided, for the greater part of their length, into two, three or four prongs and most have pointed ends (Fig.11).<sup>44</sup> Holes are pierced through the lower, closed part of the bone pieces. These holes could have been used to attach the bone strips to a headband. Other individual strips of bone were also found. These vary in form, but are usually about 8 to 10 centimeters long and ornamented on one side with incised circles or sunken dots (Fig.12).<sup>45</sup> Like the examples in Figure 11, these bone pieces might constitute part of a *polos*, possibly a lasting dedication to the goddess rather than a real leaf crown, which would have quickly withered after it was used.

Although there is a wealth of archaeological material to assist us in this investigation, literary evidence for Laconian cult practices is scarce in this early period. Alcman, a poet who lived in Sparta but probably came from Asia Minor, provides some evidence. Scholars place his floruit in the seventh century B.C.<sup>46</sup> His *Partheneion*,



Figs. 9a and b. Protome, bone front and side view (after Dawkins, *Orthia*, pl. CXXI, 1 a and b).



Fig. 10. Object of "unknown purpose," ivory (after Dawkins, *Orthia*, pl. CLXXI, 1 c and b).

preserved on a papyrus fragment found in 1855, contains a choral ode that was sung by maidens who performed a ritual in which they carried something. This was part of a local festival in honor of a goddess,<sup>47</sup> and according to some scholars, this goddess is Orthia.<sup>48</sup>

What was it that the maidens carried? The text of the *Partheneion* includes the word  $\phi\tilde{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ , which has been read in two ways.<sup>49</sup> An Alexandrian scholiast noted that this word meant "plough."<sup>50</sup> It would make sense for a plough to be dedicated to a goddess of vegetal fertility. In addition, numerous reliefs with sickles carved on them have been found in Orthia's sanctuary.<sup>51</sup> If Orthia received dedicatory sickles, one would not be surprised to also find a plough. Nevertheless, a plough might seem awkward for maidens to carry while they danced and sang in a procession, unless it was small. An alternate, and probably more correct, translation for  $\phi\tilde{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma$  is robe.<sup>52</sup> If the maidens were carrying a robe, this immediately calls to mind other ritual processions in which robes are brought to goddesses. The *peplos* brought to Athena in the Panathenaic procession is a prime example. Indeed, we know that maidens brought garments not only to Athena but also to Hera at Olympia. Only cult statues were the recipients of garments.<sup>53</sup>

Ritual processions involving dressing were common.<sup>54</sup> During the Daitis Festival, Artemis of Ephesus is known to have been brought down to the shore accompanied by a singer, salt-bearer, wild celery-bearer and a cloth-bearer. The image of Hera at Samos was brought down to the beach annually, purified, perhaps by bathing it in the sea, and dressed. This was the *Tōnaia* or "rope-pulling" festival that commemorated the retrieval of the cult image on the beach, where it was tied up with the branches of a lygos, or willow twig, to keep it from running away.<sup>55</sup>

According to tradition, Orthia was found in the thickets of a lygos, which made her stand upright. Was Orthia, like Hera of Samos, honored

with a festival—a ritual procession of singing maidens who carried a garment or robe used to dress Orthia's cult image? Is it possible that a *polos* of lygos leaves was also presented to Orthia during this ritual dressing? Gifts of jewelry and other accoutrements related to the ritual dressing of cult images are well documented. Epigraphical accounts tell us that Artemis of Delos had two *stephanoi* and a wool garment as part of her wardrobe.<sup>56</sup> Orthia is often depicted as wearing a *polos*. Since most of these illustrations show a leaf *polos*, could it be a lygos-leaf *polos*?

Given the nature of the lygos plant, a *polos* of lygos leaves seems reasonable. Pliny reports on the importance of the lygos in his *Natural History*, 24.60–61:

The *agnus castus* is not very different from the willow, either for its use in wickerwork or in the appearance of its leaves... The Greeks call it lygos, sometimes agnos, because Athenian matrons, preserving their chastity at the Thesmophoria, strew their beds with its leaves... The plant grows on marshy plains... The trees furnish medicines that promote urine and menstruation... They encourage abundant, rich milk and neutralize the poisons of serpents, especially those that bring on a chill... They check violent sexual desire, and for this reason in particular, they act as antidotes to the venomous spider, the bite of which excites the genitals.<sup>57</sup>

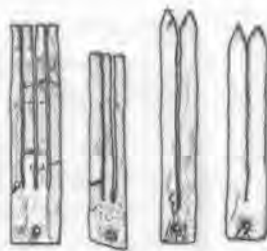


Fig. 11. Oblong pieces, bone (after Dawkins, *Orthia*, pl. CLXII, 12.) Drawings by Leslie Hammond.

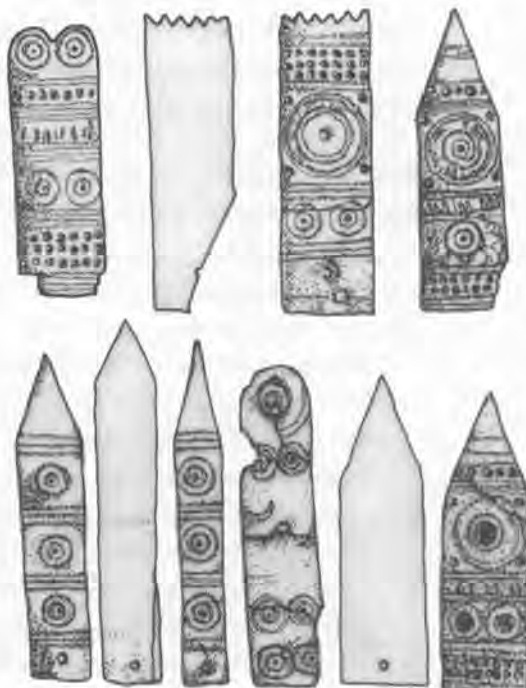


Fig. 12. Ornamented pieces, bone (after Dawkins, *Orthia*, pl. CLXV.) Drawings by Leslie Hammond.

The lygos, like the willow, can vary in form from short, creeping shrubs to tall trees. Most grow in open, swampy areas along streams and rivers.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, lygos fibers are used to make baskets, mats, sails and rope.<sup>59</sup> This clearly explains how Hera of Samos was bound by the lygos during the *Tōnaia* Festival, as it does Pausanias' description of Orthia's cult statue standing upright.<sup>60</sup> The lygos leaves, like that of the willow, can be either narrow and pointed or broad and rounded depending on the variety of the species.<sup>61</sup> This calls to mind many objects found in the Orthia sanctuary. Some figures wear *poloi* with wider, blunt leaves (Fig. 8), while others have consistently long, thin and pointed leaves, such as the individual bone pieces (Figs. 11, 12). The lygos would have been an important plant to Orthia. Because she is considered responsible for female fertility and reproduction, her association with a plant that possesses such medicinal properties makes sense. Given the physical properties of this plant and the nuances of the Orthia cult, a *polos* made specifically of lygos leaves seems possible.

Using the literary, epigraphical and archaeological evidence for the cult, it is possible to offer an interpretation of the bronze hydria handles and the iconographical elements chosen to decorate them and to assess the importance of the hydriai and their decorative handles through a review of their shape, function and decoration. First, we must consider the vessel's shape—a hydria. Form followed function. Objects were made to be used, rather than merely admired as art. The hydria, or water container, as opposed to one used for perfumes, oils or foodstuffs, appears to have been chosen for a number of reasons. Water seems to be the key element in understanding the many associations that can be drawn between the "Telesstas-Hydria" group and the cult of Artemis Orthia. Likewise, the importance of water has also been documented in other Greek sanctuaries.<sup>62</sup> As noted previously, Artemis sanctuaries are usually located in marshy areas, near streams, rivers and lakes, which hints at a connection between the cult of the goddess and water.<sup>63</sup> The lygos plant, which seems to have been especially related to Orthia, requires a wet, marshy area to grow. Perhaps, as part of the cult activities, Orthia was carried to a special location, bathed and dressed in her new robe. Orthia is also considered to be a fertility goddess of the land, and the role of water is crucial in preserving the productivity of the earth. Furthermore, a marshy habitat is known to be an environment conducive to certain snakes.

The decoration of the basic, functional shape of the hydria has a specific

iconographical meaning. Attention must be given to the images that appear on the “Telesstas-Hydria” group of handles—snakes and a female who wears a leaf crown or *polos*. Each has important meanings in the interpretation of the cult of Artemis Orthia. The female wearing a *polos*, an indication of divinity, could be inspired by, or a reflection of, the cult image of Orthia, as archaeological evidence suggests. The specific use of the lygos leaf for the *polos* is further substantiated by the importance of the plant’s use in medicine and material production and its direct relationship to the Orthia cult. Additionally, the reptilian attachments at the top of these handles bring to mind various references, which specifically note an association between snakes and the Orthia cult. One source states that the venom passed from a snake to a human is neutralized by none other than the lygos plant.

Snakes are considered to be *chthonic* (of the earth) images and are associated with death and rebirth. Because Orthia is a fertility goddess, images of snakes are appropriate, but specific associations can be made between the Orthia cult and these reptiles. In the *Partheneion*, Alcman describes the finery of the maidens in the procession, including speckled snake bracelets.<sup>64</sup> Pliny also refers to snakes when he explains the medicinal properties of the *agnus castus*. He notes that “they neutralize the poisons of serpents, especially those that bring on chill...”<sup>65</sup>

One problem with the interpretation of these hydriai and their handles, however, is that none of the handles from the “Telesstas-Hydria” group were discovered at the Orthia sanctuary in Sparta. Nevertheless, this can be explained. Ceramic hydriai are abundant in Orthia’s sanctuary, and the lack of bronze hydriai is not surprising when the importance of metal in antiquity is considered. Bronze, a precious metal, especially for a militaristic society like Sparta, would have been melted down for reuse. In a time of crisis, metals from a temple’s treasury could provide the raw material necessary for extra weapons. Furthermore, these types of objects would have been some of the first taken as booty by others invading the area.

Another factor to consider is preservation. Large metal vessels are better preserved in a cemetery context than in a temple or settlement. No graves were excavated in this area of Sparta, but it would not be surprising to recover bronze vessels from such places. If Orthia was a protectress of women in childbirth, it would make sense to find a hydria decorated like those of the “Telesstas-Hydria” group as a grave-gift for a woman who had

died in childbirth. Bronze hydriai, nevertheless, have not been preserved in the Laconian sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. Instead, the hydria handles comprising the “Telesstas-Hydria” group have been discovered in various places throughout Greece and Sicily.


Each of the find-spots for these handles do, however, have connections in some way or another with Sparta. A look at each, in turn, clarifies these correlations. The basis of the “Telesstas-Hydria” group is the handle now in Mainz, which was said to be found in Levadia, Boeotia.<sup>66</sup> Telesstas, probably the dedicator, had his name inscribed in Laconian letters on the rim of a Laconian-style hydria. Clearly this is a Laconian product, though it was found in another region of Greece. The vessel could have arrived there for a number of reasons: trade, gift exchange or as an heirloom. Numerous Laconian bronze vessels and tripods have been found in Levadia.<sup>67</sup> Likewise, Sparta definitely had direct connections with Olympia. Laconian pottery was found there, as were numerous bronze votives. The Temple of Hera, constructed ca. 600–580 B.C., had a Laconian roof and a large ridge-acroterion similar to the smaller ones from Orthia’s temple.<sup>68</sup> The bronze handle from Gela, in Sicily, might have found its way there from Laconia, either directly or indirectly. The citizens of Gela had a treasury at Olympia; therefore, they surely were aware of Laconian materials. A second possibility for the transference of artistic influence from Sparta to Gela might have resulted from travels west. Sparta founded a colony, Taras, in southern Italy ca. 706 B.C.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, Laconian pottery has been found in Sicily and specifically Gela.

The Berlin handle group is said to be from Epirus. This region in Greece had a great interest in Laconian bronzes, and many large Laconian vessels and tripods have been found there. The sites of Thesprotia and Vonitsa in Epirus have also preserved bronze mirrors and statuettes from Laconia.<sup>70</sup> Laconian bronze objects are known from all over Greece and Italy, but those best preserved do not come from the Spartan region.<sup>71</sup> Thus, the “Telesstas-Hydria” group of handles does not prove to be an exception.

