

THE MONTAGURAGAZZA STYLE

(Con le tavole XXII-XXXI f. t.)

The two larger bronzes from the votive stipe of Montaguragazza¹, discovered in 1882 and now in Bologna (*tav.* XXII)², are generally considered major monuments of Etruscan art. Over the years a rather large number of bronzes³ has come to be ascribed, usually on stylistic grounds, to the school of Montaguragazza or to related workshops. This paper will examine some of these attributions in order to define if possible the actual characteristics of a Montaguragazza style.

Indiscriminate use of the word « style » in the past has led to a good deal of confusion. The term is employed interchangeably for any one of several different *orders* of styles – ethnic styles, period/chronological styles, geographically-defined styles, styles that can be attributed to individual artists; or for various types of smaller groupings within each of those larger categories.

We should like to focus here on one of the most narrow stylistic categories – in this case the personal style of the artist or workshop. The method is one of simple description, with the expectation that the visual details recorded about each piece will form their own patterns, revealing by their degree of congruency how close the piece is to the style to which it is assigned, or how it is distinct from that style.

Most prominently associated with the large Montaguragazza male figurine in recent literature have been five figures of comparable size: a Mercury (or « Turms ») in Oxford (*tav.* XXIII *a-b*)⁴; a standing offerant from Pizzidimonte, now in London

¹ The spelling of this obscure place-name varies. I have adhered to Gozzadini's versions (below, Note 2), the earliest I have yet come across.

² Museo Civico Archeologico, nos. 27816, 27828. G. GOZZADINI, *Atti Mem.* X, 1882, pp. 451, 536 ff; -- XI, 1883, p. 60 ff. pls. 1-2; GIGLIOLI, *AE*, pl. 220.1-4; L. LAURENZI, *Crit. Arte* III, 1938, p. 12 ff. figs. 1-7; P.J. RIIS, *Tyrrhenika*, Copenhagen, 1941, pp. 90, 172, pl. 18.2 (hereafter, *Tyrrhenika*); M. CRISTOFANI, *St. Etr.* XLVII, 1979, p. 86; E.H. RICHARDSON, *Etruscan Votive Bronzes*, Mainz, 1983, p. 240, figs. 546-548; p. 302, figs. 715-717 (hereafter, *EVB*). Photographs courtesy of Soprintendenza Archeologica dell'Emilia.

³ The present writer at one time counted over 100 objects which have been cited, by one individual or another, as stylistically related to the Montaguragazza figurines.

⁴ Ashmolean Museum, no. 1943-38. *Tyrrhenika*, p. 90, P.J. RIIS, *JRS* XXXVI, 1946, p. 43 ff, pl. 7; *EVB*, pp. 359-360, fig. 863. Photograph reproduced with the kind permission of the Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum.

(*tav.* XXIII *c*)⁵; the Hirshhorn kouros in Washington (*tav.* XXIV *a*)⁶; a figure of a Zeus (or « Tinia ») in Malibu (*tav.* XXIV *b*)⁷; and the so-called Vertumnus in Florence (*tav.* XXIV *c*)⁸.

One is confronted by an eye-catching set of common qualities among all these figures: an uncompromisingly stiff pose, with bent arms splayed out in a sort of supplicating gesture; sharply articulated musculature, comprising a ropey ridge separating the thorax from the abdominal cavity, with four closely-packed bulbous shapes defining the muscular forms of the abdomen; sinewy legs; a mantle in flat folds, wrapped around the right hip and over the left shoulder, creating a diagonal line from the right calf to left thigh, clinging to the body and revealing the sex beneath its thickness; rolled hair framing a rounded-square outline for a face, with near-archaic facial features, large eyes, sharp nose and chin, prominent ears, the merest trace of an archaic smile, and a curiously unconscious expression.

But some of these « characteristics » may be merely generic qualities that can be found in many figures of that era: the statuettes apparently represent religious attendants, votive figures dressed presumably in the local fashion, and the anatomical forms might simply be modelled in a manner common to the period. Yet there is a certain family resemblance among these figures, a haunting immediacy about them all, with a lovingly overworked quality in their detailing and an insistently careful articulation of the parts. Perhaps a closer examination would reveal something of a more tangible nature that might help to explain their closeness.

With this in mind, let us turn again to the Montaguragazza male: one notes that the figure has rather more delicate features than most of the others – a short mouth, modest nose, relatively smaller ear; the chin is rounded, not pointed; there is no archaic smile. Checking these points against the other figures, one becomes aware that the Turms in Oxford (which actually was found in a field near Uffington, in England, during the last century) is closer to the Montaguragazza offerant than it is to the others.

We see that the Turms has a smallish nose, and almost the same eyes as on

⁵ British Museum, Walters no. 509. *BM., Bronzes*, p. 70, no. 509, pl. 16; *Tyrrhenika*, p. 91, note 1; CRISTOFANI, p. 86, pl. 23 c; *EVB*, p. 233, figs. 526-528. Photograph copyright of Trustees of the British Museum, reproduced by permission.

⁶ Smithsonian Institution, no. 66.5172. NEDA LEIPEN, *BullRoyOntMus* 25, 1957, p. 13, pl. 4A; R.S. TEITZ, *Masterpieces of Etruscan Art*, Exhibit, Art Museum, Worcester, Mass., 1967, p. 58 ff, no. 47, illus. pp. 8, 157; CRISTOFANI, p. 86, pl. 23 d; *EVB*, pp. 235-236, fig. 537. Photograph permission of Smithsonian Institution.

⁷ J. Paul Getty Museum, no. 55 AB 12, from Piombino. J. Charbonneaux, *The Joys of Collecting*, New York, 1965, p. 49; TEITZ, *cit.*, pp. 55-56, no. 44, illus. p. 152; CRISTOFANI, p. 89, pl. 25; *EVB*, p. 235, figs. 533-535. Photograph permission of J. Paul Getty Museum.

⁸ Museo Archeologico, no. 72725. L.A. MILANI, *Atti Mem.* XIII, 1884, p. 618 ff, pl. 2; GIGLIOLI, *AE*, pl. 85.4; *Tyrrhenika*, p. 89; *EVB*, p. 237, figs. 539-540. Photograph courtesy of Soprintendenza delle Antichità - Firenze.

the Montaguragazza figure – no real eyelashes: only a torus-shaped ridge outlining the eye cavity, with the corners slightly more blunted at the median canthus than at the lateral extremities; what is recognizable as a « classical » eyebrow curve forming a simple full-circle arc; and a forehead conceived in terms of a single unmodulated curved plane: no supraorbital ridge or other naturalistic irregularity about it. The mouth of the Turms is partially obliterated, so we cannot compare it.

Observing both figures from the rear, one will note the deep groove between the shoulder blades, straight as a die in both the Montaguragazza and the Uffington figures: the other figures of the group do not have such pronounced vertebral columns. A back view of the legs shows identical fatly rounded calves on both figures, almost as if they were plaster casts of one another.

