MVSE

VOLUMES THIRTY-THREE, THIRTY-FOUR & THIRTY-FIVE

1999 – 2001

Annual of the
Museum of Art and Archaeology

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI–COLUMBIA

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The Museum of Art and Archaeology is open from 9:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. Tuesday through Friday and from noon to 4:00 p.m. Saturday and Sunday. Admission is free. The Museum is closed on Mondays and national holidays and from December 25 through January 1. Guided tours are available, if scheduled two weeks in advance.

The Museum Store is open from 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. Tuesday through Friday and from noon to 4:00 p.m. Saturday and Sunday.

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Cover:
Luis Cruz Azaceta (American, b. Cuba, 1942), *S.O.S. Tanker I*, 1992, oil on canvas (2001.1).

Table of Contents

Activities
1999–2001

During the three years covered by this report the Museum maintained its active schedule of exhibitions, educational programs, grant writing, and publication. Although the production of this issue of MVSE has been delayed, the Museum's newsletter and calendars continued to appear, keeping the university community and the general public informed of activities and events. This report presents a summary of major activities during these three years. A detailed listing can be found on pages 86–127.

In 1999, the American Association of Museums (AAM) continued the Museum's accredited status. Accreditation certifies that a museum has successfully undergone a yearlong self-study and a review of its operations by a Visiting Committee of the AAM Accreditation Committee. The achievement of accreditation means that the AAM recognizes a museum's commitment to excellence and high professional standards. To ensure that museums maintain and strengthen their standards, the AAM reviews each accredited institution within ten years. The Museum of Art and Archaeology's next review will start in the year 2007, to be completed by 2009.

From 1999 to 2001, the Museum received five grants from the Institute of Museum and Library Services, a federal agency: $79,904 for computerization of the collections and for operating funds in 1999 and a grant of $107,687 for general operating support in 2001; two grants for the Conservation Assessment program—$5,870 in 2000 and $20,860 for Environmental Improvements in 2001; and $2,970 for the American Association of Museums' Museum Assessment Program, Part III, Public Dimension Assessment, in 2000. The Missouri Arts Council has also been generous in its support of the Museum, awarding funds for two exhibitions—$6,000 for *Jupiter's Loves and His Children* in 1999 and $9,750 for *Faith Ringgold: Her Story in Text and Image* in 2000. The Council also awarded $8,750 in 2000 for a publication on Missouri ceramic artist Glen Lukens and $7,200 in 2001 for cultural outreach projects. Locally, support has come from the City of Columbia, which awarded $4,921 for educational programming in 1999, and from the University of Missouri's Student Fee Capital Improvements Committee, which gave funds for purchase of a matt cutter in 1999; benches in the galleries in 2000; and an artwork by contemporary artist Nancy Spero in 2001. Other funds came from corporate donors. In 1999 and 2001, Columbia Foods gave money for educational programs, and in 2000 Target Stores provided $2,000 for exhibitions. The Museum is grateful to these organizations for their financial support, which has been vital to the success of the Museum.

Major exhibitions in 1999 included *Icons of Pop, Figuring the Human in Twentieth-Century Art*, and *Fabrications: A Sampling of Multicultural Textiles*. The exhibition

schedule in 2000 was particularly active. The Museum organized *Faith Ringgold: Her Story in Text and Image* (which opened in December 1999) and *In a Favored Light: Contemporary Russian Impressionist Painting*. A yearlong exhibition *Revolutionary Visions* opened in June. In that year Doris Srinivasan of the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City was guest curator for a major exhibition of the Museum's permanent collection of Gandharan art. *Art of Devotion from Gandhara* complemented a symposium held at the Nelson-Atkins Museum. The year 2001 began with *Testament of Time: Antiquities of the Holy Land* and closed with *Art of World War II: Works from Missouri Collections*. A full listing of exhibitions is reported on pages 99–110.

The Museum's well-trained docents continued to conduct tours for school children and the general public. New docents joined the group through yearlong training sessions, which were held in 1999–2000 and 2001–2002. Docents attended class twice a week throughout the academic year and also participated in weekly sessions in the Museum galleries with Museum staff. The work of these individuals, all volunteers, is greatly appreciated. Without their contribution it would be impossible for the Museum to serve the general public as well as it does.

Renovations to the exterior of Pickard Hall, the historic building that houses the Museum as well as the Department of Art History and Archaeology, began in fall 2000 under the direction of the university's Campus Facilities department. A ribbon-cutting ceremony marked the successful completion of the project in 2001. Other improvements to the exterior of the building were banners advertising the Museum, which were mounted on the east façade. Some were also placed on the light poles along Ninth Street. The banners were the gift of Museum Associates, the Friends group whose mission is to support the activities and acquisitions of the Museum.

Museum Associates continued to thrive under the leadership of presidents Carole Sue DeLaite (1999) and Diana Groshong (2000–2001), ably assisted by the dedicated members of the Museum Associates Board. The Museum staff is most grateful for the support of both the Board and individual members of Museum Associates for the wellbeing of the Museum. Their contributions enabled purchase of two works of art: a serigraph by Faith Ringgold in 1999 and a bronze Villanovan fibula in 2000. A number of trips were organized for members. In 1999, a group traveled to Chicago for the exhibition *Mary Cassatt* at the Art Institute and to St. Louis for *Beckmann in Paris* at the St. Louis Art Museum. Also in that year, doctoral candidate Jeffrey L. Ball guided a group through the Missouri State Capitol in Jefferson City. Two foreign trips were organized: *Paris to Santiago*, led by Professor Anne Stanton, Department of Art History and Archaeology at the University of Missouri, in 1999; and a trip to Sicily and Campania, led by Professor William Biers of the same department, in 2001.

A listing of all acquisitions for 1999–2001 appears on pages 86–98. A Greek, white-ground lekythos, dating to ca. 440–430 B.C.E., was the most important purchase for

the collections of ancient art. It filled a major gap in the Greek vase-painting collection. For the European and American collections two paintings by Theodore Clement Steele (American, 1847–1926) were significant acquisitions. Acquired probably in the early 20th century by the University of Missouri, they were transferred to the Museum's care in 2001. A number of prints were added. Of particular interest are a linocut by Elizabeth Catlett (American, b. 1919), a block-printed banner by Nancy Spero (American, b. 1926), and a portfolio of woodcuts by Thomas Huck (American, b. 1971). Purchase of several photographs strengthened an area of the collections in need of attention. The acquisition of *Anten-nalope* by Nam June Paik (Korean, b. 1932) was important for the sculpture collection. As usual, works of art were acquired through both gifts and purchase. The Museum staff appreciates the contributions of donors. Their gifts have been of great importance for the growth of the collections.

In 1999, *The Samuel H. Kress Study Collection at the University of Missouri* appeared. Edited by Norman Land and published by the University of Missouri Press, this catalogue presents the fourteen Old Master paintings that the Samuel H. Kress Foundation gave to the Museum of Art and Archaeology in 1961. These form the core of the Museum's Western art collection. The catalogue brings the scholarship on these paintings up to date and will serve as an important reference for the future.

The Missouri Folk Arts Program (MFAP), which is under the auspices of the Museum of Art and Archaeology, continued its mission of building cross-cultural understanding through the documentation, preservation, and presentation of Missouri's living folk arts and folk life. With annual Arts Services grants from the Missouri Arts Council and Heritage and Preservation grants from the National Endowment for the Arts, the MFAP coordinated the Traditional Arts Apprenticeship Program with eleven teams in 1999, seven in 2000, and eight in 2001. Apprentices completed several hours of intensive, face-to-face lessons with master artists in such diverse traditions as Colombian folkloric dance, Hawaiian leis, square dance fiddle, Kansas City–style jazz, and Native American beadwork. Several masters and their apprentices performed or demonstrated at the annual *Big Muddy Folk Festival* and the long-time series *Tuesdays at the Capitol*, a collaboration with the Missouri State Museum. In 2000, the MFAP curated a traveling exhibition, *'Everyone has a bit of it, and no one has it all,' Missouri's Traditional Arts*, which toured for fourteen months, reaching an audience of over 20,000. MFAP projects also included the completion of the Ozark Heritage Tourism Feasibility Study and implementation of the Missouri River Traditions Project with grants from the National Endowment for the Arts.

The years 1999 through 2001 were productive, as this report demonstrates. The hard work of all Museum staff and volunteers maintained the high standards that the Museum's stakeholders have come to expect.

Jane Biers, editor

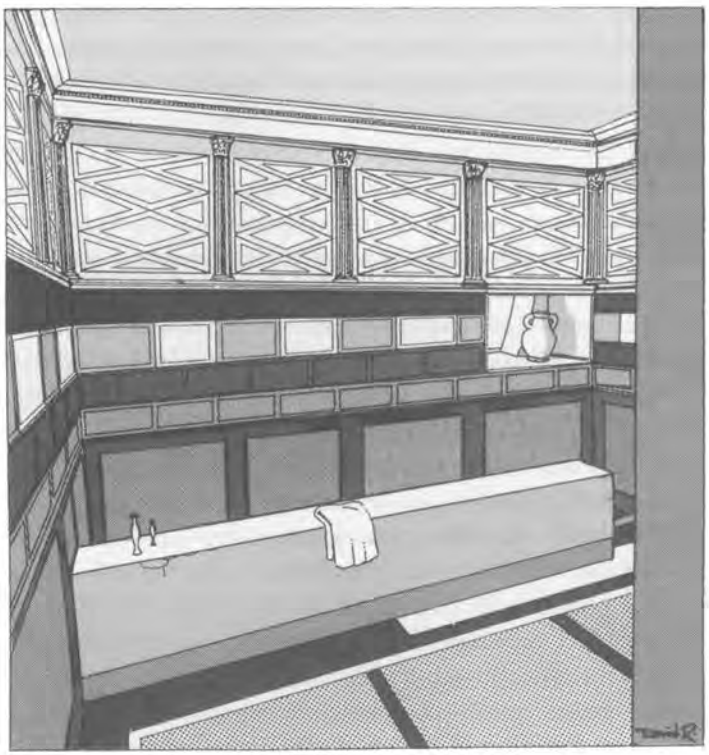


Fig. 1. Perspective Reconstruction of Central Room of Bath with Basin. Tel Anafa, Israel. From Herbert, *Tel Anafa* I, i, fig. 2.14.

Technique and Composition of the Tel Anafa Stucco

Benton Kidd

The excavations of the Universities of Missouri and Michigan at Tel Anafa in the Upper Galilee, Israel, are well known for the magnificent villa that was brought to light over several seasons.[1] Dating to 125–100 B.C.E., the villa displayed the latest styles in everything from tableware to interior decoration. Although the occupants were probably Phoenicians, their taste indicates their hellenizing tendencies.[2]

The villa was a Greek courtyard house with rooms arranged around three sides of a central court. Although it was remodeled and enlarged during its occupation, its most remarkable aspect remained its luxurious bath. Divided into three rooms on the eastern side of the court, the bath consisted of a bathing room proper (Fig. 1), a room that supplied the heat (Fig. 2), and a third room, perhaps for disrobing.[3] The bathing room and the "disrobing" room were elaborately decorated with painted and gilded stucco, as well as mosaic pavements. The scheme of stucco decoration in the bathing room was in the Greek Masonry or Hellenistic Structural Style of decoration.[4] This style included molded stucco that imitated drafted-block masonry, applied orders, and various other decorative patterns that were painted and then further embellished by gilding (Fig. 3).

The use of flat plaster, as opposed to decorative stucco, has a long history, beginning ca. 3000 B.C.E. on walls in the ancient Near East.[5] Whether on walls of mudbrick or stone, plaster rendered surfaces smooth, less porous, and thus more receptive to painting. Eventually plaster was recognized as a casting medium, and it then became a more

Fig. 2. Perspective Reconstruction of Heating Room of Bath Complex. Tel Anafa, Israel. From Herbert, *Tel Anafa* I, i, fig. 2.15.

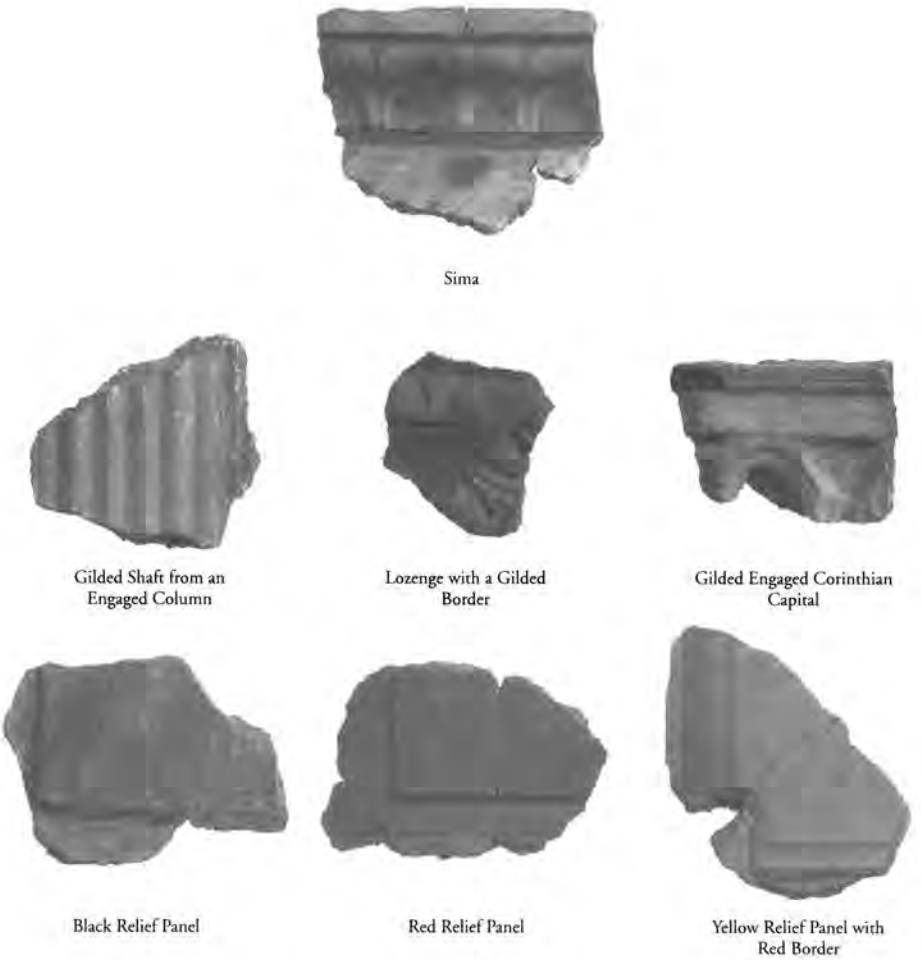


Fig. 3. Molded Stucco Fragments from Tel Anafa, Israel. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia. Photo Jeffrey Wilcox.

cost-efficient alternative to cast metals or carved stone. As early as 18th Dynasty Egypt (1567–1320 B.C.E.), sculptors at the court of Amenhotep III fashioned likenesses of the pharaoh and his son in stucco.[6] More than 1,500 years later, the Greek writer Pausanias also commented on entire statues made of stucco.[7] Just as such sculpture imitated cognates in stone, stucco wall surfaces eventually began to take the place of stone as well. Stucco imitations of stone masonry seem to have begun in the late fourth century B.C.E.[8] and subsequently enjoyed a long popularity throughout the Mediterranean. They could

be found in the grandest of buildings, from religious sanctuaries to royal palaces to villas of the elite. Among the latter, the Tel Anafa villa seems to represent the last phase of the molded stucco fashion. Wall decoration in Palestine after the Tel Anafa villa, such as that in the Herodian palace at Jericho, shows a sharp decline in molded elements in favor of two-dimensional representations similar to Second Style Painting in Italy.[9]

Though quicker and undoubtedly cheaper to produce, molded stucco should not be understood as a shoddy alternative to cut stone. On the contrary, its use in the best constructions shows that it was synonymous with current fashion and cosmopolitan taste. The quality of molded stucco elements could be extremely high and, once painted, such elements were hardly discernible from stone.[10] Stuccoed surfaces were also much more receptive to painting, and bonding with the plaster was permanent. It was also relatively easy to repair chipping or scratching, unlike similar damage to stone surfaces. For these reasons, among others, stuccoed surfaces increased in popularity.

The suggested reconstruction of the bath wall at Tel Anafa (Fig. 1)[11] features a stucco scheme that imitates arrangements in earlier Greek walls. The lowest course consists of tall, rectangular panels that imitate the weight-bearing orthostates of stone walls. Upon these are the repetitive rows of isodomic blocks that, in stone construction, composed the body of the wall. An attic story may have held an applied Corinthian order with columns that divided panels decorated with patterns of lozenges bordered by an egg-and-dart motif. Similar arrangements in stone are known in interiors as early as the mid-fourth century B.C.E. and imitated in stucco by ca. 325.[12]

The preparation of such walls must have been time-consuming and expensive. The Roman architect Vitruvius describes the process and how surfaces of great brilliance and durability could be produced if proper techniques were used.[13] He begins by describing how the raw lime had to be slaked thoroughly so that it was rendered into a fine, smooth powder. It could then be mixed with water, and only when it clung to a trowel like glue was it thoroughly mixed and ready for application.

The process continued by gradually building up layers of plaster, and Vitruvius suggests no less than six.[14] Only with multiple layers could the wall be expected to maintain its integrity. The first three layers were mixed with a sand binder to increase stability and durability. Each was apparently allowed to dry first before the next was added, and each was left with a rough surface to aid the adhesion of the next. The last three layers were to be composed of marble dust[15] that was mixed into a fine mortar so that the trowel came away clean from it, rather than the mixture adhering as above. These final three layers were applied in successively thinner applications and while the previous layer was still damp. The last stage involved working over the surface with tools, painting it, and then polishing it to a glittering sheen.[16] Pre-molded elements could also be applied to the wall and held in position with a stay until dry.[17] Such elements were usually cast of quick-setting gypsum plaster (plaster of Paris) while architectural work

(i.e., walls and vaults) was usually done with lime plaster. Lime plaster remained damp for much longer and could be tooled on the wall.[18] Simulated masonry with drafted edges could be accomplished by using straight edges and stencils. In this manner lines (or other motifs) could be simply stamped into the wet plaster.

The fragmentary state of the Tel Anafa stucco makes it difficult to ascertain the number of layers used, although some fragments appear to have at least four. It hardly seems possible that there were six as Vitruvius suggests, but four indicates stucco of considerable quality and what seems to have been standard practice.[19] This is corroborated at other sites where better-preserved stucco also shows three or four layers. A brief survey of recently conducted analyses of stucco from both the Palestinian region and elsewhere reveals a variety of techniques. For example, the Herodian palace at Jericho had walls with three or four layers, including the upper layer composed of marble dust. Republican-period painting from Brescia shows three layers, while Campanian fragments in the Getty collection show both a five- and a three-layer technique. Roman painting fragments from the excavations of the "Southeast Building" at Corinth also show varying numbers of layers.[20]

Pigments could be made of a variety of materials. Since the dominant colors at Tel Anafa were yellow, red, black, green, pink, and white, it will suffice to consider the comments of ancient authors on these particular colors. The specific chemical analysis of the Tel Anafa fragments follows below.

Yellows and reds were among the most common colors used in ancient fresco and molded stucco work, and Tel Anafa was no different in this aspect. Yellow and red, along with black, were the colors used in the rows of panels that imitated the orthostates and isodomic blocks. Yellow pigments were earths colored by hydrated forms of iron oxide that the Greeks called *ochra* (ochre). Vitruvius attests its frequent use in frescoes and says that it was first obtained in the Laureion mines in Attica but was soon depleted.[21] Its popularity in frescoes and molded stucco work throughout the Roman period indicates that it was found abundantly in other areas as well. Reds were extremely common also, and took the name *sinopis* or *sinopia-rubrica* from Sinope, the town on the Black Sea famed for its red earth.[22] *Sinopis* was apparently known in three shades: a light, a dark, and an intermediate.[23] Other varieties of red were especially known from Lemnos and Cappadocia. Like the yellows, these red ochres were usually iron oxides. Anhydrous forms produced maroons while the hydrated forms produced yellows and true reds. The red and yellow ochres only required grinding before use, and this must have furthered their popularity. The best black paints were carbon-based, usually obtained from soot of burned wood, often pine. Other methods of obtaining blacks were known, but the former seems to have been the most common and readily available.[24]

Of the remaining colors at Tel Anafa, white seems to have been used in some areas,

perhaps on the lower panels but also on the various moldings in the upper zones. White was most commonly a calcium carbonate, a white chalk referred to generally as *paraetonium* in antiquity, after the site at which it was first found in Egypt, but known to have come also from Crete and Cyrene.[25] Its greasiness allowed it to be worked smoothly, and it was known for its exceptional tenacity in fresco. Alternatives to *paraetonium* were *melinum*, a white marl from Melos, and *cerussa*, a white lead concoction.[26]

Green and pink appear to have been used rather liberally at Tel Anafa, most noticeably on the cyma above the columns and on the diamond-shaped lozenges.[27] The latter may have been colored variously, and some certainly had molded borders of different colors and/or gilding. Compounds such as malachite and glauconite were often used to produce shades of green, although green earths (*terra verde*) could suffice.[28] Additionally, a green chalk could be used, the best of which came from Smyrna.[29] The color called *verdigris* by the Romans was copper oxide, produced in antiquity by submerging copper strips in vinegar.[30] Pink is discussed neither by Pliny nor Vitruvius, but it could be made presumably by mixing red and white.[31] It may also be that it was regarded simply as a shade of the *sinopia* varieties.

Analysis of the Tel Anafa pigments was run on the Thermo-Elemental Axiom ICP-mass spectrometer at the University of Missouri Research Reactor.[32] In this process a fragment of each stucco pigment was ablated by a pulsed laser, and the vaporized solid was sent into an inductively coupled plasma (ICP)-mass torch. The torch sustains argon plasma at 8000° C and thus can ionize samples injected into it. The samples were then sent into a magnetic-sector where they were separated by mass and charge, ultimately determining elemental composition.

Results show both correlation and differences when compared to ancient sources and fresco analysis from other Greek and Roman sites. Red and yellow at Tel Anafa show high levels of iron and are most likely iron oxides. These correspond to analyses of other red stucco pigment from Israel, the best studies being those from Jericho and Acre.[33] Both a red and a yellow fragment from Tel Kedesh[34] were also included in this study, and they too tested with high levels of iron. It should be noted, however, that reds used in Hellenistic Palestine are not the vivid reds enriched in mercury sulfide and so well known from sites such as Pompeii. Mercury does not occur naturally in Israel and was thus imported for use. "Pompeiian" reds occur for the first time in the ca. 20 B.C.E. Herodian palace at Jericho, and it is likely that Herod's close relationship with Rome and the Julians led to the transmittal of Western painting technology to Palestine.[35] Be that as it may, two pink samples from Tel Anafa show slight mercury enrichment, while lead is the dominant component. Thus, the pink pigment seems to have been made of a white lead preparation with a small amount of mercury as a colorant.[36] Significant levels of mercury were also present in a sample with gilding, and this probably indicates the use of gold leaf originally intended for gilding of metals. Gilding in antiquity was done

either by applying the leaf to the surface with some form of adhesive, or by mercury gilding.[37] The latter process involved an amalgam of gold and mercury that was applied to a metal surface. Heating caused evaporation of the mercury and thus adhesion of the gold. This process was used exclusively for metals, since most other materials, stucco included, could not withstand the necessary thermal shock. One must ask, therefore, why the Tel Anafa gilt contains mercury. It must be that this leaf was made for metal gilding but used otherwise. Perhaps gold leaf was made uniformly with the mercury process in mind but was used for whatever the demand might be. For materials other than metal, it could be applied simply by using a suitable adhesive such as egg whites.[38]

Verdigris, or copper oxide, was clearly used for the green pigments at Tel Anafa but was apparently not the most common in Palestine.[39] At both Acre and Jericho, greens were made from minerals such as celadonite and glauconite.[40]

The black used at Tel Anafa is probably carbon-based. The MURR spectrometer does not test for carbon specifically, but other likely candidates for black coloration such as manganese did not produce an appreciable signal. Other possibilities are therefore eliminated.

With the beginning of Roman occupation of the Levant, the fashion for molded stucco began to decline, and the Tel Anafa villa's date of ca. 100 B.C.E. marks the end of its popularity. Decorative wall stucco continued to be used with enthusiasm, but its style shows marked changes in the first century B.C.E. The most notable examples are in the palaces constructed under Herod, whose Roman-appointed kingship brought close ties with the West, and, as noted above, apparently new fashions in wall painting. In this period, the mercury-enriched reds were introduced into Palestine along with other imported colors such as Egyptian blue.[41] More significant, however, was the sharply reduced use of molded elements in favor of two-dimensional representations akin to Second Style painting in the West. The Tel Anafa villa is thus among the very latest buildings to exhibit molded stucco, a fashion begun some 300 years earlier.

NOTES

1. See S. C. Herbert, *Tel Anafa*: I, i, *Final Report on Ten Years Excavation at a Hellenistic and Roman Settlement in Northern Israel* (Ann Arbor, 1994) pp. 31–100.
2. For a recent look at cultural intermingling in Hellenistic Palestine, see J. Geiger, "Language, Culture and Identity in Ancient Palestine," in *Greek Romans and Roman Greeks*, E. N. Ostenfeld, K. Blomqvist, and L. Nevett, eds. (Gylling, Denmark, 2002) pp. 233–246.
3. Paralleled in the Hellenistic baths at Ai Khanoum. See P. Bernard, "Campagne de fouilles 1975 à Ai Khanoum (Afghanistan)," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (1976a) pp. 287–322.
4. The only source for the Tel Anafa stucco's reconstruction thus far is R. L. Gordon, Jr., "Late Hellenistic Wall Decoration of Tel Anafa," Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri-Columbia, 1977. For a revised version of Gordon's reconstruction, see Figure 1.

5. See N. C. Debevoise, "The Origin of Decorative Stucco," *American Journal of Archaeology* 45 (1941) p. 45.
6. See G. Beard, *Stucco and Decorative Plasterwork in Europe* (New York, 1983) p. 27.
7. At Kreusis in Boiotia (Paus., 9.32.1).
8. Though debatable, it perhaps begins in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace. See P. W. Lehmann, "The Wall Decoration of the Hieron in Samothrace," *Balkan Studies 5* (1964) pp. 277–286, and *Samothrace: 3, The Hieron* (Princeton, 1969) esp. pl. CVI, for the reconstruction of the stucco interior.
9. See S. Rozenberg, "The Wall Paintings of the Herodian Palace at Jericho," in K. Fittschen and F. Gideon, eds., *Judaea and the Greco-Roman World in the Time of Herod in the Light of Archaeological Evidence* (Göttingen, 1996) pp. 121–138. The final publication of the Hasmonean palaces at Jericho can be found in E. Netzer, *Final Reports of the 1973–1987 Excavations*. Israel Exploration Society (Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, 2001).
10. The Greek guide Pausanias' visit to the temple of Artemis at Stymphalos (8.22.7) had him wondering whether the images of the legendary birds he saw on the temple's roof were made of stucco or some other material.
11. Based on Gordon's reconstruction (Gordon, "Wall Decoration").
12. Related arrangements in stone can be found in the cellas of the temple of Athena Alea (ca. 350 B.C.E.) and the temple of Zeus at Nemea (ca. 330 B.C.E.), although these have lower orders as well. For the restored interiors of these buildings, see C. Dugas, et al., *Le sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée au IV siècle* (Paris, 1924) pls. XVIII–XX; N. J. Norman, "The Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea," *American Journal of Archaeology* 88 (1984) ill. 8; and B. H. Hill, rev. by C. K. Williams, II, *The Temple of Zeus at Nemea* (Princeton, 1966) pl. 8.

    By ca. 325 B.C.E., stucco imitations related to the above stone designs began to appear, although lower orders were usually eliminated. See n. 8 for references to the Hieron of Samothrace. On Delos, several of the Hellenistic houses had molded stucco much like that at Tel Anafa. Based on the reconstructions, the most comparable example seems to be from the House of Dionysos, although others, less preserved, were probably similar. For the stucco from the House of Dionysos, see J. Chammonard, *Le quartier du théatre. Exploration archéologique de Délos par l'École française d'Athènes* 8.1 (Paris, 1922) fig. 83.
13. Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, 7.2–3.
14. Pliny suggests five. See *Natural History*, 36.55.
15. Other substances such as calcite or alabaster dust might be substituted.
16. Vitruvius (7.3.9) says that properly done fresco allowed it to be polished to such an extent that it might be as reflective as a mirror. In Baroque Italy, polishing was done with pumice, using oil as a flux. See Beard, *Stucco*, p. 20.
17. In his introduction to the *Lives of the Artists*, Vasari details similar procedures in the Renaissance, and we might suppose that techniques were not appreciably different in antiquity. See *Vasari on Technique*, L. S. Maclehose, trans. (New York, 1960) pp. 170–172.
18. In general this was how the Romans made use of lime and gypsum plaster. Ling points out, however, that lime plaster might be used for casting while gypsum plaster was used for walls in Egypt. See R. Ling, "Stuccowork," in *Roman Crafts*, D. Strong and D. Brown, eds. (London, 1976) p. 209. Gypsum might also be *combined* with lime, and such a combination also yields a surface that remains workable for several hours. See Debevoise, "Decorative Stucco," p. 49.
19. Some walls, such as those from the House of Livia in Rome, do show the six-layer technique. Based on other evidence, this seems more exception than rule.

20. See S. Rozenberg, "Pigments and Fresco Fragments from Herod's Palace at Jericho"; R. Bugini and L. Folli, "Materials and Making Techniques of Roman Republican Wall Paintings (Capitolium, Brescia, Italy) "; A. Wallert and M. Elston, "Fragments of Roman Wall Painting in the J. Paul Getty Museum: a Preliminary Technical Investigation"; and V. Meggiolaro, G. M. Molin, U. Pappalardo, and P. P. Vergerio, "Contribution to Studies on Roman Wall Painting Materials and Techniques in Greece: Corinth, the Southeast Building," all in *Roman Wall Painting. Materials, Techniques, Analysis and Conservation*. Proceedings of the International Workshop, Fribourg 7–9 March 1996, H. Béarat, M. Fuchs, M. Maggetti, and D. Paunier, eds. (Fribourg, 1997) pp. 63, 97, 107, 121.
21. Vitruvius, 7.7.1.
22. Present-day Sinop.
23. Pliny, 35.13.
24. Pliny, 35.25. Pliny also says that, in addition to soot, some people made it from wine lees and adds that the famous Polygnotos and Mikon extracted it from grape skins.
25. Pliny, 35.18; Vitruvius, 7.7.3. The ancient town of Paraetonium, the present Marsa Matrûh, is located near what is now the Egyptian-Libyan border.
26. Pliny, 35.19.
27. Green is also evident on an earlier scheme of stucco from Tel Anafa that was later plastered over. It is unclear whether the design discussed here replaced that with the older green pigment.
28. *Terra verde*, also known today as celadonite, is composed of hydrates of iron and magnesium with potassium silicates. The green earths, according to Pliny (35.29), were inferior, and he insinuates that there were many cheap substitutes for the costly malachite. Vitruvius (7.14.2) confirms that it was expensive and that some artists could not afford it.
29. Vitruvius, 7.7.4.
30. Vitruvius, 7.12.1.
31. See, for example, discussion of pink in analyses conducted on various Roman stucco from Switzerland and Pompeii in H. Béarat, "Quelle est la gamme exacte des pigments romains? Confrontation des résultats d'analyse et des textes de Vitruve et de Pline," in *Roman Wall Painting*, p. 29.
32. I thank Dr. Hector Neff, former Senior Research Scientist at MURR, for his help and suggestions regarding the analysis of the pigments and interpretation of the data.
33. See Rozenberg, "Wall Paintings," pp. 123–124 and I. Segal and N. Porat, "Composition of Pigments from the Hellenistic Walls in Acre," in *Judaea and the Greco-Roman World*, p. 87. This article also includes bibliography for various studies on distribution of pigments in ancient Israel.
34. This site, roughly 15 km from Tel Anafa, is currently under excavation by the University of Michigan. I thank Dr. Sharon Herbert and the Kelsey Museum for the loan of the Kedesh samples.
35. Rozenberg, "Herod's Palace," p. 68.
36. Yet another pink sample in the Tel Anafa testing was slightly enriched in iron. The picture that emerges here is that pinks could be composed of lead with something red as a colorant, in this study either iron or mercury. At Jericho, however, pinks were made by a process involving heating kaolinite (an aluminum-silicate, the chief component of the fine white clay called "kaolin") and goethite (an iron oxide). See Rozenberg, "Herod's Palace," p. 68. Interestingly, pinks at Tel Anafa were also high in aluminum, and thus kaolin may be a component as well.

