

REGIONAL STYLES: THE VALLEY OF THE ESINO

(Con le tavv. XV-XXIV f.t.)

Although the possibility of recognizing regional styles among Etrusco-Italic bronzes has been of concern to investigators for almost half a century¹, efforts to that end have not been conspicuously successful. For impediments to progress are manifold.

There is little in the way of a written history about the inhabitants of pre-

¹ The same year that LUISA BANTI'S, *Contribuito alla storia ed alla tipografia del territorio di Perugia* appeared (*StEtr* X, 1936, pp. 97 ff.), Ugo Tarchi's *L'Arte etrusco-romano nell'Umbria e nella Sabina* (Milan, 1936) was published: quite dissimilar works, the one a scholarly disquisition on a hitherto little-researched aspect of Etrusco-Italic archaeology, the other a two-volume picture book illustrating the artistic monuments, from ancient to modern times, to be found within the confines of those territories. Both publications had profound effects on the course of Etrusco-Italic studies. A few years later, Ernst Riis' influential *Tyrrhenika* (Copenhagen, 1941) presented that author's premise that much Etrusco-Italic sculpture could be assigned to various geographical «schools». Some years after this Emeline Richardson pointed out in her *Recurrent Geometric in the Sculpture of Central Italy* (*MAAR* 27, 1962, p. 197 ff.) that many of the elongated bronze figurines of warriors could be traced to the territory of ancient Umbria. She affixed the label of «Umbrian Warrior» to that class of object, a label which has stuck to this day. By 1970 Giovanni Colonna had assembled a large corpus of ancient bronze figurines which he ascribed to various workshops along the Eastern coast of the Italian boot (*Bronzi votivi umbro-sabellici a figura umana*, Florence, 1970). From this point on the topographic approach to the study of Etrusco-Italic art was in full swing. HANS JUCKER in *Etruscan Votive Bronzes from Populonia* (*Art and Technology*, S. Doeringer, et al., eds., Cambridge, Mass., 1970, pp. 195-219) developed the concept of a school of Populonia; and Sybille Haynes in her well-illustrated volume, *Etruscan Bronzes* (London, 1985) concentrated on what Riis had referred to as the «school of Vulci». Resistance to this trend, however, began to develop. Lucia Vagnetti, in 1971, stated: «La rigida classificazione in scuole regionale, proposta dal Riis per l'arte Etrusca, non sempre corrisponde alla realtà». (*Il deposito votivo di Campetti a Veio*, Florence, 1971, p. 183). Similarly Richardson (in *Art and Technology*, p. 236) said: «... and I think that Mr. Riis was mistaken when he attributed everything to the school of Vulci».

A recent series of exhibitions in Rome, St. Petersburg, Budapest, Cracow, and New York, all having near-identical titles: *Gens Antiquissima Italiae. Antichità dall'Umbria* (– in Vaticano, – a Leningrado, – a Budapest e Cracovia, – a New York), 1988-1991, but with differing contents as dictated by the holdings of the local museums and private collections of those several cities, dealt with objects from central Italy, many actually outside the confines of Umbria proper – heralding, perhaps, an incipient pan-Umbrianism within the field of Etrusco-Italic studies.

Roman Italy – in the way of an authentic record which might otherwise provide a nexus of hard facts of chronologic and geographic nature upon which one's aesthetic judgments could be based. Nor is there a workable consensus on the sort of objective standards that one might utilize in such endeavors.

If the truth be known, there has been very little discussion of the basic goals of topographic assignment. Is the aim to delimit the various local centers of purely Etruscan manufacture, or is it to distinguish Etruscan workshops from those of non-Etruscan peoples on the peninsula? Are there, in fact, identifiable regional styles to be delineated?

Finally, there is the nature of those small, relatively precious, and highly portable bits of bronze: they have always been only too easily transportable – in antiquity as objects of trade, and in modern times from clandestine excavations and/or by sales to collectors throughout the world – with the result that the scholar is forced to deal with objects about which little can be known of their provenience and less about their archeological context.

It is clear to the present writer that the most dependable way of approaching the problem of regional styles is to first make a thorough visual examination of the pieces, after this to bring pieces of similar appearance together into separate groupings, and only then to attempt to reconcile these groupings with whatever indication might exist about their provenience.

One scholarly study, G. Colonna's *Bronzi votivi umbro-sabellici* (1970)², has gained a certain measure of acceptance over the years for its general adherence to this principle, maintaining that essential visual approach to analysis, while arranging the objects into a reasonable topographic order. A pioneering effort of this sort cannot of course be completely without its imperfections, and in the opinion of the present writer Colonna tends at times to place greater weight on the often equivocal evidence of a topographic nature than on the simple evidence afforded by one's own eyes. It is the purpose of the present article, recognizing that it would be impertinent to presume to «correct» a monumental study like Colonna's in a paper of this modest scope, to re-examine a small segment of that larger work, adding a few items to those listings, subtracting others perhaps, and rearranging certain examples when such adjustments are unavoidable. It is offered to the reader, and to Professor Colonna, with humility and thanks, and in recognition that the last word in such a highly charged field can seldom be reached in a single lifetime.

The specific territory one is concerned with in this paper lies along the upper reaches of the Esino, a river which descends the eastern slopes of the Apennines and debouches into the Adriatic just north of Ancona. It is a relatively small area, hardly more than 20 or 30 km. as the crow flies sufficing to embrace the

² See Note 1.

sites of greatest importance to our study: S. Fortunato di Genga, Sassoferrato, Fabriano, and Fossato di Vico. Colonna lists several groupings as having originated in that region, and it is with these that we shall commence.

1) A prime example of the style with which we are concerned can be seen in a figurine in the Hartog collection in Chester, New Jersey (*tav. XV*)³. This tall stick figure represents a helmeted warrior posed with its right hand raised as if to support a shield. Both shield and lance are lacking in this example, as are both feet. The left knee, which had evidently been broken through at some point in its existence, has been rejoined by a modern rod.

The statuette is rudely fashioned. The nose and chin are sculpted as if hacked out with an ax; the mouth is a mere slash. Details of clothing are reduced to amorphously shaped bumps and lines that only barely suggest the intended reality. A wide flat band wrapping around the chest can be perceived as a high belt. Other bands, one just below where the true waist would have been on a more well-proportioned body and another just above the breech of the legs, are evidently intended to represent the lower borders of pteryges and underlying tunic. Additional rolls, one at the neck and another around the upper right arm, suggest the presence of a collar and cuff. No indication of a sleeve is provided on the tiny atrophied left arm, which was originally hidden behind a shield. Inscribed lines just above the knees are the bronzeworker's shorthand for the upper borders of greaves. The feet are missing. The helmet's crest is easily recognizable although its lower tip has been lost in this particular example. Hinged cheek guards are depicted in the raised position — which is the meaning of the two curious earlike appendages extending horizontally from the temple area. Eyes, nipples and umbilicus are denoted by incised circles with dots in the center. The sex is a mere pyramid peeking out beneath the lower border of the skirt. The entire statuette is 20.6 cm. tall: rather large as such figurines go.

As a foil, one might examine a more carefully executed example of elongated warrior figurine, such as Providence, RISD 34.011⁴ — which is obviously not of the same style as our piece although its general manner is similar. By means of this example one is able to identify those features which were so summarily hinted at on the Hartog figure. The Hartog figurine appears to be positively barbaric by comparison with the Providence warrior, and one might be tempted to dismiss it as not seriously worth one's consideration, mere child's play, or as an

³ Sotheby's *Sale*, June 13, 1966, p. 67, no. 153.; *Archaeol.* 19.4, Oct. 1966, adv. inside front cover; COLONNA, p. 44, no. 64. Photograph courtesy of Albert Hartog.

