AN ETRUSCAN BRONZE WARRIOR IN THE FOGG MUSEUM

(Con le tavv. CXXXIX-CXLII f. t.)

In 1961 the Fogg Museum was presented by Professor Frederick M. Watkins with a bronze statuette of a warrior, of very fine quality (*tav.* CXXXIX *a, b*)(1). As an interesting variant of the striding warrior type the piece deserves attention. It raises some interesting questions concerning the Etruscan bronze workshops, their localization, and their relation to Greek prototypes.

The figure stands 0,135 meters tall, to the crest of his helmet, not including a tang 0.01 meters long beneath his right foot. The left arm is broken off at the lower edge of the short sleeve, just below the shoulder, and the lower portion of the left leg is missing from mid-calf. The warrior's staff appears to be broken off near shoulder level, although there is no indication that it extended below the hand. The patina is dark brown-green, with an irregular mottling of brighter green. Traces of cuprous oxide can be seen on the broken surface of the left arm and in a small area on the chest (2).

The miniature militant stands in a frontal pose, the potential rigidity of his stance eased by a slight turning of the head. The left leg is advanced with an easy, bent knee, and the right foot is turned out. From the rear the symmetry of the piece is broken by the slightly diagonal fall of the long helmet crest to the right of the spinal column, and by the somewhat higher position of the right hip. The warrior holds the staff at his side, rather than grasping a spear poised for the throw, which helps to strengthen the impression of a soldier at ease.

The armor has been very carefully depicted, with decorative details and textural effects picked out by fine incised lines. The warrior wear the typical garb of the Greek hoplite of the fifth century, which was adopted by the Etruscans almost verbatim. The helmet is of the Attic type, with its hinged cheekpieces turned up. Both the metal supporting bracket and the horsehair plume are

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(1) Accession number, 1961.143; provenance unknown. *Fogg. Art Museum Acquisitions 1959-62.* Meriden Gravure, 1963, pp. 31, 142; R. S. TEITZ, *Masterpieces of Etruscan Art,* 1967, pp. 75-76, n. 64 ill. p. 163; S. DOERINGER - D. G. MITTEN, *Master Bronzes from the Classical World,* 1967, n. 163. A shorter version of this study will appear in the *Art Quarterly.*

(2) We should like to thank Miss Elizabeth Jones of the Fogg Museum department of conservation, who performed the technical examination of piece. The metal of the tang was examined by William J. Young of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, who feels that it is ancient, but not necessarily contemporaneous with the rest of the statuette.

carefully represented; tiny rounded indentations at regular intervals along the support may be intended to indicate bolts for fastening in the plume, while radiating incised striations translate the coarse horsehair into the metalworker's idiom.

The helmet has a vestigial nosepiece in the point to which the forehead guard comes at the bridge of the nose. The lower edge of the guard arches over the eyes, and two reverse arches meet in a point at the incipience of the plume, so that a roughly diamond-shaped visor is delineated over the forehead. The center of this area is adorned with a small circle with a dot in its center. A single delicate incised line outlines the forehead guard and cheekplates. At the base of the crown of the helmet in the rear the sculptor has added a row of closely-placed punctate marks. These may be intended to represent a row of decorative studs (3), or they may indicate holes through which a leather or felt lining was sewn into the helmet to ease the chafing at the back of the neck.

The body armor is described with equally precise detail. Protruding from beneath the cuirass are the short cap sleeves of a chiton and its skirt, which covers the upper thighs. The cuirass represents the type made of leather, with small overlapping rounded bronze plates sewn onto it in a scale-like pattern. A pair of broad leather bands fasten over the shoulders, ending in three scallops at the back and in a single rounded finger-like projection in the front. A circle with a dot in its center and, above it, a parallelogram with diagonal lines connecting its corners, are incised on the front of each shoulder guard.

At the waist the warrior wears a thick belt. Below the cuirass are two overlapping layers of rectangular flaps (*pteryges*). These were usually made of leather and plated with bronze in armor of this type. In the statuette each *pteryx* is carefully edged with a narrow margin of smoothly-finished metal, less than a millimeter in width; the center of each flap is neatly cross-hatched.

The folds of the skirt radiate almost symmetrically from the center back. In the front they are less symmetrical, and slightly more plastic. The folds of the sleeves are very regular, being of almost uniform width and ending in a straight line. The margins of the greaves are indicated by a double incised line.

The artist gave less attention to the modelling of the figure itself than to the linear embellishment of its apparel. The foot is too large, with toes delineated by crude incisions, although the toenails are carefully depicted. The hand is disproportionately large and malproportioned; the fourth finger is pratically effaced by the enormous fifth finger, and the upper portion of the thumb is outsized.

