MVSE

VOLUMES THIRTY-SIX, THIRTY-SEVEN & THIRTY-EIGHT

2002 – 2004

Annual of the Museum of Art and Archaeology

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI–COLUMBIA

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Annual of the
Museum of Art and Archaeology
University of Missouri

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Volumes Thirty-Six, Thirty-Seven & Thirty-Eight
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University of Missouri

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Cover:
Portrait of an empress.
Roman, marble, mid-third century C.E.
Weinberg and Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund, acc. no. 2004.1.

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†Irina Hans

1976–2002

To the memory of Irina Hans, former graduate assistant at the Museum of Art and Archaeology and graduate of the department of Art History and Archaeology, University of Missouri, this issue of *Muse* is respectfully dedicated. Irina arrived in the United States from the Ukraine in 1996 to study at the University of Missouri, where she earned a BA with honors in 2000 and an MA in 2002 in art history. Before beginning a Ph.D. program, she began a yearlong internship at the Smithsonian American Art Museum in Washington, D.C. On the evening of October 12, 2002, she was murdered while walking home.

Irina had served the university community in a number of ways. She worked tirelessly at the Museum of Art and Archaeology, first as a volunteer docent and later as a curatorial assistant. She helped produce the exhibitions *Picturing Nature: A Cross-Cultural View of Landscapes; Master Drawings from the Permanent Collection;* and *From Studio to Cinema: Andy Warhol/Larry Clark/Cindy Sherman.* She also worked as a teaching and research assistant

in the department of Art History and Archaeology and was president of the department's Graduate Student Association. Her primary interest was contemporary art, and she wrote her master's thesis on Andres Serrano. Her excellent scholarly work earned the respect of professional colleagues, and she presented several papers at national conferences. In March of 2002, she published her first article, "Gardens in the Art of Gustave Caillebotte," in the journal *Oculus*.

Those lucky enough to have known her miss her vivacious spirit and inquiring mind.

Activities
2002–2004

Volumes 36, 37, and 38 of *Muse*, like the three for 1999–2001, are published here as a triple issue in an attempt to bring the bulletin back to an annual status. This report summarizes the activities for 2002–2004. For a complete listing see pages 117–130.

The years 2002–2004 were difficult ones. In 2002, because of state withholdings and cuts at the University of Missouri, the museum experienced a 42 percent reduction to its operating budget. As a result, the size of the museum staff was reduced. Four positions were eliminated, three positions were reduced to less than full-time status, and two positions were converted to grant funding. Some of the positions were vacant at the time. The search for a full-time curator of ancient art was not continued, and the positions of museum educator and chief preparator, also vacant, were left unfilled. The curator of European and American art was reduced from a full-time to a three-quarter-time employee. The elimination of one guard position and one student part-time guard position resulted in reduced hours for the galleries on the second floor. (The Gallery of Greek and Roman Casts on the first floor remained open when Pickard Hall was open.) After October 15, 2002, the second-floor galleries were open for only twenty-four hours a week instead of forty-five. No longer open at all on Tuesdays, Thursday evenings, or Sunday afternoons, they were open only from 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. Wednesday through Saturday. During this time of crisis, the financial support of the museum's friends group, Museum Associates, was vital and enabled the museum to continue operating. Student help was also important. The ten or so students who were assigned to the museum by the university allowed the office to continue to function. The museum managed to maintain some programming, continued to publish a biannual magazine, and installed temporary exhibitions, although fewer in number than before. Research, grant writing, and publication also continued. Reduced programming in 2003 and 2004, listed on pages 124–130, reflects, however, the dire financial difficulties experienced by the museum during these years.

Until September 2004, only one vacant position was filled. Angela Lawler was hired in June 2003 as part-time associate museum educator; her position

Angela Lawler, associate museum educator.

was increased to three-quarter time in March 2004. There were also some support staff changes throughout the three years, and in September 2004 director Marlene Perchinske resigned. She had been interim director from September 1996 and director from May 1997. After her departure, I took over as interim director. By the end of September, half of the 2002 budget cut had been restored, and it became possible to hire a second guard and open the galleries for longer hours, to hire other staff members, and to restore some programming. Several key positions were still vacant, however. There was no chief preparator or conservator; the position of curator of ancient art remained a half-time one; and the fiscal officer also functioned as receptionist and tour scheduler.

In July 2004, following the recommendation of a review team that visited in May of that year, the museum's governance moved from the Office of Research to the College of Arts and Science. One immediate result was that the museum had access to the college's webmaster, and a major achievement in the fall of 2004 was revising and bringing the museum's Web site up to date.

In 2002, the Missouri Arts Council (MAC) allotted the museum $3,200 in support of three exhibitions: *Wit and Wine: A New Look at Ancient Iranian Ceramics from the Arthur M. Sackler Foundation*; *The Missouri Scene: In the Wake of Lewis and Clark*; and *The Art of the Book: 1000–1600*. In 2003, the Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS) awarded the museum a grant of $149,992 for *Art Access: The Virtual Museum*. This grant was designed to promote student and public access to the museum's collections through the development of technology-driven and virtual museum applications. The project employed the services of students in the College of Engineering and gave them valuable experience in Web design and its applications, one of the goals of the grant. Programs developed with the grant were installed in the newly created Maria and Robert Barton Gallery of Art and Technology. Also in 2003, the American Association of Museums (AAM) awarded a

Museum Assessment Program grant of $2,970, designed to assess the museum's governance. When, however, the university decided to bring in its own review team in May 2004, the grant was returned. The Missouri Folk Arts Program continued to receive grants from MAC and from the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA): $20,000 in 2003 for a Folk Arts in Schools Residency project and $85,000 in 2004, both from MAC, and $25,000 in 2004 from NEA.

In 2002, five major and three smaller exhibitions were installed, drawn from the permanent collection and supplemented by loans from other institutions and private collections. In 2003, the staff decided not to continue using the Gallery of Modern and Contemporary Art for temporary exhibitions. Although this curtailed the space available for temporary shows, significant exhibitions were still developed. Major exhibitions were organized in the temporary exhibition galleries during the fall and winter semesters. The museum also continued to mount a small yearlong exhibition in three installments in the Corner Gallery. For descriptions of these exhibitions, see pages 105–114.

The corps of docents maintained an active schedule of tours for schoolchildren and the general public, while the curators continued to conduct classes in the galleries for university and college students. In addition, a number of children's educational programs were offered throughout each year. These are listed on pages 121–122, 125–126, and 129. Docent training

Joan Stack, associate curator of European and American art, teaches a Humanities class to University of Missouri students.

Museum Associates in New Salem, Illinois, in February 2004. From left to right: Rod Starns, Linda Keown, Bruce Cox, Sara Riddick, Chet Breitwieser, and John Riddick.

sessions were offered in 2003–2004, and again in 2004–2005.

The financial support of Museum Associates, always important, became vital during the financially difficult years of 2002–2004. Museum Associates continued publishing the magazine, funded exhibition openings and other events, and offered members travel opportunities. In March 2002, a group traveled to the St. Louis Art Museum to see the exhibition on John Singer Sargent and in April of that year another group visited Missouri artist Gary Lucy in Washington, Missouri. In February 2003, members traveled to Louisville, Kentucky, for the Impressionist show at the Speed Museum, and in 2004, two successful trips were organized. In February, an excursion, "Land of Lincoln," was undertaken to Lincoln, Illinois, where participants took a walking tour of New Salem

Chad Peyton, counter-tenor, performs for Museum Associates' holiday event in the gallery of European and American art, December 2004.

State Historic Site, explored the 1902 Dana-Thomas House designed by Frank Lloyd Wright, and toured Lincoln's home. In September, a two-day trip saw members in Memphis, Tennessee, for the exhibition *Masters of Florence: Glory and Genius at the Court of the Medici.* While in Memphis, the group also visited the Dixon Gallery and Gardens.

Museum Associates have traditionally given the museum an annual gift. In 2002 and 2003, their funds supported operating expenses, but in 2004, they partially funded acquisition of a ca. 1883 etching by Mary Cassatt (American, 1844–1926), *Susan Seated before a Row of Trees.* This work, a fine example of a nineteenth-century Impressionist print, filled a historical gap in the permanent collection and increased the number of works by important women artists. The museum staff greatly appreciates this gift, as well as all past support from Museum Associates.

There were other notable additions to the collection during 2002–2004. In 2002, two twentieth-century American works—a woodcut by Leonard Baskin (American, 1922–2000) and a painting by Grace Hartigan (American, b. 1922)—were important acquisitions. In 2003, a portrait by George Caleb Bingham (American, 1811–1879) was acquired, and four medieval manuscript pages were purchased for inclusion in the exhibition *The Art of the Book: 1000–1600.* A Roman bronze figurine of Zeus or Poseidon and a print by the twentieth-century African American artist Elizabeth Catlett (b. 1919) were also noteworthy. In 2004, in addition to the Cassatt print, the museum acquired two Roman works—a marble head of an empress (see front cover and article pages 44–66) and a marble sarcophagus fragment. Also significant was the acquisition of a landscape by Daniel Garber (American, 1880–1958) and a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century bronze figure of Shiva Nataraja. For a complete list of acquisitions, see pages 93–104.

Despite the financial difficulties, several publications were produced, including two catalogues of the permanent collection. In 2002, William Biers and Lisa Benson published a volume of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*. This volume included the museum's collection of Corinthian, Attic black-figure, Six's technique, and Attic red-figure vases. In 2004, *Testament of Time, Selected Objects from the Collection of Palestinian Antiquities in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia* appeared, with contributions from a number of scholars. It was edited by James Terry and Jane Biers. An exhibition catalogue, *The Art of the Book: Manuscripts and Early Printing,*

1000–1650, edited by Joan Stack, was published in 2003. Other, smaller exhibition catalogues were also produced for use by docents.

The museum's collections served as a resource for a number of exhibitions at other institutions. Three paintings were lent, ancient works were sent out for two major traveling shows, and twenty-five Asian sculptures were an important component of an exhibition on the art of India. See pages 115–116 for details.

The Missouri Folk Arts Program (MFAP) continued its mission of documenting, preserving, and promoting the cultural heritage of the state of Missouri. Several groups appeared at the annual Big Muddy Folk Festival in Boonville, Missouri, and MFAP teams also participated in the annual Tuesdays at the Capitol events in Jefferson City. Supported by annual grants from MAC and Heritage and Preservation grants from NEA, MFAP staff coordinated the Traditional Arts Apprenticeship program. In 2001–2002, MFAP funded ten apprenticeship teams, including bluegrass dobro, German bobbin lace, Vietnamese Dragon Dance, custom Western boots, Native American jingle dresses and loom beadwork, jazz piano, ornamental ironwork, and Damascus knives. In 2002–2003, eight apprenticeship teams were supported, including English bobbin lace, short-bow fiddle, clawhammer banjo, rug braiding, *charengo*, African American stories, forged gigs, and Omaha powwow regalia. Nine teams participated in 2003–2004, including these traditions: German four-square gardens, Southern gospel harmony, African American stories, Lakota (Native American) star quilts, North Plains (Native American) breastplates, Omaha (Native American) dance songs, Chicano airbrush art, chair caning and restoration, and clawhammer banjo.

English lace bobbins.

In January 2002, Dr. Gladys Davidson Weinberg died at the age of ninety-two. Her death, ten years after that of Saul Weinberg, marked the end of an era, but although both founders of the museum have now departed, their mission lives on. The Museum of Art and Archaeology will continue to serve as a cultural resource for the University of Missouri and the mid-Missouri region, developing the permanent collection and preserving and maintaining all objects in its care. Study and research will make its collection intellectually accessible. The objects it collects and displays will enhance teaching, provide objects for research by faculty, students, and other scholars, and will be of cultural significance to the broader community.

Jane Biers, Interim Director

Fig. 1. Female tympanon player. Cypro-Archaic II, 600–480 B.C.E., terracotta. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 64.62.

Drumming for the Divine
A Female Tympanon Player from Cyprus*

Erin Walcek Averett

Musical performance is an integral part of many cultural events. Artistic representations, as well as literary sources, provide evidence that music created a joyous atmosphere during celebrations, promoted a spiritual aura at sacred events, aroused terror in war, and kept the rhythm for physical activities such as weaving, hunting, and harvesting. Studies of ancient music have focused on the role of melodic instruments such as lyres and flutes, which frequently appear in art and ancient literature and are associated with lyric and epic poetry and other intellectual pursuits. Less attention, however, has been paid to percussion instruments. This article explores the role of small hand-held drums, or tympana, in Archaic Cyprus by examining a terracotta drummer figurine in the Museum of Art and Archaeology and its relationship to other drummer figurines. The Missouri drummer was produced at a coroplastic atelier specifically as a votive offering for the Cypriot Goddess. The atelier operated within the Kingdom of Salamis, most likely at the Achna sanctuary or perhaps at nearby Arsos. Discussion of the broader Eastern Mediterranean use of hand drums will illuminate the function and significance of tympana in Cypriot society. The evidence suggests that hand drums were played primarily by women in Eastern Mediterranean rituals associated with women, fertility, birth, and rebirth.

The Archaic terracotta figurine of a female drummer in the Museum of Art and Archaeology is preserved from the waist up (Fig. 1).[1] She wears a robed garment and a high, turban-shaped headdress with deep vertical striations; her hair falls to her shoulders. She is adorned with a large pendant necklace, a smaller beaded one, a bracelet, and ear-cap earrings with pendant drops. Her molded face is well preserved. It is long, with incised feathered eyebrows, ridged almond-shaped eyes, and prominent nose and mouth. Her left hand holds the bottom of a disk-shaped drum while her right arm stretches across her torso to strike the drum membrane.

The figurine belongs to a series of figurines from Cyprus all holding circular objects. The type is one of the most prolific in the Archaic period (750–480 B.C.E.). The identification of these disk-shaped objects is debated: they have been variously identified as tambourines, rattles, platters, loaves of bread, sundisks, and moons. The figurines exhibit a wide range of styles and manufacturing techniques, while the disks themselves are depicted in a variety of sizes and positions.[2] The Missouri figurine holds the base of the circular object perpendicular to her body, while touching the disk with her fingers; she belongs to the more naturalistic drum-player type. Figurines in this pose are best interpreted as playing hand-held circular frame drums, or tympana, commonly referred to as "tambourines."[3]

The earliest example of a drummer figure is a Late Bronze Age "bird-faced" female figurine (1400–1230 B.C.E.) that holds a disk-shaped object, most likely a hand drum, over her left breast (Fig. 2).[4] "Bird-faced" female figurines hold or nurse infants, or place their hands over their breasts, all gestures associated with fertility or sexuality. The presence of a drum with this figurine type, which is commonly associated with a cult of a fertility goddess, suggests that the instrument was closely linked to females and fertility. Although there are depictions of other musicians in the Cypro-Geometric period, there are no drummer figurines until the Cypro-Archaic I period, ca. 700 B.C.E., when a drummer appears in the center of a terracotta dancing group (Fig. 3). Circular compositions of female dancers holding hands and surrounding a central male musician are common terracotta dedications at early Cypriot sanctuaries. The female dancers, handmade and simple, wear long robes and tiara-like headdresses, while the central male figures wear tall conical headdresses and play the double flute or lyre.[5] The group with the central drummer shown in Figure 3 depicts,

Fig. 2. Female figurine holding a tympanon. Late Cypriot II, ca. 1400–1230 B.C.E., Base-Ring ware. Reproduced by permission of the Musée du Louvre, Paris, no. AM1.

Fig. 3. Dancing group with female drum player. Cypro-Archaic I, ca. seventh century B.C.E., terracotta. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, no. C350. Reproduced by permission of the Director of Antiquities.

however, a musician wearing a tiara headdress, identifying the figure as female. Again, the drum is played by a female musician and has a religious significance.

The Cypriot coroplastic industry enjoyed a burst of creative activity in the Archaic period, when the quantity and types of figurines increased dramatically. Although the Late Bronze Age and Cypro-Archaic I drummers provide evidence for an earlier tradition of female drummers, the motif does not become standardized until the Archaic period, when it is produced in quantity, probably as a result of Phoenician influence on Cypriot art and culture. In the Archaic period, several coroplastic ateliers operated throughout the island, many associated with sanctuaries and urban centers. Archaic Cyprus was divided politically into kingdoms, each with a major "capital" that served as the political and artistic center of the kingdom. The organization of these kingdoms, as well as their geographical boundaries, is disputed, but recent studies have noted the homogeneity of material culture within each kingdom, concluding that there is a link between political boundaries and artistic styles. Most recently, Sabine Fourrier's study of coroplastic production on Cyprus has demonstrated that each kingdom supported several terracotta workshops, many operating out of sanctuaries and producing figurines of similar style.[6] Thus, each kingdom produced stylistically related material, under the influence of the capital.

Fig. 4. Map of Cyprus, with urban centers in italics.

Based on style, the Missouri figurine can be attributed to the coroplastic atelier operating within the Kingdom of Salamis in southeastern Cyprus (Fig. 4). It is most similar to figurines produced at the extra-urban sanctuary at Achna in the southeastern Mesaoria plain (Figs. 4, 5).[7] The figurines produced by this atelier, which are similar to those from the nearby Arsos sanctuary workshop (Fig. 6), have long faces with short rounded noses, small mouths, and fringed eyebrows, and they wear an abundance of jewelry. All published figurines from Achna are mold-made, like the Missouri drummer. The Arsos and Achna figurines are further distinguished by a distinctive high diadem with vertical striations, termed a "kalathos headdress," which closely matches the headdress worn by the Missouri drummer.[8] Tympanon-player figurines from workshops in other kingdoms differ in their manufacturing technique, facial features, dress, jewelry, and stylistic details.[9]

Fig. 5. Female figurine holding breasts. Achna, Cypro-Archaic II, 600–480 B.C.E., terracotta. After M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, the Bible, and Homer: Oriental Civilization, Art and Religion in Ancient Times* (London, 1893) pl. XI.5.

The sanctuary outside the modern village of Achna, discovered in 1882, was a simple, open-air sanctuary, dedicated to a female divinity associated with fertility and in use from the Archaic through the Roman periods.[10] The Cypriot pantheon revolved around a great goddess and god, who were later associated with various Greek divinities, often superficially, while retaining much of their indigenous Cypriot character. Appropriately, the goddess worshipped at Achna received mainly female figurines as gifts, figurines that reflect the role of women in the cult, as well as the importance of fertility. Many figurines, commonly referred to as "Astarte" figures, hold both breasts with their hands.[11] I argue that the female drummer is also related to women, fertility, and rebirth in this and other Cypriot cults.

Fig. 6. Female figurine holding unidentified votive offering. Arsos, Cypro-Archaic II, 600–480 B.C.E., terracotta. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, C 609. Reproduced by permission of the Director of Antiquities.

Tympanon players enjoyed a wide distribution throughout the island and were produced by many workshops in a variety of techniques; they were deposited in tombs as well as dedicated as votives at most of the major sanctuaries, particularly those associated with goddesses. Although each kingdom produced drummers of a particular style, drummer figurines share common characteristics that unite them as a type: they depict standing, robed women, with distinctive hairstyles or headdresses, playing a round hand drum. Moreover, the mold-made figurines wear elaborate jewelry, since the technique allowed greater detail. There is no attribute or posture that identifies these musicians as divine, but the elaborate dress argues against interpreting the figurines as depictions of

Fig. 7. Female tympanon player. Palestinian, ca. late ninth–early eighth century B.C.E., terracotta. From a tomb in Tel Shikmona, Palestine. Department of Antiquities, Jerusalem, Israel, Inv. No. SK/70.7146 (81-246). Drawing by Matthew K. Averett.

common worshippers. Instead, the dress, jewelry, and attributes identify them as priestesses, specifically temple musicians. It appears that although there were male and female musicians on Cyprus, tympanon playing was reserved primarily for women.

The motif of female drummers has a long tradition in the Near East, beginning with figurines of women holding drums in third- and second-millennium Mesopotamia.[12] The type had spread from there to the Levant by the Early Iron Age: a female drummer decorates a tenth-century cultic stand from Taanach, and terracotta figurines of women drummers are found in tombs and sanctuaries beginning in the ninth century in Levantine coastal sites such as Tyre, Achzib, Shikmona, and Kharayeb (Fig. 7).[13] In the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, local female musicians were admired throughout the Near East.[14] Representations of drummers in Mesopotamia and Phoenicia/Palestine are associated with ritual performance, in which cultic female musicians play a variety of instruments; the drum was also associated with female sexuality.[15] Female drummers appear on Near Eastern cultic objects, reliefs, ivory carvings, and metal bowls decorated with scenes of ritual and banqueting.[16] By the eighth century, female drummer figurines were widespread throughout the Levant; they were dedicated to the goddesses Asherah and Astarte and deposited in graves.[17] Most scholars agree that the Near Eastern drummers represent priestesses or female musicians, not goddesses.

Although there are no Phoenician/Palestinian imported drummers on Cyprus, several handmade drummer figurines, especially from the coastal city of Amathus, closely resemble contemporary Levantine productions. It is not clear which workshop first produced drummer figurines, but the type was

produced in quantity, both handmade and mold-made, throughout the island by the Cypro-Archaic II period (600–480 B.C.E.).[18] Like their Near Eastern counterparts, the Cypriot drummer figurines are found in funerary and ritual contexts.

Tympanon players are also known in New Kingdom, Late Period, and Ptolemaic Egypt, where hand drums are played by women in reliefs depicting rituals, hunting, banquets, and scenes of military victory.[19] From the New Kingdom, probably under influence from Mesopotamia, drums in Egypt were associated with deities specifically related to women.[20] The tympanon was the instrument of Bes, the apotropaic dwarf god who presided over the home and fertility, especially protecting women in childbirth and newborn infants. In the Late Period, drums also accompanied Hathor and Besset (Bes's female companion), goddesses who protected women and children and aided against infertility. In artistic representations, Bes often holds a hand drum, and temple musicians or Besset play drums for Bes and Hathor (Fig. 8). In the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, Bes and female drummers frequently decorated *mammisi*, the birth houses located in sanctuaries.[21]

Musical performance was an essential part of Near Eastern and Egyptian ritual, and tympanon playing seems to have been reserved for women in rituals revolving around domestic concerns. Drumming and its associations with women and ritual were probably imported to Cyprus sometime in the Late Bronze Age, as evidenced by the early drummer figurine (Fig. 2). By the Archaic period, when the Phoenicians had established a colony at Kition and were present in many of the Cypriot kingdoms, Phoenician influence can be seen in many aspects of Cypriot art, religion, and culture.[22] The Phoenicians themselves were heavily influenced by contemporary Egypt and adopted many of the Egyptians' cults and artistic conventions. Cypriot cult was a unique amalgam of indigenous, Phoenician, Egyptian, and Greek elements. In this cosmopolitan era, the terracotta figurines produced on Cyprus were influenced by external as well as internal trends, and it is in this period that depictions of tympanon players, stylistically and functionally related to those found in Palestine, abounded in tombs and in sanctuaries dedicated to goddesses.