⁴ Providence, Rhode Island School of Design 34.011. G. HANFMANN, *BullSchDes* 28.1, 1940, p. 2, fig. 1; COLONNA, p. 77, no. 176; RICHARDSON, *The Icon of the Heroic Warrior*, in *Studies Presented to George M. A. Hanfmann*, D. G. MITTEN, et al., eds., Mainz, 1971 — hereafter, *Icon* — p. 161 f.; D. G. MITTEN, *Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design. Catalogue of Classical Bronzes*, Providence, 1975, pp. 119 ff., no. 34, figs. a-e; Q. MAULE, *StEtr* LXVIII, 1992, pl. XVII c.

anachronism of some sort that cannot be taken as an artistic style in its own right. Yet as we become aware that the identical mannerisms occur on a number of other figurines we cannot escape the conclusion that such exact reiteration of a formula must represent an acceptable and even desirable way of representing the human form for these people at this particular point in time.

2) In the archaeological museum of Chieti a veritable «brother» to the Hartog figure (*tav. XVI a*)⁵ is to be found. The strong chin and nose are hacked out with the same rough strokes as on the first figure. The same earlike cheek pieces emerge from each side of the head; the same long neck, flat chest, and tubelike legs, or like two thin sausages, are in evidence. Three bands, as on the Hartog figure, encircle the torso; here they are a bit more regularly disposed than on the first piece. Cuff and collar are shown by an ample roll, as on the other figurine. The chest is decorated by a sort of herringbone pattern, parallel incisions slanting downwards from a center vertical. Both feet, the right hand, and most of the left arm are missing. This statuette is of roughly the same size as his mate: 21 cm. tall.

3) Another sibling to the Hartog warrior is in Berlin (*tav. XVI b*)⁶. He is taller than the others, 22.1 cm. high: this despite the fact that the crest of his helmet is missing. The feet are present on this example however, and one notes that those members are rather well-formed, comparatively speaking (at least, all five toes are indicated). The right hand, too, displays the individual fingers wrapped around a hole left for the insertion of a lance. Even an opposable thumb can be made out. The atrophied left arm has become hardly more than a convention here, a mere apostrophe. The knees are carefully delineated, with the flesh bulging out around that joint in a quite naturalistic manner. The legs are the same long, thin and slightly bulging forms as on the Chieti and New York pieces. The head, deprived of most of its cheek pieces and crest, seems small as it emerges from the tall cylindrical neck, but the figure has the same cadaverous chin and nose of his siblings. Three rings accent the flat torso; here they are even more evenly distributed than on the other two pieces. A herringbone pattern on the chest is made up of dotted lines, while simple dots are placed at the approximate position of nipples and umbilicus. The penis, albeit tiny, is anatomically somewhat more correctly modelled than hitherto. On the whole, the Berlin warrior is more carefully executed but a bit more conventionalized than the other two works.

⁵ Chieti, Museo Nazionale degli Abruzzi 3792, from the Pansa collection, Sulmona. COLONNA, p. 44, no. 63, pl. 19. Photograph courtesy of Museo Nazionale degli Abruzzi.

⁶ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikenabteilung 5028. E. RICHARDSON, *Etruscan Votive Bronzes*, Mainz, 1983 – hereafter, *EVB* – p. 194, fig. 450. Photograph by author, reproduced by permission of Staatliche Museen.

4) A member of the same group, still with the strong familial chin, is to be seen in the Metropolitan Museum of New York (*tav. XVI c*)⁷. All the standard attributes are again in evidence: flat chest, three-ringed torso, strong chin, long thin legs (missing from just below the knee, as are the tip of the left arm and the crest of the helmet). Eyes are more detailed on this examples, almond shaped incisions with round pupils indicated. The two lower sections of the figure's skirt are now clearly identifiable as pteryges: two rows of rectangular flaps arranged shingle fashion as protection to the lower torso. The vertical divisions between flaps are marked off with incised lines, and the trapezoidal areas thus outlined are spanned by a single large X-mark. The upper body garment is seen as a true cuirass, with shoulder lappets drawn on the surface. Below the lappets, at approximately the height of the diaphragm, is a chevron-shaped marking which may indicate the lower edge of the rib cage. A large herringbone pattern such as one had seen on the front of the Chieti and Berlin figures covers the back of this piece. Also in back, the helmet can be seen to extend down the neck as a sort of exaggerated neck guard – as had also been the case with the other three examples.

5) A warrior figurine in Orvieto (*tav. XVI d*)⁸ is a pastiche of two unrelated pieces. The lower half has the long legs of the Hartog master, while the upper torso is of a quite different style. It was evidently attached to the Hartog-style legs at some time in the past, connecting at a point just above the lowermost ring of the skirt.

6) A warrior figurine in the Museo Nacional of Rio de Janeiro (*tav. XVII a*)⁹ appears to belong in the same circle as these five figures: extremely thin tubelike legs delicately pinched-in at the knee joints, flat torso with no appreciable widening at the chest or shoulders, long neck and prominent chin.

The attitude of this warrior is not as aggressive as the others, the arms being kept below shoulder height, and both upper limbs atrophied into mere flipper-like appendages. A simple standing or striding pose, as here, is not unusual among votive figures of this genre, usually reserved for the more summarily executed pieces.

Of greater importance, perhaps, is the treatment of the face, which presents as a generally triangular shape rather than the roughly rectangular appearance of the other pieces. The jaw is still large, but does not dominate the face, and

⁷ New York, Metropolitan Museum 96.9.428/Gr 287 purchased by subscription, 1896. G. M. A. RICHTER, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1915, p. 99, no. 166; COLONNA, pp. 43-44, no. 62, pl. 19. Photograph courtesy of Metropolitan Museum.

⁸ Orvieto, Museo Faina 157. COLONNA, p. 42, no. 56, pl. 16; EVB, p. 194. Photograph courtesy of Museo Faina.

⁹ Rio de Janeiro, Museu Nacional 1520. Photograph by H. R.W. Smith.

the almond-shaped eyes are incised on the surface, not scratched into a shallow cavelike space beneath the eyebrows as heretofore.

One will also note that the outer line of the crest takes a sharp bend to mark the extension of its long tip (the tail of the crest in this case is broken off just beyond that juncture), while the crest on the Hartog and Chieti pieces continues as a slight concavity in back in the more usual manner of representing a crest. This more disjunctive profile of the crest's tail is rarely encountered on such bronzes, but can be seen on several of the pieces allied to our style (Nos. 10, 11, 12, 20, 22, 24, 25 below).

The creator of the Rio de Janeiro warrior may not be precisely the same individual as the one who modelled the other five pieces, but the artist was evidently imitating that master, and in the interest of simplicity will be listed here as belonging to that core group.

Items No. 1, 2 and 4 above were listed by Colonna within a smallish series of seven pieces which he calls the Fossato di Vico group¹⁰. But since none of those three items themselves originated or had any known connection to the specific area of Fossato di Vico, it would be misleading to attach that name to our group. I shall henceforth refer to the unknown craftsman who sculpted these figurines as the Hartog Master.

Closely related to the style of the Hartog Master are four figurines that one could almost characterize as Hartog «cousins».