37. For a summation of gilding techniques in antiquity, see D. Sherlock, "Silver and Silversmithing," in *Roman Crafts*, p. 20.
38. Pliny, 33.20, for marble and other materials. Apparently, gilding of wood required yet another specific preparation called "leucophorum."
39. The use of copper oxide for greens is attested in locations outside Palestine. See Béarat, *Roman Wall Painting*, p. 31.
40. Segal and Porat, "Composition," pp. 87–89; Rozenberg, "Pigments," p. 69.
41. For example, in Herod's palace at Masada. See N. Porat, "Composition of Fresco Pigments from Masada," in *Israel Geological Society, Annual Meeting* (Ramot, 1989) pp. 127–128.

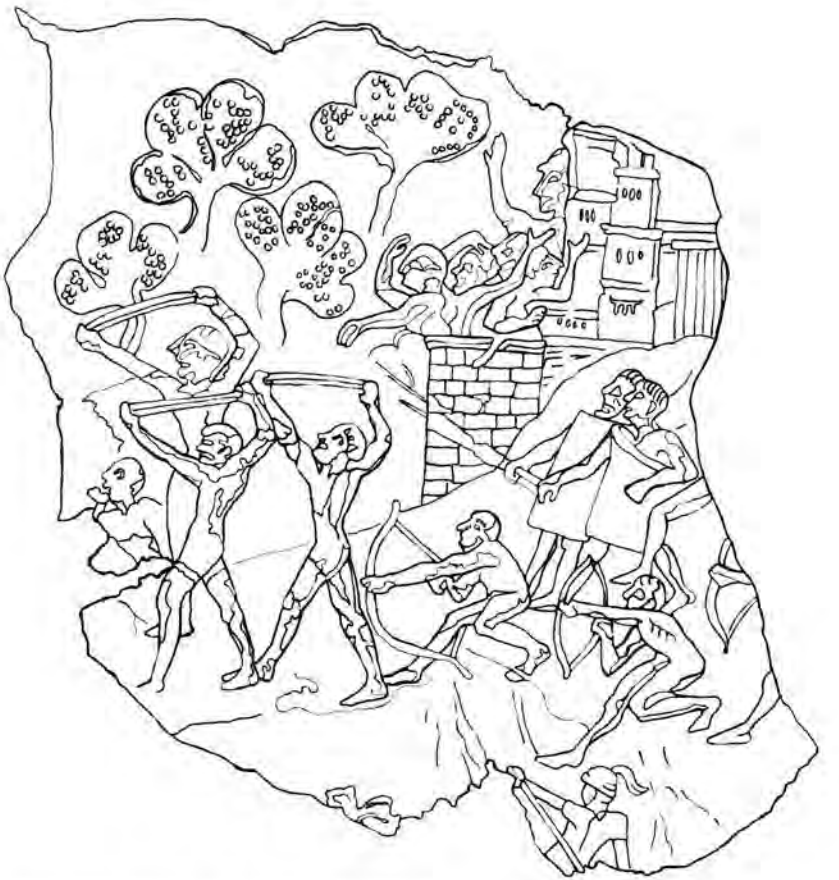


Fig. 1. Siege Rhyton from Mycenae. Drawing by Elizabeth Tuck after E. Gilliéron, *Palace of Minos* 3 (London, 1935) fig. 52.

"Ouch!" Inscribed Greek Sling Bullets in Missouri

Steven L. Tuck

The sling was a major projectile weapon in armies across the ancient Near East and the Mediterranean basin. Many factors contributed to its widespread use and popularity. Consisting of only a long cord or strap with a centrally fixed pocket, it was simple to construct out of materials that were generally cheap and readily available—leather, rush, or twisted cord. Unlike the archer, a slinger could carry many backup weapons with him, and the operation of slings is not affected by weather conditions, such as rain or wind, which are disastrous for archery. For these reasons and because of its great range and ease of operation, as well as the ready availability of its missiles, it was the primary weapon of manual artillery for many peoples from as early as the Neolithic period, ca. 6000 B.C.E., to the fifth century C.E. and was superseded only by the bow in the early Middle Ages.[1] Slingers were deployed in warfare to screen the main body of an army from the enemy, to prevent attacks along the flanks, and to provide cover fire, in the event of an ambush or retreat, for example. An ancient belief that sling bullets melted in the air attests the fearful power of the weapon, which is supported by the first century C.E. medical author Celsus in his treatise *De Medicina*. There, he gives instructions for extracting sling bullets from the bodies of soldiers.[2] As a Greek weapon, the sling has been documented by excavation as dating back to the Neolithic period (fourth millennium B.C.E.); by art to the Mycenae Siege Rhyton of the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1500 B.C.E.) (Fig. 1); and by literature to as early as Homer.[3]

The missiles, or sling bullets, employed by slingers in the pre-Classical Greek world were most often well-worn river stones, although occasionally bullets made of diorite or baked clay were used (Fig. 2).[4] From at least the last decade of the fifth century B.C.E., however, lead sling bullets cast in molds were in use.[5] The use of molds provided armies with missiles of consistent weight and size, which in turn increased the range and accuracy of the slings and, therefore, the military effectiveness of slingers as components of military forces.

Fig. 2. Sling bullet. From Elateia, Greece, Neolithic period, ca. 6000 B.C.E., clay. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, acc. no. 84.10.

This consistent size and weight enabled slingers to find and repeat the range of their weapons.[6]

Often these bullets were inscribed. Since they were cast, it was a simple matter to scratch a short inscription or image in the damp clay of one, or both, of the two molds used for casting. Longer inscriptions were begun on one side of the mold and continued on the opposite side, generally preserving syllable breaks in the Greek names. These inscribed and retrograde inscriptions then appeared in relief and properly oriented on the finished lead bullets. These short texts and symbols are often of genuine historical interest. They may document the movements and composition of military units, and the presence of bullets, inscribed or plain, in excavations may indicate the locations of battles, skirmishes, sieges, camps, and production facilities that are otherwise undocumented, as well as marking sites of known military significance, such as fortified cities that have been under siege, like Olynthos and Pompeii.[7] They also prove the use of slingers in known battles, since slingers (like other auxiliary units) are rarely mentioned in historical accounts. In addition, they attest the spread in the fourth century B.C.E. of this new military technology—use of cast, lead sling bullets.

Sling bullets are, however, the most common military *disjecta membra* of the ancient Greek and Roman world, scattered through excavation and as chance finds. Being small, compact, and solid, they are generally found intact, but since they are portable and affordable they have been sold as souvenirs across the Mediterranean area. As a result, their place of purchase does not necessarily reflect their find spot. Since their provenance can be difficult to establish, their use as evidence of the presence of military units and commanders in precise locations must be treated with caution. The brief nature of the inscriptions also makes interpretation uncertain.

The inscriptions and images on these missiles can be grouped into one of four categories: (1) personal names in the nominative or genitive/possessive case, possibly naming the authority under whom the bullets were cast and used, usually a Hellenistic king, a general, or a unit commander; (2) cities and ethnic groups, in the nominative or genitive case; (3) symbols of sympathetic magic imbuing the bullet with the power of the symbol, most commonly a thunderbolt, lance, trident, or scorpion; and (4) exclamations directed at the target of the bullet: *nika* (conquer), *dexai* (take this), *haima* (blood), and so forth.

The Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri-Columbia owns twenty-seven cast, lead, Greek sling bullets; one clay example; and a single Roman one. Although almost all are without provenance, many have important and interesting historical associations. They are presented below, grouped by category of inscription or symbol, with the illegible, unidentified, and spurious at the end. Except where noted otherwise, all are the gift of Professor and Mrs. Saul S. Weinberg.[8]

Personal Names of Military Commanders or Generals

This category marks both the most numerous and the most securely identified of all sling bullet inscriptions, with examples referring to Philip of Macedon and the Great King of Persia among many others. Historically, these inscriptions are the most useful as they help to establish the composition of the auxiliary forces of various commanders, while the find spots chart the movements of those forces and their commanders. Curiously, the intended audience for these inscriptions is not clear. They might have been meant as statements of the attacking generals' power, if those attacked had the interest and ability to read them during or after an assault. Alternatively, the names could have served a more mundane purpose of distinguishing the bullets of certain units and insuring that particular units were issued bullets of the correct weight, a critical factor for range and accuracy.

1. (Acc. no. 77.321). Purchased in Athens (Fig. 3, upper right).
   L. 26, W. 15, Th. 12, weight 21 g. Very worn. Obverse inscription interrupted at the end by two surface bubbles from air trapped in the mold during casting, a common result of poor venting; another air bubble mars the reverse surface. Inscription centered on both sides of the bullet.

   ΑΛΕΞ[ΑΝ]ΔΡΟΥ

Fig. 3. Four sling bullets, nos. 1, 3, 7, 11. Greek, lead. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, acc. nos. 77.313, 321, 326, 327; one Roman bullet, lead, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, acc. no. 70.141. Photo Jeffrey Wilcox.

Despite the casting problems, the inscription clearly refers to Alexander in the genitive, or possessive, case, which was commonly used for the names of commanders. Continuing the inscription onto the reverse is paralleled by a number of bullets with commanders' names. Historical accounts confirm that Alexander the Great employed slingers in his campaigns, and numerous other bullets with variations on his name exist in many collections, although none have been recovered from excavations.[9]

2. (Acc. no. 64.86). Perhaps originally from the region of Haifa, Israel.
   L. 32, W. 15.5, Th. 12, weight. 24.9 g. Gift of G. A. Goldman, Haifa. Intact. Large obverse and reverse inscription and symbol, both poorly preserved.

ΔH/Symbol

The name on the obverse is represented by the initial two letters. Other sling bullets from Asia Minor are inscribed with the name of Demetrios, almost certainly referring to Demetrios Poliorketes, the Hellenistic general and king (336–283 B.C.E.).[10] The provenance of this bullet is unknown, but since it was a gift from G. A. Goldman of Haifa, perhaps an original find spot in the area of Israel is possible. Demetrios Poliorketes campaigned extensively in this region.[11] The illegible symbol on the reverse is probably a monogram but is without parallel in the literature and cannot be interpreted without context.

3. (Acc. no. 77.313). Purchased in Athens, said to come from Marathon (Fig. 3, upper left).
   L. 30, W. 20, Th.16, weight 41.3 g. Intact. Inscription centered on one side.

ΞΕΝΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ

The find spot would make this bullet of historical importance, but it should be discounted. Antiquities dealers often reported their sling bullets as coming from Marathon in order to increase the value. None have been excavated at the site, nor is there historical evidence that the weapon was used in what has been described as a hoplite battle.[12] The inscription probably refers to Xenokrates, a Theban *boiotarch* or federal official of the Boiotian confederacy led by Thebes in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. He was a contemporary of Epaminondas, the Theban general responsible for the defeat of Sparta, and participated in the decisive battle of Leuctra in 371 B.C.E. A published parallel exists for this bullet.[13]

4. (Acc. no. 77.315). Purchased in Athens.
   L. 38.5, W. 23, Th. 19, weight 75.9 g. Good condition. Inscription centered on one side.

ΓΟΡΓΙ/Thunderbolt

5. (Acc. no. 77.317). Purchased in Athens.
L. 34, W. 20, Th. 13, weight 42.2 g. Broken and badly damaged, which accounts, at least somewhat, for its weight being lower than that of 4. Inscription cast along the upper edge.

[Γ]OP[ΓΙ]/Thunderbolt

These partially preserved inscriptions may refer to Gorgias, a taxiarch of Alexander the Great. Taxiarchs were the equivalent of general officers in the ancient Greek army, each commanding a division of the army called a taxis consisting of 4500 men. Gorgias commanded troops under Alexander and his successors from at least 328–320 B.C.E. His service can be traced from near the Hellespont on the west to Bactria in the east.[14] As commander of a unit roughly equal to a brigade, his troops included the Greek hoplite soldiers armed with sword and lance, as well as supporting troops, the lightly armed and armored auxiliaries and mercenaries most likely to use the sling for flanking, screening, and ambush maneuvers. Two published parallels bear almost identical inscriptions and are almost the same size and weight.[15] These bullets are important, since they indicate the presence of slingers in the taxis of Gorgias, otherwise unattested by historical sources. The greater weight and larger overall dimensions of these two bullets when compared to other bullets used by slingers under different commanders in Alexander's army indicate that individual units of slingers used ammunition of unique weights. This may be the result of regional recruitment, with each unit using ammunition common to an area, or a military refinement. In military terms, different weights may have served very different functions in their units. The heavier sling bullets perhaps were used when facing heavily armored troops such as hoplites or when it was desirable to vary the maximum range.

On the reverse is a thunderbolt, a common symbol of sympathetic magic. (See 17 below for explanation of this symbol.)

6. (Acc. no. 77.318). Purchased in Athens.
L. 38, W. 23, Th. 19, weight 81.1 g. Inscription cast on the upper border of the face next to the edge of the mold.

ΑΝΔΡΩΝ/Thunderbolt

This is a common sling bullet inscription with many parallels in other collections.[16] The name itself is rare in Greek onomastics so probably refers to the only known holder of it attested historically, Andron, son of Cabaleus of Teos, *trierarch* (captain of a naval vessel) in the fleet of Philip of Macedon and Alexander the Great.[17] As a *trierarch*, Andron commanded a large warship, and it would thus have been appropriate for his name to be inscribed on the sling bullets used by slingers under his command. Slings, along with other forms of artillery, were often used in naval battles in the Greek world, primarily

when initiating attack against other vessels.[18] Arrian, the historian of Alexander who provides us with Andron's name, does not give details of his route or naval service, but one of the bullets inscribed with the name ΑΝΔΡΩΝ was found on Cyprus, perhaps giving evidence that he was active in that volatile region of the eastern Mediterranean. The dimensions of this bullet are similar to those of numbers 4 and 5 above, demonstrating that slingers under different commanders in the same period did sometimes use ammunition of the same weights and sizes.

7. (Acc. no. 77.326). Purchased on Cyprus (Fig. 3, right).
L. 32, W. 18, Th. 14, weight 39.1 g. Inscription centered on one side of the bullet in neat, well-spaced letters.

ΓΛΑΥΚΙΑ

8. (Acc. no. 77.329). Purchased in Athens.
L. 28, W. 16, Th. 12.5, weight 30.6 g. Compact, ovoid missile, badly worn with breaks along both ends. The inscription is centered on one side of the bullet in neat, well-spaced letters.

Γ[ΛΑΥΚΙΑ]

No. 8 weighs less than 7 because of wear and breaks. No. 7 presumably preserves the original dimensions more accurately, and both were probably once very similar, if not from the same mold. The inscription on 8 is restored to read Glaukias.

The only known Hellenistic commander named Glaukias who is a reasonable candidate as the subject of the inscription is an *ilarch*, or unit commander, of Alexander's at the decisive victory over Darius, king of Persia, at the battle of Gaugamela in 331 B.C.E.[19] The same man is named in the historical sources as a follower of Kassander and as the murderer of Alexander IV and Roxane in the last decade of the fourth century B.C.E.[20] In 316 B.C.E., Glaukias accepted into his care (against the wishes of Kassander) the infant Pyrrhus, the minor king of the large, wealthy, and Hellenized kingdom of Epirus, and in 307 he invaded Epirus, capturing the throne for Pyrrhus. Since he was a king and field commander, his name in the genitive case certainly would be on his men's bullets. No historical accounts mention the composition of his auxiliary troops, however, and his use of slingers is not otherwise attested. The association of 7 with Cyprus and the possible association of 6 with that island suggest that the bullets were used in the struggles between Ptolemy and Antigonos for control of Cyprus, where sieges were undertaken in 312 and 306 B.C.E.[21] An alternative, if more remote, candidate is Glaukias, King of the Taulantians, one of the Illyrian tribes who fought Alexander the Great in 335 B.C.E. and whose men, according to Arrian, used slings in their mountain campaigns against the Macedonians.[22]

9. (Acc. no. 77.314). Purchased in Athens.
L. 29, W. 16, Th. 12.5, weight 28.8 g. Inscription continued from obverse to reverse.

ΠΕΤΑ/ΛΟΥ

10. (Acc. no. 77.316). Purchased in Athens.
L. 27, W. 16, Th. 12, weight 29.5 g. Inscription continued from obverse to reverse.

[Π]ΕΤ[Α]/ΛΟΥ

Although **10** is damaged, its dimensions and inscription are almost identical to those of **9**. Both bullets bore the same name in the genitive, Petalos. The only man with this name who survives in the historical record is Petalos, from 130–129 B.C.E. archon (chief magistrate) of Chaleion, a city in central Greece.[23] A parallel for this bullet was found at Thestia in Aitolia.[24] The lighter weight of these bullets, compared to some of those securely dated to the fourth and third centuries, may be significant. The weight of missiles controls the extent of their range and was manipulated depending on the circumstances of the battle and tactical use of slingers. These may indicate either regional variation or differing missions for slingers in this military unit.

11. (Acc. no. 77.327). Purchased on Cyprus (Fig. 3, left).
L. 31, W. 18, Th. 13.5, weight 37.3 g. Reverse inscription badly worn and illegible.

ANTIMAXOY/A[...]

The obverse inscription is clearly a commander's name in the genitive case. The name might have been repeated or supplemented on the reverse. This bullet is very similar in dimensions to those inscribed with the name of Glaukias, **7** and **8**, suggesting that it too is Hellenistic in origin and perhaps contemporary. The only Antimachos who might possibly be the commander named here is Antimachos, the Greek King of Bactria from 175–165 B.C.E.[25] He ruled Bactria after the division of the empire following Alexander's death, gradually expanding this, the easternmost of Hellenistic territories, from the Hindu Kush to the Punjab and into the lower Kabul valley and parts of modern northern Pakistan. Not much is known about him other than that he served as a general in the Macedonian army before becoming ruler of Bactria. The provenance raises two possibilities. If the bullet was actually found on Cyprus, rather than being brought in from elsewhere, it could indicate that units from the military forces of Antimachos were present in the struggles between Ptolemy Philometor and his younger brother Physkon for control of the island in 164 B.C.E. Such interference by Greek kings in the revolts and conflicts of other Greek kingdoms was common in the period after the death of Alexander the Great. Alternatively, the bullet might be evidence of a different Antimachos, otherwise historically unattested. Possibilities might be the governor of

Cyprus, who was also strategos or general of the island, or the Chief Military Engineer whose duties included maintaining island defenses, including siege machinery and missile weapons. No other examples of bullets with this name have, however, been found on Cyprus, nor is there any evidence for this name in the epigraphical sources for Cyprus.[26]

12. (Acc. no. 77.328). Purchased in Athens.
L. 27, W. 16, Th. 14, weight 29.5 g. Very worn with deep cuts on all surfaces. Inscription continued from obverse to reverse. On both sides lettering neatly done at the widest part of the bullet.

ΑΠΟΛΛ[Ω]/ΝΙΔΑ[Σ]

Apollonidas was the commander-in-chief of Kassander's forces after the death of Alexander the Great.[27] A sling bullet in the Froehner Collection of the Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris is also inscribed with the name of Apollonidas.[28] It preserves the same break in the name as does this missile and is also inscribed in the nominative case. The bullet in Paris was also acquired as a gift and, like the Missouri bullet, has no provenance. Nonetheless, both of these bullets provide the only evidence for the use of slingers in Kassander's auxiliary forces and so are important historical documents that supplement the literary sources.

13. (Acc. no. 77.319). Purchased in Athens.
L. 43.5, W. 22, Th. 14, weight 66 g. Both sides of the bullet are mutilated by deep, wide cuts, which could be plow marks. Letters apparently cut in the mold with a drill.

ΒΩΓ[..]Α[..]ΟΥ/Thunderbolt

The use of a drill to cut the letters appears to be unique. The obverse inscription is incomprehensible but clearly terminates in a genitive ending, so it belongs with bullets inscribed with commanders' names. The name itself is not found in historical or onomastic sources.[29] The reverse is a common symbol of sympathetic magic, the thunderbolt (See **17** below). Neither the reverse motif, dimensions, nor find spot (Athens) aids in identifying the obverse inscription.

Cities and Ethnic Groups

In addition to the personal names of kings and commanders, other authorities are found among the inscriptions on Greek sling bullets. The most important, arguably, are the city, federal, and ethnic names. Sling bullets with the names of ancient Greek cities are common, and examples include Athens, Corinth, Rhodes, and Beroea.[30] These allow us to place forces from particular cities and groups at battles and sieges where

their presence might not otherwise be attested. These are also significant for the study of the military technology of cast sling bullets, because many of this category of missiles pre-date the more widespread ones inscribed with the names of Hellenistic kings and commanders.

14. (Acc. no. 77.320). Purchased in Athens (Fig. 4).
L. 38, W. 20, Th. 15, weight 53.5 g. Monograms of obverse and reverse damaged. Deep cuts mar both sides of the bullet obscuring the inscriptions, which might originally have been more extensive.

Monogram/Monogram

One monogram is a large B; the other is organized around a large B with subsidiary letters under the stem and attached to the lower loop of the B. Given the large letter B and the form, the inscriptions might be monograms for Boiotia, an area of central Greece that borders on Attica. Variations of monograms for Boiotia are known from the fourth century B.C.E. While no exact parallels for this bullet have been found in the literature, abbreviations for Boiotia are common, and monograms made up of the first letters of a city or federal name are not unknown.[31] The purchase of the bullet in Athens does not preclude Boiotian origin.

Fig. 4. Sling bullet no. 14. Greek, lead. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, acc. no. 77.320. Photo Jeffrey Wilcox.

15. (Acc. no. 77.323). Purchased in Athens.
L. 28, W. 13, Th. 12.5, weight 24.1 g. Large letters on both sides fill the central third of the field. Both inscriptions very worn, with letters missing from each side.

ME[...]/NA

This bullet illustrates the problems of provenance that develop from the trade in sling bullets. Although it was purchased in Athens, it probably originated at the site of Olynthos where David Robinson excavated two examples virtually identical to the one in this collection. He concluded that the inscription referred to the town of Mekyberna.[32] Mekyberna was a Chalcidian town on the Sithonian promontory at the head of the Toronaic Gulf, southeast of the city of Olynthos for which it served as a

port. The inscription on this bullet differs from most of the other city inscriptions in that the inscription is both an abbreviation—with letters removed from the end of the word—and a suspension—with letters removed from the middle. Abbreviations in personal, city, and ethnic names are far more common than suspensions.[33] If the attribution is correct, it indicates that forces from Mekyberna were present at the siege of Olynthos in 348 B.C.E. and presumably were members of the confederacy headed by Olynthos, a fact otherwise unrecorded.

Symbols of Sympathetic Magic

This category of bullets is in many ways the most enlightening as it provides evidence of the Greek view of the natural world and how it operates. The bullets bear images that are directed not at the slingers' targets but at the actual missiles. Various depictions of stinging, striking, or stabbing are common and are based on sympathetic magic, which is the basis for notions such as "resonance," namely the idea that if things can be mentally associated they can magically influence each other. The images seem designed to encourage the bullet itself to fly forward and strike with the power of the thunderbolt, wasp, etc. The thunderbolt is the most common symbol and is found on seven of the twenty-eight bullets in the Museum's holdings. The motif was demonstrably popular on bullets attributable to Alexander and his immediate successors. It is possible that this use may derive from Alexander's propaganda celebrating himself as the direct son of Zeus, particularly after 331 B.C.E.

16. (Acc. no. 68.273). Purchased in Israel.
L. 49, W. 30, Th. 21, weight 154 g. Cast in a mold that differs from the typical amygdaloid shape of most sling bullets. In cross section, it is a flattened ovoid noticeably larger and heavier than any of the other examples in the collection. Acquired with Museum purchase funds.

Thunderbolt/Thunderbolt

Dual thunderbolts are common. The images seem designed to encourage the bullet to fly forward and strike with the power of the thunderbolt. The association with Zeus is implicit, but on other bullets the connection is explicit as the inscriptions invoke Zeus on one side of the bullet and display the thunderbolt on the other side.[34]

17. (Acc no. 77.325). Purchased in Israel (Fig. 5).
L. 30, W. 18, Th. 13.5, weight 39 g. Intact but worn.

Trident/Thunderbolt

A Hellenistic date is plausible because the dimensions and weight are consistent with Hellenistic norms. The thunderbolt is too common a symbol to date the bullet. The

trident suggests that the slingers of this unit were deployed in naval situations rather than on their characteristic land duties of harassment and protection of the flanks of hoplites. Naval battles are a natural element for slingers, as they could inflict damage from afar before the ships engaged in battle. Thucydides describes the use of slings in an Athenian-Syracusan sea battle in 425 B.C.E., and Florus recounts an attack in the second century B.C.E. on the Roman fleet by Balearic islanders, a group famed in antiquity for their expertise with the sling.[35]

Fig. 5. Sling bullet no. 17. Greek, lead. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, acc. no. 77.325. Photo Jeffrey Wilcox.

18. (Acc. no. 82.273). Purchased in Turkey (Fig. 6).
L. 31.5, W. 17, Th. 14, weight 35.6 g. Ovoid bullet badly cast with deep irregular surface features. One side filled with wasp facing right. The other field has a different image that may also have been an animal but is too abraded to be read. Weinberg Fund purchase.

Wasp/Animal (?)

The wasp places the bullet in the category of those with sympathetic magic images. The wasp is apparently without published parallel, but in 2005 an antiquities dealer sold a very similar example without provenance.[36] Perhaps related to the wasp, scorpions are attested, presumably invoked also for their stinging ability.[37] While the stinging association is obvious, the sling bullets might also evoke wasps because of their notorious swarming tendency and characteristic noise, a high-pitched buzz or whine, such as was made by sling bullets in flight.

Fig. 6. Sling bullet no. **18**. Greek, lead. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, acc. no. 82.273. Photo Jeffrey Wilcox.

19. (Acc. no. 77.324). Purchased in Athens.
L. 42 (Est. L. 56), W. 25, Th. 19, weight 95 g. One end flattened. Inscription runs across approximately the center of the obverse at the thickest part of the bullet.

ΔΑΣΟΥ/Thunderbolt

The obverse inscription is in the genitive case, but the name Dasos is not listed in any of the standard onomastic or epigraphical sources.[38] The use of the genitive follows the

pattern of inscriptions naming kings and generals but is not identifiable with any of them. The missile is larger and heavier than examples securely dated to the Hellenistic period. The reverse, however, shows the familiar thunderbolt device found on many Greek sling bullets.

20. (Acc. no. 82.272). Purchased in Turkey.

L. 31, W. 17.5, Th. 14, weight 38.1 g. Casting bubbles in the surface due to inadequate venting in the mold. Badly worn and with a large post-production gouge along one side. Large symbol fills field in center of one side. Weinberg Fund purchase.

Lance

This seems to represent a lance. A possible published parallel was also purchased in Athens (in 1903) and now rests in a collection in Paris. In the publication of that collection, the symbol was taken as a Φ, and the inscription was thought perhaps to be a forgery.[39] Since it is in relief on both bullets, however, the symbol must be genuine and original to them. It is part of the casting and seems unlikely to have been faked in any practical way. The meaning is presumably comparable to those of other stinging, flying, or biting images on sling bullets. Lances in fact occur on sling bullets found throughout Greek lands around the eastern Mediterranean.[40]

Exclamations Directed at Target

This category of inscriptions speaks not to the slingers or to the bullet, but to the people attacked. Bullets whose inscriptions speak to the enemy are fairly common in Greek and Latin, and many Greek examples emphasize the effect of the missile with exclamations such as "take this," "ouch," "blood," and "taste sumac," or other ironically humorous texts.[41] In contrast, many Latin inscriptions in this category are sexual in nature and equate the person struck with the passive partner in a sexual relationship, as a means of questioning his manhood.[42] Although the putative audience is the person on the receiving end of the missile, it seems likely that as with the symbols of sympathetic magic, the true audience is the slinger himself. These inscriptions would serve to develop confidence and to boost the morale of the attacking forces.

21. (Acc. no. 77.310). Purchased in Athens (Fig. 7).

L. 39, W. 24, Th. 19, weight 74.5 g. Intact but with a hole from an air bubble trapped in the mold. In cross section, the bullet is lozenge- rather than the more typical almond-shaped.

ΠΑΠΑΙ

The inscription speaks not to the bullet, but to the person hit by it. It might be translated "Ouch!" Parallels to this inscription are found in a number of other collections, suggesting that this is a common ancient Greek exclamation. It was apparently used in many different regions, since the published bullets with this inscription vary greatly in dimensions and find spots.[43] This example is closely parallel to one from Galatista in Macedonia, dated by Bates to the third century B.C.E. on the basis of its letterforms.[44]

Fig. 7. Sling bullet no. **20**. Greek, lead. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, acc. no. 77.310. Photo Jeffrey Wilcox.

An alternative explanation would read the final *iota* as a lunate *sigma*, thus interpreting the inscription is a personal name, Papas. The name Papas, the Phrygian and Bithynian supreme god, is common in Phrygia and Cappadocia.[45] It seems unlikely, however, that this is the correct interpretation. No inscribed sling bullets refer to Phrygian slingers, nor do any historical or documentary sources. There are no other bullets labeled with the names of Phrygian gods, and the bullets with this word on them are found across territory within Macedonian kingdoms.

Illegible or Unidentifiable Inscriptions

22. (Acc. no. 77.312). Purchased in Athens.
L. 30.5, W. 16, Th. 10, weight 24.3 g. Intact but worn.

ΠIRATA

The inscription is unidentified.

23. (Acc. no. 77.322). Purchased in Athens.
L. 27, W. 18, Th. 14, weight 36.25 g. Entire bullet worn smooth. Inscriptions cast across the center of the face on each side of the missile.

ΔA[..]A[..]ΩΣ/X

The obverse inscription might be reconstructed as a personal name. Of all the options Daidalos is by far the most common, but the gaps leave too many choices for confident reconstruction. The remaining letters do not match any of the prominent Hellenistic kings, captains, or generals. The single letter on the reverse has parallels on both Greek and Roman bullets.[46]

24. (Acc. no. 77.330). Purchased in Athens.
L. 29, W. 17, Th. 11, weight 25.5 g. Intact but badly worn and apparently cleaned with acid, which has left surfaces completely free of encrustation and oxidation, yet deeply pitted. Inscriptions illegible.

25. (Acc. no. 77.331). Purchased in Athens.
L. 33, W. 18, Th. 12, weight 27.1 g. Intact but badly worn and apparently cleaned with acid, which has left surfaces completely free of encrustation and oxidation, yet roughened. The remains of a raised inscription can be traced on one side at the widest point in the center. It could be a monogram, perhaps with an alpha as the central element,[47] but is too abraded or dissolved for any certainty and can really only be detected by feel, not by sight.

26. (Acc. no. 77.332). Purchased in Athens.
L. 28, W. 14, Th. 11, weight 19.2 g. Intact but badly worn and apparently cleaned with acid, which has left surfaces completely free of encrustation and oxidation, yet roughened. The inscription, which runs along the upper edge of one side of the bullet, is illegible.

Forged Inscription

27. (Acc. no. 77.311). Purchased in Athens.
L. 33, W. 18, Th. 12, weight 33.4 g.

ΔΙΧΩΡ/Χ

The bullet is ancient, but the inscriptions on both faces are incised rather than in relief and are therefore certainly forgeries.[48] Antiquities dealers commonly used this type of forgery to increase the worth of genuine sling bullets on the market.

Conclusion

As a collection, the sling bullets in the Museum of Art and Archaeology represent an excellent selection of the major categories of inscribed bullets from the Greek world and particularly from the Hellenistic period. Although their historic significance is diminished by lack of provenance, they speak to us as historical documents that provide evidence of the movements and compositions of military units in the ancient Greek world. In these the names of Alexander the Great and his generals and successors give a vivid picture of the warfare that characterized the eastern Mediterranean in the Hellenistic period. The use of sympathetic magical symbols inscribed on the bullets demonstrates the relationship between Greek slingers and the inanimate, as well as the use of magic in Greek daily life. Finally, the ironically humorous saying "ouch" provides an example of the use of these inscriptions by Greek troops to denigrate the enemy and raise their own morale.

NOTES

1. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 3.3.16, cites the greater range of slingers over archers in the fourth century B.C.E. Ranges of approximately 400 m. could be achieved, with missile speeds of probably around 100 kilometers per hour. On the sling, its effectiveness, and evidence for its use, see W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War*, 5 (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford, 1991) pp. 1–68 and I. G. Spence, *Historical Dictionary of Ancient Greek Warfare* (Lanham, Maryland, and London, 2002) p. 307. For a comparison of the ranges of major missile weapons, see W. McLeod, "The Range of the Ancient Bow: Addenda," *Phoenix* 26 (1972) pp. 78–82.