The similarity between the image of Orthia and the iconography of the female protomes on the base of hydria handles cannot be overlooked. Not only do the votives from the sanctuary suggest this similarity, but other literary and epigraphical evidence supports these claims. The protomes on the handles probably refer to a goddess because they wear *poloi*. Because this



group of handles can be attributed to Laconia, the decoration probably reflects some aspect of the cult or image of a goddess from that area. Arguments based on the lygos plant and its multifaceted use, as well as Orthia's nature and the location of her sanctuary, support the possibility that the goddess is Orthia. Numerous objects found in her sanctuary strengthen these arguments, even if the bronze handles in question are said to have come from locations other than Laconia. Clearly, these handles are Laconian in origin.

Perhaps the "Telesstas-Hydria" group of handles, decorated with snakes and a *polos*-wearing female, were divinely inspired by the image and cult of the goddess Orthia. Despite a lack of certainty about the origin of the Missouri hydria handle, it obviously belongs to this significant group of vertical bronze handles. Through its association with the "Telesstas-Hydria" group, the Missouri handle's provenance, date, reconstruction and interpretation have been substantiated. 

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NOTES

I would especially like to thank Professor William R. Biers for his advice and encouragement throughout the various incarnations of this article, as well as Dr. Jane Biers and Professor Jane Carter for their editorial suggestions.

1. For a history of ancient Sparta, see P. Cartledge, *Sparta and Laconia; a Regional History 1300–362 B.C.* (London 1979); W.G. Forrest, *A History of Sparta c. 950–192 B.C.* (1968; 2nd ed. London 1980).
2. University of Missouri–Columbia, Museum of Art and Archaeology, acc. no. 87.1.; H. 8.5 cm.; W. 7.8 cm. Weinberg Fund. Published: F. McGill, “Acquisitions 1987,” *Muse* 22 (1988) p. 35.
3. For a discussion of the Daedalic style and early examples, see R. Jenkins, *Dedolica* (Great Britain 1936) pp. xi–xiii, 10–11 and S. Morris, *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art* (Princeton 1992) pp. 238–256.
4. Jenkins, *Dedolica*, p. 14.
5. This type of headdress frequently is worn by fertility deities and has many Near Eastern parallels. See E. Akurgal, *The Birth of Greek Art* (London 1966) pp. 114, 157.
6. In the direct method of lost-wax casting of a solid-cast object, a model is first created out of wax. This core is then encased in clay and heated. In the process, the wax model melts away. The resulting hollow terra-cotta mold is filled with molten bronze. Once it has cooled, the mold is broken away to remove the object. At this point finishing touches are made. In the case of vessel attachments, the parts are then attached to the vessel by riveting with metal pins. Metal vases typically were made by hammering sheets of bronze into the desired shape. For a description of lost-wax casting, see C. Mattusch, *Greek Bronze Statuary* (Ithaca 1988) pp. 16–19. For discussion of the hydria, see E. Diehl, *Die Hydria* (Mainz 1964).



7. Mainz, Archäologisches Institut der Universität, no. 201; H. 17.5 cm.; D. rim 26.5 cm.; G. Hafner, "Die Hydria des Telestas," *Charites* (Bonn 1957) p. 119. See also Marlene Herfort-Koch, *Archaische Bronzeplastik Lakoniens* (Münster 1986) K1, pp. 13, 81, for recent bibliography on this handle and those discussed below that belong to the "Telestas-Hydria" group; C.M. Stibbe, *Das andere Sparta* (Mainz 1996) pp. 117–118, figs. 44, 45.

8. It has been generally accepted by the academic community that these "Telestas" handles are indeed from the Laconian region. See C.M. Stibbe, "Between Babyka and Knakion," *Bulletin antieke beschaving* 69 (1994) p. 93.

9. L.H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford 1990) pp. 183, 186. The earliest examples of this type of sigma are known in inscriptions dating from the first half of the sixth century. Jeffery notes that there is no consistent type of sigma used in Laconia until the middle of the fifth century when the four-bar sigma takes over. Nevertheless, the five bar, or even an eight bar, seems to have been "fashionable during most of the sixth," p. 186. Also notable in this inscription is the tail on the epsilon. This feature appears in early Laconian inscriptions, but it also continues to be used until the second quarter of the fifth century B.C. See Jeffery, pp. 187–189.

10. Pergamon Museum no. 10389; H. of vertical handle 17.5 cm.; L. of horizontal handles 20.7 cm. and 20.3 cm. Herfort-Koch, *Archaische Bronzeplastik*, K5, pp. 15, 82. This is the only member of the group that preserves the horizontal handles from its hydria.

11. Syracuse National Museum: H. of hydria 42 cm.; Herfort-Koch, *Archaische Bronzeplastik*, K3, pp. 15, 81. Olympia Museum no. B 175: H. 18 cm.; Herfort-Koch, K2, pp. 14, 81; W. Gauer, *Die Bronzegefäße von Olympia* (Berlin 1991) Hy 12, pp. 99–100, 258, pl. 86. I wish to express my appreciation to Dr. David Mitten for bringing the latter reference to my attention.

12. The handle from Gela has been attached to a reconstructed hydria. The use of reconstructed hydria is problematic. This issue will be discussed further, see note 19.

13. Louvre no. 2634; H. 17.5 cm.; Herfort-Koch, *Archaische Bronzeplastik*, K7, pp. 16, 82.

14. G.M.A. Richter assigns this Louvre handle to her “Nikandre-Auxerre” group, which she dates to ca. 660–600 B.C. (*Korai* [London 1968] p. 36). The more elaborate nature of this handle, however, suggests that it is the latest made of those that comprise the “Telesstas-Hydria” group. See Jenkins, *Dedolica*, pp. 10–65 for discussion of the development of the style based on the shape of the face. See also Stibbe, “Bebyka and Knakeion,” p. 86, no. 6.

15. A. Neugebauer, “Archäologische Gesellschaft zu Berlin,” *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 40 (1925) pp. 177–203. The author discussed all archaic bronze hydria handles, not just those with female protomes.

16. L. Politis, “Χαλκή Υδρία ἐξ Ερετρίας,” *Archaiologike Ephemeris* (1936) pp. 152–156.

17. Hafner, *Charites*, pp. 119–126. Hafner’s paper promotes the “Telesstas Master” who worked in Laconia.

18. Rolley, *Les vases de bronze de l’archaïsme récent en Grande-Grèce* (Naples 1982) pp. 32–34. Rolley does not include a description of the handle from the private collection. This vertical handle is described and illustrated in *Antiken aus Rheinischem Privatbesitz* (Bonn 1973) p. 137, no. 210, pl. 93. The handle is complete (H. 16 cm.) and is similar to the examples in the “Telesstas-Hydria” group. A crowned, female protome decorates the base of the handle, while snakes adorn the top. The half-spoons are completely preserved on each side.

19. Rolley, “*Vases de bronze*,” pp. 32–35. This date is based on a hydria in Hungary, which is not a part of the (original) group under discussion. None of the examples from the group has enough of their vessels preserved to create a true profile. Rolley, therefore, has no real basis for relating this group based upon the dating of the vessel’s profiles. His judgment can be based only on the style of the female head. Rolley, however, claims that their “dédalique” style confirms the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. date

suggested by the vase profiles.

20. Herfort-Koch, *Archaische Bronzeplastik*, pp. 81–85.

21. Herfort-Koch rejects Rolley's attribution of the Nîmes and Capua handles and instead attributes these to a South Italian workshop. In J. Carter's review of Herfort-Koch (*American Journal of Archaeology* 93 [1989] pp. 473–476), she notes many problems: "To anchor the core group to Laconia, Herfort-Koch inserts in its midst a pair of bronze fibulae from the Orthia sanctuary and a poorly preserved bronze protome from Amyklai. But this is a desperate strategy...the handle may have lions at the vessel rim; a palmette or lion may replace the protome at its base. Herfort-Koch plausibly connects these handles to the core group and to each other, but her selection seems arbitrary."

22. Herfort-Koch, *Archaische Bronzeplastik*, pp. 13–19.

23. I focus on the five by Hafner that make up the original "Telesstas-Hydria" group, which have female protomes at the base and snakes at the rim—a point that becomes significant. There are numerous publications regarding other bronze hydria handles. Some of these have been attributed to the "Telesstas" group (see Stibbe, "Babyka and Knakeion," p. 93), but they all have decoration other than those discussed here.

24. Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, pp. 188, 186.

25. H. Rose in R.M. Dawkins, *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (London 1929) p. 399.

26. R.F. Willettes, *Cretan Cults and Festivals* (London 1962) p. 185.

27. Y. Bonnefox, *Mythologies*, trans. Gerald Honigsblum (Chicago 1991) p. 445.

28. Dawkins, *Orthia*, pp. 401–402. Hellenistic temple tiles are stamped with only Orthia's name. Those stamped with the name Artemis Orthia occur no

earlier than the Flavian period. Cf. M. Pipili, *Laconian Iconography of the Sixth Century B.C.* (Oxford 1987) pp. 43–44.

29. H.J.W. Tillyard, "Inscriptions from the Artemesium," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 12 (1905–1906) p. 391.

30. Dawkins, *Orthia*, p. 403. Cf. J. Carter, "The Masks of Ortheia," *American Journal of Archaeology* 91 (1987) p. 375.

31. Pausanias, *Descriptions of Greece*, trans. W.H.S. Jones (London 1966).

32. *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Munich 1984) vol. II, p. 631.

33. Pipili, *Laconian Iconography*, p. 42.

34. Dawkins, *Orthia*, p. 218, pls. CXVII, CXIX.

35. Dawkins, *Orthia*, p. 219, pls. CXXI 1a and b.

36. Dawkins, *Orthia*, p. 220, pls. CXXI 3–7, CXXII 2–4.

37. Romano, *Early Greek Cult Images* (Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania 1980) p. 394. Other early standing images illustrating this type of pose include the Artemis and Leto from Dreros, and Artemis of Ephesus and Hera of Samos. Artemis of Ephesus and Hera of Samos held their arms forward, rather than at their sides (Romano, pp. 434–435).

38. Romano, *Cult Images*, p. 382. Another early wooden image said to have been small enough to be carried in the yearly *Tonaia* Festival was the Hera of Samos (Romano, pp. 242, 383). See also A.A. Donohue, *Xoana and the Origins of Greek Sculpture* (Georgia 1988).

39. Pausanias, *Descriptions of Greece*, trans. W.H.S. Jones (London 1966).

40. Romano, *Cult Images*, p. 407.

41. Romano, *Cult Images*, p. 407, "This works most frequently for *poloi*, since *stephanoi* and fillets are common symbols of athletic victors." See also V.K. Müller, *Der Polos, die griechische Götterkrone* (Berlin 1915). Müller's type numbers 14, 17, 18, 20, 53–55, 61, 62 and 76–78 are similar to artifacts recovered from the Orthia sanctuary.

42. Romano, *Cult Images*, p. 404.

43. Dawkins, *Orthia*, p. 241, pl. CLXXI 1a–c. The description of the object is as follows: "Ivory object of unknown purpose; length .048 m. Its front view is shown in the photograph (pl. CLXXI 1a), and it is slightly thicker in the middle than at the sides, so that seen from above its shape is a long oval. Below, it is broken but has a long groove like a mortise, as if it fastened to something. On one face (1a, 1c) is a slightly incised pattern of zigzags and dots, on the other (b) a similarly worked design like a row of upstanding feathers."

44. Dawkins, *Orthia*, p. 237, pl. CLXII 12. Cf. R. Herbig, "Philister und Dorier," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 55 (1940) pp. 68–84. Herbig concerns himself with the difference between leaf and feather crowns. He sees these bone artifacts as elements of a "Schilfblatterkrone," or reed-leaf crown. See also E. Bevan, *Animals in Sanctuaries of Artemis and other Olympian Deities, British Archaeological Reports* 315 (i) (Oxford 1986) pp. 153–154.