7) Naples, Museo Nazionale 5550 (*tav. XVIII a*)¹¹, 8) Ancona, Museo Archeologico delle Marche 20768 (*tav. XVII b*)¹², 9) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, B-B 189 (*tav. XVIII c*)¹³, and 10) Perugia, Museo Archeologico dell'Umbria 928/896 (*tav. XVIII b*)¹⁴. These pieces have the characteristic chin, high belt and thin legs, the lower limbs thickening a bit in the calf area, while the thighs, which are thinner than before, no longer present the image of a tightly stuffed sausage. The two lower «belts» have virtually disappeared, with just two thin lines remaining to indicate the two zones about the loins, now recognizable as pteryges and underlying skirt. The skirt (or second row of pteryges) clings closely to the nar-

¹⁰ COLONNA, pp. 42-45.

¹¹ Naples, Museo Nazionale 5550, from the Borgia collection. COLONNA, p. 51, no. 83, pl. 24. Photograph courtesy of Museo Nazionale.

¹² Ancona, Museo Archeologico delle Marche 20768, from S. Fortunato di Genga. COLONNA, p. 45, no. 67. Photograph courtesy of Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Marche, Ancona.

¹³ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, B-B 189. E. BABELON-J.-A. BLANCHET, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1895, p. 85, no. 189; GIGLIOLI, pl. 222.2; COLONNA, p. 46, no. 70; A. M. ADAM, *Bronzes Etrusques et Italiques*, Paris, 1984, pp. 174-175, no. 259, fig. Photograph courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale.

¹⁴ Perugia, Museo Archeologico dell'Umbria 928/896, from the Guardabassi collection. COLONNA, p. 45, no. 65, pl. 21. Photograph by author, reproduced by permission of Soprintendenza Archeologica dell'Umbria, Perugia.

row hips, and its lower hemline undulates as it spreads over the buttocks. The left arm now has a recognizable hand, complete with rudimentary thumb. A knob about halfway up the length of the still-short arm – at the point where an elbow would have been indicated if such anatomical exactitude had been conceivable by this artisan – serves as a shield attachment, while the raised right arm terminates as a flattened disc through which a hole is fashioned to receive the lance. The flat chest now widens considerably at the shoulders, and various incised designs decorate its surface, usually vertical bands of hashmarks or X's running down each side of the torso: a highly conventionalized rendering of the shoulder lappets which more realistic figures exhibit. The shallow concavity of eye is partially filled with a flat oblong shape, almost as if it had been applied onto that sunken surface. On the whole, the head appears to have become smaller in relation to the body. In general, the jaw loses its sharply chiselled edges, although the cheek-and-jaw section continues to dominate the face.

Two more figurines prolong the tendencies begun in the previous series, and initiate certain other variations: 11) Basel, Antikenmuseum, Hess 64 (*tav. XVII c*)¹⁵, and 12) Bologna, Museo Civico K39 (*tav. XVII d*)¹⁶. The jaws are stronger here, the face is wider and rectangular, and the shoulders are wider. The outline of the crest on these two examples changes its direction abruptly at the point where the narrow tail emerges from the semicircular top portion, as was the case with the example in Rio de Janeiro (No. 6, above). These two figures have the air of striding forward, more forcefully so than the five preceding examples.

The sequence continues with six more figurines, which appear to be of the same stylistic family, but a bit more distantly related. These are 13) Basel, Antikenmuseum 81 (*tav. XIX a*)¹⁷, 14) London, British Museum, Walters 458 (*tav. XX b*)¹⁸, 15) Rome, Villa Giulia 24556 (*tav. XIX b*)¹⁹, 16) Ancona, Museo Archeologico delle Marche 20769 (*tav. XIX c*)²⁰, 17) Budapest Szepmuveszeti

¹⁵ Basel, Antikenmuseum 64, from the Hess collection. Sotheby's *Sale*, London, 1962, p. 35, fig. p. 38; R. HESS, *Raccolta R. H.*, Basel, 1963, no. 64; COLONNA, p. 45, no. 66. Photograph by author, reproduced by permission of Antikenmuseum.

¹⁶ Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico IT 1024/K39. COLONNA, p. 46, no. 69, pl. 20. Photograph by author, reproduced by permission of Museo Civico.

¹⁷ Basel, Antikenmuseum 81, from near Perugia. C. REUSSER, *Etruskische Kunst*, Basel, 1988, p. 66, fig. E-90. Photograph by author, reproduced by permission of Antikenmuseum.

¹⁸ London, British Museum 1772.3-2.6B/458, from the Hamilton collection. H. B. WALTERS, *Bronzes* p. 63, no. 458; COLONNA, p. 46, no. 72, pl. 21; E. SIMON in *LIMC* 2, 1984, s.v. Ares, p. 509, no. 3, pl. 379. Photograph courtesy of British Museum.

¹⁹ Rome, Villa Giulia 24556. R. BAROCINI-A. DE AGOSTINO, *Museo di Villa Giulia*, Milan, 1961, p. 13, pl. 7, left; COLONNA, p. 47, no. 73, pl. 20. Photograph by author, reproduced by permission of Soprintendenza Archeologica dell'Etruria Meridionale, Roma.

²⁰ Ancona, Museo Archeologico delle Marche 20769, found at S. Fortunato di Genga, 1958 (Pratico archivio ZA 20/4). COLONNA, p. 47, no. 74. Photograph courtesy of Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Marche, Ancona.

Muzeum 69.3A (*tav. XX a*)²¹, and 18) New York, Emmerich Gallery sale, 1977²². The left hands on these figures no longer have recognizable thumbs, being mere paddle-shaped appendages with a peg in the center of each for holding a shield. The raised right arm is not always as realistically represented as in the earlier series, tending to lose the sharp bend at the elbow. Legs are still thin, irregularly bumpy and gangly, with bulging calf muscles. Lower skirts cling to the torso as before, hardly impinging on the silhouette of the body. Nos. 13, 14, and 15, with their wide shoulders, resemble Nos. 11 and 12 of the previous list. We observe the elaborately detailed engravings on the chest, the prominent nose, and cheek pieces protruding at a 45-degree angle from the head. It will be noted that the skirts on Nos. 13 and 14 tend to be more realistically modelled, like those of the preceding pair, and unlike those of the following four. The heads on the last four are very tiny (as we remember were the heads on Nos. 7 and 8 of the preceding group).

The bulk of the twelve items just discussed (Nos. 7-18) were listed by Colonna as members of his S. Fortunato di Genga group, which is named after a tiny settlement near the little town of Genga, situated on the heights above the Esino. Colonna divides his S. Fortunato di Genga group into four «Maestri»: A to D respectively, which corresponds fairly well with the stylistic divisions drawn here. Only Bibliothèque Nationale 189 (No. 9) has been shifted farther forward in the series, from Colonna's ascription to «Maestro B» to the present placement among stylistic fellows of Colonna's «Maestro A». My list is fleshed out with No. 7 (Naples 5550), a figurine of unknown provenience, which had been placed in Colonna's «Sassoferrato» group, which latter series was named after an example (Ancona 8804 — see below, No. 24) actually known to have come from the city of that name, not far from S. Fortunato di Genga. Colonna characterized Sassoferrato as a vulgarization of the S. Fortunato di Genga group, which concept might well explain the intermixture of the two styles recognized here. Other items from Colonna's Sassoferrato group will be discussed presently.

