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THOUGHTS ON THE WINGED FEMALE FIGURE
IN THE FUNERARY SCULPTURE
OF CHIUSI OF THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

(Con le *tavv.* I-IV f.t.)

The funerary stone sculpture of Chiusi has been studied repeatedly during the past sixty years with the unjustified exception of two male statues in the British Museum.¹ The works of Bianchi Bandinelli,² Paribeni,³ Rumpf,⁴ Messerschmidt,⁵ Ducati,⁶ Riis,⁷ Hus,⁸ Terrosi-Zanco,⁹ Cristofani,¹⁰ Briquet,¹¹ and Jannot,¹² to mention only the most substantial, have made accessible a vast amount of material and the classification of this sculpture, its stylistic dependance and development, its technique and its significance have been the subject of ever more penetrating analyses.

The largest part of this remarkable body of sculpture was, as Cristofani¹³ and Jannot¹⁴ have pointed out again recently, brought to light in the 18th and 19th centuries in completely uncontrolled conditions during «scavi» conducted by local landowners for the purpose of forming private collections or for commercial transactions. The resulting destruction of identifiable tomb-groups and original contexts has been one of the most serious obstacles which modern

¹ Pryce 1931, no. D8; Haynes 1971, p. 18, pl. 4, from Podere Casalta, Comune di Lucignano in Val di Chiana (see the communication of E. MANGANI on p. 421 of this volume), and Pryce 1931, no. D9; Haynes 1971, p. 18 f. Pl. 5, from Chiusi.

² BIANCHI-BANDINELLI 1925, 1925-1926.

³ PARIBENI 1938, 1939.

⁴ RUMPF 1928.

⁵ MESSERSCHMIDT 1928.

⁶ DUCATI 1932.

⁷ RIIS 1941.

⁸ HUS 1961.

⁹ TERROSI-ZANCO 1964.

¹⁰ CRISTOFANI 1975.

¹¹ BRIGUET 1972, 1974.

¹² JANNOT 1984.

¹³ CRISTOFANI 1975, 11 ff.

¹⁴ JANNOT 1984, XII f.

scholars have had to contend with in their attempts to relate the sculptures to imported vases or other datable material and so establish generally agreed chronological limits. In fact, in some cases, the dates ascribed to the same sculpture by different scholars still vary considerably, despite the wide range of comparanda adduced by each.

To take just one recent example: The house-shaped urn in the British Museum with the seated figure of a winged female divinity or demon in front of it ¹⁵ (*tav. I a, b*) was assigned by Cristofani in his book *Statue cinerarie chiuse di età classica* to his «secondo gruppo» and dated to about 460-440. He arrived at this date by describing the divinity's dress as closely related to that of the so-called 'Mater Matuta'. ¹⁶ This statue from Chianciano, seated on a throne flanked by sphinxes, has been dated to the years 460-450 on the evidence of the Attic oinochoe and the gold pin found in its interior. ¹⁷ But the important observations made by A. Maggiani suggest that we should reconsider this dating (see p. 157 of this volume). Cristofani also compared the face and hairstyle of the winged female of the British Museum urn with this sculpture from Chianciano and states: «Il volto della divinità è vicino a quello delle sfingi della 'Mater Matuta', soprattutto nella disposizione della capigliatura sulla fronte e ai lati del volto». ¹⁸ But the hairstyle of the winged deity of the urn in London is, in fact, somewhat different from that of the sphinxes of the 'Mater Matuta' (*tav. I b*). Above the forehead it is arranged in tightly crimped waves which reach in a series of corkscrew-like curls to well below the ear-lobes, while behind the ears striated locks hang loosely onto the neck beneath the thin ribbon which holds in place the half-diadem. ¹⁹ This arrangement of the hair can in some ways be more closely compared with the style worn by Velia Seithiti in the Tomba degli Scudi ²⁰ than with that of the sphinxes on the 'Mater Matuta's' throne. Their front hair is simply horizontally striated from a central parting without any of the finely crimped locks in front of the ears, while behind the sphinxes' ears some strands of hair are looped up and tucked into the ribbon holding the half-diadem in place. In my booklet on *Etruscan Sculpture* ²¹ I have suggested a date for the British Museum urn with the seated, winged deity somewhere between the late 5th century and the middle of the 4th. Bettina von Freytag, however, in her book on the Telamon Pediment ²² discussed the date of this urn mainly on the basis of the shape of its roof, its

¹⁵ PRYCE 1931, D 19.