The face, however, is more carefully executed, with the sculptor's predilection for linearism evident in the fine wavy lines indicating, hair, sideburns, and beard (*tav.* CXXXIX *b*). A small arched ridge springing from the nose represents the eyebrows. The eyes are delineated by single lines for the upper lids and double ones for the lower lids. The nose continues the line of the forehead, but is rather short and rounded, although this effect may be exaggerated by surface wear. The cheekbones barely protrude, and the mouth is slightly upturned in a somewhat archaic grin.

(3) Such studs, in silver, occur on a helmet found in the river Alpheios. *A Guide to the Exhibition illustrating Greek and Roman Life,* British Museum, London, 1929, n. 221, fig. 63.

In stance and costume the Fogg soldier is very close to the male figure from a candelabrun group found at Marzabotto *tav.* CXLI *a, b, c*) (4). The similarity of their poses extends even to such details as the positioning of the right foot, the extending of the index finger downward on the right hand, and the angle of inclination of the head. The Marzabotto soldier directs his glance towards the woman who stands on his left and holds a patera out before him. His left arm reaches behind her; his left hand rests on her left shoulder. The two figures, however, were undoubtedly cast separately and subsequently joined. One may conjecture that the Fogg Museum's warrior was also created as part of such a group. His dimensions are appropriate (Marzabotto, h. 0.15 m.; Fogg, h. 0.135 m.) (5). Furthermore, the angle of his left sleeve is exactly the same as his Marzabotto counterpart's, so that the left arm might be reconstructed as reaching around the shoulders of another figure in the same fashion. We must recognize, however, that the position of the sleeve does not preclude any number of other positions for the missing arm.

The basic parts of the Fogg and Marzabotto soldiers are so similar that one might well consider whether they were cast from the same mould. Only the disposition of the folds of the skirt argues against it, being more complex in the Fogg statuette. However, this may have been done in cold work.

The surface finishing naturally shows slight variations. The type of tunic the belt, and the overlapping arrangement of *pteryges* are nearly identical, but the cuirass of the Marzabotto figure is more elaborately decorated, and the helmet is somewhat more detailed. No greaves were drawn. The facial features of the two pieces are similar, although the eyes of the Marzabotto figure appear to be more deep-set, giving his face greater plasticity. His mouth is more skillfully handled, and his expression more serious.

In assigning a date to the Fogg warrior it is necessary to consider how it fits into the development of the warrior image in Etruria, as well as what Greek models it may reflect. As E. Richardson has pointed out (6), about the middle of the fifth century, while the extremely elongated striding bronze warriors were still being produced, a variation of the type began to appear in which the proportions, although still somewhat attenuated, were closer to normal.

In perhaps the finest example of this type, that in Florence (7) of about

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(4) G. Gozzadini, in *Bull. Inst.*, 1867, p. 152 ff. and *Di ulteriori scoperte nell'antica necropoli a Marzobotto nel bolognese,* 1870, p. 34 ff.; Giglioli, *A.E,* p. 46, pl. CCLII: 1 and 3; P. Ducati, *Dedalo* X, 1929, pp. 3-14. According to the editor of this journal, only a cast of this group is in the Marzabotto Museum. We are grateful to Mrs E. H. Richardson for her numerous helpful suggestions, as well as for photographs of the Marzabotto group.

(5) The botton of the foot, however, shows no signs of having been attached to one of the spool-shaped bases upon which candelabrum figures stood. It is possible, although improbable, that he was affixed to the base by means of a tang, rather than by fusion of the pieces, or that he was inteded for a candelabrum but not used because of some ancient break or imperfection. None is now discernible, except for the missing limbs, and we must presume that any such damage was not done in the casting process, for the surface has been considerably worked after casting.

(6) E. Hill (Richardson), *Etruscan Votive Bronze Warriors in the Walters Art Gallery, Journal Walters Art Gallery* VII-VIII, 1944-45, p. 105 ff.

(7) Giglioli, *A.E.*, p. 40, pl. CCXXI; Hill (Richardson), *op. cit.*, fig. 1.

450 B.C., we find armor quite similar to that of the Fogg warrior—the helmet with upturned cheekplates and high crest, the scale-like pattern on the cuirass, even the cross-hatched *pteryges* and short chiton. As in the Fogg piece there is a tendency toward simplification of the body's modelling, but an emphasis on the intricate linear ornamentation of the armor. The folds of the chiton, at the neck and on the skirt, are much less plastic than in the Fogg figure, the stance is more stiff, and the genitalia are shown (8), all of which indicate that the piece precedes the Fogg warrior. Probably only slightly later are two other figures of this type, striding warriors drawing their swords (9).