   Slingers, as trained specialists, were among the standard auxiliary and mercenary military units of the Greek world. On their role as mercenaries in Greek warfare, see M. Trundle, *Greek Mercenaries from the Late Archaic Period to Alexander* (London and New York, 2004) pp. 7, 47, 118, 126.
2. Aristotle, *De Caelo*, 2.7; Vergil, *Aeneid*, 9.588; Lucretius, 6.176; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 14.824–826, where he specifically ascribes the melting to lead sling bullets. Celsus, *De Medicina*, 7.
3. For slings in the Greek Neolithic period, see V. Gordon Childe, "The Significance of the Sling for Greek Prehistory," in *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson* 1 (St. Louis, 1950) pp. 1–5. Also see reports of excavated sling bullets, D. M. Blackman, "Archaeology in Greece 1999–2000," *Archaeological Reports* 46 (1999) pp. 40, 76, 88. For the Bronze Age evidence, see N. Vutiropulos, "The Sling in the Aegean Bronze Age," *Antiquity* 65 (1991) pp. 279–286. For the Siege Rhyton, excavated in one of the shaft graves of Mycenae, see Emily Vermeule, *Greece in the Bronze Age* (Chicago, 1972) pp. 100–102. Homer, *Iliad*, 13.712–716; cf. 12.156, 279–285.
4. The Museum of Art and Archaeology owns a Neolithic clay sling bullet from Elateia, acc. no. 84.10, L. 5.5, W. 2.9, Th. 3.0, weight 38.7 g, anonymous gift. Cf. S. S. Weinberg, "Excavations at Prehistoric Elateia, 1959," *Hesperia* 31 (1962) pp. 202–203, pls. 51e, 68e–g.
5. Molds have been found on many sites, perhaps most notably at Olynthos, the city besieged and destroyed by Philip II in 348 B.C.E. On Philip's use of slingers, see P. B. Kern, *Ancient Siege Warfare* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1999) p. 199 and D. B. Campbell, *Ancient Siege Warfare 546–146 BC* (Oxford, 2005), where he illustrates some of the Olynthos material. For the Olynthos molds, see D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*: 10, *Metal and Minor Miscellaneous Finds* (Baltimore, 1941) p. 419. A brief history of lead bullets in Greece can be found in Clive Foss, "A Bullet of Tissaphernes," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 95 (1975) pp. 25–26.
6. We have eyewitness testimony from Xenophon, *An.*, 3.3.16–17, on the effect on their range of different weights of sling bullets.
7. Bullets have been very important in identifying Roman military sites in Britain where climate destroys almost all other military hardware. See S. J. Greep, "Lead Sling-Shot from Windridge Farm, St. Albans and the use of the Sling by the Roman Army in Britain," *Britannia* 18 (1987) pp. 183–200. Sling bullets also provide the first evidence for Sulla's attack on Eretria in Greece during the Mithridatic War. See D. M. Blackman, "Archaeology in Greece 1998–1999," *Archaeological Reports* 45 (1998) p. 59. For Olynthos, see Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthos*; for Pompeii, see *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 4 (Berlin, 1893).
8. Measurements are given in millimeters and weight in grams in the following order: length (L.), width (W.), thickness (Th.), and weight. Dimensions are the maximum preserved.

   The single Roman bullet (Fig. 3, center, below) is inscribed in Latin on one side in neat, well-spaced letters: Q FAB · M. (acc. no. 70.141), ex Townsend Collection; L. 48.5, W. 17.5, Th. 15, weight 64 g. The missile is noticeably different in shape from the Greek bullets, being

longer and narrower and forming an almond shape that tapers to a point at each end. The inscription also differs from the Greek pattern in its heavy reliance on abbreviation. A lack of published parallels and no secure provenance, combined with a large number of Romans named Q. Fabius Maximus, make it impossible at this point to attribute this bullet with confidence to one particular Roman commander.

Roman armies and their auxiliaries made full use of the sling. A characteristic description of Roman use of slings occurs in Tacitus, *History*, 5.17, where he describes a volley of artillery before an infantry engagement.

9. Alexander's use of mercenaries is noted by Diodoros Siculos, 17.17.3–5, while missile weapons such as slings were particularly important at the siege of Tyre. On the siege, see W. Heckel, *The Wars of Alexander the Great 336–323 BC* (New York and London, 2003) pp. 44–47. That Alexander employed slingers for sieges we learn from Arrian, 4.23, cited in J. F. C. Fuller, *The Generalship of Alexander the Great* (New Brunswick, 1989) p. 235. D. J. Lonsdale, *Alexander the Great, Killer of Men* (New York, 2004), emphasizes the importance of siege warfare in Alexander's conquests. For published Alexander bullets, see Jean-Yves Empereur, "Collection Paul Canellopoulos (XVII): Petits objets inscrits," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 105 (1981) p. 556, no. 2; Clive Foss, "Greek Sling Bullets in Oxford," *Archaeological Reports* 21 (1975) p. 42, no. 15; and Wilhelm Vischer, "Antike Schleudergeschosse," in *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig, 1878) p. 273, no. 64.
10. For other Demetrios Poliorketes bullets providing parallels to this one, see Vischer, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 262, no. 32, pl. 14. On Demetrios' rise to power following the death of his father Antigonos, see B. Bar-Kochva, *The Seleucid Army: Organization and Tactics in the Great Campaigns* (Cambridge, 1976) pp. 105–116.
11. Plutarch, *Demetrios*, 44–46; *Pyrrhus*, 11–12.6; Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 1.10.2.
12. For a bullet with the same attributed provenance, see Foss, "Sling Bullets," p. 41, no. 2. He also discounts the alleged provenance.
13. E. Baroucha-Christodoulopoulou, *Archaiologike Ephemeris* 1953–54, p. 333. Accounts of the battle of Leuctra survive in Xenophon, *Hellenika*, 6.4.4–15 and Diodoros Siculos, 15.51–57.
14. Arrian, 5.12.1. The details of his career and the sources for it are analyzed in Waldemar Heckel, *The Marshals of Alexander's Empire* (New York, 1992) pp. 326–327. See also the more authoritative H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* (Munich, 1925–1926) p. 113, no. 233.
15. Empereur, "Petits objets inscrits," p. 558, nos. 10, 11.
16. See, for example, ibid., p. 556, nos. 3 and 4, both of which provide almost exact matches for this bullet. Another example was excavated at Dhekalia on Cyprus. For a preliminary publication, see Vassos Karageorghis, "Chronique des fouilles des découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1976," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 101 (1977) pp. 713–714.
17. On Andron, see Berve, *Alexanderreich*, p. 40, no. 81. For the name in general and especially in epigraphical sources, see P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews, eds., *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (Oxford, 1987–1997).
18. See Thucydides, 7.70.5.
19. Arrian, 3.11.8. See Heckel, *Marshals*, p. 348.
20. See Diodoros Siculos, 19.52.4, 19.105.2–3.
21. *Cambridge Ancient History* vol. 7, pt. 1, pp. 56, 104; G. Hölbl, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire* (London and New York, 2001) p. 19.
22. Arrian, 1.4–5.
23. *Greek Personal Names*, vol. 3B.

24. G. Klaffenbach, *Sitzungsberichte der Prüssischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin, 1936) p. 386.
25. W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge, 1951) p. 504.
26. *Greek Personal Names*, vol. 2, p. 45.
27. Diodoros Siculos, 19.63.
28. Marie-Christine Hellmann, "Collection Froehner: balles de fronde grecques," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 106 (1982) p. 79, no. 13.
29. The name is not found among the 200,000 individuals and 30,000 names in *Greek Personal Names*, nor do any of the Greek historians mention him as a military commander.
30. A good synopsis with citations is provided by Margherita Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca* 2 (Rome, 1970) p. 518.
31. For other bullets with abbreviations for Boiotia, see Foss, "Sling Bullets," p. 41, no. 2 and Vischer, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 256, no. 23 and p. 260, no. 25. For other examples of monograms for the names of cities, see ibid., pp. 518–519; Marie-Christine Hellmann, "balles de fronde grecques," p. 84.
32. Robinson, *Olynthus*, p. 429. Another of these bullets, perhaps also from Olynthos, is in the Alexander Kiseleff Collection. See E. Simon, *Die Sammlung Kiseleff im Martin-von-Wagner-Museum der Universität Würzburg*: 2. *Minoische und griechische Antiken* (Mainz am Rhein, 1989) no. 335.
33. For another inscription with a long name divided on the bullet and with both abbreviation and suspension, see Carolus Zangemeister, *Glandes Plumbeae Latinae Inscriptae. Ephemeris Epigraphica* 6 (Rome 1885) p. 24.
34. Arthur Cook, *Zeus, A Study in Ancient Religions* (Cambridge, 1925) p. 812.
35. Thucydides, 7.70.5 and Florus, 1.43.8. Literary references for the use of slings in naval operations are collected in Pritchett, *War*, pp. 60–61. Inscribed sling bullets from the island of Rhodes provide parallels for this trident and thunderbolt. They might be remnants of the Hellenistic battles for control of the eastern Mediterranean. See A. Maiuri, *Nuova Silloge Epigrafica di Rodi e Cos* (Florence, 1925) pp. 249–252. For an excavated example of a trident bullet, see V. R. Anderson-Stojanovic, "The University of Chicago Excavations in the Rachi Settlement at Isthmia, 1989," *Hesperia* 65 (1996) pp. 86, 94. A further example of the trident type is found in Simon, *Kiseleff*, no. 335.
36. See www.edgarowen.com/b1764.jpg, viewed on 27 May 2005. When contacted Mr. Owen could not say anything about the provenance or history of the sling bullet other than that it might have come from Lebanon.
37. For examples with a scorpion, thunderbolts, a lance head, and a trident, see Maiuri, *Epigrafica di Rodi e Cos*, pp. 250–251.
38. The name is not found among the 200,000 individuals and 30,000 names in *Greek Personal Names*, nor do any of the Greek historians mention him as a military commander.
39. Hellmann, "balles de fronde grecques," pp. 85–86.
40. Ibid., p. 77; Maiuri, *Epigrafica di Rodi e Cos*, p. 250, no. 3, citing nine examples.
41. For a selection and discussion of these, see Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca*, p. 522. A brief analysis of the types is also found in Robinson, *Olynthus*, p. 421. Those stating "take this" are the most common type in this category. See M. N. Tod, "The Progress of Greek Epigraphy, 1945–47," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 67 (1947) p. 99. For the "taste sumac" inscription, abbreviated on a bullet from Dor and intended ironically, see Dov Gera, "Tryphon's Sling Bullet from Dor," *Israel Exploration Journal* 35 (1985) pp. 153–163.

42. For an analysis of an excavated set of these, see Judith Hallett, "Perusinae Glandes and the Changing Image of Augustus," *American Journal of Ancient History* 2 (1977) pp. 151–171.
43. Empereur, "Petits objets inscrits," p. 560, no. 18, publishes an example with an identical inscription, which the author dates to 348 B.C.E. by comparison with examples from Olynthos. For others, see Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca*, p. 522 and Ivan Venedikov, *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare* 18 (1952) p. 370. On the use of the term in Greek, see R. Seaford, *Euripides' Cyclops* (Oxford, 1988) p. 503.
44. William Bates, "Two Inscribed Slingers' Bullets from Galatista," *American Journal of Archaeology* 46 (1932) pp. 44–46.
45. On the use and extent of the name, see Louis Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine* (Paris, 1963) pp. 513–514.
46. For a Greek example, see G. Manganaro, "Onomastica greca su anelli, pesi da telaio e glandes in Sicilia," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 133 (2000) p. 126. A Latin one is found in C. Cerchiai, "Le glandes plumbeae della Collezione Gorga," *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma* 88 (1982–1983) no. 31a.
47. A number of potentially identical monograms are published in Hellmann, "balles de fronde grecques," p. 84.
48. Some scholars have considered that numerals incised on the reverses of some bullets are genuine. See, for example, Ino Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Ghiande missili di Cipro," *Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene* (1969–1970) p. 363, no. M2999/27, where Roman numerals incised on two bullets are thought to be original. All authorities agree that lengthy inscriptions in raised relief are certainly genuine, but most consider those incised to be forgeries.

The Iconographic Implications in the Reconstructed Picenardi Altarpiece: A Typological Interpretation

Joan Stack

Renaissance art historians often work with paintings that formerly belonged to larger image programs. In order to understand how these isolated artworks functioned in their original contexts, one must reconstruct the lost altarpieces and decorative cycles to which they originally belonged. In the 1997–1998 issue of *MVSE*, Norman Land published a reconstruction of Altobello Melone's Picenardi altarpiece, a six-panel polyptych created in the second decade of the sixteenth century (Fig. 1). This altarpiece once

Fig. 1. Altobello Melone (Cremonese, active ca. 1508–1535). Reconstruction of the Picenardi Altarpiece.

displayed three paintings that now hang in the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri-Columbia: a large *Madonna and Child* panel, and two predella panels depicting scenes from the life of St. Helen (Figs. 2, 5 and 7).[1] According to the latest reconstruction, two large paintings representing *Tobias and the Angel* and *St. Helen* once flanked the Museum's Madonna, and these panels now hang in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (Figs. 3 and 4). Finally, a third predella panel picturing the *Finding of the True Cross* (Fig. 6), now housed in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Algiers, was once positioned below the central image of the *Madonna and Child.*

The present article supplements Norman Land's study by suggesting an iconographic program for the reconstructed Picenardi altarpiece. Building on the foundations of Land's argument, I contend that the formal and structural relationships among the Picenardi panels may have encouraged sixteenth-century viewers to compare events in the lives of Tobias and St. Helen and to make allegorical and typological connections between those events and Christ's incarnation and sacrifice. By studying the ancient texts that tell the stories of Tobias and Helen, as well as medieval and Renaissance exegeses on these texts, I show that Melone chose to emphasize aspects of Tobias' and Helen's stories that could be related to one another. I examine visual precedents for the iconography in Melone's panels and discuss possible explanations for the imagery related to patronage and function. Finally, I suggest a reading of the reconstructed Picenardi altarpiece based on this study.

Fig. 2. Altobello Melone (Cremonese, active ca. 1508–1535). *Madonna and Child Enthroned.* Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, acc. no. 61.77. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

The History of the Reconstruction

Norman Land's close examination of the Picenardi panels led him to confirm the tentative findings of earlier scholars such as Luigi Grassi, Federico Zeri, and Francesco Frangi.[2] Evidence suggests that the Museum's Madonna was once the central panel of an altarpiece that Federico Sacchi described seeing in the nineteenth century at the Galleria delle Torri de' Picenardi. In 1872, Sacchi published a description of a triptych representing the *Virgin and Child Enthroned* with flanking panels depicting *St. Helen* and *Tobias and the Angel.*[3] This altarpiece is thought to have been described *in situ* by Pellegrino Merula in the book *Santuario di Cremona,* published in 1627. In this book, Merula described an altarpiece in the church of Sant' Elena in Cremona consisting of a Madonna flanked by panels representing the Archangel Raphael and St. Helen.[4]

Fig. 3. Altobello Melone (Cremonese, active ca. 1508–1535). *Tobias and the Angel.* Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Photo no. A290).

Fig. 4. Altobello Melone (Cremonese, active ca. 1508–1535). *St. Helen.* Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Photo no. A291).

Fig. 5. Altobello Melone (Cremonese, active ca. 1508–1535). *St. Helen Questioning Judas.* Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, acc. no. 98.2.1. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

In 1950, Luigi Grassi connected the altarpiece described by Sacchi and Merula with the *Madonna and Child Enthroned*, now in the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri.[5] Grassi suggested that two other Melone paintings, now hanging in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, were once the original side panels for this altarpiece. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the measurements of the Oxford paintings representing *Tobias and the Angel* and *St. Helen* are consistent with those of the University of Missouri's Madonna.[6]

In 1953, Federico Zeri proposed that a small panel representing the *Finding of the True Cross* (Fig. 6) in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Algiers might have once been part of the predella for Grassi's reconstructed altarpiece. Many years later, in 1985, Francesco Frangi connected with the polyptych two other predella paintings depicting scenes from the life of St. Helen. In 1998, the Museum of Art and Archaeology acquired these two panels, *St. Helen Questioning Judas* and *Proving of the True Cross* (Figs. 5, 7).[7] In 2002, Norman Land's study of the altarpiece led him to reaffirm Frangi's hypothesis that these two paintings, together with the panel in Algiers, made up the Picenardi altarpiece's predella.

Iconographic Conundrums

Despite the documentary and physical evidence linking the Picenardi paintings, several scholars, including Land, have been troubled by inconsistencies in the backgrounds of the three primary panels of the reassembled polyptych.[8] In the central panel (Fig. 2), the Madonna sits in an architectural space, while the figures in the side panels dwell in exterior landscapes (Figs. 3, 4). Land has suggested that the original frame for the altarpiece may have once de-emphasized the incongruities between the paintings' backgrounds, enhancing the impression that the Virgin and Child resided in a heavenly space, while the other figures remained "earthbound." This idea can be carried one step further by relating the particular "earthbound" experiences of Tobias and Helen to one another.[9] The Jewish Tobias and the Gentile Helen both traveled outdoors for great distances and discovered miraculous objects with curative powers (these adventures will be discussed below). Melone pictures both Raphael and Helen in naturalistic landscapes, settings that imply narrative action in the temporal world. The narrative implications of the settings encourage viewers to connect the figures with events in "historical" accounts of their lives. The traditional iconic arrangement of elements in the central panel, on the other hand, prompts viewers to associate this image of Jesus and his mother with the eternally present Christ who exists outside temporal history. No historical episode from the gospels is illustrated. Instead, the Madonna sits enthroned in an apse-like architectural space, forever presenting the body of Christ to the viewer.

The distinction between the setting and poses of the figures in the side panels and those of the *Madonna and Child* contrasts the transitory lives of Tobias and Helen with the perpetual presence of Christ. The arrangement of the panels suggests that the

Fig. 6. Altobello Melone (Cremonese, active ca. 1508–1535). *Finding of the True Cross.* Musée National des Beaux-Arts, Algiers.

Fig. 7. Altobello Melone (Cremonese, active ca. 1508–1535). *Proving of the True Cross.* Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, acc. no. 98.2.2. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

earthly experiences of human beings (whether they took place before or after Christ's incarnation) prefigure, reflect, and otherwise lead to the timeless relevance of the living Christ and his sacrifice. When the altarpiece was in its original ecclesiastic context, Tobias, Helen, and the Madonna all looked towards the central space immediately in front of the painting where the Mass periodically took place. The figures, therefore, repeatedly looked towards the Eucharistic "body of Christ."

Although the original ecclesiastic context of the altarpiece helps explain the contrast between the "earthbound" figures and the "heavenly" Madonna, it does not account for

the pairing of *Tobias and the Angel* with *Saint Helen*. This choice was certainly related to the now unknown conditions of the altarpiece's original commission. While we can assume that St. Helen appears in the program because the polyptych was originally located in the church of Sant' Elena in Cremona, the reason for the inclusion of Raphael and Tobias is unknown. Later in this article, the iconographic implications of various patronage scenarios will be considered.

While the pairing of *Tobias and the Angel* with *St. Helen* may have been an accident of patronage, it could have nevertheless encouraged viewers to make interesting typological and allegorical comparisons between the figures.[10] Although no documentary evidence proves that such associations were made, the repetition of certain visual elements within the altarpiece suggests that the artist and/or patron wanted to invite spectators to see relationships between the Old Testament figures and the early Christian saint. For example, both Helen and Tobias wear the same hues of white, green, and red.[11] Tobias is dressed in white hose, a green shirt, and a red-skirted tunic, while Helen wears a white veil, green dress, and red robe. Likewise, both the boy and the female saint touch a sacred being or object. Tobias holds the hand of the Archangel Raphael, who is clad in bright orange. Helen embraces a similarly colored orange-brown cross. Both Helen and Raphael are shown in comparable exterior landscapes. Finally, a small white dog is pictured in the Tobias panel, while similar dogs (one white and one brown) appear in two of the three predella panels that illustrate the story of St. Helen's Finding of the True Cross.

While these repetitions create formal harmony amongst the panels, they also may have engaged the imaginations of Renaissance spectators and encouraged a wide range of interpretations. A sixteenth-century viewer looking at the Picenardi altarpiece would have based his or her interpretation of the polyptych on a fundamental understanding of the stories of Tobias and Helen. Since most modern viewers are unfamiliar with these stories, it is instructive to provide a summary of them here, together with a discussion of their interpretive histories.

The Book of Tobit and its Exegesis

The Picenardi panel picturing *Tobias and the Angel* represents two characters from the Old Testament *Book of Tobit*. This book from the Apocryphal Old Testament is accepted as canonical by Catholics but rejected by Protestant and Orthodox Christians. It tells the story of Tobit, a righteous and observant Israelite who resided in the city of Nineveh in the eighth century B.C.E., a period when Jews lived under Assyrian rule.

In the story, the elderly, blind Tobit is a model of piety, giving alms to the poor and ensuring that Jews in his city receive proper burials (even when such burials are forbidden by the Assyrian governors). Close to death and in need of money, Tobit prays for help, and eventually decides that he must send his beloved son Tobias on a long

journey to recover funds deposited with a fellow Israelite in the faraway city of Ràges in Media.[12] The Archangel Raphael (disguised as Azariah, a distant kinsman) offers to lead the young Tobias on the journey, and the two set off for Media, accompanied by a dog. During their travels, Tobias and Raphael camp by the Tigris River, and a large menacing fish attacks the boy. Raphael tells Tobias to catch the creature and save its heart, liver, and gall. The remainder of the fish's flesh serves as a meal for the travelers. Later in the journey, Tobias and Raphael meet the beautiful Sarah, who is cursed by a demon that has killed each of her past seven suitors on his wedding night. Despite this fact, Tobias marries Sarah, and Raphael tells the young groom that an incense made from the liver and heart of the fish caught in the Tigris will rebuke the demon. Tobias survives his wedding night and celebrates with his new bride. Meanwhile Raphael travels to Media to retrieve Tobit's money. After Raphael's return, Sarah's father gives his son-in-law half of all his money, and Tobias, Raphael, and Sarah begin their journey back to Nineveh.

When the travelers arrive home, Raphael tells Tobias to put an ointment made from the gall of the fish caught in the Tigris onto his father's eyes. Miraculously, the elderly Tobit's blindness is cured. The aged Israelite then offers to pay Raphael half of all the money Tobias has brought back from the journey. Raphael refuses payment and reveals his angelic identity, explaining that God sent him to earth to answer the prayers of Tobit and Sarah and reward Tobit for his good works.

Scholars generally agree that the Book of Tobit was written between 250 and 175 B.C.E. in order to reinforce Jewish values during the Hellenistic age.[13] The book encourages Jews to follow the tenets of their faith and reminds them that God protects the faithful, heals the pious, and rewards those who uphold traditional values. Spiritually, the story focuses on the rewards of prayer, the importance of good works, and the healing powers of God. The earliest Christians knew the Book of Tobit, and ancient versions survive in Aramaic, Hebrew, Greek, and pre-fifth-century Latin.[14] In 405 C.E., St. Jerome included the text in the Vulgate, his Latin translation of the Bible. This Latin adaptation of the story became the standard version of the text known to medieval and Renaissance Christians.[15]

Early Christian exegesis on the Book of Tobit focused on the behavioral lessons in the story and the allegorical/Christological implications of the tale.[16] Many writers interpreted the fish in the story as a symbol of Christ, observing that when read acrostically, the first letters in each word of the Greek phrase "ΙΕΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ" ("Jesus Christ, God's Son and Savior") spell out the Greek word for fish, ΙΧΘΥΣ.[17] By the fourth and fifth centuries, theologians such as St. Zeno of Verona (d. ca. 380 C.E.), the Pseudo-Cyprian (third century?) and St. Quodvultdeus were interpreting the catching and eating of the fish in the Book of Tobit as prefigurations of the Last Supper and the Eucharist.[18] Some later medieval writers focused on other allegorical aspects of the story, seeing the Archangel Raphael as a prefiguration of Christ,

who rebukes the devil and heals the blind. For them, the blind Tobit was a symbol of the Jewish people, living in metaphorical darkness before accepting Jesus. This is the interpretation of St. Bede (ca. 673–735 C.E.), whose *In Tobiam* is the earliest surviving lengthy commentary on the Book of Tobit.[19]

Bede's writings influenced the German monk Walafrid Strabo (d. 849), whose *Glossa Ordinaria* was the most popular and respected commentary on the Vulgate during the medieval and Renaissance periods.[20] Strabo's gloss frequently cites Bede, and the German monk shares the English theologian's understanding of the Book of Tobit as an allegory of Christ's salvation of the Jewish race.[21]

By the time that Altobello Melone painted his *Tobias and the Angel*, highly educated clerics and church scholars would have been aware of the long, rich interpretive history of the Book of Tobit. Everyday Christians' awareness of this tradition, however, would have been limited. A lay-worshipper's understanding of the Christological significance of the Old Testament tale would probably have been more profoundly influenced by the prayers and readings associated with the Mass of the Archangel Raphael, celebrated on October 24, the Archangel's Feast day. The text of this Mass is found in sixteenth-century missals—books containing the prayers, responses, and hymns of the Catholic Mass, together with special variations of these elements associated with high holy days and feast days. Although the content of the missal varied somewhat from region to region, much of the text was standardized by the late medieval period. In 1474, the first printed edition of the Roman missal was published in Milan. In 1505, an edition was published in Venice by Antonius de Zanchis. This Renaissance edition provides a text of the Mass of St. Raphael as it was practiced in Italy in the early sixteenth century.[22]

In the Oration of the Mass, celebrants pray that Raphael may keep watch over them as he watched over Tobias:

> O God, who wished to give the Archangel Raphael to your servant Tobias as a companion for his journey, and as a guide through the vicissitudes of life, grant that we, who are also your servants, may likewise be safeguarded by his watchfulness, so that we may avoid the dangers of this life, and afterwards enjoy the heavenly reward.

The Old Testament reading of the Mass naturally comes from the Book of Tobit. The passage selected appears in chapter 12, near the end of the story and contains Raphael's monologue in which he praises Tobit and identifies himself as an angel. The passage emphasizes the importance of good works, prayer, and the role of the angel as intercessor, as Raphael states:

> When thou didst pray with tears, and didst bury the dead, and leave thy dinner, and by day didst hide the dead in thy house, and by night bury them, I offered thy prayer unto the Lord....And now the Lord hath sent me to heal thee, and to deliver Sarah thy son's wife from the devil.

In the Gradual (the section of the Mass sung or spoken between the Epistle and the Gospel), Raphael is asked for his guidance, and celebrants pray that God will send the Archangel to earth as a guide and healer:

> The Angel of the Lord, Raphael, took and bound the Devil. Great is our Lord and Great is his power. O healing Angel, be with me forever; just as you never left Tobias, so please never leave me during this journey. O God, send us the Angel Raphael, the restorer of health, so that he may heal all the sick and guide our steps.

The reading of the Mass from the New Testament comes from the Gospel of John 5:24:

> Now there is in Jerusalem by the Sheep Gate a pool, which is called in Hebrew Bethesda, having five porches. In these lay a great multitude of sick people, blind, lame, paralyzed, waiting for the moving of the water. For an angel went down at a certain time into the pool and stirred up the water; then whoever stepped in first, after the stirring of the water, was made well of whatever disease he had.

This reading indicates that Raphael was identified with the angel who stirred the waters of this New Testament healing pool. Such an identification reinforces the notion that the Archangel remained a powerful force in the Christian era, and that he could be called upon to help heal the sick and feeble.

In the Secret (a prayer said during the Mass in a low voice by the Priest), Raphael is again praised as a healer: "O God send your Archangel Raphael to restore with his healing remedies the health of our bodies and souls." Finally in the Post Communion prayer, celebrants once again ask for Raphael's help and intercession:

> Grant us, O Lord, the privilege of being helped by the Archangel Raphael. May this Angel—who, according to our faith, is ever standing before Your Majesty—offer unto You our humble prayers, so that we may be blessed.

The imagery of Melone's *Tobias and the Angel* would have reinforced the messages in the Mass of St. Raphael. Since the Picenardi altarpiece was originally displayed in an ecclesiastic context, we can assume that most of its Renaissance viewers would have seen the polyptych through a lens informed by knowledge of the Mass and the Biblical story of Tobit. Many would also have had a general awareness of centuries of exegesis of the Book of Tobit. These factors, together with an understanding of the story as it was traditionally pictured in art, would have played important roles in viewers' interpretations of the altarpiece.

The Book of Tobit in Art

Early Christian, medieval, and Renaissance artists tended to deemphasize aspects of the Book of Tobit that related to burial, almsgiving, and marriage. Instead, most of their images illustrating the Old Testament story called attention to the capture of the fish

and the guardianship of the angel. The catching of the fish was an especially popular scene during the fourth and fifth centuries. Surviving representations from this period picture Tobias catching or holding the giant fish, an image that would have reinforced early Christian allegorical exegesis on the tale, which associated the catching of the creature with the coming of Christ, the Eucharist, and Baptism.[23]

That the Eucharistic implications of the story still resonated in the medieval and Renaissance periods is suggested by the standard inclusion of the fish in later images of Tobias walking with the Angel. This inclusion is inconsistent with the text of the Book of Tobit, which informs us that Raphael and Tobias ate the fish caught in the Tigris, carrying only its entrails on their journey. By showing Tobias carrying an intact fish, artists reminded viewers of the catching of the creature and encouraged them to contemplate the allegorical significance of the fish and its capture.

Melone's Picenardi panel depicts the episode from the Book of Tobit most often represented in Renaissance art—Tobias and Raphael's journey to Media. Artists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries usually depicted the two figures walking together, the youthful Tobias carrying his fish and the dog trotting at the travelers' feet. This imagery reinforced the understanding of the story made popular in the missal readings associated with the feast day of St. Raphael. In other words, Raphael's guardianship is emphasized, and the angel is the focus of the viewer's devotional attention. The young Tobias, on the other hand, serves as a figure with which the faithful might identify as they seek Raphael's favor.

Fig. 8. Bartolomeo Caporali. *St. Anthony of Padua in Glory with St. John the Baptist and Tobias and the Angel.* S. Francesco, Montone, Italy.

While some Italian Renaissance paintings picture Tobias as a young man, others, like Melone's Picenardi panel, depict a large, winged Raphael leading a small child by the hand (Fig. 8).[24] In her 1946 article, "The Iconography of Tobias and the Angel in Florentine Painting of the Renaissance," art historian Gertrude Achenbach argues that the

child-Tobias imagery derives from Byzantine and medieval images of the Archangel Uriel leading the young John the Baptist through the desert.[25] The early makers of some child-Tobias paintings probably chose to adopt the Uriel/John imagery because the representation of Tobias as a small, helpless child accompanied by a reassuringly large guardian figure suited the devotional functions of the pictures.

Renaissance patrons and viewers may have often appealed to Raphael on behalf of their children, and an inscription from a 1491 fresco in the church of San Francesco in the Umbrian village of Montone provides rare evidence of a votive function for a Raphael/Tobias image related to the birth of a child (Fig. 8). The artist, Bartolommeo Caporali, pictured a child Tobias with Raphael next to St. Anthony of Padua, a saint associated with both pregnant and barren women (St. John the Baptist stands on Anthony's opposite side). In the middle of the lower portion of the fresco, two small angels hold a cartouche inscribed with a Latin text declaring that the picture is an ex-voto presented to the church after the birth of the donor's first son.[26] Achenbach speculated that many other paintings of Raphael and Tobias were donated to churches in order to win the Archangel's favor for a new child. In an age of high infant mortality and frequent childhood deaths, many sixteenth-century Christians may have appealed to Raphael on behalf of their children as both intercessor and guardian.

Fig. 9. Francesco Botticini. *Tobias and the Three Archangels.* Uffizi, Florence, Italy. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.

Achenbach proposes other functions for Tobias/Raphael paintings. Since Raphael was associated with healing, some images may also have been commissioned to thank God for the restoration of health or sight. The author also presents evidence that certain Tobias and Raphael paintings were commissioned by merchants who sent their sons abroad to become apprentices.[27] In these pictures, Tobias is invariably shown as a teenager or young man. Finally, Achenbach shows that many Florentine commissions were related to Raphael confraternities devoted to the guardianship of young men and boys. For example, the famous Uffizi altarpiece by Francesco Botticini, *Tobias and the Archangels Raphael, Michael and Gabriel*, originally decorated the altar subsidized by a Raphael society in the Florentine church of Santa Spirito (Fig. 9).[28]

Unfortunately, no documents are known that connect Melone's altarpiece with any Cremonese patron or confraternity. Nevertheless, the inclusion of Tobias and Raphael in the program of the Picenardi altarpiece was undoubtedly related to the conditions of the original commission. Perhaps the donor was named Raphael, or was a member of a confraternity associated with the Archangel. The presence of a very young-looking Tobias in the picture may indicate that the painting served a votive function related to the birth, healing, and/or protection of a child. While any specific suggestions about function must, regrettably, remain speculative, earlier visual and literary interpretations of the Tobias story indicate that Melone's painting would have been associated with the idea of Raphael's guardianship of Tobias, a theme linked to traditional exegesis and to popular devotional practices.