Tympana also reached the Aegean world at the end of the eighth century B.C.E. Several female tympanon figurines have been found at the sanctuaries of Hera on Samos and Athena at Lindos and Kameiros on Rhodes.[23] All of these are Cypriot imports, most from Salaminian workshops. The dedicators,

Fig. 8. Stele depicting Besset, the female companion of Bes, playing a tympanon for Bes. Egypt, Late Period, ca. 664–332 B.C.E., limestone. © Christian Décamps, Musée du Louvre.

whether Cypriot or Greek, probably noted similarities between the cults of these Greek goddesses and those from further east. In Greek literature, drums and percussion could rouse fear or alternate states of consciousness and were used to protect and sanctify a place or event. Tympana were associated

with Kybele, the Kouretes, Demeter, Rhea, and Dionysos, all cults related to fertility, women, and rebirth.[24] In Greece and later in Rome, hand drums were played by the female devotees of the ecstatic cult of Dionysos and were considered a foreign import associated with women.[25] The cult of Dionysos was not associated with childbirth specifically but was concerned with the death and rebirth of the deity and the worshipper. Tympana were also an important symbol of the cult of Kybele in fourth-century Anatolia, whence this iconography spread to Greece, Egypt, and Rome.[26] Like the Dionysos cult, the rituals of Kybele were also ecstatic and related to fertility.

The female drummer in Missouri can be understood within this broader cultural framework. Ritual employs a variety of elements to heighten the religious experience, including specialized paraphernalia, a cultic focus, arcane language, and symbolic imagery.[27] Repetitious music and chanting are a common means of achieving this end and were likely an integral part of many religious rituals but often have left no trace in the material record. The use of specific instruments clarifies the nature of specific cults. Percussion instruments differ from other instruments in that their sound is corporeal, and the vibrations produced by striking the drum membrane are physically felt. Unlike string or wind instruments, drums are not melodic; rather, their main purpose is rhythmic. The physical and rhythmic aspects of percussion instruments produce a primal sound that controls the rate of action and is essential for performances requiring integration and social cohesion.[28] Hence, drums are used in military exercises and labor activities, such as agricultural work, to keep a controlled pace. Their rhythm can also, however, stir people to frenzy in ecstatic cults as well as create a state of fear. Their loud, base cadence could also be useful in birthing: the repetitive beat would aid in breathing while the loud sound would drown out distracting or disturbing noises.

Hand drums throughout the Eastern Mediterranean were connected to divinities associated with childbirth, fertility, and goddess cults, such as those of Asherah/Astarte, Bes, the Cypriot Goddess, and later Dionysos and Kybele, probably a result of the nature of drumming and its use in creating alternate states and in helping with childbirth. Cypriots dedicated a variety of votives to their deities, many representing specific cultic personnel or specific ritual acts, such as the bringing of offerings to the god by the dedicator or cultic personnel. In the Near Eastern tradition, these votives were intended to stand eternally before the deity, repeating for all time the sacred act they

represented.[29] The votive dedications of musicians can thus be interpreted as offerings given to perform music appropriate for the deity. Figurines of women drummers might have been dedicated by women to ensure a safe childbirth, as an offering of thanks for a successful delivery, or to commemorate a cultic event involving percussion. The motivation for placing figurines of drummers in graves in Cyprus is related to their votive function as symbols for the rituals of the Cypriot Goddess. The tympanon player, as an apotropaic symbol associated with fertility cults, would have been a fitting object to place in a grave to ensure a safe journey to the afterlife.

In conclusion, it is clear that tympanon playing was reserved for women throughout much of the ancient Mediterranean. Although drums were used for a variety of purposes, female temple drummers were unique to rituals of goddesses whose cults focused on women and domestic concerns. Thus, depictions of female tympanon players decorated Egyptian birth houses, adorned ritual equipment, were deposited as grave gifts, and were dedicated to various fertility goddesses. Within this context, the female tympanon player in the Museum of Art and Archaeology can be interpreted as a votive gift, perhaps by a female dedicant, to the Cypriot Goddess at the rural sanctuary at Achna or Arsos in the Cypro-Archaic period.

NOTES

* I wish to thank Susan Langdon, Sabine Fourrier, and my anonymous reviewer for helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper. All errors remain my own.

1. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 64.62. Provenance: Cyprus. Preserved H. 0.077 m. The clay is coarse, reddish-brown. The figurine is solid and mold-made, with a smooth, slightly rounded back. Published in P. Åström, J. Biers, et al., *Corpus of Cypriote Antiquities 2: The Cypriote Collection of the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 20:2, Gothenburg, 1979) pp. 38–39, no. 84.
2. As noted by S. O'Bryhim, "The Sphere-bearing Anthropomorphic Figurines of Amathus," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 306 (1997) pp. 39–45; C. Meerschaert, "Les musiciens dans la coroplastie Chypriote de l'époque archaïque," in F. Vandenabeele and R. Laffineur, eds., *Cypriote Terracottas: Proceedings of the First International Conference of Cypriote Studies, Brussels-Liège-Amsterdam, 29 May–1 June, 1989* (Brussels-Liège, 1991) pp. 183–192; C. L. Meyers, "Of Drums and Damsels: Women's Performance in Ancient Israel," *Biblical Archaeologist* 54 (1991) pp. 16–27. The disks can be as small as the figurine's hand, or as large as the torso and can be held parallel or perpendicular to the body. Meerschaert ("Musiciens") and J. Karageorghis (*The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus* 5. *The Cypro-Archaic Period Small Female Figurines.* B. *Figurines moulées* [Nicosia, 1999]) divide these figures into those in the act of playing the tambourine and those simply holding one.
3. In her interpretation of similar figurines from Palestine, Meyers ("Drums and Damsels," p. 18) notes that these instruments are membranophones (drums made of hide stretched over a wooden frame and struck or brushed with the hand) and are properly referred to as hand drums, or tympana. Tambourines are technically membranophones and idiophones (instruments that produce sound by themselves when moved) since they have bells or rattles attached. For a useful discussion of the mechanics of tympana, see K. Kolotourou, "Music and Cult: The Significance of Percussion and the Cypriote Connection," in V. Karageorghis, H. Matthäus, and S. Rogge, eds., *Cyprus: Religion and Society from the Late Bronze Age to the End of the Archaic Period. Proceedings of an International Symposium on Cypriote Archaeology, Erlangen, 23–24 July 2004* (Möhnesee-Wamel, 2005) pp. 188–191.
4. V. Karageorghis, *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus* 2: *Late Cypriot II–Cypro-Geometric III* (Nicosia, 1993) p. 10, no. A (vi) 1; V. Karageorghis, *Aspects of Everyday Life in Ancient Cyprus* (Nicosia, 2006) p. 84, no. 60.
5. Ibid., *Aspects of Everyday Life*, p. 107, no. 81; cf. pp. 150–151, no. 129.
6. S. Fourrier, *La coroplastie chypriote archaïque: Identités culturelles et politiques à l'époque des royaumes* (*Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranéen* 46, Lyon, 2007) pp. 23–37. I wish to thank Sabine Fourrier for sending me sections of this work in advance of publication.

7. This sanctuary is located on the fringes of the Salaminian territory, and the objects produced indicate that it belongs culturally, and probably politically, within the Salamis Kingdom. See Fourrier, *Coroplastie chypriote*, ch. I.
8. For further examples of figurines from these workshops, see Karageorghis, *Coroplastic Art* 5B, pp. 217–218, no. 7, pl. LVI: 4; M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, the Bible, and Homer: Oriental Civilization, Art and Religion in Ancient Times* (London, 1893) pp. 2–3, pls. XI–XII. For a discussion of elaborate diadems and jewelry on limestone statuary, see L. W. Sørensen, "Cypriot Women of the Archaic Period: Evidence from Sculpture," in D. Bolger and N. Serwint, eds., *Engendering Aphrodite: Women and Society in Ancient Cyprus* (Boston, 2002) pp. 123–129.
9. For examples of different workshop production styles, see Karageorghis, *Coroplastic Art* 5B, and Fourrier, *Coroplastie chypriote*; V. Karageorghis, *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus* 5: *The Cypro-Archaic Period Small Female Figurines. A. Handmade/wheelmade figurines* (Nicosia, 1998) pp. 30–32, 40–42, 68–74, pls. XVIII–XX, XXVII, XLV–LV; V. Karageorghis, *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus* 4: *The Cypro-Archaic Period Small Male Figurines* (Nicosia, 1995) pp. 40–42, pls. XIX–XX.
10. The sanctuary was excavated in the nineteenth century by Ohnefalsch-Richter, who identified it as a shrine to Artemis-Kybele based on female votives holding dogs. See Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, pp. 2–3. Unfortunately, the early date of the excavations limits our understanding of this shrine. See A. Caubet, "Achna, 1882: Réflexion sur les découvertes du sanctuaire chypro-archaïque et classique," in G. C. Ioannides, ed., *Studies in Honour of Vassos Karageorghis* (*Kypriakai Spoudai ND–NE*, Nicosia, 1992) pp. 261–267.
11. The Museum of Art and Archaeology's collection includes a mold-made figurine of a woman holding both breasts, probably produced in the Achna workshop, acc. no. 67.63. Provenance: Cyprus. Preserved H. 0.0223 m. Published in Åström, Biers, et al., *Corpus*, p. 38, no. 83.
12. M.-T. Barrelet, *Figurines et reliefs en terre cuite de la Mésopotamie antique* I: *Potiers, termes de métier, procédés de fabrication et production* (Paris, 1968) pp. 237–239, pls. XXXIII–XXXIX; A. M. Bisi, "Les déesses au tympanon de la Mésopotamie à Carthage," *Assyriological Miscellanies* 1 (1980) pp. 57–78; M. Dothan, "The Musicians of Ashdod," *Archaeology* 23 (1970) pp. 310–311; F. Vandenabeele, "L'influence phénicienne sur la coroplastie chypriote," in *Phoenicia and Its Neighbours (Studia Phoenicia* 3, Leuven, 1985) pp. 203–211; F. Vandenabeele,"Quelques particularités de la civilisation d'Amathonte à l'époque du chypro-géométrique," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 92 (1968) pp. 103–114.
13. Meyers, "Drums and Damsels"; D. R. Hillers, "The Goddess with the Tambourine: Reflections on an Object from Taanach," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 41 (1970) pp. 606–619; V. Karageorghis and A. Hermary, *La nécropole d'Amathonte: Tombes 113–367* III. i. *The Terracottas (Etudes Chypriotes* 9, Nicosia, 1987) pp. 17–18; Bisi, "Déesses"; Dothan, "Musicians of Ashdod"; C. Meyers, "The Drum-Dance-Song Ensemble: Women's Performance in Biblical Israel," in K. Marshall, ed., *Rediscovering the Muses: Women's Musical Traditions* (Boston, 1993) pp. 49–67.

14. J. Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine* (Grand Rapids and Cambridge, 2002) p. 117. Many innovations in music and musical instruments occurred in the Near East and Egypt in the Early Iron Age, but hand drums, perhaps because of their simplicity and popularity, remained unchanged.
15. Ibid., pp. 30–31. The link between female drummers and sexuality is made explicit through the use of drums by young women in dance and song. Figurines from Beth Shean and Megiddo hold both a tambourine and a baby, demonstrating the drums' association with both sexuality and fertility.
16. For a tenth-century cultic stand with drummer and other musicians from Ashdod, see Dothan, "Musicians of Ashdod," p. 310. For metal bowls, see G. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean (Classical Studies, University of California Press* 26, Berkeley, 1985) nos. Cy3, Cy5, Cy6, Cy13. For ivories, see R. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories in the British Museum,* second edition (London, 1975) pl. XVII. For reliefs, see C. Zaccagnini, "L'orchestra filamonica di Ur," *Archeo* 8, no. 9 (1993) pp. 122–124.
17. See Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel*, pp. 118–125, for distribution of Levantine drummer figurines.
18. Karageorghis and Hermary, *Nécropole*, pp. 17–19; A. Hermary, *Amathonte* 5. *Les figurines en terre cuite archaïques et classiques: Les sculptures en pierre (Etudes Chypriotes* 15, Athens, 2000); see also Bisi, "Déesses." A. Caubet ("The Terracotta Workshops of Idalion during the Cypro-Archaic Period," in. P. Aström, ed., *Acta Cypria: Acts of an International Congress on Cypriote Archaeology held in Göteborg on 22–24 August 1991*, part 3 [Jonsered, 1992] p. 130) argues that the Amathus figurines were imitated locally by coroplasts at Idalion, Kourion, and elsewhere, while Meerschaert ("Musiciens," p. 184) argues that figurines were exported from Amathus to other regions.
19. M. Duchesne-Guillemin, "Music in Ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt," *World Archaeology* 12 (1981) pp. 290–295; see also L. Manniche, *Music and Musicians in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1991) pp. 16–22; L. Manniche, *Ancient Egyptian Musical Instruments* (Munich and Berlin, 1975) pp. 2–5; E. Teeter, "Female Musicians in Pharaonic Egypt," in K. Marshall, ed., *Rediscovering the Muses: Women's Musical Traditions* (Boston, 1993) pp. 68–91.
20. Manniche, *Music and Musicians,* pp. 65–66, 118–119; Manniche, *Ancient Egyptian Musical Instruments*, pp. 4–5; Teeter, "Female Musicians," pp. 84–85.
21. The most famous examples are the *mammisi* at the sanctuary of Hathor at Dendara, where reliefs of women playing hand drums line the walls, see Manniche, *Music and Musicians,* p. 66, fig. 38.
22. V. Karageorghis, *Early Cyprus: Crossroads of the Mediterranean* (Los Angeles, 2002) pp. 151–193.
23. G. Schmidt, *Samos* 7: *Kyprische Bildwerke aus dem Heraion von Samos* (Bonn, 1968) Group 3, pls. 49, 51, 70; Chr. Blinkenberg, *Lindos, Fouilles de l'Acropole 1902–1914* 1: *Les petits objets* (Berlin, 1931) pp. 491–495, nos. 2038–2068, pls. 92–94. There are also limestone examples of tympanon players from these sanctuaries.

24. For a list of literary references on drumming, see Kolotourou, "Music and Cult," pp. 185–189. In Simonides, Kybele frightens a lion with her tympanon playing, Herakles frightens away the Stymphalian birds with his bronze clappers, and the Kouretes and Korybantes clash their shields and beat tambourines, clappers, and cymbals while dancing to protect the infant Zeus from Kronos.
25. S. Michaelides, *The Music of Ancient Greece: An Encyclopedia* (London, 1978) *s.v.* "Tympanon." For illustrations of maenads playing drums, ibid., pl. X; E. J. Stafford, *Life, Myth, and Art in Ancient Greece* (Los Angeles, 2004) p. 133.
26. For illustrations of Kybele with tympana, see G. M. A. Hanfmann and J. C. Waldbaum, "Kybele and Artemis: Two Anatolian Goddesses at Sardis," *Archaeology* 22 (1969) pp. 264–269; W. Schürmann, *Katalog der antiken Terrakotten im Badischen Landesmuseum Karlsruhe* (Göteborg, 1989) p. 169, no. 617, pl. 102; p. 298, nos. 1125, 1126, pl. 186.
27. C. Renfrew, *The Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi* (London, 1985) pp. 18–21.
28. Kolotourou ("Music and Cult," pp. 183–184) notes that "modern research on biomusicology, neurology, evolution and language has shown that repetition and synchronism, in other words adherence to set rhythmic patterns, facilitate interaction, allow group participation and bonding and lead to group behavioural conditioning."
29. J. Connelly, "Standing Before One's God: Votive Sculpture and the Cypriot Religious Tradition," *Biblical Archaeologist* 52 (1989) pp. 210–218.

A Unique Gorgon Bird in Missouri

William R. Biers

Gorgons were some of the most well-known monsters in Greek myth; their gaze would turn anyone into stone. They often appear in art, and the myth of the hero Perseus slaying the Gorgon Medusa was frequently illustrated. The monsters probably had their origin in the Near East, from where the Greeks adopted them. The Greeks gave them a distinctive representation as they did with many designs and creatures imported from Near Eastern sources.[1] The Gorgon in Greek art is female and is usually depicted with her face frontal to the viewer, with an open grinning mouth displaying pointed teeth, and often with entwined snakes as her hair. The frontal face or mask, called a gorgoneion, shows up in many contexts, including on warriors' shields and even on the pediment of temples such as the sixth-century B.C.E. temple at Selinus in Sicily, and is generally seen as apotropaic, designed to ward off evil.[2]

Several representations of the Gorgon's frontal face are in the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri. Gorgons were popular with Attic artists, and one example from the collection is illustrated in Figure 1. The Gorgon's head is painted in the tondo of the interior floor of a black-figure cup of the end of the sixth century B.C.E.[3] Battle scenes with Herakles

Fig. 1. Gorgoneion in tondo of black-figure cup. Attic, end of sixth century B.C.E., pottery. Museum of Art and Archaeology, acc. no. 57.4.

Fig. 2a. Gorgon bird, front view. Middle Corinthian, 595/590–570 B.C.E., pottery. Museum of Art and Archaeology, acc. no. 87.106.

decorate the outside of the cup, appropriately probably since the Gorgon mask is often associated with warfare. Whether it is to be seen in this case as a device to ward off evil is something to consider, especially since the drinker would see it immediately upon emptying the cup.

Gorgons are often shown in earlier Corinthian art, and the museum has in its collection what appears to be a unique example of a Gorgon head on the body of a bird (Figs. 2a, 2b).[4] The wheel-made spherical body has a small, originally squared-off tail and two added strips of clay for the feet. The head was made in a mold and attached to the body while other details such as the feet are handmade and attached. Two suspension holes are pierced through on either side of the neck, and the body is covered with black dots. There are remains of black decoration on the back of the head, and there are also traces of black on the Gorgon's face: on the forehead fringe, the eyebrows, and the center of the eyes. The vase is in fact a container with a filling hole in the head and belongs to a group of so-called plastic vases that were produced in Corinth and elsewhere in antiquity.[5] One of the characteristics of Corinthian plastic vases is the way they were manufactured, often combining different parts to make different representations. This is the case here, where the wheel-made bird body can change the vase's identification from a bird with a bird's head, to a siren with a woman's head, or to something else, a bird with the head of a Gorgon as seen in this example.[6]

Fig. 2b. Gorgon bird, back view.

Fig. 3. "Gorgo-panther," front and back view. University of Sydney, Nicholson Museum NM 54.43. Photo courtesy of the Nicholson Museum.

While the placement of a gorgoneion on a bird's body in Corinthian plastic vases appears to be unique, a gorgoneion on an animal body is known. Figure 3 illustrates one of at least three preserved examples of what has been called a "gorgo-panther," in which the gorgoneion has been added to the body of a feline.[7] A comparison of the measurements of the Gorgon head with that of the Missouri "Gorgon bird" suggests that both heads came from the same mold and thus from the same workshop in Corinth that may have specialized in plastic vases. Another "Gorgo-panther" was on the Swiss market in 1967 (Fig. 4).[8] A third was on the New York market in 1987.[9] A gorgoneion from a Corinthian vase from Lindos is now in Istanbul (Fig. 5).[10] Again, the appearance of the head suggests that it came from the same mold as the Missouri example. Unfortunately, only the head of the vessel is preserved so we cannot know what sort of creature was represented.

Fig. 4. "Gorgo-panther." After *Kunstwerke der Antike*, Münzen und Medaillen A.G, *Auktion* 34 (Basel, 1967) pl. 26.

These vases with Gorgon heads were containers. Such vases are generally believed to have contained perfumes or perfumed oils, and a research project at the

Fig. 5. Gorgoneion from a plastic vase. Istanbul Archaeological Museum, acc. no. 3195. Photo courtesy of the Museum and the General Directory, Ankara.

University of Missouri that analyzed trace substances from plastic vases came up with some interesting results from the Gorgon bird.[11] Traces of cedrol and cedrene were identified in the interior fabric of the vase. These are constituents of cedar oil, which is an insect repellent. Cedar wood is commonly used in modern times in chests to deter insects. One can speculate that the use of a Gorgon's head on a vase containing insect repellent might be an appropriate way to indicate the contents, the gorgoneion being seen as apotropaic in the sense that it is guarding against insects.[12] It might be noted, also, that in the examples cited, the gorgoneion is placed at a right angle to the body, directly confronting the viewer. Might it be possible, also, to suggest that at least in some cases a shopper in an ancient market place would be able to tell what was in a particular plastic vase by its shape? Transport amphoras containing wine show that form could indicate content. The shape of the amphoras varied, depending on their origin, so that the shopper in antiquity could identify the product of a given place by the shape of its container.[13] Whether this characteristic is shared by plastic vases is pure speculation, and only further research into their ancient contents might shed light on this suggestion.

NOTES

1. For Gorgons in general, see *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* 4, 1 (Zurich/Munich, 1988) pp. 285–362; *Oxford Classical Dictionary,* 3rd edition (Oxford, 1996) p. 643. For the Near Eastern connection, see W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass./London, 1992) especially pp. 82–87 and fig. 6 (p. 86) for Gorgons and illustrations of the Perseus myth.
2. For the pediment of Temple C at Selinus in Sicily, see A. W. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture* (revised by R. A. Tomlinson) 5th edition (New Haven/London, 1996) p. 84, fig. 116. For a full figure of a Gorgon on a temple on Corfu, ibid., p. 78, fig. 103.
3. William R. Biers, Lisa V. Benson, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (Fascicule 1, USA Fascicule 36, Mainz, 2002) p. 25, no. 43 (acc. no. 57.4) pls. 23.5–6 and 24, fig. 8.2.
4. Ibid., p. 12, no. 25 (acc. no. 87.106), pl. 12.1–2. J. Chamay and J.-L. Maier, *Céramiques corinthiennes, collection du docteur Jean Lauffenburger* (Geneva, 1984) pp. 144–145; *Catalogue Sotheby's*, London (July 13, 1987) p. 64, no. 180; *Muse* 22 (1988) p. 36, illus. H. 0.071 m; max. preserved L. 0.065 m; max. W. 0.043 m.
5. For a general treatment of plastic vases of the archaic period, see R. A. Higgins, *British Museum Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (London, 1959; reprinted 1975*)* pp. 1–54. A survey of Corinthian plastic vases is to be found in D. A. Amyx, *Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period,* vol. 2 (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1988) pp. 512–533.
6. Monsters made by combining different parts are also seen in Corinthian painting. See Amyx's section entitled "Make-a-Monster (A Do-It-Yourself Kit)," ibid., pp. 661–662. For illustrations of the various types of Corinthian plastic vases, see J. Ducat, "Les vases plastiques corinthiens," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 87 (1963) pp. 431–458. For the Missouri example, see W. R. Biers, "Mass Production, Standardized Parts, and the Corinthian 'Plastic' Vase," *Hesperia* 63 (1994) pp. 510–511.
7. University of Sydney, Nicholson Museum NM 54.43, gift of Dr. Walter Hess. C. A. Lawler, *Treasures from the Nicholson Museum* (Davis Jones' Art Gallery, Sydney, Australia, 1979) p. 13, no. 64, L. 0.077 m. Thanks go to Senior Curator Michael Turner for permission to illustrate the "gorgo-panther" and for help and information.
8. *Kunstwerke der Antike*, Münzen und Medaillen A.G, *Auktion* 34 (Basel, 1967) p. 49, no. 104, pl. 26, H. 0.062 m; Th. Karagiorga, *Gorgie Kephale* (Athens, 1970) pp. 67, 86, 136, pl. 11 *gamma*.
9. *Ancient Art*, Ariadne Galleries Inc. (New York, 1987) no. 82, H. 0.06 m.
10. Istanbul Archaeological Museum 3195. Chr. Blinkenberg, *Lindos, Fouilles de l'Acropole, 1902–1914* 1: *Les petits objets* (Berlin, 1931) p. 475, no. 1939; G. Mendel, *Musées Impériaux Ottomans: Catalogue des figurines grecques de terre cuite* (Constantinople, 1908) p. 21, no. 231A, max. preserved H. 0.05 m. I thank Dr. Seniz Attik and Dr. Billur Tekkok for their assistance.

