

# MVSE

VOLUME FORTY-TWO 2008



Annual of the  
Museum of Art and Archaeology

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI



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Museum of Art and Archaeology  
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Columbia, MO 65211  
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ISSN 0077-2194

ISBN 0-910501-39-4

The Museum of Art and Archaeology is open from 9:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. Tuesday through Friday and from noon to 4:00 p.m. Saturday and Sunday. Admission is free. The museum is closed on Mondays, from December 25 through January 1, and on University of Missouri holidays: Martin Luther King Day, Memorial Day, Independence Day, Labor Day, Thanksgiving Day, and the Friday following. Guided tours are available, if scheduled two weeks in advance.

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

Back numbers of *Muse* are available from the Museum of Art and Archaeology.

All submitted manuscripts are reviewed.

*Front cover:*

Female head, perhaps Demeter or Persephone  
Greek, South Italy, probably Taranto, fourth century B.C.E.  
Terracotta, H. 16.8 cm  
Weinberg Fund (acc. no. 2008.169)

*Back cover:*

Statuette of a seated transcendental Buddha, probably Amitayus or Amitabha  
Probably Tibet, Qing dynasty, Qianlong reign, 1770  
Gilt bronze with traces of paint, H. 18.5 cm  
Gift of William A. Scott (acc. no. 2008.180)

## Eugene Numa Lane

1936–2007



Κι αν πτωχική την βρεις, η Ιθάκη δε σε γέλασε.  
Έτσι σοφός που έγινες, με τόση πείρα,  
ήδη θα το κατάλαβες οι Ιθάκες τι σημαίνουν.

And if you find her poor, Ithaka will not have deceived you.  
You will have become so wise, with so much experience,  
That you will understand then what the Ithakas mean.

—Constantine P. Cavafy, *Ithaka*

Eugene Numa Lane was born on August 13, 1936, in Washington, D.C., and received his B.A. from Princeton University in 1958, his M.A. from Yale University in 1960, and his Ph.D. from Yale in 1962. He was Assistant Professor of Classics at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, from 1962 until 1966 and moved to the University of Missouri at Columbia, where he served as Associate Professor and then Professor of Classical

Studies. He became Professor Emeritus in March of 2000. Gene taught a wide variety of courses throughout his career, ranging from small seminars for upper-level and graduate students to lectures in Classical Mythology for up to 400 students. Most of the courses were language courses, usually in Ancient Greek, a few in Latin; the civilization courses were in English.

Gene's connection to the Museum of Art and Archaeology was a close one. He demonstrated a true appreciation of its collection and encouraged students to visit and study the artifacts. He was instrumental in the selection and purchase of coins, statues, and other objects connected with the cults of Men and Sabazios. (His multivolume publications in the Brill *Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain* series are achievements that continue to be of tremendous value to all researchers on these cults.) Finally, he was a frequent contributor to *Muse*, and we respectfully dedicate this volume to him and his scholarship, which has advanced our knowledge and understanding of the ancient world.

Cathy Callaway  
Associate Museum Educator

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## Director's Report

Over the course of 2008, the museum mounted three major and several smaller exhibitions. The year began with *Before Columbus: Iconography in the Ancient Americas*, an exhibition I curated examining how meanings were constructed in ancient societies and are reconstructed from Precolumbian objects. Visitors were surveyed to assess the effectiveness of the exhibition in conveying the intended take-home messages; 45 percent of visitors indicated that the exhibition had strongly changed (five of five possible Likert-Scale points) their understanding of iconography and the ways that images convey meanings, and 41 percent strongly felt it had changed and advanced their perceptions of art. More general impressions of the exhibition were also instructive: 76 percent indicated that the exhibition had exceeded their expectations, and 99 percent would recommend the exhibition to others. The exhibition also attracted new audiences to the museum; only 15 percent indicated they were regular museum visitors.

During the summer, the museum presented *The Poetry of Nature in Japanese Woodblock Prints*, the first Museum of Art and Archaeology major exhibition curated by Dr. Mary Pixley. The exhibition examined both the natural and seasonal referents encoded in Japanese woodblock prints, as well as the complexities of the woodblock process itself. While the intellectual quality of the exhibition was high, what was perhaps most striking was the aesthetic quality of the exhibition as a whole, both in terms of the individual works selected for display and the overall design and installation of the exhibition, reflecting the synergy of Pixley and Museum of Art and Archaeology Chief Preparator Barbara Smith. Through a skillful combination of standardized spacing, matting, mounting, color choice, and lighting, the physical installation of the exhibition recapitulated the serenity and simplicity of line characteristic of woodblock prints.

The autumn exhibition, *Missouri through Lens and Palette*, reflected a collaboration between the Museum of Art and Archaeology and the Missouri Photo Workshop, which has documented daily life in towns across Missouri through photographic essays for more than sixty years. Commemorating the centennial of the University of Missouri School of Journalism, the exhibition juxtaposed outstanding photographic images from the Missouri Photo Workshop with painted works from the museum's permanent collections, supplemented by loans from anonymous private collectors and from the university's Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney Collection, which the museum has helped curate and conserve for many years. The exhibition explored how quite different kinds of images can be used to establish and develop a sense of place and compared the ways that elements like composition and lighting are used in photojournalism and the visual arts. The opening of the exhibition coincided with the opening of the university's new Reynolds Journalism Institute (RJI), and Barbara Smith designed and constructed special vitrines that echoed the architectural details of the new RJI building. When the exhibition closed, the museum offered these vitrines to the RJI to help the institute continue to interpret the Missouri Photo Workshop's legacy to visitors.

The museum also presented a series of smaller temporary exhibitions, including *Satirizing the High Life: Hogarth's Marriage à la Mode*, which presented the museum's

newly acquired set of Hogarth prints, and *Dreams of the Surreal*, which examined surrealist art using a combination of two- and three-dimensional works. Other temporary exhibitions in 2008 included *The Fine Art of Living: Luxury Objects from the East and West*, *Daumier's Paris: Life in the Nineteenth-Century City*, and an offsite exhibition of photographs from the *Songs of My People* series at the university's Ellis Library. The museum also reinstalled a display of ancient glass, highlighting the research focus of Dr. Gladys Weinberg, one of the museum's founders.

During 2008, the exhibition *Work Is Art and Art Is Work: The Art of Hand-Crafted Instruments* traveled across the state. This NEA-supported exhibition, created by the Missouri Folk Arts Program, showcased traditional Missouri luthiers.

Also in 2008, the Board of Curators of the University of Missouri recognized the museum for its continuing achievements through a special resolution of permanence and value, passed unanimously at their meeting on April 4, 2008. It specifically recognized the unique character and role of the museum as a valued, integral, and lasting part of the university.

The Museum of Art and Archaeology continues to expand its collections across diverse areas. In 2008, our Asian collections grew through a generous gift of works, mainly statuettes, from Mr. William A. Scott. These included works from East Asia (2), Central Asia (9), South Asia (5) and Southeast Asia (4); in addition to these objects, Mr. Scott also donated a fifteenth-century Italian manuscript page to the museum's manuscript collection. We are deeply grateful to Mr. Scott for his continuing support of the museum and its mission. Dr. and Mrs. Arthur F. Furman presented the museum with a painting by Bulgarian-born American artist Stephen Sacklarian, as well as a marvelous 2007 porcelain by Jennifer McCurdy. The Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts selected the Museum of Art and Archaeology

to receive more than 150 Warhol photographs, including approximately 100 of Warhol's signature polaroids and about fifty silver gelatin prints. Also, Museum Associates, Inc., gave the museum an exquisite set of prints of William Hogarth's 1745 *Marriage à la Mode*. In addition, the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Administrative Services transferred a 1904 canvas by American artist Frederick Oakes Sylvester, *The River*, to the museum as part of its permanent collection.

In addition to these gifts, the museum acquired a series of important works by purchase over the course of 2008. Two notable works enriched the ancient collections—a terracotta head of a goddess, perhaps Demeter or Persephone, from the fourth century



Mr. William A. Scott.

## RESOLUTION

Recognizing the  
Museum of Art and Archaeology  
University of Missouri

WHEREAS, the Museum of Art and Archaeology advances understanding of our artistic and cultural heritage through research, collection and interpretation, and

WHEREAS, the Museum helps students, scholars and the broader community to experience authentic and significant art and artifacts firsthand, and to place them in meaningful contexts, and

WHEREAS, the Museum furthers this mission by preserving, enhancing and providing access to the collections for the benefit of present and future generations, and

WHEREAS, the Museum pursues this mission through the efforts of its staff, supporting and enriching the educational mission of the University of Missouri, and

WHEREAS, of the more than 17,000 museums nationwide, less than 800 have achieved accreditation through the American Association of Museums, which recognizes a museum's commitment to excellence, accountability, high professional standards, and continued institutional improvement, and

WHEREAS, the Museum of Art and Archaeology is the only accredited museum within the University of Missouri, and the only accredited museum of its kind in mid-Missouri, and

WHEREAS, a statement of permanence from the Museum's governing authority is expected as part of its ongoing reaccreditation process, now

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Board of Curators of the University of Missouri hereby declares the Museum of Art and Archaeology a valued, integral and lasting part of the University, and looks forward to its continuing service to the University and the people of Missouri in the years to come.

*adopted unanimously by the University of Missouri Board of Curators, April 4, 2008*

In April, 2008, the University of Missouri Board of Curators unanimously passed a resolution recognizing the Museum of Art and Archaeology and stating its value to the university and its permanence. This was the first formally approved such statement passed by the Board of Curators since 1973.



Dr. Ann P. Rowe examining Pre-Columbian textiles from the museum's permanent collection.

Reid and entitled *The Sorceress*. It is an exciting addition to the museum's holdings. At the same time, the museum has added to its contemporary collection through purchase of a 2007 painting by British street artist Cyclops. All of these acquisitions reflect our concern with deliberately building the museum's holdings to meet the needs of both current and future audiences.

Dr. Mary Pixley, Associate Curator of European and American Art, received a grant from the Missouri Arts Council to support several exhibitions and associated programming in 2008–2009. As a component of the grant, Dr. Ann Rowe, an acknowledged expert in pre-Columbian textiles, visited the museum as part of the planning for our 2009 exhibition *Pre-Columbian Textiles: Designs That Speak Today*. Pixley is also continuing her research on Marion Reid, the Victorian woman painter of *The Sorceress* (1887), and is currently completing a full manuscript that will present her research results in detail. The painting itself is being treated by independent conservator Barry Bauman before its formal unveiling scheduled for the museum's 2009 Paintbrush Ball. In February, Pixley and Dr. Arthur Mehrhoff, Academic Coordinator, initiated an innovative event—a Renaissance and Baroque concert inspired by paintings in the museum. The concert was held in Jesse Hall, the university administrative building. Working with Paul

B.C.E. (see front cover) and a lovely Apulian askos representing Skylla from the same general period. Works on paper ranged from a sixteenth- to early seventeenth-century Flemish print by Adriaen Collaert from his *Twelve Months of the Year* series through a 1798 etching by Anne Allen, an eighteenth-century English woman printmaker, to a late nineteenth-century etching, drypoint, and aquatint work by the French artist Félix Hilaire Buhot, among others. In addition, the museum purchased a striking contemporary print by Korean artist Koo Kyung Sook, *Markings No. 7-3* (2007). The museum also acquired an 1887 canvas in the pre-Raphaelite style, which has been established through ongoing curatorial research to be by British artist Marion



"Reflections on Paintings from the Museum of Art and Archaeology," a Renaissance and Baroque concert, performed in Jesse Hall by *Ars Antiqua*, the University of Missouri's School of Music ensemble.

Crabb, Director of Choral Activities at the university's School of Music, Pixley chose paintings and presented an historical, cultural commentary on each piece. The works of art appeared on a screen to the audience as the choir sang from the gallery above. Following the performance of each musical selection, Pixley also related the work of art directly to the music.

Dr. Benton Kidd, Associate Curator of Ancient Art, continued his ongoing research project on stucco from the Hellenistic villa at Tel Anafa, Israel, and completed a provenance study of the museum's ancient white marbles. He will present his results at a conference in Tarragona, Spain. He was also elected to serve as president of the local chapter of the Archaeological Institute of America for a two-year term.

Excavations at the major Bronze Age tell at Peșica Sanțul Mare, Romania, continued in 2008, supported by a National Science Foundation Senior Archaeology Program research grant (BCS-0618307). This represented the fourth year of excavations at the site, with another season planned under the current grant. In December 2008, I completed comparative ceramic studies funded by a University Research Council Large Grant, spending most of my time at the National Museum at Kikinda, Serbia, studying and documenting ceramic collections from the Maros Culture necropolis at Mokrin and unpublished Maros and Middle Bronze Age Culture material from the necropolis at Ostojicevo. I would like to thank the staff at the National Museum at Kikinda (particularly Lidija Milašinovic, Stevo Egelja, Stevan Vojvodi, and Milorad Giric), the Museum of the Banat in Timisoara, Romania (particularly Alexandru Szentmikloși and Drs. Florin Drașovean and Dan Ciobotaru), and the Arad Museum complex in Arad, Romania (particularly Dr. Peter Hügel), for their continuing assistance and kindness.

The museum's recently inaugurated film series offered twenty-two films over the course of 2008, ranging from the 1938 Cary Grant classic *Bringing Up Baby* to Mel Gibson's controversial 2006 film *Apocalypto*. The latter was preceded by a panel discussion on the historicity and accuracy of the film's portrayal of late pre-contact Mayan societies. Experts from the departments of Classical Studies, Film Studies, and



Children learning how to dig and record stratigraphy at a Kids' Series event: World of Art, "Archaeology."



Children at a Second Sunday event, "It's All in the Image: Photography."



New docents Andrea Allen, Carol Stevenson, and Gary Beahan in front of Ernest Trova's *Abstract Variation No. 5, 1977* (86.27), gift of Mr. and Mrs. Adam Aronson.

programming. The museum's docents remain one of its great strengths.

Over the course of 2008, the museum produced a revision of its docent manual, as well as supplemental manuals for the exhibitions *Before Columbus: Iconography in the Ancient Americas*, *Dreams of the Surreal*, *The Poetry of Nature in Japanese Woodblock Prints*, and *Missouri through Lens and Palette*, as well as two video offerings. Mary Pixley was featured in a forty-eight-minute video *Women of Vision at the University of Missouri Museum of Art and Archaeology*, and Arthur Mehrhoff created a streaming video entitled *Rich in Classic Beauty: The Noble Past of the Francis Quadrangle*. The museum also continued its *Musings* blog, prepared podcasts in support of upcoming exhibitions, and launched a Facebook site as it expanded into new media to engage and serve its audiences better.

Museum Associates' support of the museum continued to be important. The Paintbrush Ball in May, under the chairmanship of Tootie Burns and Museum Associates' president Emilie Atkins, raised funds for acquisitions, exhibitions, and educational projects. Over 230 guests attended. In the fall, the first Herakles Guild dinner was held to recognize individuals whose gifts, endowments, and trusts exceeded \$10,000. Linda Keown, museum docent and former Museum Associates' president, was inducted into the Guild in recognition of her endowment established to fund traveling exhibitions.

In February, invited guests celebrated Valentine's Day, and in early March, the annual event Art in Bloom brought over 800 visitors to the museum. Twelve mid-Missouri florists created flower arrangements based on an artwork in the collection. The University of Missouri's Textile and Apparel Management Department brought ten costumes with floral themes for display during that weekend. In December, guests heard

the Museum of Art and Archaeology participated. The film series—jointly organized by Associate Educator Cathy Callaway and Assistant Director for Museum Operations Bruce Cox—has proven enormously popular. The museum also offered thirteen formal lectures and gallery talks, twenty-two adult programs of all kinds, and twenty-seven separate children's educational programs, in addition to active and ongoing docent- and curator-led



Mary Pixley in the gallery for filming of the video *Women of Vision at the University of Missouri Museum of Art and Archaeology*.



the university's Sialia Saxophone Quartet at the annual "Evening of Holiday Celebration."

The Missouri Folk Arts Program continued its proud tradition of service, including its flagship Traditional Arts Apprenticeship Program, installations of its American Masterpieces exhibition *Work Is Art and Art Is Work: The Art of Hand-Crafted Instruments*, and featured performances at both the Ozark Riverways National Park's Heritage Days Festival and the Big Muddy Folk Festival. Museum staff wishes particularly to congratulate MFAP Director Lisa Higgins for completing her doctorate at the University of Missouri. Her dissertation, "Reconstructing Gender, Personal Narrative, and Performance at the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival," was completed in the spring of this year.

Finally, I would also draw the reader's attention to this issue of *Muse* itself. Due to a variety of factors, publication of *Muse* had fallen behind its nominal schedule at some point in the past, and through the remarkable efforts of Dr. Jane Biers, retired Curator of Ancient Art and former Interim Director of the Museum of Art and Archaeology,



Art in Bloom creation by floral designer Kim Cottrell from the University of Missouri's *Tiger Garden*, inspired by American artist Grace Hartigan's painting *The Gallow Ball*, 1950 (2002.27).



Attendees peruse silent auction items at the annual *Paintbrush Ball* before placing their winning bids.

the backlog has been eliminated and the publication schedule brought up to date. She is to be commended for her commitment and dedication. Dr. Biers has generously offered to continue her admirable efforts as editor of *Muse*. Jeffrey Wilcox, the museum's able Curator of Collections/Registrar, has agreed to serve as assistant editor beginning with this issue. His expertise and careful eye will be welcome.

Alex Barker, Director





# A Funerary Deposit from Early Bronze Age Cyprus\*

Jennifer M. Webb and David Frankel

## Cyprus in the Early Bronze Age

The Early Bronze Age in Cyprus (ca. 2400–2000 B.C.E.) is marked by major innovations in technology, economy, and material culture. These include the first systematic exploitation of the island's copper resources, the introduction of cattle and donkeys, multi-roomed houses and new agricultural technologies, ceramic wares, and a wide range of everyday technologies and practices. Anatolia is widely viewed as the source of these innovations, and it is likely that some population movement from southwest Anatolia and/or Cilicia to Cyprus took place at this time.<sup>1</sup>

Early Bronze Age communities made use of agriculturally productive areas and the copper-rich foothills of the Troodos Mountains. As the population increased, cultural patterns became distinctive at the regional level, and pottery vessels began to display local differences. Increases in population are also likely to have promoted the distribution of raw materials, with kinship through intermarriage probably serving as the primary mechanism linking villages. By around 2000 B.C.E., more common forms, predominantly of north coast origin, replaced these regional ceramic styles. At this time, there is also an increased presence of metal goods in north coast cemeteries and some imported objects, suggesting that the northern region played a significant role in initiating the external contacts that were to play such an important part in the island's

development in the later phases of the Bronze Age. Evidence for ritual practice is surprisingly elusive. No cult buildings have come to light. Several terracotta models, however, have been identified as depictions of open-air sanctuaries (Fig. 1),<sup>2</sup> although the nature of the activities shown is far from obvious, and interpretations range from funerary<sup>3</sup> to entirely secular.<sup>4</sup> Burial in rock-cut chamber tombs in cemeteries located some distance from the settlements was the norm. Tombs were broadly similar across the island, with oval burial chambers entered through a narrow passage (*stomion*) from a larger entrance shaft (*dromos*). Large numbers of grave goods accompanied the dead. Funerary celebrations became more elaborate over time, suggesting that mortuary rituals were important occasions for competition and the negotiation of social identity.<sup>5</sup>



Fig. 1. "Shrine model" from Kotchati (or possibly Marki), Cyprus. Ca. 2000 B.C.E., terracotta. Image © Cyprus Museum.

## The Excavations at Karmi

The excavations at the cemeteries of Karmi *Lapatsa* and *Palealona* in northern Cyprus, which form the focus of this article, were carried out by James R. Stewart (Fig. 2) between 27 February and 14 April 1961.<sup>6</sup> Stewart, then Professor of Middle Eastern Archaeology at the University of Sydney, had previously excavated several major Bronze Age cemeteries in Cyprus. In 1961, he was, however, seriously ill, and he died less than a year later, on 6 February 1962,

at the age of forty-eight.<sup>7</sup> The finds, including some skeletal remains, were brought to Australia in 1961, with the exception of those from *Lapatsa* Tomb 1 and *Palealona* Tombs 6 and 11, which were retained by the Cyprus Museum. Several tomb groups were later dispersed to museums in Australia, New Zealand, Sweden, and the United States, including the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri. A brief report on *Palealona* Tomb 11B appeared posthumously in 1962.<sup>8</sup> The great majority of the Karmi finds, however, remained unpublished at the time of Stewart's death.

Responsibility for the publication of the Karmi excavations fell initially to Stewart's widow, Mrs. D. E. (Eve) Stewart (Fig. 3), who supervised much of the fieldwork in 1961. She took over the laborious task of mending and documenting the pottery and other



Fig. 3. Mrs. D. E. Stewart at Karmi *Lapatsa*, 1961. Photograph from the Karmi excavation archive.



Fig. 2. James Stewart (on donkey) at Karmi *Palealona*, 1961. Photograph from the Karmi excavation archive.

finds in 1962 and devoted the next forty-six years of her life to editing and preparing for publication parts of a voluminous *Corpus of Cypriot Artefacts of the Early Bronze Age*, left unfinished when her husband died.<sup>9</sup> Later, Professor J. Basil Hennessy, who succeeded Stewart at the University of Sydney in 1973, assumed responsibility for the publication of Karmi and other excavations undertaken by Stewart. He brought Dr. Kathryn Eriksson into the project and much work was completed on the

catalogues. In 2008, we were invited to assist in the complex work of putting together a comprehensive report on Karmi *Lapatsa* and *Palealona*. This will appear in late 2009.<sup>10</sup>

The publication of excavations in which one has not been directly involved is always difficult. One of the greatest challenges in this case arises from the fact that the field notes were lost soon after Stewart returned to Australia. Fortunately, however, one of Stewart's students, Dr. Robert Merrillees, who worked at Karmi in 1961, kept a daily record of events and generously provided access to these and to his personal collection of 35 mm color slides. Meticulously drawn tomb plans and sections and a substantial number of black-and-white photographs taken of the excavations in progress have also helped considerably in our task.

### **Karmi *Lapatsa* and *Palealona***

The ancient sites at Karmi *Lapatsa* and *Palealona* lie midway between major contemporary settlements at Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba* (8 km to the northwest) and Bellapais *Vounous* (12 km to the east) in one of the most densely populated regions of the island during the Early and Middle Bronze Age periods (Fig. 4). Although the settlements associated with the cemeteries were probably relatively small, both the architecture and contents of the tombs are of considerable interest. The value of these assemblages is further increased by the fact that they derive from the northern half of Cyprus, which has been inaccessible to Greek Cypriot and foreign archaeologists since the Turkish invasion in 1974.

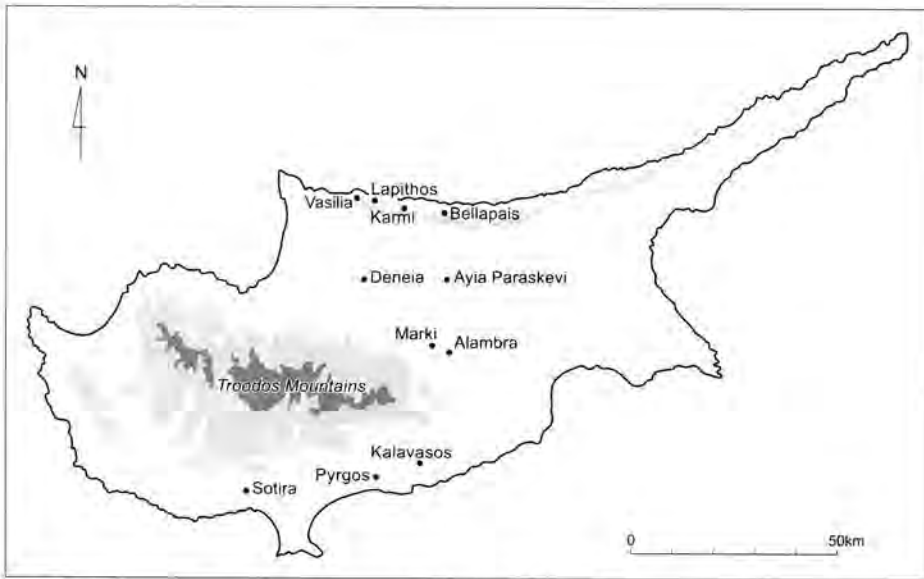


Fig. 4. Map of Cyprus showing location of important Early and Middle Bronze Age sites.



Fig. 5. View of *Lapatsa*. Photo: D. Frankel.

In a letter home, Stewart described the *Lapatsa* cemetery (Fig. 5) as:

situated some 2,000 feet up in the mountains with a magnificent view over the sea. It is a hillside which has been extensively terraced with stone walls and it is heavily wooded with olives, carobs and pine trees. The wind up in the trees makes a noise like the sea but on quiet days there is nothing except the braying of donkeys and the sound of the woodsman's axe. It is really rather lovely, and, while we are sheltered on the eastern side by the slope of the ground, we get an extensive view on the west right along the mountains towards Kornos . . . The nearest village is called Karmi and is about two miles away but we have a little church dedicated to Ayia Marina just below us and a spring of water where there is a buried dragon. Karmi is a delightful village, miserably poor but extremely picturesque and full of cats. At the moment the almond blossom is out and all the wild flowers . . . We are just beneath the Castle of St Hilarion which rises up another 1,000 ft on top of a sharp pinnacle of rock.<sup>11</sup>

The excavations were, however, not without their frustrations. In other letters home, Stewart describes how his team was “faced with collapsed chambers, completely full of debris . . . to add to our misery, the *dromoi* proved excessively difficult to sort out as there is practically no differentiation between the so-called rock and the fill of the *dromos*.”<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, work continued at *Lapatsa*, and Stewart became more optimistic. A

fortnight later, he was able to write “we have got a few lovely things” and, although he “thought at first that the results of the excavations would be negligible,” he now began to believe they would “find them not so useless as had appeared to be the case at first.”<sup>213</sup>

In total, Stewart excavated fourteen tomb chambers at *Lapatsa* that produced skeletal remains from at least nineteen burials. He then moved operations to the *Palealona* cemetery, located in a gently sloping field two miles west of *Lapatsa* and 300 m to the northeast of the modern village. Here, the tombs were more closely spaced, often underlying or intersecting each other, over an excavated area of approximately 525 square meters. Twenty-eight chambers were identified. They are for the most part more deeply cut and better preserved than the tombs at *Lapatsa*. There are also more multi-chambered tombs at *Palealona*, and carved *dromoi* facades, burial niches, and “cupboards” occur at *Palealona* but not at *Lapatsa*. The total number of individual burials identified in the *Palealona* tombs is some two dozen, but in many cases, no record survives of either the presence or absence of skeletal material. Periodic flooding, roof-collapse, and looting had also affected the survival and distribution of bones and pottery.