45. Dawkins, *Orthia*, pls. LXIV, LXV.

46. W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology* vol.3 (New York 1967) p. 106, with specific dates, 671–631 B.C.; D. Page, *Alcman: The Partheneion* (Oxford 1951) p. 166, mid-seventh century; F. Harvey, "Oxyhynchus Papyrus 2390 and Early Spartan History," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 86–87 (1966–1967) pp. 68–73, late seventh, ca. 609 B.C.; P. Easterling and B. Knox, *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature* (Cambridge 1985) p. 168, late seventh.

47. Page, *Alcman*, p. 5.

48. J. Carter, "Masks and Poetry in Early Sparta" in R. Hägg, *Early Greek Cult Practices* (Stockholm 1988) pp. 89–98. Carter argues that the occasion of *Alcman's* poem could have been a marriage ritual in the Orthia sanctuary. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford 1962) and see also C. Calame, *Alcman* (Rome 1983).

49. Page, *Alcman*, pp. 60–63.

50. Page, *Alcman*, p. 74.

51. Dawkins, *Orthia*, p. 300.

52. Page, *Alcman*, p. 79.  $\phi\tilde{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma$  is translated by Liddell and Scott (*A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1996) as plough. However,  $\phi\tilde{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ , later also  $\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ , is translated as a large piece of cloth or robe, web or sail, commonly a wide cloak or mantle without sleeves. This is also the case according to H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg 1970). The following scholars have chosen to translate  $\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma$  as robe: C. Calame, *Alcman* (Rome 1983); Carter, "Masks and Poetry in Early Sparta;" Easterling and Knox, *Cambridge History*; and Page, *Alcman*.

53. Romano, *Cult Images*, p. 412. Apollo at Amyklai was the only male deity to receive a garment as a dedication.

54. Romano, *Cult Images*, pp. 242, 251; Romano, "Early Greek Cult Images and Early Greek Cult Practices," in Hägg, *Early Greek Cult Practices*, p. 128. Most of the following paragraph is based on these references.

55. Menodotos recounts the saga of the Tyrrhenian pirates who were offered money by the Argives to steal the image of Hera. They had to leave the image behind, however, because Hera would not allow their ships to sail. Later, when the Samians found the image on the beach, they immediately tied it up with the branches of a lygos, believing it had run away.

56. Romano, *Cult Images*, p. 197.

## Errata

Page 72, note 52 should read as follows:

Page, *Alcman*, p. 79. φᾶρος is translated by Liddell and Scott (*A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1996) as plough. However, φᾶρος, later also φᾶρος, is translated as a large piece of cloth or robe, web or sail; commonly a wide cloak or mantle without sleeves. This is also the case according to H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg 1970). The following scholars have chosen to translate φᾶρος as robe: C. Calame, *Alcman* (Rome 1983); Carter, "Masks and Poetry in Early Sparta;" Easterling and Knox, *Cambridge History*; and Page, *Alcman*.





57. Pliny, *Natural History*, trans. W.H.S. Jones (London 1962).
58. B. Hora, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Trees of the World* (Oxford 1981) p. 160.
59. Hora, *Encyclopedia*, p. 164; D. Mabberley, *The Plant Book* (Cambridge 1987) p. 345.
60. The lygos was so important to the Samians that a sacred lygos tree is known to have been planted in the sanctuary of Hera.
61. Hora, *Encyclopedia*, p. 162.
62. S. Cole, "Uses of Water in Greek Sanctuaries," in Hägg, *Early Greek Cult Practices*, pp.161–165.
63. M. Nilsson, *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion* (Munich 1967) vol. I, p.492.
64. Page, *Alcman*, pp. 64–68.
65. Pliny, *Natural History*, 24.61.
66. The Louvre handle will not feature in this discussion because, although said to come from Greece, no specific region is given. The Missouri handle will also not be included because its provenance is unknown.
67. L.F. Fitzhardinge, *The Spartans* (London 1980), p 34.
68. Dawkins, *Orthia*, pp. 117–118.
69. Cartledge, *Sparta and Lakonia*, pp. 123–124.
70. Fitzhardinge, *Spartans*, p. 34.
71. Fitzhardinge, *Spartans*, pp. 90–117.



Fig. 1. Circus sarcophagus (front panel) marble, Roman, A.D. 190–220, Museum of Art and Archaeology, Silver Anniversary Gift of the University of Missouri–Columbia Development Board and the Boone County Community Trust. acc. no. 83.65.

CUPIDS AT THE CIRCUS:  
MISSOURI'S CHARIOT SARCOPHAGUS

Joseph Stumpf



ONE OF THE MORE PECULIAR AND INTRIGUING PHENOMENA IN ROMAN archaeology is the abrupt and still generally unexplained switch from cremation to inhumation that seems to have occurred throughout the Empire during the second century after Christ.<sup>1</sup> The resurgence of this ancient Etruscan and Greek burial practice inaugurated the great industry and artistic tradition of Roman sarcophagi. Virtually all examples of this class—whether in marble, granite, lead or limestone—date to Hadrianic times (A.D. 117–138) or later. Decoration varied according to the taste and means of the owner. One might see great mythological tableaux, commemorative scenes of battle, marriage, or appropriated imperial iconography, or more decorative garland and strigillated types, incised with wavy grooves. Major manufacturing centers grew up around Rome and near the numerous



Fig. 2. Circus sarcophagus (right side panel) marble, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia, acc. no. 83.65.

quarries of fine marble in Greece and Asia Minor. Each center exhibits peculiar identifying characteristics of style and form, although there is considerable change from one to another. A booming trade in both finished sarcophagi and raw marble was conducted throughout the Mediterranean world. Even as the Roman Empire began to decline, this burial tradition grew and flourished for several centuries. It is one of the chief manifestations of artistic continuity between the Ancient and Late-Antique periods and resonates as late as the Renaissance.<sup>2</sup>

The Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri–Columbia is fortunate to own a sarcophagus of a child—a fragmentary but nonetheless excellent example of marble workmanship (Fig. 1).<sup>3</sup>

The sarcophagus depicts a scene of cupids in chariots at the circus—one of about a hundred in the world that shows this iconography<sup>4</sup>—and was a child's sarcophagus, as were most of this type.<sup>5</sup> The marble is a hard, white, medium-to-fine grained stone, which analysis shows is dolomitic, originating from the island of Thasos in the North Aegean Sea.<sup>6</sup> Although the marble is Thasian, certain characteristics, such as the lightly carved sides, are more typical of Italian workmanship. In fact, the majority of circus sarcophagi have a central Italian provenance. Marble was often shipped in raw or very roughly worked blocks to Italy where the product was manufactured. Some Roman workshops easily might have specialized in Thasian marble.

The scene on the sarcophagus is a riot of motion that recreates the hectic and feverish atmosphere of the Roman circus. Nine chariot teams are shown racing around the monuments of the circus' central barrier, usually called the *spina*.<sup>7</sup> Each cupid, clutching the reins and a whip, drives a two-horse chariot or *biga* and is held in place by a harness belt.<sup>8</sup> Along the front are four teams, the usual number, not only convenient for the shape of the panel, but also reflecting the four chariot teams racing in the Empire—Reds, Greens, Whites and Blues.<sup>9</sup> The cupid in the lower left corner has fallen sidelong out of his chariot, his horse pitching violently forward as he is ejected, his left hand grasping the frame of his car. Such accidents are com-

monly referred to as *naufragia*, literally “shipwrecks,” and they figure in virtually every Roman depiction of the circus, regardless of medium.<sup>10</sup> Such spectacular falls were a common sight in the ancient circus races and demonstrate the highly competitive, win-at-all-costs attitude of the teams.<sup>11</sup> On sarcophagi of this type, the leader, the team at the far right, is never shown capsizing. On the Missouri sarcophagus, however, no clear leader or victor is marked because both sides of the track are shown.

Beneath the next cupid’s team, to the right, lies an outstretched cupid of whom only the hands and feet remain. Such figures commonly appear in sarcophagus circus-scenes and usually are identified as *sparsores*, a sort of pit crew whose job was to throw amphorae of water at their particular team’s horses in order to cool them down. Occasionally, if space does not allow for the insertion of a *sparsor*, the artists might depict an amphora as an economical substitute. It is difficult to explain exactly why these *sparsores* are so often shown being trampled. Such a job would not seem to be as life-threatening as it is usually rendered, except when one considers that during chariot races, teams were often running abreast rather than single file as shown on sarcophagi. The *sparsor* often would be forced onto the track if his team were running on the outside.<sup>12</sup> Such a position likely was filled by slaves owned by the teams.

The artist of the Missouri sarcophagus has demonstrated an impressive ability to organize complex subject matter in an aesthetically pleasing arrangement. The stances of the cupids in front of the *spina* are carefully alternated: two with their backs turned away from the viewer and two facing outward. The three behind the *spina*, more widely spaced, are allowed to repeat the same emphatic gesture—the left hand grabbing the reins, the right hand cocked back, ready to crack the whip. The artist worked to alternate his figures with the vertical monuments of the *spina*; a monument precedes the horses that precede a monument that precedes the cupid. The whole is framed by the turning posts, or *metae*, and the figures rounding them.

Just enough of the right side of the sarcophagus remains to reconstruct the scene (Fig.2). One can recognize an outstretched wing and the tail of a horse, executed in much shallower relief than the front panel. This is probably a scene of the winning cupid riding a victory lap, bareback. Other sarcophagi reproduce this scene or a variation that shows a cupid holding a victory palm.

The lavish attention the artist gives to the monuments of the *spina* invites one more remark. These monuments, as well as many others, stood on the *spina* of the Circus Maximus in Rome—the largest, grandest and most renowned circus in the Empire. In fact, the *spinae* of all circuses reflect that of the great circus of Rome.<sup>13</sup> The familiar monuments, despite their incongruity, appear alongside mythical cupid charioteers because any Roman imagining a circus would picture the Circus Maximus. A Roman audience presumably would not have found such a juxtaposition jarring.

Starting from the main panel's right side, (Fig. 1) since it is intact, and moving left, notice the *metae* or turning posts. Only two can be discerned, but most circuses had three of these marble, asparagus-shaped structures. Next, a statue of Victory strides forward on its pillar, a wreath clutched in her right hand and a palm in the crook of her left arm. Two statues of Victory (the other lacked wings) appear in representations of the *spina* of the Circus Maximus. This one, which might date to Augustan times, is modeled on the Tarentine type that Augustus placed in the Senate House in 29 B.C.<sup>14</sup>

Continuing to the left, an entablature supports seven eggs, three of which are barely visible because they are set behind the horses' heads. In the Circus Maximus, the eggs are the older of the two lap-counting devices on the *spina*, originally installed in 174 B.C.<sup>15</sup> The version shown on sarcophagi is more likely Agrippa's reconstruction of 33 B.C. Such devices occurred in virtually every circus. There were seven eggs for seven laps, and whenever the lead chariot passed by, an egg was raised up on a spike to indicate the completed lap. Another recently advanced theory, however, supposes that these eggs count the number of races rather than laps.<sup>16</sup>

Neatly bisecting the sarcophagus is an obelisk. These are virtually omnipresent on circus depictions and were just as common in the actual circuses.<sup>17</sup> The one at the Circus Maximus in Rome, probably the first of all circus obelisks, was erected by Augustus in 10 B.C. and reflected the *princeps'* "Captured Egypt" or "Aegypta Capta" propaganda, as well as the general Roman taste for things Egyptian at the time. This monument of the pharaoh Ramses II was given a square base and an inscription commemorating the Egyptian conquest.<sup>18</sup> Representations in various media indicate that the original Circus Maximus fixture was approximately 28 meters high, including the base, with a bronze attachment on top, either a sphere or a flame.



Fig. 3. Circus sarcophagus, marble, Museo Archeologico Municipale, Foligno, Italy, no. 89. Photo: DAI 80.2757.