11. K. Gerhardt, S. Searles, W. Biers, "Corinthian Figure Vases: Non-Destructive Extraction and Gas Chromatography-Mass Spectrometry," in W. Biers and P. McGovern, eds., *Organic Contents of Ancient Vessels: Materials Analysis and Archaeological Investigation* (*Museum Applied Science Center for Archaeology, Research Papers in Science and Archaeology* 7, Philadelphia, 1990) p. 47, fig. 7; p. 48, fig. 9; W. Biers, K. Gerhardt, R. Braniff, *Lost Scents: Investigations of Corinthian "Plastic" Vases by Gas Chromatography-Mass Spectrometry* (*Museum Applied Science Center for Archaeology, Research Papers in Science and Archaeology* 11, Philadelphia, 1994) p. 47, no. 11, fig. 4.
12. Unfortunately cedrol and cedrene were also found in another shape, a hare, bringing up the possibility of reuse and refilling of these plastic vases. Ibid., pp. 24, 41–42, no. 5, fig. 2.
13. For the various shapes of transport amphoras from different areas as found in the Athenian Agora, see V. Grace, *Amphoras and the Ancient Wine Trade,* rev. ed. (Princeton, 1979). Also in general, I. K. Whitbread, *Greek Transport Amphorae: A Petrological and Archaeological Study (British School at Athens, Fitch Laboratory Occasional Paper* 4, 1995) especially pp. 34–37.

Revealing a Roman Artemis*

John Tristan Barnes

Before the arrival of Christianity, votive figurines formed one of the most enduring representations of religion throughout the classical world. Terracotta and bronze votives have been discovered in funerary contexts, temple deposits, and smaller sites of private devotion. They were popular in the Greek world, in Etruria, and also in the Roman sphere as late as the third century C.E.[1] The figures frequently take the form of suppliants carrying or accompanying offerings, but they also often depict the god or goddess whom the suppliant is invoking. These objects frequently pose problems concerning usage, chronology, and identification, especially if found in large mixed deposits whose dates range over a broad time span. Votives in museum collections are also sometimes difficult to place in their specific artistic and religious context. A mold-made figurine in the collection of the Museum of Art and Archaeology belongs to the latter group, since it was acquired without any information about its provenance. Comparison with votives from Italy and Greece can identify and date it, and a general provenance has been ascertained, but a specific site for its origin remains unknown.

The terracotta was originally in the collection of Arthur L. Frothingham, Jr. During the last decade of the nineteenth century, Frothingham was associate director of the American School in Rome, which would become the American Academy in Rome. He worked in Rome and in Etruscan cities to the north, bought works from Cerveteri and Tarquinia from dealers in Rome, and purchased tomb groups from the excavators of the sites of Vulci and Narce.[2] The Museum of Art and Archaeology's records state that after his death and the settlement of his estate, the terracotta was given, along with other objects, to Mr. C. R. Fleece. In 1966, after her husband's death, Mrs. Fleece gave at least thirteen objects to the museum. These included Etruscan bucchero vases, South Italian terracottas, and an Attic black-figure trefoil oinochoe, all with a wide range of dates.[3]

The museum's votive from the Frothingham collection had been broken and mended. It is missing its head, feet, and right hand, but details of the body

Fig. 1. Standing Artemis figurine. Roman, first century B.C.E., terracotta. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Mrs. C. R. Fleece, acc. no. 66.410. Photo: J. Wilcox.

and drapery are well preserved (Fig. 1).[4] The female figure stands with her weight on her right leg while the left leg is bent and turned slightly outward. The legs have been sawn off smoothly in modern times at roughly the level of the shins, but just above the break, the tops of boots are visible.[5] Her left arm is bent behind her back while the right arm hangs down at her side. She wears a himation draped over her left shoulder and covering her left arm, and folds of it are visible at her right side, once held in her missing right hand. Her short chiton, or *chitoniskos*, ends just above her knees and has a single over-fold. The figure also wears an animal skin draped over the chiton from her left shoulder and across her chest, with the head hanging down between her legs. A high belt, now rather worn, is tied over both chiton and animal skin. The figure is hollow, and the back is without detail, but with a large oval vent (Fig. 2). The interior is smooth and still bears finger indentations from the craftsman, or coroplast. The fabric is a mottled reddish brown; no traces of slip or paint remain.[6]

The dimensions and pose are characteristic of terracotta votive figurines. Standing figures with one arm bent behind and the other held down at the side are found in sanctuaries throughout the ancient Mediterranean world. Variations of this pose also occur, since many figures may have both arms down at the side or folded across the chest; they may also hold votive offerings such as bowls or sacrificial animals.

The clothing of this figure suggests its identification. The one female who often wears a short chiton, or chitoniskos, is the goddess Artemis. For a goddess of action and violence, a short garment offers obvious advantages over a full-length one. Many representations of Artemis depict her wearing a chitoniskos, boots, a himation draped over her shoulders, and over her chest an

animal skin, usually identified as a deer or lion skin. Often she is accompanied by an animal such as a deer, or hound.[7] In the absence of these characteristic attributes or her bow, and without the god Apollo, who frequently appears with his sister, the short chiton and animal skin are often enough to identify the figure as Artemis. Votive figures depicting Artemis wearing this style of dress have been found in many areas of the ancient Mediterranean world.[8] Figure 3 illustrates an Etruscan example.

Fig. 2. Standing Artemis figurine, back view. Roman, first century B.C.E., terracotta. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Mrs. C. R. Fleece, acc. no. 66.410. Photo: J. Wilcox.

The chitoniskos, boots, and animal skin of the terracotta in the Museum of Art and Archaeology thus indicate that an identification as Artemis is the most likely. Support for this identification comes from a deposit of votive terracottas probably associated with a temple of Minerva Medica on the Esquiline Hill in Rome.[9] A figurine from the deposit has also been identified as a portrayal of the goddess Artemis (Fig. 4).[10] It appears to be identical to the one in the Museum of Art and Archaeology's collection, with the same posture and dress. The boots, feet, and pedestal are preserved on the second figurine, since it is intact but for the head. The size of the two figurines is also comparable; the terracotta from the Roman deposit measures 0.147 m in height whereas the Museum of Art and Archaeology's figure measures 0.119 m. The difference between the two can be understood as the height of the missing pedestal and lower legs.

The Artemis in the Museum of Art and Archaeology was originally identified in museum records as a sixth-century Etruscan maenad. It is unknown when this identification was made, but presumably it was caused by the animal skin worn across the chest of the figure. While the animal skin is an attribute of maenads in Greek, Etruscan, and Roman tradition, maenads usually also carry a thyrsus, are accompanied by satyrs, or are depicted in movement.[11] Figures such as the one shown in Figure 5 are often only tentatively identified as maenads.[12]

The deposit probably associated with the temple of Minerva Medica dates

Fig. 3. Artumes. Etruscan, ca. fourth–third centuries B.C.E., terracotta. Photo courtesy of the Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of the University of California. Photographed by Eugene Prince, 8-2477.

from the fourth through the first centuries B.C.E. Laura Gatti Lo Guzzo dated the Artemis terracotta to not before the first century B.C.E.[13] She does not discuss her reasons for this date, but both this figurine and the one in the museum's collection display typical late Hellenistic features such as simplified dress and linear folds, in contrast to the more complex drapery folds of earlier figurines. Roman Corinth provides a useful comparison, since the figurine types are easily datable and unambiguously Roman. Two fragments from the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore are useful parallels.[14] Identified as Artemis, they display wide, straight folds that match well with the Artemis votive in the museum, even if the poses do not directly correspond. Similar types of drapery are found on a figurine from Athens and a marble statue from Cyrene dating to the late Hellenistic period and found in Roman contexts (Fig. 6).[15] This simplified style of linear drapery seems to be characteristic of Roman portrayals of the chiton and supports a dating of the museum's figurine to sometime from the last half of the second to the first century B.C.E.

As well as supporting the identification of the museum's figurine, the deposit associated with the temple of Minerva Medica in Rome raises a question about the function of such a figurine's dedication. Several other votive terracottas of Artemis are also published from the deposit.[16] Their presence in a deposit probably from a temple of Minerva Medica is curious since Artemis is not known for any curative powers, but votive figurines of "visiting" gods are often found in sanctuaries.[17] The Artemis figurines probably associated with the

Fig. 4. Artemis. Roman, first century B.C.E.., terracotta. Rome, Antiquarium Comunale, Archivo Fotografico, neg. 5410.

Fig. 5. Female figure (maenad?). Roman, ca. first century B.C.E., terracotta. Rome, Antiquarium Comunale, Archivo Fotografico, neg. 5984.

Temple of Minerva Medica in Rome may in fact have nothing to do with the curative function of the temple but, rather, with some associated property of Artemis herself. As far as is now known, Artemis was adopted by the Italic and Etruscan cultures straight from the Greeks, and by the fifth century B.C.E. she had acquired a nurturing or kourotrophic function especially in relation to women and youths. This aspect was particularly strong in southern Etruria in the area around Cerveteri.[18] Cerveteri is close to Rome, and since Artemis Kourotrophos was worshipped in Cerveteri from an early period, it seems likely that the figurines of Artemis presumably from the Temple of Minerva Medica were dedicated in this capacity. Whether the figurine in the Museum of Art and Archaeology was also dedicated to Artemis Kourotrophos cannot,

Fig. 6. Artemis. Late Hellenistic, marble. Cyrene Museum 14194. After *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae 2*, 2, p. 476, no. 371a.

of course, be ascertained.

Although an origin in Italy is indicated by the similar figurine in Rome and by the collecting history of Arthur Frothingham, Jr., it is not possible to determine the specific site where the figurine was originally found. Although Frothingham acquired groups of excavated material for the University of Pennsylvania Museum, the objects from his collection given to Fleece are obviously not from a single source and are of no help in establishing provenance from a particular site.

The figurine possibly from the Temple of Minerva Medica in Rome can, however, suggest a general area of manufacture for the museum's Artemis. Gatti Lo Guzzo also mentions that a fragment of a similar type was found at Pratica di Mare (ancient Lavinium), 28 km south of Rome.[19] Since coroplasts often moved around an area during their operations, objects cast from a single mold could end up in different locales.[20] While there is some evidence that high-quality clay for terracotta figurines was mined in certain areas, for the most part the grade of clay used to fashion votive figurines was not always of the best quality.[21] This granted coroplasts a degree of freedom to move as they saw fit, since the molds were relatively small and easily transportable, and the labor force needed for production required only a reasonably sized family. Although the two Artemis figurines were likely made either from the same mold or from the same original model, this does not mean that the votive from the museum's collection necessarily originated in Rome. The date of the two figurines makes the attempt to find a provenance more difficult, since with the adoption of the Hellenistic style, regional differences in central Italy practically disappear.[22]

While the identification of the figurine as an image of the goddess Artemis is certain, and a date in the first century B.C.E. is probable, its provenance remains unclear. The incomplete records of Frothingham's collecting could justify a Roman origin but also a South Italian or even Etruscan derivation.

The stylistic similarities to other Roman votives suggest that a Roman origin is correct, but more precision is not possible on stylistic grounds alone. The example from the probable temple of Minerva Medica in Rome indicates that the mold used to create the museum's figurine was in use in or around the city during the first century B.C.E., but because of the itinerancy of craftsmen, the actual range could have stretched across Latium and southern Etruria. In spite of this, given the date and the cultural climate of central Italy at the time, the designation "Roman" is probably correct.

NOTES

* I would like to thank Dr. Jane Biers, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, and Dr. Kathleen Warner Slane, Department of Art History and Archaeology, University of Missouri, for their assistance with the preparation of this article.

1. See R. Higgins, "Terracottas," in *Roman Crafts,* D. Strong and D. Brown, eds. (New York, 1976) p. 105, for a brief discussion of votive terracottas in the larger discussion of terracottas in general.
2. The University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, "The Etruscan World: UMP's Etruscan Collections," http://www.museum.upenn.edu/new/worlds_intertwined/etruscan/collections.shtml (accessed February 3, 2007) gives a brief history of Frothingham's efforts to gather works for the museum's collections. See also F. R. Serra Ridgway, "The Etruscan Gallery of the University of Pennsylvania Museum," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 19 (2006) p. 393.
3. In 1966 only three of these gifts were accessioned and published: a black-figure oinochoe and two bucchero vessels, acc. nos. 66.306, 309–310 ("Acquisitions 1966," *Muse* 1 [1967] p. 6). The rest of the objects remained in storage as it was thought they might be fakes. Several years later it was agreed they were genuine. They were then given 1966 accession numbers, since that was the year they were acquired by the Museum of Art and Archaeology.
4. Acc. no. 66.410. Gift of Mrs. C. R. Fleece from the collection of Arthur Frothingham, Jr., Princeton. Preserved H. 0.119 m; W. 0.057 m. The head was probably made in a separate mold and may have been lost at an early date, as is the case with many terracotta figurines.
5. The jagged edge left by the loss of feet and base was presumably smoothed for mounting on a base.
6. Vent: H. 0.043 m; W. 0.022 m; walls of figurine: Th. 0.008 m, relatively thick for the size of the figure. The fabric exhibits abundant, large, black inclusions, many tiny, yellow, sparkling ones, and a few voids from burned out organic temper.
7. For an Artemis wearing a similar deer skin and accompanied by a deer, see *Lexicon*

Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae 2 (Zurich/Munich, 1984) p. 692, fig. 931, Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam, 1237.1139; p. 691, fig. 921, Artemis with hound, Louvre Museum, Paris, CA159.

8. For images of Artemis the huntress wearing a short chiton, see *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* 2, pp. 640–649; for images of the goddess wearing an animal skin, see pp. 651–653. For a discussion of Etruscan and Italic contexts of the garment and depictions of Artemis, see L. Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress* (Baltimore, 1975) p. 40, and H. Nagy, *Votive Terracottas from the "Vignaccia," Cerveteri, in the Lowie Museum of Anthropology (Archaeologica* 75, Rome, 1988) pp. 30–32.
9. In 1887, during work on construction of a new road, hundreds of terracotta heads, figurines, and anatomical votives were found at this site in a large deposit, together with a fragmentary lamp inscribed as a gift to Minerva. Although no architectural remains were uncovered, the deposit suggests that the temple of Minerva Medica, listed in the *Notitia* and *Curiosum* within *Regio V: Esquiliae,* should be located here. As the name Medica testifies, it was a center of healing, and the large number of votive objects found that depict parts of the body are therefore significant. For bibliography on the temple, see *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* 3 (Rome, 1996) pp. 255–256, and more recently *Mapping Augustan Rome*, L. Haselberger, dir. (*Journal of Roman Archaeology,* Suppl. 50, 2002) p. 168. Scholars accept that the temple of Minerva Medica was probably, but not certainly, located on this site. The votive deposit was published by L. Gatti Lo Guzzo, *Il deposito votivo dall'Esquilino detto di Minerva Medica* (*Studi e Materiali di Etruscologia e Antichità Italiche* 17, Florence, 1978).
10. Gatti Lo Guzzo, *Deposito votivo*, p. 59, pl. XIX, ELXVII.
11. See for example, J. J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge, 1986) pp. 170–172, figs. 176, 178.
12. It should be noted that there is nothing in the portrayal of this figure that uniquely identifies it as a maenad. While Artemis the huntress usually wears a short chiton, she can wear different styles of dress, including long garments. See *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* 2, pp. 635–640.
13. Gatti Lo Guzzo, *Deposito votivo*, p. 14. Dating a figurine based on another probably made from the same mold is never conclusive, since the molds can be in existence for long periods if they are not used intensively. The short chiton was, however, a universal attribute of Artemis in the Hellenistic period. That period also saw the prevalence of portrayals of the goddess in this style of dress without any additional attributes such as animals, bows, or other figures. See *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* 2, p.753.
14. G. S. Merker, *Corinth, Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 18, 4, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: Terracotta Figurines of the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods* (Princeton, 2000) pp. 317, 319, pls. 73–74, figs. R16, R29.
15. *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* 2, p. 652, figs. 367, 371a.
16. Gatti Lo Guzzo, *Deposito votivo*, pp. 58–59.

17. Brita Alroth's study of what she termed "visiting" gods—that is, images of one deity that appear in the sanctuary of another—examined the relationship between the two divinities to determine whether there was any correlation between the attributes of the "visiting" and the "recipient" god (*Greek Gods and Figurines: Aspects of the Anthropomorphic Dedications* [*Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations,* 18, Uppsala, 1989]). Even though the study focuses exclusively on Greek sites, it is still useful for elucidating methods of worship with Italian votive figurines because of the influence of the Greek world on the native cultures of Italy. Alroth pointed out that many of the "visiting" goddesses dedicated in female sanctuaries, such as those of Athena, had connotations to some degree with youth or child rearing (p. 112). Often these goddesses had a nurturing, or kourotrophic, association and given their contexts could be interpreted as an attempt by the dedicant to invoke the help of the "visiting" deity. While Alroth did accept the possibility that there might have been no real thought behind the giving of such figurines, that they could simply have been viewed as pleasing gifts for their own intrinsic value, she preferred to see the votive figurines as reflective of particular attributes of the "visiting" deity, not of the "recipient" one (p. 113).
18. Nagy, *Votive Terracottas*, p. 32.
19. Gatti Lo Guzzo, *Deposito votivo*, p. 59. Unfortunately, this is not illustrated and apparently not published.
20. Nagy, *Votive Terracottas*, p. 9.
21. For a description of the refining of terracotta and grog mixtures, see M. Söderlind, *Late Etruscan Votive Heads from Tessennano: Production, Distribution, Sociohistorical Context* (Rome, 2002) pp. 242–243.
22. Nagy, *Votive Terracottas*, pp. 13–14. See also Gatti Lo Guzzo, *Deposito votivo*, pp. 150–151. Classical Italic/Etruscan figurines of central Italy were distinguished from the South Italian/Greek examples by a heavier and more linear style. This distinction mostly disappeared with the Hellenization of the fourth century B.C.E.

Fig. 1. Portrait of an empress. Roman, mid-third century C.E., marble. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Weinberg and Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund, acc. no. 2004.1. Photo: J. Wilcox.

The Identity Crisis of a Roman Empress

Benton Kidd

Fig. 2. Portrait of an empress, profile. Roman, mid-third century C.E., marble. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Weinberg and Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund, acc. no. 2004.1. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

In 2004, the museum acquired a diademed head of an unidentified female subject (cover, Figs. 1–2, 4) that now complements the growing collection of Roman portraiture. The marble head is a life-size[1] portrait of fine quality, which once formed part of a larger statue or bust. A diagonal break through the neck to the lower part of the bun makes it impossible to ascertain the original context. Most of the features of the face, such as the eyebrows, eyes, and mouth, are complete, but the nose is missing.[2] The deeply drilled pupils and tear ducts, along with the slightly crooked mouth, imbue the portrait with depth and introspection. In profile, the face is equally handsome, with a high regal forehead and a fleshy chin (Fig. 2). Somewhat unusual are the depressions

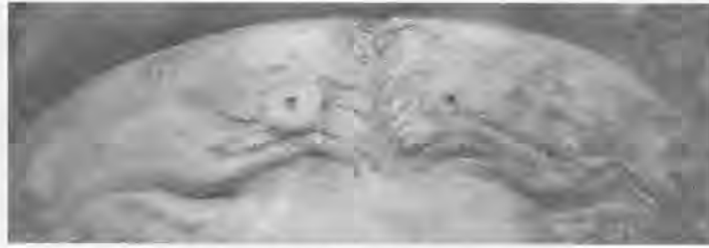

Fig 3. Detail of Fig. 1, showing pointing marks.

in each earlobe, which one can only assume are to indicate piercings even though they are not pierced through. The portrait's refined craftsmanship, stately demeanor, and diadem indicate that the subject is an empress.[3]

Fig. 4. Portrait of an empress, rear view. Roman, mid-third century C.E., marble. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Weinberg and Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund, acc. no. 2004.1. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

While the face seems to have been finished completely, the hair was not. The front of the hair received rudimentary striations on either side of the part (Fig. 3), but those fade out toward the back of the head. Accretions concentrated on the marble surface of the hair may be the remains of plaster or gesso, but two small protuberances on either side of the part appear to be pointing marks (Fig. 3), indicating an unfinished state. A large, oval bun forms the back of the head, but its chisel marks were never removed (Fig. 4). At some point, work must have resumed on the portrait, possibly a recutting phase. During that phase, the top of the bun was cut away and a large socket (diam: 0.04 m; depth: 0.05 m) was bored into the crown of the head (Fig. 5). The diadem was also cut into at the back when the head was fitted for the socket. Testing of the marble has shown it to be Prokonessian, while the head's alleged provenance is Tunisia.[4]

Hairstyle and Facial Comparisons
The Evidence from Coins and Sculpture

Fig. 5. Portrait of an empress, detail of socket. Roman, mid-third century C.E., marble. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Weinberg and Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund, acc. no. 2004.1. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

The hairstyle and pensive demeanor of the portrait most likely date it to the first half of the third century C.E., which narrows the possibilities for the empress's identity.[5] On the other hand, the reader is cautioned on three points when considering the images of third-century empresses: (1) they are increasingly generalized in appearance, and many wear similar hairstyles; (2) sculpted portraits are not attested epigraphically, and thus determining their identities definitively is particularly difficult; (3) although legends identify the coins, the accompanying images present a bewildering number of differences from portrait to portrait and render comparisons to three-dimensional works extremely tenuous.[6]

Although the hairstyle of the Missouri head is similar to those worn by third-century empresses, it is also somewhat unusual. It is parted in the center of the head, styled in a simple wave that is pulled behind the ears, and wound into a large oval bun in the back. Few imperial women wear this precise hairstyle on coins, but many wear variants of it. Both Julia Domna (193–211, d. 217) and her sister Julia Maesa (165–ca. 226) wear waved hair parted in the center with a large oval bun in the back (Figs. 6 and 7), but these images show the hair drawn over the ears, not pulled

Fig. 6. *Denarius* of Julia Domna. Roman, mint of Rome, 198–209 C.E., silver. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 69.623. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

Fig. 7. *Denarius* of Julia Maesa. Roman, mint of Rome, 218–222 C.E., silver. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 91.350. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

Fig. 8. *Denarius* of Plautilla. Roman, mint of Rome, 202–205 C.E, silver. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 91.347. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

behind them, as it is on the Missouri portrait. Domna's stone portraits also show that her buns were styled differently, usually not in the spiral fashion of the Missouri head's. Even if the sisters' hairstyles were, however, identical, we can hardly imagine that their coin profiles could possibly be the same subject as the Missouri head in its present state.[7] Manlia Scantilla (d. 193) and her daughter Didia Clara (b. 153) also wear a very similar style on coins. A sculpted portrait identified as Manlia Scantilla has nearly the same hairstyle, but its identification is uncertain,[8] and the two-month reign of Didius Julianus, her husband (r. 193), is unlikely to have left behind many portraits.