The Story of St. Helen's Discovery of the True Cross and its Exegesis

While Melone's image of Tobias and the Angel is ultimately based on a Biblical source, no canonical documents underpin the artist's representation of St. Helen, the figure that appears in the right wing of the Picenardi altarpiece. Although St. Helen was the mother of Constantine the Great and a documented historical figure, little is known about her life. She was probably born in 248 or 249 C.E. in the city of Drepanum (modern Herkes) in Bithynia (a region in Asia Minor) and was likely a person of low social status.[29] She seems to have been the concubine, rather than the wife, of Constantine's father Constantius Chlorus, who, after he became Caesar in 289 C.E., separated from Helen and married the noble-born Theodora. Helen's status improved when Constantius died and her son Constantine was proclaimed Caesar in 306 C.E. Helen followed her son to Rome, where he became emperor in 312 C.E., and in 324 Constantine granted his mother the title of *Augusta* or empress.

It is unclear when Helen became a Christian, although Constantine's biographer, Eusebius, claims that her son converted her after 312.[30] According to an improbable late fifth-century legend from the *Actus Silvestri* (a book chronicling the life of Pope Silvester [reigned 314–335]), Helen was a Jew who converted to Christianity after listening to a

debate (sponsored by Constantine) between Pope Silvester and twelve Jewish scribes.[31] Although the exact date and circumstances of Helen's conversion cannot be established, most historians believe that the empress was a devout follower of Christ by the time she traveled to Palestine in 327 or 328. Eusebius reports that this visit was motivated by Christian zeal, but some historians have speculated that the voyage had a diplomatic function.[32] Whatever the case, it was during this journey that Helen was said to have found the True Cross, and even though there is no documentary proof of her discovery, Helen's traditional association with the Cross of Christ led to her canonization as a saint by both the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches. The earliest accounts of Helen's discovery of the True Cross, dating to the fourth and fifth centuries, describe how the empress found three crosses at Golgotha and "tested" them by placing each one over an invalid, who was revived by the Cross of Christ.[33]

One of the earliest versions of the St. Helen story appears in St. Ambrose's *De Obitu Theodosii*, a Latin funeral oration delivered in 395 C.E. to honor the late Emperor Theodosius. Ambrose presented this oration before the new Emperor Honorius, and the Milanese saint's interpretation of Helen's story associates the finding of the Cross with the Roman emperor's divinely ordained role in preserving the Christian faith. In *De Obitu Theodosii*, Ambrose describes how Helen traveled to Jerusalem to search for the True Cross, motivated by concern for the spiritual welfare of her son, the Emperor Constantine, and his empire. When she arrived at Golgotha, she proclaimed that Satan had withheld the Cross from Christians because it was a symbol of the Devil's defeat and Christ's victory:

> 'I see what you did, O Devil, in order that the sword by which you were destroyed might be walled up.... Why did you labor to hide the wood, O devil, unless that you may be vanquished a second time? You were vanquished by Mary, who gave the Conqueror birth. She without detriment to her virginity brought forth him to conquer you by his crucifixion, and to subjugate you by his death. Today also you shall be conquered when a woman discovers your snares. As that holy one bore the Lord, I search for His Cross. She showed him created; I, raised from the dead. She caused God to be seen among men; I shall raise from the ruins the divine standard as a remedy for our sins.' And so she opens the ground; she casts off the dust. She finds three forked-shaped gibbets thrown together, which debris had covered, which the enemy had hidden.... The wood shone and grace flashed forth. And as before Christ had visited a woman in Mary, so the spirit visited a woman in Helena. He taught her those things which as woman she knew not, and led her to the way which no mortal was able to know.... Mary was visited to liberate Eve; Helen was visited that Emperors might be redeemed.[34]

Ambrose goes on to explain how the empress found the nails that had held Christ to the Cross and how these were made into a bridle and diadem for Constantine. He points out that these objects had spiritual power and were passed down to the emperor's

successors. As a result, both emperor and empire were saved. In Ambrose's telling of the story, Helen's discovery of Christ's Cross and nails defeated paganism and led to the salvation of the Roman Empire. For the Milanese saint, Helen became a second Mary, and her discovery of the Cross, a second revelation of Christ.

During the fifth century, a variation of the St. Helen legend arose in Syria.[35] Latin and Greek translations of this version soon spread, and the Syriac legend became extremely popular in Europe during the medieval and Renaissance periods. This is the version of the St. Helen story that forms the foundation of the best-known account of the discovery of the True Cross: Jacobus de Voragine's story from the *Legenda Aurea* or *Golden Legend* (ca. 1275). This chronicle of important holy events and saints' lives was organized according to the Catholic calendar of liturgical feasts and was quickly translated into all the major European languages. The text became even more popular with the advent of printing in the fifteenth century, and *The Golden Legend* was widely read by the laity. Jacobus' account of the discovery of the True Cross would, therefore, have been the version of the story most familiar to viewers of the Picenardi altarpiece. It is very close to the Syriac legend, although it is clear that the later writer was also aware of earlier versions of the story, such as that of Ambrose.

The St. Helen legend is one of several episodes in Jacobus' chapter devoted to "The Invention of the Holy Cross." For Jacobus, the story of the Cross began when a branch from the Tree of Knowledge was buried in Adam's grave, producing a tree that King Solomon later cut down. Solomon built a bridge from the wood, and when the Queen of Sheba crossed this bridge, she realized that a great 'king' would some day hang from its wood. When the queen saw Solomon, she told him this news, and the Jewish monarch became jealous, sinking the bridge's wood in a pond. During Christ's life, the wood floated to the surface and was used for His crucifixion. The Cross was then buried and disappeared for many years, to be rediscovered when Constantine sent his mother to Jerusalem. When the empress arrived in the holy city, she assembled all the wise men of the community together. The men wondered what Helen wanted from them, and a man called Judas suggested that Helen wanted to know where to find the Cross of Christ. Judas warned the Jews not to tell Helen where to find the Cross because the rediscovery of this relic would lead to the fall of the Jews. Helen called the leaders of the city together, and they claimed that they had no knowledge of the resting place of the Cross. After the empress threatened to burn the men, they delivered Judas to her and told her that he could answer her questions. Judas claimed ignorance, and Helen had him cast in a dry well. After seven days, he agreed to identify Golgotha.

When Judas arrived at the site, the earth moved, and sweet smells infused the air, leading him to convert to Christianity. Helen destroyed a temple to a goddess on the site, and Judas dug and found three crosses. The converted Jew then brought these crosses to the empress, and they waited for the corpse of a young man to be brought

to them. When the True Cross touched the dead body, the man was resurrected and the devil cried out, "O Judas why have you done this? My Judas did just the opposite. I pressed him and he betrayed his master, but I gained the souls of many; through you I seem to be losing those I gained." Judas condemned the devil, was baptized, renamed Quiriacus, and later became bishop of Jerusalem. At Helen's request, Judas/Quiriacus found the nails that held Christ to the Cross and sent them to Constantine to make a bridle and helmet. Helen also sent the emperor part of the True Cross, and the part that remained in Jerusalem was encased in gold and silver.[36]

Jacobus' version of the tale, like the earlier Syriac legend, clearly has anti-Semitic overtones. Jan Drijvers argues that in this version of the story, Helen (accompanied by an army of soldiers) represents the Christian empire, ready to ensure its triumph with force.[37] Judas, whose name is similar to the Latin word for Jew, *Judaeus*, represents the Jewish people. He is set up in opposition to Judas Iscariot, an example of an 'evil Jew' who rejected Christ and conspired with Jewish leaders to crucify Jesus. Judas/Quiriacus, on the other hand, is an example of a 'good Jew' who accepts Christ and assists Christian leaders in the finding of the Cross. The story, therefore, justifies aggressive action against non-Christians for the sake of a Christian cause.

Since *The Golden Legend* is organized according to the liturgical calendar, readers would associate its tale of the Invention of the Cross with the feast of that name held on May 3. Returning to the Renaissance Roman missal discussed above, the text of the Mass of the Invention of the Holy Cross gives us some idea as to how the discovery of the True Cross was interpreted by the pious on a popular level during the sixteenth century. During the Mass, the celebrants commemorated the rediscovery of the Cross with the following words:

> O God, Who in the memorable Finding of the Cross of our Redemption didst renew the wonders of Thy Passion: grant, that by means of the ransom paid on the Tree of Life, we may obtain help for life everlasting.[38]

This text indicates that the rediscovery of the Cross was seen as an extremely important sacred event, a "renewal" of the Passion. The epistle reading of the Mass comes from Philippians 2:5–11 and focuses on Christ's incarnation and sacrifice, reminding the faithful that Christ "humbled Himself, becoming obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross." In the Gospel reading (John 3:1–14), celebrants hear of Christ's sacrifice and its role in the salvation of human beings. The reading ends with the following words: "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the desert, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth in Him may not perish, but have life everlasting."

Later, in the Post Communion, the language of the Mass reflects the triumphal nature of the finding of the True Cross and its relationship with salvation and righteous confrontations with the enemies of Christ:

> Filled with this heavenly Food and refreshed by this spiritual Cup, we beseech Thee, Almighty God, to defend from the malignant foe, those whom Thou hast bid to triumph by the Wood of the holy Cross, that weapon of justice for the salvation of the world.

In the Renaissance, these words might have been understood as justifying holy war and aggressive action against heretics and perceived enemies of the Church, particularly Jews and Muslims. After the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, there were new calls for crusades throughout Europe.[39] Although all attempts to organize large-scale expeditions eventually failed, calls for action against the infidels continued into the sixteenth century. In 1517 (around the time the Picenardi altarpiece was painted), Pope Leo X issued new indulgences to fund an international crusade against the Turks and Palestinians. In 1518, he attempted to impose an ill-fated five-year truce on Christendom so that its leaders could participate in this mission. "Be glad and rejoice, O Jerusalem," he announced, "since now your deliverance can be hoped for."[40] The general populace would have had the opportunity to purchase Leo's indulgences, and the selling of the notices would have brought awareness of the new crusade to local parishes. Art historian Marilyn Lavin has argued that literary and visual descriptions of the True Cross story were almost always linked with the support and/or commemoration of crusades and crusaders in the medieval and Renaissance periods. She asserts that virtually all Renaissance images dealing with the story of the True Cross would have had "undertones of crusade propaganda."[41] Although we do not know the political interests of Melone's patron, the Picenardi predella was probably no exception to this rule. Indeed, as we shall see, "St. Helen Questioning Judas" is particularly belligerent and anti-infidel in its iconography.

I have cited excerpts from the Mass and the stories of the True Cross in order to help twenty-first century viewers see the Picenardi altarpiece through sixteenth-century eyes. The following survey of the visual tradition behind Melone's St. Helen imagery gives modern viewers further clues about the shared experiences and expectations of the altarpiece's sixteenth-century viewers.

Fig. 10. Bronze Follis of Helena. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, acc. no. 69.778.

St. Helen and the True Cross in Art

Representations of St. Helen and of the discovery of the True Cross in art reflect various aspects of the historical, legendary, and literary tradition. The historical Helen was pictured in many fourth-century portraits,

although no sculpted effigies can be positively associated with her. A number of coin portraits, on the other hand, can be securely identified as Helen by their inscriptions. On these, the empress is usually shown with a distinctive hairstyle, her hair worn in a braid pulled up the back and fastened on top of her head (Fig. 10). The memory of this coiffure evidently faded, and it is not a feature of later representations of the saint with the Cross. On the coins, she also wears a diadem and necklace, attributes that helped identify her as empress. Later artists remembered Helen's historical position in Constantine's government, and royal clothing (albeit often anachronistic) remained a characteristic feature of many later images of the empress. Surviving Byzantine and medieval images of Helen usually show her facing forward, wearing royal clothing and holding the cross.[42] This iconography continued into the Renaissance and is seen in Cima da Conegliano's *Saint Helena* in the National Gallery, Washington, D.C. (Fig. 11), a Northern Italian picture painted just over two decades before the Picenardi altarpiece.[43]

Fig. 11. Cima da Conegliano. *Saint Helena*. Samuel H. Kress Collection. Image © 2005 Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

In Melone's painting (Fig. 4), a stripe of gold at St. Helen's collar, cuffs, and hem hints at her royal status. She does not, however, wear the crown or diadem seen in many other fifteenth- and sixteenth-century portrayals of the saint. A modest white veil covers her head, an appropriate garment for outdoor travel. Because Helen is often shown in the context of her quest for the True Cross, she frequently wears a veil (and other

Fig. 12. Agnolo Gaddi. *The Finding and Proving of the True Cross.* S. Croce, Florence, Italy. Photo: Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

Fig. 13. Agnolo Gaddi, *St. Helen Delivering the Cross to the People.* S. Croce, Florence, Italy.

appropriate traveling clothes) in Renaissance paintings. The veil, however, is usually worn under a crown, diadem, or regal hat.[44] The decision to show Helen without a crown in the Picenardi panel may reflect a desire to focus the viewer's attention on the saint's humility and the spiritual aspects of her story. Moreover, Helen's regally modest costume is similar to that of the Virgin in the central Picenardi panel. Both women wear solid-color dresses trimmed by simple gold bands and covered by solid-color robes. Both also wear plain, heavy-soled shoes. Although Helen wears a veil and the Virgin does not, Renaissance viewers, accustomed to seeing Mary veiled (especially when the Virgin was shown traveling out-of-doors) might associate Helen's headdress with Marian attire. The similarities between the costumes of the two women could encourage viewers to make comparisons between Mary and Helen, comparisons that St. Ambrose promoted in his *De Obitu Theodosii*.[45]

Most medieval and Renaissance artworks representing the finding of the True Cross make reference to the Syriac/Golden Legend version of the story. Manuscripts illustrating this account appear as early as the eighth century.[46] In the Middle Ages and Renaissance, images representing the legend were often associated with relics of the True Cross. For example, the medieval *Stavelot Triptych* (now in the Pierpont Morgan Library) is decorated with scenes from the St. Helen story and supposedly contains wood from the Cross of Jesus.[47] Likewise, a highly prized relic of Christ's cross provided the *raison d'être* for the most influential cycle of paintings illustrating the True Cross story from the late medieval/early Renaissance period—Agnolo Gaddi's *Legend of the True Cross* frescoes in Santa Croce, Florence.[48] In 1390, Gaddi became the first artist to represent, on a monumental scale, the entire story of the True Cross as described in the *Golden Legend*. On the walls of the main altar chapel in Santa Croce, Gaddi pictured sixteen scenes from the story, beginning with Seth planting the tree over Adam's grave and ending with the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius returning the Cross to Jerusalem (a story that also appears in the *Golden Legend*). Images from the life of St. Helen appear midway through the cycle.

Gaddi represents two scenes relating to St. Helen from the Golden Legend: *The Finding of the True Cross* and *The Proving of the True Cross* (Fig. 12). The artist also portrays St. Helen in a third scene, *The Delivery of the Cross to the People*, an image that has its source in manuscript illuminations (Fig. 13).[49] Here, Gaddi depicts Helen walking towards the walls of a city carrying the cross on her shoulder. She is followed by a dignified procession of attendants, and she approaches a group of kneeling figures in front of the city's gate. While not specifically described in any of the St. Helen legends, St. Helen's delivery of the Cross to the people is implied in all of the narratives. Gaddi's image thus emphasizes the triumphant restoration of the Cross to the faithful, and, as Susanne Pfleger has suggested, the disposition of figures in the scene may be associated with triumphal processional rituals held in fourteenth-century Florence on Palm

Sunday and on May 3, the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross.[50]

The iconography of Gaddi's *The Delivery of the Cross to the People* could provide a context for later, more iconic images of St. Helen, such as the Melone side panel from the Picenardi altarpiece. Viewers seeing an image of the empress holding the Cross in a landscape might interpret the scene as a representation of Helen in the process of triumphantly restoring the True Cross to believers. Such an interpretation of the image would resonate particularly strongly on the feast day of the Invention of the Cross on May 3.

Gaddi's Santa Croce cycle had a lasting influence on numerous Italian painters of the fifteenth century. As art historian Barbara Baert eloquently states, Gaddi's frescoes had an "iconographic authority" that led artists to copy their compositions for the next 200 years.[51] For example, in 1415, the Compagnia della Santa Croce of Montepulciano paid the artist Nanni (Giovanni) di Caccia to travel to Florence to study Gaddi's True Cross paintings.[52] Among the many other artists inspired by Gaddi's frescoes were Cenni di Francesco, who in 1410 created a very similar cycle for the church of San Francesco in Volterra; Masolino, who in 1424 finished a True Cross cycle at San Stefano in Empoli (these paintings survive only as a series of *sinopia* drawings); and most famously, Piero della Francesca, whose *Legend of the True Cross* frescoes (begun ca. 1457) decorate the walls of the central absidal chapel of San Francesco in Arezzo.[53]

By the dawn of the sixteenth century, Gaddi's iconographic solutions for representing the story of St. Helen's discovery of the True Cross had become standardized. In altarpieces, this iconography often appeared in predella panels. In the predella of the Picenardi altarpiece, Melone illustrated two of the most commonly represented scenes from the legend, the *Finding of the True Cross* and the *Testing of the True Cross*. These compositions ultimately derive from Gaddi's. Melone also pictured a scene that was less often illustrated, the *Questioning of Judas*, in which we see both the questioning of the Jewish elder and his torture in the well. A troubling aspect of this predella painting is the fact that the clothing of the two "Judas" figures in the scenes is not consistent. Moreover, in most earlier representations of the *Questioning of Judas*, the beleaguered Jew is shown upright inside the well rather than hanging upside down over it.[54] Melone's decision to include this unusual composition in the predella may reflect the desire of artist and/or patron to emphasize the anti-Semitic, confrontational aspects of the True Cross story, aspects that might have reflected political predilections of the patron(s).

Between 1501 and 1503, Cima da Conegliano painted a predella for his *Constantine and Helen* altarpiece in the church of S. Giovanni in Bragora, Venice, that provides a precedent for the Picenardi polyptych's three-panel *Legend of the True Cross* predella (Fig. 14).[55] Here, below a monumental image of Emperor and Empress, Cima pictured the True Cross story. The *Finding of the True Cross* is shown in scene one, *Helen Announcing her Plan to Search for the Cross* is shown in scene two, and the *Proving of*

the True Cross is shown in scene three. Unlike the scenes from the Picenardi predella, Cima's images are not arranged chronologically: The *Finding* and *Proving* episodes flank the first scene of the narrative, *Helen Announcing her Plan to Search for the Cross*. Interestingly, in the latter painting, Cima focuses viewers' attention on the empress' determination to find the relic, rather than her willingness to use force to retrieve it. The mood of Cima's predella is therefore much less aggressive than that of Melone's. Cima's panels are also narrower and more vertically oriented than Melone's, although they are comparable in height (Cima's are 25 x 20 cm and Melone's panels are 22.5 x 47.5 cm). In general, Cima's compositions are more crowded and conservative than Melone's, although both artists worked in lively North Italian styles.

Fig. 14. Cima da Conegliano, *Constantine and St. Helen*. S. Giovanni in Bragora, Venice, Italy. Photo: Camaraphoto/Art Resource, N.Y.

Interpreting the Iconography of the Picenardi Altarpiece

Marilyn Lavin has discussed how Renaissance fresco cycles exhibit "internal typologies" that encourage viewers to see relationships among the scenes that reflect theological connections and intensify reciprocities among the images.[56] This understanding of the rapport between images in a cycle can be applied to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century altarpieces. In medieval and Renaissance theology, the recognition of allegorical relationships among people, objects, and historical events was encouraged. The concept has its roots in the Bible, and educated (and to a lesser extent uneducated) Christians were especially encouraged to make connections between Old and New Testament stories. St. Thomas Aquinas famously states in his *Summa Theologica* that biblical texts have a literal sense, from which three kinds of spiritual senses can be derived: the allegorical, moral, and anagogical. Aquinas supports his statements with a passage from St. Paul, writing:

> Now this spiritual sense is divided into three. For, as St. Paul says, *The Old Law is the figure of the New,* and the New Law itself, as Dionysius says, *is the figure of the glory to come.* Then again, under the New Law the deeds wrought by our Head are signs also of what we

> ourselves ought to do. Well then, the allegorical sense is brought into play when the things of the Old Law signify the things in the New Law; the moral sense when the things done in Christ and in those who prefigured him are signs of what we should carry out; and the anagogical sense when the things that lie ahead in eternal glory are signified.[57]

This way of reading the Bible was encouraged throughout the medieval and Renaissance periods and is still taught in the modern Catholic Catechism.[58]

Norman Land has already suggested that some imagery in the reconstructed Picenardi altarpiece encourages viewers to make allegorical and typological connections among the stories of Christ, Mary, Helen, Tobias, and Raphael.[59] As this article expands on his analysis, it does so in accordance with a long literary and visual tradition of typological interpretations. Many of these interpretations have already been discussed above, and the spiritual benefit of such readings is well summarized by St. Bede in his commentary on the Book of Tobit:

> The book of the holy father Tobit is clearly of saving benefit to its readers even in its superficial meaning inasmuch as it abounds in both the noblest examples and the noblest counsels on moral conduct, and anyone who knows how to interpret it historically (and allegorically as well) can see that its inner meaning excels the mere letter as much as the fruit excels the leaves. For if it is understood in the spiritual sense it is found to contain within it the greatest mysteries of Christ and the Church.[60]

We can use Bede's writings, as well as the exegesic text of other medieval and Renaissance writers, to guide us as we analyze the relationship of the formal and iconographic elements of the Picenardi altarpiece.

Beginning with the panel depicting *Tobias and the Angel*, viewers are immediately struck by the haunting image of the Archangel Raphael (Fig. 3). The sandal-clad figure steps forward, holding a staff, a common attribute of pilgrims and other journeying figures.[61] He looks out at the viewer, his shaggy, shoulder-length hair wreathed in leaves. While his vegetal crown may be composed of laurel (an evergreen long associated with victory and immortality) or olive (a tree associated with peace, eternal life, and Christ's Passion), the leaves most closely resemble those of the myrtle tree (a fragrant evergreen associated with Christian generosity and an unnamed angel in the Old Testament Book of Zechariah 1:11).[62] Raphael's garment of vivid orange billows in a wind that does not stir the clothing of Tobias, and the angel's outward gaze creates a psychological relationship between the figure and the viewer.[63] Pious spectators looking into the eyes of this angel might have been comforted by the idea that this wondrous being might guide them through "the vicissitudes of life," as the archangel is said to do in the Mass of St. Raphael. The grandeur of the angel is magnified when he is compared with the diminutive Tobias, who reaches his left arm up to hold Raphael's hand with the poignant innocence of a child. With his right hand, Tobias clasps a cord from which

the healing fish caught in the Tigris is suspended. According to traditional exegesis (discussed above), both the angel and the fish were allegorically connected to Christ, so the young Tobias travels with visual reminders of Christ's presence in the pre-Christian world. The Christological implications of the Tobias story are reinforced by the fact that the young boy looks beyond the parameters of the picture plane towards the figure of Christ in the altarpiece's central panel. As Norman Land has pointed out, in photographic reconstructions of the Picenardi altarpiece, Tobias seems to look up towards the baby Jesus, the gazes of the two children creating a diagonal axis that crosses both paintings (Fig. 1). The iconography of the entire altarpiece thus encourages viewers to recognize and contemplate allegorical and typological relationships between the story of Tobias and that of Christ.

From a Christological point of view, Tobias' father's blindness, and his troubled life, can be compared with the Christian view of the world without Jesus, both under the old law and in the spiritual life of individuals who have not yet found salvation. As such, Tobias' journey can be associated with the journey of the Hebrew faithful that patiently waited for the Messiah's incarnation, a reading consistent with the traditional exegeses on the tale found in Bede and in Walafrid Strabo's *Glossa Ordinario*.[64] The travels of Tobias and the angel can also be related to the more personal journey of Christians who rely on faith as they journey through life towards redemption; in the Mass of St. Raphael, Raphael is asked to serve as such a guide to the faithful. Tobias' finding of the fish can be compared not only to the birth and revelation of Christ on earth, but also to the personal revelation of Christ to individuals at the moment of their salvation, an interpretation that can again be related to the Mass of St. Raphael.[65] Finally, Bede makes it clear that the curing of Tobias' father can be compared with the rewards of faith, i.e., the everlasting life that Christ's sacrifice brought to humanity according to scriptures and the eternal life awarded to each individual Christian in the reenactment of Christ's sacrifice during the Mass.

A final allegorical connection might have been made between the dog leaping forward at Raphael's and Tobias' feet (Fig. 3) and other dogs representing the virtue of faith and guardianship in Renaissance art. The energetic pose of the dog reflects a passage from St. Jerome's Vulgate translation of the Book of Tobit (Tobit 11:9), "[T]he dog, which had been with them on the way, ran ahead and, arriving as if bringing news, showed his joy by wagging his tail."[66] Bede interprets this dog as a symbol of guardianship and as an allegorical representation of the Church's teachers. He writes, "To them fittingly applies the fact that it is natural to dogs to repay a favor to those who are kind to them and patrol in restless vigil for their master's safety."[67] In the medieval and Renaissance periods, dogs frequently appear in secular tomb sculptures at the feet of their masters and mistresses, and in sixteenth-century portraits they represent the concepts of guardianship, faith, and fidelity.[68] While the dog in the Book of Tobit did not have this symbolic

meaning in Hebrew times, dogs in Renaissance *Tobias and the Angel* paintings would probably have been associated with canines like the one found in Francesco di Giorgio Martini's *Fide* (ca. 1485), a fresco now in the Norton Simon museum in Pasadena, California (Fig. 15). Here, the theological virtue of Faith is personified as a woman with a submissive dog at her feet. Moreover, humanists familiar with ancient writings might associate Tobias' canine traveling companion with faithful dogs in ancient texts, such as the two dogs that accompanied Telemachus in Homer's *Odyssey*, and Odysseus' dog Argos, the first being to recognize the hero when he returned home.[69]

Melone's decision to include dogs in two of the three predella panels representing the Legend of the True Cross visually connects these panels with the *Tobias and the Angel* painting. The predella dogs are similar in size and appearance to Tobias' canine companion, although one animal is white (like Tobias' dog) and the other is brown (Figs. 5, 7). The difference in color could have had an unknown iconographic significance or it may simply reflect differences between the hands of the master and his assistants. Both predella canines lie in submissive, non-threatening positions that are consistent with the poses of dogs symbolizing faith in other artworks.

Fig. 15. Francesco di Giorgio Martini. *Fidelity*, ca. 1485. The Norton Simon Foundation.

According to the reconstruction of the Picenardi altarpiece, one of the predella panels featuring a dog was positioned under the large Tobias painting (Fig. 1). A white dog lies on a step in the right foreground of *St. Helen Questioning Judas* (Fig. 5). If the Tobias picture were originally placed directly above this predella panel, the white dog in the small picture would be directly below the white dog in the larger painting. Although there is no mention of a dog in literary accounts of Helen's discovery of the True Cross, Agnolo Gaddi's fresco, *St. Helen Delivering the Cross to the People,* provides a precedent for the inclusion of dogs in visual representations of the story (Fig. 13). Gaddi's picture includes two small dogs in the left corner. Both canines walk behind Helen and her attendants as though they have joined the procession to deliver the Cross to the people.

It seems likely that Renaissance viewers of the Picenardi altarpiece would draw parallels between the role of the dog in the Tobias picture and the role of the dog in Melone's predella panel. Might the predella dog represent loyal guardianship, watching over Helen as she confronts obstacles that impede her holy quest? Could the canine symbolize Helen's unrelenting faith as she pressures Judas to reveal the secret location of the cross? While we know that Renaissance viewers would have interpreted the image in accordance with their own experiences, we cannot know exactly how the panels would have been read. Nevertheless, the relative positions of the pictures within the altarpiece (assuming the reconstruction is correct) and the formal similarities between the dogs in both paintings would certainly have encouraged viewers to compare the canines.

In the foreground of *St. Helen Questioning Judas,* the saint questions the kneeling Jewish elder who, according to legend, refused to tell her where the Cross of Christ was buried (Fig. 5). Judas finally revealed the location of the Cross after he was dropped into a well, and in the right middle ground of the panel, a man (probably Judas) is suspended upside down over a well head, while three other figures sit at the base of the well with their hands tied behind their backs. Behind these figures is the white façade of a building with a doorway and two windows. A female figure wearing a white veil, red dress, and dark cloak stands at one of the windows and gestures out towards the other figures. Is this Helen directing the action? If so, her attire differs from the red and green outfit she wears in the predella's foreground. The clothing of this mysterious figure is, however, consistent with that of the Virgin Mary in the altarpiece's central panel. If the figure represents or even reminds viewers of the Madonna, her presence might suggest that the Virgin oversees and supports St. Helen. It might also imply a link between the spiritual work of Mary and Helen. As mentioned earlier, St. Ambrose compared Helen to Mary and saw the former's discovery of the Cross as a second revelation of Christ.[70]

In all three predella paintings, Helen wears an anachronistic, fourth-century costume, while most of the other figures wear sixteenth-century dress. Melone may have found it easier to dress his auxiliary figures in familiar outfits, or he may have wished to suggest that this story from the fourth century was still relevant in the sixteenth. A halberdier wearing sixteenth-century armor stands near Helen in *St. Helen Questioning Judas.*[71] He looks out at the viewer and appears ready to engage in holy combat. His presence encourages viewers to associate the ancient, anti-Semitic story of Helen and Judas with sixteenth-century crusades and police actions against infidels and those accused of heresy and sacrilege. Such an interpretation would have been consistent with portions of the Mass of the Invention of the Cross from the Roman missal.[72]

The structure of the altarpiece encourages viewers to relate *St. Helen Questioning Judas* to the image of Raphael and Tobias in other ways. As the first panel of the predella's narrative story, *St. Helen Questioning Judas* relates chronologically to the Tobias panel, which represents an Apocryphal Old Testament figure who lived before Christ's incarna-

tion. As Tobias' journey preceded the revelation of Christ on earth, so the *Questioning* scene precedes the revelation of the True Cross.

Below the central panel of the Madonna, Melone positioned the painting *Finding of the True Cross*, which is now in Algiers (Fig. 6). In this painting, Helen directs workers to uncover and raise three crosses, including that of Jesus. This is the climactic moment of Helen's quest. Traditional exegesis of the St. Helen story allows us to compare this moment to the crucial moment in Christian history when Jesus was born and to the climactic moment of the communion ceremony, when the transubstantiated host is displayed during Mass.[73]

If one associates the *Finding of the True Cross* with the revelation of the host, one can connect this predella panel with the painting depicting the Madonna and Child that was once positioned above it (Figs. 1, 2). In this painting, the Virgin presents Jesus to the viewer as she sits in an apse-like space, her lap covered by a white, corporal-like cloth. The Madonna's formal pose in this shallow architectural space might encourage viewers to associate her body with an altar in an apse. Like the altar, the lap of the Madonna supports the body of Christ. Although sixteenth-century viewers might not read the painting quite so literally, they would probably understand the image as presenting a visual analogy to the revelation of the host during the communion ceremony.[74]

Melone's Virgin has a humble beauty, with a round face, wide-spaced eyes, a large nose, and thin lips. Her straight, brown hair is parted in the middle and pulled back in a simple coiffure. Her clothing reflects her dual role as queen of heaven and wife of a carpenter. She wears a red dress trimmed with gold at the collar, cuffs, and hem, and at the neckline we see the diaphanous white collar of her undergarment. Fastened over her shoulders with a gold chain, her blue robe is lined with shiny golden fabric. Despite the magnificence of her clothing, the Virgin wears modest, thick-soled, brown shoes (as mentioned earlier, this clothing is comparable to that of St. Helen in the altarpiece). As both a poor Christian and a god-bearer, the Virgin mitigates between heaven and earth; her left foot touches the tiles on the ground below her, while her right foot, hidden by her drapery, rests on the platform or dais that supports her heavenly throne.

The Madonna stares out at viewers with a grave expression, seemingly aware that her child will be sacrificed for humanity. The infant Christ is also aware of his future fate and reaches forward, towards the space of the viewer, clutching and gazing intently at a goldfinch. In the medieval and Renaissance periods, the goldfinch was associated with Christ's sacrifice. The bird was thought to feed upon the sharp spines of the thistle, and, according to legend, the red spot on its feathers came from the blood of Christ from whose brow the bird extracted a thorn. The goldfinch was thus a reminder of the baby Jesus' future death.[75] By grasping the bird, Christ accepts and looks forward to his sacrifice, which was re-enacted during the Mass that took place below the image.

Appropriately, the *Finding of the True Cross* was in the central privileged position of

the predella, below the image of the Virgin and Child. While the large panel depicts the Madonna displaying the newly born Christ child, the central predella panel represents another moment of revelation—the rediscovery of the Cross, the instrument by which humanity was saved during Christ's sacrifice (Fig. 6). The scene reminds viewers of Christ's Passion, a theme hinted at in the Madonna panel. This interpretive connection between Christ's Passion and the discovery of the Cross is consistent with the writings of St. Ambrose and the text of the Mass of the Invention of the Holy Cross found in the Roman Missal.[76]

The last of the predella paintings, the *Proving of the True Cross*, was originally positioned below the large painting of *St. Helen* (Figs. 1, 7). In the *Proving of the True Cross*, the mother of Constantine tests the three crosses she uncovered in Jerusalem in an attempt to determine which one originally held the body of Christ. According to legend, Helen placed each cross over a dead man. The True Cross revived the corpse. We can compare this cure to the healing of Tobias' father and the salvation of humanity through Christ's sacrifice re-enacted during the Mass. A dog (similar to the one pictured in the Tobias panel and the *Questioning of Judas)* lies beside the invalid's bed. This dog may have been included in order to encourage viewers to make a connection between the stories of Tobias and Helen, which both include miraculous cures. The dog may also symbolize Helen's faith, which led her to search for the Cross and which is rewarded with the resuscitation of the dead man. As the final narrative image of the predella, the *Proving of the True Cross* visualizes the rewards of faith (i.e., life everlasting) that Christians believe became available to humanity after Christ's incarnation.