Continuing the comparison, one becomes aware that the Uffington piece is a bit more stocky than the Montaguragazza example, that the rolled hair is stamped with neat indications of curls instead of a straight-line pattern as on the other piece, and that the figure wears the winged boots and brimmed hat of its calling. The Montaguragazza figure has a more detailed abdominal configuration, the lower curve of the thorax rising via a reverse curve to a point in the center like a Tudor arch, with an extra triangular-shaped bulge in the bit of space thus remaining. Its mantle has a series of incised lines fanning out from the protruding center of the skirt and the border is quite decorative, half-circles looped together with nosegays of four dots where they meet, while the drapery of the Uffington figure begins to gather in a three-dimensional way as wavy, almost fluttering, folds – which might indicate that the Turms is a bit « later » than the offerant.

Yet despite such minor differences it is quite clear that these two figures are very close to one another, and common authorship cannot be ruled out.

Another likely candidate for stylistic parity with the Montaguragazza male would be the female figure found at the same site (*tav. XXII c*), a figurine with nothing of the spectacular display of flesh of its male counterpart. This lady is completely shrouded in a long skirt, a crinkled, sort of linseywoolsey upper garment⁹, and a mantle over the shoulders, hanging down in back almost as far as the skirt beneath it. Her hair is parted in the center and covers the neck in back until it is tucked under the mantle. The feet are covered by boots with a clasp in front at the ankles.

⁹ This type of garment is customarily interpreted as a linen chiton with overfall, the assumption being that the larger folds in the skirt are merely a « convention ». Some Akropolis korai are represented with a similar combination of small folds around the upper torso and large folds in the skirt (Korai 670, 671, 685, for example: H. SCHRADER, *Die archaisches Marmorwerke der Akropolis*. Frankfurt, 1939, pls. 14-15, 25, 70). The argument that the one-piece linen chiton is hereby represented does not seem terribly convincing to this writer. Perhaps a sweater is presented? Did the Ancients know how to knit? Jachets or jerkins are shown on various Etrusco-Italian bronzes, most plainly on a little castanet player in Orvieto (M. BIZZARRI, *Orvieto Etrusca*, Orvieto, 1967, pl. 24, p. 17).

The figure as a whole has the same stiff stance as the male figure, and the drapery has a similarly flat quality, splaying out at the lower hems and incised with a balanced series of herringbone-like rows of dots and lines which is somewhat reminiscent of the centrally-balanced decorative pattern on the male's skirt. The head exhibits the almond-shaped eyes, slightly hooked nose, round chin, regular curves of forehead and eyebrow planes, high flat cheekbones and kidney-shaped ears of its brother. Although the lady's face seems to be more classically inspired than the man's face with its pursed mouth, the two pieces are surely by the same hand.

Various Akropolis korai, most clearly Kore no. 688 (*tav. XXV a*)¹⁰, have been recognized as somewhat like the Montaguragazza statuette¹¹. One notes (1) the same center-parted hair, (2) which is tucked under the mantle in back on both, and (3) the « new », more sober way of wearing the mantle over the shoulders, the ends hanging down symmetrically on either side of the chest (rather than being fastened on one shoulder and draped diagonally over the opposite hip in the so-called « Ionic » style of the previous generation). Such specific details are not to be found on your run-of-the-mill late-archaic korai of Greek style that one might encounter in Italy in the first half of the fifth century.

To be sure, these are tiny, superficial details; elements of Greek fashion that have been imitated, not truly assimilated by the Italian copyist. The Etruscan work does not really *look* like the Greek one, and one is reminded that, after all, the Akropolis korai never left Greece; and cameras were unheard of. How, indeed, were such stylistic aspects transmitted in ancient times? The usual supposition is that Greek artists could have emigrated to the colonies. But perhaps it was the Westerners who did the travelling: Etruscan artists making the « grand tour » of Greece, just as American artists did of Europe in the nineteenth century. The unique way Kore 688 had of disposing of the long late-archaic pigtails, her sober mantle, and the latest fashion for center-parted hair which she exhibited might well have attracted the attention of one of those young visitors from the provinces, and he (the hypothetical young Etruscan artist) could have translated those memories into his native idiom when he got home¹².

¹⁰ Akropolis Museum, no. 688. Schrader, p. 62 f, pls. 30-32, no. 21. Photograph courtesy of TAP Service, Athens.

¹¹ E. HOMANN-WEDEKING, *RM LVIII*, 1943, p. 92. See also M. GUARDUCCI, *Rend. Lincei* 1926, p. 295 ff; LAURENZI, p. 12; *Tyrrhenika*, p. 172; G.A. MANSUELLI, *RA*, 1968, p. 76.

¹² The same type of East-to-West influence might also be responsible for the evident imitations of the head of the « Blond Boy » of the Akropolis which one can see on antefixes of the Temple of Sassi Caduti at Civita Castellana: cfr. SCHRADER, pls. 125-126 with Giglioli, pl. 186, or with A. ANDRÈN, *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples. SSIR 6*, 1940, pl. 38 g-k. Note also the draped figures from the Belvedere Temple and the Cannicella cemetery at Orvieto, which are so very similar to the pediment statues on the Parthenon: cfr. GIGLIOLI, pl. 326.2, or ANDRÈN, pl. 67.218 with R. LULLIES - M. HIRMER, *Greek Sculpture*, New York, 1951,

A fourth member of this family is a votive head in Berlin (*tav. XXV b*)¹³. This piece has almond-shaped eyes, small mouth, smooth planes in the curve of forehead and about the eyebrows, and a full chin like the Montaguragazza lady's. Lacking are the prominent chevron-shaped clavicles that were featured on the Uffington/Montaguragazza figurines. And in place of the simple rolled-up hair are four rows of tiny curls in high relief, like strings of heavy beads above the forehead. One remembers, though, that the Uffington Turms also had curls, there delicately impressed on the surface of the roll, not molded in three dimensions as here. The ear is in the shape of a shallow C instead of the closed kidney shape of the other examples. This piece is very close to the other three, but is not so finely executed.

The beard and mustache of the Getty Zeus (*tav. XXIV b*) might have distracted one from recognizing that figure as belonging to the same company, but as a more exact idea of the character of the Montaguragazza style emerges it becomes possible to understand this figure as close to that style. Some details are suggestive of a more classical, at least a less archaic, stage than we had hitherto encountered: the realistic ears; eyes that are pointed at the corners, almost forming themselves into tear ducts; the complicated hair arrangement; and perhaps the navel, with the loose skin above it folding over the lower depression in such a natural way. In terms of a steady progression of naturalistic representation from the archaic to the classical stage one might explain these differences by postulating that the Getty piece could be about ten years later (in the Greek sense) than the Montaguragazza offerant – and still be in the same generation of artists. But we are dealing with Italian art, not Greek, and one cannot be quite sure that the Italians really subscribed to merely Hellenic principles of artistic development.