To the left of the obelisk stands a large rectangular structure. It has been given perspective along its right side and shows moldings at its midpoint and summit and ear-like protuberances at each corner. This should be interpreted as one of the block-like altars the *spina* is known to have supported, elongated so that it not be hidden behind the chariots. Altars often appear in circus iconography next to the obelisk. A sarcophagus in Foligno (Fig. 3) exhibits a similar structure. The deity to whom this altar is consecrated remains unidentified. Ancient sources name several gods and goddesses with altars on the *spina*, and the configuration of the altars might have changed with time.<sup>19</sup> Several altars could have been consolidated.

Continuing left, (Fig. 1) one comes upon a second counting device, a platform supporting seven dolphins (there were also seven in the Circus Maximus) that either were removed entirely or turned around in some fashion to indicate the completion of a lap or the number of a race. The dolphins first appear on circus representations in the mid-first century after Christ, which makes an Augustan-era installation probable. On the Missouri sarcophagus, a cupid team passes directly beneath the monument. To render a truthful depiction, the artist would have been forced to show the entire entablature for which there is no room—hence, a bit of artistic license. Such problems are rare because of the infrequency of sarcophagi depictions showing both sides of the racetrack.

Interpreting the last monument on the Missouri sarcophagus, at the left edge of its panel, is difficult. Three nondescript columns support a conical roof with arched lintels. Surmounting the whole is a large statue of a bird, presumably an eagle. One might make a tentative connection with the “pavilions” shown on a late circus mosaic at Piazza Armerina (Fig. 4), al-



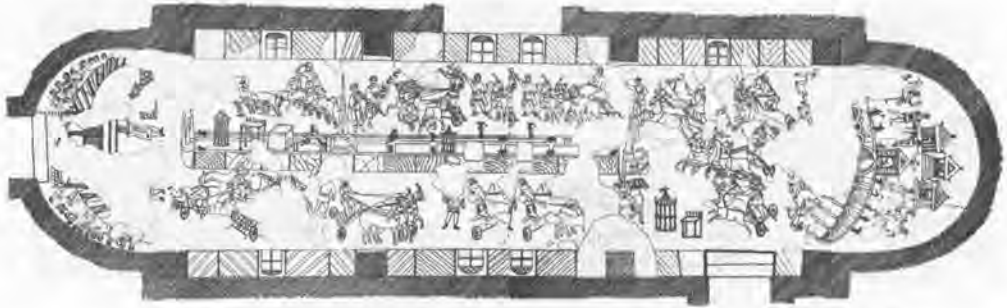


Fig. 4. Piazza Armerina, mosaic, drawing (after Gentili, *Bollettino d'Arte* 42 [1957] figs. 1–2).

though they have flat entablatures and two stories. Closer parallels can be found on other sarcophagi such as the previous example from Foligno (Fig. 3). The lightly carved back of a Phaeton sarcophagus in Florence shows a similar structure placed between dolphins and the turning posts (Fig. 5). Perhaps these structures are commemorative rather than functional. A statue within or even an inscription on the monuments would be sufficient to render them *de facto* hero shrines for some great charioteers. Similarly, divine dedications cannot be ruled out.<sup>20</sup>

In view of the lack of an archaeological context, stylistic analysis will have to suffice for dating the Missouri sarcophagus. The earliest in the series of cupid-chariot sarcophagi should be placed in the early Antonine period (A.D. 140–160), but the Missouri sarcophagus with its strangely



Fig. 5. Sarcophagus (lightly worked back) marble. Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici, Florence, Uffizi. Photo: DAI 72.180.

elevated vantage point, rare on these sarcophagi, suggests a later date, possibly at the very end of the series. This perspective might reflect the influence of circus representations on mosaics, all of which show not only the central barrier but both sides of the track (Fig. 4). These mosaics probably have their genesis in late-second century Africa, although most surviving examples are much later. A similar scene was depicted in a non-funerary sculptural relief from Foligno (Fig. 6), usually dated to around A.D. 200. Sculpture and mosaics both indicate a general trend in later Roman art that repudiates



Fig. 6. Relief of the Circus Maximus, Rome, marble. Comune di Foligno, Settore Cultura, Italy. Photo: DAI 56.1543.

logical perspective in favor of such bird's-eye views. The dates of the Foligno relief and the earliest African circus mosaic (A.D. 200) seem to agree with the style of the Missouri piece. A safer and broader range would be from A.D. 190–220, a Severan-era sarcophagus, in other words, of Italian manufacture.<sup>21</sup>

The specific iconographic sources for such sarcophagi remain in some dispute. Examples of cupids who ride chariots can be found from as early as the fourth century B.C. in non-funerary contexts such as South Italian vase painting. Certain elements, such as the use of *bigae* for cupids and the *naufragium*, can be found on the earliest of these representations. This use of the theme from a purely decorative standpoint continues into at least the first century after Christ.<sup>22</sup> Specific monuments of the *spina* from the Circus Maximus first appear in first-century art in numerous media, but most importantly on the elegant series of Campana terra-cotta reliefs that date from at least Claudian times, A.D. 41–54 (Fig. 7).<sup>23</sup> Again, these are not funerary, and the charioteers are not cupids, but the exactitude of the depiction of *spina* and charioteer is notable. Furthermore, staples of the sarcophagus artisan's work are detailed on them—the *naufragia*, the *sparsores*, and even specific figural poses. Figure 7 illustrates a *naufragium*. These plaques were mass-produced in central Italy and might have helped popularize the new Circus Maximus representations. The influence of this iconography also extended beyond Italy through such diverse means as lamps and the series of early



Fig. 7. Campana plaque, terra-cotta. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

glass “sport cups” (Fig. 8) that might have been designed to introduce chariot racing in the young provinces.<sup>24</sup>

It is difficult to pinpoint just when circus iconography began to be used in funerary contexts. The cupid had a long use in such venues, and its figure, holding an inverted torch, was placed in Hellenistic tombs at Myrina in Asia Minor.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, in Greek art the cupid is seen as an aide and an ancillary figure to many characters

who are explicitly associated with death and rebirth such as Hermes, Hades and Dionysos. The cupid continues to play such roles on Roman mythological sarcophagi.

The two lines of development, specific circus iconography and cupid iconography, first seem to join on a set of reliefs from Hadrian’s Villa at Tivoli (Fig. 9) dated to about A.D.120. The steeds are fabulous or wild beasts, but the setting is decidedly the circus with the *spina* monuments carefully delineated. One scholar has argued that the circus as a funerary motif originates with these very reliefs, which it is suggested were part of a funerary monument for a dead child of the ruling Aelian family. Thus, the artistic and iconological idea, if not dictated from the top, at least “trickled down.”<sup>26</sup> It



Fig. 8. “Sport Cup,” glass, from Colchester. British Museum, inv. no. 1870.2–24.3, drawing by Susan Bird (© Copyright The British Museum).



Fig. 9. Relief from Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, marble. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, no. 904.

seems, however, entirely possible that the sarcophagus artisans devised these funerary allegories by combining the preexisting circus representations developed by Hadrian's time with the long-standing funerary connections of the cupid. Such scenes might recall the old Platonic allegory of the soul as charioteer:<sup>27</sup>

As for the other souls, one that follows a god most closely, making itself most like that god, raises the head of its charioteer up to the place outside and is carried around in the circular motion with the others. Although distracted by the horses, the soul does have a view of Reality, just barely. Another soul rises at one time and falls at another, and because its horses pull it violently in different directions, it sees some real things and misses others. The remaining souls are all eagerly straining to keep up, but are unable to rise; they are carried around below the surface, trampling and striking one another as each tries to get ahead of the others. The result is terribly noisy, very sweaty and disorderly. Many souls are crippled by the incompetence of the drivers, and many wings break much of their plumage (*Phaedrus* 248 A–B).<sup>28</sup>

This idea, however, has been criticized as too subtle and beyond the education of stonecarvers.<sup>29</sup> Instead, it might be that the idea in play here is “life is a race,” a notion that had for some time held currency in Roman

thought. For example, it has numerous occurrences in the *Epistles* of Paul: "I have fought the good fight. I have finished my course. I have kept the faith. Henceforth, there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous judge shall give me at that day."<sup>30</sup> If this is the case, does one identify the deceased as the victorious cupid, or as the cupid who inevitably takes a tumble from his chariot? The fact that often a victorious cupid, or at least the palm of victory, is shown on the side would seem to argue for the former explanation. On the main panel, the cupid on the far right is frequently shown as a clear victor having only half a lap to go. Not all panels, however, indicate an obvious winner. The Missouri sarcophagus does not, perhaps because it shows both sides of the race course.<sup>31</sup> The omnipresent *naufragium*, however, was a necessary element in the traditional depiction of the circus and was never dropped. Because almost all of these renditions are on children's sarcophagi, conceivably this preexisting motif was meant as an allusion to the child's life being prematurely cut short. Ultimately, the question is not answerable. Nothing kept the sarcophagus artisan from having both of these interpretations in mind.

The Missouri sarcophagus is an especially worthy example of both the cosmopolitan and eclectic nature of Roman art. It is cosmopolitan in that its marble is from Greece, its place of manufacture is in Italy, and its stylistic parallels include African mosaics, and eclectic in that it takes a purely mythological figure, Cupid, invests it with symbolic weight, and places it in a real and well-known architectural setting—the Circus Maximus. The work is a significant addition to the corpus of Roman sarcophagi, a rare variant on a popular theme. As such, it offers a revealing glimpse into the world of Roman art and belief. 

M	V
S	E

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NOTES

1. For a short discussion of the salient theories for this change, see G. Koch and H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage* (Munich 1982) pp. 27–30. This book remains the standard work on Roman sarcophagi. There is no adequate English equivalent although one might consult S. Walker, *Memorials of the Roman Dead* (London 1985).

I would like to acknowledge the support of K.W. Slane in the writing of this article and to thank Jane Biers, curator of ancient art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, for graciously allowing me to study the Museum's sarcophagus.

2. For a discussion of continuity and change in sepulchral art from antiquity to the Renaissance, see E. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture* (New York 1964), especially pp. 67–96. Renaissance masterpieces such as the Tomb of Francesco Sassetto (Panofsky, Fig. 314) and the Tomb of Ilaria del Cannelto (Panofsky, Fig. 305) were clearly beholden to Roman models.

3. Acc. no. 83.65. Silver anniversary gift of the University of Missouri–Columbia Development Board and the Boone County Community Trust. Only the front panel and a small section of the right panel survive. The left side, back, bottom and lid are completely absent, and the frontal scene is broken off on its left end and along the length of the bottom. Preserved H. 0.40 m.; preserved L. 1.38 m.; preserved W. 0.18 m. The curvature of the interior and comparisons with other similar sarcophagi allow one to estimate the original front panel at perhaps H. 0.50 m., L. 1.50–1.60 m. Published: *Muse 18* (1984) pp. 22–23; K. Schauenburg, *Die Stadtrömischen Erosen-Sarkophage: 3, Zirkusrennen und verwandte Darstellungen* (Berlin 1995) no.12, pp. 62–63.

4. Schauenburg's Group I, to which the Missouri sarcophagus belongs, comprises "canonical" cupid-chariot sarcophagi and sarcophagi depicting real charioteers. His complete list of cupid-chariot sarcophagi numbers 102 and is accompanied by detailed discussion. For earlier, partial lists of chariot sarcophagi, see C. Belting-Ihm, "Ein römischer Circus-Sarkophag," *Jahrbuch*



d. *Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 8 (1961) pp.195–208; M. Turcan-Deleani, “Contributions à l’étude des amours dans l’art funéraire romaine: les sarcophages à courses de chars,” *Mélanges de l’école française à Rome* 76 (1964) pp. 43–49. For an abbreviated list of children’s sarcophagi featuring cupids, see J. Huskinson, *Roman Children’s Sarcophagi* (Oxford 1996) pp. 47–51.

5. The line separating children’s sarcophagi from those of adults is arbitrarily set at 1.70 m. This is the measurement used by M. Turcan-Deleani in her list of cupid-chariot sarcophagi, “Contributions,” pp. 44–45. Huskinson, *Children’s Sarcophagi* also uses the 1.70 m. measurement.