Like the other predella panels, the *Proving of the True Cross* is thematically linked to the large panel that was once above it (Fig. 1). In the larger panel, Saint Helen is shown lovingly clutching the cross. By carrying the Cross, she imitates Christ on the road to Calvary. Her mood is somber and pensive, and we sense that she is contemplating the mystery of Christ's Passion. Unlike Raphael, she makes no visual or psychological contact with the viewer. The original position of this panel reflected chronological and historical relationships. Helen lived long after Christ's incarnation, and in the upper portion of the Picenardi altarpiece she was shown to Christ's right. Reading the large Picenardi panels from left to right (as we read the predella) we first see Tobias, who lived before Christ's incarnation; we then see the Madonna holding Christ incarnated; and finally we see St. Helen, who lived after Christ's death. The events of Helen's life can be understood as providing "proof" of Christ's power to bring salvation to individuals long after his crucifixion.

The predella panel below St. Helen presents proof of the Cross' miraculous powers. The original position of this panel reflected chronological and historical relationships. Helen's embrace of the Cross in the upper painting is imitated by a figure in the *Proving of the True Cross* below. A bystander clutches one of the thieves' powerless crosses

found with the Cross of Christ. This bystander wears a turban, a head covering that would have been associated with Muslims and Jewish people during the Renaissance.[77] Christian viewers might connect this bystander's embrace of this "false" cross with non-Christians' faith in "false" prophets or gods. Although the turbaned man holds the "false" cross, he witnesses the power of the True Cross in the miraculous resurrection of the dead man. He thus may be a convert to Christianity, perhaps the Jewish Judas, who, according to legend, was converted after the revelation of the True Cross and eventually became Quiriacus, bishop of Jerusalem. The man's Renaissance costume might have established a link between the pictured figure and potential sixteenth-century Jewish and Muslim converts.

Finally, a conspicuous figure in the *Proving of the True Cross* stands on the far right side of the panel, pointing at the invalid. He gestures outward with his right hand, a pose that is mirrored by St. Helen at the other end of the predella in the *Questioning of Judas* (Fig 5). Helen and the man thus become figural "brackets" that unify the overall composition of the three-panel narrative. In the *Proving of the True Cross*, the above-mentioned figure does not look at St. Helen or the invalid but seems to stare out into the distance, beyond the picture plane. Although there is no evidence to identify the man, his features are particularized, and he could be the patron who commissioned the altarpiece. His distant look is consistent with that of patrons witnessing sacred events in other Renaissance paintings, and he wears a prominent moneybag on his belt, an attribute sometimes associated with patrons during the sixteenth century.[78] Patron or not, he is clearly a sixteenth-century figure who participates in Helen's quest. As such, he provides viewers of the altarpiece with a tangible character who witnesses, and visually testifies to, the ongoing spiritual relevance of the True Cross story

Conclusion

The Picenardi altarpiece once displayed a series of images that worked in tandem with one another to encourage meditation on theological themes. As this study has shown, the Book of Tobit and the story of St. Helen's discovery of the True Cross were both associated with the concept of the conversion of Jews via the revelation of symbolic objects associated with Christ (the fish and the angel in the Book of Tobit and the True Cross in the story of St. Helen). In both stories the protagonists prayed for guidance, made long journeys, and discovered sacred objects. Each narrative also describes miraculous healings brought about by the holy objects that provided proof of their power and of the efficacy of prayer. I have demonstrated that traditional exegeses of the stories of Tobias and Helen encouraged readers to see allegorical and typological relationships between the lives of the protagonists and those of Christ and Mary, and I contend that Melone's imagery promotes these associations. Moreover, by bringing Tobias and Helen together, Melone and his patron(s) encouraged viewers to see new

relationships between two "historical" figures, one from the era of the Old Testament and one from the Early Christian period. Both serve as role models for the faithful, their stories prefiguring and reflecting the incarnation of Christ and encouraging meditation on its universal relevance.

NOTES

1. Norman Land, "Reconstructing a Reconstruction: Altobello Melone's 'Picenardi Altarpiece,'" *MVSE* 31 and 32 (1997–1998) pp. 9–23.
2. For an extensive discussion of the documents and scholarship related to the reconstruction, see Land, "Reconstructing a Reconstruction," pp. 9–23 as well as *The Samuel H. Kress Study Collection at the University of Missouri*, Norman Land, ed. (Columbia and London, 1999) pp. 53–61. See also Luigi Grassi, "Ingegno di Altobello Melone," *Proporzioni* 3 (1950) pp. 143–163; Federico Zeri, "Altobello Melone: quattro tavole," *Paragone* 39 (1953) pp. 40–44; Francesco Frangi, in *I Campi e la cultura cremonese del Cinquecento*, Carlo Pirovano, ed. (Milan, 1985) pp. 96–97; and Frangi in *Pittura a Cremona dal Romanico al Settecento*, Mina Gregory, ed. (Milan, 1990) pp. 35 and 260. See also Christopher Lloyd, *A Catalogue of the Earlier Italian Paintings in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1977) pp. 113–115.
3. Federico Sacchi, *Notizie pittoriche Cremonesi* (Cremona, 1872) p. 134, cited by Luigi Grassi in "Ingegno di Altobello Melone," p. 159, n. 25. Sacchi's Italian reads, "La Vergine ed il Bambino in trono, nel mezzo, S. Elena e Tobia coll'Angelo, ai lati. Trittico dipinto in tavola ad olio; alto un metro e 12 centim., largo un metro e 42 centim. Questo dipinto, proveniente dalla Galleria delle Torri de Picenardi fu nel 1869 venduto ad un antiquario Inglese."
4. For Merula's description, see Pellegrino Merula, *Santuario di Cremona, nel quale si contengono non solo le vite de' Santi di tutte le chiese,... mà anche le reliquie, e cose notabili di ciascuna di esse. Con l'orgine de' monasteri, hospedali, e luoghi pii di detta città, nuovamente dato in luce* (Cremona, 1627) pp. 226–227, cited by Frangi, *I Campi e la cultura artistica cremonese*, p. 97. Merula's Italian reads, "la Vergine col Bambino e ai lati l'Arcangelo Raffaele e Sant' Elena."
5. Grassi, "Ingegno di Altobello Melone," pp. 153–154. In this article, Grassi shares credit for this discovery with Luigi Salerno and Roberto Longhi.
6. *The Madonna and Child Enthroned* measures 111.8 x 47.6 cm, while the Ashmolean panels measure 112 x 47.9 cm and 112 x 46.9 cm respectively. The three panels together measure approximately 112 x 142.4 cm. These measurements are close to those given by Sacchi, who described the triptych as measuring 112 x 142 cm (Sacchi, *Notizie pittoriche Cremonesi*, p. 134, cited by Grassi in "Ingegno di Altobello Melone," p. 159, n. 25). Sacchi evidently measured the panels unframed and without a predella. The slight differences in measurements might be explained by the warped condition of the Oxford panels. Although the measurements cited by Land in the text of "Reconstructing a Reconstruction" are correct, the measurements given under the article's photographs of the Tobias, Helen, and Madonna panels (22.5 x 47.5 cm, 22.5 x 47.5 cm, and 22.5 x 47.6 cm, respectively) are incorrect (see pp. 10, 12, and 13). These incorrect measurements correspond to the dimensions of the predella panels, the *Questioning of Judas* and the *Proving of the True Cross*.
7. See Zeri, "Altobello Melone: quattro tavole," p. 43 and Frangi, *I Campi e la cultura cremonese del Cinquecento*, pp. 96–97. In 1957, Mina Gregori suggested that a panel in a private collection representing *Saint Helen Traveling to Jerusalem* might have once been part of the predella for the Picenardi altarpiece. See Gregori, "Altobello e Gianfrancesco Bembo," *Paragone* 93

(1957) pp. 16–40. Recent scholars have since rejected this suggestion.

8. See Land, "Reconstructing a Reconstruction," p. 15.
9. See Land, "Reconstructing a Reconstruction," pp. 15–16.
10. St. Helen and Raphael are shown together in a contemporary altarpiece by Cima Conegliano in S. Maria dei Carmini in Venice. This ca. 1510 painting shows the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in an exterior landscape, witnessed by St. Catherine, St. Helen, Tobias, and the Archangel Raphael. The patron of the altarpiece was the cloth merchant Giovanni Calvo, and Peter Humfrey suggests that the combination of saints in the painting reflects the donor's devotional interests: Catherine was the name-saint of his wife; Raphael was the titular saint of his parish church; and Helen was a favorite of the Carmelite monks at S. Maria dei Carmini. See Peter Humfrey, *Cima da Conegliano* (Cambridge, 1983) pp. 161–162, plate 153.
11. In the Renaissance, these colors were sometimes used to represent the theological virtues of faith (white), hope (green), and charity (red). White, green/blue, and red became the standard colors used to represent these virtues in the Middle Ages (green and blue were used interchangeably to represent hope). Dante associates these colors with the theological virtues throughout the *Divine Comedy*, and both Italian and Northern painters of the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries use white, green/blue, and red to represent faith, hope, and charity. For a discussion of this phenomenon in both art and literature, see Appendix B in Maurice B. McNamee, *Vested Angels* (Leuven, 1998) pp. 229–231. As McNamee points out, an explicit example of the use of this symbolism in Italian art appears in Ambrozio Lorenzetti's fourteenth-century *Maesta* in the City Hall at Massa Maritima. Here, three rows of angels are shown dressed in different colors: white, blue, and red. Each row of angels sits on a step. The steps are inscribed with the words *Fides, Spes,* and *Caritas.* For a sixteenth-century example of this kind of color symbolism, see Raphael's figure of *Theology* in the Vatican Stanza della Segnatura. This figure, finished in around 1509, wears a red dress, green robe, and white veil. James Beck discusses the relationship of these colors to the theological virtues in *Raphael. The Stanza della Segnatura* (New York, 1993) p. 34.
12. For the Book of Tobit, see Carey A. Moore, *Tobit: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, volume 40A of *The Anchor Bible* (New York, London, Toronto, Sydney, Auckland, 1996).
13. For the date of the Book of Tobit and a summary of scholarly opinion on its purposes, see Moore, *Tobit: A New Translation,* pp. 22–24.
14. Fragmentary Aramaic and Hebrew texts of Tobit were among the Dead Sea Scrolls discovered in Cave Four in 1952. These fragments were not published until 1995. See Joseph Fitzmyer, *Tobit, Discoveries in the Judean Desert* 19 (Oxford, 1995). The Dead Sea fragments of the Book of Tobit are known to scholars as 4Q196, 4Q197, 4Q198, 4Q199, and 4Q200. For a discussion of other ancient versions of Tobit that predate Jerome, see Moore, *Tobit: A New Translation*, pp. 53–64 and James Thomas, "The Greek Text of Tobit," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 91 (1972) pp. 463–471.
15. St. Jerome explains in his preface to the Book of Tobit that he did not have access to a Hebrew text of the book. He therefore had a multilingual acquaintance orally translate an Aramaic version into Hebrew for him. Jerome then translated the oral text into Latin in the course of a single day. While Jerome's translation of the story is the version with which most Renaissance readers would have been familiar, modern scholars believe earlier versions of the text are more accurate. See Jerome, *Praefatio in Librum Tobiae* in *Patrologia Latina* (hereafter *PL*), vol. 29, Jacques-Paul Migne, ed. (Paris, 1844–1891) p. 26, A. For discussion and bibliography related to the various texts of the Book of Tobit, see Moore, *Tobit: A New Translation*, pp. 33–39.

16. See, for example, St. Augustine (354–430 C.E.), who praises Tobit for his dutiful burial of the dead in *De Civitate Dei contra Paganos* 1, 13 [*PL* 41, p. 27]) and in *De Cura pro Mortuis*, 5 (*Sancti Aureli Augustini, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* [hereafter *CSEL*], vol. 41 [Vienna, 1900]) pp. 627–628. Likewise St. Ambrose (ca. 340–397 C.E.) praises Tobit's care for the dead and willingness to share his meals with the poor (Ambrose, *De Officiis*, 3, 16, 96 [*PL* 16, p. 182, A]). St. Cyprian (d. 258 C.E.) and Leo the Great (d. 461 C.E.) commend Tobit's almsgiving, and St. Cyprian argues that the Book of Tobit proves that prayer is more fruitful when combined with good works (Leo the Great, Sermon 10 [*Sermo* X in *PL* 54, 166A] and Cyprian, Treatise 8, *On Works and Almsgiving*, chapter 5, *Saint Cyprian Treatises*, Roy J. Deferrari, trans. and ed. [New York, 1958] pp. 231–232). Finally, St. Ambrose uses the story of Tobit to condemn usury, calling attention to the fact that no interest was charged on the financial transaction between Tobit and Gabael, the Israelite in Media who owed money to Tobit (Ambrose, *De Tobia* [*PL* 14, pp. 797–831]). For a more extensive discussion of early Christian and medieval interpretations of the Book of Tobit, see Patrick Henry Reardon, "The Wide World of Tobit: The Apocrypha's Tobit & Literary Tradition," *Touchstone* 12, no. 2 (1999) pp. 36–39.
17. St. Augustine discusses the acrostic reading at length, explaining that the fish is a mystical symbol of Christ, "able to remain alive—that is, without sin—in the abyss of this mortality, as if in the depths of the sea." See Augustine, *De Civitate Dei contra Paganos*, *PL* 41, p. 580. The English translation comes from *The City of God against the Pagans*, R.W. Dyson, ed. and trans. (Cambridge and New York, 1998) p. 851. For a discussion of the history and diffusion of this acrostic reading, see Jean Doignon, "Tobie et le poisson dans la litérature et l'iconographie occidentale (IIIe–Ve siècle). Du symbolisme funéraire à une exégèse christique," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 190 (1976) pp. 121–123, especially p. 121, n. 3.
18. Zeno, *Tractatus* I, 24 in *Zenonis Veronensis Tractatus*, B. Löfstedt, ed. from *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 22 (Turnhout, 1971) p. 71. Quodvultdeus compares Tobias' fish to Christ "who with his Passion, provides us each day with the medicine of his entrails to nourish and illuminate us." See Quodvultdeus, *Liber de promissionibus et praedictionibus Dei* 2, 39 (the Latin text appears side by side with a French translation in Quodvultdeus, *Livre des promesses des predictions de dieu*, René Braun, ed. and trans. [Paris, 1964] p. 494; the English translation is mine). The Pseudo-Cyprian describes the fish in the Old Testament story as "a spiritual fish, leaping forth and bound securely, whose flesh was taken as nourishment, like the image of Christ ..." (Pseudo-Cyprian, *Sermo de centesima sexagesima, tricesima*, in *Patrologia Latina Supplementum*, Adalberto Hamman, ed. [Paris, 1958] vol. 1, p. 65).
19. Bede, *On Tobit and on the Canticle of Habakkuk*, Seán Connolly, trans. (Dublin, 1997) pp. 39–63. For the Latin, see Bede, *PL* 91, pp. 924–938. Unlike earlier exegetes, Bede does not interpret the fish caught in the Tigris as a symbol of Christ. Instead, he sees the creature as a symbol of the conquered devil. See Bede, *PL* 91, pp. 928–929 and for the English translation, Bede-Connolly, *On Tobit*, pp. 46–48.
20. Walafrid Strabo, *Glossa Ordinaria*, *PL* 113, pp. 67–1231. For Walafrid's gloss on the Book of Tobit, see pp. 725–732.
21. The writings of Bede, Walafrid, and others inform later interpretations of the Book of Tobit. See, for example, the seventh sermon of Isaac of Stella (1100–1169), in which the author writes that Tobit and Tobias "represent Adam, First and Second, father and son, Old and New, and man and the Son of Man ... while the Angel, Tobias' guide and companion, is to be understood as the Lord himself, God's Word, the wise guide, loyal companion, strong helper, prudent counselor of the soul he took once for all to himself." See Isaac of Stella, *Sermons*

on the Christian Year, Hugh McCaffery, trans. (Kalamazoo, 1979) p. 60. For the Latin, see *PL* 194, p. 1715. In the twelfth century, Matthew of Vendome (b. 1130) wrote a poetic parapharase of the Book of Tobit, incorporating Bede-influenced exegesis, entitled *In Tobiam paraphrasis metrica, PL* 205, pp. 933–980. This epic poem is reprinted with editorial comment in *Mathei Vindocinensis Opera*, vol. 2, Franco Munari, ed. (Rome, 1982) pp. 161–265 and in Friedrich Auguste Wilhelm Müldener, *Matthei Vindocinensis Tobias* (Göttingen, 1855).

22. The Latin text of this Mass is included in volume two of the *Missale Romanum. Mediolani, 1474. A Collation with Other Editions Printed before 1570*, Robert Lippe, ed. (London, 1905) pp. 331–332. The English translations were kindly provided to me by Luciano Nardone.
23. See Doignon, *Tobie et le poisson*, pp. 113–116 and 124. Doignon cites several examples of images in early Christian art in which Tobias capturing the fish seems to function as a prefiguration of salvation. These include mosaics in Santa Constanza, Rome, and frescoes in the Roman catacombs of Domitilla and Thrason. Doignon also discusses a luxury glass drinking-cup in the Vatican library, representing Tobias with his left hand in the mouth of the fish while his right hand is poised in a gesture of declamation, and the sarcophagus of Mas-d'Aire in Aquitaine in which an image of Tobias catching the fish is positioned above an image of baptism.
24. Two well-known paintings depicting Tobias as a young man are Francesco Botticini's altarpiece representing *Tobias with the Archangels Raphael, Michael and Gabriel* (ca. 1470, Uffizi, Florence) and the workshop of Andrea Verocchio's *Tobias and the Angel*, ca. 1475, in the National Gallery, London. Two examples from Northern Italy showing Tobias as a child that are contemporary with Melone's painting are *Tobias and the Angel* by Titian (ca. 1514, in the Galleria dell' Accademia, Venice) and Gian Francesco Caroto's *Tobias with the Archangels Raphael, Michael and Gabriel* in the Spolverini chapel, S. Eufemia, Verona (ca. 1510–1515). For these images, as well as other examples, see Gertrude M. Achenbach, "The Iconography of Tobias and the Angel in Florentine Painting of the Renaissance," *Marsyas* 3 (1943–1945) pls. 18–22.
25. Achenbach, "Iconography of Tobias and the Angel," p. 73. The author presents evidence to support the theory that the imagery of the large angel leading the child Tobias by the hand derives from representations of the Archangel Uriel leading the infant John the Baptist through the desert. This iconography, based on the Eastern apocryphal legend of Zacharias, appeared in Byzantine art in the eleventh century, migrating to Italy in the thirteenth. For an early example of this imagery, Achenbach cites a fresco representing John and Uriel in the Baptistery in Parma, dated to around 1260 and illustrated in Laudedeo Testi's *Le baptistère de Parma* (Florence, 1916) fig. 162. Images of Uriel and the young Baptist visualize the concept of angelic protection and guardianship, ideas that became increasingly associated with Raphael and Tobias in the visual art of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance.
26. See Achenbach, "Iconography of Tobias and the Angel," pp. 81–82, n. 10 and pl. 18, fig. 2. The author reproduces the Latin inscription, which reads as follows: CAROLUS BRACCI GENITOR/NATU SIBI FILIUM EXVOTO:/DIVO ANTARAM & SACELLU/ERIGI INSTITUIT. QUO EX/TINCTO BERNARDINU EPOPU/CAMP (RAR) I MANDAVIT. 1491/BARTOLOMEUS COPORALIS PIN.
27. See Achenbach, "Iconography of Tobias and the Angel," p. 74.
28. For documents related to this commission, see Ernst Künnel, "Documenti relative alla storia della tavola degli arcangioli nell' Accademia delle Belle Arti," *Rivista d'arte* 3 (1905) pp. 199–205. For a discussion of other *Tobias and the Angel* paintings commissioned by Raphael societies, see Achenbach, "Iconography of Tobias and the Angel," pp. 74–77. For a recent

discussion of Raphael societies and confraternities in the Renaissance, see Konrad Eisenbichler, *The Boys of the Archangel Raphael* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London, 1998). Appendix 5 of the index lists works of art known to have been the property of the Confraternity of the Archangel Raphael in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (pp. 336–344). The list includes several paintings of Tobias and Raphael.

29. The basic biographical facts related to Helen's life come from Jan Willem Drijvers' excellent study of the empress, *Helena Augusta. The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Finding of the True Cross* (Leiden, 1992) pp. 9–73.
30. Eusebius, *De Vita Constantini* 3.47 (*PL* 8, pp. 61–62).
31. For the Latin text from the *Actus Silvestri*, see Bonino Mombritius, *Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum*, vol. 2, A. Brunet, ed. (Paris, 1910) pp. 508–531. Although most historians discount the legend, J. Vogt has argued that it contains a kernel of truth and that Helen may have been a Jew. See J. Vogt, "Helena Augusta, das Kreuz und die Juden. Fragen um die Mutter Constantins des Grossen," *Saeculum, Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte* 27 (1976) pp. 211–222.
32. For an overview of scholarly opinion regarding Helena's Christianity and conversion, see Drijvers, *Helena Augusta*, pp. 35–38. For Eusebius' discussion of Helen's conversion and her journey to Jerusalem, see Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, 3.42–47 (*PL*, pp. 60–62).
33. The earliest version of this story appears in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Galasius of Caesarea (d. ca. 395 C.E.), which survives only in fragments. For an in-depth analysis of the surviving fragments, see F. Winkelmann, "Charakter und Bedeutung der Kirchengeschichte des Galasios von Kaisareia," in *Byzantinische Forschungen* 1 (1966) pp. 346–385. For a more general discussion of Galasius' text in English, see Drijvers, *Helena Augusta*, pp. 96–99, 119, and 122. Scholars believe that a later account by Rufinus of Aquileia (d. 410 C.E.) closely reproduces Galasius' original. See Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 10.7–8, translated into English in *The Church History of Rufinus of Aquileia, Books 10 and 11*, Philip R. Amidon, ed. and trans. (New York and Oxford, 1997) pp. 16–18.
34. Ambrose, *Oratio de obitu Theodosii*, pp. 44–47. The Latin text, together with an English translation, is published in *Sancti Ambrosii Oratio de obitu Theodosii*, Mary Dolorosa Mannix, ed. (Washington, D.C., 1925) pp. 60–61 (Latin) and 78–80 (English).
35. Many Syriac Christians believed that Protonike, wife of the Emperor Claudius (41–54 C.E.), first recovered Christ's Cross shortly after Jesus' ascension and that the Cross was later lost and rediscovered for a second time by Helen. Unlike the Syriac version of the St. Helen story, the Protonike legend did not migrate west. For the Protonike story, see Jan Drijvers, *Helena Augusta*, pp. 147–163. Drijvers also publishes an English translation of a fifth-century version of the St. Helen story by an anonymous author; see *Helena Augusta*, pp. 65–171. Drijvers' translation comes from a manuscript first published (with a German translation) by E. Nestle in *De Sancta Cruce: ein Beitrag zur christlichen Legendengeschichte* (Berlin, 1889) pp. 25–36 and 55–64. In 1997, Jan Drijvers joined Han Drijvers in publishing two more versions of the Syriac St. Helen story in *The Finding of the True Cross. The Judas Kyriakos Legend is Syriac* (Louvain, 1997).
36. Jacobus de Voragine *The Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints*, vol. 2, William Granger Ryan, trans. (Princeton, 1993) pp. 277–284. For the Latin, see Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea: vulgo Historia lombardica dicta*, Johann Georg Theodor Graesse, ed. (Osnabrück, 1969) pp. 303–311.
37. See Drijvers, *Helena Augusta*, pp. 177–180.
38. The Latin text of the Mass is found in volume one of the *Missale Romanum. Mediolani*, pp.

329–330. The English translation is adapted from *The Roman Missal Adapted to the Use of the Laity from the Missale Romanum as Corrected Under a Decree of the Tridentine Council, issued by Command of Pope St. Pius V* (New York, 1909) pp. 432–434. Although this is a translation of the post-Tridentine missal, a comparison of Latin texts quoted from the above-mentioned, pre-Tridentine *Missale Romanum* indicates that the passages quoted from the Mass of the Invention of the Holy Cross remained essentially unchanged by the Tridentine council.

39. For a discussion of European crusading movements in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580* (Oxford, 1992) pp. 80–150.
40. For Pope Leo X's call for a crusade, see Housley, *Later Crusades,* pp. 47 and 125–128.
41. Marilyn Lavin in *The Place of Narrative: Mural Decoration in Italian Churches, 431–1600* (Chicago and London, 1990) pp. 103–105, 113–117, and 180–182. In these pages, Lavin discusses the relationship of crusade propaganda to the *Stavelot Triptych* in the Pierpoint Morgan Library in New York, Agnolo Gaddi's *Legend of the True Cross* in Florence, Cenni di Francesco's *Legend of the True Cross* in Volterra, and Piero della Francesca's celebrated *True Cross* cycle in Arezzo.
42. See, for example, the image of Helen with Constantine in a Byzantine illuminated manuscript from the eleventh century in the Palatine Library, Parma, cited in Mercedes Rochelle's *Post-Biblical Saints Art Index* (Jefferson, N.C., 1994) p. 128. For a medieval example, see an anonymous thirteenth-century fresco depicting an iconic image of St. Helen wearing a crown and holding the Cross in the Church of San Lorenzo in Milan illustrated in *Le chiese di Milano*, Maria Teresa Fiorio, ed. (Milan, 1985) p. 330. In the Byzantine era, posthumous sculptures of Helen (often paired with Constantine) were set up throughout the Greek East to commemorate the discovery of the True Cross. See the eighth-century *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, Averil Cameron and Judith Herrin, eds. (Leiden, 1984) pp. 70–73, 78–79, 94–95, 118–119, 126–127, and 134–135. For more extensive bibliography on documents related to these monuments, see Drijvers, *Helena Augusta*, pp. 189–190, n. 4. Unfortunately, none of these sculptures is known to be still extant.
43. For Cima's painting, see Humfrey, *Cima Conegliano*, p. 167, plate 46. For a well-known early North Italian example of Helen in regal dress, see the thirteenth-century mosaic depicting Constantine and Helen in the Museo Marciano, S. Marco, Venice (for an illustration, see Rodolfo Gallo, *Il tesoro di S. Marco e la sua storia* [Venice and Rome, 1967] plate 69, fig. 117). For an early Renaissance example, see Michele di Matteo's ca. 1427 *Madonna and Child with Saints* in the Galleria dell' Accademia, Venice. (For an image of this altarpiece, see A. Gentili, G. Romanelli, P. Rylands, G. Nepi Sciré, *Paintings in Venice* [Boston, New York, and London, 2002] pp. 98–99.)
44. See, for example, Helen's attire in Agnolo Gaddi's *Legend of the True Cross* frescoes in Santa Croce, Florence, as well as her clothing in Piero della Francesca's *True Cross* cycle in San Francesco, Arezzo. See Lavin, *Place of Narrative*, pp. 108–109, 181.
45. Ambrose, *Oratio de obitu Theodosii*, pp. 60–61 (Latin) and 78–80 (English).
46. Susanne Pfleger catalogues twenty-nine manuscripts produced between the eighth and fifteenth centuries that contain images from the story of Helen's discovery of the True Cross. See Susanne Pfleger, *Eine Legende und ihre Erzählformen. Studien zur Rezeption der Kreuzlegenden in der italienischen Monumentalmalerei des Tre- und Quattrocento* (Frankfurt am Main, 1994) pp. 150–199.
47. For the Stavelot triptych, see William Voelkle, *The Stavelot Tryptych: Mosan Art and the Legend of the True Cross* (New York, 1980).
48. See Bruce Cole, *Agnolo Gaddi* (Oxford, 1977) pp. 21–26, 79–81, and plates 25–33; Lavin,

Place of Narrative, pp. 99–118; and Pfleger, *Eine Legende und ihre Erzählformen*, pp. 53–72.

49. See Lavin in *Place of Narrative*, p. 106.
50. Pfleger, *Eine Legende und ihre Erzählformen*, pp. 61–62. The argument that the image might be associated with the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross is reinforced by the placement of a ca. 1350 image of *Helen Adoring the Cross* next to the readings for the May 3 holiday in a Parisian breviary by a follower of Jean Pucelle. This manuscript is now in the Morgan Library, New York (M. 75, fol. 422 v., Divine Office for the Invention of the Holy Cross, 3 May). The illumination is cited by Voelkle in *Stavelot Triptych*, p. 37, and is identified as the source for Gaddi's painting in Lavin, *Place of Narrative*, p. 106.
51. Barbara Baert, "Twilight between tradition and innovation: The iconography of the Cross-legend in the sinopie of Masolino da Panicale at Empoli," *Storia dell'arte* 99 (2000) pp. 5–16.
52. See Andrew Ladis, "Un'ordinazione per disegni dal ciclo della vera croce di Agnoli Gaddi a Firenze," *Rivista d'arte* 41 (1989) pp. 153–158. The relevant passage from the document cited by Ladis reads as follows: "E più spendemeo, dati a Giovanni di Chaccia che ando a Fiorenza a ritrare le storie delle crocie, lire V contanti ebe da Lando di Giovanni di Lando" (Ladis, p. 155).
53. For Cenni di Francesco's frescoes, see Pfleger, *Eine Legende und ihre Erzählformen*, pp. 73–80 and Lavin, *Place of Narrative*, pp. 114–117. For Masolino's *sinopia* drawings at S. Stefano in Empoli, see G. Poggi, "Masolino e la Compagnia della Croce in Empoli," *Rivista d'arte* 3 (1905) pp. 46–53; Bruce Cole, "A Reconstruction of Masolino's *True Cross* Cycle in S. Stefano, Empoli," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz* 13 (1968) pp. 289–300; and Baert, "Twilight between tradition and innovation," pp. 5–16. For Piero della Francesca's True Cross cycle see Marilyn Lavin, *Piero della Francesca: San Francesco, Arezzo* (New York, 1994), and by the same author, "Piero della Francesca and Narrative Encapsulation: e.g. The Cock on the Column," *Artibus et Historiae* 25 (2004) pp. 9–18. See also James Beck, "Piero della Francesca at San Francesco in Arezzo: An Art Historical Peregrination" *Artibus et Historiae* 24 (2003) pp. 51–80.
54. For a discussion of the iconographic history of *Judas in the Well*, see Pfleger, *Eine Legende und ihre Erzählformen*, pp. 94 and 106; and Lavin, *Place of Narrative*, pp. 181–182. Although images of *Judas Thrown in the Well* and *Judas Freed from the Well* had a long history in manuscript illumination, the subject was first represented in monumental Italian painting by an anonymous artist working in San Francesco in Montegiorgio, ca. 1450. This image was followed shortly thereafter by Piero della Francesca's fresco of the subject at San Francesco in Arezzo. The Montegiorgio artist represents Judas arising from the well, with only his upper torso visible. This was the standard iconography found in manuscript illuminations and one that was repeated by numerous later artists (see Pfleger, pp. 255, 259, 260–261). Piero della Francesca pictures Judas stepping out of the well, pulled up by his hair. Lavin connects this original iconography with a comic episode from Boccaccio's Decameron in which a man is pulled up from a well (see Lavin, *Place of Narrative*, p. 181).
55. For this altarpiece see Peter Humfrey, *Cima da Conegliano* (Cambridge, 1983) pp. 158–159, plate 107; Luigi Menegazzi, *Cima da Conegliano* (Venice, 1962) pp. 31–32, figs. 43–46; and Luigi Coletti, *Cima da Conegliano* (Venice, 1960) pp. 82–83, figs. 67–68.
56. Lavin, *Place of Narrative*, pp. 116–117.
57. St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica. Latin Text and English Translation*, Thomas Gilby, ed. (London, 1964) pp. 38 (Latin) and 39 (English).
58. *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (New York, 1997) pp. 115–119.
59. In his recent article for *MVSE*, Land writes, "The two panels seem to suggest a thematic link between Christ and Tobias, both of whom are children: like Christ, who healed the blind

(Matthew 12:22), Tobias was able to restore his father's sight." Land sees further connections between Christ's ability to heal spiritual blindness and Tobias' eventual ability to recognize Raphael as an angel. See Land, "Reconstructing a Reconstruction," pp. 16–17. Finally, Land compares the Virgin to Helen, who "embraces the Cross in a manner that echoes the way in which the Virgin holds the Christ Child," p. 18.