Fig. 9. *Denarius* of Julia Mamaea, Roman, mint of Rome, 232 C.E., silver. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 69.641. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

The coins of the empress Plautilla (d. 212) show several hairstyles, but she seems to begin a fashion that many empresses imitate thereafter. That one consists of a center part, a more elaborate wave akin to a marcel, and the hair at the back wound into a chignon on the nape of the neck, rather than into an oval bun (Fig. 8). With Plautilla, the hair is again over the ears, but others such as Julia Paula (married Elagabalus 219), Aquilia Severa (married Elagabalus 220), Annia Faustina (married Elagabalus 221), Julia Mamaea (180–235) (Fig. 9), and Orbiana (married Alexander Severus 225) wear a similar style with the hair behind the ears, sometimes marceled, sometimes with a simpler wave. With the numismatic images of these empresses, we are far closer to the subject of the Missouri head. In general, the head's profile is similar to a number of these, but particularly to some of those of Julia Mamaea and Orbiana.

Fig. 10. Coin of Tranquillina. Roman, mint of Nicaea, 241–244 C.E., bronze. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 82.29. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

Fig. 11. *Tetradrachm* of Otacilia Severa. Roman, mint of Antioch, 244–249 C.E., billon. Coll. P. Lawrence.

By the 240s, the imposing *Scheitelzopf* made its appearance, perhaps with the empress Tranquillina (married Gordian 241) (Fig. 10).[9] A braid or plait drawn up the back of the head and pinned, the *Scheitelzopf* was also worn with the center part, the hair either waved or marceled, and usually pulled behind the ears. Although the Missouri head does not wear this arrangement, some empresses wear it along with other styles and thus comparisons to coin profiles, regardless of hairstyle, can still be relevant. Moreover, we cannot be certain that the coin portraits show all the styles worn by any given empress.

The *Scheitelzopf* had a long run, evident on later third-century coins, such as those of Magnia Urbica (r. 280s), and even in a variant on the coins of Galeria Valeria (d. 315) in the early fourth century. Otacilia Severa (r. 244–249), Herennia Etruscilla (r. 249–251), Cornelia Supera (Augusta in 253 only), Salonina (d. 268), Dryantilla (ca. 260), and Severina (r. 274–275) are among the others who wore it. Again, we can also see similarities in the profiles of this group of portraits to that of the Missouri empress. Although the portraits differ from die to die, and although we must expect generalization, possible candidates for a match to the Missouri empress are Tranquillina, Otacilia Severa, Herennia Etruscilla, and Cornelia Supera, while the coin portraits of Salonina, Dryantilla, and Severina are too dissimilar in features. We can probably rule out Otacilia Severa, since some of her coins show her with very large eyes and rather heavy bovine features (Fig. 11). Portrait heads in stone showing these characteristics have also been identified as Severa[10] and look little like the Missouri head. Since no known portraits of Supera exist, we are left with the portraits of Tranquillina and Etruscilla. Together with the portraits of Julia Mamaea and Orbiana, we now have several candidates for the identity of the Missouri empress. All of these empresses are also shown with the diadem, while others do not wear it. In spite of the similarities, we must reiterate that the coin portraits are generalized, particularly for women, and that we cannot rely on their visual accuracy.

Fig. 12. Female portrait head, perhaps Orbiana. Roman, marble. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, acc. no. 1491. Reproduced by permission.

Beyond the coin portraits, we have portraits in stone, the majority of which are not securely identified. Based on those that have relatively stable identifications, however, we can probably make more eliminations when characteristics are compared to the Missouri head. In the case of Julia Mamaea and her daughter-in-law Orbiana, their portraits have frequently been confused. Both wear very similar hairstyles, and it is possible that Mamaea's portraits abruptly underwent makeovers when the young Orbiana entered the palace, making these two women look very similar.[11] Regardless of the identities of that group, the hairstyles are similar to the one worn by the Missouri head. This is particularly evident in the Copenhagen portrait (Fig. 12),[12] which wears a large oval bun (not shown in Figure 12), unlike the chignon shown on the coins. If this portrait does represent Orbiana, it would illustrate that empresses' portraits on coins did not always show all the hairstyles worn in reality. The Copenhagen portrait also shares some facial similarities with the Missouri portrait, while those identified as the older Mamaea are a poor match.[13] The portraits of Mamaea in Paris and Rome are jowly, thick-lipped, and matronly. If the portraits of Tranquillina are correctly identified,[14] then the Missouri head probably does not represent that empress either. Most of that group is remarkably similar in appearance and does not look like the Missouri portrait. This leaves us with the portraits identified as the empress Herennia Cupressenia Etruscilla, wife of the emperor Trajan Decius (r. 249–251). These include one in London (Figs. 13a–c),[15] in Rome (Figs. 14a–c),[16] and in Bucharest (Fig. 15).[17] The hairstyles of these portraits differ, however, from the Missouri head's hairstyle and cloud any certain identification. None of these portraits is attested epigraphically, and thus their identification relies on similarities they share as a group, and those they share with images of Etruscilla on coins.

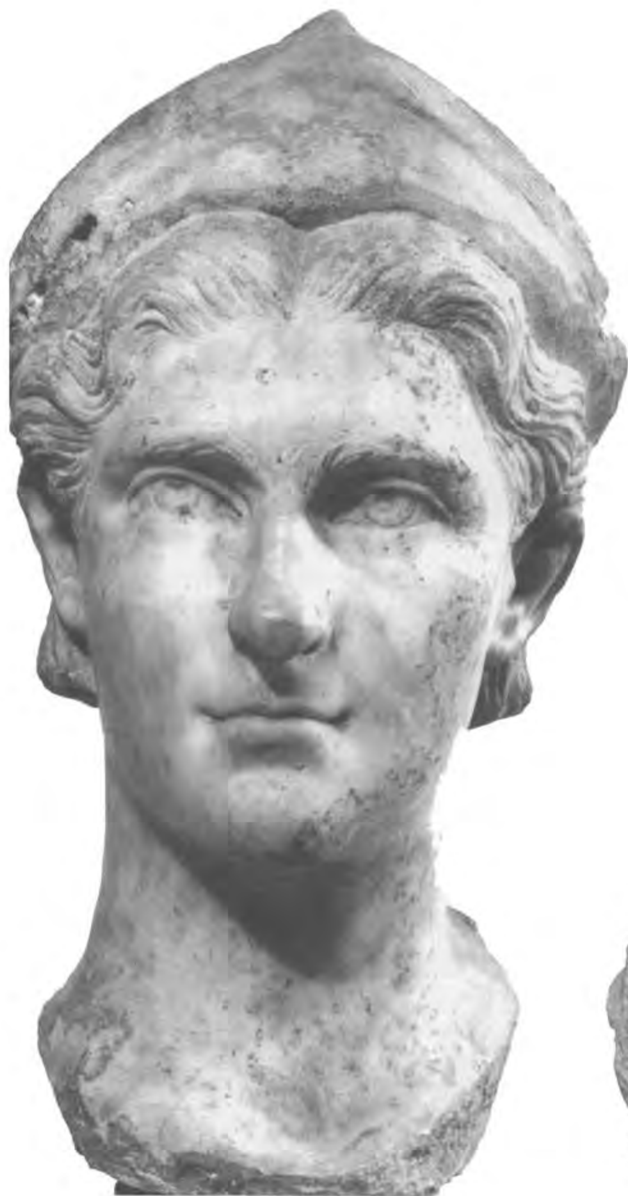

Fig. 13a. Portrait identified as Herennia Etruscilla. Roman, mid-third century C.E., marble. British Museum, London, acc. no. 1924. © Copyright The Trustees of The British Museum.

Fig. 13c. Portrait identified as Herennia Etruscilla, profile. Roman, mid-third century C.E., marble. British Museum, London, acc. no. 1924. © Copyright The Trustees of The British Museum.

Fig. 13b. Portrait identified as Herennia Etruscilla, rear view. Roman, mid-third century C.E., marble. British Museum, London, acc. no. 1924. © Copyright The Trustees of The British Museum.

Fig. 14a–c. Portrait identified as Herennia Etruscilla. Roman, mid-third century C.E., marble. Museo Nazionale Romano in Palazzo Massimo, inv. 121016. By permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma.

Fig. 15. Portrait identified as Herennia Etruscilla. Roman, mid-third century C.E., marble. National Museum of History, Bucharest, inv. 18797. Reproduced by permission.

Although Etruscilla reigned only three years,[18] numerous examples of her coin portraits have survived. The coins show the empress wearing two hairstyles. On one, her hair is parted in the center and pulled back behind the ears in a simple wave. The back is more elaborately dressed, with the hair gathered into a *Scheitelzopf* that is pulled up to the crown and pinned (Fig. 16). The other style shows the hair marceled, again swept behind the ears, and arranged in a chignon on the nape of the neck (Fig. 17). The Missouri head resembles the first of these two hairstyles in the treatment of the hair over the forehead, but the oval bun of the sculpture is different from both coin hairstyles (Fig. 4). On the London head, the hair is waved simply in the front, but the back shows a third type of bun, not a chignon proper but a round bun set further up on the head (Fig. 13b). If the identification of that portrait is correct, we see a hairstyle that is not represented on Etruscilla's coins. Although veiled, the Bucharest

portrait resembles the Missouri and London heads' hairstyles in the front (Fig. 15). Finally, the head in Rome has a combination of the two coin hairstyles. The front shows the austere wave, which is pulled behind the ears. The back is marceled but also includes the *Scheitelzopf* (Fig. 14b). The coin portraits of Etruscilla thus show hairstyles that do not precisely match the three-dimensional portraits attributed to her.

Fig. 16. *Antoninianus* of Herennia Etruscilla. Roman, mint of Rome, 250 C.E., silver. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 69.690. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

Fig. 17. *Tetradrachm* of Herennia Etruscilla. Roman, mint of Antioch, billon. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 68.375. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

In studying the physical characteristics of Etruscilla's face on her numismatic portraits, I have already pointed out the difficulties presented by the many discrepancies among these images. In spite of generalization, what we can see is a woman who might be anywhere between thirty and forty-five years of age,[19] sometimes looking more youthful, in other instances more mature. She appears to have a somewhat fleshy face with a long nose; large, somewhat protruding eyes; small, but full lips; and a sharp chin, which appears fleshy and slightly double in some of the coin portraits. When we compare these features to the sculpted portraits, we see differences and similarities. The London portrait's profile is very similar with its longish nose (though restored on the end) and sharp chin, but its low flat forehead and protruding brow are inconsistent (Fig. 13c). The profile of the portrait in Rome is also similar, but its sharply receding chin and attenuated neck do not match the coin portraits at all (Fig. 14c). The face of this portrait, however, is the most similar to the Missouri head (Fig. 18). Very large eyes are present on the provincial Bucharest portrait, and it too shows the low flat forehead that the coins do not (Fig. 15). The "pierced" ears of the Missouri portrait are problematic. In general, empresses do not show pierced ears or wear earrings in their portraits.[20]

Fig. 18. Portrait of an empress. Roman, mid-third century C.E., marble. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Weinberg and Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund, acc. no. 2004.1. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox. Portrait identified as Herennia Etruscilla. Roman, mid-third century C.E., marble. Museo Nazionale Romano in Palazzo Massimo, inv. 121016. By permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma.

A Cult Devotee?

Although the limitations of the numismatic and sculpted portrait comparisons leave us without definitive answers to the portrait's identity, other characteristics may provide further clues. I have already mentioned the presence of a large socket in the head. The marble around the socket has been worked down to receive a convex plate or attachment (Fig. 5). The depth and width of this socket (diam: 0.04 m; depth: 0.05 m) suggest that it was made for a large convex plate or attachment, probably in metal or stone. Such sockets could hold crests of hair or buns on the top of the head, though coiffures like those are uncommon in the third century.[21] Another possibility is a crown or some other accoutrement of rank, but the empress already wears a diadem. Given the cursory treatment of the hair, a veil is a possibility, but these are

not often carved separately from heads they cover. The hole is thus likely for the attachment of a cult symbol. Another third-century head in the Capitoline Museum (Fig. 19) also has such a large hole in its crown. It was found in the sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus on the Aventine.[22] A third female head, excavated at Ulpiana in Moesia, also from the mid-third century, carries a similar cutting. Ulpiana has also yielded a third-century inscription to Jupiter Dolichenus.[23] If all these heads represent female devotees of the Jupiter Dolichenus cult, what they may have carried is difficult to say, since the Dolichenian pantheon and its symbolism were broad. A lunate symbol, either for Diana or Luna, is a strong possibility.[24] The cult grew to enormous popularity in the third century and was patronized by civilians and military alike.[25] We cannot identify any empress specifically as a Jupiter Dolichenus devotee, but both Etruscilla and her husband, Trajan Decius, would have likely patronized such a cult.[26] Decius's short reign was filled with uprisings, usurpers, and invasions, which resulted in incessant fighting in Thrace, Moesia, Pannonia, and Dacia.[27] Numerous inscriptions attest the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus throughout these areas.[28] Decius's religious conservatism was central to his politics, as is evident in his persecution of Christians and preservation of old traditions.[29] We can assume that Etruscilla would have reinforced this ideology by acting as decorous matron and championing her husband.[30] Inscriptions naming her *mater castrorum*[31] in areas where Decius campaigned have also led some scholars to believe that the empress accompanied her husband on campaigns and was thus popular among the troops.[32] If Etruscilla joined Decius in these troubled times, she must have acted as devoted wife, surrogate mother to the troops, and inspirational figure in general. We might then imagine Decius and Etruscilla playing a significant role in the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus.

Fig. 19. Female portrait head. Roman, mid-third century C.E., marble. Capitoline Museum, Rome, acc. no. 9755. By permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma.

Such visibility would have reinforced Decius's own decree about sacrifice and honoring (local?) gods.[33] On the other hand, given the wide appeal of the Dolichenus cult, many other emperors and their wives may have played key roles in it. Many empresses also held the title of *mater castrorum*, which need not imply that they were cult devotees of military deities.

Double Identity? The Possibility of Recutting

In a period when emperors' reigns were so short, such as the turbulent third century, the recycling of portraits was commonplace. The paucity of new portraiture in this period is thus symptomatic of war, upheaval, and other financial priorities. Emperors changed rapidly and inherited older portraits, which were then recut, resulting in an increase in recycled portraiture in the third century.[34] Additionally, damage from earthquakes, storms, war, or otherwise must have often necessitated the reworking of portraits in the general course of events. Moreover, in areas where white marble sources do not exist, such as Tunisia (the possible provenance of the empress), we can expect a more frugal use of stone and optimum recycling.[35]

The museum's portrait of the empress was never finished as indicated by the two pointing marks and the substantial amount of material left behind the diadem (Figs. 3 and 20). It appears, however, that work resumed at some point, particularly since the top of the bun was cut away so that the "cult attachment" could be inserted (Fig. 5). Although it is possible that the sculptor decided to make that change in an initial phase of carving, before abandoning the project completely, one also wonders whether the work ceased and the portrait was warehoused. At a later point, it may have been taken out and prepared for recutting, but the plan was ultimately abandoned again. It seems logical to assume that the bun was cut back at this point; beyond this, it is difficult to say what

Fig. 20. Portrait of an empress, detail of material left above diadem. Roman, mid-third century C.E., marble. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Weinberg and Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund, acc. no. 2004.1. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

Fig. 21. Detail of Fig. 14c, showing recarved hair.

may have been altered.[36] Interestingly, the alleged portraits of Etruscilla in London and Rome also show rough or rudimentary treatment of the hair. The London portrait shows treatment similar to the Missouri head's, with the face and front of the hair completed, but the back left unfinished. The head in Rome is more complete all over, but sections of the hair on the back of the head were left rough or were carved rather rapidly. In fact, the marcel was being cut away in favor of a simpler hairstyle (Fig. 21). Bergmann published the London head as recut, and Prusac believes the heads in Rome, Bucharest, and Missouri are recut also.[37] Since there is no known cross-carving between private and imperial portraiture, we can surmise that these portraits were recut from previous portraits of empresses, or those who carried the title of Augusta and wore the diadem. For example, the London head shows a hairstyle not attested on the coins of third-century empresses, and thus we can assume it belonged to a previous portrait.[38] If the head in Rome represents Etruscilla, it also shows a hairstyle not attested on the coins. Etruscilla wears the *Scheitelzopf*, but it is combined with the simple wave, *not* the marcel, as it is on the Roman portrait. The marceled hair must also have belonged to a previous empress, and it is clear that it was being cut away when work on the portrait ceased.

In general, recycled portraits were often ones of rulers who suffered *damnatio memoriae* so that their images were taken down, sometimes desecrated, but often warehoused for reuse.[39] Portraits might also be recut for the sake of economy, particularly if the subject of the old portrait had lost importance. Even the portraits of esteemed rulers are known to have been reused.[40] Although a portrait recut into a third-century empress might theoretically be from any period,[41] the overall appearance of the museum's empress seems to indicate it was originally an unfinished portrait of the later second century or the first half of the third. The suggestions that follow are images of imperial women whose faces and/or hairstyles would have been possible candidates for recarving into an empress like Etruscilla or Orbiana. Since the hairstyle of the Missouri head does not precisely match those of the

third-century empresses, we can assume that it belonged to a previous empress but was never completed in the second phase of carving either.

Such may have been the case with portraits of Julia Domna and Julia Maesa, whom I have already mentioned before because of their waved hair, large buns, and diadems (Figs. 6 and 7; diadems not shown here). Of this unfortunate family, Maesa seems to have been one of the few who maintained public respect, but few of her portraits are extant today. Surely her images existed in quantity, and one may have been chosen for recycling. Many of Domna's portraits survive, but some may have been reused immediately after her suicide, before her later deification. In the same period and earlier, there are a number of empresses and other imperial women who suffered *damnatio memoriae*, and thus their portraits would also have been targeted for reuse.[42] These include Lucilla (ca.149–182), Crispina (164–193), Plautilla (d. 212), Julia Soemias (180–222), and Julia Mamaea. Commodus's sister Lucilla, who was implicated in a plot against the emperor's life and ultimately executed, had a number of her portraits recarved. With its tall diadem and waved hair, a portrait like that identified as Lucilla in the Capitoline's Palazzo dei Conservatori[43] could have possibly been adapted into a later empress. Commodus's wife, Crispina, suffered the same fate as Lucilla for her role in the plot. Crispina's hairstyle also seems adaptable for recutting into a style like those of later empresses, but Crispina's existing portraits lack the diadem. Plautilla, the discontented wife of the emperor Caracalla, was also executed and defamed. The exaggerated carving of the tear duct on the Missouri head is common in portraiture of the later second to early third centuries and very like the style used on a Plautilla portrait in the Vatican.[44] That, combined with her oval bun, would make one of the defamed portraits of Plautilla a possible choice for recutting into a portrait like the Missouri empress. The existing portraits of Plautilla do not, however, show her wearing the diadem either, and her hairstyles alone probably could not have provided enough material to carve a diadem for a new portrait. Another possibility might be the portraits of Julia Mamaea, whom I have mentioned because of her similarities to Orbiana's portraits. Although Mamaea did not incur an official *damnatio*, her disfavor led to her lynching by the legions and the mutilation of her portraits; some show her wearing a diadem (Fig. 9).[45] The portraits of Julia Soemias, mother of the reviled Elagabalus and sister of Mamaea, surely suffered a similar fate, but no portraits survive that have scholarly agreement about their identifications.[46] Soemias's

numismatic portraits, however, show her wearing a diadem and a hairstyle that might also have been reworked into one similar to the museum's portrait.

Finally, it is worth considering that perhaps the portrait was originally an unfinished image of Orbiana or Etruscilla, but it was being recarved into a later empress when the work ceased. The later empresses Salonina (d. 268), Zenobia (ca. 240–274), Magnia Urbica, and Galeria Valeria all wear the *Scheitelzopf*, and the bun on the Missouri portrait would probably have provided enough material for the recarving. The growing abstraction of the period did not, however, require lifelike resemblance, and most citizens, particularly in the provinces, had never seen the emperor or empress in person. Regardless of the period, Roman "portraits" did not always look like the subjects depicted.[47] For female portraits, a simple touch up of the hair may have been sufficient in some cases.[48] Portraits that have undergone two recuttings are not unknown either.[49]

Conclusion

In a final analysis, it is impossible to say with certainty whom the Missouri portrait represents, or whom the portrait may have represented in other incarnation(s). We can only compare the other three-dimensional portraits and numismatic portraits of the period, many of which look similar. Of the empresses of the third century, Herennia Etruscilla seems to be the best candidate, but others are possible. Although possible cult connections are indicated by the socket in the head, we cannot be certain it was connected to the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus. The popularity of that cult during this period, and the two additional heads from the same period with a similar cutting, may, however, provide a link.

As to the unfinished state of the portrait, what we might see as a scenario is that the head was being carved first for an empress who suffered a *damnatio*, fell into disfavor, or was dethroned for some other reason. The project was thus abandoned, and the unfinished portrait stored. In the middle of the third century, it was taken out again and prepared for reuse. At this time, the hair over the forehead was worked down, pointing marks were added, and the bun in the back was cut down for an attachment. For unknown reasons, however, the work went unfinished a second time. On the other hand, we cannot be certain that the portrait went unused in its unfinished state. The rapid political changes of the period required equally rapid changes in imperial imagery,

and much portraiture was reused, often after hasty and summary alterations. Paint and/or plaster on the hair of the Missouri head could have concealed the pointing marks,[50] while displaying the portrait in a niche or against a wall would have made the unfinished back of the head irrelevant.

NOTES

1. Max. H. 0.311 m; max. W. 0.204 m; max. Depth 0.207 m; H. face without diadem: 0.210 m. Weinberg and Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund, acc. no. 2004.1.
2. As well as the nose, the tip of the diadem is also missing. Although the break through the neck may follow an original break, at some point the surface on the underside was worked down, probably when a support hole was added.
3. A few portraits are known of private individuals wearing diadems. Such portraits, or examples of *Zeitgesicht*, could also imitate facial features and hairstyles of royalty and the aristocracy. They seem more common in the Flavian period. For example, see J. Herrmann, Jr., "Rearranged Hair: A Portrait of a Roman Woman in Boston and Some Recarved Portraits of Earlier Imperial Times," *Journal of the Museum of Fine Arts* 3 (1991) fig. 16a. Two later heads, which may also represent diademed private citizens, are illustrated in K. Schade, *Frauen in der Spätantike—Status und Repräsentation: Eine Untersuchung zur römischen und frühbyzantinischen Bildniskunst* (Mainz, 2003) pl. 35, nos. 1 and 2 (Turin, Museo di Antichità, inv. 161) and pl. 40, nos. 2 and 3 (Como, Museo Civico Archeologico Giovio, inv. E2951). On the other hand, there is no reason to suppose the subjects of these late antique portraits were not imperial women.
4. The head was purchased on the art market, and the alleged provenance was provided by the dealer. Even if Tunisia were the portrait's most recent provenance, it says nothing of the portrait's origin in antiquity. Moreover, since North Africa has no native white marble, any sculpture made in the region would have used imported marble, whether Prokonessian or otherwise. The substantial amount of good quality Roman sculpture in the Bardo Museum implies either a local school of capable sculptors or that sculpture was frequently imported. I would like to thank Donato Attanasio, Istituto di Struttura della Materia del Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Rome, for the testing of the marble.
5. The hairstyles of Roman women are thoroughly detailed in D. Ziegler, *Frauenfrisuren der römischen Antike: Abbild und Realität* (Berlin, 2000). The types most closely resembling the Missouri head's hairstyle appear in pl. 14, no. 40, labeled as New Haven (a head from the F. E. Brown collection, at one time on loan to Yale) and pl. 25, no. 79, Selçuk, inv. 740, Ziegler's "Knoten- und Nestfrisuren" category. K. Wessel employs similar categories in "Römische Frauenfrisuren von der severischen bis zur konstantinischen Zeit," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 61/62 (1946–1947) pp. 62–75. In fig. II, the "Nestfrisuren" again match the style of the Missouri head.
6. Compare S. Wood, *Roman Portrait Sculpture, 217–260 A.D.* (Leiden, 1986) p. 122, where she describes the coin portraits as "virtually useless." This may be an

overstatement, but the similarities of hairstyles and facial types make the appearance of some of the empresses of this period very similar. In her "Subject and Artist: Studies in Roman Portraiture of the Third Century," *American Journal of Archaeology* 85 (1981) p. 59, Wood sums up the problem again: "The identification of imperial portraits from the chaotic third century after Christ has long posed many difficult problems to students of Roman art....[T]he portraits of most of the third century emperors have been established with reasonable security....The iconography of their wives and families, however, often remains controversial." In general, what we can say is that identified portraits are still being reidentified; others still carry suspect identifications. Although older, many dubious identifications are discussed in B. M. Felletti-Maj, *Iconografia Romana Imperiale da Severo Alessandro a M. Aurelio (222–285 d. C.)* (Rome, 1958). Relative to this study is Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 1493, once called Herennia Etruscilla, pp. 193–196. There is also B. Haarløv, *New Identifications of Third-Century Roman Imperial Portraits* (Odense, 1975).