6. The marble of the Missouri sarcophagus was analyzed by Richard Newman, research scientist of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The examination was done with X-ray diffraction. The Museum of Art and Archaeology is grateful to John Herrmann, associate curator, Department of Classical Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for organizing the analysis.

7. Schauenburg, *Eroten-Sarkophage*, pp. 62–63, saw eight teams on the Missouri sarcophagus, but the cupid at the far right in front of the turning posts should be understood as standing in a chariot car. For reasons of space, the artist omitted the horses. The term *spina* was not used until the Late Antique Period. See J. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses* (Berkeley 1986) p.175.

8. In actual chariot racing, four-horse teams (*quadrigae*) would have been used, but *bigae* (two-horse teams) were not unknown and were much easier for the artisan to render, especially in a relief with as many figures as this one. This feature was standardized early in circus iconography; there are no chariot sarcophagi with cupids driving *quadrigae*.

9. See Humphrey, *Circuses*, p.137 and A. Cameron, *Circus Factions* (Oxford 1976).

10. The iconography dates to at least Augustan times.

11. The bloodthirsty nature of the sport certainly contributed to its



popularity. Similarly, today many observe stock-car races chiefly to witness the horrific crashes that the sport provides.

12. In a real race the teams would be *quadrigae*. The *sparsor* might have needed to throw water twice. The horses running on the inside could be cooled with water from the relative safety of the *spina*, but watering the two on the outside could be managed only if the sparsor stood on the track itself, a very dangerous position.

13. For a detailed discussion of the monuments of the *spina*, see Humphrey, *Circuses*, pp. 255–282.

14. The winged victory on a column first appears on representations of the *spina* in the Castel St. Elia relief, dated to the mid-first century. See Humphrey, *Circuses*, pp. 268–269; T. Hölscher, *Victoria Romana* (Mainz 1967) pp. 6–7.

15. Livy 41.27.6.

16. See S. Cerutti, “The Seven Eggs of the Circus Maximus,” *Nikephoros* 6 (1993) pp. 167–176. The question depends on one’s interpretation of the Latin *curriculum*. The same also is true regarding the dolphins (*infra*).

17. Some still survive in pieces, for example at Tyre or the “pseudo-obelisk” at Vienne. See Humphrey, *Circuses*, pp. 464–477 and 401–407.

18. The obelisk and inscription have been restored and are now erected in the Piazza del Popolo in Rome. The base of the other Augustan-imported obelisk, now in the Piazza della Rotonda, bears a similar inscription.

19. Tertullian (*De Spectaculis* 8) and Servius (on Vergil *Ecl.* 6.31) indicate the presence of altars at the Circus Maximus for the Samothracian Gods (Asiatic deities of an uncertain nature), but John Lydos (*Mens.* 1.12) mentions six altars; to Kronos, Zeus and Ares on one side of the obelisk, and to Aphrodite, Hermes and Selene on the other.

20. Humphrey, *Circuses*, p. 267, note 209, opposes the idea that in the first century pavilions were representations of hero shrines. He leaves the issue open for later renditions of similar monuments such as this one.

21. Schauenburg, *Eroten-Sarkophage*, pp. 62–63, dates the Missouri sarcophagus to the mid-Antonine period (A.D. 170–180), in keeping with his general down-dating of cupid-chariot sarcophagi. He may, however, have compressed the series too much. The Missouri sarcophagus finds good parallels for the style of the cupid's hair on Louvre Ma.1450, Schauenburg's no. 34, dated by F. Baratte to the early third century (*Catalogue des sarcophages en pierre d'époques romaine et paléochrétienne* [Paris 1985]: no. 93, p.184). The modeling and iconography also compare well with a fragment in the Palazzo Prosperi Valenti in Trevi, Schauenburg's no. 73, which he calls Severan. In my opinion, the closest stylistic parallel is to Schauenburg's no. 15, a sarcophagus in Foligno (Fig. 3) dated by him to the late-Antonine period. This sarcophagus shows similar modeling of the horses' flanks, a comparable topknot on the cupid's hair and the same arrangement of *spina* monuments. Schauenburg's discussion of the time frame of the class' production is sketchy (pp.16–17). Dates for sarcophagi are usually assigned on purely stylistic grounds. Any sarcophagus reflecting the influence of the mosaic medium should, of course, be placed later than the first circus pavements.

For these circus mosaics, see Humphrey, *Circuses*, pp. 208–246. The earliest mosaic, at Silin in Libya, is stylistically dated to A.D. 200. For the sculptural relief at Foligno, see M. Lawrence, "The circus relief at Foligno," *Atti del II Convegno di Studi Umbri* (Gubbio 1964) pp. 119–135.

22. For example: the House of the Vettii at Pompeii. For the decorative use of the cupid in chariots, see R. Stuveras, *Le putto dans l'art romain—Collection Latomus* 99 (Brussels 1968) pp. 96–99; Schauenburg, *Eroten-Sarkophage*, pp. 22–28.

23. For these Campana plaques, see H. von Rohden and H. Winnefeld, *Die antiken Terrakotten* IV, 1–2 *Architektonische römische Tonreliefs den Kaiserzeit* (Berlin 1911) pp.134–142. See also Humphrey, *Circuses*, pp.180–186.

24. For lamps, see Humphrey, *Circuses*, pp. 186–188; for “sport cups,” pp. 188–193 and p. 654, note 30 where Humphrey provides a complete bibliography.
25. Compare a terra-cotta figurine from the Hellenistic graves at Myrina: *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, 3, “Eros” no. 989. This inverted torch motif continues later on Roman strigillated sarcophagi.
26. L. Vogel, “Circus Race Scenes in the Early Roman Empire,” *Art Bulletin* 51 (1969) pp. 158–159.
27. F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des romaines* (Paris 1942) p. 461.
28. The *Phaedrus* of Plato translated by A. Nehamus and P. Woodruff (Hackett, Indianapolis 1995).
29. For criticism of this theory, see A.D. Nock, “Sarcophagi and Symbolism,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 50 (1946) pp. 140–170. Schauenburg, *Eroten-Sarkophage*, pp. 43–48 is skeptical of both Vogel and Cumont’s theories. He provides the most current discussion of the interpretation and symbolism of these sarcophagi.
30. 2 *Timothy* 4:6.
31. In this respect, the Missouri sarcophagus is a rarity. Only three other sarcophagi show both sides of the race, and only two of these have cupid charioteers: an example at Cesano, near Rome, and a sarcophagus frieze built into the Palazzo Mattei in Rome, Schauenburg, *Eroten-Sarkophage*, nos. 8 and 55. Even these examples, however, do not include a well-marked *spina*.



**Fig. 1** *Potter's Punch*, ca. 5<sup>th</sup> c., acc. no. 95.9



**Figs. 2**

*Flask, White Painted V Ware*, ca. 1725–1600 B.C., acc. no. 95.10

*Trefoil-mouthed Jug, Black Slip II Ware*, ca. 1050–850 B.C., acc. no. 95.11

*Dish, White Painted I Ware*, ca. 1050–850 B.C., acc. no. 95.12

*Juglet, Black-on-red III (V) Ware*, ca. 600–475 B.C., acc. no. 95.13

*Handle-ridge Juglet, Black-on-red I (III) Ware*, ca. 850–700 B.C., acc. no. 95.14

*Barrel-shaped Jug, Bichrome I Ware*, ca. 1050–850 B.C., acc. no. 95.15

*Amphora, White Painted V Ware*, ca. 600–475 B.C., acc. no. 95.16

*Jug, Eastern Sigillata A*, ca. 50 B.C.–early 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D., acc. no. 95.17

*Volute-Lamp with Lion on Disc*, 1<sup>st</sup> c., acc. no. 95.18

## ACQUISITIONS

1995 and 1996

### Greek and Roman Art

#### **Greek**

*Red-figure Neck-amphora of Panathenaic Type by the Ganymede Painter*, South Italy, Apulia, ca. 330–320 B.C., pottery (96.1) [Muse cover], Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund and gift of Museum Associates, Members' Choice.

(Fig. 2) *Jug, Eastern Sigillata A*, Late Hellenistic, ca. 50 B.C.–early 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D., pottery (95.17), gift of Frances C. Geer in memory of her husband, Vasco R. Geer, Jr.

#### **Roman**

(Fig. 1) *Potter's Punch*, ca. 5<sup>th</sup> c., terra-cotta (95.9), Weinberg Fund.

*Votive Plaque with Dedication to the God Men*, Anatolia, Phrygia, 2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> c., bronze (96.9), Weinberg Fund.

(Fig. 2) *Volute-Lamp with Lion on Discus*, 1<sup>st</sup> c., terra-cotta (95.18), gift of Frances C. Geer in memory of her husband, Vasco R. Geer, Jr.

### Near and Middle Eastern Art

#### **Cyprus**

(Fig. 2) *Flask, White Painted V Ware*, Middle Cypriote III, ca. 1725–1600 B.C., pottery (95.10), gift of Frances C. Geer in memory of her husband, Vasco R. Geer, Jr.

(Fig. 2) *Trefoil-mouthed Jug, Black Slip II Ware*, Cypro-Geometric I-II, ca. 1050–850 B.C., pottery (95.11), gift of Frances C. Geer in memory of her husband, Vasco R. Geer, Jr.

(Fig. 2) *Dish, White Painted I Ware*, Cypro-Geometric I-II, ca. 1050–850 B.C., pottery (95.12), gift of Frances C. Geer in memory of her husband, Vasco R. Geer, Jr.

(Fig. 2) *Juglet, Black-on-red III (V) Ware*, Cypro-Archaic II, ca. 600–475 B.C., pottery (95.13), gift of Frances C. Geer in memory of her husband, Vasco R. Geer, Jr.

(Fig. 2) *Handle-ridge Juglet, Black-on-red I (III) Ware*, Cypro-Geometric III—Cypro-Archaic IA, ca. 850–700 B.C., pottery (95.14), gift of Frances C. Geer in memory of her husband, Vasco R. Geer, Jr.



Fig. 3 Spouted Jug, ca. 1000 B.C., acc. no. 96.3

(Fig. 2) *Barrel-shaped Jug, Bichrome I Ware, Cypro-Geometric I-II, ca. 1050–850 B.C., pottery (95.15), gift of Frances C. Geer in memory of her husband, Vasco R. Geer, Jr.*

(Fig. 2) *Amphora, White Painted V Ware, Cypro-Archaic II, ca. 600–475 B.C., pottery (95.16), gift of Frances C. Geer in memory of her husband, Vasco R. Geer, Jr.*

### Iran

(Fig. 3) *Spouted Jug, ca. 1000 B.C., pottery (96.3), gift of Mr. and Mrs. William Schwab.*

### East and South Asian Art

#### China

*Bowl, Qing dynasty, 18<sup>th</sup> c., porcelain (95.7), gift of Gladys D. Weinberg.*

#### Japan

(Fig. 4) *Street Vendor, ca. 1890–1914, ivory (95.3), bequest of the estate of Mrs. Bredelle (Wilhelmina) Jesse.*

*Robe (kimono), probably late 19<sup>th</sup> c., silk (96.5), gift of Loren and Augusta Reid.*

*Pants (hakama), late 19<sup>th</sup> c., cotton (96.6), gift of Loren and Augusta Reid.*

#### Pakistan

(Fig. 5) *Seated Buddha with Attendants, Gandhara, 3<sup>rd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> c., schist (96.4), gift of Françoise and Vincent Brown.*



Fig. 4 Street Vendor, ca. 1890–1914, acc. no. 95.3



**Fig. 5** *Seated Buddha with Attendants*, 3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> c. acc. no. 96.4





**Fig. 6** Anton Kern,  
*Assumption of the Virgin*,  
1709–1747, acc. no. 95.1



Fig. 7 Alexander Mohr, *Pentheus et Dionysus*, ca. 1930's, acc. no. 95.4

## European and American Art

### **Paintings**

(Fig. 6) Attributed to Anton Kern, Bohemian School, 1709-1747, *Assumption of the Virgin*, oil on canvas (95.1), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

(Fig. 7) Alexander Mohr, German, 1892-1974, *Pentheus et Dionysus* (Pentheus and Dionysus), ca. 1930s, oil on canvas (95.4), gift of Marianna Monaco in memory of Elsa Mohr.