Certain of Colonna's ascriptions to the S. Fortunato di Genga group, however, do not appear to belong there — specifically, two draped female figures, one in Berlin²³ and another at one time in the Schimmel collection²⁴. Those pieces, markedly dissimilar from each other, are alike only in being roughly modelled

²¹ Budapest, Szepmuveszeti Muzeum 69.3A, from Umbria. J. G. SZILAGYI, *Art Antique*, exhibit, Szekesfeheryar, 1975, fig. 13; J. G. SZILAGYI, in *Gens Antiquissima Italiae. Antichità dell'Umbria a Budapest e Cracovia*, Perugia, 1989, p. 180, fig. 8.4. Photograph courtesy of Szepmuveszeti Muzeum.

²² New York, Emmerich Gallery. *Classical Art from a New York Collection*, sale catalogue, New York, 1977, no. 123, fig.

²³ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikenabteilung Fr 2185a. COLONNA, pp. 45-46, no. 68; O. W. VON VATICANO, *Die Etrusker*, Stuttgart, 1955, p. 445, pl. 66, left.

²⁴ (once) King's Point, Long Island, Schimmel collection 2186. COLONNA, p. 46, no. 71.

into simplified forms, with erratically fashioned shapes. The Hartog family of artists has a similar tendency toward flamboyance. But the bizarre shapes, extravagant movements, hastily incised lines and brutally fashioned forms on the one group of figures – however interesting in their own right – have no real relationship to the specific types of lines, shapes, and workmanship seen on the pieces we are concerned with. They can, with easy conscience, be excluded from our consideration at this time.

I have added the warrior in the Basel Antikenmuseum (No. 11), the bronze in Budapest (No. 17), and the statuette at one time with a dealer in New York (No. 18) to this group.

With two members of this series, Ancona 20768 (No. 8) and Ancona 20769 (No. 16) having, apparently, been found in S. Fortunato di Genga itself, Colonna's name of S. Fortunato di Genga for the grouping is justified, I believe. I myself can see only three significant divisions in the group, not four as did Colonna – and I cannot believe that even those subgroups represent more than possibly consecutive phases of the career of a single craftsman. Thus I consider the S. Fortunato di Genga «group» as the work of the S. Fortunato di Genga Master in three separate phases of his career.

A third series is more summarily executed still, no longer fashioned with such colorful detailing as triple-banded torsos and heavily carved jaws which first drew our attention to the style. These are 19) Rome, Villa Giulia 24554 (*tav. XIX d*)²⁵, 20) Modena, Museo Archeologico, unnumbered (*tav. XXI*)²⁶, 21) Perugia, Museo Archeologico dell'Umbria 928 (*tav. XXII a*)²⁷, 22) Ancona, Museo Archeologico delle Marche 573B (*tav. XXII c*)²⁸, 23) London, British Museum 1814 7-4 423 (*tav. XXII b*)²⁹, 24) Ancona, Museo Archeologico delle Marche 8804 (*tav. XXII d*)³⁰, and 25) Basel, Muenzen und Medaillen sale, 1986³¹. Familiar features are the heavy bands at neck and waist, almond shaped eyes as if pasted onto the face and obtruding onto its silhouette, wobbly thin legs,

²⁵ Rome, Villa Giulia 24554. COLONNA, p. 51. no. 85, pl. 24. Photograph by author, reproduced by permission of Soprintendenza Archeologica dell'Etruria Meridionale, Roma.

²⁶ Modena, Whereabout unknown. Photograph furnished by Museo Civico of Modena some years ago. Museum authorities have no record of the piece today.

²⁷ Perugia, Museo Archeologico dell'Umbria 928 (one of a group), from the Bellucci collection. COLONNA, p. 52, no. 88, pl. 25. Photograph by author, reproduced by permission of Soprintendenza Archeologica dell'Umbria, Perugia.

²⁸ Ancona, Museo Archeologico delle Marche 573B. COLONNA, pp. 51-52, no. 87. Photograph by author, reproduced by permission of Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Marche, Ancona.

²⁹ London, British Museum 1814. 7-4 423, from the Towneley collection. Photograph courtesy of British Museum.

³⁰ Ancona, Museo Archeologico delle Marche 8804, from Sassoferrato. COLONNA, p. 51, no. 86. Photograph courtesy of Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Marche, Ancona.

³¹ Basel, Dealer. *Classical Art from a New York Collection*, no. 120, fig.; *Muenzen und Medaillen* 70, sale catalogue, Basel, 1986, p. 44, lot no. 151, pl. 23.

flat chest, paddle-shaped hands with pegs and holes as their function dictates, and cheek guards sticking out as if added-on as an afterthought. Perugia 928 has lost its original head, receiving (during some later restoration) a head much too small for the body. The Modena figure retains the great swollen thrusting jaw and long neck of the Hartog-S. Fortunato di Genga complex. The right arm of British Museum 1814 7-4 423 may have been extended in restoration. The belt of that figurine is in two strands, as if made of a double loop of rope around the waist. The same formation appears on Ancona 8804, which is posed in a simple both-arms-down attitude – as also is the figurine with the Basel dealer. The Basel piece has a large inscribed X on its torso, which is merely an extremely simplified version of shoulder lappets, represented as tied together across the chest. Ancona 573B is only a bust, the body missing from the chest down. Surface features on these examples are almost unidentifiable because of heavy corrosion. The group, even with so many of its descriptive details dropped from its repertoire, still retains enough of its distinctive stylistic cachet to allow us to recognize its relationships to the Hartog style.

This is, essentially, Colonna's Sassoferrato group, as Nos. 19, 21, 22, and 24 are all listed in that grouping. One of those examples, Ancona 8804, is actually known to have come from Sassoferrato itself. This bit of hard evidence, in a field so deficient in such facts is, in the present writer's opinion, sufficient to justify the adoption of that place-name for the name of the master responsible for the works in this group.

As mentioned above, three of the pieces ascribed by Colonna to a group which he locates at Fossato di Vico did not actually have any real connection to that place, and those examples were utilized to form the bases (Nos. 1, 2, and 4) of the oeuvre ascribed here to the Hartog Master. Of the four objects in Colonna's original Fossato di Vico group, however, one did stem from that place, being listed by the museum which presently owns it as a casual find (not archaeologically excavated, that is) in Fossato di Vico. This is 26) Perugia, Museo Archeologico dell'Umbria 901 (*tav. XXIII a* – see Table, below)³², Assigned by Colonna to «Maestro C» of his Fossato di Vico group. Stylistically close to that piece are two examples which Colonna ascribes to «Maestro A» of the same Fossato di Vico series: 27) Rome, Villa Giulia 24551 (*tav. XXIII e*)³³, and 28) Cin-

³² Perugia, Museo Archeologico dell'Umbria 901, from Fossato di Vico. COLONNA, p. 43, no. 61, pl. 19. Photograph courtesy of Soprintendenza Archeologica dell'Umbria, Perugia.