Messerschmidt (10) first recognized another variant of the bronze warrior image, the « classical » type, which he defines as « a rather heavy-featured young warrior standing at ease, with his weight carried on one leg, the hip thrust out to help his balance, and his free leg bent at the knee » (11). It is as an early example of this group that the Fogg piece must be regarded. In attempting to establish its chronological position within the classification we may be guided by two factors: the Greek models which it imitates, and the type of armor worn.

As we have seen, the scale-plated cuirass occurs on statuettes of the mid-fifth century. It is also frequently represented on Greek vases from the first third of the century onwards (12). At about the turn of the century square bronze-plated leather tabs begin to replace the scalloped plates, and the *pteryges* may become a single strip of crenelated leather, rather than separate flaps. This type of cuirass is worn by a warrior from Falterona in the British Museum (13) and one from the Scheuffelen collection (14), which must both date in the early fourth century.

Yet another type of corslet, which seems to have been developed in the fourth century and to have continued in use through Hellenistic times (15) consists of long vertical strips of leather bound at intervals by horizontal twisted cords. This type is worn by the life-sized « Mars of Todi » (16), as well as by the two warriors on a candelabrum ornament in the Sarti collection (17) and a

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(8) Identification of this trait as an indication of early date was suggested by Mrs. Richardson by letter April 5, 1966.

(9) 1° *Collection Auguste Dutuit,* Paris, 1897, n. 82, p. 51 and pl. LXXVII, ex. Castellani, from a candelabrum; P. J. Riis, *Tyrrhenika,* 1941, p. 90 and n. 3, calls it Vulcian and relates it to the group formerly in Berlin (see below). 2° Ravenna, S. Rinach, *Repert. Stat. Gr. Rom.,* III, 1920, p. 57, n. 6, known to the authors only through a drawing.

(10) F. Messerschmidt, *Untersuchungen zum Mars von Todi, Röm. Mitt.* XLIII, 1928, pp. 147-164.

(11) *Ibidem,* p. 152.

(12) Kylix by Douris, Vienna (J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters,* 1963, p. 427, n. 3); kylix by Sosias Painter, Berlin (Beazley. *A.R.V.,* p. 21, n. 11); kylix by a painter of the Thorvaldsen Group, New York (Beazley, *A.R.V.,* p. 455, n. 1).

(13) *B. M. Bronzes,* n. 459; Giglioli, *A.E.,* p. 46, pl. CCLII: 2.

(14) Messerschmidt, *op. cit.,* pl. 12.

(15) E. H. Richardson, *The Etruscan Origins of Early Roman Sculpture, Mem. Am. Ac.* XXI, 1953, p. 116, footnote 34.

(16) Messerschmidt, *op. cit.,* pl. 11; Giglioli, *A.E.,* p. 45, pl. CCL.

(17) Messerschmidt, *op. cit.,* p. 153, fig. 3.

warrior in the Walters Art Gallery dated by Mrs. Richardson as third century B. C. (18).

Although the change in fashions of armor was undoubtedly a gradual process, with different types occuring simultaneously and no precise dates determinable, the relatively early position among « classical » warriors which their costumes suggest for the Fogg and Marzabotto pieces is borne out when we examine the question of Greek models.

As Mrs. Richardson has demonstrated (19), the Etruscan artists were aware of advancements in the representation of the human figure in Greece, and the development of the warrior series in the second half of the fifth century and the fourth reflects rather closely the development of the heroic nude male figure in Greece. In the Fogg warrior, as compared to the striding warrior type, we find a breakthrough in the ability to represent a figure at rest, with his weight clearly resting on one leg and the other relaxed. The degree of sophistication of the artist's understanding of the « contrapposto » stance seems closely akin to that of the « Omphalos Apollo » (20), of 460-450 B.C. The Fogg warrior does not, on the other hand, reflect the more emphatic S-curve of the Polykleitan idiom, which dominates the nonchalant stance of the Mars of Todi, the Falterona figure, and the « bronzetti » of the Scheuffelen and Sarti collections.

In addition, the facial expression of the Fogg piece is more alert and outgoing than the pensive, moody mien introduced by Polykleitos and imitated more or less successfully by his Etruscan followers. His expression is perhaps more archaic than that of the Marzabotto warrior, with yet a trace of the archaic smile, but this may be explained by a persistence of archaic conventions and an intentional selection of a grimly genial expression, rather that by a significant differential in date.

We may, therefore, postulate for the Fogg and Marzabotto warriors a date about the middle of the fifth century, preceding the vogue for the Polykleitan stance in Etruria, yet showing and understanding of the mechanics of « contrapposto » as advanced as that of the Greeks of the previous decade. The facial features of the Fogg warrior are conservative, indicating strong connection with the earlier works of the Vulcian « atelier ».