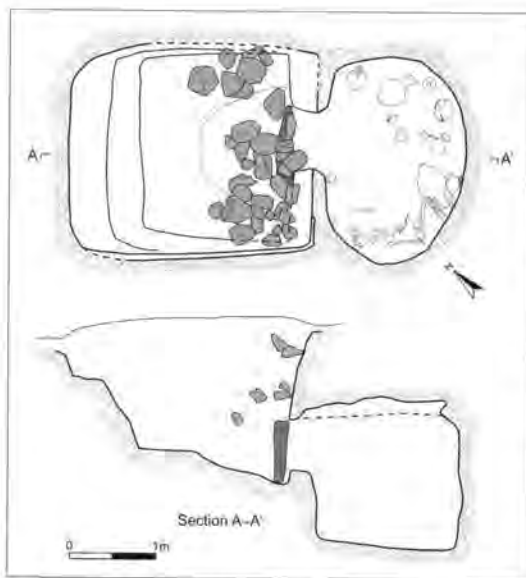


Fig. 6. Plan and section of Karmi *Lapatsa* Tomb 5.

At both *Lapatsa* and *Palealona*, tombs typically have rectangular *dromoi* (entrance shafts), measuring on average about 2 m wide and 2 to 3 m long, cut into the soft limestone with sloping floors to a depth of 1 to 2 m (Fig. 6). At the deepest end, a small oval or rectangular doorway (*stomion*) was cut, leading into a low oval chamber, about three square meters in area. The topography determined tomb orientation, with the *dromoi* cut parallel to the hill slope in each instance. Given the time it must have taken to make a tomb, it can be assumed that they were cut well before their first use and that the construction of a tomb was an important activity, signaling status, identity, and belonging.

Most tombs were used for a number of successive burials. It is rarely possible, however, to determine how often or at what intervals a chamber was opened for reuse, as older corpses were frequently disturbed or removed along with some or all of their grave goods. It seems that, despite their importance in the inter-generational reinforcement of social memory, older burials were seldom treated with respect. Both the dry bones and the grave goods were frequently pushed aside or removed to make room for new occupants. As discussed below, the pottery vessels from *Lapatsa* Deposit 13 in the Museum of Art and Archaeology appear to represent some such activity: whether the

human bones were also removed and re-deposited remains unknown. In many cases, the remnant presence of earlier vessels in the chambers suggests a long history of use and reuse. Several tombs at *Palealona*, indeed, appear to have been in use for at least 300 years.

The large quantities of pottery vessels found in Cypriot Bronze Age tombs have traditionally been viewed as personal possessions of the dead and hence as evidence of a belief in a physical afterlife. It is possible to suggest, alternatively, that most grave goods are residues of mortuary feasts held in or near the tomb at the time of burial, and that tombs and cemeteries were loci for intense social interaction, as well as providing a significant impetus for the manipulation of material culture.<sup>14</sup> The regular presence of animal bones in the chambers is also suggestive of feasting. Indeed, funerals are likely to have been significant occasions of social display, reflecting the status of the deceased as well as that of the mourners.



Fig. 7. Carvings in the dromos of *Palealona* Tomb 6, showing human figure on the right hand side wall. Photograph from the Karmi excavation archive.

Carvings surrounding the entrances to several tombs at the nearby sites of Bellapais *Vounous* and Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba* have the appearance of door frames—suggesting that tombs were viewed symbolically as “houses” for the dead.<sup>15</sup> There are no such examples at *Lapatsa* or *Palealona*, although several *dromoi* have carvings on their sidewalls. Of greatest interest are those in *Palealona* Tomb 6, where vertical relief panels are found on both sidewalls and on the end

wall above the entrance itself. On the right-hand wall there is in addition a unique bas-relief human figure, about 1.16 m in height (Fig. 7). It appears to depict a nude female but is poorly preserved, and there has been considerable debate regarding both its sex and its significance.<sup>16</sup> Nothing like it is yet known from other Cypriot sites. The relief panels, however, recall the vertical uprights on the “shrine-models” noted above (Fig. 1), reinforcing the view that tombs were the site of ritual activity during and perhaps after funerals.

After the body and grave goods were placed in the chamber and any ceremonies in the *dromos* completed, the doorway was blocked with a large limestone slab. In some cases, a packing of smaller rocks was then placed against the slab, filling in the lower part of the *dromos*. Whether the rest of the entrance shaft was filled with soil remains an open question. The packing stones and slab were removed and replaced during each subsequent use of the tomb.

Not all tombs, however, were reused. One significant example of a single burial, dating to the Middle Bronze Age, was found in Chamber B of *Palealona* Tomb 11 (Fig. 8). This



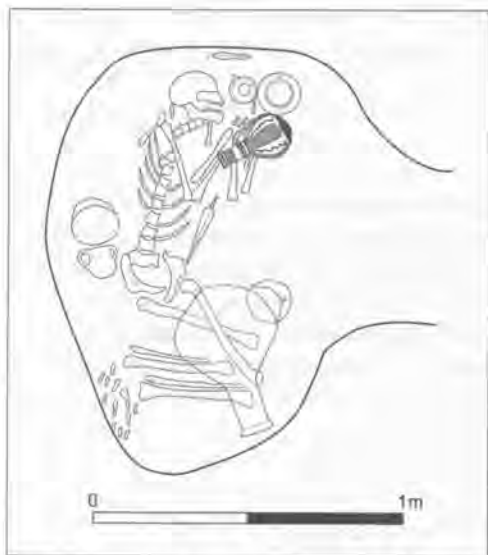


Fig. 8. Plan of *Palealona* Tomb 11B (the “Tomb of the Seafarer”).

was the articulated remains of a man who, despite a severe congenital back problem, survived to the relatively old age of fifty to sixty years. The corpse had been laid on its left side, the skull facing toward the entrance. The knees were drawn up with the feet against the wall and the arms bent with the hands drawn up to the face. Around the body were seven pottery vessels. These included examples of White Painted ware, characteristic of the Middle Bronze Age, as well as the more common Red Polished ware. Most unusually, there was also a fine decorated cup of Kamares ware—an import from Middle Minoan Crete, dating to the early second millennium B.C.E. (Fig. 9). Such imports are extremely rare in Cyprus,

which appears to have been almost entirely isolated from the outside world at this time. In addition, a bronze knife was found near the skull, a bronze spearhead near the abdomen, and a paste bead under the upper part of the skull.

Stewart dubbed *Palealona* Chamber 11B “the Tomb of the Seafarer,” suggesting that “the man . . . walked down to the sea at Lapithos and took service with one of the vessels trading between the Syrian ports and the Aegean.”<sup>17</sup> Whether this is appropriate or not, the Kamares ware cup provides an important chronological reference point, linking the first phase of the Middle Bronze Age in Cyprus with the Middle Minoan II period in Crete. Stewart considered it to be “the most important discovery since the 1890’s, since it is so definite and the repercussions so wide spread.”<sup>18</sup>

The significance of the Karmi cemeteries lies not only in these very important finds but also in the different perspective they provide on the material culture and ritual behavior associated with death and burial during the Early and Middle Bronze Age in Cyprus. Although recent work at settlements and cemeteries in the center and south of the island has changed the nature of both evidence and approach,<sup>19</sup> the north coast still retains its importance as the epicenter of our understanding of the sequence of developments at this time—largely as a result of Stewart’s research on pottery from Bellapais



Fig. 9. Middle Minoan Kamares ware cup from Karmi *Palealona* Tomb 11B. Photograph from the Karmi excavation archive.

*Vounous* and elsewhere in the northern region.<sup>20</sup> The evidence that we are now able to put together from *Karmi* fits into these earlier studies and contributes toward new ways of interpreting social and ritual behavior.

### *Karmi Lapatsa* Deposit 13

In 1973, the Museum of Art and Archaeology acquired the finds from *Karmi Lapatsa* Deposit 13 through an exchange with Sydney University. At the same time, it received Tombs 14 and 14A from the Cypriot Bronze Age cemetery at Nicosia *Ayia Paraskevi*, excavated by Stewart in 1955.<sup>21</sup>

*Lapatsa* Deposit 13 was not a tomb but a shallow deposit, which produced fourteen vessels, a spindle whorl, and some human bone (Fig. 10). Most of the pots were worn and broken, and some of the larger vessels were incomplete. This is not surprising as

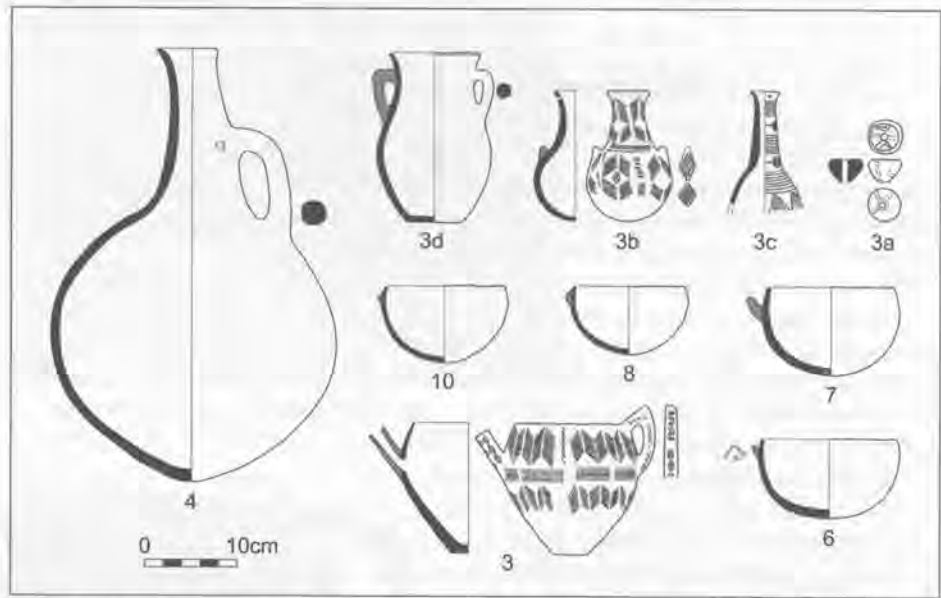


Fig. 10. Drawings of items from *Lapatsa* Deposit 13. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. nos. 73.215.1-3, 5-10, 12.

they were found in a context of secondary deposition and may even have been left for a period exposed to the elements. An outline on the site plan shows an oval 1.6 x 2.5 m at the northern end of the excavated area, while a note in Merrillees's personal diary indicates that it was nothing more than "a shallow opening in the ground with badly broken pottery and a few bones."<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately, no photographs, plans, or notes were kept of it, and the bone was neither collected nor described.

All the pottery is of Red Polished ware, the most common ceramic fabric across the island for some 700 years in the Early and Middle Bronze Age. During this long period



of use, there were continual developments and many varieties of shape, decoration, and fabric. As the name implies, the vessels are reddish in color, ranging from a bright red to dark red-brown. They were hand-built and fired in bonfires or simple kilns. The slipped surfaces were carefully burnished with a sherd or pebble before firing in order to create a smooth, lustrous finish. Finer vessels were decorated with incised geometric patterns, which were filled with a white lime paste.

In form and decoration, the Deposit 13 vessels are typical of the earlier phases of the Early Bronze Age on the north coast of Cyprus. There are four jugs, two flasks, a small amphora, a large bowl, two spouted bowls, and four small bowls. Jugs and bowls are the most common shapes in both settlement and funerary deposits. They take different forms, indicating some functional variability, but for the most part base, handle, neck, and rim types represent chronological and regional variations. On the north coast, a short, generally upward curving handle, known as a “horn lug,” is typical of small bowls of the Early Cypriot I and II periods; it was later replaced by a smaller, rounded “knob lug,” which characterizes small bowls of Early Cypriot III and the subsequent Middle Bronze Age period across the island. The two horn-lug bowls in Deposit 13 (nos. 6 and 7, Fig. 10) are late examples of the type, and the two knob-lug bowls with black tops and interiors (nos. 8 and 10, Fig. 10) are relatively early forms. All four bowls may be classified as Red Polished II ware and could have been made at about the same time, toward the end of Early Cypriot I or the beginning of Early Cypriot II (ca. 2150 B.C.E.).

The small spouted bowl, no. 3, and flask, no. 3b (Figs. 10 and 11), are decorated with very fine incision. Basil Hennessy has suggested that they are the work of a single potter, whom he named the “Stewart Artist No. 2.”<sup>23</sup> They may be closely compared with vessels of similar form from the nearby cemetery at Bellapais *Vounous*.<sup>24</sup> Numerous other ear-lug pots, jugs, juglets, flasks, and bowls, and clay models of horns, brushes, daggers, sheaths, and spindles from *Vounous* are decorated in a similar distinctive manner, which Stewart referred to as a “panel style”<sup>25</sup> and Hennessy as “zonal.”<sup>26</sup> Tempting as it is to



Fig. 11. Lapatsa Deposit 13, nos. 3 and 3b. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. nos. 73.215.10 and 73.215.3. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

identify individual artists in this way, it is more likely that these items represent a north coast regional style rather than the work of a single potter. Related vessels from Karmi include a flask in the Cyprus Museum (CM 1938/11-3/1[14]) and an ear-lug pot from *Lapatsa* Tomb 15 (no. 22), now in the John and Mable Ringling Museum in Florida (S.N. 74.28).<sup>27</sup> Hennessy dates the style to the latter part of Early Cypriot I and the earlier phase of Early Cypriot II, ca. 2150 B.C.E.

The truncated biconical shape of the spindle whorl, no. 3a (Fig. 10), is typical of the Early Cypriot I and II periods.<sup>28</sup> The finely impressed dotted as well as incised decoration on the upper terminal is found also on stratified whorls of similar date from Marki.<sup>29</sup> The size and weight of this whorl suggest that it was used for spinning flax rather than wool, which would have required a heavier whorl. As with other items, whorls found in tombs frequently show signs of previous use. Because of a common assumption that spinning would have been women's work, the presence of whorls is often taken to indicate that associated burials were of women, even where the sex of the deceased cannot be independently established.

The contents of *Lapatsa* Deposit 13 are of late Early Cypriot I and Early Cypriot II types, and the date of the deposit should probably be placed early within the Early Cypriot II period, around 2150 B.C.E. A similar collection of material, although of somewhat later date, is provided by *Lapatsa* Deposit 3, now in the Nicholson Museum at the University of Sydney. This was found close to the surface to the northwest of the main group of tombs on the first day of the excavations and described by Stewart as "a deposit of pottery which was very badly broken but contained one of the most beautiful R[ed] P[olished] askoi I have ever seen, and this, strangely enough, was perfectly intact."<sup>30</sup> He suggested that the pottery had been thrown out from a tomb that was being cleared for reuse. Photographs (Fig. 12) show the vessels extending over an area of about 2 by 2 m, giving the impression of a shallow spread rather than a tightly contained deposit.

Such deposits have not been reported from other cemeteries but may not be as rare as the current record suggests. The normal approach to cemetery excavation is to



Fig. 12. Karmi *Lapatsa* Deposit 3. Photograph from the Karmi excavation archive.

concentrate on the tombs themselves, targeting places where there is some indication, such as softer fill, of a tomb *dromos*. The spaces between tombs have seldom, if ever, been systematically examined. Residues of activities that might have taken place at ground level around tombs therefore do not form part of our understanding of what went on in these ritually charged places. The material found in *Lapatsa* Deposits 3 and 13 appears in each case to have been deliberately placed on a single occasion. As Stewart himself believed, they probably represent episodes of removal from a tomb of older grave goods at the time of a subsequent funeral. They offer a rare glimpse into activities not otherwise recognized in the more common focus on primary burials, closed tomb-groups, and specific acts of interment. Cemetery, funerary, and associated rituals and maintenance practices can thus be viewed in a wider perspective.

### Appendix: Catalogue of Karmi *Lapatsa* Deposit 13

The contents of Deposit 13 are listed below by the numbers given to them at the time of excavation. All dimensions are in centimeters.

1. RP I or II jug. Body fragments only. Lustrous, dark red-brown slip with burnishing marks. Finely mixed clay with small, medium, and some large inclusions, fired brown. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.11a and b.
  
- 2a. RP I or II large bowl. Two-thirds preserved. Small flat base. Highly lustrous, orange-brown slip with burnishing marks. Finely mixed clay with small, medium, and some large inclusions, fired orange-buff with a grey core. H. 17.5–19.0; max. D. ca. 37.0. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.14.
  
- 2b. RP I or II jug. Worn body fragments only. Highly lustrous, orange-brown to red-brown slip with burnishing marks. Finely mixed clay with small, medium, and some large inclusions, fired orange-buff with a grey core. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.15.
  
3. RP II tubular-spouted bowl. Deep body with curved sides, flat base. Incurved, thinning rounded rim. Uptilted, cylindrical tubular spout at mid-body. High vertical handle, pointed at the apex, rising from rim and upper body. Incised decoration: at mid-body, short horizontal bands comprised of three zigzag lines bordered above and below by four horizontal lines; above, on each side of vessel, two horizontal, multiple, disconnected zigzag bands with two parallel, vertical rows of dashes between; below, on each side, two horizontal, multiple, disconnected zigzag bands; on spout, vertical rows of dashed lozenges, on surface of handle, three-line, disconnected zigzag above vertical row of dashed lozenges; on sides of handle, three groups of double, vertical dashed lines. Highly lustrous, orange-brown slip. Very finely mixed clay with small and medium inclusions, fired orange-buff. Mended, H. 16.2; H. to rim 14.7; D. body 19.7. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.10 (Figs. 10 and 11).

3a. Spindle whorl. Truncated biconical with curved carination and straight sides. Broad, flat terminal. Incised decoration: on terminal, double chevrons alternating with double dashed lines; on body, vertical rows of double dashed lines. Thin, red-brown slip with black mottling. H. 2.4; D. 3.7. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.1 (Fig. 10).

3b. RP I black-topped ear-lug flask. Globular body, round base. Very broad neck tapering to round horizontal mouth with flaring rim. Opposed perforations below rim. Ear lug on each shoulder. Incised decoration: on neck, two horizontal, multiple, disconnected zigzag bands; at neck base, on either side, two horizontal lines above a horizontal row of oppositely angled dashes; on body, on either side, two groups of multiple chevrons arranged in a diamond with groups of dashes at the center; in between, short horizontal rows of angled dashes arranged vertically; below lugs, two lozenges, arranged vertically, the upper one filled with angled dashes, the lower one hatched. Slightly lustrous, brown slip, black over upper body and neck extending inside rim. Very finely mixed clay with small inclusions, fired grayish-buff. Areas of rim and neck missing. H. 13.9; D. rim 4.6; D. body 9.2. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.3 (Figs. 10 and 11).

3c. RP I flask. Only neck and upper body preserved. Tall narrow neck tapering to round horizontal mouth with flaring rim. Incised decoration: on upper neck, seven horizontal lines; on mid-neck, eight horizontal lines; in between and on lower neck, three-line concentric circles split by a horizontal line; on shoulder, eight horizontal lines; on mid-body, horizontal row of hatched lozenges to break. Highly lustrous, red to orange-brown slip, black over upper body and neck and extending below rim on interior. Very finely mixed clay with small and medium inclusions, fired grey. Pres. H. 11.9; D. rim 3.2. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.2 (Fig. 10).

3d. RP II small amphora. Ovoid body, flat base. Medium concave neck. Round horizontal mouth with flattened rim in same contour as neck. Two opposed vertical handles from mid-neck to shoulder, round in section. Matt, dark red slip, extending inside neck. Finely mixed clay with small inclusions, fired grayish-buff. Mended. H. 18.3; D. rim 9.9; D. body 12.5. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.5 (Fig. 10).

4. RP II jug. Swollen ovoid body, small flat base. Short concave neck. Cutaway mouth cut horizontally at the top with splaying rim. Vertical handle, circular in section, from base of mouth to shoulder. Relief knob to either side of top of handle. Highly lustrous, red-brown slip extending below rim on interior. Very finely mixed clay with small, medium, and some large inclusions, fired brownish-buff. Mended. H. 46.9; D. body 31.4. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.12 (Fig. 10).

5. RP II jug. Ovoid body, small flat base. Round mouth. Highly lustrous, dark orange-red slip extending below rim on interior. Finely mixed clay with small, medium, and some large inclusions, fired dark orange-red. Mended. H. 44.0; D. rim 8.5; D. body 29.0. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.13.

6. RP II black-topped horn-lug bowl. Relatively wide, shallow body, round base. Incurved, thinning, rounded rim. Small horn lug on upper body, widening toward base. Highly lustrous, red-brown slip, black over upper body and on interior. Finely mixed clay with small and medium inclusions, fired orange-brown to grey. Mended. H. 8.6; D. rim 14.6; max. D. 16.0. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.9 (Fig. 10).

7. RP II black-topped horn-lug bowl. Deep body, round base. Incurved, thinning, rounded rim. Plain horn lug on upper body. Highly lustrous, red-brown slip, black over upper body and on interior. Finely mixed clay with small, medium, and some large inclusions, fired gray to buff. Mended. H. 9.7; D. rim 13.4; max. D. 16.4. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.7 (Fig. 10).

8. RP II black-topped knob-lug bowl. Hemispherical body, round base. Plain knob lug just below rim. Lustrous, red-brown slip, black over rim and on interior. Finely mixed clay with small, medium, and some large inclusions, fired brownish-buff. Mended. H. 7.4; D. rim 12.0; max. D. 13.3. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.8 (Fig. 10).

9. RP II horn-lug bowl. Body not preserved opposite handle. Deep, hemispherical body, round base. Pierced horn lug on body. Highly lustrous, red-brown slip. Very finely mixed clay with small and medium inclusions, fired orange-buff. H. 11.0; D. rim 15.3. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.4.

10. RP II black-topped knob-lug bowl. Hemispherical body, round base. Knob lug below rim, partially pierced. Lustrous, red-brown slip, black over rim and on interior. Finely mixed clay with small, medium, and some large inclusions, fired brownish-buff. Mended. H. 8.3; D. rim 12.9; max. D. 14.2. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 73.215.6 (Fig. 10).

#### Notes

\* We are indebted to Emeritus Professor J. Basil Hennessy and Dr. Kathryn Eriksson for inviting us to join them in working on the material excavated at Karmi in 1961. We are also grateful to Dr. Robert Merrillees for providing access to his personal diary and for other information, photographs, and advice. The Shelby White-Leon Levy Program for Archaeological Publications provided funds for the preparation of the volume *The Bronze Age Cemeteries at Karmi Palealona and Lapatsa in Cyprus. Excavations by J. R. B. Stewart*, which is due to appear in late 2009. We



would like to thank Dr. Jane Biers, Dr. Benton Kidd, and Mr. Jeffrey Wilcox for kindly assisting us with our enquiries regarding the Karmi material in the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri and for providing photographs of *Lapatsa* Deposit 13, nos. 3 and 3b. The objects were drawn in Sydney by Mrs. D. E. Stewart and Dr. Kathryn Eriksson and prepared in Adobe Illustrator by Ms. Cathy Carigiet. Mr. Wei Ming from La Trobe University prepared the figures for publication.

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2. Porphyrios Dikaios, "The Excavations at Vounous-Bellapais in Cyprus, 1931–1932," *Archaeologia* 88 (1940) p. 118; Paul Åström, *Excavations at Kalopsidha and Ayios Iakovos* (*Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* II, Lund, 1966) pp. 14–15; Vassos Karageorghis, "Two Religious Documents of the Early Cypriote Bronze Age," *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* (1970) pp. 10–13.
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4. Desmond Morris, *The Art of Ancient Cyprus* (Oxford, 1985) pp. 281–283.
5. See especially Priscilla Keswani, *Mortuary Ritual and Society in Bronze Age Cyprus* (*Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology* 9, London, 2004) pp. 37–83.
6. Site names in Cyprus are based on local toponyms within the lands of each village; in this case, the fields known as *Lapatsa* and *Palealona* are located in the area of Karmi Village. By a common archaeological convention, toponyms are normally italicized. Archaeologists sometimes use the full name and sometimes only either the toponym or village name, where there is no possibility of confusion with other sites.
7. For accounts of Stewart's life, see Alexander Cambitoglou, "Professor James Stewart. Obituary Notice," *Opuscula Atheniensi* IV (1962) pp. 205–206; Robert Merrillees, "Professor James R. Stewart: a biographical lecture," in Colin Hope and Jenny Zimmer, eds., *Catalogue of Ancient Middle Eastern Pottery from Palestine, Cyprus and Egypt in the Faculty of Art Gallery RMIT June 1983 and Essays in Australian Contributions to the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East* (Melbourne, 1983) pp. 33–51; idem, "The Ordeal of Shaving in a Frozen Lake," Professor J. R. Stewart and the Swedish Cyprus Expedition," in "The Fantastic Years on Cyprus." *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition and Its Members* (Jonsered, 1994) pp. 38–55; idem, "Stewart, James Rivers Barrington (1913–1962)" in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 16 (Melbourne, 2002) pp. 308–309; <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A160375b.htm> (24 August 2009).
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10. The volume, entitled *The Bronze Age Cemeteries at Karmi Palealona and Lapatsa in Cyprus. Excavations by J. R. B Stewart*, will appear in the series *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*, published by Paul Åströms Förlag, Sävedalen, Sweden.

11. Letter from James Stewart to the Reverend Alan Dougan, 16 March 1961.
12. Letter from James Stewart to Miss Noreen Waterford, 4 March 1961. *Dromos* (singular) (*dromoi* plural) refers to the open entrance shaft that provided access to the tomb chamber from the surface.
13. Letter from James Stewart to the Reverend Alan Dougan, 16 March 1961.
14. See Jennifer Webb and David Frankel, "Fine Ware Ceramics, Consumption and Commensality: Mechanisms of Horizontal and Vertical Integration in Early Bronze Age Cyprus," in Louise Hitchcock, Robert Laffineur, and Janice Crowley, eds., *Dais. The Aegean Feast. Proceedings of the 12th International Aegean Conference, University of Melbourne, Centre for Classics and Archaeology, 25–29 March 2008 (Aegaeum 29. Annales d'archéologie égéenne de l'Université de Liège, Liège, 2008)* pp. 287–295. For similar arguments in reference to Early Bronze Age Crete, see Yannis Hamilakis, "Eating the Dead: Mortuary Feasting and the Politics of Memory in the Aegean Bronze Age Societies," in Keith Branigan, ed., *Cemetery and Society in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Sheffield, 1998) pp. 115–132; idem, "Tombs for the Living," *Antiquity* 314 (2007) pp. 1090–1093.
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18. Letter from James Stewart to the Reverend Alan Dougan, 27 April 1961.
19. See Frankel and Webb, *Marki*; Stuart Swiny, George (Rip) Rapp, and Ellen Herscher, *Sotira Kaminoudhia: An Early Bronze Age Site in Cyprus (American Schools of Oriental Research Archaeological Reports, no. 8. CAARI Monograph Series 4, Boston, 2003)*; Coleman et al., *Alambra*; Maria Rosaria Belgiorno, *Pyrgos Mavroraki: Advanced Technology in Bronze Age Cyprus* (Nicosia, 2004); Ian Todd, ed., *Vasilikos Valley Project 1: The Bronze Age Cemetery in Kalavassos Village (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology LXXI:1, Göteborg, 1986)*; idem, ed., *Vasilikos Valley Project 11: Kalavassos Village Tombs 52–79 (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology LXXI:11, Sävedalen, 2007)*; Jennifer Webb and David Frankel, *Eight Middle Bronze Age Tomb Groups from Dhenia in the University of New England Museum of Antiquities (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XX:21, Jonsered, 2001)*; David Frankel and Jennifer Webb, *The Bronze Age Cemeteries at Deneia in Cyprus (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology CXXXV, Sävedalen, 2007)* with associated LUNA Insight digital archive <http://library.latrobe.edu.au/record=b2234894> (24 August 2009).
20. Eleanor Stewart and James Stewart, *Vounous 1937–38. Field Report of the Excavations Sponsored by the British School at Athens (Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom XIV, Lund, 1950)*; James Stewart, "The Early Cypriote Bronze Age," in *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, vol. IV, part IA (Lund, 1962). See also J. Basil Hennessy, Kathryn Eriksson, and Ina Kehrberg, *Ayia Paraskevi and Vasilia. Excavations by J. R. B. Stewart (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology LXXXII, Göteborg, 1988)*.
21. See *Muse* 8 (1974) pp. 6–7; Paul Åström, Jane Biers, and others, *Corpus of Cypriote Antiquities 2. The Cypriote Collection of the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XX:2, Göteborg, 1979)* p. 4, n. 2; Hennessy et al., *Ayia Paraskevi*, pp. 21–22.