To these five works might be added three male figures: a standing youth, no. 13079, from Palestrina and now in the museum of that city (*tav. XXVI a*)¹⁴; Brussels R 908 (*tav. XXVI b*)¹⁵; and Dresden ZV 491 (*tav. XXVI c*)¹⁶. All three of

pl. 164; and ANDRÉN, pl. 71.236 with LULLIES - HIRMER, pl. 166. Such possibilities have also been noted by Tobias Dohrn, who proposed certain figures on the Erechtheum frieze as models for the Cannicella figures: T. DOHRN, *Die etruskische Plastik im Zeitalter der griechischen Klassik*, Mainz, 1982, p. 55.

¹³ Staatliche Museum, Antikenabteilung no. 8195. M.F. KILMER, *The Shoulder Bust in Sicily and South and Central Italy. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 51*, Göteborg, 1977, pp.11-12 4, figs. 1-2; *EVB*, p. 153, figs. 348-349. Photographic credit: Antikenmuseum Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin.

¹⁴ Palestrina, Museo, no. 13079. A. DELLA SETA, *Museo di Villa Giulia*, Rome, 1918, p. 456; GIGLIOLI, *AE*, pl. 126.2. Photograph courtesy Soprintendenza Archeologica Etruria Meridionale.

¹⁵ Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, inv. R 908, from Cerveteri. M. RENARD, in *Studies Presented to David M. Robinson*, C.E. MYLONAS, ed., St. Louis, 1951, I, p. 747 ff, pl. 91 a; *EVB*, p. 240. Photograph by ACL Bruxelles.

¹⁶ Skulpturensammlung, inv. ZV 491. H. JUCKER, in *Art and Technology*, S. DOERINGER, et al., eds., Cambridge, Mass., 1970, pp. 204-205, fig. 22 a-c; *EVB*, p. 142. Photograph published by permission of the Skulpturensammlung Dresden.

these figures have the typical pinched-in look about the lower face. The head of the Palestrina figure, with its three rows of beadlike curls framing the face, reminds one of the Berlin head, with the addition of a sort of casual caricature of the chevron-shaped clavicles of the Montaguragazza youth; and the same flat-arched upper border to the sharply muscled abdominal cavity as well as the same tense springy stance are in evidence. It is thinner than the Montaguragazza male, but has a similar awkwardness at the shoulder juncture. The Brussels figure wears the Montaguragazza-style clinging mantle. The Dresden figure is perhaps not so close as the others: the abdominal area is not sharply marked by anatomical divisions and there is not the prominent thoracic arch. One can suppose that these were imitative of the Montaguragazza pieces themselves – or of whatever works (larger, lost and/or more famous in their day) from which the Montaguragazza pieces were derived; they are not necessarily by the same hand as their models.

This leaves certain earlier-looking pieces: the large-headed, large-featured Hirshhorn kouros (*tav. XXIV a*) and, closely related to it, the figure from Pizzidimonte, now in the British Museum (*tav. XXIII c*). The shiny dark-green patina of the Pizzidimonte youth lends a jewellike allure to that vulgarly resplendent piece, while the Hirshhorn figure has slight bumps and multiple discolorations adhering to and marring the surface, blemishes which conceivably have been left there on purpose, as if to attest to the age of the work¹⁷.

¹⁷ The Hirshhorn youth came on the market in the '50s at about the same time as the Getty Zeus and a draped female figure («Turan»), slightly later and not of Montaguragazza style, which is now in the Fogg Museum (H. HANFMANN, *Archaeology* IX, 1956, pp. 230-232, figs. 1-3; TEITZ, *op. cit.*, p. 71, no. 59, fig. p. 155). They all are said to have passed through the same dealer's hands, and each of the three is labelled as having come from Piombino/Populonia (JUCKER, *op. cit.*, pp. 212-213). The Kaeppli athlete (below, *tav. XXVII a*) has a somewhat similar history, although its provenience is given as Bracciano. The Turan has been meticulously cleaned and now reveals a rich surface coloration. It is not clear whether the figure has been repatinated. The Zeus is very dark, thickly covered with some preservative coating. The Hirshhorn kouros is covered with crackly green corrosion with patches of bright red underlying it here and there. A series like this, ostensibly related in style and possibly place of origin, offers an ideal opportunity for scientific examination, complete with various combinations of circumstances which could be utilized as «controls». The four well-endowed museums involved undoubtedly have access to most of the apparatus needed to do any scientific testing desired, and a large coordinated project on these separate but related pieces would give the archaeological world valuable experience in standardizing laboratory procedures and methods of reporting on results, with the prospect that those studiously ambiguous statements of conservation scientists, who are all too often geographically separated from one another and working more or less on their own with varying notions of what is possible from their recondite maneuvers, might actually be made meaningful to the archaeological client. See, as a prototype for such collaboration, K.C. LEFFERTS, *et al.*, *Technical Examination of the Classical Bronze Horse in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, JAIC, XXI, 1981, p. 1 ff. Nondestructive methods of analysis are discussed by M.D. GLASCOCK, *et al.*, *Analysis of Copper Based Metallic Artifacts by Prompt Gamma-Ray Neutron Activation Analysis*, *Archaeom.* 26.1, 1984, pp. 96 ff.

Besides the general characteristics of the Montaguragazza style evident here, one notes the clinging drapery of the Pizzidimonte youth. The folds have a certain bulk in the form of raised diagonal ridges across the body, not incised-in, as with the figures of the previously mentioned group: only the patterned borders on the skirt are incised. The front roll of hair comes down somewhat lower on the sides, on a level with the lower lobe of the ear, say; the eyebrows are beginning to be embossed-on rather than represented merely by the edge where the two planes meet; and the chevron-shaped clavicles meet at their angle in a nice U-shaped depression. Both figures wear pointed shoes. The large head and large features – ears, nose, mouth – are the most distinctive aspects of these two pieces.

Sometimes mentioned in stylistic relation to these figures is the nude youth from the Kaeppli collection, said to have come from Bracciano, and now in the Basel Antikenmuseum (*tav. XXVII a*)¹⁸. It is also a « large » piece, about the same size as the two just discussed. The big head, nose and mouth, the prominent eyebrows, flat almond-shaped eyes, and the crinkly hair treatment of this figure are similar to those of the Hirshhorn youth. The ridge of the thoracic arch is not quite as pronounced as on the Hirshhorn example, but the muscular pattern of this region – a wide fleshy bulge of chest just below the pectorals above the thoracic arch – and the general modelling of limbs, pectorals and face, suggest that these two pieces are by the same hand.