³³ Rome, Villa Giulia 24551. L. GOLDSCHIEDER, *Etruscan Sculpture*, London, 1941, pl. 76; VON VATICANO, p. 447, pl. 83b; COLONNA, p. 42, no. 58, pls. 17-18; E. RICHARDSON, *Etruscan Sculptures*, New York, 1966, pl. 22; M. PALLOTTINO, *et. al.*, *Il Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia*, Rome, 1980, pp. 162-163, fig. 284; M. SPRENGER-G. BARTOLINI, *Die Etrusker. Kunst und Geschichte*, Munich, 1977, fig. 186, left; L. RICCARDI in *Prima Italia*, exhibit, Brussels, 1980-81, p. 187, no. 1171; EVB, p. 352, figs. 841-842; COLONNA, in *LIMC* 2, 1984, s.v. Athena/Menerva, p. 1056, no.

cinnati, Museum of Art 1906.04 (*tav.* XXIV)³⁴. A bronze warrior figurine in 29) a private collection in the Netherlands³⁵ is assigned to «Maestro B» of the Fossato di Vico group. Another warrior figurine, 30), this in New York's Metropolitan Museum, no. 286 (*tav.* XXIII c)³⁶, can be placed in association with these five figures. It is assigned by Colonna to the «Montesanto group», a large and amorphously conceived series which, under close scrutiny, does not stand up well as a single style. Characteristic of the resultant group of five figurines are the full rounded jaw, more carefully modelled but without the hard edges of the Hartog Master; and the well-defined skirts that splay out over the hips with a distinctive flare, often textured with cross-hatched incisions. The figures have narrow shoulders with almost straight torsos, fully developed left arms, thin legs which lack the swelling sausage-like fullness of the Hartog Master's legs, and delicately fashioned hands and feet in place of the more awkwardly formed works by the Hartog Master. One will also note the long tails to the crests, the uniformly oval-shaped eyes, the more regularly-shaped nose. These pieces, while not especially close in style to that of the Hartog Master, still have something of the extravagant flamboyance of the region. They represent, I believe, the work of a single hand, and with one member of the series actually pin-pointed as having been found in Fossato di Vico, their creator can, with some justification, be called the Fossato di Vico Master.

Two more pieces could possibly be added to this list: a warrior figurine from Monte Subasio outside Assisi, which was placed by Colonna immediately after his discussion of «Sassoferrato» – although evidently not as an integral part of that grouping. The piece, 31) Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale (*tav.* XXIII d)³⁷, has certain distinctive mannerisms plus the extravagant movements and careless execution which we have cited so often as characteristic of the Esino Valley school. But the figure does not exactly parallel any of the styles described thus far. Its

62, pl. 773; M. CRISTOFANI, *Bronzi degli Etruschi*, Novara, 1985, pp. 280-281, figs. pp. 194-195, no. 91. Photograph by author, reproduced by permission of Soprintendenza Archeologica dell'Etruria Meridionale, Roma.

³⁴ Cincinnati, Museum of Art 1906.04. COLONNA, p. 43, no. 59; R. S. TEITZ, *Masterpieces of Etruscan Art*, exhibit, Worcester, Mass., 1967, p. 54, no. 42, p. 143, fig. Photograph courtesy of Cincinnati Museum of Art.

³⁵ Sotheby's *Sale*, London, 1966, p. 71, no. 165, ill. facing p.; COLONNA, p. 43, no. 60; L. BYVANCK-QUARLES VAN UFFORD, *et. al.*, *Klassieke Kunst uit een Particulier Bezit*, exhibit, Leiden, 1975, no. 152, fig. 67.

³⁶ New York, Metropolitan Museum 96.9.427/Gr 286, purchased by subscription, 1896. RICHTER, p. 99, no. 165; COLONNA, p. 75, no. 170, pl. 45. Photograph courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art.

³⁷ Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, no number, from Mt. Subiaso, near Assisi, 1879. COLONNA, pp. 47-48, no. 75; D. MONACCHI, *StEtr* LII, 1984, p. 77 ff., pl. 28a. Photograph by author, reproduced by permission of Biblioteca Comunale.

extended left arm (no longer the atrophied member as before) is provided with a large hand with opposable thumb, the fingers curved as if to grasp something. A shield attachment remains on the upper part of the arm. (A fragment of a tiny round shield was found in the same excavation, as well as a miniature bronze situla, all thought to belong with the figurine). A hole drilled through the raised right hand holds a large lance in a roughly horizontal position. The strong rounded jaw recalls the jaws on the Modena figure (No. 20) or the first Basel figure, Hess 64 (No. 11). The crest at one time had been attached to a high base that rises above the head, like Naples 5550 (No. 7), has been lost. The belt has metamorphosed into a mere constriction around the waist, with a short skirt flaring out sharply below that, like a ballet dancer's tutu. The legs are thin, wobbly and ill-formed, with the calf muscles enlarged, as in the S. Fortunato di Genga group.

32) A stylistic companion to the Assisi figurine is Perugia, Museo Archeologico dell'Umbria 897 (*tav. XXIII b*)³⁸. The piece is listed in the museum records as coming from the territory of Perugia. Colonna sees it as related to his so-called Fabriano group, a gathering of figurines «by diverse artisans», with little specific stylistic cohesion among themselves. This particular figure has the same mechanically abrupt passage from belt to flaring skirt as the Assisi piece, the same long arms with defined thumbs, even indications of toes. The skirt is decorated with a band of inscribed circles, and one notes that the shoulder lappets on the Assisi example has a similar type of decoration. Gangly legs, carelessly swaying back, flat torso with narrow shoulders, all equally describe both pieces. At the same time there is a certain delicacy of handling – crisp edges, slight bodies, winsome attitudes – which points to a common authorship for the seven pieces.

TABLE: The Esino Valley School

The Hartog Master

- 1) Chester, NJ, Hartog collection (*tav. XV*)
- 2) Chieti, Museo Nazionale degli Abruzzi 3792 (*tav. XVI a*)
- 3) Berlin, Antikenabteilung 5028 (*tav. XVI b*)
- 4) New York, Metropolitan Museum 99.9.428/Gr 287 (*tav. XVI c*)
- 5) Orvieto, Museo Faina 157 (*tav. XVI d*)
- 6) Rio de Janeiro, Museu Nacional 1520 (*tav. XVII a*)

³⁸ Perugia, Museo Archeologico dell'Umbria 897, from the territory of Perugia. COLONNA, p. 40, no. 51, pl. 10. Photograph courtesy of Soprintendenza Archeologica dell'Umbria, Perugia.

S. Fortunato di Genga Master

Phase I

- 7) Naples, Museo Nazionale 5550 (*tav. XVIII a*)
- 8) Ancona, Museo Archeologico delle Marche 20768 (*tav. XVII B*)
- 9) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, B-B 189 (*tav. XVIII c*)
- 10) Perugia, Museo Archeologico dell'Umbria 928/896 (*tav. XVIII b*)

Phase II

- 11) Basel, Antikenmuseum, Hess 64 (*tav. XVII c*)
- 12) Bologna, Museo Civico K39 (*tav. XVII b*)

Phase III

- 13) Basel, Antikenmuseum, Hess 81 (*tav. XIX a*)
- 14) London, British Museum, Walters 458 (*tav. XX b*)
- 15) Rome, Villa Giulia 24556 (*tav. XIX b*)
- 16) Ancona, Museo Archeologico delle Marche 20769 (*tav. XIX c*)
- 17) Budapest, Szepmuveszeti Museum 69.3A (*tav. XX a*)
- 18) New York, Emmerich Gallery, 1977 sale

Sassoferrato Master

- 197) Rome, Villa Giulia 24554 (*tav. XIX d*)
- 20) Modena, whereabouts unknown (*tav. XXI*)
- 21) Perugia, Museo Archeologico dell'Umbria 928 (*tav. XXII a*)
- 22) Ancona, Museo Archeologico delle Marche 573B (*tav. XXII c*)
- 23) London, British Museum 1814 7-4 423 (*tav. XXII b*)
- 24) Ancona, Museo Archeologico delle Marche 8804 (*tav. XXII d*)
- 25) Basel, Muenzen und Medaillen, 1986 sale

Fossato di Vico Master

- 26) Perugia, Museo Archeologico dell'Umbria 901 (*tav. XXIII a*)
- 27) Rome, Villa Giulia 24551, Minerva (*tav. XXIII e*)
- 28) Cincinnati, Art Museum 1906.50 (*tav. XXIV*)
- 29) Netherlands, Private collection
- 30) New York, Metropolitan Museum 96.9.427/Gr 286 (*tav. XXIII c*)
- 31) Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale (*tav. XXIII d*)
- 32) Perugia, Museo Archeologico dell'Umbria 897 (*tav. XXIII b*)

These groupings, the work of four separate hands, are seen here as stylistically related, with the Hartog Master being the quintessential representative of that style.