22. Entry on 8 March 1961. Unfortunately, we do not know whether these were human or animal bones.
23. J. Basil Hennessy, "Cypriot artists of the Early and Middle Bronze Age," in Judy Birmingham, ed., *The Cypriot Bronze Age. Some Recent Australian Contributions to the Prehistory of Cyprus (Australian Studies in Archaeology I, Sydney, 1973)* p. 14 and n. 17.
24. Stewart, *Corpus of Cypriot Artefacts*, part II, figs. 6.3, 7.2.
25. *Ibid.*, part I, p. 67.
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27. The Ringling Museum vessel is illustrated in M. Sendova, V. Zhelyaskov, M. Scalera, and M. Ramsey, "Micro-Raman spectroscopic study of pottery fragments from the Lapatsa Tomb, Cyprus, ca 2500 BC," *Journal of Raman Spectroscopy* 36 (2005) pl. 1 (back center).
28. Lindy Crewe, *Spindle Whorls. A Study of Form, Function, and Decoration in Prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology Pocket-Book 149, Jonsered, 1998)* p. 78, Type IIIc4, fig. A2.1.
29. Frankel and Webb, *Marki*, p. 164, sub group 3, Text Table 5.5, fig. 5.8.
30. Letter to Miss Noreen Waterford, 4 March 1961.



**A Bronze Septimius Severus at Saitta, Issued by Charikles  
An Avatar or Acolyte for the Moon-God Men?  
In Memory of Eugene Numa Lane\***

Patricia Lawrence



Fig. 1. Saitta, Lydia. Medallion issued by Charikles for Septimius Severus. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 2004.5.

The Museum of Art and Archaeology owns one of the earliest egregiously large coins minted by Greek cities in the Roman Empire, a great bronze, issued for the Roman emperor Septimius Severus (193–211 C.E.) by the magistrate Sos. Charikles (Fig. 1). Some of these medallion-size coins may have been struck to commemorate imperial visits or the celebration of Games. Some proclaimed an alliance between two cities; such Alliance issues may be labeled *Omonoia* (Concord). Other coins boasted of a city's prestige, as in the case of a Metropolis, designated as the administrative head of a region. Similarly, some cities had sought and fulfilled the privilege of *Neokoria*, maintaining an imperial cult, prestigious and flattering to both parties, for qualified cities. The coins, in these cases, usually bear the title *Neokoros* (the city as temple "warden"), occasionally even *Neokoros* for the second or third time. When cities put on Games, the coins with Agonistic motifs often proclaim the name of the Games, *Alexandria*, *Pythia*, *Severa*, or the like. *Metropoleis*, of course, are often so called in monumental epigraphy or historical texts as well. The coin presented here, one of the largest of the Severan period and issued at Saitta, a city in Lydia (Fig. 2), seems, however, to fit none of these categories.



Fig. 2. Map of Asia Minor. Adapted from E. Lane, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis II, The Coins and Gems* (Leiden, 1975).

Saitta, Lydia. Septimius Severus. Medallion issued by Sos. Charikles.  
 Æ 45 mm, 51.04 g, axis↑. Weinberg Fund (acc. no. 2004.5)

Obverse: Laureate bust of the emperor Septimius Severus with military cloak over armor, seen as from behind, facing right.

Legend: AVT KAI Λ CΕ[Π] | CΕOVHPOC ΠE

“Aut(okrator) Kai(sar) L(ucius) Se[p](timius) Severus Pe(rtinax)”

Reverse: The moon-god Men holding a scepter in his left hand standing right facing the Lydian Mother, probably as we know her, Cybele. Cybele is seated on a backless throne. At her feet, her lion with upraised right paw, also facing left; at Men’s feet a small clothed figure, perhaps stretching out his left hand toward the lion. The small figure seems to be related to Men as the lion is related to Cybele.

Legend: ΕΠΙ COC XA P[IKΛE] | OVC APX A † B; in exergue:  
 CAITTHNΩ / N

“(This coin) of the Saittans (was minted) in the archonship of Charikles, chief archon for the second time.”

Bibliography: *Museum Magazine, Museum of Art and Archaeology* 45 (Fall 2004) p. 11, figs. 3 and 3a; “Recent Acquisitions,” *Muse* 36–38 (2002–2004) p. 94.



Fig. 3. Saitta, Lydia. Medallion issued by Andronicus for Septimius Severus from the same pair of dies as Figure 4. Münzkabinett, Winterthur, G 3889. Photos courtesy of the Münzkabinett.

In its size—slightly larger than any of the other comparable coins from Saitta—as well as in its choice of serious religious subjects for the reverse, the Missouri medallion resembles a few of the coins issued at Bizya for Philip I (244–249), or the large issue of agonistic coins, marked *Alexandria Pythia*, struck for Caracalla (211–217) at Philippopolis in Thrace, which are slightly smaller.<sup>1</sup> Just over the border, in western Phrygia, the mint of Temenothyrae issued one, also slightly smaller, for Valerian (253–260) and Gallienus (253–268), and Bagis in Lydia struck an alliance coin of comparable size for Gallienus, this one with Men and Tyche.<sup>2</sup> All these are commonly listed as medallions, but only because, always excepting the coins of Ptolemaic Egypt, they are too large, too difficult to strike, and too irregularly issued for ordinary currency. The Missouri coin and comparable ones also issued at Saitta by a magistrate named Andronicus are very uncommon indeed. The Andronicus coins, which are slightly smaller than the Missouri Charikles, are now known not only in a specimen at Winterthur (formerly in Fr. Imhoof-Blumer's collection) (Fig. 3),<sup>3</sup> but also in one struck from the same dies as the Winterthur coin and now at the American Numismatic Society (Fig. 4).<sup>4</sup> Somewhat later, rather different, and issued by Charikles, the Missouri coin is so far unique.



Fig. 4. Saitta, Lydia. Medallion issued by Andronicus for Septimius Severus. American Numismatic Society, 1973.191.14. Image courtesy The American Numismatic Society.

First, although it is impossible to assign a precise date to the Missouri coin, the Winterthur and American Numismatic Society ones (Figs. 3 and 4)—issued by Andronicus and with a reverse so similar to the Missouri Charikles—both show Septimius Severus in a formal portrait style and wearing scale armor with an aegis and also a gorgoneion. They must be very early in the emperor's reign, because Andronicus also issued coins for Clodius Albinus, who was briefly Septimius's Caesar (193–195).<sup>5</sup> The magistrate Charikles of the Missouri coin, on the other hand, signed one for Julia Domna, Septimius's wife (Fig. 5), two (known to me) for Caracalla (co-Augustus 198–212, sole emperor 212–217), and one for Geta (co-emperor 209–211).<sup>6</sup> The Caracalla Charikles issues are dated after 198 but before ca. 205, since Caracalla's portrait is



Fig. 5. Saitta, Lydia. Medallion issued by Charikles for Julia Domna. Münzkabinett, Winterthur, G 3893. Photos courtesy of the Münzkabinett.

wearing a laurel wreath, and he is shown as no longer a child, although without the beard present on issues signed by the magistrate Attalianus.<sup>7</sup>

On the Missouri Charikles (Fig. 1), the obverse legend and the portrait type are unexceptional. The large area at the engraver's disposal on the earlier Andronicus coins (Figs. 3 and 4) had permitted much attention to detail, especially in the better-preserved breastplate showing the aegis and gorgoneion. On the Missouri coin, the engraver chose instead to make the head expressive of character through Hellenistic, plastic exaggeration of the emperor's features and a deep-set eye. The reverse of the Missouri Charikles, on the other hand, is highly interesting. Its legend is nearly complete, lacking



Fig. 6. Saitta, Lydia. Bronze coin showing the young Men, called Axiottenos. Private collection, Germany. Photo: Micha Bachteler, *Klassische Münzen*, University of Tübingen.

only the letters IKLE of the magistrate's name, and like the Andronicus issues, it shows the moon-god Men standing to right, facing Cybele (or possibly the Anatolian Mother by some other name). Here the deities are not labeled. Just as she might have been called Cybele regionally, so Men himself might have been called Men Axiottenos. On the coin shown in Figure 6, a youthful Men, named here Axiottenos, wears a star-studded Phrygian bonnet, as well as his moon crescent.<sup>8</sup> On the Missouri, Winterthur, and American Numismatic Society coins (Figs. 1, 3, and 4), Men's stance and proportions are those of Greco-Roman art, and he is dressed as Hellenized Lydians might have preferred, just as the museum's own statuette shows him (Fig. 7).<sup>9</sup> Cybele also is normal, since this is not the only place where she lacks her wooden throne back. Notice that the lion by her right foot seems to lift his paw heraldically.<sup>10</sup>

In some details on the reverse, however, Missouri's larger, somewhat later Sos. Charikles issue differs from the Andronicus issues. First, let us regret that the substance of the exchange between the two deities in the middle of the reverse of the Missouri coin is lost; although it is easy to imagine a patera for one of them, we cannot vouch for or even suspect a pine cone in Men's right hand. Certainly, his scepter has a knob,



Fig. 7. Statuette of the moon-god Men. Roman, bronze. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 83.68. Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

like that of any Greek god. Cybele here wears a polos, just as her Iron-Age Phrygian ancestress does at Boghazköy, and, again, her lion raises its right forepaw. On this coin, that gesture seems to relate the lion to the inexplicable small figure at the bottom of Men's scepter (Fig. 8). Although felines commonly raise a foreleg heraldically, here it seems a significant "social" gesture. As Eugene Lane's articles in this journal show



Fig. 8. Detail of Figure 1, showing the small figure and the lion at the feet of the god Men and the Lydian Mother.

perhaps more plainly than any other, most Asian art from the Near and Middle East is unlike the Greco-Roman tradition in abjuring the treatment of space, body, and the human language of gesture. In the Greco-Roman tradition, it really matters that Men's cloak, falling loose from his shoulders, follows the rhythm of his stance, both on the large coins and the museum's statuette (Fig. 7). To show how a god stands is part of his characterization. The *horror vacui* of a Sabazios hand is the extreme antithesis of the Greco-Roman tradition.<sup>11</sup> The surface of such hands is crowded with attributes of Sabazios, each of which is a sign of some cult trait, all of which are shown almost as pictographs, at any scale, and frontal.

Lacking the actual clasping of the deities' hands, the behavior of their other selves at their feet should help to explain them. The lion can stand in for Cybele; it is hers. If this is right, the alien words "avatar" and "acolyte" do not seem much amiss. The small figure and the lion echo the evident cordiality of Men and the Mother (not always called Cybele). It seems inadvisable to resort more than necessary to the non-Greek origins of Cybele and Men, at a date when she is fully naturalized at the Rome mint and given that Men, too, at Saitta is divested of all his Phrygian cult paraphernalia, in contrast to images from other cities (Fig. 9).<sup>12</sup> Despite all our efforts, however, and microscope photographs, we could only ascertain that the little figure beside Men's scepter is not standing on any animal.<sup>13</sup> It is impossible, too, to make the traces that extend to Cybele's toe into a bull or



Fig. 9. Antioch, Pisidia. Bronze coin issued for Geta, one of a set issued for Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, and their sons, ca. 209–211. Private collection. Photo courtesy of the author.

a bucranium, although Gallienus's Alliance issue of the city of Bagis with Temenothyrae, just to the east, shows Men with his foot on a bull's head.<sup>14</sup> One thinks, the little figure surely had feet? If so, they are not discernible. Whether he held up his right arm, and the protrusion between it and the lion's leg is his own hand or the lion's paw, I cannot tell. It is most striking indeed that the small figure is as devoid of attributes as a Telesphoros at Pergamon.<sup>15</sup> If he were regarded as like Telesphoros, he could perhaps be called an "acolyte." The crux of the question is that none of the other coins, none of the inscriptions whose find spot still is almost all we know about Saitta, suggests what aspect or attribute of Men would reach out to the lion aspect of the Anatolian Mother.<sup>16</sup> Lane suggested that she was regarded as his mother, since a Μηὺς τεκοῦσα shown similarly is mentioned in some of those inscriptions, but he did not insist on it, since "mother goddesses notoriously do not have offspring." Besides, she was called Mater Deum (Mother of the Gods) all over the empire, and calling Men her τέκνον need not have been taken literally.

The difficulty is aggravated by the Severan date, when syncretisms were rife. Pursuing such a notion, besides, would do nothing to explain the little figure at Men's feet, strikingly absent from the Andronicus issues in Winterthur and the American Numismatic Society. The language used to exalt Men, "one god in the heavens, the great heavenly Men, the great power of immortal god,"<sup>17</sup> seems perfectly consistent with the universalizing exaltation of third-century evocations of deity, an observation that warns against contriving scenarios for the lion and the small figure, whose head has no details, not even a hint of a Phrygian cap like Men's own.

The largest Alliance coins<sup>18</sup> do resemble Missouri's Charikles coin issued for Septimius Severus at Saitta, although they are more like Caracalla's with the Pergamene triad.<sup>19</sup> Some of the Alliance coins have a portrait of the emperor strikingly similar to the Saitta issues, although they are not from the same die,<sup>20</sup> and they often show two deities side-by-side or joining hands on the reverse; not all such are labeled OMONOIA. The Saitta Men and Cybele coins, however, do not name a sister city or clearly imply one by showing an image like the Artemis Ephesia. Saitta, besides, is not known ever to have issued Alliance coins or been named in alliance by another mint. If any extra-Saittan association is intended, epigraphic evidence suggests that it may be the association of Men, most commonly mentioned at Saitta, with the Mother, Cybele, most commonly mentioned in inscriptions elsewhere in Lydia.<sup>21</sup>

We need a complete general excavation of Saitta, yielding a clearer picture of its general culture and economy, since the inscriptions at hand are preponderantly votive, at least overtly.<sup>22</sup> It may have been prosperous without having a large mint (the small-denomination coinage is not huge) or schools, for example, of its own, relying on Sardis for all such higher amenities.



## Notes

\*First, I owe my very knowledge of the god named Men to Eugene Lane, from the year we shared at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. To pretend that I can add anything to his work or that of other specialists in the evidence for this cult would be impudent. Second, for all his help, I thank my friend Dr. Benton Kidd, Associate Curator of Ancient Art, Museum of Art and Archaeology. I would also like to thank Lars Rutten and Curtis Clay for their comments. For photographs, and permission to reproduce them, I thank the American Numismatic Society, the Münzkabinett, Winterthur, and a private collector in Germany, who generously had his coin re-photographed for publication here. He is also one of many who for nearly a decade have discussed Lydian and Phrygian coins with me, sharing bibliography and images from their own collections.

1. For some that are among the largest, see I. Varbanov, *Greek Imperial Coins* (Engl.) III (Bourgas, 2007) p. 169, nos. 1472–1473, but others similarly inscribed are nearly as large (ibid., pp. 157–172).
2. For Temenothyrae (at over 40 mm), see *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins* (BMC), B. V. Head, *Phrygia* (London, 1906) p. 415, no. 34, pl. XLVIII, 6. Also, at [http://www.mfa.org/collections/search\\_art.asp?recview=true&id=264453](http://www.mfa.org/collections/search_art.asp?recview=true&id=264453) (26 August 2009) (though only 37 mm) and [http://www.mfa.org/collections/search\\_art.asp?recview=true&id=262854](http://www.mfa.org/collections/search_art.asp?recview=true&id=262854) (26 August 2009); for Bagis (ca. 39 mm), see ibid., *BMC, Lydia* (London, 1901) p. 41, no. 54, pl. XLI, 1, where Men faces Tyche and his foot is on a bull's head, and also at <http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=69736> (26 August 2009), where Men's foot is on a helmet.
3. Saitta, Lydia. Septimius Severus. Medallion issued by Andronicus. Æ 46.3 mm, 51.589 g, axis ↘ (Münzkabinett, Winterthur G 3889)

Obverse: Septimius Severus, laureate, bust in scale armor, with an aegis on his right shoulder and a gorgoneion on his chest. Legend: AVT KAI•Λ•CΕΠ• | CEOVHPOC ΠΕΡΤΙ

Reverse: The god Men standing right in Phrygian bonnet, wearing a short chiton (double girt) and a cloak, crescent moon on his shoulders, holding a pine cone in his right hand, and leaning on a scepter in his left. He faces Cybele enthroned to right, a patera in her right hand, her left elbow on a tympanum, her lion (with forepaw raised) at her right foot. Her headdress is not a polos, but whether it is a mural crown is quite unclear. Legend: ΕΠΙ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΕΙ | ΚΟV Δ | [uncertain traces]; in exergue CAITTHNΩN / APX•A•

Bibliography: "Griechische Stadtmünzen aus römischer Zeit," *Antike Kleinkunst in Winterthur*, exh. cat. (Winterthur, 1964) p. 63, no. 434, pl. 23; E. Lane, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis* II, *The Coins and Gems* (Leiden, 1975) p. 38, Saitta 10, pl. XV.

For the description and legend, see also Fr. Imhoof-Blumer, "Antike griechische Münzen," *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau* (= *Revue suisse de numismatique*) 19 (1913) p. 56, no. 161, which, according to the 1964 Winterthur exhibition catalogue entry, has "the same reverse die but used a different obverse die." Identical punctuation and word divisions and the fuller spelling, Perti-, rather than the usual Per-, for Pertinax, as well as the very distinctive markings that have survived wear, convince me that the obverse as well as the reverse die match Winterthur G 3889. I have not been able to confirm that Imhoof-Blumer's specimen, or any like it, is in Berlin. For the lighter weight given by Imhoof-Blumer for his coin, compare now the American Numismatic Society coin (see below n. 4).

4. Saitta, Lydia. Septimius Severus. Medallion issued by Andronicus. Æ 43 mm, 40.74 g, axis ↓ (American Numismatic Society 1973.191.14)



Obverse: Septimius Severus, laureate, bust to right.

Legend: AVT•KAI•Λ•CEΠ• | CEOVHP[OC ΠEPTI]

Reverse: The god Men, with scepter and pine cone, standing before Cybele, seated on throne, with tympanum. Legend: EΠ[I A]NΔPONEI | KOV•Δ | IO[uncertain letter traces, but a lambda or a delta possible, then] € or C and ΦA; in exergue CAITTHNQN / APX•A• (preserving more than the Winterthur specimen; see n. 3 above).

Restored bracketed letters are taken from Imhoof-Blumer's reading of the legends on his own coin (possibly a Berlin one that matches G 3889 in Winterthur) as published in *Revue suisse de numismatique* 19 (1913) p. 56, no. 161. R. Münsterberg's *Die Beamtennamen auf den griechischen Münzen* (Vienna, 1911–1927; reprint 1985) p. 146 (conveniently consulted on line at <http://snible.org/coins/library/muensterberg/> [26 August 2009]) does not list additional names or titles for Andronicus. Cf., however, the Julia Domna medallion, signed by Andronicus with (as reported) quite uncertain further names (Peus Nachfolger, Auction 366 [29 October 2000] Lot 726). The preservation of Δ | IO on this Julia Domna medallion suggests that if the reverse legends were preserved, they would agree with the Winterthur and American Numismatic Society Andronicus medallions for Septimius. The American Numismatic Society medallion (Fig. 4) preserves some details of the reverse more clearly than does the Winterthur specimen (Fig. 3), for example in Cybele's throne and her lion, besides preserving several additional letters.

5. One of these is the Æ 29 (some specimens smaller), which has a nude Aphrodite, with a diving dolphin to her left and Eros standing right holding a torch to her right. F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Lydische Stadtmünzen* (Geneva and Leipzig, 1897) p. 129, no. 7.
6. Signed by Charikles at Saïtta:
  - (a) For Julia Domna (Fig. 5), see Æ 37 mm, Winterthur G 3893, with Charikles' name complete. Reverse: Caracalla in armor and cloak riding on horseback at a gallop, to right, brandishing a spear raised in his right hand; below the horse's forelegs, a bound kneeling barbarian in a tall cap. The use of Caracalla on horseback as the conqueror suggests that this Charikles set of large bronzes centers on his being co-Augustus and his brother Geta now being Caesar. See also *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau* (= *Revue suisse de numismatique*) 14 (1908) p. 16 (128) no. 1; available online (but not illustrated) at <http://www.archive.org/details/schweizerischenu1415schwuoft> (26 August 2009).
  - (b) For Septimius Severus, now the large coin presented here (Fig. 1).
  - (c) For Caracalla, see Æ 39 mm, Münzen und Medaillen, Basel, Auktion 41, 18–19 June, 1970, no. 432, pl. 25; Baldwin's/Markov/Münzen und Medaillen, N.Y., Sale XI (January 11, 2006) listed in *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 12 (1885) p. 338, no. 3, whence Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen*, p. 146 (provided with links to and from B. V. Head, digital *Historia Numorum*, by Ed Snible, <http://snible.org/coins/library/muensterberg/lydia.html> and <http://snible.org/coins/hn/lydia.html> [26 August 2009]); the bust type is like that of Septimius on the Missouri Charikles coin.
  - (d) For Geta, Classical Numismatic Group, Inc. (CNG), Auction 136, Lot 145 <http://www.acsearch.info/record.html?id=262171> or <http://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=81821> (26 August 2009).

The Julia Domna, the Septimius, and the Caracalla just cited preclude assigning a Charikles issue to Elagabalus (218–222). Therefore, we can now assign to no later than Caracalla not only the British Museum semi-autonomous *Hiera Synkletos* coins but also the coins with a

- reverse of Aphrodite in her temple (a subject more familiar from the magistrate Andronicus's coins for Clodius Albinus), already tentatively given to Caracalla by Münsterberg. For the *Hiera Synkletos* coins, see British Museum, *BMC, Lydia*, p. 215, nos. 20 and 21; for the Aphrodite type, *ibid.*, p. 221, nos. 50 and 51 (not illustrated). Because the portraits of the cousins Caracalla and Elagabalus (the Antonini) when idealized may so resemble each other, the magistrate's name rather than the imperial portrait type is now a sound basis for attribution. Even coins issued at Saitta signed by the magistrate Attalianus, such as the Caracalla (with a beard) with Zeus Lydios reverse (Peus Nachfolger, Auction 366, 29 October 2000, no. 727) need not be assigned to Elagabalus, since their obverse legends are the same as the Charikles issues for Caracalla at Saitta.
7. The large *Synkletos* issue in the British Museum (*BMC, Lydia*, pl. XXIII, 4), also signed by Attalianus, ought also to be reconsidered, because as an issue of Attalianus it would date to Caracalla's reign—a little later than the Charikles coins—when (unlike the idealized youth on the *Synkletos* issue) the young emperor had a beard.
  8. AE 21 mm. Axiotta is evidently a toponym. See Maria Paz de Hoz, *Die lydischen Kulte im Lichte der griechischen Inschriften* (Bonn, 1999) p. 403, and P. Herrmann and Hasan Malay, *New Documents from Lydia* (Vienna, 2007) p. 76. Only Saitta labels its Men "Axiottenos," although he is so-called in inscriptions from nearby sites. The river god on the reverse of this coin is the Hermos. On other coins, the River Hyllos is named. See the map in Paz de Hoz, *Lydischen Kulte*, p. 403 and the discussion of the epithet on p. 39 for the concentration of Axiottenos inscriptions around Saitta. The type used for Axiottenos may also be used for the senate (*Synkletos*) of Saitta, or for Dionysos.
  9. Eugene Lane, "Two Portrayals of the Moon-God Men," *Muse* 18 (1984) p. 58, fig. 5, and "A Men Miscellany: Three New Objects Concerned with the Moon-God Men," *Muse* 31–32 (1997–1998) p. 90, fig. 1.
  10. The most obvious explanation of Cybele's lion having both forepaws on the ground is its being virtually a throne support for the enthroned cult statue, possibly that recorded in the Metroön in the Athenian Agora and, if so, dating from the fifth century B.C.E. (J. J. Pollitt, *The Art of Ancient Greece, Sources and Documents* [Cambridge, 1990] p. 67, citing Arrian, *Periplus Maris Euxini*, 9, R. Hercher and A. Eberhard eds., *Scripta Minora* [Leipzig, 1885]). The frontal seated goddess, evidently a cult statue, is easily recognizable in all sizes and degrees of competence all over the Greco-Roman world. Wherever not too broken, her throne has small lions instead of front legs. It is tempting (but probably not permissible) to think of Neolithic females seated on cats, although the Mother of the Gods, Cybele in the Empire period, is seen riding her lion sidesaddle almost as often as in the enthroned image that we have here. She also usually carries her tympanum. On some dies of the Greek East with Cybele enthroned, the lion does raise its forepaw heraldically, as at Saitta. These include young Julia Domna's, issued by Andronicus at Saitta (Peus Nachfolger, Auction 366, October 2000, no. 726, weighing 32.73 g), but the most beautiful examples are the silver cistophori for Hadrian and Sabina struck at Smyrna (W. E. Metcalf, *The Cistophori of Hadrian, American Numismatic Society Numismatic Studies* 15 [1980] pp. 34–35, nos. 33 and 34, pls. 10–11, cat. 161–176).
  11. See Eugene Lane, "A Syncretistic Statuette," *Muse* 8 (1974) p. 35, fig. 35 and also the Sabazio's hand in the Louvre, AO 4409, a votive object thought to have come from Baalbek (A. Malraux, *Le Musée imaginaire I* [Paris, 1952] pl. 196). Also, see the plaque (formerly in the British Museum) actually inscribed with a dedication to Men (Lane, "Two Portrayals," p. 60, fig. 8).
  12. Antioch, Pisidia, AE 33 mm, 23.61 g. Geta's name ending in ae on this die is unusual. He is shown laureate, and the issue is thus datable to ca. 209–211. This coin is one of a set issued

for Septimius, Julia Domna, and their sons, all of which have similar reverse dies, showing a cult statue. For the same die-pair, see *Sylloge Numorum Graecorum, Deutschland, Sammlung von Aulock 12, Pisidia* (Berlin, 1964) pl. 161, no. 1492. The cult image on the coins of Pisidian Antioch show the god Men with bucranium, cock, pine cone, scepter, and often a Nike, where the god looks much less humanized than the Saitta Men and Mother. See G. F. Hill, *BMC, Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia* (London, 1897) p. 180, no. 21, for Septimius; p. 181, no. 32, for Julia Domna (a better image, including the obverse, is D. R. Sear, *Greek Imperial Coins and Their Values: The Local Coinage of the Roman Empire* [London, 1982] p. 227, no. 2424); and p. 187, no. 70, for Gordian III, illustrated on pl. XXXI, nos. 6, 8, and 17, respectively. Henry Clay Lindgren owned fine large specimens issued for Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, and Geta. See H. C. Lindgren and F. Kovacs, *Ancient Bronze Coins of Asia Minor and the Levant* (San Mateo, Calif., 1985) pl. 43, nos. 1204, 1209, and 1218. For the same cult image, see *Sylloge Numorum Graecorum, Deutschland, Sammlung von Aulock 12*, pl. 161, nos. 4924, 4928, 4933, and 4942. On line, there are several good specimens of this image at <http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/pisidia/antioch/t.html> (26 August 2009). (I would not call the post that sometimes supports the outstretched hand of the cult image holding something heavy a “cippus,” a word that some catalogues often use.) At Pisidian Antioch, E. Gazda, University of Michigan, has now excavated the sanctuary of Men Askaenos: [http://sitemaker.umich.edu/late-antiquity/pisidian\\_antioch](http://sitemaker.umich.edu/late-antiquity/pisidian_antioch) (26 August 2009). The frontal cult image of Men, although especially well illustrated on the coins of Pisidian Antioch, is also common on coins of neighboring regions.