Although not by the same artist, and not even contemporary with the three pieces just discussed, the Vertumnus from Isola di Fano and now in Florence (*tav. XXIV c*) should be considered at this point. It is definitely late archaic, not severe. All angles are acute, anatomical members are pointed, the muscles are not prominently delineated, the knee is delicate, not rugged, the eyes are much larger than the other members, and the mouth is tiny. The Vertumnus has elements in common with both the Montaguragazza/Uffington figures and the Hirshhorn/Pizzidimonte subgroup. Abstractly speaking, it is as if the Hirshhorn/Pizzidimonte examples were direct descendants of the Vertumnus, while the Montaguragazza/Uffington figures were somewhat more provincial adaptations of that type. One cannot know whether these small objects were famous in their day and could actually have been seen and copied by younger artists as they came on the scene. Possibly they were only adaptations of monumental works since lost, and the « relationships » we seem to see are actually relationships at second hand, as passed on through a common ancestor, say.

¹⁸ Antikenmuseum, Kaeppli Collection no. 513. E. BERGER, *Kunstwerke der Antike*, Exhibition, Lucerne, 1963, B-15, fig.; K. SCHEFOLD, *et. al.*, *Führer durch das Antikenmuseum Basel* (1968 ?), p. 121, no. 173.1; I. RACZ, *Antikes Erbe*, Zurich, 1965, no. 43, fig.; JUCKER, in *Art and Technology*, p. 213, note 91, p. 219; *EVB*, p. 153, fig. 345. Photograph by permission of the Antikenmuseum Basel.

Three smaller nude male figurines recall the Hirshhorn/Pizzidimonte group: one in Florence, from Montecalvario, near Castellina in Chianti (*tav. XXVII b*)¹⁹; another in the Metropolitan Museum, from Marzabotto (*tav. XXVII c*)²⁰; and a discobolus in the Santa Barbara Museum of Art (*tav. XXVII a*)²¹. These all have large heads, rolled hair that extends down the temples in front of the C-shaped ears, large features and archaic grin, ropey ridges at clavicle and thoracic border, springy stance and muscular legs.

The Hirshhorn/Pizzidimonte group, because of its more direct relationship to the late-archaic Vertumnus, must be considered as « prior » to the Montaguragazza group. Thus it will be called Group I in the small complex of related groups (a workshop ?) which is being assembled here, with the Montaguragazza figures themselves placed in Group II (see Table, below).

A third series of figurines (8 items), while perhaps not as close to the name pieces as are the examples in the first two groups, strongly evoke the Montaguragazza style in certain essential aspects.

This group is more classically inspired than either of the earlier sections. It opens with a fine kouros in Florence, Museo Archeologico no. 120 (*tav. XXVIII b*)²². In height and bulk comparable to the seven famous pieces with which we began our discussion, the figurine needs only a good cleaning to put it in position to gain a renown comparable to those masterpieces. It is now encrusted with erosion products about the legs and covered with heavy black sooty deposits which seriously discourage detailed examination.

This is a lean figure, with large question-mark shaped ears, crinkly hair framing the face and reaching down in front of the ears in the manner of the Kaeppli youth, clavicles with a neat U-shaped pocket where they meet, like the Pizzidimonte figure, and the familiar round-arched upper thoracic border. The hands are fisted, with thumbs in front, like the Kaeppli figure, and the stance is the familiar severe-style attitude, flatfooted, with one leg advanced. The back view is curiously stylized: the lower half of the straight backbone groove is framed by a tongue-shaped depressed line. The face is narrower than the Montaguragazza

¹⁹ Museo Archeologico, no. 62. L.A. MILANI, *NS*, 1905, p. 241, fig. 41; CRISTOFANI, p. 86, pl. 24 d-e; *EVB*, p. 144, figs. 318-319. Photograph courtesy of Soprintendenza delle Antichità - Firenze.

²⁰ Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 96.18.19. G. ZOZZADINI, *Di un'antica necropoli a Marzabotto*, Bologna, 1865, pp. 43, 46, 92, note 175, pl. 14, fig. 1; G.M.A. RICHTER, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1915, p. 11, fig. 20; *EVB*, p. 151, fig. 337. Photograph reproduced by permission of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

²¹ Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Ludington Collection no. 81.64.17. M. DEL CHIARO, *AJA* LXXX, 1976, p. 301 ff, pl. 54.4 a-c. Photograph courtesy of Professor Del Chiaro.

²² Museo Archeologico, no. 120. GIGLIOLI, *AE*, pl. 220.9; L. ROCCHETTI, *AC* XIII, 1961, p. 122, pl. 61.2; CRISTOFANI, p. 90, pl. 28 b; *EVB*, p. 150, figs. 329-330. Photograph courtesy of Soprintendenza delle Antichità - Firenze.

face, with flat cheeks, thin lips, and narrow nose, while the full-circle arch of eyebrows and regular forehead plane are reminiscent of the Montaguragazza pieces. The eye sockets are empty. Classical influences on this face are evident, which suggests a later date for the piece than for figurines in the first two groups.

Related figures include a nude kouros from the Fontile sanctuary at Marzabotto (*tav.* XXVIII *c*)²³; two male offerants with a mantle wrapped around the waist, one in the Metropolitan Museum (*tav.* XXIX *a*)²⁴, the other in Hamburg (*tav.* XXIX *b*)²⁵; a standing youth in a full mantle from the same collection in Santa Barbara as the discobolus mentioned above (*tav.* XXX *a*)²⁶; a nude kouros in West Berlin (*tav.* XXX *b*)²⁷; and, somewhat earlier than all these, two fully draped figures, one in Paris²⁸ the other in Munich (*tav.* XXX *c*)²⁹.

The members of this grouping are obviously not all of equal standing, and can be separated into three small subgroups. First, a series of thin-faced almond-eyed figures: Florence 120, Berlin Fr 2166, and the mantled figure in Santa Barbara. The offerant with a short mantle around his loins, New York 20.209, has actual eyelids and, with his knowing smile, is almost too humanly accessible in the way he establishes direct psychological rapport with the viewer to be included with the other cold, icon-like figures. But he must belong with them. A second subgroup consists of the heavier-jawed, more bulging-eyed athletes in Hamburg and Bologna. The two draped figurines in Paris and Munich are near pairs; their archaic legs-together pose, stiff hand gestures, and Ionic-style thick bodies and pointed drapery might suggest a placement within a time frame near that of the Florence Vertumnus if it were not for the facial features, which are blunter, softer, somewhat more « open », and altogether more severe-classical than severe-archaic.

²³ Bologna, Soprintendenza Archeologica, neg. no. 24760. G. GUALANDI, *St. Etr.* XXXVIII, 1970, p. 222, pl. 14 a; CRISTOFANI, p. 86, pl. 24 c; *EVB*, p. 150, fig. 335. Photograph courtesy of Soprintendenza Archeologica dell'Emilia.

²⁴ Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 20.209. *EVB*, p. 242, fig. 551. Photograph reproduced by permission of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

²⁵ Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, n. 1917.210. R. PAGENSTECHE, *AA*, 1917, col. 80, fig. 1; *EVB*, p. 2141, fig. 549. Photograph courtesy of Dr. Wilhelm Hornbostel, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg.

²⁶ Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Ludington Collection no. 81.64.2. DEL CHIARO, *op. cit.*, p. 301, pl. 57.3 a-c; *EVB*, p. 235, fig. 536. Photograph courtesy of Professor Del Chiaro.