This rough, flamboyant style, of course, represents only one «school» within the larger stylistic entity which is subsumed under the broad heading of «Northern Umbrian» which (conjointly with Colonna's «ambiente sabellico») embraces

a geographical region conforming to approximately the Eastern half of the Italian peninsula. The Adriatic school, its products exhibiting a loose, somewhat careless style of modelling the human figure, lacking precision of detailing and sharp articulation of parts, appears in turn to exist in a subordinating, derivative relation to the dominant styles of pre-Roman Italy to the West and South of the Apennines—that area which is generally considered as Etruscan territory.

The elongated warrior figurines from the Western slopes of the Apennines are more carefully detailed, more realistically rendered, and one might almost say more «classical» in the Greek sense. What the strange bumps and slashes on our figurines are meant to represent can be identified by comparing them with similarly placed attributes of many of those better known examples from Etruria and «Southern» Umbria.

Since the specific forms of the recognizable attributes on the pieces we have just examined are so clearly degenerated versions of the more realistically rendered details on the figurines within the traditional Etrusco-Umbrian orbit (belt, pteryges, cuirass, helmet, cheek guards, anatomical parts), the inevitable conclusion must be that the Adriatic style is derived from the Western models. The development could not have progressed in the opposite direction: those simplified versions of the military panoply were not preliminary steps on the road to naturalism — the three rings around the torso of the Hartog figure would not have been invented out of the blue, one would have had to have the more realistic renditions of belt, pteryges and skirt as a point of departure; those bands around the waist could never have «developed» into pteryges and skirts, they are degenerated from pteryges and skirt.

Later, then. But the question is, how much later were the Adriatic examples? We know only that the «standard» elongated warrior could hardly have developed before ca. 500 B.C.³⁹, and that certain classically detailed examples of the decades before and after about 400 B.C. have lost their elongation⁴⁰. And we have just concluded that the figures examined in this paper are later than that main body of elongated warriors. Whether they are later than the late, classically tinged, figurines is not clear. It might be that this flamboyant decadence evolved only over a few decades, still in the fifth century, say; but they could conceivably be much later, well into the fourth or even third centuries B.C.⁴¹.

QUENTIN MAULE

³⁹ Q. MAULE, *AJA* LXII, 1958, p. 224; E. RICHARDSON, *The Etruscans*, Chicago, 1964, p. 109; O. BRENDEL, *Etruscan Art*, New York, 1978, p. 301.

⁴⁰ Q. MAULE, *AJA* LXXXI, 1979, p. 487 ff.

⁴¹ Richardson (*Icon*, p. 167) has written in favor of the later dating, saying, «Other workshops continued the archaic tradition of the Warrior Pose in the Umbrian geometric style through the second half of the fifth century B. C. and well into the fourth». She is referring to the finds from Cagli, which contain bronzes (not dealt with here) from other Adriatic schools.

NOTA REDAZIONALE

Nel precedente articolo di Q. Maule: «Etrusco-italian bronzes: the Todi Workshop» in «Studi Etruschi» volume LVIII (1993) pp. 76-88, si è verificata una sfasatura nei richiami alle tavole.

L'Autore indica qui di seguito i corretti riferimenti:

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| p. 77, | line 1 - read (<i>tav. XVI b</i>) |
| p. 78, last | line - read (<i>tav. XVI a</i>) |
| p. 81, third paragraph. | line 4 - read (<i>tav. XVIII b</i>) |
| | line 5 - read (<i>tav. XVIII a</i>) |
| p. 83, second paragraph. | line 2 - read (<i>tav. XIX</i>) |
| | line 3 - read (<i>tav. XIX b</i>) |
| | line 4 - read (<i>tav. XX c</i>) |
| p. 87, Table - read: no. | 1) (<i>tav. XIII a-b</i>) |
| | 2) (<i>tav. XIII c</i>) |
| | 3) (<i>tav. XIII d</i>) |
| | 5) (<i>tav. XIV a</i>) |
| | 6) (<i>tav. XVI b</i>) |
| | 7) (<i>tav. XV a</i>) |
| | 8) (<i>tav. XV b</i>) |
| | 9) (<i>tav. XIV b</i>) |
| | 11) (<i>tav. XIV c</i>) |
| | 12) (<i>tav. XVI a</i>) |
| | 13) (<i>tav. XVII a</i>) |
| | 14) (<i>tav. XVII b</i>) |
| | 16) (<i>tav. XVII c</i>) |
| | 18) (<i>tav. XVIII b</i>) |
| | 19) (<i>tav. XVIII a</i>) |
| | 20) (<i>tav. XVIII c</i>) |
| | 22) (<i>tav. XX a</i>) |
| | 24) (<i>tav. XX b</i>) |
| | 25) (<i>tav. XX c</i>) |
| | 27) (<i>tav. XXI a</i>) |
| | 28) (<i>tav. XXI b</i>) |
| | 29) (<i>tav. XXI c</i>) |
| p. 88, Table - read: no. | 30) (<i>tav. XXII a</i>) |
| | 31) (<i>tav. XXII b</i>) |
| | 32) (<i>tav. XXII c</i>) |

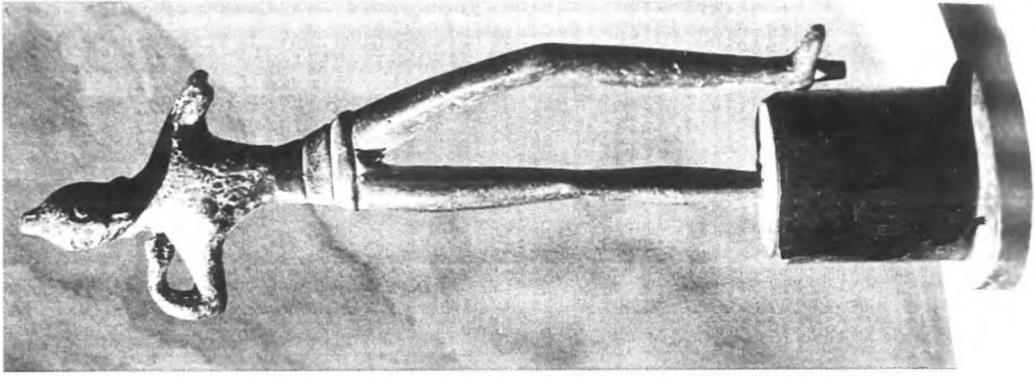
Plates (Tavole) - captions - *tav. XVI a*: Boston, Mus. Fine Arts 52.186