As the Fogg piece is unquestionably of the same workshop as the Marzabotto group, the problem of its artistic prototypes and regional affiliation may be discussed with reference to two candelabrum groups of similar composition: the group formerly in Berlin (*tav.* CXLII *a*), considered South Italian (Locrian) by Jantzen and Neugebauer (21) but Etruscan by Riis and E. Richardson (22), and

(18) Hill (Richardson), *op. cit.*, fig. 20, p. 122.

(19) Richardson, *op. cit.*, *Mem. Am. Ac.* XXI, 1953, p. 105 ff.

(20) Athens, National Museum. G. M. A. Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art.* 1959, pl. 115-116.

(21) We are grateful to E. Rohde for the photograph. T. Panofka, *Antiques du cabinet du Comte de Pourtalès-Gorgier,* 1834, pl. 2; Giglioli, *A.E.*, p. 39, pl. CCLV: 1; U. Jantzen, *Bronzewerkstätten in Grossgriechenland und Sizilien* 1937, p. 5, n. 1, n. 1, pl. 36: 148; K. A. Neugebauer, *Reifarchaische Bronzevasen mit Zungenmuster, Röm. Mitt.* XXXVIII-XXXIX, 1923-24, p. 436; Idem, *Archaische vulcenter Bronzen, Jahrb.* LVIII, 1954, p. 259, Tarentine.

(22) Riis, *Tyrrhenika*, p. 81, no. 3; Mrs. E. H. Richardson, by letter.

that formerly in the Auguste Dutuit collection and now in the Petit Palais (23) (*tav.* CXLII *b*).

All three come from candelabra of a type generally considered Etruscan (24). The piece formerly in Berlin is earlier than the one from Marzabotto. The warrior's cuirass, decorated with spirals, is of an archaic type which, however, continued to be used into the fifth century (25). The kore maintains the archaic arrangement of the cloak folds, while the rendering of folds of the lower part of her chiton in thin, long vertical lines corresponds to renderings used in the « mannerist » current of red-figure vase painting (26). The two curves which define the lower edge of the mantle are seen in sculpture on the marble Nike (Cycladic?) found at Syracuse (27). The tilted position of the woman, too, occurs in « mannerist » sculpture and drawings (28). Her hairdo, with the front row of little « pony locks », corresponds to the coiffure of a terracotta head found at Medma (29).

Something of the seriousness of early classical gods, goddesses, and youths is seen in the expression of the warrior (30). His easy motion fits well into the early classical style; and the manner in which the two figures are closely combined recalls a satyr-maenad group shown on Locrian terracotta plaques (31). In general the group follows that style of which the metopes of Temple « E » in Selinus are the finest expression (32). The group is not Etruscan: the crucial quality is a certain clarity and ease which makes it, even if slightly awkward in design, appear fluent compared to the ponderous hardness of the Marzabotto group. One may also point to such a detail as the profile of the bases, which is simple and clear, unencumbered by the beaded reel and egg-and-dart of the Etruscan examples.

The Dutuit group (*tav.* CXLII *b*), on the other hand, is clearly Etruscan but based on a model which was earlier than that for the Berlin pair. Both figures step forward in unison, with friendly archaic grins. The style is basically late archaic Greek with a close affinity to South Italian sculptures. This need not mean a great difference in date. The beaded base, though lacking the elaboration of an added egg-and-dart pattern on its lower profile, would not permit too long an

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(23) *Collection Auguste Dutuit,* Paris, 1901, n. 167, pl. CXLVIII, from Cività Castellana.

(24) Riis, *Tyrrhenika,* p. 81 ff.; F. Magi, *Raccolta B. Guglielmi,* II, 1941, p. 171 ff.; F. Messerschmidt, *AA* XLVIII, 1933, C. 327 ff.

(25) A. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons,* 1964, pp. 70, 73 ff., « bell corslet »; A. Hagemann, *Griechische Panzerung,* I, 1919, p. 18 ff., figs. 21-23; 44.

(26) P. Arias - B. Shefton, *A History of 1000 Years of Greek Vase Painting,* 1962, figs. 140 f., ca. 490 B. C. For sculpture cf. the Nike, Richter, *Handbook,* fig. 98, 490-480 B. C.

(27) E. Langlotz - M. Hirmer, *Ancient Greek Sculpture of South Italy and Sicily,* 1965, p. 67, pl. 43; also Hera, Temple E, Selinus, *ibidem,* pl. 105.

(28) N. 26 above, and Athena, Temple E, Selinus, Langlotz-Hirmer, *op. cit.*, pl. 104, c. 460 B. C.

(29) L. von Matt - U. Zanotti-Bianco, *Magna Graecia,* 1962, fig. 96, hardly earlier than 490 B. C.

(30) Closest to head from Temple E. Langlotz-Hirmer, *op. cit.*, p. 80 f., pl. 109; also pl. 113.

(31) Langlotz-Hirmer, *op. cit.*, pl. 75, on the chest being opened by the woman.