Alexander Mohr, German, 1892-1974, Untitled (from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*), ca. 1930s, oil on canvas (95.5), gift of Marianna Monaco in memory of Elsa Mohr.



Fig. 8 William H. Blahd, *X*, 1992, acc. no. 95.22

(Fig. 8) William H. Blahd, American, b. 1952, *X*, 1992, oil on canvas (95.22), gift of Julia J. Norrell in memory of William F. and Catherine D. Norrell.

William H. Blahd, American, b. 1952, *Arnolfini Wedding*, 1990, oil on canvas (95.23), gift of Julia J. Norrell in memory of William F. and Catherine D. Norrell.

William H. Blahd, American, b. 1952, *Ganesh*, 1993, oil on canvas (95.24), gift of Julia J. Norrell in memory of William F. and Catherine D. Norrell.

(Fig. 9) Thomas Downing, American, 1928–1985, *Drid Tivo Saranac*, 1971,

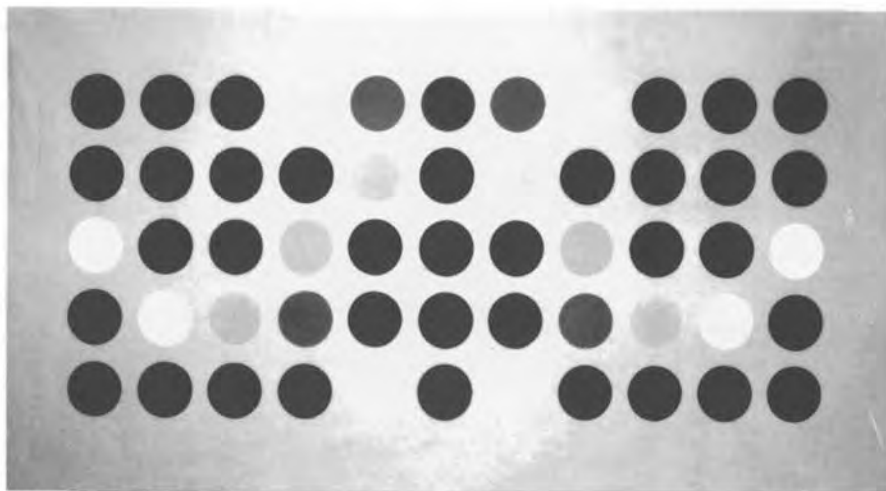
acrylic on canvas (96.10), gift of James L. McGregor.

### Graphics

(Fig. 10) Maurice Sterne, American, 1878–1957, *Portrait of a Girl*, ca. 1905, etching (95.19), gift of Gladys D. Weinberg.

Jörg Schmeisser, German, b. 1942, *Untitled*, 1966, etching (95.20), gift of Gladys D. Weinberg.

Anonymous, American, *Portrait of an Old Woman*, 1903 (?), etching (95.21), gift of Gladys D. Weinberg.



**Fig. 9** Thomas Downing, *Drid Tivo Sarana*, acc. no. 96.10



**Fig. 10** Maurice Sterne, *Portrait of a Girl*, ca. 1905, acc. no. 95.19

ACQUISITIONS



Fig. 11 Jules Allen, "Urban Bush Women," acc. no. 95.6.67



Fig. 12 C.W. Griffin,  
"The Hand of voodoo  
priest," acc. no. 95.6.143



**Fig. 13** Marilyn Nance, "Sunday Best," acc. no. 95.6.147

### Photographs

(Figs. 11-14) 151 photographs by 46 African American photographers comprising the former Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service (SITES) exhibition, *Songs of My People*, 1990, black and white photographs (95.6.1-.151), gift of Dr. D. Michael Cheers/New African Visions, Inc.



**Fig. 14** Jeffery Allan Salter, "Christy Moultrie with baseball bat," acc. no. 95.6.19

## Sculpture

(Fig. 15) Larry Young, American, b. 1943, *Venus*, 1993, bronze (95.2), gift of Museum Associates, Members' Choice.

## Decorative Arts

*Footed Bowl*, Turkey, ca. 1525–1545, pottery (95.8), gift of Gladys D. Weinberg.

*Intaglio Gem of a Hippocampus and Rider Mounted in a Finger Ring*, European, Renaissance or later, banded agate and silver (96.2), gift of Gladys D. Weinberg.

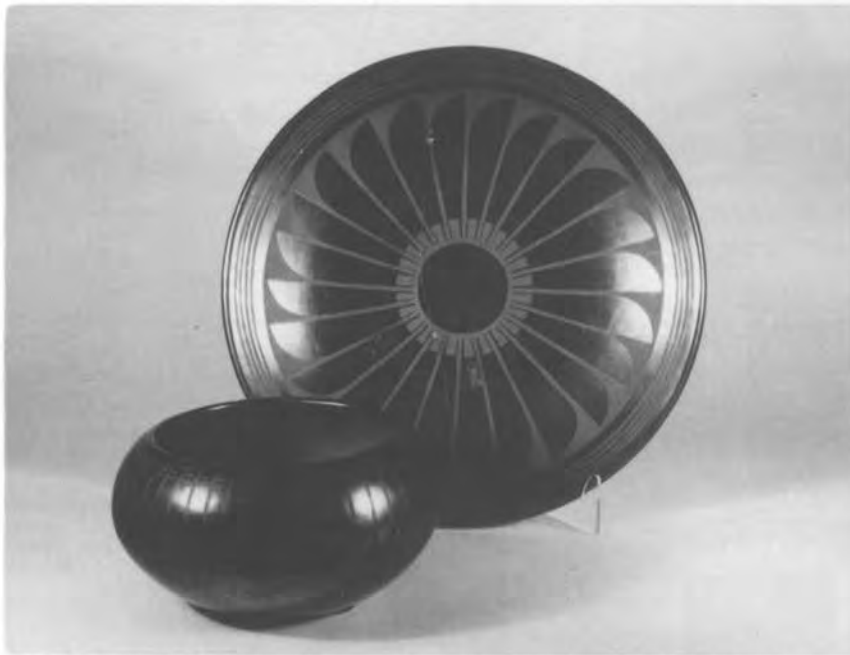
(Fig. 16) Maria and Julian Martinez, American, 1887–1980, ?–1943, *Bowl*, ca. 1934–1943, pottery (96.7), gift of Vera and Boyd O'Dell.

(Fig. 16) Maria and Julian Martinez, American, 1887–1980, ?–1943, *Plate*, ca. 1934–1943, pottery (96.8), gift of Vera and Boyd O'Dell.



**Fig. 15** Larry Young, *Venus*, 1993, acc. no 19.2





**Fig. 16** Maria and Julian Martinez, *Bowl* ca.1934–1943, acc.no. 96.7 and *Plate*, ca.1934–1943, acc.no. 96.8

## Exhibitions 1995 and 1996

1995

### **Isms and Others in the Twentieth Century**

*Continuing from 1994*

This exhibition of works from the permanent collection was developed to allow the display and rotation of works from various movements that emerged in the twentieth century.

### **Expressions of Africa: Selections from the Permanent Collection**

*Continuing from 1994*

Objects were selected from the Museum's permanent collection to represent two aspects from the great variety and sophistication of African art—the mask and figurative sculpture.



Fig. 1 The installation of *Africa Through the Eyes of Women Artists*.

### **Africa through the Eyes of Women Artists**

*January 14–March 26*

This show consisted of color photographs of artists at work and with their creations. The meaning of being a contemporary artist and an African woman or a woman of African descent was explored by the show's originator, Betty LaDuke.

She is a painter and teacher at Southern Oregon State College who traveled across Africa from 1986 through 1991. LaDuke interviewed women artists and recorded their efforts (Fig. 1).

**Aspects of Antiquity:  
Reinstallation of Ancient Art  
from the Permanent Collection**

*Reopened February 28*

The redesigned gallery allows more flexible use of the exhibition space than the previous installation. The gallery has a larger area for free-standing sculpture; an exhibit case for small, rotating exhibits to complement University classes and public programs, and four drawer units to hold light-sensitive textiles

and smaller objects such as bronze tools and weapons, Greek and Roman lamps and prehistoric Greek pottery sherds. Three aspects of antiquity are stressed in the installation: religion, myth and art; cross-cultural connections; and private life. A self-guided tour leads the visitor to selected objects that illustrate these themes (Fig. 2).



*Fig. 2 Aspects of Antiquity: Reinstallation of Ancient Art from the Permanent Collection.*

**Missouri Arts Council Visual Artists' Biennial**

*April 15–June 25*

In partnership with the Missouri Arts Council, this exhibition featured three contemporary Missouri artists. St. Louis artist Dawn Marie Guernsey's paintings and drawings focused on domestic scenes, including some that underscored a sense of disturbance. Trained in literary illustration, Zhi Lin of Springfield used storytelling and figural imagery in his paintings. Through sculpture, Christopher Ketchie of Kansas City demonstrates that abstraction continues to be a relevant mode in contemporary art.

**Waterways West: Photographs from the Missouri River Portfolios**

*July 8–August 13*

Organized by the Missouri Historical Society, black and white landscapes of the Missouri River were taken at many locations along its winding path. John P. Wickersham, philosopher and photographer, traveled almost 40,000 miles by car from 1986 until 1990 to chronicle this photographic study of the Missouri River Basin.

**Built, Thrown and Touched:  
Contemporary Clay Works**

*September 2–October 22*

This was the largest exhibition of contemporary ceramic work ever shown at the Museum—sixty objects by thirty-three American artists. It featured oversized teapots, delicate cups, incised plates, elegant vessels and sculptural forms. Organized by Robert Cugno and Robert Logan of Media Gallery in Garnett, Kansas, this exhibition revealed some of the ways in which artists explored new materials and techniques (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3 *Built, Thrown and Touched: Contemporary Clay Works* included 60 objects by 33 American artists.

**Songs of My People: A Selection**

*November 11, 1995–May 19, 1996*

More than 150 black and white photographs, donated by D. Michael Cheers of New African Visions, Inc., provided a unique perspective on African American life as seen through the lenses of African American photographers. Among the photographers were

four Pulitzer prize winners—Matthew Lewis, Ozier Muhammad, John White and Keith Williams. The Museum selection displayed seven themes: work, education, sports, leisure, tribulation, music and spirituality. Twelve additional sites across the campus and community incorporated themes such as arts and entertainment, law and government, and health services (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4 *Songs of My People: A Selection* was drawn from more than 150 photographs that comprise the newly acquired collection.

**Echoes of Ancient America: Art from Lost Civilizations of the New World**

*December 2, 1995–  
September 15, 1996*

More than fifty works, ranging in date from 800 B.C. to the early 1500s, focused on the remarkable artistic achievements of Middle and South America. The sophisticated civilizations of the Maya, Aztec and

Inca, along with many others were represented by exquisite, engaging and enigmatic objects. Themes explored were religious sacrifice, glyphic writing and artistic styles as seen in objects of gold, jade, featherwork, pottery, terracotta and stone (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5 *Echoes of Ancient America: Art from Lost Civilizations of the World* included more than 50 works.

1996

**The Education of a Beaux-Arts Architect: Student Drawings by E. J. Eckel**

*January 13–May 19*

Student work by St. Joseph, Missouri, architect Edmond Jacques Eckel included sketches and finely rendered project drawings. Ranging from figure studies to iron bridges, selected drawings illustrated design principles that Eckel learned at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris from 1865 to 1868.

**The Kress Study Collection**

*from March 30*

In 1961, fourteen Old Master paintings were donated to the University by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation. The paintings range in date from circa 1440 to 1760. Samuel H. Kress (1863–1955) made his fortune in retailing



Fig. 6 This yellow pyramid is one of four shapes that was highlighted in the exhibition *Primarily Colors*.

with a chain of 264 five-and-ten-cent stores scattered across the South. The philanthropist gave 450 art works in 1941 to the newly created National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. Later, he and the Kress Foundation presented almost 3,000 works of European art to museums, universities and other institutions across America. The Museum of Art and Archaeology was one of twenty-three academic institutions to receive such a gift.