60. Bede, *On Tobit and on the Canticle of Habakkuk*, Seán Connolly, trans. (Dublin, 1997) p. 39.
61. Such staffs were common attributes of pilgrim saints, such as St. James the Great and St. Roch. For a discussion of the staff in Christian art, see Louis Réau's entries on St. James and St. Roch respectively, in *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. 3, bk. 2 (Paris, 1955) pp. 695–696 (St. James) and vol. 3, bk. 3, pp. 1158–1161 (St. Roch). See also George Ferguson's briefer discussion of the two saints in *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (Oxford, 1966) pp. 123 and 141 (Ferguson also discusses the staff independently, p. 181). St. Roch is often shown with another attribute related to Tobias imagery, the dog.
62. I would like to thank Catherine Casley of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford for helping me in my attempt to identify the leaves of Raphael's wreath in Melone's painting. For the biblical passage in which an angel is associated with the myrtle tree, see the Old Testament Book of Zechariah 1:11, "And they answered the angel of the Lord that stood among the myrtle trees, and said, we have walked to and fro through the earth, and behold, as the earth sitteth still, and is at rest." In the medieval and Renaissance periods, the myrtle trees described in this passage were interpreted as being mystical symbols representing the saints of the future who would bear witness to the Christian message. See Alva William Steffler, *Symbols of the Christian Faith* (Cambridge, 2002) p. 116.
63. The use of agitated drapery to suggest spirituality became a common device in early sixteenth-century Italian art, and the same device is used in an altarpiece representing *Tobias and the Angel* painted by Titian between 1508 and 1514 for the church of Santa Caterina in Venice (now in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice). While Titian's painting does not seem to have directly influenced Melone (Titian's canvas depicts a far more energetic and athletic Raphael than does Melone's panel), Titian, like Melone, pictures Raphael wearing a red-orange garment that billows dramatically in the wind. For a recent discussion and reproduction of Titian's Santa Caterina *Tobias and the Angel*, see Paul Joannides, *Titian to 1518. The Assumption of Genius* (New Haven and London, 2001) pp. 165–167.
64. Bede, *On Tobit*, pp. 39–63, and Walafrid Strabo, *Glossa Ordinaria* (*PL* 113, pp. 725–732).
65. *Missale Romanum. Mediolani*, pp. 331–332.
66. The English translation of this passage from the Vulgate comes from Bede-Connolly, *On Tobit*, p. 57.
67. See Bede, *PL* 91, pp. 933–934, and for the English translation, Bede-Connolly, *On Tobit*, p. 57.
68. The dog was a common symbol of fidelity in European art of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, although most Biblical references to dogs are negative, and the dog rarely appears in early Christian or Byzantine art. By the Middle Ages, however, dogs had become beloved and popular pets among the gentry in Europe, and the animals came to represent the concept of faith and fidelity in Western painting and sculpture. For the iconographic history of the dog in art, see Edward Hume, *Symbolism in Christian Art* (Dorset, 1976) p. 173; Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, p. 15; and Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, pp. 101–102.
69. For dogs as companions to Telemachus, see the *Odyssey*, 2.11 and 17.62. For the dog Argos' recognition of Odysseus, see *Odyssey*, 17.291–327. It is possible that the Jewish author of the Book of Tobit (which scholars agree was written after the fourth century B.C.E.) intentionally

incorporated elements of Homer's epic into the story. Several scholars have identified parallels between the Book of Tobit and Homer's *Odyssey* and suggested a relationship between the stories. In 1911, the classicist Carl Fries published the article "Das Buch Tobit und die Telemachie," in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 53 (1911) pp. 54–87. More recently, Dennis MacDonald explored the theme in "Tobit and the Odyssey," in *Mimesis and Intertextuality in Antiquity and Christianity* (Harrisburg, Pa., 2001) pp. 11–40. MacDonald explicitly mentions the common element of the dog in both stories. He points out that dogs are usually treated as "savage nuisances" in Jewish texts and writes, "the association of both boys (Telemachus and Tobias) with friendly hounds surely derives from a genetic relationship between the works" (MacDonald, p. 35).

70. Ambrose, *Oratio de obitu Theodosii*, pp. 60–61 (Latin) and 78–80 (English).
71. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, armor made up of large rigid plates, like that seen on the halberdier in *St. Helen Questioning Judas*, replaced chain mail armor in Europe. The appearance of the halberdier's armor is similar to armor created in the "Maximilian" style (associated with the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I), a style popular with arms makers in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The halberd became a common practical and ceremonial weapon in Italy during the Renaissance and was favored by Swiss and German mercenaries. For a discussion of Renaissance arms and armor, see Stephen N. Fliegel, *Arms and Armor* (New York, 1998) pp. 35–140 and Bruno Thomas, Ortwin Gamber, and Hans Schedelmann, *Arms and Armour of the Western World* (London, 1964).
72. *Missale Romanum. Mediolani*, pp. 329–330. Since this passage remained unchanged after the Council of Trent, my English translation is adapted from *The Roman Missal Adapted to the Use of the Laity from the Missale Romanum as Corrected Under a Decree of the Tridentine Council, issued by Command of Pope St. Pius V* (New York, 1909) pp. 432–434.
73. Ambrose, *Oratio de obitu Theodosii*, pp. 60–61 (Latin) and 78–80 (English). *Missale Romanum. Mediolani*, pp. 329–330.
74. This kind of liturgical reading of altarpieces has become both fashionable and controversial in recent years. I do not propose that the iconography of the Madonna in the Picenardi altarpiece was rigidly limited to a liturgical reading of her setting and attributes. I merely suggest that a liturgical reading might be one aspect of a multifaceted interpretation of the polyptych. For a discussion of problems related to the overinterpretation of liturgical icongraphy, see H. W. van Os, "Some Thoughts on Writing a History of Sienese Altarpieces," in *The Altarpiece in the Renaissance*, P. Humfrey and M. Kemp, eds. (Cambridge, 1990) pp. 27–28 and, in the same volume, Martin Kemp, "The Altarpiece in the Renaissance: a Taxonomic Approach," pp. 12–14. For important examples of liturgical interpretations of Renaissance images of the Madonna and Child, see Leo Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in the Renaissance and Modern Oblivion* (Chicago, 1996) and Barbara Lane, *The Altar and the Altarpiece. Sacramental Themes in Early Netherlandish Painting* (New York, 1980) pp. 12–39.
75. The goldfinch appears as an attribute of Christ in Italian art from around 1250 until the mid-sixteenth century. For a discussion of the goldfinch in Christian art, see Herbert Friedmann, *The Symbolic Goldfinch. Its History and Significance in European Devotional Art* (London, 1946).
76. Ambrose, *Oratio de obitu Theodosii*, pp. 60–61 (Latin) and 78–80 (English), and *Missale Romanum. Mediolani*, pp. 329–330. The English translation is from *The Roman Missal*, pp. 432–434.
77. Northern Italian artists frequently depicted Jewish and Muslim figures wearing turbans during the Renaissance. Influential examples include Gentile and Giovanni Bellini's paintings depicting scenes from the life of St. Mark from the Scuola di San Marco, Venice (ca. 1495–

1510), some of which were completed by Giovanni's pupils Belliniano and Giovanni Mansueti. These paintings are now in the Brera Museum in Milan and the Accademia in Venice. Bellini's paintings are believed to have influenced Albrecht Dürer on his visit to Venice in 1495, after which the German artist produced his woodcut series, the *Small Passion*, containing many turbaned Jews. Dürer's prints, in turn, influenced later Italian artists. One sees a turbaned King David in a painting by Melone's contemporary, the Cremonese artist Camillo Boccaccino, on an organ cover of the church of Santa Maria di Campagna di Piacenza, now in the Pinacoteca di Palazzo Farnese, Piacenza (illustrated in *Il cinquecento lombardo. Da Leonardo a Caravaggio*, Flavio Caroli, ed. [Milan, 2000] p. 361). Some sixteenth-century artists had become familiar with Eastern dress through Italy's contacts with the Ottoman Turks and traders from the Middle East. Eastern costumes in Renaissance paintings are, however, often amalgams of clothing styles from different cultures. An Italianized form of the turban became fashionable attire for some men and women during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. These Italian turbans do not, however, resemble the more Easternized head covering worn by the bystander in the *Proving of the True Cross*. For a discussion of the influence of Oriental dress in Venetian art, see Julian Raby, *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode* (London, 1982). For an example of turbaned figures in a *True Cross* cycle contemporary with Melone's, see the Jews that appear in Cima da Conegliano's *Legend of the True Cross* predella for the *Constantine and St. Helen* altarpiece in the church of S. Giovanni in Bragora, Venice (Fig. 14).

78. Many Renaissance paintings contain images of patrons who stare into space rather than look directly at sacred figures. See, for example, the Pesaro family in Titian's *Pesaro Altarpiece* (1519–1526) in Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice, and the Doge in Giovanni Bellini's *Votive Picture of Doge Agostino Barbarigo* (1488) in S. Pietro Martire, Murano (for illustrations of these paintings see Joannides, *Titian to 1518*, pp. 153–154). For a Cremonese example, see the donor in the *Crucifixion* by Melone's contemporary Boccaccio Boccaccino in the Cathedral of Cremona, dated ca. 1505–1510 (illustrated in *Il cinquecento lombardo*, p. 193). For the representation of the moneybag as the patron's attribute, see Giorgio Vasari's explicit mid-sixteenth-century examples in the Palazzo Vecchio: *Brunelleschi and Ghiberti Present to Cosimo Their Model of San Lorenzo* and *Cosimo the Elder Surrounded by Artists and Literati* (ca. 1558–1560) in the Room of Cosimo the Elder (for illustrations of this painting see Ugo Muccini, *Painting, Sculpture and Architecture in the Palazzo Vecchio of Florence* [Florence, 1997] pp. 70–71). The possible presence of the patron in the *Proving of the True Cross* might explain the higher quality of this panel in relation to the other narrative paintings in the predella. Norman Land has observed that the *Proving of the True Cross* is more skillfully painted than the *Questioning of Judas* and has suggested that Melone painted the former, while an assistant may have executed the latter. See Land, "Reconstructing a Reconstruction," pp. 9–10.

"An Ephemeris in Jest and Earnest": Etchings from the 1846 *Comic Almanack*

MacKenzie L. Mallon

In the eighteenth century, two innovations in the fields of English literature and art raised social awareness in England. The first was the advent of the periodical that, as a source of public information and entertainment, brought together people of different classes and walks of life. The second novelty was William Hogarth's creation of comic history painting.[1] Hogarth used his harmonious and minutely detailed style to satirize different social classes in his art. These two innovations came together in the nineteenth century when magazines began to meet the interests of their increasingly varied audience with more diverse subject matter. One type of periodical that flourished in the diversity of this time was the humor magazine. A popular example was the *Comic Almanack*, a fanciful collection of horoscopes, monthly hints, and satires illustrated with etchings by George Cruikshank. The Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri-Columbia has in its collection four etchings by Cruikshank from the 1846 issue of the *Almanack*: *Virgo*, *Taurus*, *Capricornus*, and *Gemini*.[2] Each illustration was accompanied in the original publication by a satirical text including dialogues, poems, and prose. These etchings and their associated passages allude to Victorian society and politics with varying degrees of complexity. In some cases, pairing Cruikshank's illustration with its text is not enough to decipher its meaning clearly, but despite their obscurity, these etchings are excellent examples of nineteenth-century social satire in art and representative of a masterful comic artist's work.

Early comic magazines were few in number. One of the first examples of the humorous almanac genre, *Poor Robin's Almanack*, began in 1662 and was in existence until 1828. Cruikshank's *Comic Almanack* borrowed *Poor Robin*'s concept of parodying astrological almanacs and used the same subtitle — "an ephemeris in jest and earnest, containing merry tales, humorous poetry, quips, and oddities."[3] The best-known and most successful comic periodical from the nineteenth century is *Punch*. *Punch* was founded in 1841 by several writers who collaborated on Cruikshank's *Comic Almanack*.[4] Written by and for the middle and landed classes, *Punch* saw its audience climb to an estimated 45,000 readers in 1845.[5] Cruikshank's *Comic Almanack* also found an audience among the middle classes. Teachers, civil servants, and shopkeepers came to bookstalls or coffee-houses to read the most recent issue. Despite its initial popularity, the *Almanack* was not as successful as *Punch* and ceased publication after eighteen years.

Already an accomplished artistic satirist, Cruikshank began working on the *Comic*

Almanack in 1835. He was first introduced to the genre as a young man while assisting his father, Isaac, a caricaturist. Cruikshank began his own career designing freelance political caricature. He later illustrated novels and children's fairy tales, but he never abandoned humor and satire. He created hundreds of etchings satirizing society and politics during his lifetime. Cruikshank has been compared to several artists from the nineteenth century, but his work most closely resembles, both stylistically and in subject matter, that of the eighteenth-century artist William Hogarth. Both artists preferred the etching medium to engraving. They flooded their compositions with endless entertaining details, adding complexity to their narrative and softening their moralizing tone and social criticism. Cruikshank's graceful compositions and masterful use of shading to create depth instill his works with a sense of drama. His illustrations often include funny faces and individualized expressions that are characteristic of his imaginative sense of humor. Bernard Lemann wrote that Cruikshank's figures "are extremely gay, or pompous, or dirty, or absurd. They all carry a strong element of the grotesque."[6] Yet each one is a recognizable, familiar type.

Cruikshank emulated Hogarth's ideas more than his style. During his work on the *Comic Almanack* he began to focus a greater number of his illustrations on social reform. Biographer Hilary Evans writes, "If he believed profoundly in the social responsibility of the artist, it was because he believed in the social responsibility of everybody."[7] Some artists try to change the world; others just want to entertain. Cruikshank wanted to do both. He produced two series of etchings condemning the effects of alcoholism on the family: *The Bottle* and *The Drunkard's Children*. The moralizing series of artwork is another Hogarthian creation, and *The Drunkard's Children* can be compared to Hogarth's series of etchings, *A Harlot's Progress*. When he started work on the *Comic Almanack* Cruikshank toned down the critical attitude of his moralizing etchings to fit the genre of a comic magazine. He applied the humor of his popular political caricatures to images of London life, retaining just enough satirical criticism to convey his social and political messages. In this way, the plates from the *Comic Almanack* reflect his personality; he was always ready to see the humor in things, but he was also aware of the underlying severity of life.[8]

The *Comic Almanack* was published annually between 1835 and 1853. It contained texts written by the most popular writers of the day, including William Thackeray, Albert Smith, and Henry and Horace Mayhew.[9] These passages were accompanied by full-page plates and numerous smaller etchings by Cruikshank, more than 250 over the lifetime of the *Almanack*. In each year's issue there was a calendar containing twelve full-page etchings with accompanying text relating them to Victorian society and politics. The four etchings discussed in detail here were originally included in the *Almanack*'s calendar.

The etching entitled *Virgo — Unmatched enjoyment* (Fig. 1) illustrated the month of August. This image depicts a group of six older women seated around a table drinking

tea and conversing. The samovar on the table, used to boil water for tea, reflects the interest in exotic items that was prevalent in England during this period. Little dogs, a cat, and a parrot scurry around the room, jumping up on furniture and a woman's lap. On the back wall, a portrait of a young girl hangs between silhouettes of a man and woman and shallow boxes containing figures of dogs. As the butler enters at the right with a plate of cakes, he says, "Bless the young ladies! How happy they all do seem to be! Bless their little hearts!"[10]

Cruikshank created this etching as a commentary on the social habits and dispositions of unmarried women. The zodiac sign Virgo is appropriate for this image since its symbol is a virgin. In the title, "Unmatched enjoyment," the word 'unmatched' is a pun, a device often found in Cruikshank's works. Not only would the ladies' enjoyment at the tea party be unmatched by any other activity they might pursue, but the ladies themselves are unmatched to men. The pets romping around the room may serve these women as substitutes for children. The butler refers to them with irony as young ladies. This contradicts their appearance.

Clues to interpreting this etching are found in the accompanying poem entitled, "Virgo—The Old Maid." The poem is in the form of a dialogue conducted by the hostess, who is seated in the center of the illustration. Her lines alternate between civilized, appropriate remarks and statements that may be construed as gossip set apart

Fig. 1. George Cruikshank (English, ca. 1792–1878). *Virgo — Unmatched Enjoyment*, 1846, etching. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, gift of Bette Weiss, acc. no. 97.8. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

by parentheses. The parenthetical lines satirize the tendency for groups of women, especially those without a family life, to gossip when together:

> You like it weak, Miss Patience Crab,–the same, just as the last?
> (As I was saying, all those Smiths are living much too fast.)
> One lump of sugar more, my dear? Thank you, that's just the thing.
> (No income can support those trips to London every Spring–)
> Another crumpet, dear Miss Quince–nay, just one tiny bit?
> (The set the girls made at Sir John, did not turn out a hit.)
> Poor Carlo don't seem very well; I think he has caught cold–
> (The eldest girl is passable, I own, but much too bold.)
> The poor dear darling little dog is anything but strong.
> (Depend upon it, we shall hear of something going wrong.)
> Another cup, love? Sugar? Milk? I hope you like your tea?
> (I don't mean to insinuate–no matter–we shall see.)
> Now let me recommend the cake; you'll find it very nice.
> (I really hope that those poor Smiths will take some friend's advice.)

The gossip about the Smith family in this passage is ironic in that the hostess is criticizing something she knows nothing about–family life. This explains the presence of the parrot in this scene. A 'parrot' is a person who repeats the words or actions of

Fig. 2. George Cruikshank (English, ca. 1792–1878). *Taurus — A literary Bull*, 1846, etching. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, gift of Bette Weiss, acc. no. 97.6. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

others, usually without understanding the original intent. This woman is relaying secondhand information to her friends at the expense of the Smiths. The anonymous author of this poem gives the women names that satirize their marital status and personalities. For example, the name 'Miss Patience Crab' combines the English name for a one-player card game, Patience (called Solitaire today), with the word 'crab,' alluding to the stereotypical crabby personality of an old maid. The names 'Crab' and 'Quince' both refer to sour fruits used to make preserves (crabapple and quince), a satire of the women's sour dispositions.

The next etching from Cruikshank's *Comic Almanack* has a more political than social significance. In *Taurus—A literary Bull* (Fig. 2), a large bull stands in the center of a printing office. Nine men scramble to get away from the animal, climbing shelves and hiding beneath tables. This creates a significant contrast in expressions. The indignant bull is juxtaposed to the frightened men awaiting its next move.[11] On the back wall and the floor, several posters use the word 'bull' in various contexts. Besides the most obvious and common definition (an adult male bovine animal), at least three additional meanings of the word 'bull' may be perceived here, each satirizing something different. First, a bull is an official document or decree, especially one issued by the pope, the leader of the Roman Catholic Church. The word 'bull' in Victorian slang also meant a blunder, and the phrase 'by a bull' meant a blunder made by an Irishman.[12] Cruikshank combines these two meanings of the word in the poster on the far right which reads, 'Some account of the Pope's bull.' He satirizes the papacy with a pun meaning both the pope's decree and the pope's mistakes. During the 1840s, six-sevenths of the people in Ireland were Catholic while the majority of England was Protestant.[13] These religious differences were a common source of derision between the two countries. The flyer on the floor of the printing office, 'An Essay on Irish Bulls,' also combines these two definitions of 'bull' by referring either to the Catholic Church in general as Irish because of the large percentage of Catholics in Ireland, or referring to decrees from Ireland itself. Either way, it implies the same puns on the word 'bull.' This satire of the Irish people and religion continues in the *Almanack*'s horoscope. "Taurus superintends the bulls that are kept in the Vatican at Rome; and all Irishmen who are born between the twenty-second of April and the twenty-first of May are under his influence."[14] This text refers to the manner in which Irish Catholics were influenced by the papal edicts and suggests they are more loyal to the pope than to Parliament. The name 'John Bull,' a common personification of England, is the third use of the word 'bull' in this etching. The poster in the center of the wall reads, 'Theatre Royal Haymarket/John Bull – Comic Song – The Bull in the China Shop.' The definitive meaning of this phrase is unclear, but it suggests that the English government is involved in affairs in which it does not belong, much as a bull does not belong in a fragile place like a china shop.

The accompanying poem, titled "Bull in the Printing Office," clarifies why

Cruikshank chose this setting for the bull. It is attributed to W. Wordsworth, Poet Laureate, although it is doubtful Wordsworth would have contributed to such a publication:

> Oh! Bull, strong labourer, much enduring beast,
> That with broad back, and sinewy shoulder strung,
> Draggest the heavy wain of taxes, flung
> In growing heap, from thy poor brethren fleeced.
>
> Hadst thou a literary sense of shame,
> How wouldst thou crush, and toss, and rend, and gore
> The printing press, and hands that work therefore,
> For the sad trash that issues from the same.
>
> If they would print no other works than mine,
> The task were nobler: but, alas, in vain,
> Of audience few and *un*fit I complain,
> Bull won't believe in Southey's verse and mine.
>
> Arouse thee, John, involve in general doom,
> All who bid Wordsworth rise for Byron to make room.[15]

In the first stanza of this poem, the author refers to England's position as a world power. England is as strong as a bull, and it gained that strength by pulling the heavy load of ill-begotten taxes from its people. The second stanza of the poem suggests that the press itself is full of 'bull,' or that it issues contradictory reports. The poem is directed toward the bull in the office, indicating that if the bull (meaning John Bull, or England) knew what was best for the country, it would destroy the printing establishment because of the 'sad trash' or 'bull' that they print. The third stanza lightens the mood and humorously suggests that an alternative to destroying the press altogether would be to allow only the works of this author to be printed.

The *Taurus* etching is complicated, and its multileveled humor is typical of Cruikshank. The next etching is even more complex and also makes reference to the political situation of the 1860s. In *Capricornus—A Caper-o'-corns* (Fig. 3), thirty-eight women are symmetrically arranged in a tableau, a frozen theatrical scene. Half of them are wearing dancing costumes. The other half, some of whom carry sickles, are dressed as wheat sheaves. On the right is a structure with two flags waving from a thatched roof. On the left a sign depicting a goat (Capricorn's zodiac sign) is hanging in front of a dark building. Women are dancing on a plank floor in front of a background with a tree and clouds. This outdoor scene may be a theater backdrop for a pantomime. This type of theatrical production often included comedy, music, and dancing. It was popular in England during the Christmas season, which occurs under the sign of Capricorn.[16] In pantomimes, men often played the feminine roles, as illustrated by mustaches on several of the figures in Cruikshank's etching.

From a political standpoint this work refers to the Corn Law enacted in Great Britain in 1815.[17] The government was considering its repeal in late 1845 when this *Comic Almanack* was published. Failed harvests at the beginning of the nineteenth century prompted the government to restrict the import and export of grain until the domestic price stabilized. This was widely viewed by the middle and lower classes as an attempt by the government to protect its own landed interests. When increasing population levels and the destruction of the potato crop by disease in 1845 limited food supplies, Britain did not have enough grain to make up for the loss of potatoes, resulting in famine. The effects were felt throughout Great Britain, although Ireland was the most affected due to its large dependence on potatoes. The Conservative government under Sir Robert Peel, Prime Minister of Britain (1835, 1841–46), repealed the Corn Law on June 25, 1846.[18] By the time the famine ended in 1850, one and a half million Irish, almost twenty percent of the population, were dead or had emigrated.[19] Although the title of the etching and its depiction of wheat make its association with the Corn Laws clear, the overall meaning of the etching is elusive to the modern viewer. Perhaps Cruikshank intended to satirize the 'dance' the government performed as it tried to decide whether or not to repeal the Corn Law. The issue had created chaos in the country. The middle and lower classes argued with the landed aristocracy, and a divided Parliament struggled to find a solution to the increasing famine without alienating their own financial interests.

Fig. 3. George Cruikshank (English, ca. 1792–1878). *Capricornus — A Caper-o'-corns*, 1846, etching. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, gift of Bette Weiss, acc. no. 97.9. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

Cruikshank biographers Hilary and Mary Evans wrote of the *Comic Almanack*, "Today, most of the text is unreadable—either because it is too topical to mean much to us, or because the tortured punning of the funny-at-any-price articles becomes unbearably tedious when read in the lump."[20] This is evident in the Capricorn etching's accompanying poem, "*Corn Capers: the pas des moissonneurs*," which means Dance of the Harvesters. The line referring to Prime Minister Peel solidifies the connection between Cruikshank's etching and the Corn Law issue. Unfortunately, the remainder of the poem is more confusing than helpful to the modern reader:

We sing the *Viennoises* so famed,
And those who at their laurels aimed,
And were the *danseuses Anglaises* named

Who made the other opera elves
Begin to look about themselves,
Dreading to be put on their shelves.

Who raised a doubt, in costume wild,
When in the final *tableau* piled,
Which was the sheaf, and which the child.

They heard the loud approving cheers,
From stalls, and pit, and all the tiers;
For little wheat sheaves have long ears.

And knew, whilst they pursued that track,
Nor showed of energy a lack,
Their wheat would never get the sack.

No league about them did declaim;
The only league, linked with their name,
Was that, which oft, their audience came.

We hope to see them back again,
Fresh flowers and *bonbons* to obtain,
Those charming little rogues in grain.

And all the world will be there too,
The stage with fresh bouquets to strew,
And their "corn-rigs so bonnie" view.

Should the Premier make any unusual stir with respect to the present vegetable epidemic, it is probable that he will be known to future ages as "*Potato Peel.*"

In the event of Boz's "Cricket on the Hearth" proving successful, a talented lord will bring out his "Trap, Bat, and Ball, on the Mantel-piece."

In the first stanza, the author refers to the '*Viennoises*' (the Viennese) and English dancers. The *Viennoises* could include Johann Strauss, Sr., a Viennese composer of the nineteenth century whose waltzes and quadrilles were popular social dances in England. This would be in line with the dance theme of the etching, but the connection with the Corn Law is uncertain. The last stanza of the poem uses the phrase "corn-rigs so bonnie." This is a reference to the poem of the same name written by Robert Burns in the late eighteenth century. The text of Burns' work was set to music and became a popular Scottish country dance called the Corn Rig.[21] Although both of these elements of the poem refer to dances, the dances they mention involve only a handful of people and are therefore not performed by the figures in Cruikshank's etching.

The sixth and seventh stanzas may link the poem to James Morgan's *Coriolanus; a Burlesque*, a play published about the same time as the *Almanack*. As Richard Schoch remarks in *Not Shakespeare*, Morgan's parody of the Shakespearean play "transforms the politics of republican Rome into the politics of early-Victorian Britain."[22] The Roman citizens of the original work are replaced in Morgan's spoof by members of the Anti–Corn Law League. Founded in 1838 by John Bright and Richard Cobden, the League pushed for the repeal of the Corn Law. In Morgan's version, this group of characters riots against the patrician Coriolanus, who supports protectionist laws regarding the trade of grain in an effort to increase his own wealth. Meanwhile, the populace is confronted with famine. Coriolanus refers to the League members as "corn-law rogues," a link to the *Almanack* poem's phrase "rogues in grain."[23] This phrase also meant a grain seller in Victorian England.[24] In this context, the author expresses hope that the grain retailers, diminished in number since passage of the Corn Law, will soon return.

The last line of this poem is clear, although not related to the *Almanack*'s subject. The author mentions that if Boz's "Cricket on the Hearth" is successful, he will publish a similar work entitled "Trap, Bat, and Ball, on the Mantel-piece." This is a play on words; a trap, bat, and ball are equipment used to play bat and trap, a game related to cricket. The name 'Boz' is the pen name used by Charles Dickens, whose short story "The Cricket on the Hearth" was published December 20, 1845.[25] This is related to the *Comic Almanack* through one of the *Almanack*'s writers, Albert Smith. Smith collaborated with Dickens to adapt "Cricket" into a melodrama for the stage. The play opened at London's Lyceum Theatre the same day the short story was published. Therefore, the last line in the *Comic Almanack*'s zodiac section is an advertisement for one of the writers' other projects.[26]

The final, and most perplexing, Cruikshank etching from this group of *Comic Almanack* illustrations is *Gemini—Odd-fellows* (Fig. 4). The symbol for Gemini is a set of twins. In this image twin clowns are performing in front of a theater, trying to entice passersby to come in and see the show. They make a play on the word 'Gemini' as they say in unison, "That we are Brothers Twin, who can deny? But mind ye, He is **Jim**

Fig. 4. George Cruikshank (English, ca. 1792–1878). *Gemini — Odd-fellows*, 1846, etching. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, gift of Bette Weiss, acc. no. 97.7. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

and, this is I." The doors behind them are labeled 'Pit' and 'Box's', denoting entrances to these two areas of the theatre.[27] A crowd, watching with interest, has assembled at the foot of the stage on which the clowns stand. Dressed in theatrical costumes, other performers gather around the twins. They are advertising a burlesque—a funny or satirical theatrical performance. Clowns were sometimes included in these plays, as well as actors who played the stereotypical roles of villains, damsels in distress, and gallant heroes. The couple on the left in this etching, as well as the man in the cape entering from the right, may play these more dramatic roles. On the far left, a harlequin leans into the picture from offstage. Often featured at the end of such a play, a harlequin would wear a mask and multicolored tights in a diamond pattern and would play pranks or behave otherwise mischievously.

The lengthy text that accompanies the image is broken into two parts. The first section, entitled "Odd-Fellows," refers to Cruikshank's etching:

> The new explanation which our artist has put forward, of the origin of the term *Gemini*, so clearly tells its own story, that any further remarks upon the subject from us are unnecessary. The situation of the twins, however, suggests that we should make some allusion to the state of the Clowns in England; on which subject we purpose bringing out a work in the same style as the Wives, Mothers, Queens, and other female facts of the said favoured country.

It is ironic (perhaps intentionally so) that the first line of this text describes the meaning of Cruikshank's etching as obvious, when in actuality it is relatively meaningless to the modern scholar. The author's references to the twins' 'situation' and 'Wives, Mothers, Queens, and other female facts' are the most perplexing allusions. This first section of the text continues:

> The progress of burlesques at the various theatres, has done much to injure pantomimes; and it is feared the race of Clowns will become extinct, unless, in these days of educational enlightenment, some means are taken to train up fresh ones as the old ones drop off. To this end, we mean to establish a school for infant Clowns, who will be taught practical jokes…"

The second section of the text accompanying the Gemini etching is an excerpt from a fictional clown's textbook titled, "Chapter from The Merryman's Manual; or, Clown's Handbook of Popular Hilarity. Chapter II—How to Collect the Crowd in Front of the Show." This relates to the etching's depiction of the clowns in front of a theatre. The text is a dialogue between the Master of the Show, much like a Master of Ceremonies today, and a Merryman (or jester). The following excerpt is a good example of the incessant punning throughout the characters' lengthy dialogue:

Master of the Show: Now, Mr. Merryman, be so good as to tell the company—[28]
Merryman: Yes, sir, (Counts his finger) Ten, twenty-eleven, fourteen, two.
Master: What are you doing sir?
Merryman: I'm telling them, sir.
Master: Nonsense, Mr. Merryman. I mean, you are to tell them the nature of the exhibition.
Merryman: That's capital good.
Master: What's capital good, Mr. Merryman?
Merryman: Eggs and bacon.
Master: I did not say eggs and bacon, sir; I said exhibition. Also, the sports and pastimes –
Merryman: That's better still.
Master: What is better still, Mr. Merryman?
Merryman: Pork and parsnips.
Master: Sports and pastimes, sir. (Sternly)
Merryman: Now I've got it. Times and passports…
Master: Now, Mr. Merryman, inform the company the nature of the performances as exhibited before all the…
Merryman: Exhibited before all the…
Master: Potentates in Europe.
Merryman: Potatoes in Europe. (Confidentially to the crowd) That's a lie!

This ridiculous dialogue does little to help the reader decipher the meaning of Cruikshank's *Gemini* etching. Its painfully comic discourse, however, is a wonderful example of the endless punning, wordplay, and topicality (note the allusion to the potato famine in the last two lines) associated with burlesques.

The Cruikshank etchings from the *Comic Almanack* allude to aspects of Victorian society and politics, each with varying degrees of complexity. This complexity is compounded by their accompanying texts, which use a confusing language. The topicality of the subjects and slang speech in the writings make it difficult for modern students to understand their context. In his study of burlesque versions of Shakespearean plays in the nineteenth century, Richard Schoch claims that scholarly attention has neglected this genre of comedic performance art because the long-outdated topical allusions, puns, and slang make them unintelligible to the modern student. "While it is undeniably true," he continues, "that many of the local references in Shakespeare burlesques are no longer intelligible in the twenty-first century, it is equally true that those same references were never completely intelligible to anyone except their immediate, target audience—and, even then, not in all cases."[29] This argument also applies to the *Comic Almanack*, which could be considered a periodical burlesque. The *Almanack* has the same topicality in its subject matter (the *Capricornus* allusion to the Corn Laws, for example) and the same saturation of puns in its language ("For little wheat sheaves have long ears"), leaving the modern scholar searching for the meaning of these etchings and their accompanying texts. But these works would have perplexed even some nineteenth-century readers. The *Comic Almanack*'s target audience, the middle classes, came from a variety of backgrounds, worked in diverse employments, and was involved in social and political endeavors. Not all of these readers would have understood the literary, theatrical, political, and social allusions within the *Almanack*'s pages. Schoch observes that it is comforting to the bewildered researcher to know that even the original audience did not always understand the message of a piece. He writes, "It is liberating because it allows us to escape from the burden of our perceived ignorance."[30] This revelation does not, however, release the modern scholar from continuing research in the hopes of more clearly deciphering Cruikshank's etchings and their texts. Until such clarification is found, we can value Cruikshank's illustrations as wonderfully perplexing examples of nineteenth-century comic art and honor the periodical in which they were published as a unique commodity from the Victorian age.