7. For the possibility of a recutting of one of Julia Domna's or Julia Maesa's portraits, see p. 58.
8. R. Brilliant, "One Head, Three Problems," *Römische Mitteilungen* 82 (1975) p. 135–142. The vertical orientation of the spiral bun of this portrait is very like the one the Missouri empress wears. The hair is also pulled behind the ears, rather than over them. The portrait is recut, however, probably from one of Lucilla. This is the same portrait labeled as being in New Haven by Ziegler, above, n. 5.
9. A variant of the *Scheitelzopf* is already in place with the elder Faustina, but its widespread popularity is evident after Tranquillina.
10. For example, Florence, Uffizi, inv. 1914.271 and Rome, Capitoline, Palazzo dei Conservatori, inv. 2765.
11. Haarløv, *New Identifications*, pp. 9–10. Here he suggests that some portraits previously identified as Mamaea are, in fact, Orbiana. This includes the Copenhagen head, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 1491, and the one in the Vatican, inv. 383. Other portraits of Orbiana are in Paris, Louvre, inv. 1634, and formerly in the Museo Torlonia (current whereabouts?). A colossal head of Orbiana is in the Ostia Museum, inv. 26.
12. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, inv. 1491.
13. Paris, Louvre, inv. 3552; London, British Museum, inv. 1920; Rome, Vatican, inv. 301.
14. There are three portraits said to be Tranquillina in London, Liverpool, and Rome. The identity of a fourth portrait in Copenhagen is suspect. Diana Kleiner does not doubt that the British Museum's head (inv. 1923) is Tranquillina. See D. E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (New Haven, 1992) p. 381. The portrait in Copenhagen (inv. 1572) has oscillated between identifications as Tranquillina and Otacilia Severa. Poulsen thinks the portrait looks too old to be the adolescent Tranquillina (who was, as empress, between sixteen and nineteen years old). See V. Poulsen, *Les portraits romains*, vol. II (Copenhagen, 1974) no. 169. In F. Poulsen's older *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek: Ancient Sculpture* (Copenhagen, 1951) no. 754, that portrait is labeled as Otacilia Severa. The portraits in Liverpool (inv. ?) and Rome (Vatican, inv. 10.191) are published in M. Wegner, *Gordianus III bis Carinus* (Berlin, 1979) pls. 22 and 23; these are very like the

London head. As many as six other portraits of Tranquillina may be in existence, most of which appear remarkably similar. For discussion of the others, see S. Wood, "Subject and Artist," pp. 59–60, where she suggests some of these portraits are probably copies of the same master portrait.

15. London, British Museum, inv. 1924, ex Castellani collection; published initially in J. J. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, vol. 2, part 3 (Stuttgart, 1882–1894) p. 156; A. H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*, vol. 3 (London, 1904) pl. XVII; and others later.
16. Museo Nazionale Romano in Palazzo Massimo, inv. 121016. The portrait was found in 1934 at S. Maria, 2 km from the Via Appia Nuova. It was first published by G. Annibaldi, "Scoperta di ruderi di edificio rustico e rinvenimento di sculture al VII chilometro dell'Appia Nuova," *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 11 (1935) pp. 88–90.
17. Bucharest, National Museum of History, inv. 18797. Not widely known, this portrait was published by M. Alexandrescu, "Un portrait romain de Herennia Etruscilla à Bucharest," in *Roman Portraits: Artistic and Literary* (Mainz, 1990) pp. 73–74, and by M. Gramatopol, *Portretul roman in Romania* (Bucharest, 1985) p. 225, fig. 72. The portrait's provenance is unknown, but its provincial appearance must indicate local manufacture. Although generalized, its features could certainly be taken for Etruscilla's, but Alexandrescu's argument—that certain features (such as an unusually long distance between nose and mouth) are recurrent in Etruscilla's portraits—is unconvincing.
18. From Alexandrian coins, we know that Etruscilla assumed the title of Augusta soon after Decius's accession. The year in Alexandria was calculated from August to August, and Decius was crowned in September (or perhaps October) of 249, the year "1" of his reign according to the Alexandrian calendar. Etruscilla's Alexandrian coins from that first year immediately bear the inscription "AUG." She thus assumed the title either during the remainder of 249 or during the period of January–August 250. See K. Emmett, *Alexandrian Coins* (Lodi, Wisconsin, 2001) pp. xii–xiii. After Decius's death, her coins continued to be minted, at Antioch perhaps as late as 253. See D. L. Vagi, *Coinage and History of the Roman Empire, c. 82 B.C.–A.D. 480*, vol. 1: *History* (Chicago and London, 2000) p. 336.
19. Etruscilla's age is unknown. See below, n. 30, for discussion of the scant details of her life.
20. In the second and third centuries, imperial portraits with earrings are few. Based on surviving examples, it seems to have been more common in private portraits, perhaps a showy, middle-class way of displaying wealth. See K. Fittschen and P. Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom*, vol. 3 (Mainz, 1985) nos. 159 and 165. There is also Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 2742, published in F. Poulsen, *Ancient Sculpture*, no. 733b. That portrait, however, was probably recut in the third century, while the alabaster hair was added to it much later. The pierced ears could also have been added later, or they might have been left over from the original portrait. A portrait illustrated by Bergmann, once in the Museo Torlonia, may have pierced ears, although the photograph is unclear. See M. Bergmann, *Studien zum römischen Porträt des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (Bonn, 1977) pl. 29, no. 5. The mother in the third-century medallion in the Museo Civico

dell'Eta Cristiana, Brescia, showing the family of Vunnerius Keramus, wears pearl earrings. Of the empresses, third-century or otherwise, Julia Domna is one of the few shown wearing earrings, as she is in the Severan family tondo in Berlin and on some of her coins. A third-century gem portrait in the Archaeological Museum of Split, inv. 2599, allegedly Julia Domna, also wears earrings, but the identification is uncertain. See N. Cambi, *Imago Animi. Antički Portret u Hrvatskoj* (Split, 2000) pl. 136, no. 102.

21. Buns on third-century empress portraits are usually on the back of the head, rather than the top. Both these rear buns and the *Scheitelzopf* are not separately carved. For some examples of female portraits with sockets that supported hair attachments, see Herrmann, "Rearranged Hair," pp. 35–50. There is also one illustrated in D. E. E. Kleiner and S. B. Matheson, eds., *I Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome*, exhibition catalogue (New Haven, 1996) p. 174, unidentified female portrait, Detroit, Institute of Fine Arts, inv. 38.41. More bibliography on portraits with detachable hairpieces is provided. There are some twenty-five known portraits of this type from the late Antonine and Severan periods. E. Bartman also discusses hairpieces and wigs in female portraits in "Hair and the Artifice of Roman Female Adornment," *American Journal of Archaeology* 105 (2001) especially pp. 19–21.
22. Fittschen and Zanker, *Katalog*, vol. 3, p. 102 and A. H. Kan, *Juppiter Dolichenus: Sammlung der Inschriften und Bildwerke* (Leiden, 1943) p. 105, no. 169. Fittschen and Zanker provide further bibliography for the head's publication. Given its archaeological context, they suggest a cult attachment.
23. Portrait: M. Tomović, *Roman Sculpture in Upper Moesia* (Belgrade, 1992) cat. no. 15, fig. 6.1–2. Inscription: *L'Année épigraphique* (1966) no. 340.
24. As the cult gained popularity, it evolved to include Diana, Apollo, Luna, Sol Invictus, Victoria, the Castores, and even Isis and Sarapis. Along with Kan's older study, the sources are many. A large portion of the epigraphy and other finds can be found in M. Hörig and E. Schwertheim, *Corpus Cultus Iovis Dolicheni* (Leiden/New York/Copenhagen/Cologne, 1987), with extensive bibliography on the Jupiter Dolichenus cult and related subjects. For a recent look at the site of the cult's origin, see A. Schütte-Maischatz, *Doliche, eine kommagenische Stadt und ihre Götter: Mithras und Jupiter Dolichenus* (Bonn, 2004). The cult is further detailed in P. Merlat, *Jupiter Dolichenus, Essai d'interprétation et de synthèse* (Paris, 1960); M. P. Speidel, *The Religion of Iuppiter Dolichenus in the Roman Army* (Leiden, 1978); and M. G. Bellelli and G. Bianchi, *Orientalia sacra urbis Romae, Dolichena et Heliopolitana, recueil d'études archéologiques et historico-religieuses sur les cultes cosmopolites d'origine commagénienne et syrienne* (*Studia Archaeologica* 84, Rome, 1997).
25. J. R. Lyman suggests the cult's popularity eclipsed even that of the imperial cult. See "Hellenism and Heresy," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 11.2 (2003) p. 214. In Rome alone, there were temples to Jupiter Dolichenus on the Aventine and the Esquiline. Speidel suggests a third on the Caelian. See *Religion*, p. 12.
26. Though the inscriptions to Jupiter Dolichenus span three continents and more than two centuries, few mention emperors, empresses, or other imperial devotees. Only Julia Mamaea and Septimius Severus (with Caracalla and Alexander Severus) are mentioned by name. See Hörig and Schwertheim, *Corpus Cultus*, nos. 64, 581.

27. Decius was almost constantly engaged in military affairs during the three years of his reign. His first major battle was against Philip, possibly near Verona, where Philip perished. See Zosimus, *Historia Nova*, 1.20–22; Zonaras, *Compendium of History*, 12.19–20. By the winter of 250, the Carpi and the Goths had invaded Moesia. Decius was able to repel the Carpi by 251, but the Goths still had to be contended with. Decius ultimately pursued them to Abrittus in Thrace where he was killed along with his son Herennius Etruscus. The sources about this disastrous battle are numerous and conflicting: Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* (31.5.12–17, 31.13.12–13), Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getarum* (18), and Zonaras (12.20) concur about Etruscus but do not give Decius's cause of death. Zosimus (1.23) provides the story of the legions being trapped in the bogs by the Goths, who were in collusion with Gallus. Aurelius Victor (*De Caesaribus* 29) and Eusebius (7.1) also imply that treachery played a part in the deaths of the two men.
28. Hörig and Schwertheim, *Corpus Cultus*, for Thrace, pp. 50–55; for Moesia, pp. 70–89; for Dacia, pp. 93–119; for Pannonia, pp. 120–181.
29. The persecutions are noted by Eusebius (6.39 and 6.40–41), who quotes Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria during Decius's reign. Decius's decree stated that all had to make sacrifice to the gods. The order to sacrifice is attested by the papyri *libelli*, forty-three of which have been found in Egypt. The only other substantial reference to Decius and religion is the issuing of the *divi* series of coins, which honored eleven past emperors whom he admired. His adoption of the name Trajan attests to his interest in honoring and recapturing the past, while perhaps casting himself as the twelfth in the imperial pantheon suggested by his coin series. For the persecutions and Decius's conservatism, see G. W. Clarke, "Some Observations on the Persecution of Decius," *Antichthon* 3 (1969) pp. 63–76; P. Kerestes, "The Decian *Libelli* and Contemporary Literature," *Latomus* 34 (1975) pp. 763–779; J. R. Knipfing, "The *Libelli* of the Decian Persecution," *Harvard Theological Review* 16 (1923) pp. 345–390 (includes translation of all the *libelli*); H. A. Pohlsander, "The Religious Policy of Decius," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2, 16.3 (1986) pp. 1829–1830 (includes further bibliography on his conservatism); J. B. Rives, "The Decree of Decius and the Religion of the Empire," *Journal of Roman Studies* 89 (1999) pp. 135–154; O. Robinson, "Repressionen gegen Christen in der Zeit vor Decius—noch immer ein Rechtsproblem," *Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte* 112 (1995) pp. 352–369.
30. We know nothing to the contrary about Etruscilla. Since she is not mentioned in the sources, we can assume she did nothing outstanding, other than effectively playing the role of the good imperial wife. The details of her life have otherwise disappeared from the historical and archaeological records. Were it not for her coins and some epigraphy, we would not even know that she was the wife of Trajan Decius. Before her marriage to Decius, nothing is known of her life, but her name implies an aristocratic Etruscan pedigree. The Herennii were an old and venerated family in Italy, allegedly hereditary patrons of the Marii. See Plutarch, *Marius* 5. For the Herennii, see W. Smith, ed., *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, vol. 2 (London, 1873, 1880; New York, 1967) p. 407. After Decius's sudden death in the battle of Abrittus (above, n.

27), the fate of Etruscilla is unknown. She may have died of the plague that claimed the life of her second son, Hostilian, or lived on in obscurity. Hostilian was apparently raised to Augustus (based on his coin legends) but held that title only for a short time in 251 before his death from plague.

31. Etruscilla was not the first empress to be given this title. It is popular in the third century back to Julia Domna but also goes back to the second century when Marcus Aurelius conferred it upon Faustina. For example, see H. W. Benario, "Julia Domna: Mater Senatus et Patriae," *Phoenix* 12 [2] (Summer 1958) pp. 67–70 and M. Boatwright, "Faustina the Younger, Mater Castrorum," *Etudes de lettres*, R. Frei-Stolba and A. Biel, eds. (January 2003) pp. 249–268. The inscriptions are known from Carsioli (Italy, on the Via Valeria), Carnuntum (Pannonia), and Andautonia (Pannonia). See *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum* ix, no. 4056 (Carsioli); iii, no. 11187 (Carnuntum); and iii, no. 4011 (Andautonia).
32. F. S. Salisbury and H. Mattingly, "The Reign of Trajan Decius," *Journal of Roman Studies* 14 (1924) pp. 15–16.
33. Decius's decree (above, n. 29) does not state to what gods citizens had to sacrifice. Presumably it was the chief gods in any given town or city.
34. M. Prusac, "Recarving Roman Portraits: Background and Methods," *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 20 (2006) pp. 112–113. I would like to thank Marina Prusac, research fellow, Museum of Cultural History, Oslo University, for her insights and suggestions about the recarving of ancient portraiture. Varner seems to think there was a drop off in the rate of recyling in the third century, but it hardly seems possible. See E. R. Varner, "Tyranny and the Transformation of the Roman Visual Landscape," in *From Caligula to Constantine: Tyranny and Transformation in Roman Portraiture*, E. R. Varner, ed. (Atlanta, 2000) pp. 13–14.
35. S. B. Matheson, "The Private Sector: Reworked Portraits outside the Imperial Circle," in Varner, ed., *Caligula to Constantine*, p. 70. It should be remembered that a recut portrait did not have to be made from a previously existing portrait; other sculptures and even architectural pieces could serve the same purpose.
36. The hair may have undergone further modifications. Over the forehead, it is extremely low to the head, perhaps indicating that it was cut down. If so, the pointing marks belong to this second phase of carving. The face is more problematic in determining changes. The height of the forehead seems unusual, especially in comparison to other female portraits of the period. The pensive style dates earlier but is also popular in the third century. It may have been enough simply to change the hair and add the "cult attachment." On the other hand, one tear duct is deeper and the mouth is noticeably askew, perhaps more than an air of introspection requires. Such crooked or lopsided features are sometimes indicative of recutting. See Varner, "Tyranny and the Transformation," p. 11. A final point to consider is the presence of the "holes" in the ears. The lack of these in empresses' portraits, third century or otherwise, makes those on the Missouri head very unusual and possibly later additions. At what point these could have been added is a mystery, since empresses of the period do not have them.
37. Bergmann, *Studien,* p. 43, no. 2 and Prusac's correspondence with the author, Sept. 2006.

38. The younger Faustina and Crispina wear knot-like buns like the one on the London portrait.
39. In addition to Varner's work cited in n. 34, there is also his *Mutilation and Transformation,* Damnatio Memoriae *and Roman Imperial Portraiture* (Leiden, 2004). In chapter 1, he discusses the various precedents and reasons for the recutting of portraits in the Mediterranean world. The same is discussed in "Tyranny and the Transformation," beginning on p. 11.
40. For example, the colossal head of Constantine in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome (inv. 1622) was first recut from an image of Hadrian into one of Maxentius and finally into one of Constantine. See Prusac, "Re-Carving Roman Portraits," p. 107 and Varner, *Mutilation and Transformation*, p. 217.
41. For example, the Museum of Art and Archaeology's portrait of the emperor Nero (acc. no. 62.46) was recut into one of Gallienus. The original portrait may have lain warehoused for as much as 150 years before it was chosen for recarving.
42. For more on the women particularly, see E. R. Varner, "Portraits, Plots, and Politics: *Damnatio Memoriae* and the Images of Imperial Women," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 46 (2001) pp. 41–93.
43. Inv. 1781.
44. Inv. 4278. A surprising number of Plautilla's portraits survive; those in Houston (MFA, inv. 70.39) and Rome (Vatican, inv. 4278) have been vandalized similarly. At least one other, now in a private collection, was recut into an unidentified fourth-century empress. See Kleiner and Matheson, *I, Claudia*, p. 86, n. 7. A portrait in Athens (National Archaeological Museum, inv. 358) is tentatively identified as Plautilla and wears a *strophion*, or headband, in her hair, but not the tall diadem of other empresses.
45. Above, n. 11.
46. Varner provides a list of the possible candidates who may represent Soemias. See *Mutilation and Transformation,* p. 195, n. 339.
47. In his review of Varner's *Mutilation and Transformation*, John Pollini reiterates that the ancient idea of "portrait" did not always translate into lifelike depictions. Moreover, he suggests that Roman provincial work probably strayed further from reality, relying on inscriptions to identify the subject rather than realistic details. He cites a strange example where a statue of Orestes was used as a statue of Augustus. See the review in *Art Bulletin* 88 (September 2006) p. 595.
48. Prusac explains that this was typical with female portraiture. Since the faces of female subjects were more idealized, the recutting may have included only the hair. See "Re-carving Roman Portraits," p. 128.
49. Above, n. 40.
50. Brilliant ("One Head, Three Problems," pp. 135–136) discusses the use of gesso on the Brown head to conceal imperfections and provide a ground for paint. This "gesso" was often a plaster composed of marble dust. Under a microscope, the substance concentrated on the Missouri head is soft, white, and chalky. It is particularly heavy in the hair and is accumulated in the holes of the pointing marks, indicating that they may have been filled.

The Icons of Andres Serrano*

†Irina Hans

I hope people will take away the fact that art isn't there for us to necessarily agree with, that art isn't necessarily pretty and charming, that art is thoughtful. Artists make arguments. Museums are places for discussion.
—Arnold L. Lehman, 1999

The public, in its gluttony for amusement, has a continuous craving for scandal. A cardinal example was the excitement aroused by the exhibition *Sensation: Young British Artists from the Saatchi Collection*, shown at the Brooklyn Museum of Art in 1999. A bisected pig floating in formaldehyde, a painting of the Virgin Mary decorated with elephant dung, and a portrait of a serial child-killer whose face was formed from hundreds of simulated children's handprints were among the highlights of the show. A similar scandal had developed earlier over the 1987 photograph *Piss Christ* by Andres Serrano (Fig. 1). Like Chris Ofili and other artists represented in the Saatchi collection, Serrano was accused of blasphemy. By figuratively baptizing a crucifix in urine, he had desecrated a holy icon—or at least many perceived it so. He was charged with defaming a cherished symbol and dishonoring sacred values. Ironically, thanks to a puritan revival of aesthetic vigilance, dramatically acted out by the American Family Association, Senator Jesse Helms, and the National Endowment for the Arts, *Piss Christ* became a contemporary icon of freedom of expression. Today, in part because of the controversy, Serrano's art belongs to the accepted canon.[1] His works have been discussed so thoroughly that they have lost some of their original ability to shock. Furthermore, discussion of his work shows that it rises above contemporary debates about artistic freedom. An iconic theme—the conflict between perceptual and conceptual knowledge—is evident throughout his work, and he should be viewed not as an icon harasser but, rather, as a creator of new icons. I define icons as idols of society, themes of great devotion and concern. Serrano's photographs from the 1980s not only echo the form of traditional Byzantine icons but also deserve the term "icon" for their content. By examining the chronological development

Fig. 1. Andres Serrano (American, b. 1950). *Piss Christ*, 1987, Cibachrome photograph. Image courtesy of the artist.

Fig. 2. Andres Serrano (American, b. 1950). *Milk, Blood*, 1986, Cibachrome photograph. Image courtesy of the artist.

of his powerful subjects and the perfection of his technique, it becomes clear how the artist moves into the realm of creating iconic value in his work.

Serrano's background and religious formation are pertinent to an understanding of his work. He was born in New York and now resides in Brooklyn. His mother is Cuban, his father is from Honduras, and he was brought up in a Catholic environment. Between 1967 and 1969, he studied at the Brooklyn Museum Art School. By 1983, he had developed a complex iconography, derived from Catholic imagery and doctrine. In 1986 he began producing his fluid series—large Cibachrome photographs of body fluids: milk, blood, semen, and urine.[2] The compositions are abstract, but the works often have religious overtones, sometimes through their titles (e.g., *Milk Cross*, 1987), at other times through their arrangement as a diptych (e.g., *Milk, Blood,* 1986) (Fig. 2). In *Milk, Blood*, Serrano photographed a plexiglas container from above. One side of the container held milk, the other blood. A thin membrane wall separated the fluids. The flat surface of the photograph eliminates space and perspective and denies the liquid's volume, but it would be blind to treat these fluids, so loaded with associations, merely as hues. Such

bodily products "are strongly coded as human symbols—in particular, as fluids requiring containment."[3] One might ask where the milk and blood came from? What do they stand for? In the age of AIDS, should we fear the potentially infectious blood? Is such a tainted red contrasted to white, a traditional symbol of purity? Does Serrano undermine the nurturing qualities of milk, the maternal aspect of life? In other words, the perceptual aesthetics of this work are boldly contrasted to its conceptual essence.

The questions provoked by the fluid series became only more complex as Serrano's "palette" broadened. The artist began to use a traditionally secular vocabulary and to experiment with various grotesque ideas. *Blood and Soil,* 1987, with a landscape primarily of red and black, brings to mind the Nazi horrors.[4] *The Circle of Blood,* 1987, is a dish of blood in a yellow field—"formally, a Malevich, except that a world of meanings breaks through."[5] *Piss and Blood XIII,* 1987, looks like "the creation of the world in Disney's Fantasia or eruptions on the surface of the sun."[6] It is a return to the primordial roots, to a natural wholeness and purity of fluids. All these works—splendidly composed, beautifully lit grand tableaux whose subject matter conflicts with their aesthetic appearance—were precursors of Serrano's infamous series of objects immersed in liquids. In these immersions, the conflict between appearance and conceptual meaning became yet more vivid.