13. Paz de Hoz, *Lydischen Kulte*, p. 38, says, “the still generally accepted theory ties the root of the name Men with the Asia Minor name of the moon god, specifically the Hittite moon god Arma.” Lane, she said, had favored the relation of Men’s iconography and epithets to Mithras with certain Scythian elements. If his name is Hittite, or proto-Hittite, we still could not justify assuming that he had an animal “vehicle” or suggest that his small alter ego needed to have one. Even at Yazilikaya itself, a mile and a half from Boghazköy, and in the porch of the *bit hilani*, as the Assyrians called a building type they regarded as “Hittite,” in the Palace of Kaparu at Tell Halaf, the figures that have animal “vehicles” are manifestly major gods, at Yazilikaya brandishing all their attributes. See Henri Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, 5th edition (New Haven and London, 1996) p. 226, figs. 260–261 (Yazilikaya); pp. 288–293, figs. 337 and 341 (Tell Halaf).
14. Peter Robert Franke and Margaret Karola Nollé, *Die Homonoia-Münzen Kleinasiens*, vol. I (Saarbrücken, 1997) p. 17, nos. 91–92, pl. 11; Head, *BMC Lydia*, p. 41, no. 54, pl. XLI, 1.
15. Popular as he is, we really know almost as little about Telesphoros as about Men’s small attendant. The best-balanced account of his cult (he has practically no mythology) is still, in my opinion, Warwick Wroth’s nineteenth-century article “Telesphoros,” in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 3 (1882) pp. 283–300. According to Wroth (p. 287, n. 1), the first appearance of Telesphoros on a coin (and thus datable) is on a small Pergamene bronze of Hadrian, although the cult was older. A little more recent, but more difficult, is the article, s.v. Telesphoros I, in W. H. Roscher, ed., *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, vol. V (Leipzig, 1916–1924) cols. 309–326. For some good images, see the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. VII, 1 (Zurich and Munich, 1994) pp. 870–878 and VII, 2, pp. 602–605, especially nos. 24 and 84. The discussion of Telesphoros there is short, not because he is unimportant, but because he is cultic rather than mythological. Studies of Asklepios contain less about Telesphoros himself. He was not, of course, an “avatar” of Asklepios—and this is not the place to consider Asklepios himself as a “son” or (we might

- say) an avatar of the older cult of Apollo as a Healer (*iatros*). Also, we cannot be sure that “acolyte” would be quite right for Telesphoros; as Wroth insists, we would need to know more in particular about him. It is possible, however, that the small figure with Men might in the Severan period have been characterized similarly to Telesphoros, however that was.
16. It is as if the inscriptions and the coins represent divergent cultural assumptions. Lane, in notes made for this coin when it was acquired, remarked, “Saitta was enough of a Greek city to have its population divided into tribes, conventionally named after thoroughly Greek divinities, Apollo, Asclepius, Dionysus, and Herakles. We know this from stone steps of a theater, which reserved seating for one tribe or another.” (See Frank Kolb, *Sitzstufeninschriften aus dem Stadion von Saitta*, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 15 [Bonn, 1990]). The same Greek civic character is evinced by Saitta’s *Synkletos* (senate) coins.
  17. In the same memorandum, Lane observed that Paz de Hoz, *Lydischen Kulte*, p. 234, had speculated that, given the prevalence of Men in the inscriptions, Men at this time might have encompassed all the city’s male divinities, and he cited this line in evidence. For that matter, however, by then they might have regarded Cybele as embracing all the matron goddesses. In a couple of generations, Sol would prevail and subsume. As Lane added, however, “all this gets us no closer to knowing who the little guy at Men’s feet is.”
  18. In the time of Septimius Severus, a 40–45 mm diameter is as large as Asia Minor Alliance coins are known to have been. The coins of Thyatira with Pergamon show how handsome they can be (Franke and Nollé, *Homonoia Münzen*, p. 222, no. 2297, pl. 98). These are not, however, the only large and handsome coins. A full and inclusive study of all the Roman Provincial medallion coins needs to be undertaken, but such a subject far exceeds the scope of this article.
  19. See above, n. 6 (c). See also J. Jurukova, *Die Münzprägung von Bizye* (Berlin, 1981) p. 71, no. 129, pl. 20 = Varbanov, *Greek Imperial Coins* (Engl.) II, p. 129, no. 1507, with a much elaborated Pergamene triad and the still more elaborate Alexandrian group, *ibid.*, p. 133, no. 1546.
  20. Considering that die engravers with their small tool kits traveled on roads and rivers, it is not surprising that we see regional stylistic communality. When, however, we are dealing with coins most of which exceed 40 mm in diameter, the actual number of dies used is drastically reduced. Well-established relationships that geography itself suggests seem, however, to be borne out by the technical and stylistic character of the coins.
  21. See the map, Paz de Hoz, *Lydischen Kulte*, p. 403, where the incidence of inscriptions for Men and the Mother at Saitta, compared with other cities, is shown graphically by the relative sizes of their triangles.
  22. P. Hermann and H. Malay, in their discussion of the long confession inscription from Kollyda, consider the evidence that the sacrileges in question may be such as we would take to a civil court. They suggest that the religious establishment is acting in lieu of established civic structures to resolve legal differences (*New Documents from Lydia, Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris*, no. 24 [Vienna, 2007] no. 84, pp. 110–113). One can only wonder whether the preponderance of confessions of shortcomings, of disobediences, of acceptance of punishments, then of healing, all addressed to one Men or another, may be understandable in this way. If so, however, the coins tell no such tale.

# Albrecht Dürer's Curls: Melchior Lorck's 1550 Engraved Portrait and Its Relationship to Dürer's Self-Fashioned Public Image

Joan Stack



Fig. 1. Melchior Lorck (Danish, 1527–1594), *Portrait of Albrecht Dürer*, 1550, engraving. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, acc. no. 86.26.

The image of the Nuremberg artist Albrecht Dürer with a mane of long curly hair is internationally recognizable. Its place in the collective consciousness of the Western world has been years in the making, beginning with self-portraits produced by Dürer himself. Numerous later artists have since represented the longhaired Dürer, and this article seeks to place one such image into its cultural context.

Melchior Lorck's small engraved *Portrait of Albrecht Dürer* is the first posthumous print to represent Dürer with a long curly coiffure. A fine impression of this engraving is housed in the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The museum's engraving is trimmed to the plate mark and printed in black ink on white laid paper measuring 165 x 96 mm. The sitter is identified with capital Roman letters, and his name is "split" on either side of the effigy, "Albrecht" on the left, and "Dürer" on

the right. The artist signed the plate with his monogram, ML, “carved” in an illusionistic manner on the parapet below the portrait, together with the date 1550.<sup>2</sup> The letter F (which stands for the engraver’s native city of Flensburg) is nestled in the center of the M.

Lorck represented Dürer in profile, facing right. The German master is distinguished by a large hooked nose with an unusual break at the brow. The artist’s neatly trimmed beard covers his square protruding chin, and his full mustache curls to touch his cheeks. Dürer’s eyes protrude slightly below his thin arched eyebrows, and his expression is stoic and serious. He wears a well-tailored pleated shirt with a delicately ruffed collar, covered by a heavy garment trimmed with fur. Although Dürer’s face and clothing are striking, his magnificent hair is the most intriguing element in the print. His pale curly mane takes up over one-third of the composition, and distinct ringlets hang over the artist’s right temple, touching his shoulder and parting to reveal his right ear.

Below the effigy, Dürer’s hair is referenced in the Latin inscription written on a *cartellino* (a fictive sheet of paper or vellum) below the bust. Lorck created the illusion that this *cartellino* was pinned to the stone parapet in front of Dürer. An English translation of the epitaph reads as follows:

As one upon whom the Phoebean goddesses bestowed their gifts,  
     as one whom wise Minerva brought forth from her own bosom.  
 Such was he, comely in countenance and hair,  
     he lived five years times ten plus six.  
 On the effigy of Albrecht Dürer.<sup>3</sup>

An in depth analysis of the wording of this inscription appears later in this article. Here it is sufficient to point out that the textual emphasis on the hair relates to the visual prominence of the artist’s locks in the print. This study argues that Lorck’s focus on Dürer’s hair attests to the continued success of the Nuremberg master’s lifetime campaign to make his curls a bodily trademark.

### **Melchior Lorck: Gentleman Artist, Admirer of Dürer, and Beneficiary of the Dürer Legacy**

Although historians have no records documenting the birth of Melchior Lorck, the artist’s 1548 engraved portrait of Martin Luther includes an inscription indicating that the printmaker was twenty-one years old when he made the engraving of the protestant leader. Lorck therefore must have been born in 1526 or 1527. The printmaker was a native of Flensburg and identified himself with an M L F monogram (with the “F” inside the M), which stands for “Melchior Lorck Flenburgensis,” or “Melchior Lorck of Flensburg.” Although Flensburg is today part of modern Germany (Lorck is sometimes described in the scholarly literature as a German), he was a Dane, born within the sixteenth-century borders of the kingdom of Denmark.

Much of what scholars know of Lorck’s youth comes from a short autobiography written by the artist in a 1563 letter to King Frederick II of Denmark (1534–1588).



This text was published in 1574 as an introduction to Lorck's book on Turkey, *Soldan Soleyman Turckischen Khaysers*.<sup>4</sup> The artist wrote that he was naturally attracted to the arts from a young age, and that as a youth (probably in the late 1530s and early 1540s), he was apprenticed to a Lübeck goldsmith with whom he traveled around Denmark and the Baltics. After his apprenticeship, Lorck went to Germany and made contacts at the imperial court. Count Palatine Ottheinrich and the bishop of Augsburg (Prince Otto Truchsess von Waldburg) were among his most important patrons during this period.

During the 1550s, Lorck continued to work in Germany and received patronage from Ferdinand I, brother, deputy, and eventual successor to the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V.<sup>5</sup> Ferdinand sent Lorck on an important diplomatic mission to Turkey that probably took place between 1555 and 1559. In a letter dated February 22, 1564, Ferdinand recognized Lorck's service in Turkey, while at the same time confirming and renewing the artist's noble status.<sup>6</sup>

In the 1560s and 1570s, Lorck worked in Vienna and Northern Germany. During this period, he created a series of woodcuts based on his Turkish drawings representing the people, costumes, architecture, landscape, and customs of the Anatolian region. Some of these prints were published during the artist's lifetime and others after his death. In 1580, Lorck was appointed court painter to King Frederick II of Denmark in Copenhagen. For unknown reasons, the king withdrew the appointment in 1582, and the artist is last documented in 1583, a date sometimes presumed to be the year of his death.

As an artist, Lorck is stylistically associated with the German masters of the sixteenth century. His earliest drawings and prints reflect the influence of Albrecht Dürer and his followers, in particular Hans Sebald Lautensack and the so-called little masters. Later works by the Danish artist reflect his familiarity with Italian prints, in particular with works by Venetian artists.

The *Portrait of Albrecht Dürer* was made early in Lorck's career, a period for which scholars have little documentation. Before making the portrait, however, the young Lorck demonstrated an awareness of the art of Dürer with one of his first surviving engravings, a 1546 copy in reverse of the great German master's 1512 dry point *St. Jerome Seated near a Pollard Willow*.<sup>7</sup> The making of this engraving indicates that Lorck, like many artists of the period, respected and emulated Dürer as a printmaker.

When the twenty-six-year-old Danish engraver again demonstrated his interest in his German predecessor with the posthumous *Portrait of Albrecht Dürer*, he created a dignified profile likeness of the Nuremberg master attired in fine clothing and eulogized with a Latin epitaph. Although the circumstances surrounding the making and dissemination of the engraving remain unknown, one can assume that Lorck (and perhaps an unknown patron) admired Dürer and participated in a growing movement among sixteenth-century Europeans to commemorate the Nuremberg artist visually (more about this movement to follow). The presence of the Latin inscription, the textual references to Roman mythology, and the classically inspired profile bust all confer cultural status on Dürer and indicate an erudite and sophisticated intended audience for the print.



The noble-born Lorck was in a position to profit from this exaltation of Dürer as an intellectual and humanist hero. By honoring Dürer, Lorck promoted the German master as a paradigm of artists, worthy of the highest honors and the utmost respect. In a period when many painters and printmakers were still struggling to achieve “gentleman” status, Dürer served as an ideal exemplar—an artist whose talents and intellect far exceeded those of mere craftsmen. The visual advancement of the great Nuremberg master validated the young Dane’s choice of career and promoted a precedent for the recognition of Lorck and other artists as the equals of other members of the cultural elite class.



Fig. 2. After Hans Schwarz (German, 1492–after 1535). *Portrait of Albrecht Dürer*, late sixteenth century after cast of 1520 original, bronze medal. British Museum, London, cat. no. 1875, 1004.1. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

### The Source of the Likeness in Lorck’s Portrait

Lorck copied the general design of his engraved *Portrait of Albrecht Dürer* from a 1520 medallion sculpted by Hans Schwarz during Dürer’s lifetime (Fig. 2).<sup>8</sup> Dürer was one of a small group of German Renaissance artists to sanction portrait medals of himself, and this commission reflects his active participation in the fashionable Renaissance practice of making and exchanging small portable medallions.<sup>9</sup>

There is no record of the Schwarz commission, but several documents seem to relate to it. The first is a drawing by Dürer in the British Museum that portrays

two studies for the reverse of a portrait medal (Fig. 3). Both studies include Latin inscriptions, the longer of which translates, “Image of Albrecht Dürer, German, which he made personally of himself at the age of 48 in the year of grace 1519.”<sup>10</sup> Although the words “made personally of himself” indicate that Dürer either created or planned to create a self-portrait to adorn a medallion, no known drawing for the obverse of such a medal survives. Dürer did, however, write in his Netherlandish diary in September of 1520 that he had sent money to the medalist Hans Schwarz for a portrait, stating, “I sent Hans Schwarz 2 gulden in gold for my picture, in a letter by the Antwerp Fuggers to Augsburg.”<sup>11</sup> This payment is undoubtedly connected with the production of the Schwarz portrait medallion.

Because there is no image on the back of Schwarz’s single-sided medal to link it with Dürer’s 1519 drawing, scholars cannot be certain that the two works are related. Both were, however, made at approximately the same time, and although most experts believe that Schwarz designed



Fig. 3. Albrecht Dürer (German, 1471–1528). *Two Studies for the Reverse of a Medal Portrait of the Artist*, 1519, pen and brown ink. British Museum, London, cat. no. SL, 5218.67. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

the medal portrait, it is possible that Dürer provided the medalist with a now lost autograph drawing that the medalist copied and/or adapted.<sup>12</sup>

Whatever the case, Dürer's patronage of Schwarz indicates that the effigy represented on the medal (and, by extension, that shown in Lorck's engraving) was consistent with the visual persona that the great German master hoped to craft for himself. From the last decade of the fifteenth century onward, Dürer made a conscious effort to control his public image through the making and commissioning of self-portraits. The Schwarz medal on which Lorck's portrait is based is the last in a long line of artworks either made or sanctioned by Dürer that promoted an image of the artist with distinctive long hair. To understand how sixteenth-century viewers would have responded to Lorck's imagery, it is important to understand the long and complex history of Dürer's public image.

### **Dürer's Self-Fashioned Public Image, Part One: The Independent Self-Portraits**

During the Renaissance, many Europeans developed an interest in constructing and controlling their social identities through portraiture. Patrons collaborated with artists to shape likenesses, and controllable variables such as clothing, hairstyle, makeup, posture, and gesture all conveyed political, religious, economic, and social messages to viewers. While Europe's aristocratic and ecclesiastic leaders had long been conscious of their ability to use portraiture to manipulate public perceptions, other individuals became much more aware of the possibility of self-fashioning in the Renaissance period.<sup>13</sup>

Albrecht Dürer has been celebrated as one of the first early modern masters of self-fashioning and promotion. His famous AD monogram, for example, is a brilliant early example of personal trade marking. Dürer used the monogram as a visual marker for identity, authenticity, fine workmanship, and aesthetic quality. The initials were more easily recognized than a signature, and they functioned something like a contemporary company logo.<sup>14</sup>

Dürer's marketing genius is also evidenced in the promotion of his own image. Centuries before Salvador Dali and Andy Warhol used their flamboyant appearances as marketing tools, Dürer realized that he could better achieve "superstar" status if people were familiar with his likeness as well as his artwork.<sup>15</sup> Dürer's awareness of the possibility of manipulating and publicizing his own image to enhance his fame and fortune was unusual. Although some earlier painters, sculptors, and printmakers created self-portraits or discretely inserted images of themselves into larger commissions, Albrecht Dürer was the first early modern master to develop a sophisticated understanding of his power to use his body as a signifier in a broad self-marketing campaign.<sup>16</sup>

A particularly important aspect of Dürer's depictions of his body is the representation of his long curly hair, a prominent compositional element in the later Lorck portrait. From an early date, the German artist made a conscious effort to promote his hair as a highly recognizable, signature feature of his image. Of the seven paintings that survive that can be confidently identified as containing Dürer self-portraits, all but the earliest include the artist's long curls as visual components. Self-conscious inscriptions



Fig. 4. Albrecht Dürer (German, 1471–1528). *Self-Portrait*, 1493, oil. Louvre Museum, Paris, R. F. 2382. Image courtesy of the author.



Fig. 5. Albrecht Dürer (German, 1471–1528). *Self-Portrait*, 1498, oil. Prado Museum, Madrid, cat. no. PO2179. Image courtesy of the author.

accompany each of these images, indicating that they were designed for display in social settings; some to family and friends and some to larger audiences. Although Dürer also represented himself in several fascinating self-portrait drawings, these were more private works and do not fall within the scope of this study.<sup>17</sup>

In Dürer's earliest surviving self-portrait painting (created in 1493 and now in the Louvre, Paris), the twenty-two-year-old Nuremberg master portrayed himself with shoulder-length hair hanging in loose waves (Fig. 4).<sup>18</sup> Evidence that this was the natural appearance of Dürer's untreated hair appears in the artist's 1484 self-portrait drawing at the age of thirteen (now in the Albertina Museum, Vienna) and in the 1493 drawing, *Self-Portrait with a Cushion*, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Both drawings depict a similar slight curl or wave in the artist's hair.<sup>19</sup>

The Louvre self-portrait does not yet reflect Dürer's later interest in accentuating the beauty of his tresses by manipulating their appearance. Significantly, the picture is signed, dated, and inscribed with the words, "My affairs fare as ordained from above."<sup>20</sup> These words, together with the sprig of eryngium (sea holly), a plant sometimes associated with love and sexual potency, have led some scholars to speculate that the 1493 portrait was associated with Dürer's engagement to his future wife, Agnes Frey.<sup>21</sup> The self-conscious presence of the date, signature, and inscription indicate that the picture was designed to be seen by others, probably relatives, friends, and visitors to Dürer's home or that of his family.

Dürer's hair changed dramatically in his second painted self-portrait, created in 1498

and now in the Prado, Madrid (Fig. 5). In this image the painter's hair falls in long, neatly arranged ringlets, each lock curling in a similar "corkscrew" coil.

Assuming that Dürer accurately represented his appearance in both the Paris and Madrid self-portraits, one must suppose that the wavy locks of the former were artificially curled in the latter. In 1498, the curly mane pictured in the Madrid painting reflected a popular youthful hairstyle of the late fifteenth century, and the coiffure complemented Dürer's less fashionable, but distinctive, mustache and beard.<sup>22</sup> The artist probably achieved his corkscrew curls by using curling tongs or rollers to twist each lock painstakingly into similar coils.<sup>23</sup> He may have also treated his hair with egg whites or other substances to facilitate and control curling. In the 1494 book *The Ship of Fools* (which Dürer helped illustrate), Sebastian Brandt discusses such techniques in a section entitled "Of Innovations:"

An erstwhile quite distasteful thing  
 Now has a plain, familiar ring  
 An honor twas a beard to grow  
 Effeminate dandies now say no!  
 Smear apish grease on face and hair  
 And leave the neck entirely bare,  
 With rings and many heavy chain,  
 As though they were in Lienhart's train;  
 Vile sulphur, resin curl their hair,  
 An egg white's added too, with care,  
 That curls may form in basket-pan,  
 The curls amid the breeze they fan,  
 Or bleach them white in sun and heat,  
 For lice no ordinary treat.<sup>24</sup>



Fig. 6. Attributed to the Haintz-Nar-Meister (German, active late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries). Woodcut illustration for chapter four of Sebastian Brandt's *Ship of Fools* (Basel, 1494). Photo courtesy of the Dover Pictorial Archive, New York.

In the original Basel edition of *The Ship of Fools*, a woodcut attributed to the Haintz-Nar-Meister illustrates these verses. The woodcut depicts a fool holding up a mirror for an elegantly dressed young man who wears his hair in long curls (Fig. 6).<sup>25</sup> Although less curly, the figure's coiffure is reminiscent of Dürer's hairstyle in the Madrid self-portrait and likewise bears witness to the late fifteenth-century fashion for long curled hair.

Dürer's fashionable hairdo is just one element that makes the Madrid self-portrait more pretentious than the artist's earlier self-image in the Louvre. In the later painting, a translation of the elegantly scripted German inscription reads, "I painted this from my own appearance; I was twenty-six years old / Albrecht Dürer." As art historian Joseph Koerner has observed, the declaration that the artist is also the sitter boldly distinguishes this image from other likenesses and defines the picture as a self-portrait.<sup>26</sup>

Moreover, by mentioning his age, Dürer promotes himself as a prodigy, able to create an astonishing self-likeness as a young man. Below the signature, Dürer placed his AD monogram.<sup>27</sup> This was the first appearance of the device in a panel painting, and its presence provides further evidence that the picture was a social instrument in the artist's personal self-promotion campaign.

In 1498, Dürer's anticipated audience for his Madrid portrait almost certainly included people other than family and close friends. By this time, the artist was making a concerted effort to manipulate his body to communicate messages to a sophisticated array of spectators. In the Madrid picture, the painter presents himself as a handsome man of high social standing. Although the artist was born into the artisan class, he reinvents himself here as a refined and stylish gentleman. The Madrid portrait was created in the same year that Dürer published his acclaimed *Apocalypse* woodcut series, and the artist's clothing and coiffure manifest his newfound financial and social success.<sup>28</sup> Dürer wears a stylish black and white outfit ostensibly trimmed with expensive black velvet. His tasseled hat is in an Italian style, while his fine doeskin gloves were a specialty of Renaissance Nuremberg. He sits before a window in an architectural setting similar to those seen in fashionable Italian portraits.<sup>29</sup> Although the original intended audience for the picture is unclear, it is reasonable to suspect that the painting was initially displayed in a private context (or contexts) closely associated with Dürer. It is also reasonable to assume that it was designed to be seen by spectators that by 1498 included a growing number of humanists and politically powerful individuals whom the artist hoped to impress and influence.

Visual records indicate that Dürer maintained his distinctive long curls throughout the first and second decades of the sixteenth century, even as he aged, and the hairstyle fell out of fashion. During this time, the artist seems to have been quite interested in his bodily appearance. In a 1506 letter to his friend Willibald Pirckheimer (a Nuremberg lawyer and humanist), Dürer expressed concern that he had "found a grey hair" on himself, and the artist's vanity was the subject of affable ridicule among his friends.<sup>30</sup> In 1507, Lorenz Beheim, a canon of Bamberg Cathedral, mocked the artist in letters to Pirckheimer, asking the humanist to "let me know if he [Dürer] still points and curls his beard." Beheim also joked that it might be difficult to receive a requested drawing from Dürer because the artist dedicated so much time to the care of his "beak-like beard, which he must twist and curl every day."<sup>31</sup> These comments suggest that the painter may have devoted similar attention to the coiled locks on his head.



Fig. 7. Albrecht Dürer (German, 1471–1528). *Self-Portrait*, 1500, oil. Alte Pinakothek, Munich, inv. no. 537. Image courtesy of the author.



In Dürer's most famous self-portrait, painted in 1500 (now in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich), the artist's hair is a striking element of the composition (Fig. 7). The frontal, symmetrical pose calls attention to the German master's mane of curls falling to his shoulders in an equilateral triangle. The artist wears a luxurious garment trimmed with expensive fur and lifts his right hand to touch the beautifully painted pelt (Dürer wears a similar fur-trimmed garment in Lorck's engraved portrait). His coiffure is arranged in long elegant ringlets, and Dürer delineated numerous individual strands of hair. Like the curls in the 1498 self-portrait, the ringlets in the Munich picture were undoubtedly artificially coiled and manipulated.