(32) Langlotz-Hirmer, *op. cit.*, p. 80 ff., ca. 460 B. C. Even if some of the artists came from Greece, the style spread rapidly through Southern Italy.

interval between the Dutuit and Marzabotto pieces. In stance and facial expression the woman of the Dutuit group seems to reflect the style known from the kore of Rhegion (33). Her costume, too, shows the mixture of Ionian and mainland traits known from the terracottas of Locri and some South Italian bronzes (34). They also supply suitable models for the large, hard features and staring eyes (35).

It is, then, our opinion that the Dutuit group is Etruscan, but made after a South Italian model of ca. 480-470 B.C. The group formerly in Berlin is, as Jantzen and Neugebauer suggested, South Italian; it was made by a Greek bronzecaster around 460 B.C., whether in a South Italian city, in Campania, or in « exile » in South Etruria should perhaps remain an open question.

Composed from the beginning of two distinct figures, the Marzabotto group is a different matter. The resemblance to other bronzes of North Italian provenance, as well as to the bronzes usually assigned to Vulci, is close.

Riis found that it has « a character that would harmonize with that of the others [from Vulci], but cannot *a priori* be included among the Vulcian bronzes owing to the absence of links in the chain of evidence » (36). A comparsion of the facial features of the Fogg bronze and several of those classified as Vulcian by Riis tends to strengthen this attribution.

In the well-known pair of statues from Monteguragazza (37) and the related figure from Uffington, Berkshire (38), the handling of the eyes is extremely close to the Fogg piece, with a fold for the upper lid and a double line for the lower, no indication of pupils, and the outer corners of the eyes quite pointed and slightly tilted upward. All share the same shape of face, a broad forehead and fairly flat cheeks tapering into a small, rounded chin. The mouths are quite small and slightly upturned, although they are much more carefully articulated in the larger statuettes. In the Monteguragazza figures, however, the nose protrudes more and a plane is set up between the sharply delineated brows and the eyes, so that the face has greater three-dimensionality. This may be due in part to differences in scale, for we find in candelabrum groups attributed to the Vulcian workshops a tendency toward more flat faces. In the group of woman and child in the Museo Civico, Bologna (39), for example, the same slanting eyes, triangular face, bulbous chin and small mouth occur, but the forehead ridge and protrusion of the nose are minimized.

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(33) A. G. WOODHEAD, *The Greeks in the West,* 1962, p. 237, fig. 74.

(34) The short, « sheer » jacket and long heavier « skirt » on the mirror support from Locri, LANGLOTZ-HIRMER, *op. cit.,* pl. 64, dated by Langlotz ca. 470 B. C. The fluid, thin-lined garment, LANGLOTZ-HIRMER, fig. 73, VON MATT-ZANOTTI-BIANCO, fig. 142, with similar veil and hairdo. The tight, unlined draperies, through which the body is barely shown, and the heavy proportions in the mirror support from Locri, VON MATT-ZANOTTI-BIANCO, fig. 134 f., which is, however, slightly later, ca. 450 B. C.; also in Langlotz-Hirmer, pl. 91.

(35) LANGLOTZ-HIRMER, *op. cit.,* fig. 66, Paestum, 460 B. C.; fig. 70, Locri?

(36) RIIS, *Tyrrhenika,* p. 82, no. 26.

(37) GIGLIOLI, *A.E.,* pl. CCXX: 1-4, p. 40; M. GUARDUCCI, *Intorno ad una serie di bronzetti etruschi rinvenuti sull'Appennino Bolognese, Rend. Lincei* ser. 6, II, 1926, pp. 282-300; RIIS, *Tyrrhenika,* p. 90 and fig. 18:2, Vulcian.

(38) RIIS: *Tyrrhenika,* p. 90, Vulcian; *The Bronze Statuette from Uffington Berkshire, JRS* XXXVI, 1946, pp. 43-47 pl. VII.

(39) GIGLIOLI, *A.E.,* p. 39, pl. CCXV: 3; RIIS, *Tyrrhenika,* p. 81, no. 6 and pl. 16:1, Vulcian.

The Greek model of the Marzabotto group was presumably a group of monumental bronze statues. Its stylistic phase was that of the « Omphalos Apollo », Europa, and Olympia pediments (40). Its stylistic ambient may have been Northern Greece. The curious folding of drapery on the shoulder of the woman recurs rather strikingly on the Apollo of the nymph relief from Thasos (41); the ponderation of the warrior seems similar to a hoplite relief from Pella (42). The influence of Northern Greece during its Polygnotan flowering could easily manifest itself across Thessaly and Epeiros on the Adriatic coast of Greece; but this style seems to have reached Southern Italy as well. One cannot overlook the resemblance in the stylization of the cloak folds, deeply graven in continuous lines, between the Marzabotto bronze (*tav.* CXLI *b,* garment of the woman) and some Locrian reliefs (43).