In *Piss Christ,* Serrano's juxtaposition of the sacred and the profane was a tangible comment on the synergy of the ideal and the carnal, the elite and the ordinary. Like a boomerang, the obsessed artist returned to pondering Catholic dogmas, in particular the early church's battle against the major heresy of Gnosticism. Gnostics attributed all material creation to a demon; for Gnostics, only spiritual being was good. They were heavily influenced by a Platonic tradition that exaggerated Plato's teachings about body and soul. The Greeks did not believe that the material body shared in immortality. Hence, the Greeks mocked St. Paul when he spoke of the risen body of Christ.[7]

Less inflammatory but no less complex is another work that belongs to the series of objects immersed in liquids. This is *Piss Discus*, a 1988 Cibachrome photograph purchased by the Museum of Art and Archaeology in 1998 (Fig. 3).[8] The inspiration for this work was the ancient Greek sculpture *Diskobolos* or *Discus Thrower* by Myron (460–450 B.C.E.) (Fig. 4). The ancient writer Lucian described the *Discus Thrower* as: "bent over into the throwing position, ... turned toward the hand that holds the discus, and has the opposite knee

Fig. 3. Andres Serrano (American, b. 1950). *Piss Discus*, 1988, Cibachrome photograph, Museum of Art and Archaeology, acc. no. 98.19. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

Fig. 4. Myron, *Diskobolos*. Roman copy of a Greek work dated 460–450 B.C.E., marble. Vatican Museums. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.

gently flexed, like one who will straighten up again after the throw."[9] The work for which the sculptor Myron received most praise in antiquity was a bronze cow set up on the Acropolis in Athens, which was said to be mistaken for an actual animal.[10] Like other sculpture of this period, however, the *Discus Thrower* displays a "play of patterns and geometric forms" rather than being a realistic representation of an athlete in the process of throwing a discus.[11] It is possible that ancient writers exaggerated the realism of Myron's cow in their descriptions.

The statue's past has been transformed into the photograph's present "through the mediation of what looks like a Renaissance sfumato" of yellowness.[12] The color becomes a prism through which we look at the ancient statue; the warmth of emanating gold bathes us too in its luxury. The image is timelessly transfixed with a radiant aura of reds and oranges; it glows, suffused with light. The bubbles are the clue to unveiling the mystery of the enveloping atmosphere—the evidence of physicality and of transition to the earth. Or in plain English, bubbles mean liquid, and the liquid is piss. The mystical essence is nothing but human urine. The ethereal appearance of the photograph forms a deep antagonistic disharmony with its vulgar title. Serrano's word choice—abrupt, consonant-heavy, baneful sounding—shoves aside other, more publicly appropriate variants. It is the title, not the photograph itself that is provocative. As with the conflicting meaning of Judas's kiss, what we see is not what we read. Serrano transforms the classical icon with shocking contemporary language. He also sets the stage for how the viewer is supposed to perceive the work, especially in our society, where sometimes we are not certain how to react until we "read the label." Both critically and creatively, Serrano engages the viewer with society and history, commenting on

Fig. 5. Souvenir shop on Hadrian Street, Athens. Photo: William R. Biers.

the cultural politics of urine. Normally associated with impurity and vulgarity, urine is presented as beautiful color, saturated with sunlike brightness and warmth.

The original bronze statue of the *Diskobolos* by Myron is not preserved, but because of its fame several Roman copies exist. As a source, however, Serrano used a mass-produced figurine that he purchased as a tourist on his first trip to Europe in 1987 (perhaps in a store in Athens like the one shown in Figure 5, where two *Diskoboloi* are displayed on the bottom shelf). Through slight twisting and considerable enlargement, the small-scale replica achieves a monumental appearance, and the viewer of Serrano's photograph would never guess such a modest, even tacky, original. Serrano's souvenir figurine is based on the marble statue in the Vatican Museum (Fig. 4). In this copy of the Greek original, the head of the *Diskobolos* is incorrectly positioned. From Lucian's description we know that the athlete should be looking back, as in the reconstructed copy in the National Museum in Rome (Fig. 6). The head of a miniature bronze version of the *Diskobolos,* located in Munich, is Hellenistic

in style.[13] Elizabeth Bartman asks how true to the original miniature copies are and how much detail copyists have added.[14] The original appearance, as well as the meaning, of the classical sculpture may have been lost. Despite the faithful endeavors of museums to preserve ancient icons, copies and

Fig. 6. Myron, *Diskobolos*. Roman copy of a Greek work dated 460–450 B.C.E., marble. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.

trinkets have suffered irrevocable corruption and damage. Is this degeneration any less a debasement of the "original" than submersion of one of these knockoffs in piss? Perhaps debasing a work of art by submersing it in urine is only an alternative to reducing an artwork to the status of a mass-produced knickknack. Should it, therefore, be considered an offence to the original work of art that its distant corrupted descendant is dunked in dross?

Probably unintentionally, Serrano is being intellectually provocative. These questions are more radical in the case of *Piss Christ,* given that all crucifixes are equally holy.[15] Serrano is, however, intuitively asserting that spiritual beauty cannot be achieved without the acceptance of our physicality. The issues of beauty and vulgarity coincide, compelling attraction and disgust at the same time. "His point is twofold: to deconstruct the notion that great art must emerge from 'noble' subject matter and to challenge conventional understandings of beauty."[16]

The creation of new icons requires novel approaches—a pioneering look at the model, an alteration of methods, and new levels of craftsmanship. In his series of objects immersed in liquids, Serrano appeals to our senses and intellect by provocatively transforming images of religious and classical icons. Understanding these transformations requires cultural knowledge of the spirituality and faith incarnated by Christ, and of a number of American values hidden in the Greek sculpture. These values are resonant in American culture: the nostalgia for a deep history that America has not experienced relates to the Greek past of the *Diskobolos,* which is now lost and exists only in Roman copies; America's fascination with classical art results from its adoption of the democratic values that trace their roots to ancient Greece; and the American cult of a healthy body responds to the arrested motion of the athlete.

Serrano's work, layered with meanings, is like a refracting mirror, alternately clear and distorted. "I do not doubt that there are multiple ways to interpret my work," the artist said in an interview.[17] His art is characteristic of the second half of the twentieth century in that it poses questions rather than providing soothing solutions. Together with the work of Robert Mapplethorpe, Sally Mann, and Cindy Sherman, it communicates ideas through the manipulation of iconic physical appearance. His art is thoughtful, and although Arnold Lehman, the director of the Brooklyn Museum of Art, defended the exhibition *Sensation* by claiming that art does not have to be pretty and charming,[18] Serrano's icons are above all beautiful. This is one of the most enigmatic things about his art—the coexistence of beauty and provocation. He attracts us with the beauty of his images and then attacks us with vulgarity. These subtly mysterious and monumental tableaux strike the viewer with the harshness of their content. Serrano revives an interest in powerful subjects—iconic themes of beauty, life, and death—through both seduction and shock.

NOTES

The author did not live to complete revisions to this article. It is published here in tribute to her and to her memory. I thank John Klein, Jill Raitt, and Alexander von Schoenborn for their help. *Ed.*

1. He is now discussed in art history survey books. See L. S. Adams, *Art across Time*, vol. 2: *The Fourteenth Century to the Present,* 3rd edition (New York, 2007) pp. 951–952, 975.
2. Cibachrome prints are made directly from a color transparency, without first making a negative.
3. Patrick T. Murphy, *Andres Serrano: Works 1983–1993* (Institute of Contemporary Art, University of Pennsylvania, 1994) p. 13.
4. Ibid., pp. 13–14.
5. Ibid., p. 13.
6. Ibid., p. 14.
7. "Now when they heard of the resurrection of the dead some mocked; but others said 'We will hear you again about this.' So Paul went out from among them." Acts 17:32.
8. Acc. no. 98.19. Cibachrome photograph on resin-coated paper. Signed, titled, dated, and numbered in pencil on reverse at bottom AL "PISS DISCUS" 1988 25/50. H. image 0.73 m; W. image 0.485 m. Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund. Purchased from the Alternative Museum, N.Y.
9. Lucian, *Philopseudes* 18 (J. J. Pollitt, trans., *The Art of Ancient Greece: Sources and Documents* [Cambridge, 1990] p. 49).
10. Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 34.57. Thirty epigrams about it have survived (*Greek Anthology* 9.713–742). Most praise the statue's lifelike appearance.
11. Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton, 1970) p. 85.
12. Murphy, *Andres Serrano*, p. 14.
13. Munich, Antikensammlungen, inv. 3012. G. M. A. Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, 4th edition (New Haven, 1970) p. 208, figs. 579–580; M. Maass, *Griechische und römische Bronzewerke der Antikensammlungen* (Munich, 1979) pp. 36–37, no. 15. [For a recent catalogue of surviving copies of the *Diskobolos* (with full references to the Munich miniature), see A. Anguissola, "Roman Copies of Myron's *Discobolus*," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 18 (2005) pp. 317–335. *Ed.*]
14. Elizabeth Bartman, *Ancient Sculptural Copies in Miniature* (Leiden, 1992) p. 23.
15. So are all national flags, and Serrano would have been familiar with the controversy at the Art Institute of Chicago, when in 1989 it exhibited the work by Dred Scott Tyler titled *What is the proper way to exhibit the U.S. Flag?* Visitors were encouraged to express their opinions in a guest book but, in order to get to it, had to walk on an American flag that the artist had laid on the floor.
16. bell hooks, "The Radiance of Red: Blood Works." In *Art on My Mind: Visual Politics* (New York, 1995) p. 219.
17. Murphy, *Andres Serrano*, p. 35.
18. Arnold L. Lehman, director of the Brooklyn Museum of Art, in an interview with Jane Hughes of the British Broadcasting Company in 1999.

†Gladys D. Weinberg

E. Marianne Stern

In September 2000, I gave a lecture in honor of Dr. Gladys D. Weinberg (Fig. 1) at the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri. The following text is an annotated and edited version of the first half of the lecture. [1] That visit to Columbia was to be the last time I saw her alive. My first contact with her had been in the 1970s on the advice of the Israeli glass expert Dan Barag. I had mailed him a copy of my first book on ancient glass in recognition of his assistance when I researched the subject in Israel. Dan Barag suggested I send copies to two scholars: one was Gladys Weinberg in the United States and the other was Nina Sorokina in Russia. At that time, the superpowers were not on friendly terms, but glass scholars strove to maintain contact. I was a newcomer and had just embarked on a university career in the Netherlands. I felt embarrassed about sending my publication to such eminent scholars. Gladys's response was characteristically double-edged: "You have set yourself a very high standard; it will be difficult to keep up."

When I refer to Dr. Weinberg as Gladys, I mean no disrespect. It reflects the personal friendship that grew between us as our paths converged in the wake of shared interests. She has been my role model for publishing ancient glass ever since I wrote my first article. Over the years, Gladys and her husband Saul supported me and my research in many ways. I was delighted by the opportunity to thank her publicly for all that she had done for me.

My remarks here are limited strictly to her publications on ancient glass. I have tried to convey the significance of her research in this field and attempted to explain why she was such a dominant figure in ancient glass studies. She had many accomplishments in other areas such as the founding and editing of *Muse*, editing *Archaeology Magazine* in its infancy, and with Saul creating and then sustaining the Museum of Art and Archaeology. Her friends and colleagues in Columbia can address these issues far more competently.

Her very first publication—at least in my card index—was already indicative of her future research interests: an article in the *American Journal of Archaeology* of 1940 on a medieval glass factory at Corinth [1]. The fact that the subject was an

Fig. 1. Gladys D. Weinberg at Jalame, Israel.

eleventh-century glass factory proved to be prophetic of the broad chronological range her research would cover, exceptional for a classical archaeologist and comparable to that of Donald Harden, the founder of modern glass studies. The article itself touches on two of the three areas in which Gladys was eventually to become the leading authority not only in the United States, but worldwide, namely glass in Greece and the excavation of glass factories.

The article on the medieval glass factory was followed in 1952 by a volume [3] in the series on the excavations at ancient Corinth, published by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. The publication was devoted not only to the glass from the excavations, but also to all the small finds, objects that are notoriously difficult to classify and interpret. The volume's title, *The Minor Objects*, belies the significance of the contents. Gladys was the first to publish any glass from Greece in a scholarly fashion, and she put Greece firmly on the map for ancient glass studies. Not only that—for the next fifty years all major studies on ancient glass in Greece were to be from her hand. Glass in ancient Greece is the number one area in which she was the world's leading scholar.

"The art of glassmaking is not one of the accomplishments for which ancient Greece is renowned." This is the first sentence of her important publication *Glass Vessels in Ancient Greece* (1992) [55]. This book was yet another significant first for ancient glass from Greece: Gladys presented here the first (and to my knowledge sole) history of glass in ancient Greece. I continue the quote from her foreword:

> From the extant works of Greek and Roman authors we learn of famous centers of glass production—Alexandria, Sidon, Rome— never once of Greece. But archaeological discoveries tell us otherwise. Material evidence shows clearly that Greece did indeed have a place in the development of this craft, from Mycenaean times through the Classical, Hellenistic, Roman and Early Christian periods, and even in the Middle Ages.

It is precisely this material evidence that led Gladys to identify certain glass shapes as local products of northern Greece (Thessaly) [11], of Crete [6], and of Rhodes [25]. In addition, she published authoritative studies on the glass retrieved from a ship that sank ca. 65 B.C.E. near Antikythera [21], an island just off the southern coast of the Peloponnese, and several studies on selected finds from Corinth [42, 49] and the Athenian Agora [8, 12, 19].

In her book [55], Gladys published a selection of glass vessels in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. The museum owns some of the most amazing glass vessels ever produced in antiquity, such as a stunning, 0.35 m high bottle, which by any account is huge for a glass vessel [55, no. 48]. It comes from a Hellenistic grave in Thessaly. The pattern imitating agate is made with polychrome mosaic canes of brown, white, and purple, and the vessel itself consists of two parts that join at the shoulder. Near the rims of the two parts are small drilled holes for metal fittings to hold top and bottom together. The book contains no less than three such outstanding pieces, all from one or more graves in the same village, Palaiokastro in northern Greece, and all made before the invention of glassblowing. Whereas the how, when, and where of their production has not yet been established, finds such as these and many others which Gladys published for the first time prove that Greece was at the forefront with respect to the use of luxury glass vessels in the Hellenistic period.

Gladys's gorgeously illustrated publication has had an enormous effect on Greek archaeologists who are finally beginning to realize what treasures they possess. Interest in ancient glass is burgeoning. The first international symposium on glass in Greece was held in the spring of 2001 in Rhodes, and building on the firm foundation that Gladys provided, several young scholars are currently exploring the field.[2] In recent years, they have identified two important Hellenistic production centers, one in Macedonia, the other in Rhodes. It was a matter of course for Gladys to be the first person to whom they sent their publications, and she read them all carefully, whether they were in Greek or some other modern language.

The second area of research for which Gladys was internationally renowned was her quest for ancient glass factories. After noticing that a group of characteristic thick-walled cylindrical containers with domed lids could be traced to southern Crete [55, no. 39], she excavated at a site that looked promising [7]. In this particular instance, the workshop itself eluded discovery, but she kept searching, dogged in her resolve to excavate a factory that would shed light on ancient glass production methods. She found the perfect site in Israel.

The site of Jalame, below the slopes of Mt. Carmel, was destined to be the first glass factory ever excavated with the explicit purpose of understanding the technological process of ancient glass production. The publication is universally regarded as a milestone in ancient glass studies [54, see also 53]. From the beginning, Gladys and Saul worked with the Corning Museum of

Fig. 2. Furnace foundation wall, seen from interior. Reprinted from *Excavations at Jalame*, fig. 3–4, by Gladys D. Weinberg. By permission of the University of Missouri Press. Copyright © 1988 by the Curators of the University of Missouri. Drawing by Jörg Schmeisser.

Glass. The excavation was a joint project of the University of Missouri and the Corning Museum. Paul Perrot, then director of the Corning Museum, served as administrative director, and Corning scientist Robert H. Brill and engineer John F. Wosinski participated in the excavation. The late Frederick Matson, ceramic technologist at Pennsylvania State University, was also a member of the team. Several Missouri students were involved, among them Sidney Goldstein, Gloria Merker, and Barbara Johnson, all of whom wrote sections of the final publication.

All I know about the dig is by hearsay. One fine day, a visitor dropped by and was interested in joining. He became the excavation's draftsman. The drawing of one of the foundation walls of the glassblowing furnace shown in Figure 2 and many other drawings in the final publication are the work of Jörg Schmeisser, an artist whose name has since become familiar in many parts of the world and especially in the Museum of Art and Archaeology. Gladys and Saul "discovered" him.

In the wake of the Jalame publication, it has now become fashionable to illustrate reconstructions of ancient glassblowing methods in almost every book on ancient glass. Unfortunately, most reconstructions do not come near Gladys's scholarly standards. She consulted with contemporary glassblowers, Frederick Schuler and Dominick Labino, but unlike her epigones, she based her queries on specific technical details that could be observed in the factory waste. Furthermore, she stressed that successful duplication does not prove an ancient manufacturing technique; at best, it shows a possible technique. A practicing glassblower myself, I was struck in particular by her observation that the crosscutting shears, one of the most common tools in use nowadays (a tool that is depicted in every modern reconstruction of an ancient technique), was apparently not used at Jalame.

Gladys's work in Rhodes was at the request of the Greek Archaeological Servic [35, 50]. They had uncovered the waste from a glass workshop active in the first half of the second century B.C.E. The main production was beads, but certain finds suggested that sandwich gold-glass was being made in the near vicinity. Bead making is a specialty in itself. Even today, glassblowing and bead making are two different crafts. It was characteristic of Gladys's approach that she decided to go and watch bead makers who work traditionally at primitive bead furnaces. Together with the glass artist Baker O'Brien, then Dominick Labino's assistant, Gladys visited several of these workshops in Turkey.

The third area in which Gladys's publications furnish the basis for all future research is the chronology of Hellenistic glass. I have already mentioned her publication of the finds from the shipwreck at Antikythera [55, see also 21]. This material provides the most important evidence for establishing the chronology of Hellenistic glass. The glass vessels, which were part of the ship's cargo, are all of the highest quality and include both polychrome and monochrome ones. Most are familiar types, which previously could not be dated independently. A blue green bowl with delicate decoration in half-raised half-sunken relief is, however, unique: two elaborate leafy sprays, probably meant to be olive, spread out over the entire surface [55, no. 62]. The date of the shipwreck has been established as around 65 B.C.E., based on the coins, amphoras, and other finds.

Numerous fragments of common Hellenistic drinking vessels like the intact conical grooved bowl in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens [55, no. 53] came to light in the Athenian Agora, many in relatively well dated layers. Gladys's publication of these and related bowls from the Agora [8] as well as from two sites in Israel [37, 39] provided evidence for dating the period of their production. The glass from Tel Anafa [37] is of special interest for chronology because it was found during Saul and Gladys's excavation of the site.[3] The smooth-walled conical bowls found in abundance at Tel Anafa often occur in the company of ribbed bowls. These are the earliest predecessors of a type that was to dominate early imperial Roman glass. In the area of the rim and the upper part of the ribs the bowls display curious tool marks as can be seen in the drawings of fragments found at Hagoshrim [39] (Fig. 3). Gladys was the first to document and study these tool marks carefully. She concluded that each rib must have been tooled individually. Many years later, Rosemarie Lierke and I conducted practical experiments in the Toledo Museum of Art glass studio and were able to confirm the feasibility of Gladys's hypothesis.

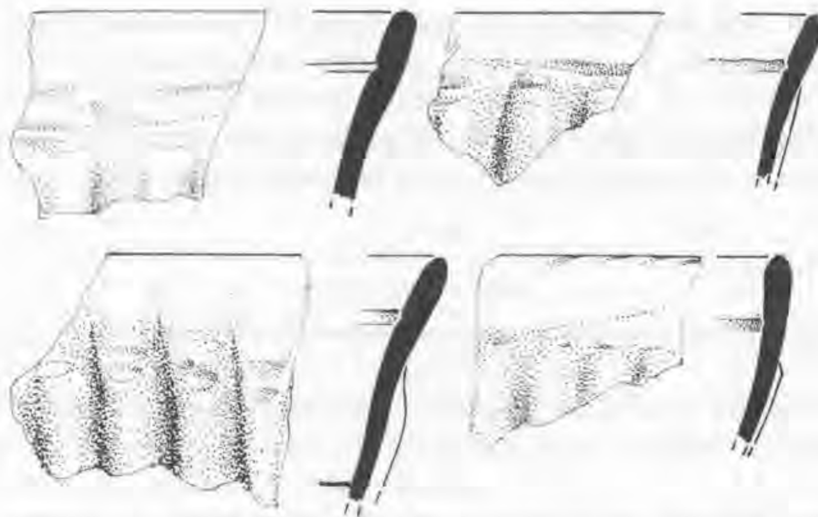

Fig. 3. Profiles of bowl fragments with tooled ribs. First century B.C.E., glass. Museum of Kibbutz Hagoshrim, Israel. From *Journal of Glass Studies* 15 (1973) p. 41, nos. 21, 23, 26, 29.

I have discussed the three areas in which I believe Gladys made the largest impact: ancient glass in Greece, ancient glassblowing facilities, and the chronology of Hellenistic glass. Her bibliography, encompassing fifty-six publications, demonstrates, however, the much wider range of her interests than I have addressed in this brief account.

I would like to conclude this encomium by mentioning some features that characterize all Gladys's publications: an inimitable style of writing, perfection in editing, and last but not least an open mind. Just one personal anecdote—when I was all excited about my discovery that ancient glassblowers would have been able to blow glass without having a pot of molten glass, one colleague remarked "that is not possible." When I said I did so myself twice a week and asked the reason for this colleague's response, the answer was "because that is just not possible." Gladys's reaction was "I can't believe that is possible." Upon which she and Saul drove to Toledo to see for themselves.

Gladys was working hard on the ancient glass found during the ongoing excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies in the Athenian Agora, and she had written about two thirds of the volume when disaster struck in 1995. Mentally as sharp as ever but physically incapacitated, she asked me to complete the volume, which Homer Thompson, former director of the Agora Excavations, had commissioned her to write. A large proportion of the

glass dates from the Classical and Hellenistic periods, while the latest fragment is from the eighteenth century C.E. I am grateful for having been chosen to complete the project on which she worked for almost fifty years. The publication of the glass from the Athenian Agora [56] will be a final contribution to Gladys's legacy as one of the world's leading authorities on ancient glass.

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3. *Corinth, Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 12, *The Minor Objects* (Princeton, 1952).

4. Review of R. W. Smith, *Glass from the Ancient World: The Ray Winfield Smith Collection*, in *American Journal of Archaeology* 62 (1958) pp. 450–451.

5. "Expedition to Tarrha," *Archaeology* 12 (1959) p. 205.

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9. Review of Th. E. Haevernick, *Die Glasarmringe und Ringperlen der Mittel- und Spätlatènezeit auf dem europäischen Festland*, in *American Journal of Archaeology* 65 (1961) p. 316.

10. "Two Glass Vessels in the Heraclion Museum," *Kretika Chronika* 15–16 (1961–62) pp. 226–229.