¹⁶ CRISTOFANI 1975, 63f.

¹⁷ CRISTOFANI 1975, 70.

¹⁸ CRISTOFANI 1975, 64.

¹⁹ Cf. the photograph of the head in RM 43, 1928, 99, fig. 7.

²⁰ Cf. detail in S. Steingraber ed. *Etruskische Wandmalerei*, Stuttgart 1985, 148.

²¹ S. HAYNES, *Etruscan Sculpture*, London 1971, 20 f.

²² *Das Giebelrelief von Telamon*, Mainz 1986, 145, note 572.

decoration with crouching lions and with the now missing metal adjuncts. She came to the conclusion that the urn's architectural forms are closely connected with those of sarcophagi and ash-urns datable to the 4th century. She therefore opted for a date in the second quarter of the 4th century for the British Museum urn.

Clearly, there exists as yet no unanimity in this matter. I do not wish to insist too much on such chronological discrepancies, but examples like this serve to remind us that much work remains to be done in refining and qualifying the categories employed by us all.

What I do want to pursue as my theme, however, is the figure of the winged female demon herself. We have already seen that the hairstyle of the demon on the urn in the British Museum differs significantly from that of the sphinxes of the 'Mater Matuta'; and, although her chiton and mantle of heavy material are draped in a way comparable to that of the seated figure with the child, she shares one detail of dress with a number of the later statue-cinerario, Cristofani's third group, which he dates between 430-400: ²³ this is the broad, ribbed and tasselled band which hangs from the right shoulder of the demon. We meet it on the enthroned statue-cinerario in Bonn, ²⁴ in Berlin ²⁵ and Copenhagen, ²⁶ as well as on the female demon of the group from Chianciano in Florence. ²⁷ It also occurs on many representations of ladies of the later 5th and 4th centuries. ²⁸ But despite E. Richardson's and L. Bonfante's attractive theory that it was a sign of rank, this feature of purely Etruscan fashion has not yet been explained entirely satisfactorily. The head and the feet of the winged demon are carved separately (see *tav. I a, b*), although the urn itself and not the figure was meant to contain the ashes of the dead. Her clenched fists which rest on her knees, are pierced for the insertion of upright metal adjuncts, now missing. Watchfully and calmly sitting in front of the urn, the figure seems to be a guardian of the ashes of the deceased. She and five other such winged female divinities who sit beside the dead on statue-cinerario ²⁹ represent the earliest preserved examples in Etruscan stone sculpture of a type which appears to have been of particular significance in the region of Chiusi in the second half of the 5th and the early 4th century.

We shall now attempt to trace the formation of this type before it finds its splendid classical expression in these Chiusine statue-cinerario. For our

²³ CRISTOFANI 1975, 72.

²⁴ CRISTOFANI 1975, 40, no. 9 Pls. XXII, XXIII.

²⁵ CRISTOFANI 1975, 41, no. 11, Pl. XXIV.

²⁶ CRISTOFANI 1975, 41, no. 10, Pls. XXVI-XXVIII.

²⁷ CRISTOFANI 1975, 42, no. 12, Pls. XXIX-XXX.

²⁸ Cf. most recently L. BONFANTE, *Etruscan Dress*, Baltimore-London 1975, 39 (note 37), who is mistaken in seeing a tassel on the «Mater Matuta's» dress.

²⁹ CRISTOFANI 1975, nos. 12, 17, 25, 26, 27 of his catalogue.

purpose it would be convenient if we were able to give a definitive name to this important demon. The varied iconography of the winged female figure in a long dress has been discussed most recently by Bettina von Freytag and Ingrid Krauskopf.³⁰ In her treatment of the subject, von Freytag deliberately decided against using the name Vanth, since it is attested in writing only on seven monuments,³¹ designating figures of somewhat differing dress and appearance. Dividing these demons, from which the Lasa has already been excluded thanks to the exacting analysis of Antonietta Rallo,³² into three different types, von Freytag calls the first type *Totengeleiterin*, the second Furies and the third Erinyes.³³ I shall be dealing only with the first type, that is to say the winged figure in a long dress shown in the act of guiding or carrying the dead or watching or waiting for him. For simplicity's sake and despite the fact that the first mention of the name does not occur before the 4th century,³⁴ I shall use the name Vanth for the representations I am going to discuss now.