There is, too, a similar mood and a more elaborate concern with the effect of attire than in mainland Greece, and these make Southern Italy perhaps a more likely source of inspiration than Northern Greece, even though evidence is rapidly accumulating that from 470-420 B.C. much of the Greek trade, and presumably artistic stimulation, was diverted from the traditional route along the South Italian coast to the harbor of Felsina at Spina on the Adriatic (44). The possibility that important metallurgical worshops became active in the region of Felsina (Bologna) must be seriously considered.

Finally, a word about the meaning of these groups. The Marzabotto and Berlin groups portray the « warrior's departure » (45). On the Marzabotto statuette the woman holds a patera, and is therefore pouring a libation for the warrior's safe return. It is doubtful, however, that they are meant to be mortal warriors and women. Rather, it seems more plausible to consider them under Erika Simon's (46) term, as « opfernde Götter », setting a divine precedent for mortals to follow. For the Etruscans they may have signified *Maris* and *Turan* (47). Just conceivably some were thought of as mythological couples.

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(40) C. PICARD, *Manuel de la sculpture grecque* 2:1, 1939, figs. 39, 23, ca. 460-450 B. C. For Europa, formerly nicknamed Aspasia, G. LIPPOLD, *Die griechische Plastik,* 1953, p. 102, pl. 32.

(41) PICARD, *op. cit.,* fig. 41.

(42) PICARD, *op. cit.,* fig. 47.

(43) For instance, PICARD, *op. cit.,* fig. 70; LANGLOTZ-HIRMER, *op. cit.,* fig. 73; VON MATT-ZANOTTI-BIANCO, *op. cit.,* fig. 142.

(44) The continuous naval warfare along the coast of Sicily and the Tyrrhenian sea is attested by the Tuscan-Carthaginian expedition of 493 B. C. and the battle of Cumae in 474-3 B. C. Cf. J. HEURGON, *C. R. Ac. Inscr.,* 1965, pp. 89-104. It may have influenced « the neutrals » like Athens to shift to the Adriatic route. For the dates of the Athenian commerce with Spina, cf. J. D. BEAZLEY, *Spina e la ceramica greca, Atti S.* I, 1929, 47 ff.; P. ARIAS, *La ceramica greca di Spina e quella di Felsina, affinità e differenze, Atti S.* I, p. 65 ff. height of import ca. 460-420 B. C.

(45) W. WREDE, *Kriegers Ausfahrt in der archaisch— griechischen Kunst, Ath. Mitt.* XLI, 1916, pp. 221-374.

(46) E. SIMON, *Opfernde Götter,* 1953.