²⁷ Staatliche Museum Antikenabteilung, no. Fr 2166. K.A. NEUBEBAUER, *AA*, 1922, col. 91; *EVB*, p. 150, figs. 331-332. Photographic credit, Antikenmuseum Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin.

²⁸ Musée du Louvre, no. 4269. C. DEVÈS, *Catalogue des Bronzes Antiques de la Collection Henry de Nanteuil* (Thèse, École du Louvre) Paris, 1947, I, p. 142; *EVB*, p. 239.

²⁹ Antikensammlungen, no. 4313. R. LULLIES, *AA* 1957, pp. 405-406, figs. 22-23; *EVB*, p. 239, figs. 544-545. Photograph reproduced by permission of Antikensammlungen München.

Table: The Montaguragazza Style

Forerunner

Florence, Museo Archeologico, 72725, from Isola di Fano (*tav. XXIV c*).

Group I

- 1) Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Inst., 66.5172, from Piombino (*tav. XXIV a*).
- 2) London, British Museum, Walters 509, from Pizzidimonte (*tav. XXIII c*).
- 3) Basel, Antikenmuseum, Kaeppli 513, from Bracciano (*tav. XXVII a*)
- 4) Florence, Museo Archeologico, 62, from Castellina in Chianti (*tav. XXVII b*).
- 5) New York, Metropolitan Museum, 96.18.19, from Marzabotto (*tav. XXVII c*).
- 6) Santa Barbara, Museum of Art, Ludington Collection 81.64.17 (*tav. XXVIII a*).

Group II

- 7) Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 27816, from Montaguragazza (*tav. XXII a-b*).
- 8) Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 27828, from Montaguragazza (*tav. XXII c*).
- 9) Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1943-38, from Uffington (*tav. XXIII a-b*).
- 10) Berlin (West), Staatliche Museen Antikenabteilung, 8195 (*tav. XXV b*).
- 11) Malibu, Getty Museum, 55AB12, from Piombino (*tav. XXIV b*).
- 12) Palestrina, Museo Nazionale, 13079, from Palestrina (*tav. XXVI a*).
- 13) Brussels, Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, R908 (*tav. XXVI b*).
- 14) Dresden, Skulpturensammlung, ZV491 (*tav. XXVI c*).

Group III

- 15) Paris, Louvre, 4269.
- 16) Munich, Antikensammlungen, 4313 (*tav. XXX c*).
- 17) Bologna, Soprintendenza Archeologica, neg. no. 24760, from Marzabotto (*tav. XXVIII c*).
- 18) Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1917.210 (*tav. XXIX b*).
- 19) Florence, Museo Archeologico, 120 (*tav. XXVIII b*).
- 20) Berlin (West), Staatliche Museen Antikenabteilung, Fr 2166 (*tav. XXX b*).
- 21) Santa Barbara, Museum of Art, Ludington Collection 81.64.2 (*tav. XXX a*).
- 22) New York, Metropolitan Museum, 20.209 (*tav. XXIX a*).

As stated at the beginning of this paper, a great many pieces have come to be associated, on one level or another, with the Montaguragazza figures. Whenever the present list coincided at any point with some of those earlier attributions, that is usually acknowledged in an accompanying footnote; but it would be tedious and unprofitable to discuss all of the rejected attributions here. Perhaps, though, a mention of some of the many objects necessarily excluded from our lists can be made at this point.

P.J. Riis³⁰ has cited, along with other objects, the handle figure on the Pourtales vase³¹, the large Tyszkiewicz head³², both in the British Museum, and the well-known Stroganoff youth in Minneapolis³³ as being in a « Vulcian » circle of workshops that is also related to the Montaguragazza figure. After considerable deliberation, the present writer has eliminated these from his lists. The Stroganoff youth is clearly later, the Tyszkiewicz head has a somewhat longer face and narrower chin than its would-be counterparts from Montaguragazza, and the Pourtales figure is executed with a more sophisticated technique than the still-awkward « Etruscan » treatment of most of the members of the groups listed above.

Mauro Cristofani³⁴ has placed several Montaguragazza style pieces in juxtaposition to the (marble) Lorenzini head in Volterra³⁵. The latter is a finely made vigorous work in the same tightly-knit severe manner as our group, and the hair hanging over the forehead is cut into exactly the same saw-tooth design as that on the Montaguragazza male. But the face is an almost circular oval, while the faces in true Montaguragazza style are more hesitant, not knowing whether to be square, long or round. The flesh beneath the skin on the Lorenzini face seems to be alive, as if constantly moving. By contrast, the abstract shapes which make up the faces of our more « Etruscan » group are cold, rigid, essentially lifeless. The Lorenzini head represents a healthy, self-assured person; it is simply not in the spirit of our workshop, and can be « related » to the Montaguragazza style only in a chronological sense.

Cristofani includes the two splendid sculptured tripod feet in Florence³⁶ in what he characterizes as a « second generation » of works in the style of the Lo-

³⁰ *Tyrrhenika*, p. 90.

³¹ British Museum, Walters no. 557. Walters, *Select Bronzes... in the... British Museum*, London, 1915, pl. 11; GIGLIOLI, *AE*, pl. 225.4; *Tyrrhenika*, p. 90, pl. 17.3.

³² British Museum, no. 3212. WALTERS, *Select Bronzes, cit.*, pl. 7; GIGLIOLI, *AE*, pl. 234.2; *Tyrrhenika*, p. 90, pl. 17.2; *EVB*, p. 148, figs. 327-328.

³³ Minneapolis Institute of Art, inv. 47.39 9657. L. POLLAK - A. MUNOZ, *Pièces de Choix de la Collection du Comte Grégoire Stroganoff à Rome*, Rome, 1912, p. 19, pl. 20; *Tyrrhenika*, p. 90, pl. 18.3; *EVB*, p. 243, fig. 555.

³⁴ Above, Note 2.

³⁵ CRISTOFANI, pl. 23 a-b.

³⁶ Museo Archeologico, nos. 710, 711. GIGLIOLI, *AE*, pl. 225.2-3; ROCCHETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 119, pls. 57-61; CRISTOFANI, p. 90, pl. 28 c; DOHRN, *op. cit.*, p. 22, no. 3, pl. 6.

renzini head. The head of Perseus on one of these very much resembles the head of Florence 120 (here, *tav.* XXVIII *b*), which he places in the same category. It is clear, though, that the tripod figures are not of Montaguragazza style: the frozen zigzags of the drapery demonstrate that conclusively enough. And the bodily forms – arms, legs – are thicker and rounder than corresponding parts on Montaguragazza style pieces. The « resemblance » of these pieces – that of the Perseus face to the face of Florence 120, say – may stem merely from the fact that the eye sockets on both figurines are empty. Several of the other figures which he discusses in this context are related to each other mainly on the basis of belonging to the same chronological-period style, not as representatives of the work of the same group of artists. It must be noted however that Cristofani was not claiming common authorship for his pieces. He was primarily interested in demonstrating topographical affinities of style.