NOTES

1. Henry Fielding was the first to identify Hogarth as a 'Comic History Painter' in the preface to his 1742 novel *Joseph Andrews*.
2. Acc. nos. 97.6 (*TAURUS*), 97.7 (*GEMINI*), 97.8 (*VIRGO*), 97.9 (*CAPRICORNUS*). Dimensions of each sheet: height 10. 4 cm, width 16.8 cm. Gift of Bette Weiss. Published: Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Acquisitions," *Muse* 31 & 32 (1997–1998) p. 108. The University of Missouri-Columbia's Ellis Library, Special Collections, also owns an original volume of the *Comic Almanack*.
3. Maureen Perkins, *Visions of the Future: Almanacs, Time, and Cultural Change, 1775–1870*

(Oxford, 1996) p. 129. An 'ephemeris' is a calendar that concentrates on astronomical data and planetary positions.

4. *Punch* was published from 1841 until 2002.
5. Perkins, *Visions*, p. 217.
6. Bernard Lemann, "English Caricature," *American Magazine of Art* 28 (September 1935) p. 552.
7. Hilary Evans and Mary Evans, *The Life and Art of George Cruikshank* (London, 1978) p. 7.
8. Ibid., p. 67.
9. Ibid., p. 66.
10. The word 'they' is repeated in the butler's lines on the etching; probably a mistake resulting from the difficulty of etching the images backwards before printing.
11. Richard Kubiak, ed., *George Cruikshank: Printmaker (1792–1878): Selections from the Richard Vogler Collection*, Santa Barbara Museum of Art (Santa Barbara, 1978) p. 38.
12. Francis Grose, *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*, 2nd edition, Eric Partridge, ed. (1931; reprinted New York, 1992) p. 59.
13. David Thomson, *England in the Nineteenth Century* (Harmondsworth, 1950) p. 61.
14. Thomas Yoseloff, ed., *Comic Almanac* (New York, 1963) p. 150.
15. Written as though William Wordsworth was the author, this poem's last stanza mentions Wordsworth's feud with George Gordon, Lord Byron (1788–1824) earlier in the nineteenth century. Lord Byron insulted Wordsworth in two of his published writings. He called him "simple Wordsworth" in *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* (1809) and referred to him as "unintelligible" in *Don Juan* (1821). Wordsworth never retaliated in print, except for a work he published anonymously with Mary Barker in April 1815 titled *Lines Addressed to a Noble Lord*. For an interesting discussion of the tense relationship between these two Romantics, see Ken Parille, "All the Rage: Wordsworth's Attack on Byron in 'Lines Addressed to a Noble Lord,'" *Papers on Language & Literature* 37 (2001) pp. 255–278.
16. Michael R. Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, 1991) p. 199.
17. The word 'corn' in this context does not refer to maize, but to all cereal grains, especially wheat.
18. Peel's support for repealing the Corn Law was his downfall. Members of his own party were split on the issue, and those who were against the repeal joined with the Whig party to vote Peel out of office. Peel's sacrifice was in vain, however, for the repeal of the Corn Law did not sufficiently alleviate the Great Famine.
19. Thomas William Heyck, *The Peoples of the British Isles: a New History*, vol. 2 (Belmont, 1992) p. 335.
20. Evans, *Life and Art*, p. 67.
21. In Burns' poem, the word 'rig' means a field.
22. Richard Schoch, *Not Shakespeare: Bardolatry & Burlesque in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2002) p. 165.
23. Shakespeare wrote *Coriolanus* as an allusion to the Enclosure Act, which allowed the upper class to obtain large tracts of land by eliminating subsistence farmers' common ownership, and to the Midlands riots of 1607, which were instigated by bad harvests and high grain prices. The relevance of Shakespeare's play to the Corn Law debate and Great Famine is remarkable. Although Morgan's preface claims he did not intend to have the play performed, he did write it in the style of a theatrical script, with stage directions and suggestions for costumes and scenery. Richard Schoch rightly suggests that if Morgan had submitted his burlesque for stage

production, the Lord Chamberlain's Office would have censored it for its "explosive topical references" to the Anti-Corn Law League and the current political situation. See Schoch, *Not Shakespeare*, pp. 163–173.

24. Grose, *Classical Dictionary*, p. 289.
25. "The Cricket on the Hearth" was the third of Charles Dickens' five Christmas Books. These were short stories published at Christmastime over the course of several years starting in 1843 with "A Christmas Carol." The other titles are: "The Chimes," "The Battle of Life," and "The Haunted Man."
26. Albert Smith wasn't the only *Almanack* collaborator who would have profited from an increase in the readership of Dickens' works. Cruikshank met Dickens for the first time when he was hired to illustrate *Sketches By Boz* in the mid-1830s, and again in 1837 when he illustrated *Oliver Twist*.
27. The pit of the theatre was at the foot of the stage and was usually populated by the middle classes. The boxes were reserved for aristocrats and fashionable spectators, and lower class servants and apprentices sat in a gallery at the top of the theater.
28. In this instance to 'tell' in Victorian English means to count.
29. Schoch, *Not Shakespeare*, p. 37.
30. Ibid., p. 39.

About the Authors

Benton Kidd received his Ph.D. from the University of Missouri. He has worked at the Museum of Art and Archaeology since 2000 and is now Associate Curator of Ancient Art.

Steven L. Tuck is an assistant professor of Classics, Miami University. He has published articles on the architecture and epigraphy of Rome and Campania, hunting imagery in imperial Rome, and the recruiting patterns of the imperial fleet. A book on Latin inscriptions is being published by University of Michigan Press in 2005.

Joan Stack is Associate Curator of European and American Art at the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri. She received her Ph.D. in Art History from Washington University, St. Louis, and has taught at Washington University, the University of Missouri-St. Louis, and the University of Missouri-Columbia.

MacKenzie L. Mallon received her Master's degree from the Department of Art History and Archaeology at the University of Missouri-Columbia in 2000, specializing in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century art. Her thesis explored a fresco cycle in the Queen's Robing Room at the Palace of Westminster, London. She is currently an independent scholar.

White-Ground Lekythos, Greek, Attic, ca. 440–430 B.C.E., pottery (2000.1), Weinberg Fund.

Acquisitions 1999–2001

Ancient Art

Egyptian

Mummy of a Bird, Egypt, Late period to Roman, bird remains and linen (2000.8), gift of Dr. and Mrs. Lawrence F. Staples.

Greek

Handle of a Beaked Oinochoe with Kore Protome and Gorgon, Greek, Corinthian (?), ca. 520–510 B.C.E., bronze (99.3), Weinberg Fund.

White-Ground Lekythos, Greek, Attic, ca. 440–430 B.C.E., pottery (2000.1), Weinberg Fund.

Handle of a Beaked Oinochoe with Kore Protome and Gorgon, Greek, Corinthian (?), ca. 520–510 B.C.E., bronze (99.3), Weinberg Fund.

Quatrefoil Fibula, Italy, Villanovan, late 8th c. B.C.E., bronze (2000.16), gift of Museum Associates.

Jug in the Form of an Old Woman with Wine Jug, Turkey, Cnidos (?), Roman period, end of 1st to early 3rd c. C.E., pottery (2000.15), Weinberg Fund.

Villanovan

Quatrefoil Fibula, Italy, Villanovan, late 8th c. B.C.E., bronze (2000.16), gift of Museum Associates.

Roman

Jug in the Form of an Old Woman with Wine Jug, Turkey, Cnidos (?), Roman period, end of 1st to early 3rd c. C.E., pottery (2000.15), Weinberg Fund.

Coin of Antoninus Pius, Roman, mint of Prostanna, Pisidia (Turkey), 138–161 C.E., bronze (2000.17), Weinberg Fund.

Coin of Antoninus Pius, Roman, mint of Prostanna, Pisidia (Turkey), 138–161 C.E., bronze (2000.17), Weinberg Fund.

Iranian

Bracelet, Iran, late 2nd–early 1st millennium B.C.E., bronze (2000.7), gift of Prof. Arthur P. Harrison, Jr.

Wolf- or Boar-Headed Macehead (?) with Part of Shaft, Iran, mid-1st millennium C.E., bronze (2000.5), gift of Joseph and Tina Machatschek in memory of Evelyn Machatschek.

South Asian Art

Collection of Vessels and Vessel Fragments, Thailand, dates uncertain (several possibly mid-15th–16th c.), pottery (2000.9–2000.14), gift of Mary Cowgill.

African Art

Headdress, Congo, Mangebetu people (?), 1920–35 (?), cane, leather, animal horns (2001.15), gift of the estate of Martin P. McVey.

Pipe Bowl, Congo, Mangebetu people (?), 1920–35 (?), ceramic (2001.16), gift of the estate of Martin P. McVey.

Pipe Bowl and Stem, Congo, Mangebetu people (?), 1920–35 (?), ceramic and reed (2001.17a and b), gift of the estate of Martin P. McVey.

Comb, Congo, Mangebetu people (?), 1920–35 (?), cane (2001.18), gift of the estate of Martin P. McVey.

European and American Art

Paintings

David Roberts (British, 1796–1864), *Monastery of the Carmelites, Burgos*, 1832, watercolor on gray paper (99.7), acquired with funds donated by Dr. and Mrs. Arthur Witt in memory of their sons Eric and David.

David Roberts (British, 1796–1864), *Monastery of the Carmelites, Burgos*, 1832, watercolor on gray paper (99.7), acquired with funds donated by Dr. and Mrs. Arthur Witt in memory of their sons Eric and David.

Luis Cruz Azaceta (American, b. Cuba, 1942), *S.O.S. Tanker I*, 1992, acrylic on canvas (2001.1), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund (see front cover).

Theodore Clement Steele (American, 1847–1926), untitled, 1908, oil on canvas (2001.7), transferred from the Office of Business Services, University of Missouri.

Theodore Clement Steele (American, 1847–1926), untitled, 1910, oil on canvas (2001.8), transferred from the Office of Business Services, University of Missouri.

Charles Rosen (American, 1878–1950), untitled, 1908, oil on canvas (2001.9), transferred from the Office of Business Services, University of Missouri.

Theodore Clement Steele (American, 1847–1926), untitled, 1910, oil on canvas (2001.8), transferred from the Office of Business Services, University of Missouri.

Charles Rosen (American, 1878–1950), untitled, 1908, oil on canvas (2001.9), transferred from the Office of Business Services, University of Missouri.

Graphics

Thomas Huck (American, b. 1971), *2 Weeks in August: 14 Rural Absurdities*, 1999, woodcuts (portfolio of 14 prints and one title page) (99.4.1–15), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

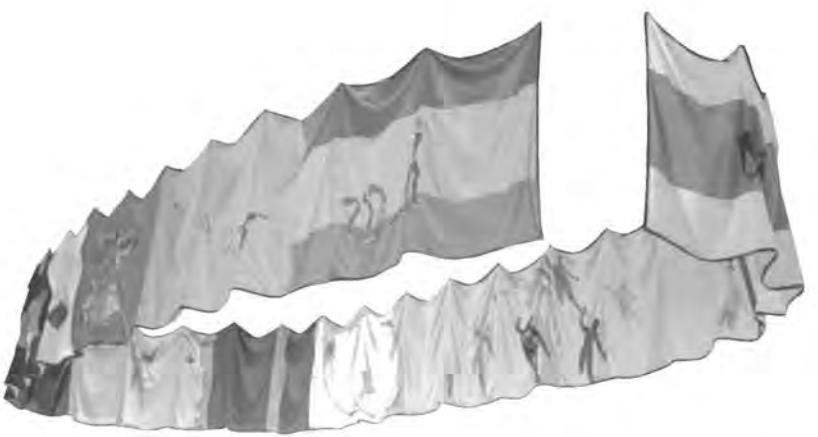
Robert Crumb (American, b. 1942), *The Nightmare*, 1995, photo-lithograph and lithograph (99.6), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Dale Chihuly (American, b. 1941), *Venetian #59*, 1990, lithograph (99.8), gift of Bob Carlson and Kathy Ashenbrenner.

Faith Ringgold (American, b. 1934), *The Sunflower Quilting Bee at Arles*, 1996, lithograph (99.9), gift of Museum Associates.

Thomas Huck (American, b. 1971), *Bed of Bones* from the series *2 Weeks in August: 14 Rural Absurdities*, 1999, woodcuts (portfolio of 14 prints and one title page) (99.4.10), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Robert Crumb (American, b. 1942), *The Nightmare*, 1995, photo-lithograph and lithograph (99.6), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.



Nancy Spero (American, b. 1926), *Sacred and Profane II*, 1996, ink on silk (2001.2), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund and Gift of the University of Missouri Student Fee Capital Improvements Committee.

Jörg Schmeisser (German, b. 1942), *Angkor Wat, Plan and Figures*, 1999, color etching (2000.4), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Willie Cole (American, b. 1955), *Man, Spirit and Mask*, 1999, mixed media on paper (2000.6a–c), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Nancy Spero (American, b. 1926), *Sacred and Profane II*, 1996, ink on silk (2001.2), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund and Gift of the University of Missouri Student Fee Capital Improvements Committee.

Elizabeth Catlett (American, b. 1919), *My role has been important in the struggle to organize the unorganized* from the suite *I am the Negro Woman*, 1947, linocut (2001.10), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Three Portfolios of Block-Printed Textile Samples, Milwaukee WPA Handicraft Project, American, 1930s–40s, ink on fabric (2001.11.1–18; 2001.12.1–19; and 2001.13.1–25), transferred from the Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri.

Geertruydt Roghman (Dutch, 1625–?), *Sloterdijk on the West Bank (Sloterdijk aen de westkant)*, n.d., etching (2001.14), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Louise Bourgeoise (American, b. 1911), *Femme-Maison (Woman House),* 1984, photogravure (2000.3), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Geertruydt Roghman (Dutch, 1625–?), *Sloterdijk on the West Bank* (Sloterdijk aen de westkant), n.d., etching (2001.14), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Diane Arbus (American, 1923–1971), untitled, 1969, photograph (silver gelatin print) (99.5), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Photographs

Diane Arbus (American, 1923–1971), untitled, 1969, photograph (silver gelatin print) (99.5), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Carrie Mae Weems (American, b. 1953), *GRABBING SNATCHING BLINK AND YOU BE GONE*, 1993, black and white photographs (silver gelatin prints) and serigraph (99.10a–c), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Larry Clark (American, b. 1943), *Tulsa*, 1971, photograph (silver gelatin print) (2001.3), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Dorothea Lange (American, 1815–1965), *Javanese Dancer*, 1958, photograph (silver gelatin print) (2001.4), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Eugène Atget (French, 1857–1927), *Ancien pavillon de chasse, 7 rue du Landy, Clichy la Garenne* from the series *Environs*, 1911, photograph (printing out paper print) (2001.5), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Horace Bristol (American, 1908–1997), *VJ Day Times Square*, 1945, photograph (silver gelatin print) (2001.6), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Eugène Atget (French, 1857–1927), *Ancien pavillon de chasse, 7 rue du Landy, Clichy la Garenne* from the series *Environs*, 1911, photograph (printing out paper print) (2001.5), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Sculpture

Pablo Ruiz y Picasso (Spanish, 1881–1973), *Owl Vase*, between 1947 and 1963, earthenware (99.1), gift of Kate Ellen Rogers.

Pablo Ruiz y Picasso (Spanish, 1881–1973), *Fish Platter*, between 1947 and 1963, earthenware (99.2), gift of Kate Ellen Rogers.

Nam June Paik (Korean, b. 1932), *Anten-nalope*, 1996, mixed media (2000.2), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Pablo Ruiz y Picasso (Spanish, 1881–1973), *Owl Vase*, between 1947 and 1963, earthenware (99.1), gift of Kate Ellen Rogers.

Nam June Paik (Korean, b. 1932), *Anten-nalope*, 1996, mixed media (2000.2), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Acquisitions
Reserve Collection 1999–2001

Five reproductions of studies for murals in the Missouri State Capitol, photomechanical reproductions (R-99.1–5).

Robert Therrien (American, b. 1957), untitled, oil on canvas (R-99.6), gift of Morrie and Evy Warshawski.

Basket with Lid, Congo, 1920–35, vegetable fiber (R-2001.1 a and b), gift of the estate of Martin P. McVey.

Man Playing a Drum, Congo, Mangbetu people, 1920–35, ebony (R-2001.2.1), gift of the estate of Martin P. McVey.

Man Playing a Drum, Congo, Mangbetu people, 1920–35, ebony (R-2001.2.2), gift of the estate of Martin P. McVey.

Letter Opener, Congo, 1920–35, ivory (R-2001.3), gift of the estate of Martin P. McVey.

Shoe Horn, Congo, 1920–35, ivory (R-2001.4), gift of the estate of Martin P. McVey.

Cigarette Holder, Congo, 1920–35, ivory (R-2001.5), gift of the estate of Martin P. McVey.

Bracelet, Congo, 1920–35, ivory (R-2001.6), gift of the estate of Martin P. McVey.

Beaded Necklace, Congo, 1920–35, ivory (R-2001.7), gift of the estate of Martin P. McVey.

Set of Twelve Utensil Rests, Congo, 1920–35, ivory (R-2001.8.1–12), gift of the estate of Martin P. McVey.

Tusk with Row of Elephants, Congo, 1920–35, ivory (R-2001.9), gift of the estate of Martin P. McVey.

Tusk with Row of Elephants, Congo, 1920–35, ivory (R-2001.10), gift of the estate of Martin P. McVey.

Exhibitions
1999–2001

Wrapped Creatures: Animal Mummies from Egypt
September 8, 1998–August 26, 2001
This small exhibit of animal mummies included the mummy of a hawk, lent by MU's Museum of Anthropology, a cat mummy, the mummy of a baby crocodile, the mummy and coffin of a shrew, and two small bronze coffins, one for a snake, the other for two lizards, all lent by the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago. A bronze coffin for a pair of kittens, an anonymous loan, was also part of the exhibit.

Icons of Pop (Fig. 1)
January 23–June 27, 1999
The twenty-nine artworks (prints, paintings, sculptures, and mixed-media) included in this exhibition were inspired by the popular culture of postwar America. The works were drawn from the permanent collection, supplemented by loans from local lenders and the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Included were Andy Warhol's *Self-Portrait* of 1967, Larry Rivers' *Drugstore* of 1959, and Roy Lichtenstein's *Pyramids* of 1969.

Fig. 1. *Icons of Pop*

Finds from Jewish Ossuary Tombs
March 9–September 12, 1999
A repeat of a previous exhibit, this featured three carved ossuaries, dating from 30 B.C.E. to 70 C.E., together with a selection of lamps and vessels representing typical finds from rock-cut tombs.

Image and Imagination in African Art (Fig. 2)
March 27, 1999 to present
The power and beauty of African art in this small exhibition reveals some of the richness and imagination of a multicultured continent and its people. The works—figures, weights, masks, a pair of ritual pounders, and headcrests—were not made for decoration or as works of art. Instead they were woven into people's daily lives, or used as ceremonial objects. A carved wooden door from the Ivory Coast served as a display of wealth and social status.

Fig. 2. *Image and Imagination in African Art*

Fig. 3. *Jaguar's Realm: Ancient Art from Mexico to Peru*

Jaguar's Realm: Ancient Art from Mexico to Peru (Fig. 3)
March 27, 1999–February 18, 2001
Complex societies arose in Mesoamerica from Mexico to Honduras, and in South America along the coastal deserts and Andean Highlands of Peru. Civilization in these two regions developed on a parallel course, emerging in the first millennium B.C.E. with the Olmec of Mexico and the Chavin of Peru. Cultural and technological developments culminated with the well-known Maya, Aztec, and Inca empires. While there are obvious differences between these peoples, their artworks allow insight into their religious and cultural ideals that are in many ways similar. The exhibition, drawn entirely from the Museum's permanent collection, included works in a variety of media: stone, wood, fired clay, metals, bone, textiles, feathers, and shell. A mural fragment from Teotihuacan of the Classic period, ca. 500–700 C.E., exemplified the frescoed wall paintings from Mexico's central highlands.

"Los Caprichos" by Goya
April 17, 1999–April 16, 2000
The great Spanish artist Francisco Goya (1746–1828) created his first major graphic series, Los Caprichos, in 1799. The eighty plates of this series exposed corruption at the Spanish court, abuses of the Catholic Church, duplicity of lovers, superstitions of the peasantry, and decadence of the privileged classes. The etchings were executed during a period of personal turmoil for the artist that induced in him a pessimistic view of human nature. The term *caprichos* means "fantasies," and in Goya's hands these turned into visions of human weakness and deficiencies of reason. Seventy of the eighty prints of the series were displayed in three successive groups over a period of twelve months.

Figuring the Human in Twentieth-Century Art (Fig. 4)
May 29–November 7, 1999
Figuring the Human in Twentieth-Century Art was organized around the iconographic themes of the female nude, the male physique, portraiture, abstraction, children, religious figures, and comic caricature. Included were six new acquisitions, controversial creations by Andres Serrano and Robert Crumb, strong graphic imagery by emerging printmakers Tom Huck and William Fick, and classic examples of the oeuvre of Diane Arbus and Chuck Close. The objects on view spanned the twentieth century and several continents—from early modern American works such as Abraham Walkowitz's 1905 drawing, *Male Bather*, to Richard Hamilton's poster design for the Marcel Duchamp retrospective exhibition at the Tate Gallery in London, 1966.

Fig. 4. *Figuring the Human in Twentieth-Century Art*

Fabrications: A Sampling of Multicultural Textiles (Fig. 5)
July 31–December 19, 1999
A celebration of the diversity of multiple cultures, this exhibition displayed textiles from the permanent collection. Included were African, Chinese, Japanese, European and American, Indonesian, pre-Columbian, and Coptic textiles whose primary design elements focused on natural motifs, both plant and animal. The fabrics demonstrated a variety of weaves, and embroidery and dyeing techniques in wool, linen, silk, cotton, gold, silver, and reed. William Morris' first design for woven textiles, *The Tulip and Rose* from ca. 1876, a silk crepe Japanese kimono, an Indian Kashmir shawl, and an embroidered pair of shoes from the Tudor period were important components of the exhibition.

Fig. 5. *Fabrications: A Sampling of Multicultural Textiles*

The Greek Symposium
September 14, 1999–February 6, 2000
The Greek symposium, or drinking party, was an important social institution for the elite male population of Athens and other ancient Greek cities. The highly ritualized procedure involved drinking, conversation, song, riddle telling, and playing of games. This small exhibit displayed a variety of Greek drinking cups, jugs, a mixing bowl, and a ladle, the types of vessels that might have been used at a symposium. A fragmentary Attic red-figure sherd with a scene at a symposium was also featured.

Faith Ringgold: Her Story in Text and Image (Fig. 6)
December 4, 1999–May 21, 2000
Born in 1930 and raised in Harlem, Faith Ringgold, artist and author, uses the art forms of painting, mixed media sculpture, performance, quilts, and writing to tell her story. Ink drawings, a self-portrait, prints, and story quilts were featured in this exhibition. Among the works exhibited were the storyboards from her second children's book, *Aunt Harriet's Underground Railroad in the Sky*, *No More War Story Quilt*, and the lithograph, *The Sunflower Quilting Bee at Arles*. Works for the exhibition were lent by ACA Gallery, New York.

In a Favored Light: Contemporary Russian Impressionist Painting (Fig. 7)
January 25–June 11, 2000
A selection of twenty-six works dating from the second half of the twentieth century

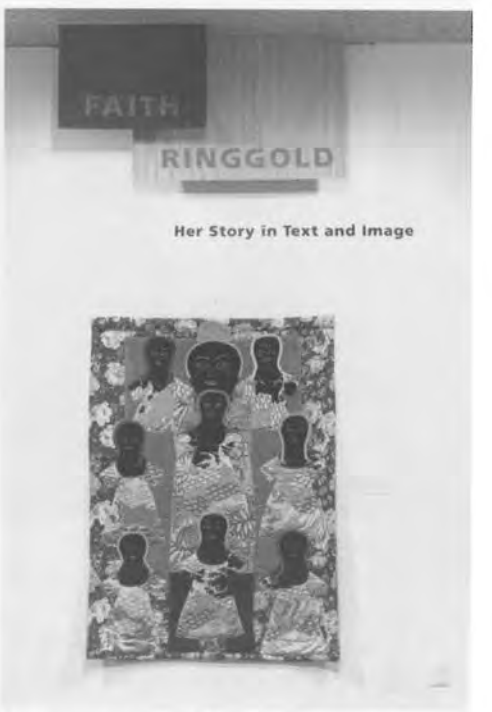


Fig. 6. *Faith Ringgold: Her Story in Text and Image*

Fig. 7. *In a Favored Light: Contemporary Russian Impressionist Painting*

highlighted impressionist painting by twenty Russian artists. The exhibition included portraits of women and men, sensitive renderings of children at play, images of industrial labor and agricultural projects, and exquisite still lifes. Landscapes and seascapes were also included. The exhibition was made possible through loans from The Finley Collection of Russian Art, Chattanooga, Tenn.; Garren Gallery, McDonald, Tenn.; and Jones Fine Art & Antiques, Maysville, Ky.

Greek and Roman Crafts: Metalwork, Textiles and Pottery
February 8–May 14, 2000
This exhibition highlighted objects that demonstrate aspects of technology in the Greek and Roman worlds. Objects included represented processes associated with the production and decoration of bronze and other metal objects, the weaving of textiles, and the various methods of the manufacture of ceramic vessels and figurines.

Prints from Rubens' Medici Cycle (Fig. 8)
May 6, 2000–May 20, 2001
Marie de' Medici, a Florentine princess born in 1575 and married to King Henri IV of France, commissioned Peter Paul Rubens to paint a series of twenty-four canvases commemorating important events in her life. The resulting Medici Cycle, installed in 1625 in the Palace of Luxembourg, achieved great renown. So famed was the series that in 1710, King Louis XIV hired Jean-Marc Nattier, a prominent French engraver, to oversee the making of engravings after the paintings for international distribution. The exhibition, *Prints from Rubens' Medici Cycle*, presented this entire series of prints in three segments during a twelve-month period.

Revolutionary Visions (Fig. 9)
June 10, 2000–June 17, 2001
Major revolutions in the art world during the twentieth century involved the expansion of nontraditional materials for image making, the move by marginalized artists from the borders into the mainstream, and the development of abstraction as an aesthetic principle. *Revolutionary Visions* featured works by prominent artists who have been at the forefront of these paradigm shifts, such as Nam June Paik, whose *Anten-nalope* was one of the highlights of the show. *Yellow Peril*, 1992, a serigraph by Ben Sakoguchi (American, b. 1938) expressed the ironies and complexities of racial discrimination in the context of the twentieth century, while Jun Kaneko's *Egyptian King* and *Egyptian Queen*, lent by First National Bank & Trust Company, Columbia, Mo., represented the theme of abstraction.

Fig. 8. *Prints from Rubens' Medici Cycle*

Fig. 9. *Revolutionary Visions*

Art of Devotion from Gandhara (Fig. 10)
July 22–December 10, 2000
The region of northwestern Pakistan and eastern Afghanistan was known in ancient times as Gandhara. From about the first through fifth centuries C.E., under the ruling Kushan dynasty, the art of this area emphasized depictions of the Buddha, legendary episodes of his life, and symbolism of the doctrines that he preached. The exhibition featured religious stone carvings from large architectural monuments called stupas that served as instructional aids and as a focus of devotion for pilgrims. Bronze vessels, coins, terracotta sealings, stone caskets, and gold jewelry added a component of broader Gandharan cultural life. The exhibition coincided with an international symposium at Kansas City's Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, entitled *On the Cusp of an Era: Art in the Pre-Kushan World.*

Fig. 10. *Art of Devotion from Gandhara*

Testament of Time: Antiquities from the Holy Land, an Exhibition in Memory of Saul S. Weinberg (Fig. 11)
January 28–August 12, 2001
The Museum of Art and Archaeology's permanent collection of antiquities from Israel was featured in this exhibition. Acquired through excavation and purchase, the extensive collection spans the Chalcolithic to the early Byzantine periods. Approximately 180 objects were selected for display to highlight themes such as daily life, warfare, religion, trade and cultural exchange, and the technology of pottery production and glass working. Stone, metal, and pottery vases, coins, terracotta sculptures, sealstones and intaglio gems, bronze weapons, lamps, jewelry, weights, glass vessels, and painted stucco illustrated these themes.

Fig. 11. *Testament of Time: Antiquities from the Holy Land, an Exhibition in Memory of Saul S. Weinberg*

Fig. 12. *Tradition and Change: Art from Oceania*

Tradition and Change: Art from Oceania (Fig. 12)
March 10, 2001 to present
The powerful presence and unusual shapes and forms of Oceanic art have long attracted the attention of serious collectors of non-Western art. Artists such as Picasso, Matisse, Miro, Nolde, and Kirchner collected such works and derived inspiration from them. The permanent collection of the Museum of Art and Archaeology includes significant works from New Guinea, Australia, Indonesia, and the Solomon Islands. Australian aboriginal weapons, Asmat dance costumes, and Sepik ceremonial objects from Papua New Guinea provide insight into the vibrant cultures and the people who developed them.

Newspaper Lithographs by Honoré Daumier: Social Satire in the Nineteenth Century
June 16, 2001–May 26, 2002
This yearlong exhibition presented images from three print series by Honoré Daumier (1808–1879). Created for the French newspaper *Le Charivari*, these prints mocked aspects of French life and culture. The exhibition presented images from three series that appeared between 1839 and the mid-1840s: *L'histoire ancienne (Ancient History)*, *Les bohémiens de Paris (Bohemians of Paris)*, and *Étrangers à Paris (Foreigners in Paris)*. The lithographs from the ancient history series, shown from June 16 through October 21, 2001, mocked neoclassical art, academic taste, and the conservative establishment. Eleven lithographs from the Bohemian series were shown from October 23, 2001 through February 24, 2002. In the mid-nineteenth century, the term 'Bohemian' was used to characterize the misfits and outcasts of urban society. Daumier's comic and poignant representations of these people implicitly criticized the French government's lack of concern for the plight of the poor.

Fig. 13. *Breaking Barriers: Artists Reinvent the Museum*

Breaking Barriers: Artists Reinvent the Museum (Fig. 13)
July 21, 2001–January 13, 2002
New Orleans artists Courtney Egan, Sharon Jacques, and Robin Levy selected works in the museum from diverse periods and cultures to be displayed side by side with their own recent creations. The goal of the exhibition was to encourage visitors to question traditional attitudes about the role of museums, curators, and artists in contemporary society. By "reinventing" the museum, Egan, Jacques, and Levy encouraged viewers to rethink the nature of the institution.

The Art of World War II: Works from Missouri Collections (Fig. 14)
September 15, 2001–January 27, 2002
This exhibition paid tribute to the painters, printmakers, and designers who created works that supported the Allied cause. Images and objects by local, regional, national, and international artists were selected from Missouri collections. Some of the paintings and posters functioned as propaganda, while other artworks recorded sights seen by artists in combat. Still other images and artifacts reflected aspects of domestic life during the period. Exhibited together, these works helped twenty-first century viewers understand the thoughts, feelings, and life experiences of soldiers and civilians during this historically important era. The exhibition included works from the permanent collection together with loans from The Winston Churchill Memorial and Library, Westminster College, Fulton, Mo.; The Ashby-Hodge Gallery of American Art, Central Methodist College, Fayette, Mo.; The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.; and local collectors. Loans from the Fashion/Costume Research Library, Stephens College, Columbia, Mo., and the Missouri Historic Costume and Textile Collection, University of Missouri, supported the fashion component of the exhibition.

Fig. 14. *The Art of World War II: Works from Missouri Collections*

Loans to Other Institutions

1999–2001

To Elmer Ellis Library, nine photographs from the collection *Songs of My People* for *Songs of My People—Selections*, February 1999.

To Bread and Roses Gallery, New York, N.Y., September 16–October 15, 1999, and the Walton Arts Center, Fayetteville, Ariz., November 6, 1999–January 14, 2000, the painting *The Sink*, 1974, by Simon Dinnerstein (American, b. 1943) for the exhibition *Simon Dinnerstein, A Retrospective of Major Works*.

To Elmer Ellis Library, University of Missouri-Columbia, twelve photos from the collection *Songs of My People* for *Songs of My People: A Selection*, February 2000.