tav. XVI b: Formerly Arthur Sachs Collection

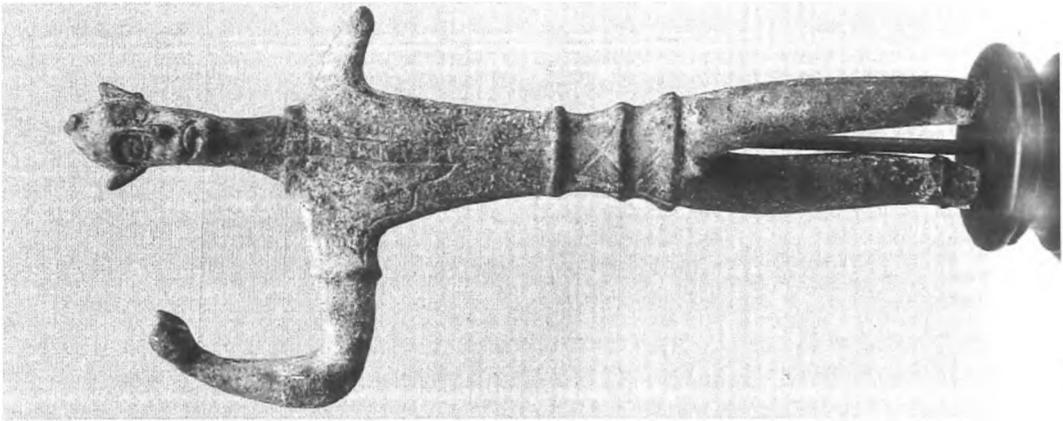
tav. XVIII a: Geneva, Mus. d'art et d'histoire MF 1245

tav. XVIII b: Verona, Museo Archeologico A4, 226

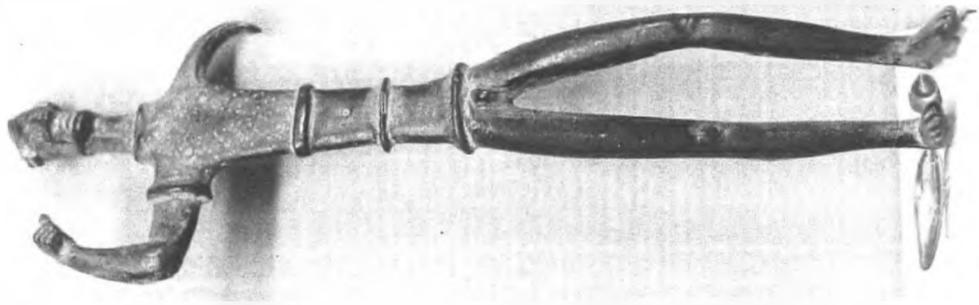




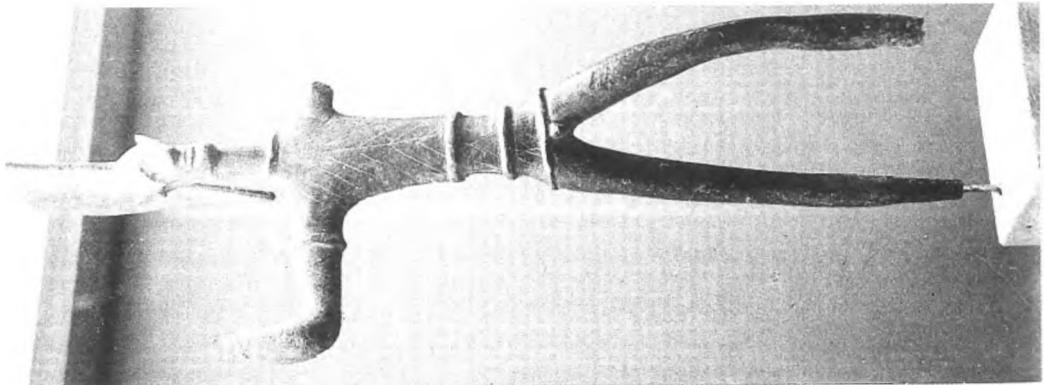
d



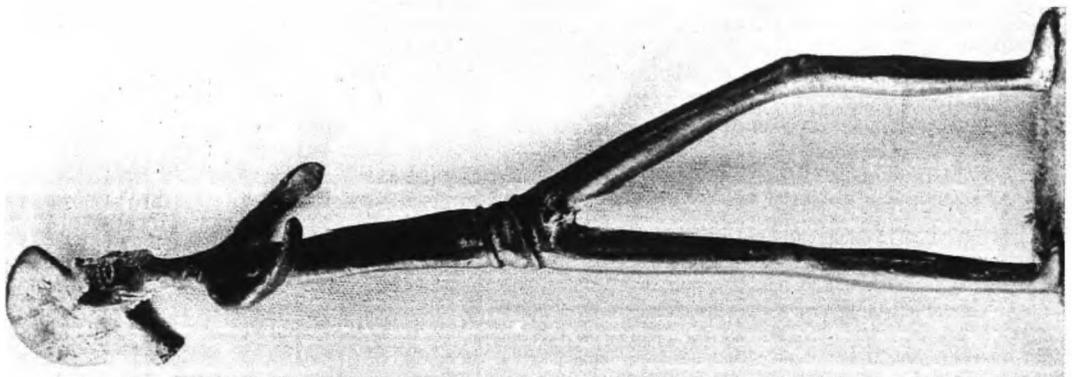
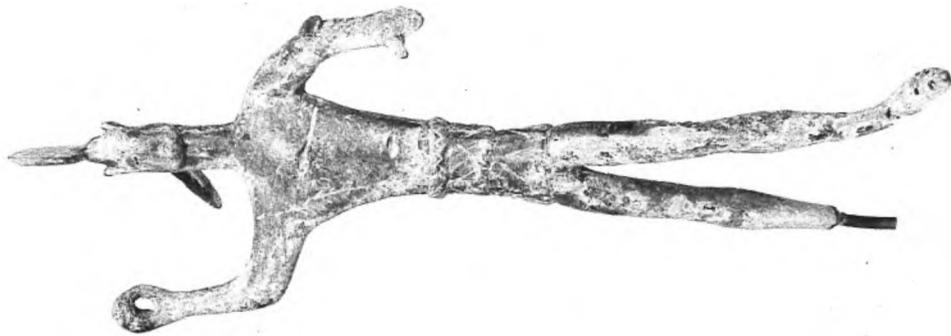
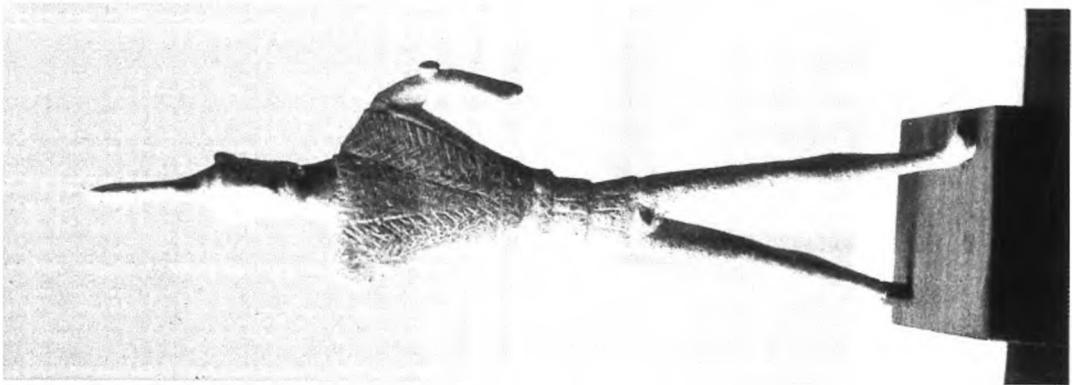
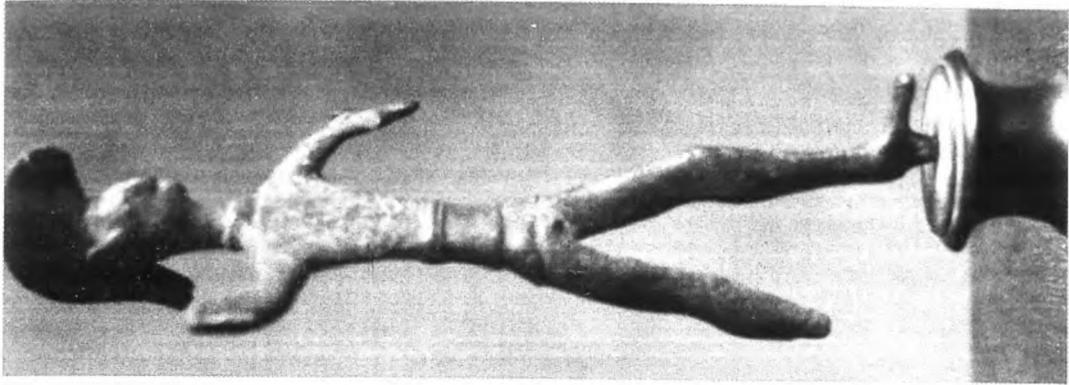
c