Many scholars have commented on the resemblance of the Munich self-portrait to earlier depictions of Jesus Christ.<sup>32</sup> The full-face image, not usually seen in portraiture of the Renaissance, is reminiscent of iconic representations of the *Salvator Mundi* and images of Christ's face on Veronica's veil. Moreover, art historian Dieter Wuttke has suggested that Dürer may have darkened his blond locks in the picture to make them seem more Christ-like.<sup>33</sup> Traditionally, Jesus was shown with brown hair in European Christological images, and Christ's hair was described as "the hue of unripe hazel nut" in the Lentulus Letter, a spurious document that most Renaissance scholars believed was an eyewitness description of Christ's physiognomy.<sup>34</sup> The letter described not only Jesus' hair but also other aspects of his appearance:

[He had a] reverend countenance which they that look upon may love and fear: having hair the hue of an unripe hazel nut and smooth almost down to his ears, but from the ears in curling locks somewhat darker and more shining, waving over his shoulders; having a parting at the middle of the head according to the fashion of the Nazareans; a brow smooth and very calm, with a face without wrinkle or any blemish, which a moderate color makes beautiful. With the nose and mouth no fault can be found; having a full beard the color of his hair, not long, but a little forked at the chin; having an expression simple and mature, the eyes gray, glancing and clear;<sup>35</sup>

This description conforms closely to the visage represented in Dürer's self-portrait, and as David Hotchkiss Price has observed, the practice of grounding an image in a supposedly authentic ancient source was consistent with the *modus operandi* of Dürer and the Renaissance humanists with whom he associated.<sup>36</sup>

The religious and ceremonial allusions in the Munich self-portrait would have communicated a myriad of messages to a sixteenth-century audience, and the mountain of scholarship on this subject can be addressed only summarily here. For this study, the most relevant commentary is that of art historian Joseph Koerner, who has argued, among other things, that the marvelously painted hair in the Munich painting constitutes a concrete manifestation of the painter's genius that would have seemed almost miraculous to Renaissance viewers.<sup>37</sup> In his monumental study, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art*, Koerner suggests that Dürer's hair was closely connected with the master's personal identity, describing the artist's locks and

beard as “synecdoches for his whole bodily being.” Koerner goes on to argue that, although the curled tresses might reflect the painter’s human vanity and animal nature (especially in their close proximity to the animal fur of the master’s clothing), they also remained “that place where the artist as beautiful body coincided exactly with the aesthetic perfection of his art.”<sup>38</sup>

While the inscriptions on Dürer’s earlier self-portraits are in German, the text that accompanies the Munich picture is in Latin. This inscription adds to the formality of the image and encourages viewers to recognize Dürer as a humanist and an intellectual. Written in a classic Roman script, a translation reads, “I, Albrecht Dürer of Nuremberg painted myself thus with my own colors, at the age of twenty-eight years.”<sup>39</sup> The inscription is positioned to the right of the portrait. A symmetrically placed AD monogram appears to the left of the likeness below the date 1500 (here the AD represents both Dürer’s initials and the Latin abbreviation *anno Domini*). Like the inscription on the Madrid self-portrait, the Munich text notifies viewers that the sitter for the picture and the artist are one.

The picture’s Latin inscription also implies a presumptive audience of well-educated spectators that might include people from non-German-speaking countries. Its presence enhances the self-conscious quality of the image and connects it with the circle of Nuremberg humanists with whom Dürer associated in 1500. At the time the picture was painted, the scholar Conrad Celtes composed five epigrams in praise of Dürer written in the same Roman Antiqua script that one sees in the inscription on the Munich self-portrait. In the epigrams, Celtes compared Dürer to the ancient artists Phidias and Apelles and claimed that the artist’s self-portrait (possibly the Munich painting) was so life-like that Dürer’s dog licked the face of the effigy.<sup>40</sup>

Celtes considered the year 1500 to be a defining moment in world history and launched a massive publishing project to coincide with the half-millennium. Scholars have argued that the original function of Dürer’s 1500 self-portrait may have been related to such contemporary attempts to mark this turning point in history. In the half-millennium year, Dürer may have wished to create a monumental and Christ-like self-image that marked this epochal transition into a new era. The image visualized Dürer’s personal commitment to Christ and spiritual rebirth in the new century, while also alluding to the artist’s god-like and quasi-miraculous creative powers.<sup>41</sup>

The ceremonial formality of the image and text, together with the “trademark” AD monogram, indicate that the Munich self-portrait represented an image that Dürer hoped would be seen, recognized, and remembered. Although the original context and circumstances of the picture’s display in the early sixteenth century remain unknown, the artist may have exhibited the painting to a sophisticated and influential audience of viewers (such as Conrad Celtes) whom he hoped to affect and impress.

By the time of Dürer’s death in 1528, the Munich self-portrait may have been displayed in a public setting. Koerner argues that it was probably available for viewing at this time in the city hall in Nuremberg. He cites an epicedium for Dürer, written shortly after the master’s death, by the humanist Helius Eobanus Hessus, in which the sixteenth-century writer declares, “The official hand, thankful of your services, will preserve your



face in its image. When it is seen by someone, they shall say, your fame lives and has eternal duration."<sup>42</sup> The idea that the Munich painting was publicly exhibited in the sixteenth century is supported by Karel van Mander, who reports seeing the picture in 1577 in Nuremberg's city hall.<sup>43</sup>

The three above-mentioned self-portraits in Paris, Madrid, and Munich were all created before Dürer reached the age of thirty. Each represents a distinctly different vision of the artist's "self," and their variation testifies to the painter's interest in shaping both his personal and his social identity. After 1500, no more independent self-portrait paintings by Dürer survive, although in around 1515, the German artist purportedly painted an extraordinary likeness of himself that he sent to the Italian painter Raphael in Rome. This picture was described by Giorgio Vasari in his 1568 edition of *The Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, and it was supposedly sent to Raphael in exchange for several of the latter's drawings.<sup>44</sup> Giulio Romano, Raphael's protégé, showed Vasari the picture in the second or third quarter of the sixteenth century. The author of the *Lives* marveled at the image, writing that Dürer had "so well rendered the hairs of the beard, that it was a thing scarcely possible to imagine, much less to do."<sup>45</sup>

By sending his self-portrait to Raphael, Dürer cultivated his international reputation. The Nuremberg master undoubtedly hoped his Italian counterpart would admire the picture and show it to others. The fact that the painting was a self-portrait enhanced its effectiveness, and Vasari's discussion of the picture attests to its success as a self-promotional tool.

### Dürer's Self-Fashioned Public Image, Part Two: The Self-Portraits *In Assistenza*

While no post-1500 self-portraits are extant, Dürer inserted small likenesses of himself into four large and important religious commissions created in the first and second decades of the sixteenth century. These images have been called self-portraits *in assistenza* (in assistance). Each represents Dürer as a subsidiary figure who "assists" both the artist and viewer by "displaying" information that announces his name and the pictures' dates on fictive inscribed banners, scrolls, or tablets.<sup>46</sup>

As a group, these mini self-portraits advance a relatively consistent visual persona for Dürer that is very different from the multifaceted, disparate identities one sees represented in the three independent self-portraits. While the Nuremberg master was in his twenties, he was still constructing his public image. By 1506, the thirty-three-year-old had established a "signature" likeness that remained more or less consistent in all the self-portraits *in assistenza* that he produced between that date and 1511. A striking aspect of each likeness is the artist's long hair, a feature that would later reappear in Lorck's engraved portrait of the artist.

On the most superficial level, the consistency of Dürer's appearance in the self-portraits *in assistenza* was a pioneering marketing strategy that can be likened to techniques used by modern companies to establish corporate identities. Through a process called "branding," today's companies urge customers and potential customers to associate a consistent set of ideas, images, and symbols with a particular product

or service. Branding helps differentiate a corporation's offerings from those of its competitors and encourages customer loyalty.<sup>47</sup> Dürer's mini self-portraits worked in tandem with his AD monogram to promote recognition of his artistic "products" and loyalty to his personal "brand."

In 1973, the French art historian André Chastel recognized the originality of Dürer's self-portraits *in assistenza*. For the first time in the history of art, Dürer had combined the embedded self-portrait with the signed *cartellino*, an Italian device in which a fictive sheet or tablet is inscribed with an artist's name or other inscription.<sup>48</sup> This combination of elements allowed the portraits to resonate more forcefully with their viewers.

Another original aspect of the self-portraits *in assistenza* relates to Dürer's innovative interpretation of advice given to painters by the Renaissance art theorist Leon Battista Alberti. Manuscript copies of Alberti's 1436 book, *On Painting*, circulated throughout Italy and beyond in the fifteenth century.<sup>49</sup> The concepts described in the book, including linear perspective, influenced artists throughout Europe. Art historians Erwin Panofsky, Fedja Anzelewsky, and others believe that by 1506 Dürer was familiar with Alberti's text, from either direct or indirect sources.<sup>50</sup> In *On Painting*, Alberti advises artists to add "commentating" figures to their narrative scenes that mediate between the space of the painting and the space of the viewer:

In an *istoria* [narrative or allegorical painting], I like to see someone who admonishes and points out to us what is happening there. . . . Thus whatever the painted persons do among themselves or with the beholder, all is pointed towards ornamenting or teaching the *istoria*.<sup>51</sup>



Fig. 8. Albrecht Dürer (German, 1471–1528). *Feast of the Rose Garlands*, 1506, oil. National Gallery, Prague, inv. no. O 1552. Image courtesy of the author.

Dürer fashioned himself as an Albertian “commentary figure” in the self-portraits *in assistenza*. All of these likenesses establish psychological relationships with their viewers. Each effigy of Dürer gazes out of his respective painting and makes eye contact with his spectators. Each figure is also identified as the painter of the picture by an inscription, and thus each constructs an extraordinary bond between artist and audience.

In 1506, during a visit to Venice, Dürer painted his first self-portrait *in assistenza* into the picture known as the *Feast of the Rose Garlands* (now in the National Gallery, Prague) (Fig. 8). This altarpiece was commissioned for the church of San Bartolomeo by the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, the headquarters of German commercial and cultural interests in Venice. The monumental painting depicts an enthroned Madonna and Child surrounded by a crowd of believers to whom the Virgin, Jesus, and St. Dominic distribute rose garlands. The most prominent figures kneel directly in front of the Virgin: Pope Julius II on the left and Emperor Maximilian I on the right. Clerics kneel behind the pope, and the laity kneels behind the emperor. Many of the figures seem to be portraits, some of which have been identified.<sup>52</sup> At the back of the crowd, on the right, Dürer pictured himself, standing confidently beside a tree (Fig. 9). The German master wears fine clothes, and his hair falls to his shoulders in golden curls. He alone gazes out at the spectator, and despite the ostensibly warm weather, he wears a luxurious fur-collared garment. In his hand, he holds a scroll of paper or vellum with a Latin inscription that reads, “Executed in the space of five months [by] Albrecht Dürer the German MDVI.”<sup>53</sup> Also on the scroll, below the text, is the artist’s AD monogram.



Fig. 9. Detail. Albrecht Dürer (German, 1471–1528). *Feast of the Rose Garlands*, 1506, oil. National Gallery, Prague, inv. no. O 1552. Image courtesy of the author.

Once again, the inscription helps determine how viewers interpret the picture. Whether or not the words are true, the self-promoting text celebrates Dürer’s technical expertise. In the Renaissance, the speed with which an artist executed a work of art was considered to be a sign of his skill and genius. The great German master may have known that both the ancient writer Pliny the Elder and the Renaissance theorist Leon Battista Alberti considered rapidity of execution to be a sign of artistic virtue.<sup>54</sup> The inscribed scroll held by the effigy thus boastfully asserted (in the intellectual language of the humanists) that Dürer, a German artist, quickly finished a picture that would have taken other masters years to complete.<sup>55</sup>

When Dürer painted the *Feast of the Rose Garlands*, it was one of the most important commissions he had yet received. He took great pride in the picture and bragged that it silenced Venetian critics who had said that he was not a good painter. Dürer was astutely aware of his audience, mentioning in letters to Willibald Pirckheimer that Italian



Fig. 10. Albrecht Dürer (German, 1471–1528). *Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand Christians*, 1508, oil. Kunsthistorische Museum, Vienna, inv. no. GG-835. Image courtesy of the author.

painters had praised the *Feast of the Rose Garlands* and that the Doge and patriarch of Venice had come to see the painting.<sup>56</sup> The artist was clearly conscious that the altarpiece could play a substantial role in establishing his pan-European reputation, and the self-portrait incorporated into the composition helped insure that spectators recognized and remembered Dürer's image, name, and nationality. The representation of the painter wearing fine clothing and an elaborately curled coiffure made a visual statement about the artist's sense of self-importance and social status. The assertion of the artist's German heritage (made verbally with words and visually with the artist's blonde hair) forced Italians to recognize a foreigner as the author of a celebrated painting in their midst. Moreover, the inscription held by the effigy encouraged Germans to associate the admiration of both

the painting and the body of Dürer with German patriotism.

In 1508, Dürer once again included his self-portrait in a large and important painting: *The Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand Christians*, now in the Kunsthistorische Museum in Vienna (Fig. 10). This picture was commissioned by Duke Frederick the Wise of Saxony for the relic chamber of his palace church at Wittenberg.<sup>57</sup> It represents the legendary martyrdom of a group of ten thousand Christians on Mount Ararat during the second century C.E.<sup>58</sup> While the painting reproduces many compositional elements



Fig. 11. Detail. Albrecht Dürer (German, 1471–1528). *Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand Christians*, 1508, oil. Kunsthistorische Museum, Vienna, inv. no. GG-835. Image courtesy of the author.

from Dürer's earlier, fifteenth-century woodcut of the same title, the self-portrait appears only in the painting. The German master boldly pictured himself at the center of the composition, standing next to a companion, probably the recently deceased humanist and poet Conrad Celtes (Fig. 11).<sup>59</sup> The anachronistic presence of the two Renaissance men "interrupts" the historical action of the picture. Dürer wears a fashionable black hat and mantle, and his long mane of curls falls to his shoulders. In 1511, long curly hair was not as fashionable in Europe as it had been in the late fifteenth century.<sup>60</sup> The artist's long locks, therefore, would have been a particularly recognizable and distinguishing aspect of his appearance.

Dürer pictures himself walking with his companion through the hellish scene of violence and murder, like a Dante in hell, accompanied by his own Virgil.<sup>61</sup> The effigy of the artist serves as a mediator between the space of the painting and the space of the audience. The artist looks out in “Albertian” fashion, inviting spectators to join him in “witnessing” this visualization of mass-martyrdom.

Dürer makes his self-portrait more conspicuous by having his effigy hold a banner inscribed with the Latin words, “*Iste faciebat anno domini 1508 Albertus Durer Alemanus*” (Albrecht Dürer the German was making this in the year of our lord 1508). The declaration of nationality, together with authorship, encouraged viewers to associate both Dürer and the painting with pride in German culture. Moreover, as in the Munich self-portrait and *The Feast of the Rose Garlands*, the Latin inscription implies the expectation of an educated and potentially international audience. The use of “faciebat,” the imperfect form of the verb “facere,” is particularly significant. The humanist Christoph Scheurl wrote in 1509 that Pirckheimer had advised Dürer to sign his works using “faciebat” rather than the perfect indicative “fecit.” According to Scheurl, Pirckheimer wanted his artist friend to assume the ancient signatory practice of Apelles, who (according to Pliny) used the imperfect to indicate that the making of a work of art was an ongoing process and never fully complete.<sup>62</sup>

Dürer pictured himself with long hair once again in the celebrated Heller altarpiece of 1509.<sup>63</sup> This much admired work was installed in the church of the Dominicans in Frankfurt, Germany, where it was so popular with the public that the monks made a significant income by charging visitors to see it.<sup>64</sup> Although the altarpiece was completely destroyed by a fire in 1729, a relatively faithful copy (made around 1614 by the artist Jobst Harrich) survives in the Historisches Museum in Frankfurt (Fig. 12).

The picture represented the assumption and coronation of the Virgin in its central panel. In the foreground, the heavenly and earthly worlds are separated vertically, as the apostles in the lower portion of the painting marvel at Mary’s empty tomb and gaze upward at the Virgin crowned in heaven above. In the middle background, a miniature portrait of Dürer occupies a verdant landscape and holds an inscribed tablet (Fig. 13). The artist’s spatial separation



Fig. 12. Jobst Harrich (German, 1586–1617). Detail of the central panel from a copy of Albrecht Dürer’s *Heller Altarpiece*, 1614 (lost original by Albrecht Dürer painted in 1509), oil. Historisches Museum, Frankfurt, inv. no. B-00265. © Historisches Museum Frankfurt/Main. Photo: Horst Ziegenfusz.



Fig. 13. Detail. Jobst Harrich (German, 1586–1617). Copy of Albrecht Dürer’s *Heller Altarpiece*, 1614 (lost original by Albrecht Dürer painted in 1509), oil. Historisches Museum, Frankfurt, inv. no. B-00265. © Historisches Museum Frankfurt/Main. Photo: Horst Ziegenfusz.

from the apostles reflects his temporal distance from the events portrayed. As a man of the sixteenth century, he looks out at his audience and provides a link between present and past.

As in the *Feast of the Rose Garlands* and the *Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand Christians*, Dürer portrayed himself in the Heller Altarpiece wearing fine clothing and long blond curls that cascade to his shoulders. In the latter picture the artist also wears a gentleman's sword (just visible behind his right calf) and points to a tablet with a Latin inscription that reads, "Albrecht Durer, German, was making this, 1509 years after [the birth of] the Virgin's offspring," (ALBERTVS DVRER ALEMANVS FACIEBAT POST VIRGINIS PARTV 1509). Once again, the Latin inscription with its Apelles-like use of the imperfect "faciebat" implied the expectation of a learned, international audience, and the declaration of the artist's nationality encouraged an association of the painting and artist with German patriotism.



Fig. 14. Albrecht Dürer (German, 1471–1528). *Adoration of the Holy Trinity*, 1511, oil. Kunsthistorische Museum, Vienna, inv. no. GG-838. Image courtesy of the author.





Fig. 15. Detail. Albrecht Dürer (German, 1471–1528). *Adoration of the Holy Trinity*, 1511, oil. Kunsthistorische Museum, Vienna, inv. no. GG-838. Image courtesy of the author.

A final public self-portrait appears in Dürer's *Adoration of the Holy Trinity*, commissioned by the Nuremberg merchant Matthias Landauer (Fig. 14). This painting (now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna) originally decorated the public chapel of a retirement home for elderly men founded by Landauer.<sup>65</sup> As such, it served as an extravagant declaration of the wealthy merchant's piety. The composition is dominated by the monumental images of God the Father, Christ, and the Holy Ghost, who inhabit the heavenly space in the upper portion of the picture surrounded by saints and other faithful followers of Christ. The proportionally smaller figure of Dürer occupies an earthly landscape at the bottom of the picture (Fig. 15). He points to a panel inscribed with his name, nationality, and monogram. The Latin inscription reads, "Albrecht Dürer of Nuremberg was making this 1511 years from [the birth

of] the Virgin's offspring," ("ALBERTVS DVRER NORICVS FACIEBAT A VIRGINIS PARTV 1511").

The artist's blond shoulder-length curls fall over the fur collar of his coat as he looks out at the viewer. He occupies a liminal space at the bottom of the painting, visually separated from the heavenly sphere at the picture's center. By making eye contact with the viewer, he establishes a link between the audience, himself, and the earthly landscape he occupies. Viewers are encouraged to marvel at this visualization of the holy mystery of the Trinity, while at the same time acknowledging that this vision is an artist's creation. Although Dürer might inspire viewers with his magnificent image, as a human being, both he and his audience remain physically separated from complete comprehension of such heavenly "realities" while they walk the earth.

In all four self-portraits *in assistenza*, Dürer's beautiful and unusual hair is an instantly recognizable feature that differentiates the German artist from other men and makes his portraits more memorable. During the Renaissance, *The Feast of the Rose Garlands*, *The Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand Christians*, *The Heller Altarpiece*, and *The Adoration of the Holy Trinity* were all housed in religious institutions where they could be seen by a broad audience. All would have been accessible to important political, religious, and cultural leaders, and all promoted a consistent vision of Dürer's appearance that contributed to the public's shared awareness of the artist's physical persona.



### Dürer's Self-Fashioned Public Image, Part Three: The Lifetime Portrait Medals

Dürer was still promoting his long curls as a signature feature in 1520 when he commissioned Hans Schwarz to create the portrait medal that served as the model for Melchior Lorck's portrait engraving (Fig. 2).<sup>66</sup> As mentioned earlier, Dürer commissioned Hans Schwarz to produce the medal, and as such, it was an authorized portrait sanctioned and distributed by the Nuremberg artist.

In Schwarz's medal, as in many of Dürer's self-portraits, a Latin inscription, ALBRECHT DVRER PICTORTS GERMANICUS, imbues the image with a sophisticated and international quality, while the assertion of the artist's German identity adds a nationalistic element. Schwarz's representation of Dürer's long hair as a primary compositional element reinforces the function of the hair as a bodily "trademark" and instantly recognizable feature.

The second lifetime portrait medal authorized by Dürer documents a dramatic change in the artist's appearance at the end of his life. In 1527, Mathes Gebel produced a portrait medal showing Dürer with short, straight hair (Fig. 16).<sup>67</sup> The medallion depicts the artist in profile with a page-boy haircut. The portrait is surrounded by a Latin inscription IMAGO ALBERTI DVRERI AETATIS SVAE LVI," which in translation reads, "IMAGE OF ALBRECHT DÜRER AGE 56." On the reverse is Dürer's coat of arms and an inscription, "INCLITA VIRTUS M D XXVII, which translates "HIS VIRTUE IS CELEBRATED 1527."<sup>68</sup> By sanctioning Gebel's medal, Dürer manifested a desire to change his public persona and reject his signature curls. The new hairstyle certainly conformed more closely to contemporary fashions than did the old. It was also more practical and appropriate for a man of Dürer's advanced age. Nevertheless, the artist's decision to have himself publically portrayed without his trademark curls disrupted the effectiveness of the bodily "brand" Dürer had so carefully cultivated throughout his career.



Fig. 16. Mathes Gebel (German, 1500–1574).  
Portrait of Albrecht Dürer, 1528, bronze medallion.  
British Museum, London, cat. no. 1925.0310.112.  
© The Trustees of The British Museum.

### The Place of Melchior Lorck's Portrait in the Construction of Dürer's Posthumous Identity

After Dürer's death in 1528, a new market emerged for products bearing his image. Schwarz and Gebel's medals were reissued, and a Nuremberg printmaker, probably Erhard Schön, exploited the demand by producing a woodcut portrait of Dürer based on Gebel's medal (Fig. 17).<sup>69</sup> This print was very popular, and its success reflects a desire among sixteenth-century consumers for commemorative images of Dürer immediately after the great master's demise. The Schön woodcut was copied and



Fig. 17. Erhard Schön (German, 1491–1542). *Portrait of Albrecht Dürer*, ca. 1528–1529, woodcut. British Museum, London, cat. no. 1885.0509.1587. © The Trustees of The British Museum.

during the master's sojourn in Venice in 1505–1506, and in 1520 the elder artist reported selling Baldung's prints together with his own in the Netherlands.<sup>71</sup> It is unclear whether Baldung requested his former master's hair lock or whether the skein was sent to the younger artist unsolicited. Whatever the case, Baldung and his successors preserved the lock as a relic for future generations.<sup>72</sup>

It is into this context of almost saint-like veneration that one must place Lorck's *Portrait of Albrecht Dürer*. In the early sixteenth century, most encomiastic portrait engravings and woodcuts represented political or religious figures. Very few printed portraits of artists were produced for public consumption.<sup>73</sup> The Schön and Lorck portraits are among the earliest commemorative prints representing artists to have widespread distribution. As images reproduced in multiple copies, they had the potential to reach broad and diverse audiences. Although modeled on encomiastic medallions, these prints would have been much more affordable

reissued several times during the century, and many early impressions include the text of a commemorative poem written in German by Hans Sachs in 1528 to honor Dürer.

Despite the popularity of Schön's woodcut, the memory of the long- and curly-haired Dürer did not die. The German master's own self-portraits (and to a lesser extent, Schwarz's medal and Lorck's engraving) eventually exerted a stronger influence on the minds of later audiences than did Schön and Gebel's portraits.<sup>70</sup> Indeed, the ongoing emblematic significance of Dürer's curls is manifested in the survival of a skein of the master's hair in the Vienna Academy (Fig. 18). According to Sebald Büheler, a sixteenth-century owner of this unusual relic, two days after Dürer's death, the blond lock was cut from the master's head and sent to his pupil Hans Baldung Grien. Baldung was a friend and protégé of Dürer's who had entered the Nuremberg master's workshop in 1503. Later Dürer entrusted Baldung with the supervision of the workshop



Fig. 18. Lock of Albrecht Dürer's hair, 1528 (silver and glass box, 1871). Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Vienna.



Fig. 19. Giulio Bonasone (German, 1471–1528). *Portrait of Michelangelo Buonarroti*, 1546, engraving. Image courtesy Bassenge Gallery and Auction House, Berlin.

than the medallions, and many more copies could be made available to consumers. Their creation and circulation reflect Dürer's extraordinary fame and status as a deceased "celebrity" in the sixteenth century.

Although Lorck's image shares many qualities with Schön's earlier woodcut, it is decidedly more sophisticated. Lorck chose to create an engraving rather than a woodcut, and sixteenth-century audiences would have been aware that intaglio prints were more expensive and required a higher level of skill to produce. The Danish artist also elevated the status of his image by choosing Latin as the language for his inscription rather than German. These qualities may reflect Lorck's awareness of Italian art and his interest in creating an image with pan-European appeal. Indeed, evidence that Lorck's print was distributed in Italy survives in an anonymous

Italian copy of the engraving in red chalk housed in the Cincinnati Art Museum. This drawing, dating to the late sixteenth century, copies Lorck's portrait and its split identifying inscription, Italianizing Dürer's name as "Alberto Duro."<sup>74</sup>

Lorck may have hoped his print would help make Dürer an international media celebrity on the level of Michelangelo Buonarroti, whose engraved portrait had been issued in several variations by Giulio Bonasone in 1546 (Fig. 19).<sup>75</sup> If Lorck knew Bonasone's engraving of Michelangelo, the Danish artist may have created his *Portrait of Albrecht Dürer* as a visual response to the Italian engraving. Both portraits represent their sitters in classical profile above encomiastic Latin epitaphs.<sup>76</sup> As such, both celebrate their respective subjects as international humanist exemplars.

Lorck's print clearly played a part in a broad campaign on the part of Northern artists and humanists to promote Dürer as a cultural leader and luminary. This campaign began during Dürer's lifetime, when several humanist writers celebrated the Nuremberg master as the founder of a great era of artistic achievement in Germany. In 1500, the humanist Conrad Celtes described Dürer as "a new Phidias in our midst, and a new Apelles."<sup>77</sup> Other humanists likewise lauded Dürer as a leading light in Germany's cultural Renaissance. In particular, Christoph Scheurl described Dürer in 1509 as bringing back to the arts the beauty and esteem that they had held in antiquity. Dürer is called a "German Apelles," and Scheurl claims that Dürer was venerated as such even in Italy.<sup>78</sup> When Dürer died in 1528, humanists responded to the event as a great cultural loss to Germany and Nuremberg. The poet Helius Eobanus Hessus lamented that the walls of Nuremberg "wept" for the artist, and the scholar Philipp Melanchthon wrote, "I grieve that Germany is bereft of such a man and artist."<sup>79</sup>

The celebration of Dürer's physical body was an important aspect of the artist's posthumous "re-incarnation" as an icon of German culture and the arts. The above-mentioned survival of a lock of the artist's hair is one manifestation of this phenomenon, as is the publication of Lorck's engraving and other posthumous images representing the Nuremberg master. Likewise, the posthumous making of a death mask of Dürer's face, as well as casts of his hands, attests to the cult-like veneration of the artist's body by his admirers.<sup>60</sup>

Literary texts also testify to the importance of the dead Dürer's physical body as a cultural signifier in the sixteenth century. In 1532, in his introduction to the Latin translation of Dürer's posthumously published treatise on human proportions, *De symmetria partium humanorum corporum*, Joachim Camerarius wrote a short biography of the artist, which includes a rather extensive passage celebrating the Nuremberg painter's physical being:

Nature bestowed on him a body remarkable in build and stature and not unworthy of the noble mind it contained; that in this too Nature's Justice, extolled by Hippocrates, might not be forgotten—that Justice, which, while it assigns a grotesque form to the ape's grotesque soul, is wont also to clothe noble minds in bodies worthy of them. His head was intelligent, his eyes flashing, his nose nobly formed and, as the Greeks say, perfect. His neck was rather long, his chest broad, his body not too stout, his thighs muscular, his legs firm and steady. But his fingers—you would vow you had never seen anything more elegant.<sup>61</sup>

Lorck's 1550 *Portrait of Albrecht Dürer* (Fig. 1) continues the tradition of celebrating Dürer's body and may reflect an awareness of Camerarius's text. Dürer's treatise on human proportions was an important source book for artists in Northern Europe, and the well-educated Lorck was almost certainly familiar with it.<sup>62</sup> One could argue that Lorck's Dürer has an "intelligent" visage, with prominent "flashing" eyes. Moreover, the inscription that accompanies the image explicitly states that the artist had an attractive face and beautiful hair.