Emeline Richardson's *Etruscan Votive Bronzes*³⁷, which is a compendium of virtually all known Etrusco-Italian bronzes of this period (arranged mainly by types within a primary chronological order rather than from the standpoint of identity of personal style) lists six of the pieces discussed here (two from our Group I, one from Group II, and three from Group III) within a larger series of 18 pieces which she has assembled as a « Fine » group of severe-style kouros³⁸. The principal members of our Montaguragazza style (i.e., *tav.* XXII) are necessarily excluded from her Fine group, since they are not typological speaking « nude kouros ». But she notes via cross-referencing occasional connections of these works with various pieces in her Fine group. Some other items in her group, but excluded from the present listing, can be mentioned.

A kouros at the Rhode Island School of Design in Providence³⁹ has a beautiful grey-green patina, but it is of quite different proportions than the long-legged, large-headed Montaguragazza-style pieces. The face of this figure, with a long upper lip, is very close to another member of her Fine group, Berlin 30894⁴⁰ – which however is even more stockily proportioned, and still further removed from the style of the Montaguragazza statuettes. Two other figurines listed in the Fine group but which I have been unable to accept for my list are lost pieces from Marzabotto, known only from inconclusive drawings. If those sketches were to be depended on, one (no. 12 of the Fine group)⁴¹ might be placed in our Group III, and another (Fine group no. 13)⁴² within the Hirshhorn/Pizzidimonte series (Group I). But such drawings are not too dependable, as can

³⁷ Above, Note 2.

³⁸ *EVB*, p. 150 ff.

³⁹ *EVB*, p. 151 f, figs. 339-340.

⁴⁰ *EVB*, p. 150, figs. 333-334.

⁴¹ GOZZADINI, *Di un antica necropoli, cit.*, pl. 13.3.

⁴² *Ibidem*, pl. 14.2.

be demonstrated by a third figure from the same site, which is now in New York and has been placed in our Group I (*tav. XXVII c*). The drawing of that object in the Gozzadini publication where the other two are illustrated⁴³, identified by virtue of the duck held in the athlete's hand, presents a quite different appearance than the object as it presently exists. The figure in the Metropolitan Museum has large heavy features, while the sketch makes it into a thin, delicately « Ionic » style statuette.

Finally, two medium-sized figurines from the Montaguragazza stipe (and by extension a third, female figure) are classified with members of Mrs. Richardson's Fine group – attributions which need a few additional words.

The Montaguragazza find, according to the museum entries, numbered 15 pieces⁴⁴: the two larger, major figures; three medium-sized figures, one female (*tav. XXXI a*)⁴⁵ and two males (one of these: *tav. XXXI b*)⁴⁶; two smaller figures, both nude males; and eight tiny stick figures, three males and five females. The three medium-sized figures from Montaguragazza have certain features that were undoubtedly imitated from the major pair (rolled hair and explicitly outlined abdominal area of the males, center-parted hair and « flat » drapery of the female). But this does not mean that they are of Montaguragazza style any more than, say, Michelangelo's David could be called « Donatellesque » simply because Michelangelo may have adapted various details from Donatello's oeuvre for his own creations of a century later⁴⁷. By the most objective evidence available to us (the visual appearance of the statuettes) one can see that the medium-sized figures are actually a generation or two « later » in terms of anatomical development, that they are executed in a rough and rather expressionistic manner that is diametrically opposed to the meticulous detailing characteristic of most Montaguragazza-style pieces, and that they express a somewhat different attitude toward the human form than do their models.

In any case, there is an absolute date of sorts that might be attached to this workshop. If one can accept the explicit similarities of the large female

⁴³ *Ibidem*, pl. 14.1.

⁴⁴ GOZZADINI, *Atti Mem.* X, 1883, p. 537 mentions only 14; GUARDUCCI, *Rend. Lincei*, 1926, p. 282, says there were 15 pieces; likewise LAURENZI, *op. cit.*, p. 12 ff; and G. GUALANDI, *Stren StorBol*, 1975, p. 114.

⁴⁵ Museo Civico Archeologico, no. 27817. GOZZADINI, *Atti Mem.* XI, 1883, p. 60 ff, pls. 1.3, 2.3; GUARDUCCI, *op. cit.*, p. 291, fig. 6, center; GUALANDI, *op. cit.*, p. 109, fig. 5; *EVB*, p. 302, figs. 718-719. Photograph courtesy Soprintendenza Archeologica dell'Emilia.

⁴⁶ Museo Civico Archeologico, no. 27818. GUARDUCCI, *op. cit.*, p. 291, fig. 6, left; GUALANDI, *op. cit.*, p. 111, fig. 6; *EVB*, p. 152, fig. 343. Photograph courtesy Soprintendenza Archeologica dell'Emilia.

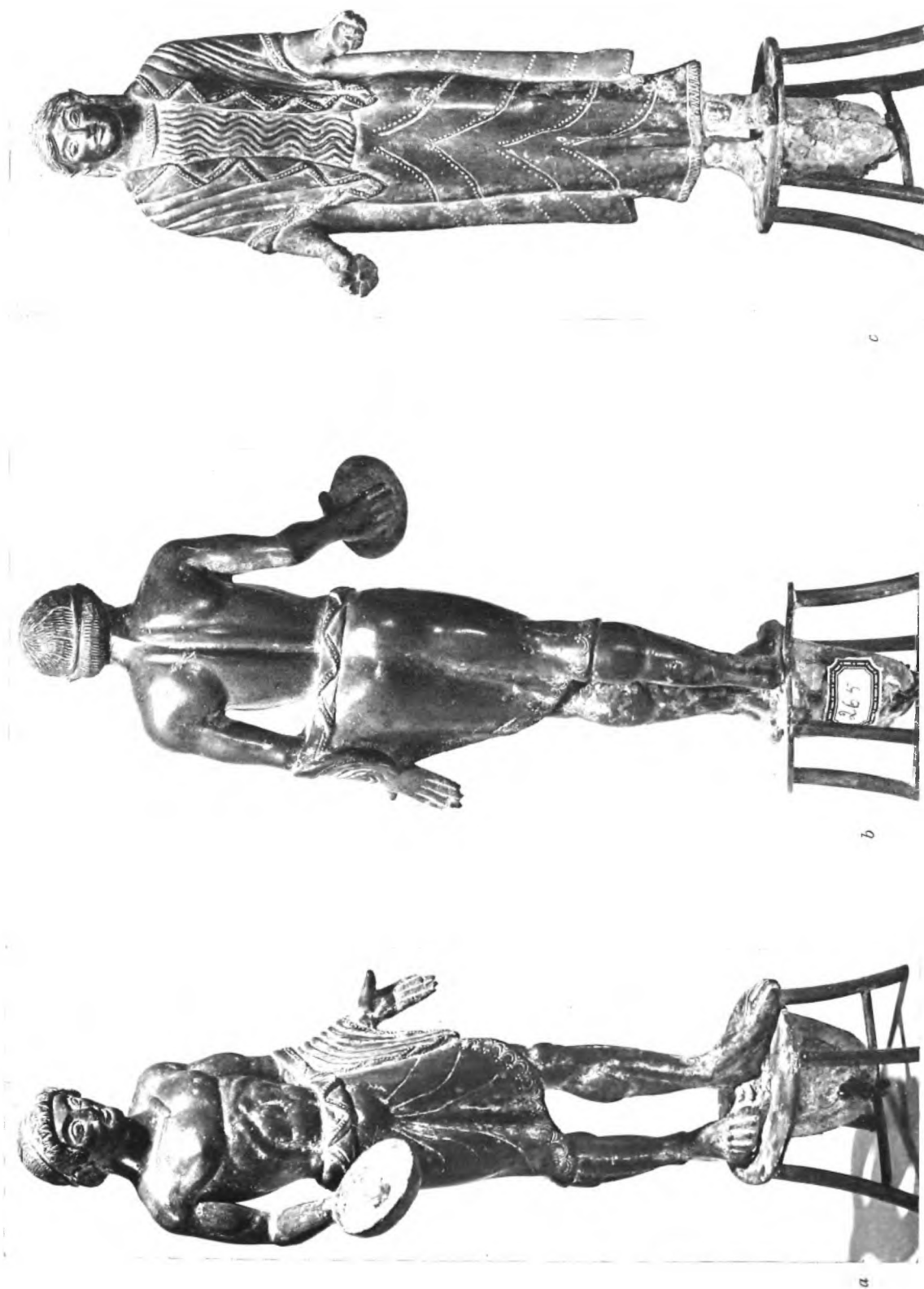
⁴⁷ See especially M. WEINBERGER, *Michelangelo the Sculptor*, New York, 1967, p. 83 ff, pls. 23.2, 25.3. See also H.W. JANSON, *The Sculptures of Donatello*, Princeton, 1963, p. 28; and CHARLES DE TOLNAY, *The Youth of Michelangelo*, Princeton, 1943, pp. 94, 98.