### **Primarily Colors**

*June 8–September 22*

This exhibition was based on a perceptual, rather than an art historical, viewpoint. Emphasis was placed on groupings arranged according to four colors and four particular shapes—yellow triangle, blue circle, red square and green rectangle. Objects from the permanent collection that best represented one of those four categories were placed within those groupings (Fig. 6).

### **Collection Connections**

*June 22–September 22*

Three themes—line, shape and texture—were emphasized in this exhibition. The various aesthetic functions of these basic compositional elements were featured in works from diverse cultures and time periods (Fig. 7).



Fig. 7 Line, shape and texture were repeated in Museum objects selected for the show *Collection Connections*.



Fig. 8 Organizer Scott Nelson spoke at the Museum of Art and Archaeology during the exhibition, *Art of the Eye: An Exhibition on Vision*.

### **Art of the Eye: An Exhibition on Vision**

*October 12–December 15*

Twenty-four contemporary American artists with a variety of visual impairments created art using different mediums. Organized by Scott Nelson, a visually impaired Minneapolis sculptor, this exhibition examined the role of vision in the creative process (Fig. 8).



## Other Exhibits and a Loan 1995 and 1996

### **Finds from Jewish Ossuary Tombs**

*February 28–April 2*

A temporary exhibit from the permanent collection, this featured three carved ossuaries, containers for human bones, dating from 30 B.C. to 70 A.D. A selection of typical finds from rock-cut tombs was also included: lamps, glass and pottery oil flasks and a cooking pot.

### **Art and Heritage of the Missouri Bootheel**

*June 26–July 21, in Kennett, Mo.*

A traveling photo-documentary of traditional arts found in the Bootheel featured images of quilting, gospel and old-time singing, basketmaking, boatbuilding, fishtrap building and duck decoy carving. This exhibit included a written commentary, photographs and samples of taped music.



Fig. 9 Three cases displaying *Greek and Roman Coins* invite Museum visitors to take a closer look.

### **Greek and Roman Coins**

*ongoing*

This permanent exhibit illustrates early Greek coinage and a variety of Greek coin types, including a group of fine Hellenistic portraits. The section on Roman coins includes Roman Republican coinage, both cast bronze and struck silver, a group of Imperial coin portraits and some common reverse types such as architectural monuments, references to historical events and personifications (Fig. 9).

### **Greek and Roman Crafts: Metalwork, Textiles and Pottery**

*April 8–June 24*

Designed to complement a University course on ancient technology, this exhibit included examples of cast bronze objects, cold-worked bronze vessels and engraved, gilded and enameled jewelry. Loomweights, spindle whorls, a weaving comb and a textile fragment from Egypt represented textile making. Examples of wheel-made, mold-made, stamped and glazed pottery explored the manufacturing of pottery in the Greek and Roman world.

### **Beyond the Iron Curtain: Search for Democracy and Security**

*October 1–October 6*

This temporary exhibit featured works by Eastern European artists and was displayed in conjunction with the Central Slavic Conference held at the University of Missouri.

### **Mark Rothko Loan**

*September 6–December 31*

With assistance from the Museum Loan Network, the Museum borrowed an oil on canvas painting by Mark Rothko, *Untitled* 1952, from the National Gallery of Art.

## Museum Activities 1995

### Lectures

*February 15*

Tasos Tanoulas, AIA Kress Lecturer, Ministry of Culture, Acropolis Ephorate, "The Propylaea of the Athenian Acropolis from Antiquity to Our Day."

*February 23*

Lois Mailou Jones, Artist, "Africa through the Eyes of Women Artists: The Art Perspective of Lois Jones."

*March 1*

LeeAnn Whites, Assistant Professor of History, "The Status of Women's History."

*March 6*

Elizabeth Stone, Professor of Anthropology at SUNY-Stony Brook, "Anatomy of a Mesopotamian City: The Mashkan-Shapir Project."

*March 22*

Judith Marie Maxwell, Associate Professor of Anthropology, Tulane University, "Women, Ethical Anthro[polgy] and Guatemala."

*March 29*

Mary D. Sheriff, Associate Professor of Art History, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and Visiting Professor, University of Memphis, "Elisabeth Viggé-Lebrun, Marie Antoinette, and the Aesthetics of Queenship."

*October 16*

Martha Joukowsky, Professor, Center for Old World Archaeology and Art, and Department of Anthropology, Brown University, "Excavations of the Southern Temple at Petra, Jordan."

*November 13*

Robert L. Hohlfelder, Professor, Department of History, University of Colorado, "Underwater Explorations at Ancient Paphos, Cyprus."

### Midday Gallery Events

*January 25*

Christine Neal, Curator of European and American Art, "Africa Through the Eyes of Women Artists."

*February 1*

Patrick Akinbola, Ph.D., Co-owner of Batik Arts and Batik Artist, "Contemporary African Art: A Personal View."

*February 8*

Video, ca. 1987, *Dancing Through West Africa*.

*February 15*

Cameline Consort of Early Instruments, "Uncommon Sound: Music Made for Baroque, Renaissance, Medieval, and Modern Ears."

*February 22*

Jane Biers, Curator of Ancient Art, "Finds from Jewish Ossuary Tombs."

*March 1*

Magdalena Garcia-Pinto, Associate Professor of Spanish and Women Studies and Director of Women Studies, "The Conception of the Baroque in Latin American Art."

*March 8*

Video, 1980, *South Africa Belongs to Us*.

*March 22*

Video, 1981, *You Have Struck a Rock*.

*March 29*

Constance Cortez, Visiting Assistant

Professor, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Mayan Art and Iconography: Objects from the Collection of the Museum of Art and Archaeology."

*April 5*

Howard Marshall, Professor, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Historic Farm Buildings of the Scottish Lowlands."

*April 12*

Julie Youmans, Missouri Performing Traditions Coordinator, "Playing with Heart: African American Quilt Tops."

*April 19*

Christine Neal, Curator of European and American Art, "Missouri Arts Council Visual Artists' Biennial."

*April 26*

Andrea Witzak, Assistant Professor, Department of Art, "Twentieth-Century Topographic History."

*June 14*

Harold Zhao, Visiting Scholar, Department of Art, "Of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting and Their Cultural Background."

*June 21*

Laurel Wilson, Associate Professor,

Department of Textile and Apparel Management, "Traditions and Techniques in Chinese Textiles."

*June 28*

Laurel Wilson, Associate Professor, Department of Textile and Apparel Management, "Ideology and Image in Japanese Textiles."

*July 5*

Video, Academic Support Center, University of Missouri-Columbia, 1982, *Ballads, Bones and Fiddle Tunes*.

*July 12*

Deb Krause, Curatorial Assistant and Graduate Student, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "John Wickersham's Odyssey along the Missouri."

*July 19*

Elizabeth Moore, Graduate Student, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "A Ritual Dogon Mask and its Anthropological Context in an Art Museum."

*July 26*

Deb Krause, Graduate Student, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "The Power of Women: Lucas van Leyden's Representations of Women."

*August 2*

Lisa Auanger, Graduate Student, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Personifications in Ancient Art in the Museum of Art and Archaeology's Collection."

*September 6*

Christine Neal, Curator of European and American Art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Contemporary Clay Creations: Highlights of *Built, Thrown and Touched*."

*September 13*

Introduction: Osmund Overby, Professor, Department of Art History and Archaeology. Walking tour: Elizabeth Moore and Scott Isom, Graduate Students, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "The Francis Quadrangle at One Hundred Years."

*September 20*

Bede Clarke, Assistant Professor, Department of Art, "Contemporary Ceramics: The Language of the Objects."

*September 27*

Video, British Broadcasting Corporation, Films Incorporated, 1976, *Crafts of the Potter: Decorating and Glaze and Fire*.

*October 4*

William Johns, Professor, Department of Geological Sciences, "Clay: the Artist's Medium."

*October 11*

Patricia Crown, Professor, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Images of Women by William Hogarth and his Contemporaries (1700-1760)."

*October 18*

Kathleen Warner Slane, Professor Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Molded, thrown, and Stamped: Ancient Pottery in the Museum of Art and Archaeology."

*October 25*

Jane C. Biers, Curator of Ancient Art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Miniature Masterpieces: the Greek and Roman Coin Collection."

*November 1*

Martha Hills, manager, Office of Cultural Affairs, City of Columbia, "Planning for the Arts: Collaborative Efforts."

*November 8*

Marie Nau (Hunter), Project Coordinator, Missouri Save Outdoor Sculpture! "Missouri Save

Outdoor Sculpture."

*November 15*

Christine Neal, Curator of European and American Art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Celebrating the Gift of *Songs of My People*."

*November 29*

Dana Everts-Boehm, Director, Missouri Folk Arts Program, "Holidays in Missouri: Multicultural Folk Expressions from Los Posadas to La Guillonée."

*December 6*

Steven Friesen, Assistant Professor, Department of Religious Studies, and Anne Stanton, Assistant Professor, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "A Brief History of Christmas: From St. Nikolaos to Santa Claus."

#### Children's Educational Programs

*July 31–August 3*

"Pyramid, Parthenon, Pantheon." Ages 8–12. Survey of ancient art with hands-on experience in the renovated ancient gallery, studio activities, videos, refreshments and more.

*August 7–August 10*

"Tympanum, Tapestry, Technique." Ages 8–12. Survey of Medieval,

Renaissance and Modern Art with studio activities, hands-on experience in the galleries, videos, refreshments and more.

### Film Series

“African Women in Film and Video” series funded by the Missouri Arts Council.

*February 9.* Yaaba, Video, 1989.

*February 16.* Quartier Mozart, Video, 1990.

*March 9.* Finzan, Film, 1990.

*March 23.* Kukurantumi (Road to Accra), Film, 1983.

“International Film Series” sponsored by the Women’s Studies and the Museum of Art and Archaeology.

*March 3.* *Camila*, Film, Argentina, with subtitles, 1985.

*March 10.* *The Lover*, film, France, with subtitles, 1992.

*March 24.* *Waiting for the Moon*, Film, 1987.



## Museum Activities 1996

### Lectures

*January 26*

Mike Shaughnessy, Lee Hills Hall Architect, Shaughnessy, Fickel and Scott, Kansas City, "Architecture as a Process of Searching."

*February 5*

Florence Friedman, Curator of Ancient Art, Rhode Island School of Design, "On the Meaning and Use of the Step Pyramid Complex."

*March 4*

Carol Lane, Photographer and Eugene Lane, Professor, Classical Studies, "The Northern Frontiers of the Roman Empire."

*March 29*

Toni Prawl, Ph.D., Architectural Historian, "E. J. Eckel: An Architect of the École des Beaux-Arts and His Career in Missouri."

*April 14*

Edgar Peters Bowron, Featured Speaker, Senior Curator of Paintings,

National Gallery of Art, "Symposium on the Kress Study Collection."

*September 30*

Patricia Anawalt, Director, Center for the Study of Regional Dress Fowler Museum of Cultural History, "Understanding Aztec Human Sacrifice."

*October 28*

Andrew M. T. Moore, Associate Dean, Graduate School, Yale University, "The beginning of Agriculture on the Euphrates: the excavation of Abu Hureyra in Syria."

### Midday Gallery Events

*January 24*

Jeff Wilcox, Registrar, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Echoes of Ancient America: Art from Lost Civilizations of the New World."

*January 31*

Christine C. Neal, Curator of European and American Art, Mu-

seum of Art and Archaeology, "The Education of a Beaux-Arts Architect: Student Drawings by E. J. Eckel."

*February 7*

Christine C. Neal, Curator of European and American Art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Portraits of African-American Fathers: Anthony Barboza."

*February 14*

Jane Biers, Curator of Ancient Art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Cupids in Columbia."

*February 21*

Geta LeSeur, Assistant Professor, Department of English, " 'Me is One Smart Somebody': Caribbean Women's Voices."

*February 28*

Jo Stealey, Assistant Professor, Department of Art, "The Development of an Artist: Faith Ringgold."

*March 6*

Catherine Parke, Professor, Department of English, "Living Dangerously."

*March 20*

Lynne McMahon, Assistant Professor, Department of English, "Sentry;

The Poetry of Watchfulness."