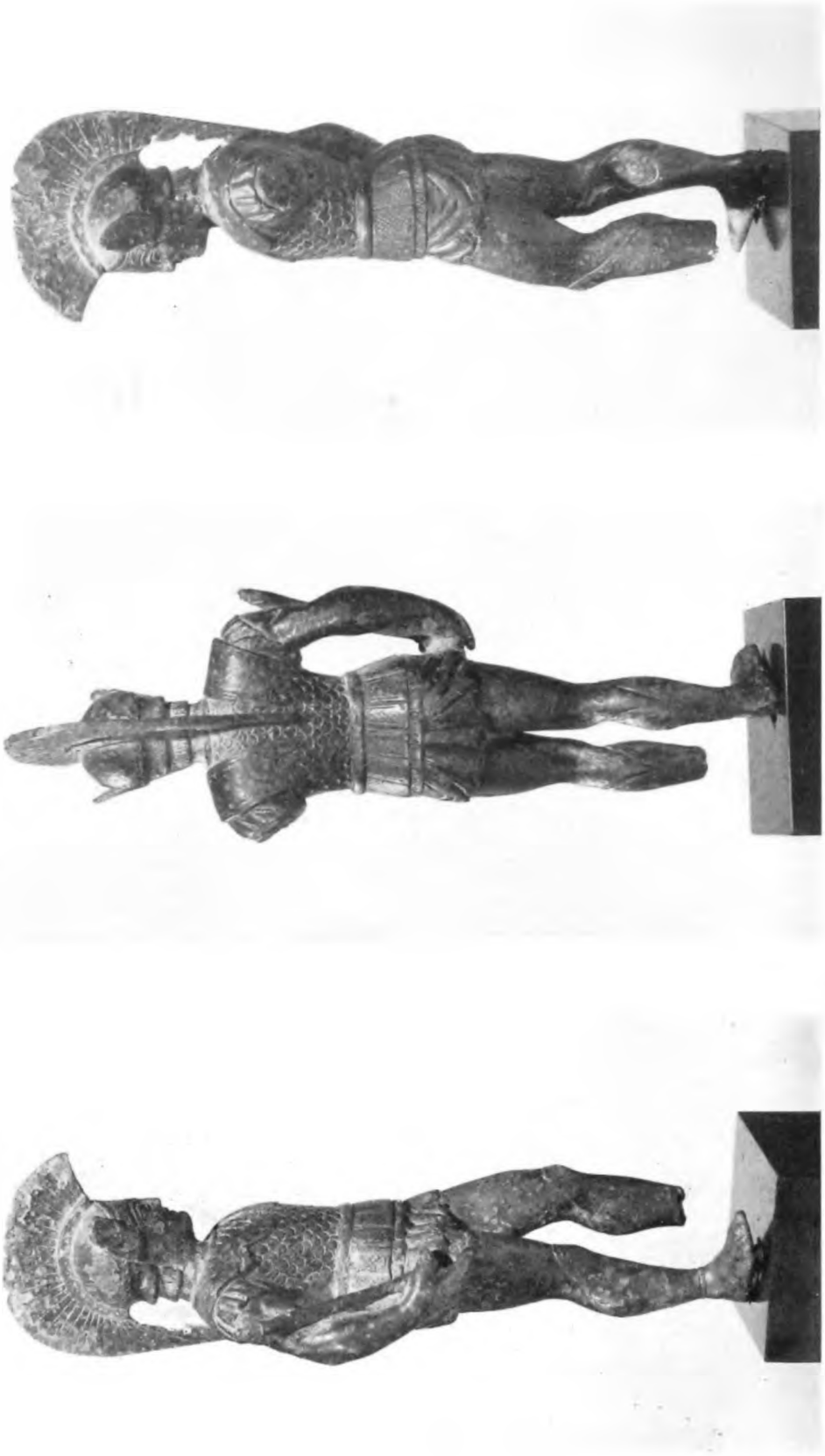
(47) For the identification of Turan in a related type, cf. G. M. A. HANFMANN, *Archaelogy* IX, 1956, pp. 230-232. E. RICHARDSON, *The Etruscans,* 1964, p. 133, pl. 39a, interprets this type as worshippers; this does not take into account the relation of god and worshipper alluded to above.

The Berlin group is probably meant as Ares and Aphrodite; she seems to be clinging to him, reluctant to have him go; he stares pensively ahead. The situation would, of course, also apply to a heroic couple such as Hektor and Andromache. The Dutuit group in its archaic frontality emphasizes conjugal unity. As the woman lacks Turan's characteristic crown, but wears the veil of the married lady, she may have been *Uni* (Hera) to the Etruscans, possibly combined with *Tinia* (?) as warrior god. But here certainty is impossible.

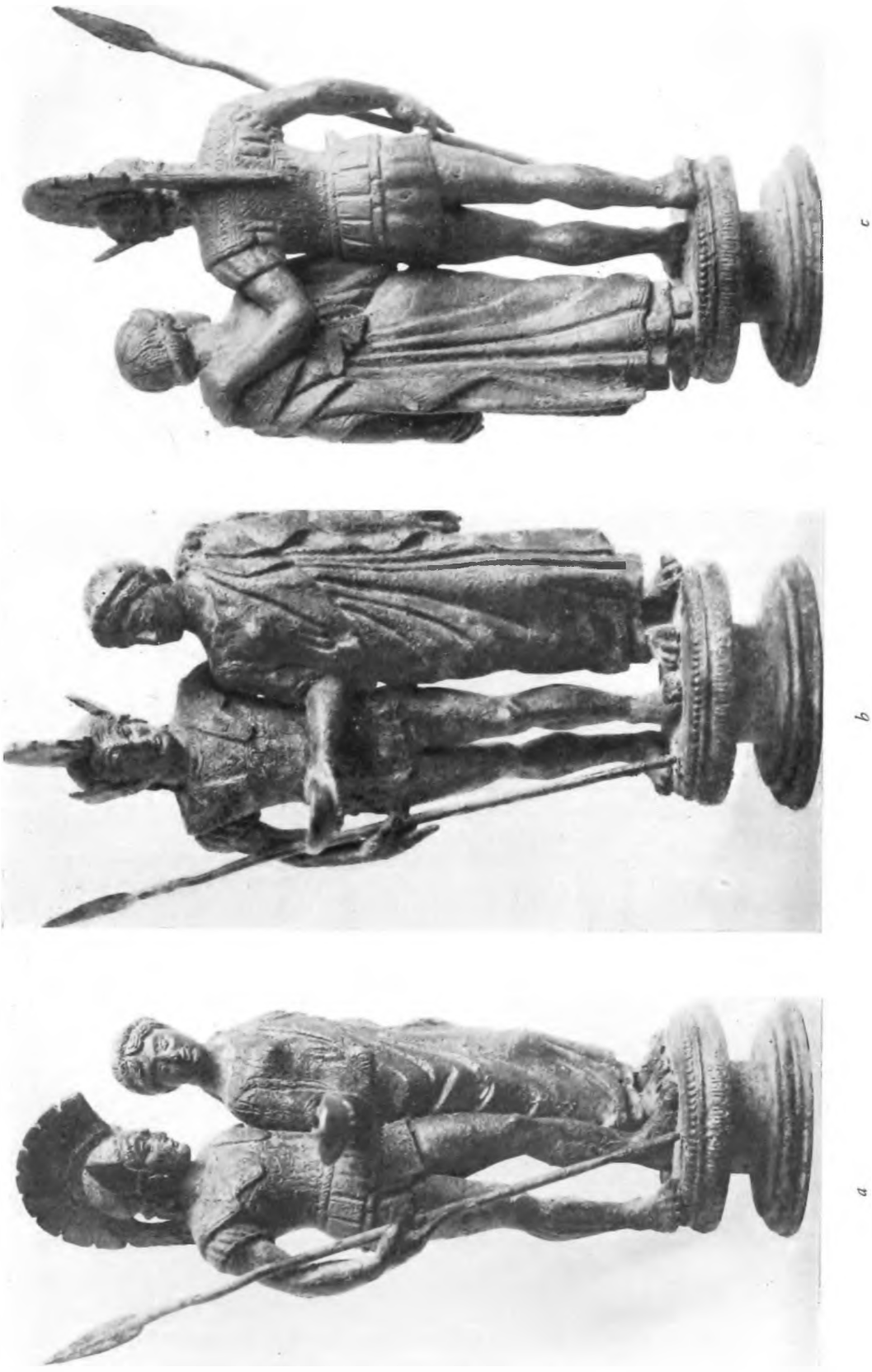
SUZANNAH DOERINGER - GEORGE M. A. HANFMANN