Lorck may have believed that the concept of the "beautiful Dürer" described in Camerarius's text was most effectively visualized in an image of the longhaired master. In an era when print consumers who sought images of the great Nuremberg artist were limited to reprints of Schön's woodcut portrait, Lorck recognized the resonance and power of the great master's hair as a visual symbol. Lorck's engraving revived the image of Dürer with his splendid long locks and, in so doing, resurrected the Nuremberg artist's magnificent curly hair as a powerful and enduring signifier of his person.

As mentioned earlier, the inscription that accompanies the image in Lorck's *Portrait of Albrecht Dürer* further emphasizes the importance of the hair as a visual symbol. An in-depth analysis of this text reveals that the words reinforce many of the image's visual messages. Written in elegiac couplets, the epitaph was clearly composed by a humanist eager to associate Dürer with the great men of classical antiquity. The Latin words complement the classicized profile portrait, which, like the Schwarz medal on which

it was based, consciously recalls effigies on Greek and Roman coins and medallions. Moreover, the classical implications of both the image and the inscription indicate that the engraving was designed for a humanist audience. Line by line, the inscription reads as follows:

As one upon whom the Phoebean goddesses bestowed their gifts,  
 as one whom wise Minerva brought forth from her own bosom:  
 Such was he, comely in countenance and hair,  
 he lived five years times ten plus six.  
 On the effigy of Albrecht Dürer.

“The Phoebean goddesses,” are probably the Muses, deities associated with artistic inspiration and with the sun god Apollo (also called Phoebus). In ancient mythology, the Muses were spiritual guides who embodied and inspired artistic creations. Classical authors generally recognized nine Muses, who were linked with the arts of poetry, tragedy, music, history, and astronomy.<sup>83</sup> The Muses were not, however, specifically associated with the visual arts until the fifteenth century, when some Renaissance thinkers argued for the recognition of painting, sculpture, and architecture as humanist disciplines. At this time, artists and writers began to create and describe Muse-like personifications of the fine arts. The elegist who wrote the inscription on Lorck’s engraving participates in this tradition. By linking the “Phoebean goddesses” with Dürer, the writer promotes the recognition of the Nuremberg master as the equal of a great musician or poet: *ut pictura poesis* (as is painting, so is poetry).<sup>84</sup>

In the second line of the epitaph, the writer describes Dürer as an “offspring” of Minerva. Minerva was the Roman incarnation of the Greek goddess Athena, a virgin deity associated with wisdom, warriors, artisans, and commerce.<sup>85</sup> She was not born of woman, but from the head of the god Jupiter. Dürer, likewise, is described as being “brought forth” from the bosom of Minerva. On an allegorical level, the author of the epitaph represented the artist as superhuman, born directly from the bosom of the Goddess of wisdom and craft. Such a declaration was consistent with Dürer’s reputation as a god-like creator of astonishing, almost miraculous, imagery.

The third line of the inscription describes the artist’s physical beauty—a quality to which the print supposedly bears witness. By mentioning Dürer’s beauty, the author acknowledges the pulchritude attributed to the artist by Camerarius. Moreover, these words may also evoke memories in the reader’s mind of Dürer’s magnificent painted self-portraits.

Moreover, it is particularly interesting that the inscription describes Dürer as “comely in . . . hair.” As mentioned earlier, this unusual praise calls attention to the most intriguing feature of the engraved portrait. Lorck convincingly represented the beauty of the curls by depicting Dürer’s pale tresses glistening in the light, the juxtaposition of lines suggesting color and tone. The Danish artist also artfully delineated numerous individual strands of hair, displaying a Dürer-like virtuosity that brings to mind the great master’s



self-portrait of 1500. By calling attention to the hair in both the image and the text, Lorck recognizes, revives, and promotes the artist's curls as his signature feature.

In the fourth line of the inscription, the author declares that although Dürer may have been born of Minerva and blessed by the "Phoebian goddesses," he died at his appointed time. The writer thus follows his description of the "super human," beautiful Dürer with his fourth-line, matter-of-fact declaration that Dürer lived "five years times ten plus six." These words emphasize the artist's mortality and attest to the commemorative function of the image.

The final line identifies the subject of the elegy, not Dürer himself, but his effigy. The author thus tacitly acknowledges that the print is a memorial to the artist's public image, fashioned over the years by Dürer himself and his admirers.

### Conclusion

Melchior Lorck's posthumous *Portrait of Albrecht Dürer* is an important early example of a commemorative print honoring an artist. Its publication promoted the interests of Lorck and other artists, while also helping to establish a cultural heritage for Northern Europeans in general. The print provides early evidence that the portraits and self-portraits that Dürer made and sanctioned during his lifetime successfully promoted an enduring public image of the artist after his death. The most memorable characteristic of that persona was the German master's long curly hair, a physical feature that Lorck emphasized and that continues to be associated with Dürer today. After posthumous portraits of the shorthaired Dürer threatened to weaken the emblematic significance of the Nuremberg master's earlier self-portraits, the making and distribution of Lorck's engraving helped to reestablish the image of the longhaired Dürer as a powerful "brand" in the collective cultural memory of generations to come.

### Notes

1. The Museum of Art and Archaeology's print bears the accession number 86.26. It is a fine, uncolored impression given to the museum by Mr. and Mrs. George Schriever in 1986. Other impressions of this print are in the British Museum, London (1895-01-22-782); The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (66.521.56); and the Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco (1963.30.34019). See Adam Bartsch, *Le Peintre-Graveur*, vol. 9 (Vienna, 1803–1821) p. 505 and F. W. H. Hollstein, *German Engravings, Etchings, and Woodcuts*, ed. Fedja Anzelewsky, vol. 22 (Amsterdam, 1978) pp. 179–180.
2. The number "15" appears above the monogram, while the "5" and the "0" flank the initials.
3. The author would like to thank Professor Dennis Trout from the Department of Classics at the University of Missouri for this translation of the engraving's Latin inscription. A transcription of the original Latin reads as follows: "Cui sua phoebaeae donarunt munera divae / quem peperit proprio docta minerva sinu. / Talis, ut hic, faciemque suam crinemque decorum, / quinque annos decies, sex quoque, natus erat. / In effigiem alberti dureri." The first four lines are written in Latin elegiac couplets. Another English translation was published

- by Giulia Batrum, in *Albrecht Dürer and His Legacy* (Princeton, 2002) p. 87. This alternate translation reads, "To whom the Apollonian gods bestowed their gifts, the man whom learned Athena nourished at her own breast. Such a man you see here, with his visage and comely hair. He lived for fifty-six years. / On the image of Albrecht Dürer."
4. For Lorck's biography, see Erik Fisher, *Melchior Lorck I Tyrkiet*, exh. cat. (Copenhagen, 1990) pp. 19–40. See also the following texts by the same author: *Melchior Lorck, Drawings from the Evelyn Collection at Stoner Park, England, and from the Department of Prints and Drawings, the Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Copenhagen* (Copenhagen, 1962), and "Melchior Lorck: Universal Dane," *Art News* 61 (1963) pp. 40–43 and "Melchior Lorck: En dansk vagants levnedsløb I det 16. aarhundrede," *Fund og Forskning* 10 (1963) pp. 33–72. See also Hanne Kolind Poulsen, "Branding Frederik II: Om Melchior Lorcks kobberstik-portæt," *SMK Art Journal* 2006 (2007) pp. 23–35 and Hans Harbeck, *Melchior Lorichs ein Beitrag zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg, 1911). For an extensive bibliography on Lorck, see Hollstein, *German Engravings, Etchings, and Woodcuts*, pp. 179–180.
  5. Ferdinand was born in Spain in 1503, the son of Johanna of Castile and Philip the Handsome, Duke of Burgundy. His brother, Charles V, became Holy Roman Emperor in 1519. Ferdinand often served as his brother's deputy and ruled the Austrian hereditary lands of the Hapsburgs at the behest of Charles V. When Charles retired in 1556, Ferdinand became successor to the empire, officially taking the title of Holy Roman Emperor in 1558.
  6. The Imperial embassy to Constantinople held diplomatic meetings with the Turkish government to settle a dispute over the control of Transylvania, then under Ottoman rule. The delegates also studied ancient ruins, Byzantine manuscripts, and the topography of the area. Lorck seems to have served as the embassy's official artist, making drawings of architecture, military structures, and aspects of daily life in Turkey. A number of drawings from the expedition survive, most in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Copenhagen, and the John Evelyn Collection at Stoner Park, England. After his return to Europe, Lorck published several portraits of Turkish leaders and members of the delegation. He also wrote and illustrated books on Turkish government, fashion, daily life, and military customs. For examples and commentary on these drawings, see Erik Fisher, *Melchior Lorck, Drawings*.
  7. For a reproduction of Lorck's copy of Dürer's *St Jerome Seated near a Pollard Willow*, see Hollstein, *German Engravings, Etchings, and Woodcuts*, p. 184.
  8. Schwarz's relief portrait of Dürer was first distributed in 1520. There are two variations of the original legend, which apparently was added by punches to the negative matrix from which the medals were cast. See Herbert Erlanger, "The Medallion Portrait of Albrecht Dürer," *Museum Notes* 10 (1965) pp. 146–147. One variation of the legend reads, "ALBRECHT DVRER PICTOR GERMANICUS," while the other reads, "ALBRECHT DVRER PICTORTS GERMANICUS." The medal was released again after Dürer's death with a new inscription, "ALBERTUS DVRER NORICVS PIC OM." The original boxwood model for the medal is preserved in the Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum in Braunschweig, Germany. For an illustration of the model and further discussion of the medal, together with an extensive bibliography, see Richard Kastenholz, *Hans Schwarz, Ein Augsburger Bildhauer und Medailleur der Renaissance* (Berlin, 2006) pp. 203–212. See also Matthias Mende, *Dürer-Medaillen: Münzen, Medaillen, Plaketten von Dürer, nach Dürer* (Nuremberg, 1983) pp. 57–67 and 187–193; Richard Gaettens, "Die Dürer-Medaille von Hans Schwarz," *Blätter für Münzfreunde* 71 (1936) pp. 513–516, and by the same author, "Die Dürer-Medaille," in *Blätter für Münzfreunde und Münzforschung* 22 (1957) pp. 557–566. See also Max Bernhart and Tyll Kroha, *Medaillen und Plaketten* (Braunschweig, 1966) pp. 38–41.



9. For a discussion of the patronage and function of portrait medals during the Renaissance, see *The Currency of Fame: Portrait Medals of the Renaissance*, ed. Stephen K. Scher, exh. cat. (New York, 1994). For a discussion of artists' portrait medals produced in Italy during this period, see Sir Francis George Hill, *Portrait Medals of Italian Artists of the Renaissance* (London, 1912). Hans Schwarz (creator of Dürer's medal) also made a medal for the artist Hans Burgkmair in 1518 and was himself the subject of a sixteenth-century portrait medallion. Mende identifies the latter medal as a self-portrait, while Kastenholz believes that an unknown Nuremberg artist created it. For the Burgkmair and Schwarz medals, see Kastenholz, *Hans Schwarz, Ein Augsburger Bildhauer*, pp. 14–15 and 141 and Mende, *Dürer-Medaillen*, pp. 43 and 65.
10. The Latin legend reads, "IMAGO · ALBERTI · DVRER · ALEMANI · QUAM · SVIS · MET · IPSE · EFFINXIT · M · ANIBVS · ANNO · AETATIS · SVAE · XLVIII · SALVTIS · VERO · M · D · XIX." The English translation comes from *Albrecht Dürer and His Legacy: The Graphic Work of a Renaissance Artist*, exh. cat., ed. Giulia Bartrum (Princeton, 2002) p. 83. In the drawing, a small escutcheon emblazoned with an image of an open door accompanies the inscription. This was the artist's adopted coat of arms, and the rebus-like image suggests the artist's family name (the word for "door" in German is "tür").
11. The original German reads, "Jch hab 2 gulden an gold dem Hans Schwarczen für mein angesicht bey den Fockrischen von Antorff in einem brief geng Augspurg geschickt." See Albrecht Dürer, *Dürer Schrifilicher Nachlass*, ed. Hans Rupprich, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1956) p. 157 (this book will hereafter be cited as Dürer-Rupprich). For the English translation, see Martin Conway, *Literary Remains of Albrecht Dürer* (Cambridge, 1889) p. 104. I have used Dürer's word "gulden" to describe the monetary unit rather than Conway's abbreviation "fl."
12. For a discussion of the possibility that Dürer provided Schwarz with a drawing for the medal, see Kastenholz, *Hans Schwarz, Ein Augsburger Bildhauer*, pp. 206–209.
13. The term "self-fashioning" was coined by historian Stephen Greenblatt in his seminal book *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From Moore to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1980). Greenblatt argues that the concept of autonomous identity is a fiction, and that "the self" is a cultural artifact—a social, economic, and political creation. For a discussion of the concept of self-fashioning in Renaissance art and portraiture, see *Fashioning Identities in Renaissance Art*, ed. Mary Rogers (Aldershot, 2000) and Johanna Woods Marsden, *Renaissance Self-Portraiture: The Visual Construction of Identity and the Social Status of the Artist* (New Haven, 1998). For a discussion of the phenomenon as it relates to Albrecht Dürer, see Joseph Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago, 1993).
14. For discussion of Dürer's monogram as a kind of "trademark," see Joseph Koerner, "Albrecht Dürer: A Sixteenth-Century *Influenza*," in Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer and His Legacy*, pp. 18–38. See also Gustav Pauli, "Dürer's Monogramm," in *Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer zum 60. Geburtstag* (Leipzig, 1927) pp. 34–40.
15. The standard reference for Dürer's self-portraits is Hugo Kehrer's *Dürers Selbstbildnisse und die Dürer-Bildnisse* (Berlin, 1934). See also Hans Wühr, "Albrecht Dürer: Selbstbildnis," in *Die Kunst im Dritten Reich* 8 (1939). For a more recent approach to the subject, see Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture*.
16. For a survey of early Renaissance self-portraits, see Woods-Marsden, *Renaissance Self-Portraiture*, pp. 25–115.
17. For a discussion of public versus private portraiture in Dürer's oeuvre, see Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture*, pp. 3–52. For a discussion of the artist's approach to formal portraiture, see Katherine Lubet, "Albrecht Dürer's Maximilian Portraits: An Investigation of Versions,"

- Master Drawings* 29, no. 1 (1991) pp. 30–47.
18. For this portrait and its original function, see Erwin Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, vol. 1 (Princeton, 1943) pp. 6 and 25 and Jane Campbell Hutchison, *Albrecht Dürer: A Biography* (Princeton, 1990) pp. 39–40.
  19. For illustrations and recent discussions of these drawing, see Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture*, pp. 7, 12–14, 35–37, and 42–51.
  20. In the original German the inscription reads, “My sach die gat / Als es oben schtat.” The English translation above comes from Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture*, p. 31. Jane Cambell Hutchison offers a fatalistic translation of the somewhat ambiguous words, “My affairs will go as written in the stars,” while Fredja Anzelewsky interprets the phrase as an indication of the artist’s religious convictions, translating the text as “My fate is determined above.” See Hutchison, *Albrecht Dürer: A Biography*, pp. 39–40 and Anzelewsky, *Dürer: His Art and Life*, trans. Heide Grieve (New York, 1980) p. 37.
  21. The interpretation of the meaning of the sprig of eryngium is fundamental to understanding the original function of the Louvre portrait. Scholars differ in their interpretations. The thistle-like plant has been associated with love since ancient times. According to the *Natural History* of Pliny the Elder, if a man finds an eryngium root that resembles the male organ, this root will ensure him the love of women (Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* XXII, 9). For a transcription of Pliny’s Latin published side by side with an English translation, see Pliny, *Natural History*, trans. W. H. S. Jones, vol. 6 (London, 1961) pp. 308–309 (this edition will hereafter be cited as Pliny-Jones). In the Renaissance, people continued to associate the plant with love and potency. Joseph Koerner cites a Mainz edition of the *Hortus Sanitatis*, which claims that the plant (called the *Yrungus kruß*), “brings a man great pleasure and increases his semen and excites him to unchastity.” For this translation and citation, see Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture*, p. 455, n. 58. See also C. Wilnau and R. Giessler, “Ein Beitrag zur Pflanzensymbolik bei Dürer,” *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst* 65 (1930) p. 47. While Panofsky, Hutchinson, Koerner, and others connect the Louvre self-portrait with Dürer’s betrothal to Agnes Frey (Dürer married Agnes in 1494), Anzelewsky argues that the self-portrait should be seen as a testimony to Dürer’s devotion to God rather than to Agnes, and that the sprig of eryngium should be associated with Christ’s passion. To support this argument, the author cites other images of the eryngium in a Christological context. See Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, vol. 1, p. 25; Hutchison, *Albrecht Dürer: A Biography*, p. 39; Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture*, p. 31; Anzelewsky, *Albrecht Dürer: Das malerische Werk* (Berlin, 1971) pp. 118–119; and Anzelewsky, *Dürer: His Art and Life*, p. 37.
  22. See Richard Corson’s *Fashions in Hair, the First Five Thousand Years* (New York, 1965) pp. 159–161. For a discussion of the unfashionableness of beards in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, see Randolph Starn and Loren Partridge, *A Renaissance Likeness: Art and Culture in Raphael’s “Julius II”* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1980) pp. 2–3, 27, 43–46 and Mark Zucker, “Raphael and the Beard of Pope Julius II,” *The Art Bulletin* 59 (1977) pp. 524–533.
  23. Heated tongs have been used to curl hair since ancient times. During the sixteenth century, they are mentioned in Robert Greene’s *Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (London, 1592). Greene has his barber ask: “Sir, will you have your wor: hair cut after the Italian manner, short and round, and then frowned with the curling-irons to make it look like a half-moon in a mist?” The modern translation cited comes from the modern spelling transcript, © 2003 Nina Green, *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, p. 18. [http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Greene/Quip\\_Upstart\\_Courtier.pdf](http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Greene/Quip_Upstart_Courtier.pdf) (27 July 2009).
  24. Sebastian Brant, *The Ship of Fools*, trans. Edwin H. Zeydel (New York, 1988) pp. 68–69. The

- original German reads: "Das ettwan was eyn schantlich ding / Das wygt man yetz schlecht vnd gering / Eyn ere was ettwan tragen bert / Jetz hand die wybschen mann gelert / Vnd schmyeren sich mit affen schmaltz / Vnd du'nt entblo'ssen jren halß / Vil ring vnd grosse ketten dran / Als ob sie vor sant Lienhart stan / Mit schwebel / hartz / büffen das har / Dar jn schlecht man eyer klar / Das es jm schu'sselkorb werd kruß / Der henckt den kopff zu'm fenster vß / Der bleicht es an der sunn vnd für / Dar vnder werden lüse nit dür." *Das Narrenschiff* (Basel, 1494) chap. 4, lines 1–14. Koerner publishes another translation of the last six lines of this passage that sacrifices the rhyme for a more accurate translation of the words, "With sulfur and resin one puffs one's hair / And then whips in an egg white, / So that it curls in the basket-dish. / One man hangs his head out of the window; / Another bleaches his hair with sun and fire: / Under such the lice are plentiful," *Moment of Self-Portraiture*, p. 169. For a discussion of men's hairstyles at the end of the fifteenth century, see also Joyce Asser, *Historic Hairdressing* (London, 1966) pp. 52–60 and Corson's, *Fashions in Hair*, pp. 135–139.
25. For a discussion of the woodcuts in *The Ship of Fools* and their attributions, see *Die Holzschnitte zu Sebastian Brants Narrenschiff* (Frankfurt, 1994).
  26. See Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture*, p. 37.
  27. In the original German, the inscription rhymes and reads, "Das malt jch nach meiner gestalt, Ich was sex vnd zwenzig jor alt. Albrecht Dürer." See Dürer-Rupprich, vol. 1, p. 205. For the English translation, see Hutchison, *Albrecht Dürer: A Biography*, p. 66. For a discussion of Dürer's monogram and its importance in the Munich self-portrait, see Gustav Pauli, "Dürer's Monogramm," in *Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer zum 60. Geburtstag* (Leipzig, 1927) pp. 34–40.
  28. See Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, vol. 1, pp. 42–43 and vol. 2, p. 36. See also Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer and His Legacy*, pp. 105–106 and pp. 124–126.
  29. For analysis of the Madrid picture, see Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture*, pp. 37–39; Ludwig Grote, "Hier bin ich ein Herr," *Dürer in Venedig* (Munich, 1956) p. 48; Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, vol. 1, p. 42 and Anzelewsky, *Albrecht Dürer: Das malerische Werk*, pp. 152–155.
  30. Dürer's letter from Venice is dated 23 September 1506. For the English translation, see Conway, *Literary Remains of Albrecht Dürer*, pp. 56–57. The original German citation reads, "Ich hab mir selbs ein graw hor gefunden." See Dürer-Rupprich, vol. 1, p. 57.
  31. These quotations come from two letters from Canon Lorenz Beheim to Willibald Pirckheimer, the first written on 1 March 1507, and the second on 19 March 1507. The original German text from the March 1 letter reads, "Last mich wissen, ob er noch sein part spitz und tre" (see Dürer-Rupprich, vol. 1, p. 253). The Latin text of the March 19 letter reads, "Sed sua barba bechina impeditur, quam sine dubio torquendo crispat quottidie" (see Dürer-Rupprich, vol. 1, p. 254). For the English translations of these two texts, see Erwin Panofsky, "Conrad Celtes und Kunz von der Rosen: Two Problems in Portrait Identification," *The Art Bulletin* 24 (1942) p. 43, n. 22.
  32. Roland Bainton famously argued that the Munich self-portrait visually manifests the idea of the *imitatio* or *conformitas Christi*. See Bainton, "Dürer and Luther as the Man of Sorrows," *The Art Bulletin* 29 (1947) pp. 269–72. Erwin Panofsky made a similar argument in 1955, mentioning the doctrine of "Imitatio Christi" and writing that the Munich self-portrait represents, "not what the artist claims to be, but what he must humbly endeavor to become: a man entrusted with a gift which implies both the triumph and tragedy of the 'Eritis sicut Deus.'" (Panofsky's Latin quotes God's words to Adam and Eve in the Old Testament book of Genesis, 3:5, "ye shall be as gods.") See Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, vol. 1, p. 43. More recently,

- Joseph Koerner discussed the Munich portrait in relation to images of the “holy face” and Veronica’s veil, while Daniel Hess suggested that the structure of Dürer’s face in the Munich painting recalls that of Greek icons representing Christ. See Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture*, pp. 80–126 and Hess, “Dürers Selbstbildnis von 1500–‘alter deus’ oder ‘Neuer Apelles,’” *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 77 (1990) pp. 63–90. Before the seventeenth century, no documents survive to indicate that viewers of the Munich self-portrait recognized Dürer’s Christ-like appearance in the portrait. See David Hotchkiss Price, *Albrecht Dürer’s Renaissance* (Ann Arbor, 2002) p. 92. While not denying that Dürer may have intended the Munich self-portrait to have Christological implications, Price has pointed out that the first recorded reaction to the painting that associates Dürer’s image with that of Christ is a 1637 painting of *Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery* in the Bayerischen Staatsgemäldesammlungen, painted by Johann Georg Fischer (also known as Vischer). In this picture, the figure of Jesus is clearly copied from Dürer’s Munich self-portrait. For a reproduction of Fischer’s painting, see Willi Bongard and Matthias Mende, *Dürer Today* (Munich, 1970) p. 30. For a recent discussion of interpretations and scholarship related to the Munich painting, see Gisela Goldberg, Bruno Heimberg, and Martin Schawe, *Albrecht Dürer: Die Gemälde der Alten Pinakothek* (Munich, 1998) pp. 324–325.
33. For this argument, see Dieter Wuttke, “Dürer und Celtis: Von der Bedeutung des Jahres 1500 für den deutschen Humanismus,” *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 10 (1980) pp. 97–100 and Campbell Hutchison, *Albrecht Dürer: A Biography*, p. 67.
  34. Evidence suggests that the Lentulus Letter was written in the fourteenth century, but Renaissance scholars and clerics accepted it as an authentic transcription of a first-century document. Publius Lentulus was believed to have been the governor of Judea who preceded Pontius Pilate. He supposedly sent a letter describing Christ’s appearance to the Roman Senate. Medieval examples of the letter appear in Greek and Latin, and translations into other European languages circulated widely in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For a discussion of the Lentulus Letter and a study of its inclusion in various European manuscripts and books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, see Ernst von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder: Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende* (Leipzig, 1899) pp. 308–330.
  35. The English translation of the passage cited above comes from Montague Rhodes James, *The Apocryphal New Testament, being the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses, with Other Narratives and Fragments* (Oxford, 1975, reprint of 1924 edition) pp. 477–478. Michael Baxandall published an alternative English translation in which “the hue of an unripe hazelnut” is translated as “the color of ripe hazelnut.” See Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy* (Oxford and New York, 1988) p. 57. This variation in the translation may reflect the fact that James translated a Latin document, while Baxandall translated an Italian copy. Baxandall includes a transcription of his Italian source, the *Zardino de Oration* (Venice, 1494), together with his English translation. See Baxandall, pp. 165–166.
  36. Price, *Albrecht Dürer’s Renaissance*, p. 94.
  37. Koerner suggests that the portrait’s life-like hair depicted with unperceivable brushstrokes would have amazed Renaissance viewers. The amazing beauty and naturalism of the picture would have encouraged its audience to compare the portrait to miraculous images created by God or through divine intervention. In particular, Koerner argues that the marvelous painting would have reminded sixteenth-century spectators of *acheiropoietia*, or miraculous images “not made by human hands,” that were said to have supernaturally materialized, such as the image of Christ’s face on the veil of St. Veronica. See Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture*, pp. 85 and 168.
  38. *Ibid.* p. 251.