To the Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans., a Gandharan stone sculpture, *Buddha Seated in Meditation*, ca. 2nd–4th century C.E., for long-term exhibition, beginning March 2000.

To Quincy Art Center, Quincy, Ill., three paintings: *Lady with Shawl*, ca. 1896, by Abbot Henderson Thayer (American, 1849–1921); *Dancer*, ca. 1930, by Moses Soyer (American, b. Russia, 1899–1974); and *New England Landscape #8*, ca. 1912–16, by Charles Demuth (American, 1883–1935); two prints: *Subway Stairs*, 1926, by John Sloan (American, 1871–1951); and *John Brown*, 1939, by John Steuart Curry (American, 1897–1946); and a watercolor, *Sachsenhausen*, 1924, by Lyonel Feininger (American, 1871–1956), for the exhibition *American Masterworks*, September 10–October 27, 2000.

To the Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University, Atlanta, Ga., September 16, 2000–January 8, 2001, and the Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn., January 30–March 25, 2001, a Roman marble sculpture, *Portrait of Nero, Recut into Portrait of Gallienus*, for the exhibition *From Caligula to Constantine: Tyranny and Transformation in Roman Portraiture*.

To Palazzo Grassi, Venice, Italy, an Etruscan pottery vessel, *Oinochoe Showing Ships and Fish*, 7th C. B.C.E., for the exhibition *The Etruscans*, November 26, 2000–July 1, 2001.

To the Patrick and Beatrice Haggerty Museum of Art, Marquette University,

Milwaukee, Wis., two paintings: *Temptation of St. Anthony*, ca. 1510, by Bartolomeo Montagna (Italian, 1453/54–1523); and *Ex Voto*, 1501, attributed to Giovanni Francesco de' Maineri (Italian, 1489–1506), for the exhibition *Italian Old Masters*, January 25–May 20, 2001.

To Northern Illinois University Art Museum, DeKalb, Ill., the color etching *Angkor Wat, Plan and Figures*, 1999, by Jörg Schmeisser (German, b. 1942), for the exhibition *Cambodia Examined: Inside and Out*, March 5–April 7, 2001.

Museum Activities 1999

Lectures

January 12
Otar Lordkipanidze, professor and director, Centre for Archaeological Studies, Georgian Academy of Sciences, Tbilisi, Republic of Georgia, "Vani, a Religious Center of the First Millennium B.C. in Colchis, the Land of the Golden Fleece."

October 7
"At the Century's End: New Horizons in Eighteenth-Century Studies," Lecture sessions.

October 14
Michael Shaughnessy, associate professor of sculpture, University of Southern Maine, "The Works and Influences on the Art of Michael Shaughnessy."

December 4
Faith Ringgold, artist, "Faith Ringgold: Story Quilts and Children's Books."

Midday Gallery Events

January 20
Eric Dillner, tenor, Susan Yankee, mezzo soprano, Janice Wagner, piano, Department of Music, "Concert of Opera Favorites," Chancellor's Emerging Artists Festival.

January 27
Jane Biers, curator of ancient art, "Old Faces, New Places: Reinstallation of Roman Sculpture in the Weinberg Gallery of Ancient Art."

February 3
Debra Page, associate curator of European and American art, "*Icons of Pop*, Exhibition Overview."

February 10
Adrienne Hoard, associate professor, Department of Art, "'Ndebele: Do the Walls Still Speak?' Visual Transformation in an African Society," in celebration of Black History Month.

February 17
Haskell Hinnant, professor, Department of English, "Verbal and Visual Reading of the Pop Manifesto, *I Am for an Art*."

February 24
Marianne Russell-Marti, art conservator, Russell-Marti Conservation Services, "Care and Conservation of Outdoor Bronze Sculpture," in memory of Maura F. Cornman.

March 3
"Contemporary Brass Music," directed by Alexander Pickard, Jr., associate professor, Department of Music.

March 10
Steven J. Friesen, assistant professor, Department of Religious Studies, and Jane Biers, curator of ancient art, "Jewish Ossuary Tombs: Burial and Reburial in Roman Judaea."

March 17
Jeff Ball, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Organizing Complex Spaces: Mural Decoration and the Missouri State Capitol."

March 31
Christine Doerr, artist, "Christine Doerr on Pop Art," in celebration of Women's History Month.

April 7
Jimmy C. Lattimer, associate professor, College of Veterinary Medicine and Surgery, "CT-Scans of Animal Mummies from Egypt."

April 14
Hector Neff, senior research scientist, Research Reactor Center, and adjunct assistant professor, Department of Anthropology, "Empire and Commerce in Ancient Mesoamerica: Evidence from the Museum's Collections."

April 21
"Superstar: The Life and Times of Andy Warhol," video documentary (1990).

April 28
Dana Everts-Boehm, director, Missouri Folk Arts Program, "The Commodification of a Mesoamerican Folk Art: Masks in *Twentieth-Century Sets and Series.*"

June 16
Debra Page, associate curator of European and American art, "*Figuring the Human in Twentieth-Century Art*, Exhibition Overview."

June 23
Aharon Zorea, interim curator of education, "Biblical Narratives Portrayed through Images."

June 30
Jane Biers, curator of ancient art, "Recent Acquisition: A Wine Bowl from Ancient Greece."

July 7
Marlene Perchinske, director, "Andres Serrano: Artist as Catalyst."

July 14
Brooke Cameron, professor, Department of Art, "What is a Print? The Graphic Processes of Making Multiples."

July 21
Molly Strode, associate curator, Museum of Anthropology, "Themes and Iconography in African Art."

September 8
Elizabeth Kramer, graduate student, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Qing Dynasty Fashion and Western Imitation."

September 15
Patricia Crown, professor, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "An Introduction to Goya's *Los Caprichos*."

September 22
Julie Youmans, coordinator, Missouri Performing Traditions, "Zigzag or Chain Stitch: Exploring Changes and Meaning in the Aesthetics of Traditional Irish Dance/Dress."

September 29
Sharon Kilfoyle and Peter Noce, fiber artists, Purple Spider Studio, "Shibori: A Tradition of Color and Pattern."

October 6
Carol Grove, landscape historian, "Sparrow-Grass and Curling Tendrils: The Floral Motifs of William Morris."

October 13
Jane Biers, curator of ancient art, "Textiles in the Ancient Mediterranean World."

October 20
Cáoimhghin O'Fraithile, object maker, "Ancestral Memories."

October 27
Keith Eggener, assistant professor, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Myth and Modernity in the Work of Rufino Tamayo."

November 3
Patricia Podzorski, assistant director, "Rediscovering David Roberts's *Monastery of the Carmelites* (1832)."

November 10
Barbara Overby, artist, "Between the Threads: A Look at Contemporary Weaving Techniques."

November 17
Jill Raitt, professor, Department of Religious Studies, and Russell Zguta, professor, History Department, "Liturgical Vestments."

December 1
Debra Page, associate curator of European and American art, "Day without Art."

December 8
Marlene Perchinske, director, "Faith Ringgold."

Special Events

January 21
Chancellor's Emerging Artists Panel Discussion,
Arts and Science Week.

January 23
Museum Associates Annual Meeting and *Icons of Pop* Opening.

February 18
Mary Brunstrom, director, Austral Gallery, St. Louis, Presentation and Reception, Director's Circle.

February 25
"Buckminster Fuller: Thinking Out Loud," 90-minute video.

May 6
Mother/Daughter/Friends Luncheon, Pat Cowden, presenter.

May 21
"Goya's *Los Caprichos,*" After Hours: Spanish guitar; sangria.

August 5
Debra Page, associate curator of European and American art, "*Fabrications* Gallery Talk, Summer Sampler Opening."

October 1
"Goya's *Los Caprichos,*" Director's Circle.

November 6
"Predella Panels Unveiled," Museum Birthday Party.

November 15
Volunteer Thank-You Breakfast.

December 1
Day without Art.

December 4
Chancellor's Reception for Faith Ringgold and *Faith Ringgold: Her Story in Text and Image*, Exhibition Opening and Book Signing.

Children's Educational Programs

February 11
"Love and Sacrifice," ages 8–12, Flashlight Tour.

March 7
"Vibrating Vision: An Op Art Lesson on Vasarely," ages 7–9, workshop. Children viewed Vasarely prints, discussed physical and psychological processes of vision, and created two-dimensional op art.

March 11
"Hop on Pop Art!" ages 8–12, Flashlight Tour.

April 8
"Exploring Shapes on Two Continents," ages 8–12, Flashlight Tour.

April 25
"Chicken Noodle Soup: A Pop Art Lesson on Warhol," ages 10–12, workshop. Participants looked at Warhol's work, discussed how he turned images of commercial products into art, and created a pop artwork.

June 10
Hickman High School Book Club.

June 23
"In the Realm of Jaguars and Antelope," ages 8–12, Flashlight Tour.

July 1
Hickman High School Book Club.

July 7
"All You Need is Love," ages 8–12, Flashlight Tour.

July 15
Hickman High School Book Club.

July 18
"Masked Marvels: A Workshop on Masks," ages 7–10. Participants viewed and discussed the importance of masks in Africa, Meso- and South America, and ancient Egypt, and made masks in the studio.

August 4
"Lions, and Griffins, and Sphinxes...Oh my!" ages 8–12, Flashlight Tour.

August 12
"Classic Figures: a Drawing Workshop," ages 10–14. Children observed ancient Greek sculptures from an artist's viewpoint, discovered techniques of figure drawing, and worked in a studio setting.

September 23
"Ancient Castaways," ages 8–12, Flashlight Tour.

October 17
"Textile Treasures: A Workshop on Textile Design," ages 7–14. Participants viewed the display of multicultural textiles, examined shared themes of plant and animal motifs, created stamps, and designed their own textile.

October 28
"Monster Mayhem," ages 8–12, Flashlight Tour.

November 11
"Fabulous Fabrications," ages 8–12, Flashlight Tour.

Missouri Folk Arts Programs

April 10
Big Muddy Folk Festival, Boonville, Mo.

April 6, 13, 20, 27
Tuesdays at the Capitol, Jefferson City, Mo.

Museum Activities 2000

Lectures

February 18
Susan Wood, painting conservator, "Painting Conservation: The Care and Preservation of Our Collections," Maura F. Cornman Memorial Lecture.

April 27
Annette Weintraub, artist, "Manufactured Spaces: the Landscape Online."

September 5
Stephen Selby, director, Intellectual Property Department, Government of Hong Kong, Special Administrative Region, "Ancient China Through an Archer's Eyes."

September 8
E. Marianne Stern, independent scholar, "Ancient Glass," a lecture in honor of Gladys D. Weinberg.

October 6
Doris Srinivasan, curator, South and Southeast Asian art, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, "Art of Devotion from Gandhara."

November 4
Maria Sieira, independent scholar, "Ghost Architecture."

Midday Gallery Events

January 19
Tatiana Kudriavtseva, AST Publishers, and Nina Kudriavtseva Loory, Bolshoi Theatre, "From Stalin to the Present: Through Our Russian Eyes."

January 26
Debra Page, associate curator of European and American art, "In a Favored Light: Contemporary Russian Impressionist Painting."

February 2
Gary Kremer, professor, Department of History, William Woods University, "The World We Have Lost: African-American Community Life in Jim Crow Missouri," in celebration of Black History Month.

February 9
Charles Timberlake, professor, Department of History, "Illegal or Unofficial: Impressionist Art in the Soviet Union."

February 16
The Klez Dispensers, "Klezmer Music and Mirth."

February 23
Jane Biers, curator of ancient art, "Ancient or Modern? Problems of Authenticity in Ancient Art."

March 1
Josephine (Jo) Stealey, associate professor, Department of Art, "Twentieth-Century Art Through the Eyes of Faith Ringgold."

March 8
Laurel Wilson, associate professor, Department of Textile and Apparel Management, "Fiber to Fabric."

March 15
Patricia Podzorski, assistant director, "Artists in the Place of Truth."

March 22
Carla Waal Johns, professor emerita, Department of Theatre, "Harriet Bosse: The Actress as Muse and Artist," in celebration of Women's History Month.

April 5
Show Me Opera under the direction of Eric Dillner, assistant professor, Department of Music, "Opera, Arias, and Scenes."

April 12
Dale William Fisher, associate museum educator, "Reinterpreting the World: A Journey in Art Education."

April 19
Karl Qualls, visiting assistant professor, Department of History, "Creating Identity through the Soviet Arts."

April 26
William R. Biers, professor, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Technology in the Classical World."

June 21
Mathew Averett, graduate research assistant, "*Prints from Rubens' Medici Cycle,* Exhibition Overview."

June 28
Debra J. Byrne, associate curator of European and American art, "Paik and the Poetics of Television Sculpture."

July 12
Patricia Podzorski, assistant director, "The Afterlife of Ancient Egyptian Animals."

July 19
Tim Williams, associate director, Columbia Zen Center, "Zen and the Everyday Mind."

July 26
Marlene Perchinske, director, "Nancy Spero's Vision of History through Female Imagery."

August 30
Dale W. Fisher, associate museum educator, "*Art of Devotion from Gandhara*, Exhibition Overview."

September 6
Patricia Podzorski, assistant director, "*Pharaohs of the Sun*: an exhibition on Tutankhamon, Akhenaton, and Nefertiti."

September 13
Debra Byrne, associate curator of European and American art, "*Revolutionary Visions*, Exhibition Tour."

September 20
Joel Brereton, professor, Department of Religious Studies, "The Gandharan Vision of the Buddha."

September 27
Jane Biers, curator of ancient art, "Rituals of Death in Ancient Athens."

October 4
Dale William Fisher, associate museum educator, "Dialogue and Diatribes: Artistic Agendas in the Postmodern Era."

October 11
Aimée Leonhard, conservation assistant, "From Temporality to Permanence: The Conservation of an Oceanic Gable Mask."

October 18
Tim Spence, co-owner, Ragtag Cinemacafé, "The Work of Art in the Community."

October 25
Matthew Averett, graduate research assistant, "*Prints from Rubens' Medici Cycle*, Exhibition Overview."

November 1
Michael D. Glascock, senior research scientist, University of Missouri Research Reactor, and Scott de Brestian, graduate teaching assistant, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Coins of the Great Kushan Empire."

November 8
David Davis, M.D., professor emeritus, Psychiatry Department, University of Missouri, Health Sciences Center, "Is There an Art to Art? Reflections on *Revolutionary Visions*."

November 15
Dan Hess, cowboy poet, "The Oral Traditions of the Working Cowboy," sponsored by the Missouri Folk Arts Program.

November 29
Kathleen Warner Slane, professor, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Rome and Gandhara: Artistic Connections."

December 6
Lisa Rose and Friends, jazz musicians, "Columbia's Finest Jazz."

Special Events

January 11
Robert Garren, owner, Garren Gallery, "Contemporary Russian Impressionist Painting," Director's Circle

January 23
Museum Associates Annual Meeting, *In a Favored Light: Contemporary Russian Impressionist Painting*, Opening Reception.

March 18
Museum Associates Gala in Honor of Major Donors.

May 5
Rubens' Medici Cycle, After-Hours Reception for Museum Associates.

May 11
Mother/Daughter/Friends Luncheon.

June 25
"Explore the Capitol Outside and Inside with Jeff Ball," Museum Associates Trip to Jefferson City, Mo.

July 9
Art and Archaeology Scavenger Hunt, a Leukemia Society Benefit.

August 10
Refresh Your Spirits, Tour of the Gandhara exhibition followed by a tea and talk at the Tiger-Columns.

August 22
Ice Cream Social.

August 31
Debra Byrne, associate curator of European and American art, "*Revolutionary Visions*, Overview," Director's Circle.

September 24
Scavenger Hunt, a Leukemia Society Benefit.

November 17
Out of the Institution: Museum Professionals in the Art Studio, George Caleb Bingham Gallery, Fine Arts Building, Opening Reception.

November 4
Museum Birthday Party.

November 20
Volunteer Appreciation Breakfast.

December 1
Day without Art.

December 14
Presentation by Elliot Smith, owner, Elliot Smith Contemporary Art, Director's Circle.

Children's Educational Programs

January 20
"Y2K B.C.," ages 7–12, Flashlight Tour.

January 29
"Red and Black Pottery," ages 7–17, workshop on Greek red- and black-figure pottery.

February 24
"How to Make a Good Impression," ages 7–12, Flashlight Tour.

April 8 and 15
"Patchwork: Portraits of Ourselves," ages 7–12, workshop on designing, creating, and celebrating storytelling. Participants made and decorated a book for their personal use.

April 13
"Come Fly With Me," ages 7–12, Flashlight Tour.

June 3
"Nature, Light, and Color I: A Pastel Drawing Event," workshop for older children and adults.

June 24
"Nature, Light, and Color II: A Watercolor Event," workshop for older children and adults.

August 16
"Dog Days in August in the Ancient Gallery," ages 7–12, Flashlight Tour.

September 7 and 9
"Visions and Televisions: *Revolutionary Visions*," games, activities, and gallery guides.

September 14
"In Search of Buddha," ages 7–12, Flashlight Tour.

October 12 and 14
"Stories in Stone: *Art of Devotion from Gandhara*," games, activities, and gallery guides.

October 26
"Visions and Televisions: *Revolutionary Visions*," games, activities, and gallery guides.

November 9 and 12
"Stories in Stone: *Art of Devotion from Gandhara*," games, activities, and gallery guides.

November 16
"In Quest of Ancient Artifacts," ages 7–12, Flashlight Tour.

Film Series

September 14
The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari, 1919.

September 28
The Passion of Joan of Arc, 1928.

October 5
Ironweed, 1987.

October 19
Barton Fink, 1991.

November 2
Jackson Pollock, 1951 and
Video as Art, 1983.

November 16
Heaven, 1987.

Missouri Folk Arts Programs

April 8
Big Muddy Folk Festival, Boonville.

April 4, 11, 18, 25
Tuesdays at the Capitol, Jefferson City.

June–December
Folk Arts Traveling Exhibit, West Plains, St. Joseph, Arrow Rock, Savannah.

Museum Activities 2001

Lectures

April 6
Jacquelyn Lewis-Harris, director, Center for Human Origin and Cultural Diversity, University of Missouri-St. Louis, and independent curator, "Tradition and Change: Art from Oceania."

September 9
Turner Davis, artist, lecture.

October 19
Courtney Egan, video artist/filmmaker, "Breaking Barriers in Video."

Midday Gallery Events

January 31
James Terry, interim curator of ancient art, "*Testament of Time: Antiquities from the Holy Land*, Exhibition Overview."

February 7
Deborah A. Bailey, folk arts specialist, Missouri Folk Arts Program, "Women and Eucharist: Sacrament of Conflict, Sacrament of Relationship."

February 14
Brooke B. Cameron, professor, Department of Art, "Jörg Schmeisser and the Color Intaglio Printing Process."

February 21
Benton Kidd, graduate research assistant, "Decking the Walls: The Tel Anafa Stucco."

February 28
Joan Stack, interim curator of European and American art, "Renaissance Polyptychs: Relating the Parts to the Whole."

March 7
Patricia Crown, professor, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Representations of Women and Sport in Eighteenth-Century England," in celebration of Women's History Month.

March 14
Benyamin Schwarz, associate professor, Department of Environmental Design, "Jerusalem: A City of Contradictions."

March 21
John T. Clark, artist/security officer, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Postmodernism and Personalization."

April 4
Carol Grove, visiting assistant professor, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Tower Grove Park."

April 11
Patricia Podzorski, assistant director, "Trade and Exchange Between Egypt and Canaan in the Second Millennium B.C.E."

April 18
Show Me Opera, Eric Dillner, director and assistant professor, School of Music, "A Celebration of American Music."

April 25
Marcus Rautman, associate professor and chair, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Holy Lands of Late Antiquity."

May 2
Keith Eggener, assistant professor, Department of Art History and Archaeology, "Luis Barragán: Artist and Entrepreneur."

June 20
Lori Hanna, graduate research assistant, "*Newspaper Lithographs by Honoré Daumier: Social Satire in the Nineteenth Century*, Exhibition Overview."

June 27
Lisa L. Higgins, director, Missouri Folk Arts Program, "Ordinary Citizens of Genius and Artistic Expression."

July 11
Chang Ching-Yuan, professor of ceramics, Taiwan National College of the Arts, Taipei, "Ceramic Sculpture."

July 18
Mary H. Gridley, Cranmer Art Conservation, New York City, "Inherent Vice, Damage and Disaster: Conserving Contemporary Art."

July 25
Joan Stack, interim curator of European and American art, "Is there a Modern Counterpart to Daumier's *Ancient History* series? Mocking the Greeks and Romans in Twentieth-Century Art and Film."

August 29
Marlene Perchinske, director, "Breaking Barriers: Artists Reinvent the Museum."

September 5
Joan Stack, interim curator of European and American art, "New Paintings in the European and American Gallery."

September 12
Susan Pereira, M.D., assistant professor of Clinical Medicine, Department of Family and Community Medicine, University of Missouri Health Care, "Aesthetics of Pathology."

September 19
Joan Stack, interim curator of European and American art, "*The Art of World War II: Works from Missouri Collections*, Exhibition Overview."

September 26
"They Drew Fire: Combat Artists of World War II," video documentary directed by Brian Lanker.

October 3
James Bogan, distinguished teaching professor of art, University of Missouri-Rolla, and Michael Hicks, editor, film and TV producer, University of Missouri-Columbia, "The Art of Edwina Sandys: A Documentary, a Video-Book, and a Poem."

October 10
John Viessman, curator, Missouri State Museum, and photojournalist, Missouri National Guard, "World War II Oral Histories from Missouri."

October 17
Sid Larson, curator, Gallery of The State Historical Society of Missouri, and professor emeritus, Columbia College, "Thomas Hart Benton and the World War II Paintings in The State Historical Society of Missouri."

October 24
Joan Stack, interim curator of European and American art, "*Newspaper Lithographs by Honoré Daumier* (*Bohemians of Paris* series), Exhibition Overview."

October 31
Lori Hanna, graduate research assistant, "Embodying Eternity: Sculptural Visions of Women in Père Lachaise Cemetery, Paris."

November 7
Norree Boyd, soprano and executive director, Missouri Arts Council, "Remember Me: A Vocal Performance."

November 14
The Velvetones, select vocal ensemble, Stephens College, "Popular Music from Jazz to Doo Wop."

November 28
James Terry, interim curator of ancient art, "Early Christian and Byzantine Gallery: A New Look at Old Stuff."

Special Events

January 27
Testament of Time: Antiquities from the Holy Land, Opening Reception and Museum Associates Annual Meeting.

February 14
"The Romance of Archaeology. What It's Really Like!" Panel Discussion, Arts and Science Week.

February 23
"Beautiful Bricks and Banners," ribbon-cutting ceremony and reception to celebrate completion of restoration to exterior of the building and installation of banners.

March 22
Elliot Smith, owner, Elliot Smith Contemporary Art, "Contemporary Art," Director's Circle.

March 24–April 4
"Ancient Treasures of Sicily and Campania," Museum Associates trip, co-sponsored by the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology and led by William R. Biers, professor, Department of Art History and Archaeology.

April 29
Museum Associates Trip to Tower Grove Park and St. Louis Botanical Gardens, led by Dr. Carol Grove, Department of Art History and Archaeology.

May 3
James Terry, interim curator of ancient art, "Landscape of the Spirit: the Holy Land in the First Millennium C.E.," Director's Circle.

May 18
"Ageless Wit and Wisdom," Museum Associates Spring Luncheon, Ann Gowans, presenter.

September 4
Museum Shop Ribbon-Cutting and Reopening.

September 14
The Art of World War II: Works from Missouri Collections, Exhibition Opening.

October 18
Sam Goodfellow, associate professor of history, Westminster College, Fulton, "The Propaganda War: A Look at Axis and Allied Popular Culture During World War II," Director's Circle.

October 22
Volunteer Appreciation Breakfast.

October 26
"Mummy's the Word," Gala Honoring Major Donors.

November 1
Moderator, John Cunning, director of interpretation, Missouri Division of State Parks, "Talking with the Artists of WWII," Panel Discussion.

November 3
"Styles of the World War II Era," Fashion Exhibition and Museum Birthday Party.

December 1
Day without Art.

Children's Educational Programs

March 8
"Something to Treasure," ages 7–12, Flashlight Tour.

May 5, June 2 and 16
"Digging up the Past," a simulated archaeological excavation.

July 12
"Time Travel through the Holy Land," ages 7–12, Flashlight Tour.

September 15 and 22, October 6
"Drawing Lessons from the Masters: the Figure, the Landscape, and Perspective," workshops for Grades 7, 8, and 9.

October 20
"Making Video into Art," workshop for ages 10–17.

October 25
"Monsters and Mummies in Ancient Times," ages 7–12, Flashlight Tour.

October 27, November 3 and 10
"Drawing Lessons from the Masters: the Figure, the Landscape, and Perspective," workshops for grades 2, 3, and 4.

November 15
"Over Here, Over There: Flashlight Tour of WWII," ages 7–12, Flashlight Tour.

Adult Educational Programs

April 21 and 28
"Handbuilding in Clay," workshops.

June 21
"Ardentia: an Evening of Readings."

July 19
"Reinventing the Museum: A Student/ Artist Collaboration." University students met with artist Sharon Jacques.

Film Series

February 7
Paul Robeson: Tribute to an Artist, 1979.

February 28
Visions of Light, 1993.

March 7
Jules and Jim, 1962.

March 14
Last Temptation of Christ, 1988.

April 11
Kiss Me, Petruchio, 1982.

April 29
Ran, 1985.

October 4
Casablanca, 1943.

October 18
The Great Dictator, 1940.

November 1
A Family Gathering, TV Documentary for *American Experience*, 1990; *Memory of the Camps*, a TV Documentary for *Frontline*, 1985.

November 15
The Best Years of Our Lives, 1946.

December 6
The Atomic Café, 1983.

Missouri Folk Arts Programs

January–June
Folk Arts Traveling Exhibit, Sikeston, Fayette, Hannibal, Boonville, Columbia.

April 7
Big Muddy Folk Festival, Boonville.

April 10, 24
Tuesdays at the Capitol, Jefferson City.

October 9, 23
Tuesdays at the Capitol, Jefferson City.

Museum of Art and Archaeology
Staff 1999–2001

Marlene Perchinske
Director

Patricia Podzorski
Assistant Director
(through 9/01)

Debbie Friedrich
Administrative Assistant/Fiscal Officer
(through 8/99)

Dana Armontrout
Fiscal Officer
(beginning 1/00)

Judi Dawson
Coordinator: Facilities/Security/Special Events
(through 11/00)

Erin Dalcourt
Receptionist (1999)/*Secretary* (2000)/*Administrative Assistant* (2001)

Christina Mayo
Secretary (beginning 8/01)

Scherrie Goettsch
Publication and Promotional Coordinator
(through 9/99)

Judy Bock
Publicity Coordinator and Editor
(beginning 3/00)

Matt Taylor (beginning 5/99), Sarah Dennis (5/99–8/00), Chris Widman (beginning 10/99), Blake Dinsdale (2000), Elaine Rodey (7/00–7/01), Michael Lising (beginning 8/01)
Graphic Artists

Jacqueline Schneider (through 4/01)
Bruce Cox (beginning 6/01)
Coordinators, Museum Associates

Bette Weiss
Manager, Museum Shop
(through 8/01)

Jane Biers
Curator of Ancient Art
(through 12/00)

Jim Terry
Interim Curator of Ancient Art
(1/01–8/01)

Benton Kidd
Assistant Curator of Ancient Art
(beginning 9/01)

Debra Byrne
Associate Curator of European and American Art
(through 11/00)

Joan Stack
Interim Associate Curator of European and American Art
(beginning 2/01)

Aharon Zorea (through 6/99),
Dale Fisher (beginning 8/99)
Curators of Education/Public and Docent Programs

Mathew Averett (1999–2000), Lori Hanna (2001), Irina Hans (2001), Benton Kidd (1/00–8/01), Elizabeth Kramer (1999), Danielle Parks (1999–2000), Richard Perkins (2001)
Graduate Research Assistants

Kevin Dingman
Student Intern (2001)

Jeffrey Wilcox
Registrar

Kenyon Reed
Collections Specialist
(beginning 6/01)

Aimée Leonhard
Assistant Conservator
(through 5/01)

Alison Pabst, Dorothy Van Ark
Conservation Volunteers (1999–2001)

Greig Thompson
Chief Preparator
(through 8/00)

Barbara Smith
Assistant Preparator (through 4/01)
Chief Preparator (beginning 5/01)

Beth Ann Cobb (12/99–6/01)
Larry Stebbing (beginning 7/01)
Assistant Preparators

David Gold, Jay Clark
Museum Guards

Alison Klutenkamper (beginning 6/00)
Brittany Batal (beginning 4/01)
Information Desk Attendants

Anthony Bates, Heidi Heitman, Arica Kaler, Julie Kamiyana, Amy Pippin, Heidi Tebbe, Brittany Wagstaff
Student Assistants (1999–2000)

Sarah Buhr, Adam Dube, Courtney Haug, Jenny Ingram, Sara Melton, Keith Nelson, Deborah Thompson, Lauren Wapka
Student Volunteers (1999–2000)

Anthony Bates, Mathew Hannon, Julie Kamiyama, Charles Shepley, Katrina Thomas, Brittany Wagstaff,
Student Assistants (2000–2001)

Tamara Clark, Brian Hurley, Jenny Ingram, Keith Nelson, Amie Vogt, Sarah Williamson
Student Volunteers (2000–2001)

Dana Everts-Boehm
(through 8/99)
Lisa Higgins
(beginning 9/99)
Directors, Missouri Folk Arts Program

Julie Youmans (through 11/99)
Deborah Bailey (beginning 2/00)
Folk Arts Specialists

David Allred (6/01–12/01), Anthony Phillips (8/00–5/01), Jacqueline McGrath (8/00–5/01)
Student Interns, Missouri Folk Arts Program

Museum of Art and Archaeology
Docents in 1999

Diane Ball
Lynnanne Baumgardner
Anne Braisted
Betty Brown
Patsy Brown
Nancy Cassidy
Averil Cooper
Patricia Cowden
Dorinda Derow
Ellen Dominique
Bernadine Ford
Denise Gebhardt
Eleanor Goodge
Ann Gowans
Dot Harrison
Helene Holroyd
Linda Keown
Mary Beth Kletti
Nancy Lowe
Sally Mertz
Meg Milanick
Barbara Payne
Bernice Prost
Judy Schermer
Lynn Willbrand
Pat Wills
Beverly Wright

Museum of Art and Archaeology
Docents in 2000

Billye Adams
Dan Adams
Julie Adelsberger
Lynnanne Baumgardner
Anne Braisted
Betty Brown
Patsy Brown
Nancy Cassidy
Averil Cooper
Patricia Cowden
Jeanne Daly
Dorinda Derow
Ruth Drish
Janet Elmore
Eleanor Goodge
Ann Gowans
Irina Hans
Dot Harrison
Roland Hultsch
Linda Keown
Mary Beth Kletti
Lucille Mayer
Renee Menke
Meg Milanick
Alice Payne
Barbara Payne
Judy Schermer
Lynn Willbrand
Pat Wills

Museum of Art and Archaeology
Docents in 2001

Billye Adams
Dan Adams
Betty Brown
Nancy Cassidy
Averil Cooper
Patricia Cowden
Jeanne Daly
Dorinda Derow
Janet Elmore
Ann Gowans
Irina Hans
Dot Harrison
Roland Hultsch
Linda Keown
Mary Beth Kletti
Meg Milanick
Alice Payne
Judy Schermer
Pat Wills

Museum of Art and Archaeology Advisory Committee 1999–2001

Buddy Anliker
Staff Council

Betty Revington Burdick
Museum Associates

Jack Burns
Vice Provost
Office of Research
(1999–2001)

Nancy Cassidy
Docent

Linda B. Cupp, Chair (1999–2001)
Extension/Museum Associates

Carole Sue DeLaite
President, Museum Associates
(1999)

John Foley
Humanities
(1999–2000)

Diana Groshong
President, Museum Associates
(2000–2001)

Robert S. Hall
Interim Vice-Provost
Office of Research
(2001)

Deborah Huelsbergen
Art

Larry Kantner
Art Education

Elizabeth Kramer
Graduate Student
(1999–2000)

Hank Landry
Columbia Independent School

Elaine Lawless
Folklife

Ranadhir Mitra
Indian Cultural Arts Center

Michael O'Brien
Director, Museum of Anthropology

Stuart Palonsky
Director, Honors College

Marlene Perchinske
Director, Museum of Art and Archaeology

Glenn Pierce, Chair (2001)
Faculty Council/Humanities

Shehnaz Poonyth
International Programs

Sandy Rikoon
Faculty Fellow
(2000–2001)

Kathleen Warner Slane
Archaeology

Anne Stanton
Art History

Rebecca Stonesanders
Graduate Student

Julius Thompson
Black Studies

Cheryl Venet
Columbia Public Schools

Gil Youmans
Faculty Fellow
(2001)

John Zemke
Humanities