The earliest example of a scene in which two winged figures in long chitons escort away a dead youth who is walking between them is an Etruscan gem of Severe Style in Boston.³⁵ Von Freytag feels uncertain about the sex of the demons engraved on it,³⁶ but Beazley had no doubt that they were female. I also think that they are Vanths, for the contrast between the naked youth and the winged figures in long dresses must represent a deliberate attempt to distinguish their sex.

The next example of a similar Vanth-like figure carrying the naked body of a beardless dead man appears on an Etruscan scarab discovered in 1931 in a chamber-tomb of Poggio Renzo at Chiusi.³⁷ Although this finely engraved gem is inscribed with the words TURAN and TINIAS, there can be no question that iconographically the scene is based on a Greek prototype showing Eos

³⁰ VON FREYTAG, *op. cit.* (see note 22) 142 ff. with earlier literature. Krauskopf 1987, 25 ff., 78 ff.

³¹ VON FREYTAG, *op. cit.* (see note 22) 143, Anm. 562. An eighth example has meanwhile been published by C. Isler Kerényi: «Eine bisher übersehene, achte Namenbeischrift der etruskischen Todesgöttin Vanth» in *Antike Welt* 20, Heft 4, 1989, 57 ff. E. Paschinger in «Die Etruskische Todesgöttin Vanth» in *Antike Welt* 19, 1988, Heft 1, 39 ff. also listed seven inscribed examples. I gather that Paschinger is preparing a substantial work on Vanth for publication.

³² A. RALLO, *Lasa. Iconografia e esegesi*, Firenze 1974.

³³ *Op. cit.* (see note 22) 143 ff.

³⁴ RALLO, *op. cit.* (see note 32), 52, no. 4.

³⁵ J.D. BEAZLEY, *The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems*, 1920, 33, no. 36, Pl. 3.; ZAZOFF 1968, 36, 150, no. 415; KRAUSKOPF 1987, 28, note 62.

³⁶ *Op. cit.* (see note 22), 144.

³⁷ NSc 1931, 204 ff. fig. 7; ZAZOFF 1968, no. 1105; LIMC III, Eos/Thesan 796, no. 41; KRAUSKOPF 1987, 25, note 51,5; M. BUFFA, *Nuova Raccolta di Iscrizioni Etrusche*, Florence 1935, 103, no. 298; TLE *Indice Lessicale*, 338; *Historia*, April 1932, 311.

bearing her son Memnon from the battle-field. Doro Levi, who published this scarab in *Notizie degli Scavi* of 1931, drew attention to the striking similarity between the representation on it and the scene on a pelike by the Syleus painter in the Louvre.³⁸ Regarding the inscription on the gem, Levi suggested that the Etruscan engraver had simply identified the Greek mythological figures of his prototype with the greatest divinities of his own pantheon. I am not sure about this explanation; we know of no other case of Turan being shown as carrying Tinia. The inscription may be dedicatory rather than an identification of the figures represented, the sense being perhaps Turan of Tinia - Turan di Tinia; but this is a problem which I would prefer to leave to the linguistic experts. The gem was made during the first third of the 5th century, the period in which Etruscan artists first tried to give visible form to a female death-demon of their pantheon. In their search for a suitable image they seem to have seized on various Greek pictorial schemata of late archaic type, of which Eos and Memnon is one.³⁹ As Krauskopf has pointed out, many of the Etruscan representations of Eos and her dead son are indeed illustrations of the Greek myth, but others are not. In these latter cases, although the Greek schema was used, it assumed for the Etruscan artist and his client a quite different meaning. How the ideological content of such Etruscan versions of an originally Greek image changes, I hope to show in a moment. But first I want to underline the fact that the pelike by the Syleus painter in Paris is said to have been discovered in Chiusi and therefore could have served as model for the carver of the gem from Poggio Renzo. If this is indeed so, we might here have the lucky case of being in possession of both the imported Greek vase and the Etruscan gem which was inspired by it.