39. The original Latin reads, "Albertus Durerus Noricus / ipsum me proprijs sic effingebam coloribus aetatis anno XXVIII." See Dürer-Rupprich, vol. 1, p. 205. Panofsky believed that this inscription was apocryphal, although he provided no evidence to support his opinion (Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, vol. 1, p. 14). Later conservatorial evidence indicated that the inscription was part of the original composition, and most scholars now accept it as contemporary with the image. For the conservatorial evidence, see *Albrecht Dürer 1471–1971, Ausstellung des Germanischen Nationalmuseums*, exh. cat. (Munich, 1971) p. 48. For an epigraphic argument that the inscription is original to the painting, see Dieter Wuttke, "Unbekannte Celtis-Epigramme zum Lobe Dürers," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 30 (1967) pp. 321–325. For a more recent discussion of the inscription, see Price, *Albrecht Dürer's Renaissance*, p. 94. For the English translation, the author has used that proposed by Price in which the Latin word "proprijs" is interpreted as meaning "my own" or "appropriate" (Price, p. 94). Other translators of the inscription have followed Peter Strieder in construing this word as meaning "eternal," "undying," or "indelible." See Strieder, "Die Bedeutung des Porträts bei Albrecht Dürer," in *Albrecht Dürer: Kunst einer Zeitenwende*, ed. Herbert Schade (Regensburg, 1971) p. 93. Price argues that Strieder's translation is strained and unlikely.
40. For these epigrams, see Wuttke, "Unbekannte Celtis-Epigramme zum Lobe Dürers," pp. 321–325. The original Latin epigram discussing the dog, "De cane eiusdem," is transcribed on page 323. Wuttke transcribes the passage about the dog licking the portrait as follows, "Mox canis accurrit dominum et viuum esse putabat / Blandiciaque sibi corpore et ore dabat." As Price has observed, the anecdote about the dog is probably a fiction designed to remind readers of similar tales told about Zeuxis, Parrhasius, and other ancient painters. See Price, *Albrecht Dürer's Renaissance*, pp. 92–93. The tale of the dog was revived by the humanist Christoph Scheurl in his 1508 text, *Libellus de laudibus Germaniae et Ducum Saxoniae* (Leipzig, 1508) p. 111, recto and verso. In his later version of the story, Dürer's dog licks the artist's self-portrait, leaving a permanent mark on the picture. For a transcription of this text, see Dürer-Rupprich, vol. 1, pp. 290–291.
41. For further analysis of the Munich self-portrait, see Wuttke, "Dürer und Celtis," pp. 73–129; Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture*, pp. 184–186; Hutchison, *Albrecht Dürer: A Biography*, pp. 67–73; Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, vol. 1, p. 43; Anzelewsky, *Dürer: His Life and Art*, p. 246; and Anzelewsky, *Albrecht Dürer: Das malerische Werk*, pp. 164–168.
42. The English translation of this text comes from Koerner's *Moment of Self-Portraiture*, p. 461, n. 17. For Koerner's discussion of the possibility that the Munich self-portrait was publicly displayed at an early date, see p. 70. For Hessus's original Latin epicedium, see Dürer-Rupprich, vol. 1, pp. 300–301.
43. Karel van Mander wrote, "There are also various interesting pieces by [Dürer] in his home town, Nuremberg, in the town hall . . . his self-portrait which is a small piece, wherein his face is to be seen framed with beautiful long streaming hair in which, very subtly, some golden waves are painted, this too is skillfully executed as I well remember, having held it in my hands when I was there in 1577. It was made (I believe) in 1500 when he was about 30 years old." For a facsimile reproduction of Karel van Mander's original Dutch text beside this English translation, see Karel van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, ed. and trans. Hessel Miedema (Doornspijk, 1994) pp. 94–97.
44. One of the drawings sent by Raphael to Dürer survives in the Albertina in Vienna (inv. 17575). It is a red chalk study of two nude male figures. The drawing was inscribed by Dürer with the words, "1515 Raphael of Urbino, who had been so highly regarded by the pope, made this nude picture and sent it to Albrecht Dürer of Nuremberg to show him his hand." This English translation comes from Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture*, p. 96. The original



- German reads, "1515 Raffahell de Vrbin, der so hoch peim pobst geacht ist gewest, der hat dyse nackette bild gemacht vnd hat sy dem Albrecht Dürer gen Nornberg geschickt, im sein hand zw weisen." See Dürer-Rupprich, vol. 1, p. 209. For the drawing and a full bibliography, see Veronika Birke and Janine Kertész, *Die italienischen Zeichnungen der Albertina*, vol. 4 (Vienna, 1997) pp. 2158–2159.
45. For Vasari's discussion of this lost self-portrait, see Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, trans. Gaston de Vere, vol. 2 (New York and Toronto, 1996) pp. 136–137. For the original Italian text, see Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550–1568*, ed. Rosanna Betterini and Paola Barocchi, vol. 5 (Florence, 1966–1987) p. 78. Vasari wrote that the lost self-portrait was executed in gouache and watercolors. For further discussion of the painting, see Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture*, pp. 95–96 and Anzelewsky, *Albrecht Dürer: Das malerische Werk*, pp. 227–228.
  46. For a discussion of Dürer self-portraits *in assistenza*, see André Chastel, "Zu vier Selbstbildnissen Albrecht Dürers aus den Jahren 1506 bis 1511," in *Albrecht Dürer: Kunst im Aufbruch*, ed. Ernst Ullmann (Leipzig, 1973) pp. 37–46. See also Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture*, pp. 111–113. Precedents for these kinds of self-portraits appear in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian paintings, as well as in a few Northern Renaissance and Medieval examples. One of the most famous documented examples is Benozzo Gozzoli's 1459 self-portrait bearing a signature on the hat in the *Procession of the Magi* fresco in the chapel of the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Florence. For a reproduction of this image, see Woods-Marsden, *Renaissance Self-Portraiture*, p. 49. A rare Northern Renaissance precedent appears in the Master of Frankfurt's ca. 1493 *Festival of the Archers*, now in the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, illustrated in Max Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. 7 (New York, 1967) p. 56. Northern sculptural precedents are also found in the *Baumeisterbildnisse* (master builder portraits) that appear in the sculptural programs of some churches in the Middle Ages. For a discussion of these portraits, see Kurt Gerstenberg's *Baumeisterbildnisse des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1966). As Chastel points out, these earlier precedents are less self-assertive and prominent than Dürer's self-portraits *in assistenza*, in part because the Nuremberg artist consistently draws attention to himself by having his effigy support an inscribed panel or scroll.
  47. For a discussion of the concept of branding, see John Goodchild and Clive Callow, *Brands: Visions and Values* (Chichester and New York, 2001) and Alina Wheeler, *Designing Brand Identity: A Complete Guide to Creating, Building, and Maintaining Strong Brands* (Hoboken, NJ, 2006).
  48. See Chastel, "Zu vier Selbstbildnissen Albrecht Dürers," p. 38.
  49. For a concise discussion of Alberti, his influence, and the surviving manuscript copies of *On Painting*, see Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, ed. and trans. by John R. Spencer (New Haven and London, 1966) pp. 11–37.
  50. For a discussion of evidence that indicates that Dürer was familiar with Alberti's *On Painting*, see Anzelewsky, *Dürer: His Art and Life*, p. 102 and Erwin Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton, 1948) pp. 118, 252–253, 268, 273–277.
  51. See Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, p. 78.
  52. For an in depth discussion of this painting and proposed identification of some of the portraits, see Anzelewsky, *Albrecht Dürer: Das malerische Werk*, pp. 187–198.
  53. The original Latin reads, "Exegit quinquemestri spatium Albertus Durer Germanus MDVI."
  54. In book 35 of his *Natural History*, Pliny the Elder praises Nichomachus as a painter of great skill and speed. See Pliny the Elder, *Natural History: The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, trans. K. Jex-Blake (Chicago, 1968) p. 141. In *On Painting*, Alberti writes, "When you



- acquire the habit of doing nothing without first having ordered it, you will become a much faster painter than Aesclepiodoros, who, they say, was the most rapid of all ancient painters. Your mind moved and warmed by exercise gives itself with greater promptness and dispatch to the work; and the hand will proceed most rapidly which is well guided by a certain rule of the mind." Since Pliny does not praise Aesclepiodoros's speed, it seems likely that Alberti confused Aesclepiodoros with Nichomachus. See Alberti, *On Painting*, trans. John R. Spencer (New Haven and London, 1966) p. 95. Alberti also writes, "In making the istoria we should have speed of execution joined with diligence." For this quote, *ibid.*, p. 96. For a discussion of these texts in relation to Dürer's inscription, see Katherine Crawford Lubber, *Albrecht Dürer and the Venetian Renaissance* (Cambridge, 2005) pp. 118–119.
55. For a discussion of Dürer's claim to have painted the *Feast of the Rose Garlands* in five months, as well as the evidence against this claim, see Lubber, *Albrecht Dürer and the Venetian Renaissance*, pp. 120–125.
  56. In a letter dated 8 September 1506, Dürer wrote the following to his friend Willibald Pirckheimer: "I have stopped the mouths of all the painters who used to say that I was good at engraving but, as to painting, I did not know how to handle my colours. Now everyone says that better colouring they have never seen." In the same letter, Dürer writes that the Doge (Leonardo Loredano) and the Patriarch (Antonio Suriano) had seen his picture. For this letter, see Dürer-Rupprich, vol. 1, pp. 54–56. For the English translation, see Conway, *Literary Remains of Albrecht Dürer*, pp. 54–56.
  57. For an in-depth discussion of *The Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand*, its patronage, and iconography, see Christoph Stöcker, "Dürer, Celtis, und der falsche Bischof Achatius. Zur Ikonographie von Dürers 'Marter der Zehntausend,'" *Artibus et Historiae* 5 (1984) pp. 121–137; Erwin Panofsky, "Conrad Celtes and Kunz von der Rosen: Two Problems in Portrait Identification," *The Art Bulletin* 24 (1942) pp. 39–54; Anzelewsky, *Albrecht Dürer: Das malerische Werk*, pp. 212–218; and F. Klauner, "Gedanken zu Dürers Allerheiligenbild," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 39 (1979) pp. 57–92.
  58. The martyrdom of the ten thousand Christians was said to have occurred when Achatius, *primicerius* under the Emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, converted to Christianity with his army. The emperors had the army tortured and martyred when the soldiers refused to renounce their faith. There is no evidence that this event occurred, and Hadrian and Antoninus Pius did not rule together. The earliest lengthy narration of the story appears in the *Catalogus Sanctorum* of Petrus de Natalibus, written between 1370 and 1400 and first published in Vicenza in 1493. For a discussion of this source, as well as the iconographic history of images representing the subject, see Howard S. Merritt, *The Art Bulletin* 45 (1963) p. 259.
  59. For this identification, see Panofsky, "Conrad Celtes and Kunz von der Rosen," pp. 39–44.
  60. See Corson, *Fashions in Hair*, pp. 135–139.
  61. For the comparison of the effigies of Dürer and Celtes to Dante and Virgil, see Philipp Fehl, "Mass Murder, or Humanity in Death," *Theology Today* 28 (1971) pp. 68–69. Fehl suggests that Dürer's self-portrait in *The Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand* serves as a visual exemplar, providing viewers with a model of the appropriate behavior one should exhibit in response to this vision of a horrific "historic" event. According to Fehl, the figure of Dürer responds to the horror of mass martyrdom with dignified reflection, fortification, and faith.
  62. Christoph Scheurl discusses the use of the imperfect in Dürer's signature in the dedicatory letter (addressed to Lucas Cranach the Elder) of the *Oratio attingens litterarum praestantiam nec non laudem ecclesiae collegiatae Viteburgensis* (Leipzig, 1509). This document is reprinted in Dürer-Rupprich, vol. 1, p. 292. For Pliny's discussion of Apelles' use of the term "faciebat," see the preface in Pliny-Jones, vol. 1, pp. 16–17.

63. The painting stood in the Dominican Church in Frankfurt until 1614, at which point Maximilian I of Bavaria acquired the central panel. The standard reference on the Heller Altarpiece is Annette Pfaff's, *Studien zu Albrecht Dürers Heller Altar* (Nuremberg, 1971). See also Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, vol. 1, pp. 122–125 and vol. 2, pp. 5–6; Hutchison, *Albrecht Dürer: A Biography*, pp. 99–105; and Anzelewsky, *Albrecht Dürer: Das malerische Werk*, pp. 222–226.
64. In 1604, Karel van Mander wrote, "It is amazing and almost unbelievable the amount of annual profit this piece brings the monks, or the monastery, if only from the tips or gratuities bestowed by lords, merchants, travelers, and art-lovers to have it opened or shown." For a facsimile reproduction of Karel van Mander's original Dutch text beside this English translation, see Karel van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, ed. and trans. Hessel Miedema (Doornspijk, 1994) pp. 94–95.
65. For the Landauer Altarpiece, see Hutchison, *Albrecht Dürer: A Biography*, pp. 105–107; Friderike Klauner, "Gedanken zu Dürers Allerheiligenbildern," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 75 (1979) pp. 57–92; Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture*, pp. 112–113; Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, vol. 2, pp. 9–10; and Anzelewsky, *Albrecht Dürer: Das malerische Werk*, pp. 228–230.
66. A self-portrait drawing representing the artist as the Man of Sorrows indicates that Dürer's hair may have remained long until at least 1522. For an illustration of this drawing, formally in the Kunsthalle, Bremen, see Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture*, p. 182.
67. For Mathes Gebel's portrait medal of Albrecht Dürer, see Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer and his Legacy*, p. 85; Matthias Mende, *Dürer Medaillen*, pp. 208–214; and Jeffery Chipps Smith, *German Sculpture in the Age of Uncertainty* (Princeton, 1994) p. 373.
68. After Dürer's death in 1528, a medallion closely related to Gebel's was issued with a new inscription on the reverse: BE.MA. / OBDORMI=/ VIT IN XPO. / VI.IDVS / APRILIS. M.D / XXVIII. / VI.C.VI. This inscription is an abbreviation of the words "Beatis manibus obdormivit in Christo sexto idus aprilis millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo octavo Virtute candida vixit." See Mende, *Dürer Medaillen*, pp. 218–219. An English translation of these words is as follows: "He passed away to his blessed ancestors in Christ on 6 April, 1528. His life shone forth in brilliance." For Gebel's medals, see Mende, *Dürer Medaillen*, pp. 218–219, and Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer and His Legacy*, p. 85.
69. This woodcut is attributed to Schön by Rainer Schoch in Hollstein's *German Engravings, Etchings, and Woodcuts 1400–1700*, vol. 48, pp. 52–56. Although the earliest impressions of this woodcut portrait of Dürer may date to around 1529, art historian Joseph Meder has suggested that many of the early extant examples were printed in the 1540s and 1550s when the printer Hans Wolff Glaser was active; he is identified in the address of many early impressions. See Joseph Meder, *Dürer-Katalog* (Vienna, 1932) pp. 240–242. See also Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer and His Legacy*, p. 86.
70. For a survey of post 1550 images of Dürer produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer and His Legacy*, pp. 85–91. For a discussion of images produced in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Ute Kuhlemann, "The Celebration of Dürer in Germany during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *ibid.*, pp. 39–60.
71. For Dürer's relationship with Baldung, see Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture*, pp. 249–360. Dürer mentions selling Baldung's work in his Netherlandish diary, "Mehr hab ich 12 gulden aus kunst gelöst. Mehr hab ich für 1 gulden Hans Grun verkaufft." *Dürer-Rupprich*, vol. 1, p. 167.
72. Strasbourg painter Sebald Büheler (1529–1595) documented the origin of the hair lock sometime in the second half of the sixteenth century. A translation of this document reads,

- "Herein is, or lies, the hair that was cut, as a memorial, from the talented and renowned painter, namely Mr. Albrecht Dürer of Nuremberg, after his death in 1528 on the eighth day of April. This hair was afterward Hans Baldung's, the talented painter and citizen of Strasbourg." Böheler then explains that after Baldung's death, the painter Nikolaus Kremer (Böheler's brother-in-law) inherited the lock in 1545; he in turn passed the relic on to Böheler. Böheler's original document describing the lock is preserved with the skein of hair in the Library of the Akademie der bildenden Künste in Vienna. For the English translation of Böheler's note, see Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture*, p. 250. For the original German, see Dürer-Rupprich, vol. 1, p. 251. For a photograph and discussion of the hair lock, see Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture*, pp. 249–251. For further discussion of the lock's documentation and provenance, see Heinz Lüdecke and Susanne Heiland, *Dürer und die Nachwelt* (Berlin, 1955) pp. 66–68 and 285–286. See also Gert von der Osten, *Hans Baldung Grien: Gemälde und Dokumente* (Berlin, 1983) p. 315 and Willi Bongard and Matthias Mende, *Dürer Today* (Munich, 1970) p. 33.
73. A rare exception to this rule is the extraordinary early self-portrait of Israhel van Meckenem, whose *Self-Portrait with His Wife* of around 1490 was probably created to promote sales of the artist's prints rather than to create a heroic cultural icon. For illustrations and discussions of this engraving, see David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print 1470–1550* (New Haven, 1994) pp. 56–57 and Joseph Koerner, "Albrecht Dürer: A Sixteenth-Century Influenza" in Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer and His Legacy*, pp. 24–25.
74. For this drawing see Edward Olszewski, *Italian Drawings from the Sixteenth Century*, vol. 2 (London, 2008) p. 533. Olszewski suggests a Bolognese origin for the Cincinnati drawing based on stylistic analysis. The author would like to thank Jeffrey Wilcox, registrar at the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri, for bringing this drawing to her attention.
75. Unlike Lorck's posthumous portrait of Dürer, Bonasone's portrait of Michelangelo was created during the subject's lifetime and may have been "authorized" by the sitter. In 1553, the engraving illustrated Ascanio Condivi's authorized biography of Michelangelo, *Vita di Michelangelo Buonarroti raccolta per Ascanio Condivi da la Ripa Transone* (Rome, 1553). For discussion of this engraving and illustrations of its various versions, see *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 29 (New York, 1985) pp. 134–135 and Ernst Steinmann, *Die Portraitdarstellungen des Michelangelo* (Leipzig, 1913) pp. 42–43. Bonasone made another portrait of Michelangelo in around 1548 that showed the artist in three-quarter view wearing a hat. This print is in an oval format and does not have as many elements in common with Lorck's engraving as does Bonasone's earlier profile portrait. The latter engraving, however, provides further evidence of the growing market for artists' portrait prints in the mid sixteenth century. Several other prints manifest this trend, including Bonasone's *Portrait of Raphael*, which may date to the 1540s or 1550s. For an illustration of this print, see *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 29 (New York, 1985) p. 136. Other Italian portrait prints representing artists created in the first half of the sixteenth century include a little-known full figure "portrait" of Michelangelo dated to the second quarter of the sixteenth century (or later) and attributed to the Flemish printmaker Leon Davent (see Steinmann, *Die Portraitdarstellungen des Michelangelo*, p. 15); a little-known engraving attributed to Marcantonio Raimondi said to be a portrait of Raphael (there is no identifying inscription) and dated to around 1518 (see Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, p. 121); and a woodcut portrait of Titian created in 1550 by Giovanni Britto. For the Titian portrait, see George Martin Richter, "Two Titian Self-Portraits," *Burlington Magazine* 162, no. 337 (1931) p. 162; Michelangelo Muraro and David Rosand, *Tiziano e la silografia veneziana del cinquecento*, exh. cat. (Vincenza, 1976) p. 120; and David Landau, *Genius of Venice 1500–1600*, exh. cat., ed. Jane Martineau and Charles Hope (London, 1983) p. 339.

76. The Latin inscription reads, "MICHAEL ANGELVS BONAROTVS PATRITIVS / FLORENTINVS AN AGENS LXXII / QVANTVM IN NATVRA ARS NATVRAQVE POSSIT IN ARTE / HIC QVI NATVRÆ PAR FVIT ARTE DOCET / M D XLVI." An English translation reads, "Michelangelo Buonarroti countryman of Florence at the age of seventy-two. This man who was Nature's peer teaches the power of art over nature and of nature over art. 1546."
77. The original Latin reads, "Alter ades nobis Phidias et alter Apelles." See Dürer-Rupprich, vol. 3, p. 460, and Dieter Wuttke, "Unbekannte Celtis-Epigramme zum Lobe Dürers," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 30 (1967) p. 322. For the English translation, see Price, *Albrecht Dürer's Renaissance*, p. 78. As Price points out, Celtes' poem is the first of many tributes to Dürer in which the artist is designated as a new Apelles.
78. Scheurl's praise of Dürer was published in the introductory letter of the *Oratio attingens litterarum praestantiam nec non laudem ecclesiae collegiatae Vitteburgensis* (Leipzig, 1509), which is transcribed in Dürer-Rupprich, vol. 1, pp. 292–293.
79. For the Hesus poem, see Dürer-Rupprich, vol. 1, p. 300. Melanchthon's original Latin text reads, "Doleo tali et viro et artifice Germanium orbatum esse." See Dürer-Rupprich, vol. 1, p. 281.
80. According to Christoph Scheurl, these casts were created by a group of artists who exhumed Dürer's body after he had been buried for a Christologically significant three days. For this story, see Cristoph Scheurl's 1542 manuscript, *Beschreibung des Erber geschlechts der Zingel, Irer geburt, Heuraten, sterbens vund Begrebnussen*, (Germanisches National-Museum, Nuremberg) transcribed in Dürer-Rupprich, vol. 1, pp. 297–298. For further discussion of this document, see Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture*, pp. 249 and 495, n. 2. Matthias Mende chronicles the later provenance of Dürer's death mask, writing that it was in the hands of the artist *Frederick van Valckenborgh* at the beginning of the seventeenth century and that it then probably entered the collection of Elector Maximilian I of Bavaria, where it was presumably destroyed when his Munich residence burned in 1729. See Willi Bongard and Matthias Mende, *Dürer Today*, p. 33.
81. For this English translation, see Conway, *Literary Remains of Albrecht Dürer*, pp. 136–137. For a transcription of the original Latin, see Dürer-Rupprich, vol. 1, p. 307.
82. For the importance of Dürer's treatise on human proportions and its influence on later European artists, see Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, pp. 242–284.
83. For a discussion of the character and role of the Muses in Greek and Roman mythology, as well as references to them in ancient literature, see *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, ed. William Smith, vol. 2 (New York, 1967) pp. 1124–1126.
84. The phrase "ut pictura poesis" occurs in Horace's *Ars Poetica* and was revived in the Renaissance by humanists eager to equate painting and poetry as "sister" arts. For a discussion of these theoretical ideas, see Lee Rensselaer, *Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting* (New York, 1967). For a discussion of literary and visual personifications of painting, sculpture, and architecture as Muse-like beings in the Renaissance, see Leatrice Mendelssohn, *Paragoni: Benedetto Varchi's Due Lezioni and Cinquecento Art Theory* (Ann Arbor, 1982) pp. 65–89.
85. For a discussion of the character and role of Athena/Minerva in Greek and Roman mythology as well as references to her in ancient literature, see *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, p. 1090.

## About the Authors

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Joan Stack serves as the Curator of Art Collections at The State Historical Society of Missouri. Before taking this position, she worked for five years as the Associate Curator of European and American Art at the Museum of Art and Archaeology. She received her Ph.D. in Art History from Washington University in St. Louis with a specialty in Renaissance art and has organized exhibitions ranging in scope from the art of the Middle Ages to that of twenty-first-century installation art. Her current work focuses on the collections of The State Historical Society, in particular the art of George Caleb Bingham and Thomas Hart Benton.

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## Acquisitions

2008

Ancient Art

Female head, perhaps Demeter or Persephone, Greek, South Italy, probably Taranto, fourth century B.C.E., terracotta (2008.169), Weinberg Fund.



Female head, Greek, South Italy, H. 16.8 cm, acc. no. 2008.169 [See also front cover].

Askos with plastic decoration depicting Skylla, Greek, South Italy, Apulia, probably Canosa, late fourth century B.C.E., painted terracotta (2008.172), Weinberg Fund and Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.



Askos depicting Skylla, Greek, South Italy, H. 36.5 cm, acc. no. 2008.172.

East Asian Art

Statuette of a seated bodhisattva, Korea, perhaps Goryeo or early Joseon dynasty, late thirteenth to fifteenth century, bronze (2008.175), gift of William A. Scott.



Statuette of a seated bodhisattva, Korea,  
H. 16.0 cm, acc. no. 2008.175.

Statuette depicting the bodhisattva Guanyin and bearing an inscription with a spurious date, China, Qing dynasty, nineteenth or early twentieth century, bronze (2008.193), gift of William A. Scott.

Central Asian Art

Statuette of Vajrapani, Tibet, seventeenth century, gilt bronze (2008.176), gift of William A. Scott.

Statuette of Tsongkhapa, Tibet, eighteenth–nineteenth century, gilt bronze with traces of paint (2008.177), gift of William A. Scott.

Statuette of a *dharmapala*, a guardian of the teaching, astride a lion, Tibet, eighteenth century, gilt bronze with traces of paint (2008.178), gift of William A. Scott.

Statuette of a seated transcendental Buddha, probably Amitayus or Amitabha, probably Tibet, Qing dynasty, Qianlong reign, 1770, gilt bronze with traces of paint (2008.180), gift of William A. Scott [Illustrated on back cover].



Statuette of a *dharmapala*, Tibet, H. 14.6 cm, acc. no. 2008.178.

Statuette of Vajravarahi, Tibet, eighteenth century, bronze (2008.183), gift of William A. Scott.

Plaque depicting the bodhisattva Tara, Tibet, eighteenth century, painted terracotta (2008.185), gift of William A. Scott.

Statuette of the transcendental Buddha, Amitayus, Tibet, late eighteenth century, gilded and painted bronze (2008.188), gift of William A. Scott.

Statuette of a standing bodhisattva, Tibet, late seventeenth to eighteenth century, gilded bronze with traces of paint (2008.190), gift of William A. Scott.

#### South Asian Art

Statuette of a Vaishnava figure, India, sixteenth–seventeenth century, bronze (2008.179), gift of William A. Scott.

Statuette of Lakshmi, India, nineteenth century, bronze (2008.186), gift of William A. Scott.

Statuette of Krishna dancing on the subdued serpent king Kaliya, India, nineteenth to first half of twentieth century, bronze (2008.187), gift of William A. Scott.

Statuette of a seated goddess, possibly Durga, India, seventeenth–nineteenth century (?), brass (2008.191), gift of William A. Scott.

Statuette of Bala Krishna in crawling pose, India, twentieth century, bronze (2008.192), gift of William A. Scott.

Southeast Asian Art

Statue of a seated Buddha, Thailand, sixteenth–seventeenth century, bronze with traces of gilding (2008.181), gift of William A. Scott.



Statue of a seated Buddha. Thailand, H. 34.5 cm, acc. no. 2008.181.

Statuette of seated Buddha, Thailand, probably nineteenth century, bronze with traces of gilding and enamel (2008.182), gift of William A. Scott.

Devotional plaque depicting seated Buddha flanked by two attendant Buddhas, Thailand, eighteenth century, terracotta (2008.184), gift of William A. Scott.

Statuette of the arhat Shariputra or Maudgalyayana, Thailand, late Ayutthaya period, mid-eighteenth century, gilded iron (2008.189), gift of William A. Scott.

## European and American Art

**Manuscript**

Anonymous (Italian, fifteenth century), illuminated leaf from an antiphony with psalms 113 (Laudate pueri) and 116 (Credidi), fifteenth century, ink and pigments on parchment (2008.194), gift of William A. Scott.