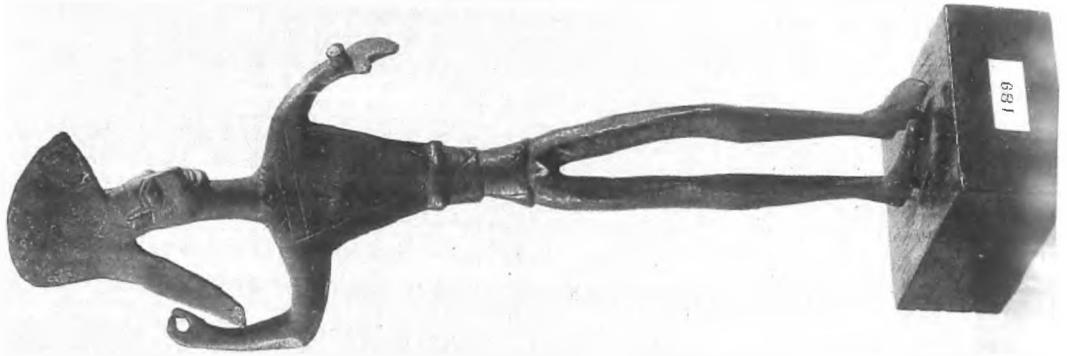


b



a

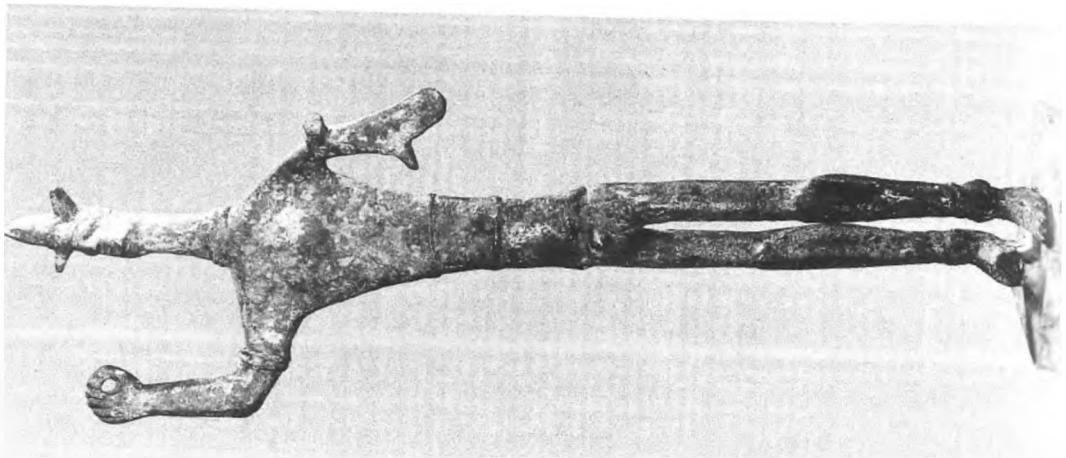




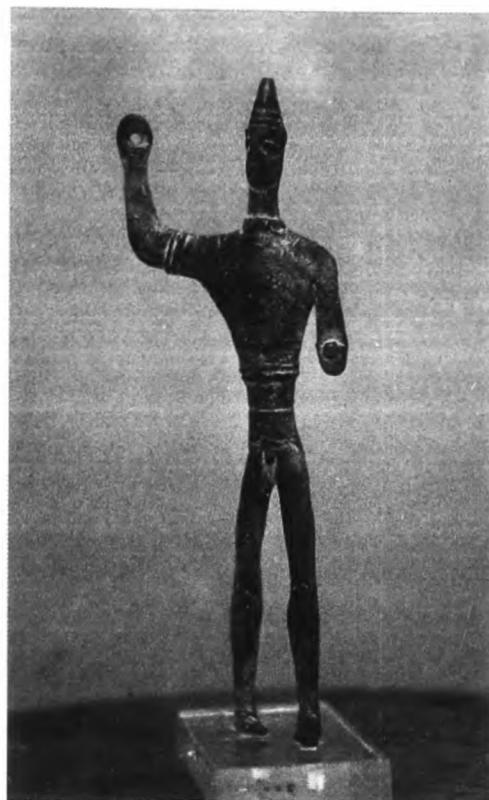
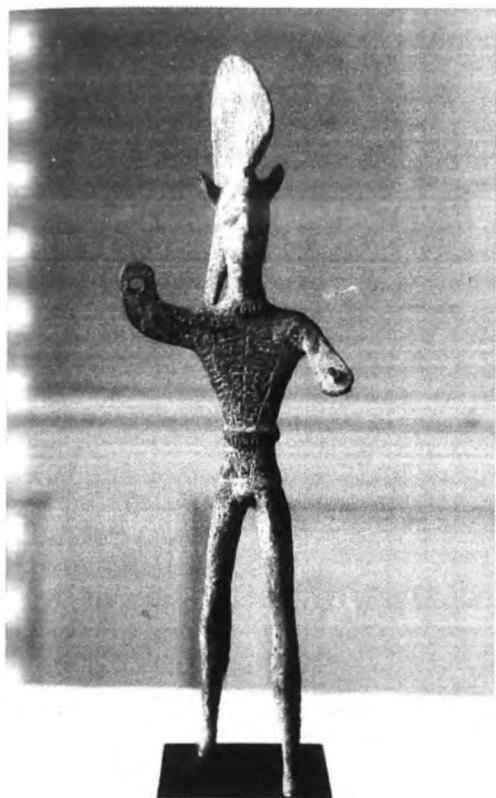
c



b



a





b



a





a

9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1



b



c



d



a



b



c



d



e