11. "Evidence for Glass Manufacture in Ancient Thessaly," *American Journal of Archaeology* 66 (1962) pp. 129–133.

12. "An Inlaid Glass Plate in Athens," *Journal of Glass Studies* 4 (1962) pp. 28–36.

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14. "Glass Vessels in the Museums of Greece," in *Annales du 2[d] Congrès d'Etude Historique du Verre* (1962 [1963]) pp. 45–53.

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NOTES

1. I am grateful to the museum and its then director Marlene Perchinske for the invitation to participate in the festive celebration of Dr. Weinberg's manifold achievements. I have retained the colloquial tone of the oral delivery. The second half of the lecture became the nucleus for "Kaniskia: Glass and Metal Openwork Lamps," *Annales du 15e Congrès de l'Association Internationale pour l'Histoire du Verre* (2001 [2003]) pp. 98–101.
2. Since 2001, there have been two additional congresses on glass held in Greece. The proceedings of both have been published. See P. G. Themelis, ed., *To guali apo tên arkhaitotêta eôs sêmera, B', synedrio Margaritôn Mylopotamou Rethymnês Krêtês, 26–28 Sept. 1997* (Athens, 2002); G. Kordas and A. Antonaras, eds., *Istoria kai tekhnologia arkhaiou gualiou* (Athens, 2002). The next congress of the *Association Internationale pour l'Histoire du Verre* will take place in Thessaloniki in 2009. The organizers are A. Antonaras and D. Ignatiadou, two of the (then) young Greek archaeologists inspired by Gladys.
3. J. Dobbins, D. Grose, G. Merker et al, *Tel Anafa* 2, 2, *Lamps, Glass, Metal and Other Finds* (*Journal of Roman Archaeology* Suppl. forthcoming 2009)

About the Authors

Erin Walcek Averett finished her Ph.D. at the University of Missouri in May 2007 (Dissertation: "Dedications in Clay: Terracotta Figurines in Early Iron Age Greece, ca. 1100–700 B.C.E."). She was visiting instructor at Lawrence University in Appleton, Wisconsin, in 2006–2007 and is currently adjunct instructor at the University of Nebraska-Omaha, as well as assistant director of the Athienou Archaeological Project (Athienou, Cyprus).

John Tristan Barnes is currently a Ph.D. student in the Department of Art History and Archaeology at the University of Missouri. His MA thesis focused on traveling Minoan fresco artists in the eastern Mediterranean during the Middle and Late Bronze Age.

William R. Biers is professor emeritus, University of Missouri. His most recent research has focused on trace content analysis of Greek perfume vases.

Irina Hans (see dedication on pages 5–6).

Benton Kidd is associate curator of ancient art in the Museum of Art and Archaeology. He is currently working on publication of the stucco from the excavations at Tel Anafa, Israel.

E. Marianne Stern, an independent scholar and practicing glass blower, is the author of numerous publications in the fields of classical archaeology and ancient glass. Her latest book, *Roman, Byzantine and Early Medieval Glass: Ernesto Wolf Collection,* appeared in 2001. Her volume (with Gladys D. Weinberg) on the glass vessels from the Athenian Agora is scheduled to appear in 2008.

Zeus or Poseidon (2003.7).

Acquisitions 2002–2004

Greek and Roman Art

Coin (*tremissis*) of Aelia Eudocia, Roman, mint of Constantinople, 423 C.E., gold (2002.4), Saul S. Weinberg Memorial Fund.

Color-band bottle, Roman, first century B.C.E. to first century C.E., glass (2002.11), Gladys D. Weinberg Memorial Fund and Weinberg Fund.

Color-band bottle (2002.11).

Nine amphorae, Greek and Roman periods, sixth century B.C.E. to second century C.E., pottery (2002.18–26), gift of Union Station Kansas City Inc.

Coin (*tetradrachm*) of Demetrius Poliorketes, Greek, mint of Pella, Macedon, ca. 290 B.C.E., silver (2003.6), Weinberg Fund.

Zeus or Poseidon, Roman, ca. first–second century C.E., bronze (2003.7), Weinberg Fund.

Portrait of an empress, Roman, mid-third century, marble (2004.1), Weinberg Fund and Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Medallion of Septimius Severus, Roman, mint of Saitta, Lydia (Turkey), 198–211 C.E., bronze (2004.5), Weinberg Fund.

Medallion of Septimius Severus (2004.5).

Coin of Domitia, Roman, mint of Silandus, Lydia (Turkey), 81–96 C.E., bronze (2004.6), Weinberg Fund.

Sarcophagus fragment with a standing figure in high relief, Roman, second or third century, marble (2004.88), Weinberg Fund.

Sarcophagus fragment (2004.88).

South American Art

Two figurines, Peru, Chancay culture, Late Intermediate period, 1100–1450, ceramic (2002.12, 13), gift of Yezmin Perilla and Steven Young.

Bag, Peru, South Coast (?), Late Intermediate period, 1100–1450, wool and cotton (2002.14), gift of Yezmin Perilla and Steven Young.

Chinese Art

Hanging scroll painting, Chinese, late nineteenth or early twentieth century (?), ink and pigments on silk mounted on paper with silk-faced surround and ivory finials (2003.9), gift of Dr. Clarence Sakamoto.

South and Southeast Asian Art

Shiva Nataraja, South India, sixteenth–seventeenth century, bronze (2004.4), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

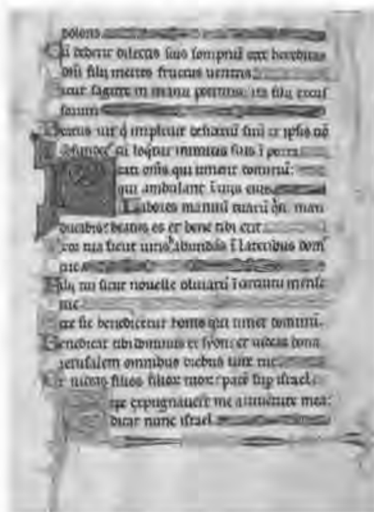
Shiva Nataraja (2004.4).

Collection of forty-two betel cutters, India, Indonesia, et al., nineteenth and twentieth centuries, bronze, brass, iron, silver (2004.11–52), gift of the estate of Dr. Samuel Eilenberg.

European and American Art

Manuscripts

Illuminated page from a psalter in Latin, Northeastern France or Paris, ca. 1200–1210, ink, colors, and gold on parchment (2002.15), Gilbreath-McLorr Museum Fund.



Illuminated page (2002.15).

The Adoration of the Magi from a Book of Hours in Latin, Delft, The Netherlands, ca. 1480s, ink, colors, and gold on parchment (2003.1), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Calendar page for the month of January from a Book of Hours in Latin, Northern France, probably Paris, ca. 1460, ink, colors, and gold on parchment (2003.2), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Page from a Bible in Latin with the beginning of the Book of Judges, Paris, mid-thirteenth century, ink, colors, and gold on vellum (2003.3), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Page from a Book of Hours, printed by Pierre Vidoue, Paris, 1525, woodcut on vellum with applied colors and gold (2003.4), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Paintings

Lizabeth Mitty (American, b. 1952), *September 12 III*, 2001, oil on canvas (2002.2), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Grace Hartigan (American, b. 1922), *The Gallow Ball*, 1950, oil and newspaper on canvas (2002.27), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Hartigan, *The Gallow Ball* (2002.27).

Paul Fjellboe (American, 1873–1948), *Wasatch Mountains, Utah*, early 1930s, oil on canvas backed by masonite panel (2002.28), gift of the estate of Winifred Cornett.

George Caleb Bingham (American, 1811–1879), *Portrait of Thomas Withers Nelson*, 1844–1845, oil on canvas (2003.5), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Sharon Jacques (American, b. 1956), *The Collector*, 1999, acrylic on canvas (2004.53), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Francis Lagrange (French, 1894–1964), collection of twenty-four paintings from the *Devil's Island Series*, ca. 1940–1959, oil on canvas (2004.61–84), transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Administrative Services, University of Missouri (gift of Bailey K. Howard, 1963).

Bingham, *Portrait of Thomas Withers* (2003.5).

Daniel Garber (American, 1880–1958), *River Bank*, 1910, oil on canvas (2004.86), transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Administrative Services, University of Missouri.

Edward Potthast (American, 1857–1927), *The Alps*, 1882–1889 (?), oil on canvas (2004.87), transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Administrative Services, University of Missouri.

Garber, *River Bank* (2004.86).

Graphics

Charles Meryon (French, 1821–1868), *La Ministère de la marine* (The Admiralty), 1865, etching on laid paper (2002.1), gift of the Delta Gamma Foundation and Mrs. Darlene Johnson.

Leonard Baskin (American, 1922–2000), *Man of Peace*, 1952, woodcut (2002.5), gift of Harry M. Cohen, M.D.

Baskin, *Man of Peace* (2002.5).

Albrecht Dürer (German, 1471–1528), *Crucifixion with the Virgin and Saint John*, from Part III of Martin Luther's *Das Alte Testament mit fleiss verteutscht*, published by F. Peypus, Nuremberg, 1524, woodcut on laid paper (2002.16), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Hans Sebald Beham (German, 1500–1550), *Prudentia* from the series *Cognition and the Seven Virtues*, n.d., engraving (2002.17), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Elizabeth Catlett (American, b. 1919), *Sharecropper*, 1958, linocut (2003.8), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Catlett, *Sharecropper* (2003.8).

Hendrick Goltzius (Dutch, 1558–1617), *Portrait of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester*, 1586, engraving (2004.2), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Goltzius, *Portrait of Robert Dudley* (2004.2).

Honoré Daumier (French, 1808–1879), *Monsieur Daumier, votre série des Roberts Macaires est une chose charmante!...*, from the series *Caricaturana* (*Les Roberts Macaires*), 1838, hand-colored lithograph (2004.3), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

George Bellows (American, 1882–1925), *Family*, 1916, lithograph (2004.8), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Mary Cassatt (American, 1844–1926), *Susan Seated before a Row of Trees*, ca. 1883, etching and drypoint (2004.9), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund and gift of Museum Associates.

Cassatt, *Susan Seated before a Row of Trees* (2004.9).

Kurt Schwitters (German, 1887–1948), untitled (composition with head in left profile), 1921, lithograph (2004.10), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Jörg Schmeisser (German, b. 1942), *Berg I*, 2002; *Berg II*, 2002; *Berg III*, 2002; *Twister*, 2004, etchings (2004.54, 55, 56, 57), gift of the artist in memory of Gladys D. Weinberg.

Douglas Keller (American, b. 1942), *Self-Portrait*, 1975, pencil on paper (2004.58), gift of the artist.

Camille Bonnard (French, b. 1793), *Eglise de Saint Ambroise* (Church of St. Ambrose), 1830 (?); *Eglise Saint-Marc* (Church of St. Mark), 1830 (?), hand-colored engravings (2004.59, 60), gift of Mr. George Ashley in honor of Museum Associates.

William Hogarth (British, 1697–1764), *The Bruiser*, 1763, etching and engraving (2004.85), gift in honor of Professor Patricia Crown on the occasion of her retirement, from her students and friends.

Hogarth, *The Bruiser* (2004.85).

Photographs

Cindy Sherman (American, b. 1954), untitled, 1988/1994, photograph (C print) (2002.3), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Lee Norman Friedlander (American, b. 1934) and Jim Dine (American, b. 1935), untitled from the series *Work from the Same House*, 1969, photograph (silver print) and etching (2002.6), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Sherman, untitled (2002.3).

Lisette Model (American, b. Austria, 1901–1983), *Coney Island, Standing, New York*, 1942 [printed 1977], photograph (silver gelatin print) (2002.7), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Edward Henry Weston (American, 1886–1958), *Juniper at Lake Tenaya*, 1937, photograph (silver gelatin print) (2002.8), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Aernout Overbeeke (Dutch, b. 1951), *The Mississippi and the Arch, St. Louis, Missouri*, 1988, photograph (chromogenic dye coupler print) (2002.9), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Margaret Bourke-White (American, 1904–1971), *Southern Revival*, 1930s, photograph (silver gelatin print) (2002.10), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Coinage

Coin (sixpence) of Elizabeth I, English, 1592, silver (2004.7), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Acquisitions

Reserve Collection 2004

Gerrit Hondius (American, 1891–1970), *Mill*, 1936, oil on canvas (R-2004.1), transferred from the Department of Rural Sociology, University of Missouri.

James Bodrero (American, twentieth century), *The Pacer*, 1934, ink and watercolor on paper (R-2004.2), transferred from the Department of Rural Sociology, University of Missouri.

Reginald Wilson (American, twentieth century), *Connecticut Barn*, 1936 (?), watercolor on paper (R-2004.3), transferred from the Department of Rural Sociology, University of Missouri.

John Sites Ankeney (American, 1870–1946), untitled, first third of twentieth century (?), oil on canvas (R-2004.4), transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Administrative Services, University of Missouri.

Exhibitions 2002–2004

The Legacy of the Harlem Renaissance: Influences and Inspirations (Fig. 1)

February 2–March 21, 2002

The cultural movement known as the Harlem Renaissance occurred in urban African American communities between 1919 and 1940. Its legacy continues into the twenty-first century. This exhibition highlighted works by artists such as Elizabeth Catlett, Charles White, Carrie Mae Weems, Willie Cole, and Faith Ringgold, who began their careers after 1940 but were either taught or influenced by their artistic forebears.

Fig. 1. *The Legacy of the Harlem Renaissance: Influences and Inspirations.*

Newspaper Lithographs by Honoré Daumier: Social Satire in the Nineteenth Century

February 26–May 26, 2002

The third installment of a yearlong exhibition that opened in June 2001, Daumier's series *Etrangers à Paris* (Foreigners in Paris) mocked the habits and manners of foreign visitors, while at the same time satirizing the behavior of opportunistic Parisians who made money in the tourism trade. Daumier's lithographs appeared in the newspaper *Le Charivari* at the height of the tourist season in June, July, and August of 1844. During this period, visitors from

abroad flocked to Paris to see the French Industrial Exposition at the Palace of Industry. The problems of Daumier's tourists—crowded hotels, long waiting lines, indifferent restaurant service, and unpredictable weather—still plague travelers today.

Picturing Nature: A Cross-Cultural View of Landscape (Fig. 2)
March 2–July 7, 2002
This exhibition displayed artwork from the nineteenth and twentieth centurie that presented three different contexts for viewing landscapes. "Reframing Perceptions of Landscapes" expanded audiences' expectations beyond the traditional interpretations of nature. "European and American Landscapes: 1800–1930" presented prints, drawings, and paintings arranged as if in a studio or academy exhibition of the Victorian or Edwardian era. "East Asian Landscapes: 1800–1950" showed works created by artists in China, Japan, or Korea during the same period.

Fig. 2. *Picturing Nature: A Cross-Cultural View of Landscape.*

From Studio to Cinema: Andy Warhol/Larry Clark/Cindy Sherman (Fig. 3)
April 7–September 8, 2002
The exhibition linked photography, performance art, pop art, and contemporary cinema and explored the influence of film on twentieth-century art. The interactive exhibit *Silver Clouds* by Andy Warhol reflected the artist's interest in blurring the lines between traditional art, performance, and popular culture. Photographs by Larry Clark—borrowed from private collections in Los Angeles, California—captured the raw subculture of narcotic users. Works by postmodern artist Cindy Sherman, borrowed from the International Center for Photography in New York and other university museums, incorporated qualities usually associated with conceptual and performance art and demonstrated the strong influence of film on her work.

Fig. 3. *From Studio to Cinema: Andy Warhol/Larry Clark/Cindy Sherman.*

Master Drawings from the Permanent Collection (Fig. 4)
June 21, 2002–July 6, 2003
This exhibition displayed selections from the museum's collection of over 300 drawings ranging in date from the sixteenth through the twentieth centuries. Organized in three historical sections, the first installment (June 21–October 20, 2002) included works created in Italy, France, and Northern Europe during the Renaissance and Baroque periods. The second (October 23, 2002–February 2, 2003) represented academic, Rococo, neoclassical, Romantic, and

Impressionist styles. The third installment (February 5–July 6, 2003) featured many of the important stylistic movements of the twentieth century.

Fig. 4. *Master Drawings from the Permanent Collection.*

Selections of Ancient Glass in Memory of Gladys D. Weinberg (Fig. 5)
July 6, 2002–February 27, 2005
This exhibition honored Dr. Gladys Weinberg, co-founder of the Museum of Art and Archaeology and a foremost expert in ancient glass. The display highlighted the finest of the ancient glass objects from the permanent collection and included core-formed, blown, and mold-made vessels from the Greek, Roman, Byzantine, and Islamic periods.

Fig. 5. *Selections of Ancient Glass in Memory of Gladys D. Weinberg.*

Wit and Wine: A New Look at Ancient Iranian Ceramics from the Arthur M. Sackler Foundation (Fig. 6)
August 10–December 22, 2002
The first major exhibition of ancient Iranian ceramics to be held in the United States in over a decade, the exhibition featured forty-five pieces that illustrated the 5,000-year ceramic tradition that flourished in ancient pre-Islamic Iran until 224 C.E. The beautiful, technically sophisticated, and often amusing ceramics of ancient Iran demonstrated a rich, yet little known tradition, comparable to pre-Columbian, Chinese, and Greek achievements.

Fig. 6. *Wit and Wine: A New Look at Ancient Iranian Ceramics from the Arthur M. Sackler Foundation.*

The Missouri Scene: In the Wake of Lewis and Clark (Fig. 7)
October 12, 2002–May 18, 2003
To commemorate the bicentennial of Lewis and Clark's Corps of Discovery, this exhibition juxtaposed nineteenth- and twentieth-century representations of the Missouri River Valley with quotes from the journals of Lewis and Clark. The exhibition reflected the environmental impact of agriculture and industrialization on the landscape. Images of African Americans, Native Americans, and the rural poor encouraged viewers to consider the political and social effects of the Missouri river economy.

Fig. 7. *The Missouri Scene: In the Wake of Lewis and Clark.*

Fig. 8. *The Art of the Book: 1000–1600.*

The Art of the Book: 1000–1600 (Fig. 8)

January 25–May 25, 2003

Books and pages from books produced in Europe in the medieval and Renaissance periods demonstrated the changing forms and functions of the illustrated book. Sacred and secular manuscripts, as well as printed and illustrated books, were drawn from private collections, Special Collections in the University of Missouri's Ellis Library, and the permanent collection.

The Shadow of Olympus: Gods, Heroes, and the Mythological Continuum (Fig. 9)

July 12–December 21, 2003

This exhibition examined the far-reaching influence of the Graeco-Roman mythological tradition and its continuous appeal until the present day. It included examples of gods and heroes in various media ranging from the ceramic, bronze, and stone-working traditions of antiquity to the painting and printmaking of later periods. The works represented a wide range of artists of diverse cultural backgrounds, including the anonymous artisans of antiquity, European artists, and one local Missourian.

Fig. 9. *The Shadow of Olympus: Gods, Heroes, and the Mythological Continuum.*

Art about Art: A Selection of Visual Metatexts (Fig. 10)
August 30, 2003–June 26, 2004
A yearlong exhibit that presented a selection of images in which artists, artworks, and the process of making art were the subject matter. The prints, paintings, and drawings included works by Pablo Picasso, Alphonse Mucha, Andres Serrano, Faith Ringgold, and Robert Crumb.

Fig. 10. *Art about Art: A Selection of Visual Metatexts.*

Graphic Diversity: 500 Years of Printmaking (Fig. 11)
January 24–May 22, 2004
This exhibition celebrated the diversity of printmakers, printing techniques, and media in graphic art over the past five hundred years. European and American works were exhibited, as well as several nineteenth- and twentieth-century Japanese prints. The exhibition also examined the development of printing techniques. Loans were included from Stephens College, Columbia, and the Ashby-Hodge Gallery of American Art at Central Methodist College Fayette, Missouri, together with works from the permanent collection.

Fig. 11. *Graphic Diversity: 500 Years of Printmaking.*

Cityscapes: Visualizing the Built Environment, ca. 1500–2000 (Fig. 12)
July 17, 2004–July 16, 2005
Dating from the sixteenth through twentieth centuries, the works in this yearlong exhibition depicted the man-made landscape in cities and towns. Prints, drawings, and paintings from the permanent collection were included. Artists represented included Giovanni Battista Piranese, Charles Meryon, Jörg Schmeisser, and Maxime Lalanne, as well as a selection of Missouri artists.

Fig. 12. *Cityscapes: Visualizing the Built Environment, ca. 1500–2000.*

Fig. 13. *The Infinite and the Absolute: Belief and Being in the Art of South Asia.*

The Infinite and the Absolute: Belief and Being in the Art of South Asia
(Fig. 13)
August 28–December 24, 2004
Drawn from the permanent collection of South Asian art, sculptures and reliefs in metal, stone, and terracotta explored the three religions Buddhism, Hinduism, and Jainism. The majority of the works of art originated in India, although a few were from neighboring countries in South and Southeast Asia, areas that drew direct artistic inspiration from the Indian subcontinent. The sculptures, depicting gods and saintly beings in all their myriad forms, were fashioned for ritual and devotional use as a means to focus worship and foster a personal connection between the individual and the divine.

Loans to Other Institutions 2002–2004

To Elmer Ellis Library, University of Missouri, February 2002, eleven photographs (acc. nos. 95.6.1, 8, 12, 19, 37, 39, 41–43, 51, 151) from the collection *Songs of My People* for *Songs of My People—Selections (Hope).*

To The University of Michigan Museum of Art, Ann Arbor, Mich., February 16–May 5, 2002, and Davis Museum and Cultural Center, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass., September 14–December 8, 2002, the oil painting *Athena Scorning the Advances of Hephaestus,* 1555–1560, by Paris Bordone (Italian, 1500–1571) (acc. no. 61.78) for the exhibition *Women Who Ruled: Queens, Goddesses, Amazons, 1500–1650.*

To Elmer Ellis Library, University of Missouri, February 2003, twelve photographs (acc. nos. 95.6.9, 45, 52, 93, 96, 98, 99, 103, 105, 107, 110, 117) from the collection *Songs of My People* for *Songs of My People—Selections (Occupations).*

To the Baum Gallery of Fine Art, University of Central Arkansas, Conway, Ark., September 15–October 25, 2002, twenty-five Hindu sculptures, tenth through nineteenth centuries, bronze, brass, stone, and terracotta (acc. nos. 63.9.1–3, 5, 30; 65.26; 66.117, 153, 155, 174, 185, 231d, 232b; 67.173; 69.1067a and b; 70.1; 72.108; 77.288; 78.129.1 and 2, 149, 169, 268; 79.138; 80.240) for the exhibition *Art of India.*

To Elmer Ellis Library, University of Missouri, February 2004, eleven photographs (acc. nos. 95.6. 5, 6, 9, 12–14, 20–22, 103, 105) from the collection *Songs of My People* for *Songs of My People—Selections (Education).*

To the Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H., August 23–December 14, 2003; the Onassis Cultural Center, New York, N.Y., January 18–April 1, 2004; the Cincinnati Art Museum, Cincinnati, Ohio, May 1–August 1, 2004; and the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Calif., September 14–December 5, 2004, baby feeder, Greek, Late Geometric, ca. 550–500 B.C.E., earthenware (acc. no. 59.55) and four knucklebones

(astragaloi) from Tel Anafa, Israel, second–first century B.C.E. (inv. nos. TA70 B4, B5, B26, and TA72 B27) for the exhibition *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece: Images of Childhood from the Classical Past.*

To the New York Public Library, New York, N.Y., October 3, 2003–May 28, 2004, the oil painting *Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac,* 1650–1675 (?), anonymous imitator of Rembrandt (acc. no. 61.83) for the exhibition *Russia Engages the World, 1453–1825.*

To the Princeton University Art Museum, Princeton, N.J., October 11, 2003–January 18, 2004, and the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Tex., February 22–May 16, 2004, statuette of a centaur, Greek, Boeotian, late seventh century B.C.E., terracotta (acc. no. 58.20) for the exhibition *The Centaur's Smile: The Human Animal in Early Greek Art.*

To the National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington, D.C., October 15–December 19, 2004, the oil painting *Still Life with Bowl (Lionel and Clarissa–A Comic Opera),* ca. 1922, by Claude Raguet Hirst (American, 1855–1942) (acc. no. 91.280) for the exhibition *Claude Raguet Hirst: Transforming the American Still Life.*

Museum Activities 2002

Lectures

February 7
Kristin Schwain, assistant professor, Department of Art History and Archaeology, University of Missouri, "'There Was Race in It': The Religious Art of African American Artists Henry Ossawa Tanner and Aaron Douglas."