*March 27*

Brooke Cameron, Professor, Department of Art, "Contemporary Chinese Art."

*April 3*

Preston Thayer, Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Hierarchies of Space—From the Beaux-Arts to the Present."

*April 10*

Christine C. Neal, Curator of European and American Art, "The Kress Study Collection."

*April 17*

Ali Hussam, Director, Digital Media Center, "The Virtual Museum."

*April 24*

William R. Biers, Professor and Brandon Worrell, Graduate Student, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Ancient Technology."

*June 12*

Greig Thompson, Chief Preparator, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "The Rays Are Not Coloured."

*June 19*

Kris Simpson, Curator, Museum of

Entomology, "Insects, Spiders and Other Cool Critters."

*June 26*

Christine C. Neal, Curator of European and American Art, and Debra Page, Graduate Assistant, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Collection Connections...and More."

*July 10*

Robert Bussabarger, Professor Emeritus, Department of Art, "A Ceramic Mural for Korea."

*July 17*

Aimée Leonhard, Assistant Conservator, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "The Role of a Museum Conservator: Stabilization and Interpretation."

*July 24*

Debra Page, Graduate Assistant, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "There is No Place Like Cyberspace for Utopia."

*September 4*

Molly O'Donnell (Strode), Associate Museum Curator, Museum of Anthropology, "Review of the Oceanic Collections in the Museum of Art and Archaeology."

*September 11*

Christine C. Neal, Curator of European and American Art and Debra Page, Graduate Student Assistant, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "From Washington D.C. to Columbia: A Rothko Painting Comes to MU."

*September 18*

Ruth Brent, Professor, Environmental Design, "A Sense of Place: Images in Paintings, Photographs and Prose Poetry."

*September 25*

Julie Youmans, Performing Traditions Coordinator, Missouri Folk Arts Program, "Early Instrument Consort."

*October 2*

Jane Biers, Curator of Ancient Art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Death and Burial in the Ancient Greek World."

*October 9*

Luann Andrews, Curator of Education, Public and Docent Programs, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "The Interdisciplinary Curriculum: The Museum as a Resource."

*October 16*

Christine C. Neal, Curator of

European and American Art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "The Art of the Eye: An Exhibition on Vision."

*October 23*

Michael O'Brien, Director, Museum of Anthropology, "Southeastern Missouri on the Eve of DeSoto."

*October 30*

Deb Krause, Curatorial Assistant, Museum of Anthropology, "Excavations at Arrow Rock."

*November 6*

Jo Stealey, Assistant Professor, Department of Art, "The Development of an Artist: Faith Ringgold."

*November 13*

Adrienne Hoard, Associate Professor, Department of Art, "Ndebele: Ukupenda (to paint)."

*November 20*

Dana Everts-Boehm, Director, Missouri Folk Arts Program, "Gigging and Gig-making in the Missouri Ozarks: A Tenacious Tradition."

*December 4*

Osmund Overby, Professor, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "A Frank Lloyd Wright Disciple: William Bernouly."

### Special Event

October 11

Jane Sauer, Basket Artist, Public Lecture, Pickard Hall Auditorium, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "The Art and Craft of the Basket."

### Missouri Folk Arts Program

*Tuesdays at the Capitol*

April 2, April 9, April 16,  
April 23, April 30

A Series: Missouri Folk Arts Program. Events were held in the Union Hotel, Jefferson Landing, Jefferson City. Programs are free and open to the public.

### Children's Educational Programs

*August 6 and August 8*

"Red-Hots and Lemon Drops."  
Ages 6-8.

Brownberry pie? Certainly not! Inspired by the exhibition, *Primary Colors*, participants in this two-day program discussed colors and their association with particular flavors and smells. Children watched a related video. In a hands-on (mouth-watering) exercise, they mixed primary-colored icings into secondary colors to create expected flavors and a few unexpected flavors.

In a studio experience, participants mixed secondary colors and used them in a painting project. Take-home sheets and refreshments included red-hots, lemon drops and color-coded jelly beans!

*August 6 and August 8*

“Tickle Me Pink.” Ages 9-12

While touring the exhibition,

*Primary Colors*, participants discussed the cultural significance of color as it relates to mood and celebration.

Attention was given to complementary and analogous colors, as well as how pigment is created. In a hands-on activity, children examined rocks and chemicals and discussed natural and man-made pigments and their history. In a studio experience, participants mixed colors and used them as face paints to emphasize how color and mood are associated. In a second activity, color was used to create a celebration mask. Take-home sheets and refreshments included party punch and celebration cake.

*October 20*

Dr. John Crowden, Eye Specialist,  
Mason Eye Institute Youth Program,  
“Eye See It This Way.”

ART HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY  
DEPARTMENT FACULTY 1995

Howard Marshall <i>Chair</i>	Marcus Rautman
William Biers	Priscilla Schwarz <i>Visiting, Winter '95</i>
Jan Cavanaugh <i>Visiting, Fall '95</i>	Kathleen Warner Slane
Patricia Crown <i>On leave of absence, Winter '95</i>	Anne Stanton
Constance Cortez <i>Visiting, Winter '95</i>	Preston Thayer <i>Visiting, Fall '95</i>
Maggie Duncan-Flowers <i>Visiting, Winter '95</i>	Morteza Sajadian <i>(through 2/95)</i>
John Klein <i>On leave of absence, Fall '95</i>	Homer Thomas <i>Emeritus</i>
Norman Land	Vera Townsend <i>Emerita</i>
Osmond Overby <i>On leave of absence, Fall, '95</i>	

ART HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY  
DEPARTMENT FACULTY 1996

Howard Marshall  
*Chair*

William Biers  
*On leave of absence, Fall '96*

Jan Cavanaugh  
*Visiting, Winter '96*

Patricia Crown

John Klein  
*On leave of absence, Winter '96*

Norman Land

Susan Langdon  
*Visiting, Fall '96*

Osmond Overby  
*On leave of absence, Winter '96*

Marcus Rautman

Kathleen Warner Slane

Anne Stanton

Preston Thayer  
*Visiting, Winter '96*

Homer Thomas  
*Emeritus*

Vera Townsend  
*Emerita*

MUSEUM OF ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

STAFF 1995-1996

Morteza Sajadian  
*Director*  
(through 2/95)

Owen Koeppe  
*Interim Director*  
(3/95-9/96)

Marlene Perchinske  
*Interim Director*  
(beginning 9/96)

Luverne Walton  
*Interim Assistant Director*  
(beginning 11/95-5/96)

Luann Andrews  
*Curator of Education/Public  
and Docent Programs*

Jane C. Biers  
*Curator of Ancient Art*

Susan Brouk  
*Academic Coordinator*  
(through 9/95)

Paula P. Chambers  
*Publications and Promotions  
Coordinator*  
(through 9/95)

Beth A. Cobb  
*Receptionist*  
(beginning 4/95)

Judi Dawson  
*Facilities/Security/Special Events Coordinator*  
(beginning 12/95)

Tyler Dawson  
*Assistant Preparator*  
(through 4/96)

Meda Delashmutt Young  
*Fiscal Officer*  
(through 11/95)

Keith Fletcher  
*Membership Coordinator*  
(10/95 through 5/96)

Debbie Friedrich  
*Administrative Assistant/Fiscal Officer*  
(beginning 12/95)

Scherrie Goettsch  
*Publications and Promotions Coordinator*  
(beginning 10/95)

Aimée Leonhard  
*Assistant Conservator*

Marie (Nau) Hunter  
*Missouri SOS! Coordinator*  
(through 12/96)  
*Membership Coordinator*  
(6/96-12/96)

Christine C. Neal  
*Curator of European and American Art*

Donna Simmons  
*Receptionist*  
(through 2/95)

Barbara Smith  
*Assistant Preparator*  
(through 4/96)



MUSEUM OF ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

STAFF 1995-1996

- Stacia Schaefer  
*Graphic Designer*  
(beginning 10/96)
- Heather J. Stanley  
*Graphic Designer*  
(through 10/95)
- Brad Steinmetz  
*Assistant Preparator*  
(beginning 2/96)
- Katherine Szeto  
*Graphic Designer*  
(11/95-10/96)
- Greig Thompson  
*Chief Preparator*
- Bette Weiss  
*Manager, Museum Shop*
- Jeffrey B. Wilcox  
*Registrar*
- Laura Wilson  
*Exhibition Assistant*  
(beginning 8/96)
- Gladys D. Weinberg  
*Research Fellow*
- Dana Everts-Boehm  
*Missouri Folk Arts Program*  
*Director*
- Julie Youmans  
*Missouri Folk Arts Program/Missouri*  
*Performing Traditions Coordinator*
- David Davis  
(through 6/95)
- Keith Fletcher  
(beginning 5/96)
- David Gold
- Norman Neely
- Geoffrey Plott  
(8/95-9/95)
- Lisa Thayer Braschler  
*Museum Guards*
- Matthew Averett, Amelia Canilho, Scott  
Debrestian, Elonda Clay-Harrison,  
James Davis, Christine Doerr, Carol  
Grove, Jeanine Hines, Alex Huff,  
Deborah Krause, Darren McCue,  
Gregory Metzen, Debra Page, Kenyon  
Reed, Andrew Reinhard, Werner  
Schweibenz and Lisa Thayer Braschler  
*Student Assistants*
- Brandy Black, Mark Goodlet, Seth  
Hamilton, Charlotte McCloskey, Anne  
Middendorf, Kimberly Whited, Mat-  
thew Kern, Rachel Goodlet, Robert  
Buckner, Nellie Tabachnik, Daniel  
Dodd, Jason Clark, Becky Graff, Ray  
Jones, Amy Smith, Jennifer Czyzewski,  
Kristi Jones, Scott Latman, Dru Patton,  
Heidi Tebbe, and Chad Hector  
*Work Study Students*

MUSEUM OF ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY  
DOCENTS IN 1995

Diane Ball  
Robert Ballou  
Lynnanne Baumgardner  
Anne Braisted  
Betty Brown  
Patsy Brown  
Nancy Cassidy  
Averil Cooper  
Dorinda Derow (Landrum)  
Bernadine Ford  
Eleanor Goodge  
Ann Gowans  
Helen Holroyd  
Darlene Johnson  
Mary Beth Kletti  
Linda Keown (Trogdon)  
Ann La Brunerie  
Vesta LaZebnik

Nancy Lowe  
Margaret Mier  
Meg Milanick  
Bernice Prost  
Dixie Speer  
Mary Webb  
Lynn Willbrand  
Joan Zemmer

*Inactive Docents*  
Nancy Frazier

Jeannette Jackson-Thompson

*Docents Emerita*  
Johnnye Coulter  
Lovina Ebbe  
Frances Maupin  
Marie Wright

MUSEUM OF ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

DOCENTS IN 1996

Diane Ball  
Lynnanne Baumgardner  
Anne Braisted  
Betty Brown  
Patsy Brown  
Nancy Cassidy  
Averil Cooper  
Patricia Cowden  
Dorinda Derow  
Bernadine Ford  
Eleanor Goodge  
Ann Gowans  
Dot Harrison  
Helen Holroyd  
Darlene Johnson  
Linda Keown  
Mary Beth Kletti  
Ann La Brunerie

Vesta LaZebnik  
Nancy Lowe  
Sally Mertz  
Margaret Mier  
Meg Milanick  
Bernice Prost  
Dixie Speer  
Lynn Willbrand  
Pat Wills  
Beverly Wright  
Joan Zemmer

*Docents Emerita*  
Johnnye Coulter  
Lovina Ebbe  
Ed Ford  
Nancy Frazier  
Carol Lane  
Marie Wright

MUSEUM OF ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY  
ADVISORY COMMITTEE 1995-1996

Glenn Pierce, chair  
*Department of Romance Languages*

Betty Brown  
*Museum Associates Member*

Betty Revington Burdick  
*Museum Associates Member*

Brooke B. Cameron  
*Department of Art*

Nancy Cassidy  
*Museum Associates Member*

Bede Clark  
*Department of Art*

Linda Cupp  
*University Extension-Columbia*

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