offerant from Montaguragazza to Akropolis Kore 688 as not merely generic, one can only conclude that the artist of the Italian work must have personally seen the Greek statue. Although Kore 688 is usually dated on stylistic grounds to about 480 B.C. (i.e., on a par with, if not later than, the latest material from the Persian debris), the statue was not actually found with the other Akropolis korai. It was discovered in a fill for the foundations for the Propylaea, and hence must have been above ground, presumably visible to visitors of the Akropolis, until approximately 438 B.C., when the Propylaea were begun⁴⁸, and the Etruscan bronze could not have been made much later than that.

One cannot know where the workshop operated, although there is a slight presumption in favor of the Po Valley. The two major figures were found in that area, and two others are known to have been discovered in Marzabotto, which is but a few miles away. Presumed proveniences in Isola di Fano, Castellina in Chianti, Piombino and Pizzidimonte are close to the Po Valley, or at least are northern Etruscan. But there are ascriptions to Palestrina, Bracciano, and Cerveteri which are not so close.

QUENTIN MAULE

⁴⁸ Above, Note 10.



a) Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 27816, Front; b) Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico



a) Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1943-38. Front; *b)* Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1943-38. Back;
c) London, British Museum, Walters 509.



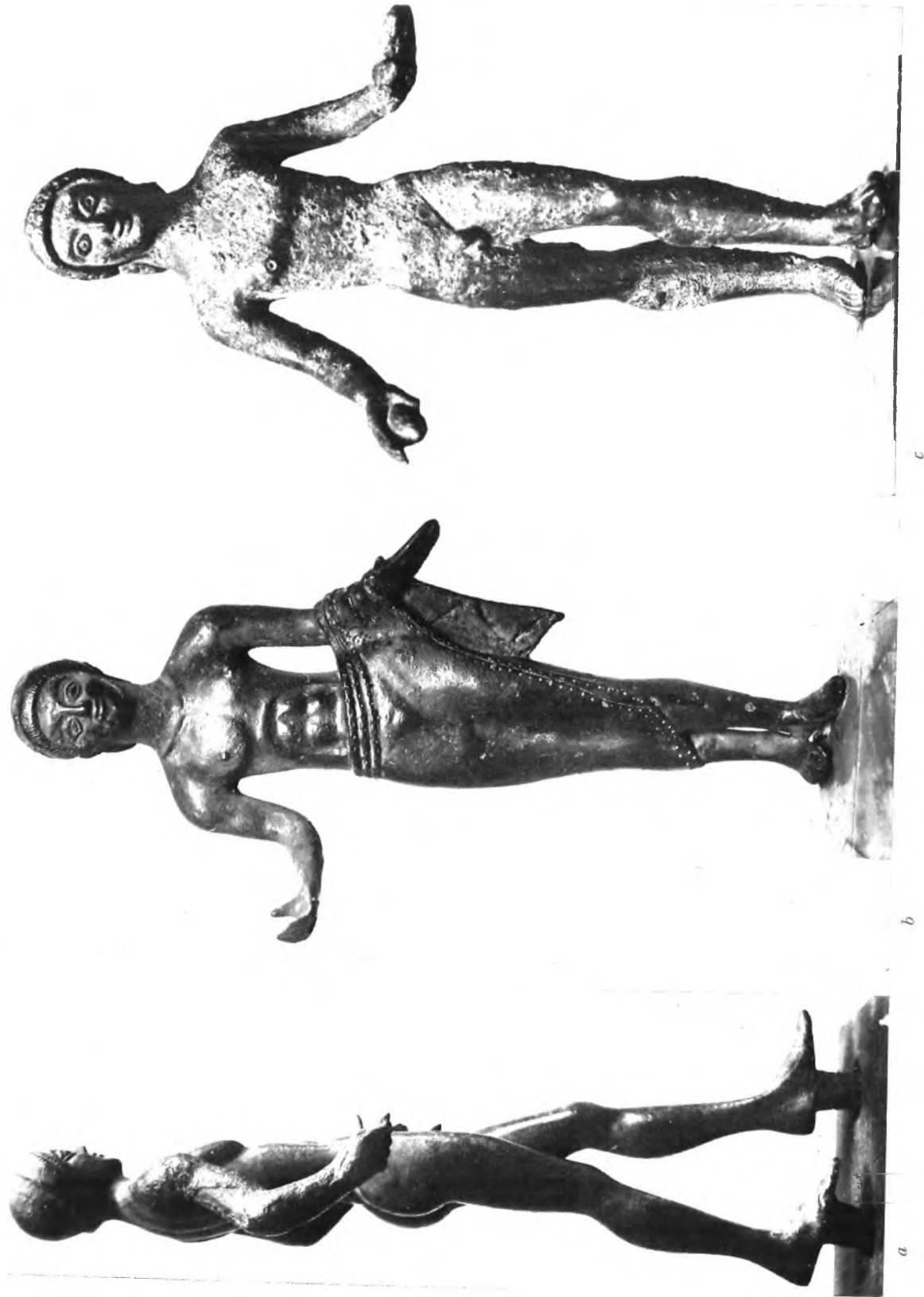


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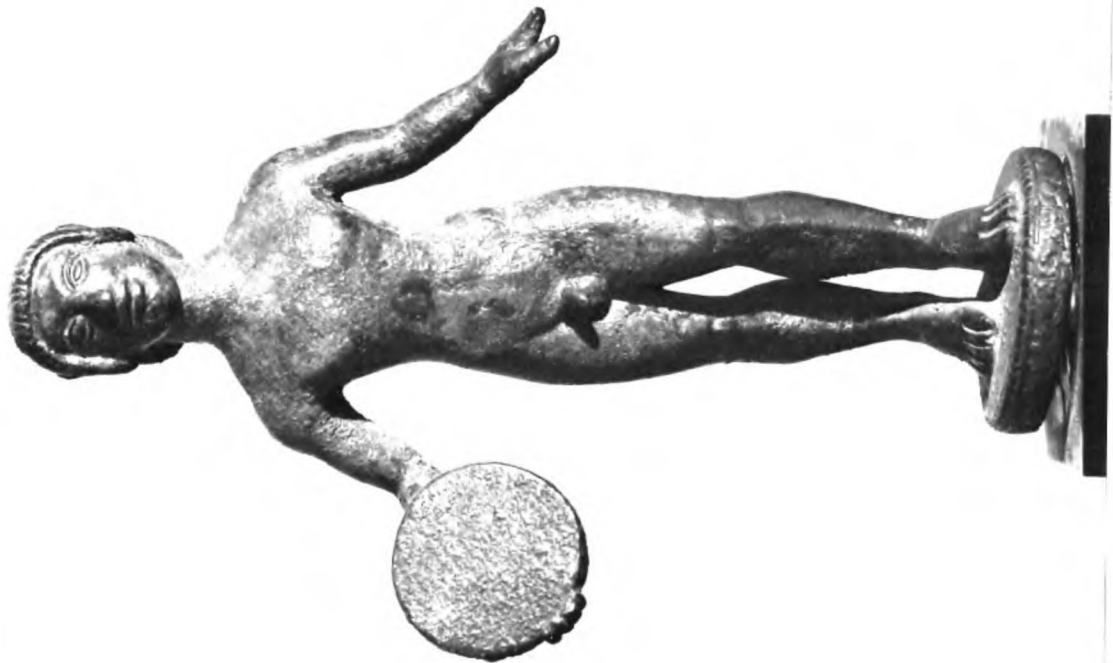
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a) Athens, Akropolis Museum. 688; *b*) Berlin (West), Staatliche Museen Antikenabteilung. 8195.



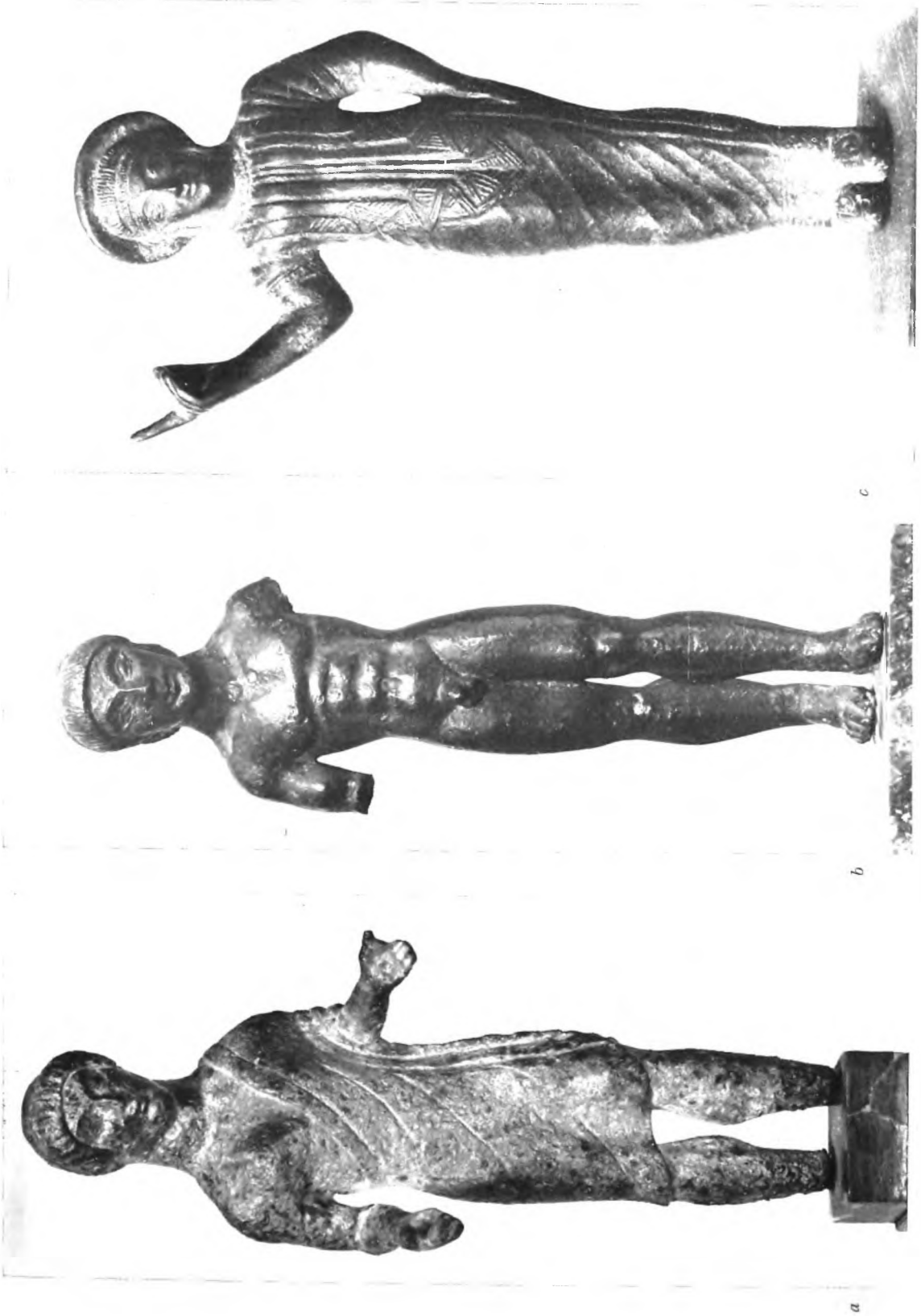


a) Basel, Antikenmuseum, Kaeppli 513; b) Florence, Museo Archeologico, 62; c) New York, Metropolitan Museum, 96.18.19.





a) New York, Metropolitan Museum, 20.209; *b)* Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1917.210.





a



b

a) Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 27817; *b*) Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 27818.