March 15
Joan Stack, associate curator of European and American art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Picturing a Woman Artist in the Renaissance: Giorgio Vasari's Portrait of Properzia de' Rossi," in celebration of Women's History Month.

March 21
Renée Ater, visiting assistant professor of American art, University of Maryland, "African American Women Sculptors of the Harlem Renaissance," in celebration of Women's History Month.

May 10
Elizabeth Childs, professor of Art History, Washington University, St. Louis, "Daumier's Caricatures: The 'Foreigners in Paris' Series."

September 13
Trudy S. Kawami, director of research, Arthur M. Sackler Foundation, New York, "Ancient Iranian Ceramics as Art."

November 1
Sid Goldstein, curator of ancient and Islamic art, St. Louis Art Museum, "'Never Make Plans before Coffee': Remembering Gladys Davidson Weinberg."

Midday Gallery Events

January 30
Paul Wallace, professor, Political Science Department, University of Missouri, "What Is Terrorism and What Have We Learned?"

February 6
Anjail Rashida Ahmad, poet and graduate instructor, Department of English, University of Missouri, "Harlem on My Mind: Poetic Reflections on Harlem Then and Now."

February 13
Irina Hans, graduate student, Department of Art History and Archaeology, University of Missouri,

"Charles Collins's Convent Thoughts: A Pre-Raphaelite Story of Love?"

February 20
Byron Smith, local artist and collector, "Found Memories: Antique Photographic Records of Missouri's African American Heritage."

February 27
Jeff Wilcox, registrar, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Out of Africa: Revisiting the Collection of African Art in the Museum of Art and Archaeology."

March 6
Carol Grove, independent landscape historian, "What Is Landscape?"

March 13
Bryan Carter, assistant professor, Department of English and Philosophy, Central Missouri State University, "Virtual Harlem: Imagining the Past, Envisioning the Future."

April 10
Brooke Cameron, professor, Department of Art, University of Missouri, and Ben Cameron, professor, Department of Art, Columbia College, "The 49th Venice Biennale on Video."

April 17
Eric Landes, assistant professor, Department of Art, University of Missouri, "The Poor Cousins: Can Design Be Art?"

April 24
Vaughn Wascovich, assistant professor, Department of Art, University of Missouri, "The Wolf Lake Project."

May 1
Kevin Dingman, graduate student intern, Museum of Art and Archaeology, and art instructor, Westminster College, Fulton, "*From Studio to Cinema*, Exhibition Overview."

June 19
Lampo Leong, assistant professor, Department of Art, University of Missouri, "The Philosophies and Styles of Chinese Landscape Painting."

June 26
Christopher Salter, professor, Department of Geography, University of Missouri, "Landscape as ..."

July 10
Joan Stack, associate curator of European and American art, Museum

of Art and Archaeology, "How Were Drawings Used in the Renaissance? A Review of 16th- and 17th-Century Drawings from the Museum's Collections."

July 17
Nancy West, associate professor, Department of English, University of Missouri, "From Snapshot to Silver Screen: The Case of Weegee."

July 24
Dennis Henson, graduate student, Department of Art History and Archaeology, University of Missouri, "Pop Music/Pop Art/Pop Packaging: Andy Warhol, Richard Hamilton, and the 1960s."

July 31
Sandy Camargo, assistant professor, Department of English, University of Missouri, "High Concept: Replication and Originality in the New Hollywood."

September 25
Mahtaj Khamneian, database administrator expert, Administration Information Technology Services, University of Missouri, "Iranian Culture: An Informal Question and Answer Session on Iranian Culture and Art."

October 2
Fardin Karamkhani, resettlement aide, International Institute of St. Louis, "Traditional Iranian Music."

October 9
Lisa Higgins, director, Missouri Folk Arts Program, University of Missouri, "Ballads, Bones, and Fiddle Tunes," video with commentary.

October 16
Joan Stack, associate curator of European and American art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "*The Missouri Scene: In the Wake of Lewis and Clark*, Exhibition Overview."

October 23
David East, assistant professor, Department of Art, University of Missouri, "Ancient Inspiration: The Sackler Collection and Contemporary Ceramics."

October 30
Benton Kidd, assistant curator of ancient art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Glittering Glass: A Mid-Missouri Menagerie."

November 6
Mark McCarthy, information coordinator, Missouri Department of Conservation, "River Conservation in the Wake of Lewis and Clark."

November 13
Jane Mudd, Missouri artist, "Painting the Missouri Scene: Reflections of a Missouri Artist."

Special Events

January 25
Museum Associates annual meeting.

February 7
The Legacy of the Harlem Renaissance: Influences and Inspirations, exhibition opening event.

February 22
Don Cox, pianist, Patricia Cox, vocalist, professional jazz artists, Kansas City, Missouri, "From 18th & Vine: Jazz with Donald and Patricia Cox."

March 1
Picturing Nature: A Cross-Cultural View of Landscape, exhibition opening event.

March 14
Marlene Perchinske, director, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Art in the Age of Terrorism," director's circle.

March 16
"*John Singer Sargent, beyond the Portrait Studio: Paintings, Drawings, and Watercolors from The Metropolitan Museum of Art*," Museum Associates day trip to the St. Louis Art Museum.

April 13
"Scenic River Excursion," visit to Missouri artist Gary Lucy and tour of his studio in Washington, Missouri, and visit to the Daniel Boone Historic House, Museum Associates day trip.

April 23
Curtis Malcolm Bourgeois, "Winemaking and Selecting the Appropriate Missouri Wine," riverview luncheon, Les Bourgeois Bistro.

April 26
From Studio to Cinema: Andy Warhol/Larry Clark/Cindy Sherman, exhibition opening event.

June 21
Master Drawings from the Permanent Collection, exhibition opening event.

August 9
Wit and Wine: A New Look at Ancient Iranian Ceramics from the Arthur M. Sackler Foundation, exhibition opening event.

September 11
A Day of Remembrance, "In Memoriam, New York City, 9/11/01," continuous viewing of HBO presentation.

September 28
"Arrow Rock Art and Archaeology Tour," Museum Associates day trip.

October 11
The Missouri Scene: In the Wake of Lewis and Clark, exhibition opening event, with musical performance from *The Corps of Discovery: An Opera in Three Acts*.

October 14
Volunteer appreciation breakfast.

November 7
Marlene Perchinske, director, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Forming a Museum's Collection," director's circle.

December 1
National Day without Art.
Day of observance recognizing the disproportionate number of arts community members who have died of or are living with AIDS.

December 11
Noree Boyd, lyric soprano and executive director, Missouri Arts Council, and David O'Hagan, pianist and professor emeritus of music, Columbia College, "An Evening of Holiday Celebration."

Children's Educational Programs

February 16, 23, and March 2
"Drawing; Painting; and Sculpture," three-day portrait workshop for grades 5, 6, and 7.

February 21
"Safari to Ancient Lands," flashlight tour for families and children aged from seven to twelve.

April 18
"Looking at Landscape: Discover Uncharted Territory," flashlight tour for families and children aged from seven to twelve.

June 14
"Safari Ho!" flashlight tour for families and children aged from seven to twelve.

June 15
"Photography: Perspective and Composition," photography workshop for grades 3, 4, and 5.

July 26
"Lions, Tigers, and Griffins–Oh, My!" flashlight tour for families and children aged from seven to twelve.

October 24
"Are There Monsters in the Museum?" flashlight tour for families and children aged from seven to twelve.

November 2
"Animal Explorations," sculpture workshop for grades 4, 5, and 6.

November 9
"Animals in Motion," sculpture workshop for grades 7, 8, and 9.

December 5
"Let's Explore with the Corps of Discovery!" flashlight tour for families and children aged from seven to twelve.

December 7
"Breakfast with Santa," and make-an-ornament workshop.

Adult Education Program

October 19
"Paint the River," an open-air oil and watercolor painting demonstration with local artists Jane Mudd, Byron Smith, and Frank Stack.

Film Series

January 10
Les Misérables, 1998.
January 17
The Thin Red Line, 1999.

February 7
Do the Right Thing, 1989.

February 21
Lady Sings the Blues, 1972.

March 7
Camille Claudel, 1989.

March 14
The French Lieutenant's Woman, 1981.

April 11
Days of Heaven, 1978.

April 25
Baraka, 1992

Missouri Folk Arts Programs

April 6
Big Muddy Folk Festival, Boonville. Fardin Karamkhani, "Iranian Zarb"; Janet and Alan McMichael, "Native American Porcupine Quillwork"; Joe Patrickus and Kate Flanders, "Western Boots"; Angelia Stabler and Nori Gaydusek, "Native American

Jingle Dresses"; and The Sitze Family Band, "Bluegrass Gospel."

April 9
Tuesdays at the Capitol, Jefferson City.
Christa Robbins, "German Bobbin Lace Demonstration."

April 23
Tuesdays at the Capitol, Jefferson City.
John Glenn, "Ornamental Ironwork Demonstration."

October 8
Tuesdays at the Capitol, Jefferson City.
Fardin Karamkhani, "Iranian Traditional Music."

October 22
Tuesdays at the Capitol, Jefferson City.
The Sitze Family Band, "Bluegrass Gospel."

Museum Activities 2003

Lectures

March 6
Anne Stanton, associate professor, Department of Art History and Archaeology, University of Missouri, "Women as Readers of Medieval Books."

March 13
Lisa Moore, doctoral candidate, Department of Art History and Archaeology, University of Missouri, and Tim Spence, doctoral candidate, Department of English, University of Missouri, "The Craft of Parchment Making."

April 8
Jim Downey, owner, Legacy Art & Bookworks, "Historical Book-Binding Structures and Techniques," Legacy Art & Bookworks, 1010 E. Broadway, Columbia, Mo.

October 24
Susan Cahan, E. Des Lee endowed professor of contemporary art, University of Missouri–St. Louis, "Contemporary Art."

Midday Gallery Events

January 29
Joan Stack, associate curator of European and American art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "*The Art of the Book: 1000–1600*, Exhibition Tour."

March 12
Joan Stack, associate curator of European and American Art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "*Master Drawings from the Permanent Collection*, Exhibition Tour."

July 16
Benton Kidd, assistant curator of ancient art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "*The Shadow of Olympus: Gods, Heroes, and the Mythological Continuum*, Exhibition Tour."

August 27
Joan Stack, associate curator of European and American art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "*Art about Art*, Exhibition Tour."

Special Events

January 24
Museum Associates annual meeting, and *The Art of the Book: 1000–1600*, exhibition opening event.

February 1–2
"Scotland's French Masterpieces," *Millet to Matisse: Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century French Painting from Kelvingrove Art Gallery, Glasgow, Scotland*, Speed Museum, Louisville, Kentucky, Museum Associates bus trip.

March 6
"A Night at the Castle," food samplings of medieval England, musical performance, and medieval chamber music, Museum Associates event.

April 25
Museum Gala: "Fine Arts Showcase, Entertainment, and Auction," University of Missouri Theater and Fine Arts students, and guest performance by Kansas City jazz artist Ahmad Alaadeen.

July 11
The Shadow of Olympus: Gods, Heroes, and the Mythological Continuum, exhibition opening event.

August 29
Twentieth Century Art, Gallery of Contemporary and Modern Art, reopening event.

September 26
"Food of the Gods," samplings of Greek food, Museum Associates event.

October 16
Museum volunteer appreciation dinner.

October 23
Columbia educators event.

December 1
National Day without Art.
Day of observance recognizing the disproportionate number of arts community members who have died of or are living with AIDS.

December 4
"An Evening of Holiday Celebration," wine and cheese reception, Museum Associates annual holiday event.

Children's Educational Events

June 12 and 24
"Gallery of European and American Art, Parts I and II," flashlight tours for families and children.

July 17 and 24
"Weinberg Gallery of Ancient Art, Parts I and II," flashlight tours for families and children.

September 12, 25, October 10, 23, November 14, December 12,
flashlight tours for families and children.

Missouri Folk Arts Program

April 5
Big Muddy Folk Festival, Boonvillle.
Rachel Whitesitt and Sharon Hutchinson, "Rug Braiding"; Cherre Bybee, "English Bobbin Lace"; Cliff Bryan, Jessica Collins, and Ed McKinney, "Old-Time Music"; Cesar Palacios, Nestor Montenegro, and Amigos de Cristos, "Andean Music."

April 8
Tuesdays at the Capitol,
Jefferson City.
Gladys Coggswell, "African American Stories."

April 22
Tuesdays at the Capitol,
Jefferson City.
Van Colbert and family, "Ozark Old-Time Music."

October 14
Tuesdays at the Capitol,
Jefferson City
Cesar Palacios, Chano Gonzalez, and Marcelo Morales, "Andean Music."

October 28
Tuesdays at the Capitol,
Jefferson City.
Praises to HIM, "Southern Gospel."

Museum Activities 2004

Lectures

February 20
Tom Huck, lecturer, School of Art, Washington University–St. Louis, "Art of Woodcutting."

August 27
Signe Cohen, assistant professor, Department of Religious Studies, University of Missouri, "The Infinite and the Absolute: Belief and Being in the Art of South Asia."

September 2
Joan Stack, associate curator of European and American art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Masters of Florence: Glory and Genius of the Court of the Medici."

November 12
Kit and Cathy Salter, "Sight and Insight: Looking at Cityscapes."

Midday Gallery Events

April 16
Ethan Gannaway, assistant curator of ancient art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Dinner and Dining in the Graeco-Roman East."

September 15
Jeff Wilcox, registrar, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "*The Infinite and the Absolute: Belief and Being in the Art of South Asia,* Exhibition Tour."

October 20
Joan Stack, associate curator of European and American art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "*Cityscapes: Visualizing the Built Environment, ca. 1500–2000*, Exhibition Tour."

November 10
Rebecca Roe, assistant curator of European and American art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Pierre Auguste Renoir's *Woman Carrying a Water Bucket*."

Special Events

January 23
Graphic Diversity: 500 Years of Printmaking, exhibition opening event and Museum Associates annual meeting.

February 28–29
"Land of Lincoln, Springfield, Illinois," tour of New Salem, the Lincoln Home, and the Lincoln Monument at Oak Ridge Cemetery;

tour of the Frank Lloyd Wright Dana-Thomas house, Museum Associates bus trip.

April 7
Marlene Perchinske, director, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Art and Technology," director's circle.

April 18–24
National volunteer week, morning refreshments, for docents and museum volunteers.

April 24
"Dinner and Dancing with the Swing'n Axes Band, silent auction," museum gala.

April 29
"Robert and Maria Barton Gallery of Art and Technology," gallery dedication and opening.

May 11
Docent volunteer recruitment open house.

June 8
Educators' reception.

July 16
Cityscapes: Visualizing the Built Environment, ca. 1500–2000, exhibition opening event.

August 27
The Infinite and the Absolute: Belief and Being in the Art of South Asia, exhibition opening event.

September 9–12
"Masters of Florence: Glory and Genius of the Court of the Medici," Museum Associates trip to Memphis, Tennessee.

October 1
Lois Huneycutt, associate professor of history, Jill Rait, professor emeritus, School of Religion, and Joan Stack, associate curator of European and American art, University of Missouri, panel discussion, "Deciphering the Da Vinci Code."

October 8
H. R. Chandrasekhar, professor of Physics, University of Missouri, with Tara, Rajni, and Indu Chandrasekhar, "Presentation on Indian Dance."

October 29
"Haunted Museum Tour" for familiesand children.

November 5
Linda Keown, certified yoga instructor, "Sanskrit Influences on Yoga."

December 1
National Day without Art
Day of observance recognizing the disproportionate number of arts community members who have died of or are living with AIDS.

December 3
Wine and cheese reception, Museum Associates annual holiday event.

Children's Educational Programs

January 9, 22, February 13
Flashlight tours for families with children aged from three to eleven.

February 14
"Cupid's Tour," tours of romance- and love-inspired art, Valentine's Day event for toddlers and children aged seven and older.

February 26, March 12, 25
Flashlight tours for families with children aged from three to eleven.

March 17
"Shades of Green," a toddler tour exploring artists' use of shades of green.

April 9, 22, May 14, 27, June 11, 24
Flashlight tours for families with children aged from three to eleven.

July 22, August 5, 12
Family nights at the Museum of Art and Archaeology.
Joan Stack, associate curator of European and American art, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "The Curator Is In"; and Angela Lawler, museum educator, Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Explore with Dora."

September 10, 23, October 8, 19, November 12, December 10
Flashlight tours for children aged from three to eleven with adult caregiver.

Adult Educational Programs

February 21
Tom Huck, lecturer, School of Art, Washington University–St. Louis, woodcut printmaking demonstration.

March 13
Brooke Cameron, professor, and Greig Thompson, visiting assistant professor, Department of Art, University of Missouri, "Printmaking Demonstration: Multiple Techniques."

March 16
Docent trip, Daum Museum, Sedalia, Missouri.

Missouri Folk Arts Programs

April 3
Big Muddy Folk Festival,
Boonville, Missouri.
Alan and Jan McMichael and Bud Colvin, "Native American Breastplates and Beadwork"; Charles and JoAnn Cox, "Chair Caning"; Van Colbert and family, "Clawhammer Banjo"; Praise to HIM, "Southern Gospel."

April 13
Tuesdays at the Capitol,
Jefferson City, Missouri.
Cliff Bryan, Howard Marshall, Jordan Wax, Rachel Reynolds.

April 27
Tuesdays at the Capitol,
Jefferson City, Missouri.
Joe Patrickus, "Western Boots"; Charles and JoAnn Cox, "Chair Caning."

Museum of Art and Archaeology
Staff 2002–2004

Marlene Perchinske
Director
(through 9/04)

Jane Biers
Interim Director
(beginning 9/04)

Bruce Cox
Interim Assistant Director
(beginning 7/04) and
Coordinator Membership and
Marketing

Dana Armontrout
Fiscal Officer
(through 9/02)

Erin Dalcourt
Administrative Assistant
(through 7/02)

Beth Cobb
Administrative Assistant
(through 6/02, 10/03–11/03)

Amy Cox
Administrative Assistant
(1/03–11/03)

Carol Geisler
Administrative Assistant
(beginning 11/04)
Christina Mayo
Secretary (through 1/02)

Michael Lising (through 1/03),
Karolyn Cannata-Winge,
(6/30–1/04), Aaron Lueders,
(beginning 8/04)
Graphic Artists

Joan Stack
Associate Curator of European
and American Art

Benton Kidd
Associate Curator of Ancient Art

Angela Lawler
Associate Curator of Education
(beginning 6/03)

Irina Hans (through 6/02), Lori
Hanna (through 6/02)
Graduate Research Assistants

Kelli Bruce Hansen (6/03–3/04), Rebecca Roe (beginning 4/04)
Graduate Assistant Curators of European and American Art

Erin Walcek Averett
Graduate Assistant Curator of Ancient Art
(beginning 10/04)

Richard Perkins
Graduate Research Assistant/Web Designer

Kevin Pruitt (Summer 2004), Kevin Dingman (9/01–6/02), Kelli Bruce Hansen (11/02–6/03)
Student Interns

Jeffrey Wilcox
Registrar

Kenyon Reed
Collections Specialist

Barbara Smith
Chief Preparator
(through 10/02)

Larry Stebbing
Assistant Preparator

David Gold (through 10/02), Jay Clark (through 7/02), Larry Lepper (beginning 10/02), Jonathon Sessions (8/02–1/04), Tim Arnold (beginning 11/04)
Security Guards

Brittany Batal (through 5/03), Alyson Kluttenkamper (through 7/02)
Information Desk Attendants

Anthony Bates, Jonathon Dake, Hannah Fenner, Julie Kamiyama, Nicole Keller, Alex Knoll, Jamie Obert, Jane Wallace, Stephanie Soucy, Sarah Spradling
Student Assistants (2001–2002)

Mary Broeckling, Michael Brown, Simon Ford, Jenny Ingram, Hiromi Kubi, Barbara Meyer, Keith Nelson, Diana Pratomo, Anna Richardson, Amie Vogt, Elizabeth White Student Volunteers (2001–2002)

Joshua Jacomb, Hilarie Jennings, Julie Kamiyama, Indica Kramer, Kelly Mitchum, Erik Shobe, Jane Wallace
Student Assistants (2002–2003)

Joshua Jacomb, Katie Jennings, Hilarie Jennings, Erika Meeker, Sarah Scherder, Jonathon Sessions, Erik Shobe
Student Assistants (2003–2004)

Gabi Bellamy, Sarah Cochran, Joshua Jacomb, Katie Jennings, Erika Meeker, Brittany Neiley, Sarah Scherder, Ben Sheeley, Jon Wujcik
Student Assistants (2004–2005)

Hannah Johnson, Abigail Kates, Sara Morrow, Melissa Mudd, Kristin Patterson, Angela Stockell
Student Volunteers (2004–2005)

Lisa Higgins
Director, Missouri Folk Arts Program

Deborah Bailey
Folk Arts Specialist

Elizabeth Rathje (1/02–12/02), Sarah Catlin Barnhart (9/03–5/04)
Student Interns, Missouri Folk Arts Program

Museum of Art and Archaeology
Docents in 2002

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
Nancy Mebed
Meg Milanick
Barbara Payne
Judy Schermer
Remy Wagner
Pat Wills

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Meg Milanick
Judy Schermer
Remy Wagner
Pat Wills

Museum of Art and Archaeology
Advisory Committee 2002–2004

Betty Revington Burdick
(2002–2003)
Museum Associates

Jim Coleman
(2003–2004)
Office of Research

Sid Goldstein
St. Louis Art Museum

Diana Groshong
Museum Associates

Robert Hall
Office of Research

Deborah Huelsbergen
Art

John Klein
Art History and Archaeology

Norman Land
(2003–2004)
Art History and Archaeology

Glenn Pierce
(2002–2003)
Romance Languages

Stuart Palonsky
Honors College

Marlene Perchinske
Director

Keith Politte
Development Office

Mike Porter, Chair
Special Programs

Anand Prahlad
English

Diana Rahm
Columbia Public Schools

Paul Rainsberger
Extension

Marcus Rautman
(2002–2003)
Art History and Archaeology

Sarah Riddick
William Woods University

Jan Schall
Nelson Atkins Museum of Art

Judy Schermer
Docent

John Zemke
Romance Languages

Russ Zguta
History