**Paintings**

Louis Valtat (French, 1969–1952), *Etudes de femme assise* (Studies of a Seated Woman) [forgery], 1920s–1930s, watercolor and pencil on laid paper (2008.1), gift of Mark Landis in memory of Lt. Cmdr Arthur Landis, Jr.

Marion Reid (British, 1858–1931), *The Sorceress*, 1887, oil on canvas (2008.2), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Cyclops (British, b. 1975), *Hallelujah*, 2007, acrylic and ink on canvas (2008.3), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.



Cyclops, *Hallelujah*, 2007, 60.8 x 45.7 cm, acc. no. 2008.3.

Four paintings by Edward Buk Ulreich (American, b. Austria-Hungary, 1889–1966): untitled, 1940s–1950s (?), oil on heavy cardboard (2008.4); *E. G. Youcis Pattern No. 396-1027*, 1940s–1950s (?), gouache and red pencil on paper (2008.5); *E. G. Youcis Pattern No. 397-1028*, 1940s–1950s (?), gouache and red pencil on white-painted paper (2008.6); untitled, 1940s–1950s (?), gouache and red pencil on paper (2008.7), gift of Mr. David T. Owsley.

Frederick Oakes Sylvester (American, 1869–1915), *The River*, 1904, oil on canvas (2008.170), transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Administrative Services, University of Missouri.

Stephen Sacklarian (American, b. Bulgaria, 1899–1983), *Genesis-156*, ca. 1969, acrylic on canvas (2008.173), gift of Dr. and Mrs. Arthur F. Furman.

### Drawings

Three drawings by Edward Buk Ulreich (American, b. Austria-Hungary, 1889–1966): untitled, 1940s–1950s (?), black crayon and red pencil on white-painted paper (2008.8); untitled, 1940s–1950s (?), black crayon and red pencil on white-painted paper (2008.9); untitled, 1940s–1950s (?), black ink on heavy cardboard (2008.10), gift of Mr. David T. Owsley.

### Graphics

Adriaen Collaert (Flemish, 1560–1618), *December*, from the series *Twelve Months of the Year*, late sixteenth–early seventeenth century, engraving (2008.11), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.



Adriaen Collaert, *December*, 20.6 x 26.5 cm, acc. no. 2008.11.



Albert Flamen (Flemish, ca. 1620–after 1693), *Trutta. La truitte* (Trout), from the series *Diverses especes de poissons d'eau douce. première partie* (Diverse Species of Fresh Water Fish. Part One), seventeenth century, etching (2008.12), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Anne Allen (British, b. 1750), *Stairway Leading to a Fragile Pavilion*, from the series *Nouvelle suite de cahiers chinois (No. 2)* (A New Book of Chinese Ornaments [No. 2]), 1798, etching à la poupée on wove paper, after a drawing by Jean Baptiste Pillement (French, 1728–1808) (2008.13), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.



Anne Allen, *Stairway Leading to a Fragile Pavilion*, 19.5 x 14.0 cm, acc. no. 2008.13.

Ludovic Lepic (French, 1839–1889), *A Stormy Landscape*, 1870, etching (2008.14), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Félix Hilaire Buhot (French, 1847–1898), *Les voisins de campagne* (The Country Neighbors), 1879–1880, etching, drypoint and aquatint on laid paper (2008.15), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.

Six etchings with engraving on laid paper designed by William Hogarth (British, 1697–1764) comprising the series *Marriage à la Mode*, 1745: *Plate I* (The Marriage Settlement) (2008.16.1) and *Plate VI* (The Lady's Death) (2008.16.6), cut by Gérard Jean-Baptiste Scotin II (French, 1698–after 1755); *Plate II* (The Tête à Tête) (2008.16.2) and *Plate III*

(The Inspection) (2008.16.3), cut by Bernard Baron (French, 1696–1766); *Plate IV* (The Toilette) (2008.16.4) and *Plate V* (The Bagnio) (2008.16.5), cut by Simon Francis Ravenet the elder (French 1706 or 1721–1744), gift of Museum Associates.



William Hogarth, *The Marriage Settlement*, 38.0 x 46.7 cm, acc. no. 2008.16.1.

Koo Kyung Sook (South Korean, b. 1960), *Markings No. 7-3*, 2007, inkjet print (2008.171), Gilbreath-McLorn Museum Fund.



Koo Kyung Sook, *Markings No. 7-3*, 2007, 185.7 x 96.5 cm, acc. no. 2008.171.

## Photographs

One hundred and fifty-two photographs by Andy Warhol (American, 1928–1987), gift of The Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts, Inc. Polaroids: *Ladies and Gentlemen (Orange Dress)*, January 1974, Polacolor Type 108 (2008.113); *Valentino and Unidentified Woman*, August 1975, Polacolor Type 108 (2008.100); *Shirley Fiterman*, 1976, Polacolor Type 108 (2008.17–28); *Shaindy Fenton*, 1977, Polacolor Type 108 (2008.29–36); *Unidentified Woman #14 (Long Auburn Hair)*, 1977, Polacolor Type 108 (2008.45–51); *Jack Nicklaus*, 1977, Polacolor Type 108 (2008.74); *Art Supplies*, 1977, Polacolor Type 108 (2008.111); *Nude Model (Male)*, 1977, Polacolor 2 (2008.114, 115); *Nude Model (Male)*, 1977, Polacolor Type 108 (2008.116–118); *Unidentified Man (Brown Suede Jacket)*, March 1977, Polacolor 2 (2008.81–87); *Mr. and Mrs. Jerry Mack*, 1978, Polacolor Type 108 (2008.97); *Daryl Lillie*, November 1978, Polacolor 2 (2008.64–71); *Pig*, 1979, Polacolor Type 108 (2008.112); *Unidentified Couple*, October 1979, Polacolor Type 108 (2008.98, 99); *Debbie Harry*, 1980, Polacolor Type 108 (2008.54); *Shaindy Fenton*, February 1980, Polacolor 2 (2008.62, 63); *Leah and Tora Bonnier*, March 1980, Polacolor Type 108 (2008.101, 102); *Rick Ocasek*, April 1980, Polacolor 2 (2008.80); *Frau Buch*, December 1980, Polacolor 2 (2008.73); *Rhonda Ross*, 1981, Polacolor 2 (2008.53); *Paul Delvaux*, 1981, Polacolor 2 (2008.79); *Knives*, 1981, Polacolor 2 (2008.108); *Mother Goose*, 1981, Polacolor 2 (2008.109); *Unidentified Boy (Shaggy Blond Hair)*, May 1981, Polacolor 2 (2008.107); *Unidentified Boy (Blond Bowl-Cut Hair)*, September 1981, Polacolor 2 (2008.105, 106); *Enzo Cucchi*, December 1981, Polacolor 2 (2008.96); *Amalita de Fortabat*, May 1982, Polacolor ER (2008.55–61); *Lorna Luft*, October 1982, Polacolor ER (2008.72); *Enid Beal*, 1985, Polacolor ER (2008.37–44); *Pia Miller*, 1985, Polacolor ER (2008.52); *Last Supper*, 1985, Polacolor ER (2008.110); *Son Chia*, February 1985, Polacolor ER (2008.103); *Peter Schuyff*, 1986, Polacolor ER (2008.75–78); *Philip J. Kendall*, June 1986, Polacolor ER (2008.88–95); *Unidentified Boy (Striped Shirt)*, June 1986, Polacolor ER (2008.104). Gelatin silver prints: *Kerry Kennedy, Mary Richardson, and Unidentified People*, July 23rd, 1980 (2008.152); *Debbie Harry and Unidentified Man*, October 27th, 1980 (2008.145); *Unidentified Woman*, February 1981 (2008.120); *Pat Hackett*, 1982 (2008.121, 122); *Two Unidentified Men at Dinner Table*, 1982 (2008.148); *Dog in Bicycle Store*, 1982 (2008.155); *China: Street Scene*, 1982 (2008.164, 165); *Unidentified Man*, February 24th, 1982 (2008.136); *Unidentified Man and Woman*, February 24th, 1982 (2008.146); *Unidentified Man and Woman*, 1983 (2008.147); *Unidentified Man*, 1984 (2008.137); *Unidentified Woman*, undated (2008.119); *Ronnie Cutrone*, undated (2008.123); *Victor Hugo*, undated (2008.124, 125); *Jon Gould*, undated (2008.126–129); *Curiosity Killed the Cat*, undated (2008.130); *Unidentified Man*, undated (2008.131–135); *Robert Wilson and Unidentified Woman*, undated (2008.138); *Futura 2000 and Unidentified Woman*, undated (2008.139); *Christopher Makos and Unidentified Man*, undated (2008.140–142); *Lady Geraldine Ogilvy and Unidentified Woman*, undated (2008.143); *Kathleen Turner and Jay Weiss*, undated (2008.144); *Unidentified Men and Women*, undated (2008.149, 150, 156); *Unidentified Men*, undated (2008.151); *Mother and Child*, undated (2008.153); *Dead Rat*, undated (2008.154); *Building*, undated

(2008.157); *Union Square*, undated (2008.158); *Flea Market*, undated (2008.159); *People on the Street*, undated (2008.160); *Buildings*, undated (2008.161); *Beach House*, undated (2008.162); *Jon Gould, Peter Wise, and Christopher Makos in Colorado*, undated (2008.163); *Flowers*, undated (2008.166); *Sign*, undated (2008.167); *Lower Torso-Legs*, undated (2008.168).



Andy Warhol, *Rick Ocasek*, 9.5 x 7.3 cm, acc. no. 2008.80.

### Decorative Art

Jennifer McCurdy (American, b. 1955), *Wave Vessel*, 2007, porcelain (2008.174), gift of Dr. and Mrs. Arthur F. Furman.



Jennifer McCurdy, *Wave Vessel*. H. 24.8 cm, acc. no. 2008.174.

## Exhibitions

2008

### **Daumier's Paris: Life in the Nineteenth-Century City**

*Through–May 25, 2008*

Born in Marseille in 1808, Honoré Daumier was one of the most prolific artists of the nineteenth century. In a career that spanned five decades, he became well known, not only as a printmaker and caricaturist but also as a painter and sculptor. He is particularly known for his lithographs, which often present a satirical perspective on the bourgeois society of Paris. In this yearlong exhibition, featured in three installments, Daumier's unique view of nineteenth-century Paris was illustrated through a selection of the artist's lithographs.



Fig. 1. *Before Columbus: Iconography in the Ancient Americas.*

### **Before Columbus: Iconography in the Ancient Americas (Fig. 1)**

*February 9–May 18, 2008*

The ancient civilizations of the Americas represent a wide range of distinct and unique artistic traditions. Although richly diverse, these civilizations shared an emphasis on using art as a vehicle for communicating symbolic and cosmological meanings. Featuring ceramics, textiles, feather work, and objects of stone, metal, and shell, this exhibition highlighted both the range of iconographic forms found throughout the pre-Columbian New World and the complexity of interpreting their meanings in a post-Columbian setting. Works in the exhibition ranged from the Peruvian highlands and Amazon Basin through Mesoamerica to ancient Missouri.



Fig. 2. *Dreams of the Surreal*.

### **Dreams of the Surreal (Fig. 2)**

*March 11–July 13, 2008*

This small exhibition, envisioned as the first of a new series of exhibitions that explore different issues in the history of art, focused on surrealism. Freed from the constraints of reason, morals, and aesthetic concerns, artists directly responded to the creative impulses deep inside their brains. The disruptions of space, time, and coexistence of the real and bizarre, all painted with great attention to detail and in a realistic manner, spoke to the subconscious directly. Each of the works selected for the show subverted the normal in a unique way.



Fig. 3. *The Fine Art of Living: Luxury Objects from the East and West*.



### The Fine Art of Living: Luxury Objects from the East and West (Fig. 3)

May 29, 2008–June 2009

This multicultural exhibition featured a selection of luxury arts from the museum's diverse collections. These beautiful objects not only played an important aesthetic role but also communicated social, political, religious, and cultural information about the patron. Often made of precious materials by skilled craftsmen, these highly valued pieces constituted a necessary component of the life of the upper class. The realm of the decorative arts is a vast one, involving objects of every shape and material imaginable. By bringing together objects from China, Europe, India, Japan, and the United States from the Early Modern period to around 1900, this show explored a wide variety of cultural aesthetic preferences and societal practices in relation to "The Fine Art of Living."



Fig. 4. Kawase Hasui (Japanese, 1883–1957). *Mt. Fuji in Moonlight at Kawai Bridge*, 1947, color woodblock print. Gift of Doreen Canaday Spitzer in honor of Ward and Mariam Canaday, acc. no. 76.153, in *The Poetry of Nature in Japanese Woodblock Prints*.

### The Poetry of Nature in Japanese Woodblock Prints (Fig. 4)

June 7–August 24, 2008

The poetic visions of the land and its moods expressed by Japanese woodblock artists present a personal response and celebration of the ever-changing effects of nature. Strong outlines, simple forms, and flat areas of color characterize Japanese woodblock printing, the main method of mass printing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These prints concentrated on features of the land and urban environment, which then became transformed through the different seasons, times of day, and shifting weather patterns. By exploring the eloquent compositional arrangements in relation to subject matter and Japanese poetry, this exhibition opened new avenues to the appreciation of this quintessentially Japanese form of artistic expression.



Fig. 5. *Missouri through Lens and Palette*.

**Missouri through Lens and Palette (Fig. 5)**

*September 6–December 24, 2008*

Artists and documentary photographers have recorded the people and lands of small-town Missouri throughout the twentieth century. The works included in this exhibition sought to capture the people who make small towns vibrant as well as the structures and details of the land that endow each locale with a distinct personality. While photographers consistently bring the subject into sharp focus, their approaches vary, as do the styles adopted by painters. By bringing such an immense variety of works together, this exhibition explored the differing visions of the ever changing and sometimes vanishing reality of the Missouri heartland. The exhibition was a collaboration between the Museum of Art and Archaeology and the Missouri Photo Workshop to commemorate the centennial of the University of Missouri's School of Journalism.

**Satirizing the High Life: Hogarth's *Marriage à la Mode* (Fig. 6)**

*October 3, 2008–February 1, 2009*

The painter and engraver William Hogarth (British, 1697–1764) played a significant role in establishing an English school of painting. Moreover, he showed artists that they



Fig. 6. *Satirizing the High Life: Hogarth's Marriage à la Mode*.

could achieve success and independence by publishing engravings after their paintings. In 1745, he published a series of prints entitled *Marriage à la Mode*, which satirized a fashionable marriage of convenience between members of the aristocratic and upper middle classes. Contemporary drama and life provided Hogarth with the subjects for the six scenes, which explored the contemporaneous debate on marital ethics. The prints are also a remarkable record of English culture, providing detailed information about eighteenth-century etiquette, costume, material culture, architecture, art collecting, and aesthetics.

## Loans to Other Institutions

2008

To Elmer Ellis Library, University of Missouri, February 2008, ten photographs by various twentieth-century American photographers from the collection *Songs of My People*, gelatin silver prints (95.6.8, 13, 19, 70, 82, 88, 92, 116, 122, 146) for the exhibition *Songs of My People—Selections* in conjunction with Black History Month.

To Museo de Arte Moderna e Contemporanea di Trento e Rovereto, Rovereto, Italy, November 15, 2008–February 2, 2009, the painting *Portrait of a Musician*, 1949, by Thomas Hart Benton (American, 1889–1975), casein ground color, egg tempera and oil varnish glaze on canvas backed by wood panel (67.136) for the exhibition *Il Secolo del Jazz: Arte, cinema, musica e fotografia da Picasso a Basquiat*. [Exhibition to continue at other venues in 2009.]

## Museum Activities

2008

### Lectures

#### February 19

F. Kent Reilly, professor, Texas State University, "Visions to Another Realm: Art and Artifact in Ancient America."

#### March 18

Christine VanPool, assistant professor of Anthropology, University of Missouri, "Style and Casas Grandes Iconography."

#### April 1

Alex Barker, director, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, "Meaning, Method, and the Iconography of Pre-Columbian Shell Engravings."

#### May 1

Lisa Farrington, senior art historian, Parsons School of Design, "Crazed Saints: Black Women Artists in America."

#### November 6

Patricia Crown, professor emeritus, Department of Art History and Archaeology, University of Missouri, "The *Marriage à la Mode* by William Hogarth: The Decline and Fall of an Eighteenth-Century Marriage."

### Midday Gallery Events

#### January 16

Alex Barker, director, Museum of Art and Archaeology, first Wednesday event, "Vampirism: The Legends of Romania."

#### February 6

Alex Barker, director, Museum of Art and Archaeology, first Wednesday event, "Iconography and Iconology."

#### March 5

Christine VanPool, assistant professor of Anthropology, first Wednesday event, "Ancient Southwestern Ceramics."

**April 2**

Christine McCann, graduate research assistant, Museum of Art and Archaeology, first Wednesday event, "Relics of the Divine: The Quest for the Cross."

**May 7**

Meg Milanick, docent, Museum of Art and Archaeology, first Wednesday event, "Snuffboxes and Power Politics in Eighteenth-Century France."

**September 3**

Barbara Huddleston, director, Kingdom of Callaway Historical Society, first Wednesday event, "Main Street: Callaway Court House and Stock Sales."

**October 1**

Paul Hagey, graduate student, University of Missouri School of Journalism, first Wednesday event, "The Middle of Nowhere: Landscape Photography in the Midwest."

**November 5**

Rita Reed, associate professor, Photojournalism Department, University of Missouri, first Wednesday event, "Work Is Art and Art Is Work: Storytelling with Digital Photography."

**December 3**

Alex Barker, director, Museum of Art and Archaeology, first Wednesday event, "Acquisitions and Antiquities."

**Special Events**

**February 1**

*Songs of My People—A Selection*, exhibition opening, Ellis Library, University of Missouri.

**February 1**

Creative Impulse symposium.

**February 8**

*Before Columbus: Iconography in the Ancient Americas*, exhibition opening.

**February 14**

Valentine's Day event: film, *An Affair to Remember*, 1957, and Roses for the Ladies!

**February 29**

A Renaissance and Baroque concert, "Reflections on Paintings from the Museum of Art and Archaeology," performed by *Ars Antiqua*, the University of Missouri's School of Music ensemble.



**March 7**

Creative Impulse symposium.

**March 7–9**

“Art in Bloom,” mid-Missouri florists celebrated the museum’s artwork with their floral designs.

**March 8**

Dorie Draper, “The Art of Drawing Botanicals,” demonstration in conjunction with “Art in Bloom.”

**April 4**

Creative Impulse symposium.

**May 1**

Creative Impulse symposium.

**May 3**

“Paintbrush Ball,” wine and cheese reception, dinner, silent auction, and dancing with Big Band *Kapital Kicks*.

**May 12**

Annual docent appreciation luncheon.

**June 6**

*The Poetry of Nature in Japanese Woodblock Prints*, exhibition opening.

**September 5**

*Missouri through Lens and Palette*, exhibition opening.

**September 5**

Creative Impulse symposium.

**October 2**

“*Marriage à la Mode*, Hogarth Prints,” private exhibition opening and donor reception.

**October 3**

Creative Impulse symposium.

**October 7**

Annual University of Missouri campus gallery and culture crawl: Museum of Art and Archaeology; Museum of Anthropology; The State Historical Society of Missouri; The George Caleb Bingham Gallery, Department of Art; and Brady Gallery and Craft Studio.

**October 25**

Haunted museum tour.

**November 7**

Herakles Guild dinner.

**November 14**

Museum Associates annual meeting and reception.

**December 1**

National Day Without Art, day of observance recognizing the disproportionate number of arts community members who have died or are living with AIDS.

**December 3**

Museum Associates annual evening of holiday celebration with music by the University of Missouri's *Sialia Saxophone Quartet*.

**December 12**

Creative Impulse symposium.

## **Children's Educational Events**

**January 4**

"Portraits, Sketches, and Caricatures," for children, grades 1-8.

**January 21**

"School's Out! Art's In! Stories in Quilts," for families and children of all ages.

**February 3**

Second Sunday event, "Glass with Class," children, grades 1-8.

**March 8**

Nancy West, "Floral China Painting," children's workshop in conjunction with "Art in Bloom."

**March 9**

Rosemary Zbinden, "Floral China Painting," children's workshop in conjunction with "Art in Bloom."

**April 13**

Second Sunday event, "Koins with Kenyon," for children, grades K-8.

**April 18**

“Animals in the Museum,” a preschool program.

**May 11**

Second Sunday event, “Cloth, Feathers, and Glyphs,” for children, grades K–8.

**May 23**

“Shades of Green,” a preschool program.

**June 5**

Kids’ Series: World of Art, “Mummies.”

**June 8**

Second Sunday event, “I Don’t Need This!” for children, grades K–8.

**June 12**

Kids’ Series: World of Art, “Claude Monet.”

**June 19**

Kids’ Series: World of Art, “Dale Chihuly: Glass.”

**June 26**

Kids’ Series: World of Art, “Faith Ringold: Quilts.”

**July 10**

Kids’ Series: World of Art, “Objets d’art: Fancy Furnishings.”

**July 13**

Second Sunday event, “Nature in Art,” for children, grades K–8.

**July 17**

Kids’ Series: World of Art, “Museums.”

**July 24**

Kids’ Series: World of Art, “Woodblock Prints.”

**July 31**

Kids’ Series: World of Art, “Cartoons and Animation.”

**August 7**

Kids’ Series: World of Art, “Archaeology.”

**August 10**

Second Sunday event, "Ode to an Urn," for children, grades K-8.

**August 14**

Kids' Series: World of Art, "Picasso."

**September 14**

Second Sunday event, "Treasure Hunt," for children, grades 1-8.

**September 25**

"School's Out! Art's In! Images of Missouri," for children, grades 1-8.

**October 12**

Second Sunday event, "Olympics: Greece and China," for children, grades 1-8.

**November 9**

Second Sunday event, "It's All in the Image: Photography," for children, grades 1-8.

**December 14**

Second Sunday event, "Writing Just Right," for children, grades 1-8.

## **Adult Education Program**

**March 9**

Marie Pasley, master gardener, Columbia Garden Club, "Designing a Garden," presentation in conjunction with "Art in Bloom."

## **Missouri Folk Art Program**

**April 5**

Big Muddy Folk Festival, Boonville, Missouri. "Show & Tales" traditional arts apprenticeship program showcase. Gloria Penning and Vickie Penning, "German Lace-Knitting"; Daniel Suarez and Raul Suarez, "Venezuelan *Cuatro*"; Aladeen, Ryan Stephens, and Christopher Clark, "Kansas City Jazz."

**April 15**

Tuesdays at the Capitol, Jefferson City, Missouri. Gloria Penning and Vickie Penning, "German Lace-Knitting."

**April 22**

Tuesdays at the Capitol, Jefferson City, Missouri. Daniel Suarez and Raul Suarez, "Venezuelan *Cuatro*."

**April 29**

Tuesdays at the Capitol, Jefferson City, Missouri. Bernard Allen and Danyel Nobles, "Luthiery."

**May 12–June 30**

Van Buren, Missouri. *Work Is Art and Art Is Work: The Art of Hand-Crafted Instruments*, final showing of the traveling exhibition, an American Masterpieces project funded by the National Endowment for the Arts and the Missouri Arts Council.

**June 6–7**

Big Spring, Missouri. Ozark Riverways National Park's Heritage Days Festival. Performances, demonstrations, and narrative stage presentations by travelling exhibit artists.

**Film Series**

**January 17**

*Fellini's Roma*, 1972.

**February 1**

*Portrait of Jennie*, 1948.

**February 21**

*Roman Holiday*, 1953.

**March 4**

*On a Clear Day You Can See Forever*, 1970.

**March 20**

*Madame Bovary*, 1949.

**April 4**

*Aguirre: Wrath of God*, 1972.

**April 17**

*Apocalypto*, 2006.

**May 2**

*Spellbound*, 1945.

**May 15**

*Columbus*, 1949.

**June 6**

*Rashomon*, 1951.

**June 19**

*That Hamilton Woman*, 1941.

**July 17**

*Bringing Up Baby*, 1938.

**August 1**

*How to Draw a Bunny*, 2002.

**August 21**

*The Agony and the Ecstasy*, 1965.

**September 5**

*Roman Holiday*, 1953.

**September 18**

*Network*, 1976.

**October 3**

*Barry Lyndon*, 1975.

**October 16**

*His Girl Friday*, 1940.

**November 7**

*The Stunt Man*, 1980.

**November 20**

*Missing*, 1982.

**December 5**

*All the President's Men*, 1975.

**December 18**

*Age of Innocence*, 1993.



# Museum of Art and Archaeology

## Staff 2008

Alex Barker  
*Director*

Bruce Cox  
*Assistant Director, Museum Operations*

Carol Geisler  
*Administrative Assistant*

Stephanie Lyons  
*Computer Graphic Artist*

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*Associate Curator of European and American Art*

Benton Kidd  
*Associate Curator of Ancient Art*

Cathy Callaway  
*Associate Museum Educator*

Arthur Mehrhoff  
*Academic Coordinator*

Jeffrey Wilcox  
*Curator of Collections/Registrar*

Kenyon Reed  
*Collections Specialist*

Barbara Smith  
*Chief Preparator*

Larry Stebbing  
*Preparator*

Jennifer Haile, George Szabo (beginning 4/08)  
*Assistant Preparators*

Tristan Barnes, Shane Behrens (through 6/08), Larry Lepper, Daniel Sewell,  
Joshua Webster (beginning 8/08)  
*Security Guards*

Barbara Fabacher  
*Information Desk and Tour Coordinator*

Elizabeth Deridder (through 8/08), Olivia Fales (beginning 8/08)  
*Graduate Research Assistants, Ancient Art*

Sarah Carter (through 8/08), Rebecca Dunham (through 7/08),  
Julie Ayers (beginning 8/08)  
*Graduate Research Assistants, European and American Art*

Christine McCann (through 8/08), Nicole Eaton (beginning 8/08)  
*Graduate Research Assistants, Registration*

Alex Choate (through 12/08), Paige Choate (through 12/08), Elizabeth Hassler (through  
12/08), Janet Kasper, Aslin Nolte (through 5/08), Kelly Sample (beginning 9/08)  
*Undergraduate Student Assistants*

Lisa Higgins  
*Director, Missouri Folk Arts Program*

Deborah Bailey  
*Folk Arts Specialist*

Tahna Henson (through 5/08), Claire Schmidt (beginning 8/08, through 12/08),  
*Graduate Student Interns, Folk Arts Program*

Willow Mullins 8/08–12/08  
*Research Assistant, Folk Arts Program*

## **Museum of Art and Archaeology**

### Docents in 2008

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Nancy Cassidy  
Averil Cooper  
Patricia Cowden  
Jeanne Daly  
Dorinda Derow  
Barbara Fabacher  
Ann Gowans  
Ingrid Headley  
Linda Keown  
Mary Beth Kletti  
M. Michael Kraff  
Nancy Mebed  
Meg Milanick  
Marcia Muskrat  
Alice Reese  
Judy Schermer  
Pam Springsteel  
Carol Stevenson  
Remy Wagner  
Trina Warder

## Museum of Art and Archaeology

### Museum Advisory Council of Students (MACS) 2008

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## Museum of Art and Archaeology

### Advisory Committee 2008

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*Textile and Apparel Management*









大清乾隆庚寅年敬造