a, *b*, *c*) Candelabrum Group from Marzabotto.

a, *b*) Etruscan Bronze Warrior in the Fogg Museum.



a, *b*, *c*) Etruscan Bronze Warrior in the Fogg Museum.



a

b

c

a, b, c) Candelabrum Group from Marzabotto.

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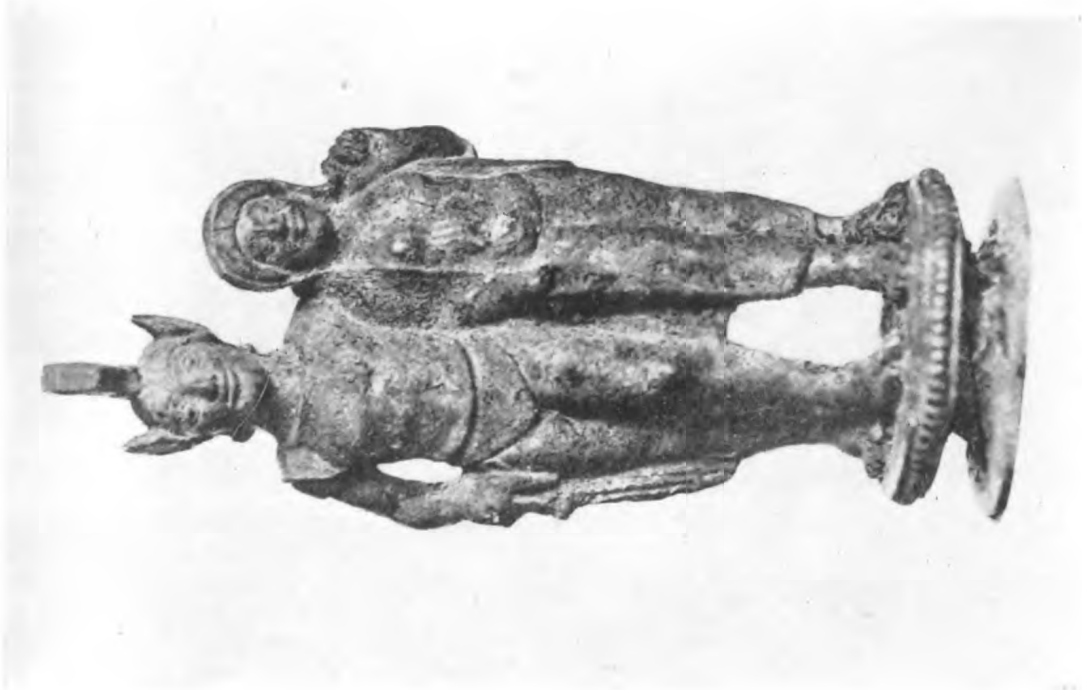
a) Candelabrum Group formerly in Berlin.



b

b) Candelabrum Group in Paris (Petit Palais).