I would like to go further and suggest that the scene on this vase may also have served as model for two small bronze statuettes in the British Museum.⁴⁰ Both statuettes stand on flat, circular bases and represent a walking winged and draped female figure carrying the naked body of a long-haired youth. Walters⁴¹ wrongly identified the two groups as Eos and Kephalos,⁴² but the two boyish figures are clearly shown as dead with their eyes closed and there can be little doubt that the winged figures are Vanths with the corpses of humans. This assumption gains support from the circumstances of the discovery of the finer

³⁸ CVA Paris, Louvre III I C, Pl. 47, G 232; A. MINTO in *MonAntLinc* XXVIII, 1922/1923, 273, fig. 7; *LIMC* III,1, 747 ff. s.v. *Eos*, no. 332.

³⁹ KRAUSKOPF 1987, 25 f.

⁴⁰ WALTERS 1899, no. 481; HAYNES 1985, no. 125; KRAUSKOPF 1987, 26, note 53; *LIMC* III, 1, 796, no. 44, s.v. *Thesan* and WALTERS 1899, no. 480; HAYNES 1985, no. 126; *LIMC* III, 1, 795, no. 32, s.v. *Thesan*.

⁴¹ WALTERS 1899, 66, nos. 480, 481.

⁴² R. BLOCH in *LIMC* III, 1 s.v. *Thesan*, 796, no. 44 calls the British Museum Bronze no. 481 Eos and Memnon and Bronze no. 480: *Eos* and *Kephalos*: *op. cit.* 796, no. 32.

of the two groups, Bronze Nr. 481. It was found, mixed up with human ashes in a disintegrated bronze cauldron which also contained fragments of a bronze lid; the group presumably originally surmounted this lid as a handle. The cauldron stood on a tripod-support in a rock-cut niche, closed by a stone slab. This tomb was discovered in the neighbourhood of Asinalunga in the Val di Chiana in 1833.⁴³

The second bronze group, although of poorer quality, clearly depends from the same prototype, and its somewhat provincial style accords well with a similar provenance. Both bronzes came to the British Museum from the Millingen collection, but only the find-spot of Bronze 481 is documented. The two groups' similarity with the Eos and Memnon picture on the pelike by the Syleus painter is such, that one cannot help feeling that their sculptors, as well as the gem-carver earlier on, had this image in mind when they conceived their figures. Both modellers followed the vase-painter's scheme of suggesting death by the way the right arm of the corpse is angled over the head, while the left arm hangs to the ground. In both groups the winged figure supports the dead with her left hand under his left arm-pit and holds on to the thighs with her right hand. The sculptor of Bronze 481 has even attempted to render the division of the lower legs of the corpse, as on the vase. However, the clumsiness of the representation of the naked bodies and the stiffness of the winged figures' stance show how provincial these modellers were. The formal problem of reproducing the subtle twist and elegant balance that distinguish Memnon on the vase-painting was beyond their ability: their dead youths appear board-like and rigidly frontal. But other deviations from the Greek model must be deliberate and suggest that the intention of the sculptor was to charge the bronze groups with an entirely different meaning. By increasing the relative size of the winged figures, the Etruscan artists have conveyed the youthfulness and vulnerability of the deceased. Instead of the splendidly developed body of the fully grown mythical hero, we see here the almost skinny corpses of adolescent boys, whose youth is further emphasized by their long trailing hair. Eos, the grief-stricken mother of Greek epic poetry has been transformed into the stern-faced, overpowering figure of Vanth with loosened hair. And although the demon is dressed in the late archaic Attic-Ionic chiton and obliquely draped mantle, she has assumed the typically Etruscan laced ankle-boots. The Greek image on the vase had provided a potent stimulus for the creation of a sculptural group which was of profound significance in local funerary beliefs; but the bronzes it inspired were imbued with a sepulchral meaning quite alien to that of their model.

Yet another Greek pictorial schema that enabled Etruscan artists to express their own beliefs about death and the departure to the underworld in a

⁴³ *AnnInst.* 1840, 152; *MonInst* 3, PL. 1.23.

tangible way was that of Hypnos and Thanatos carrying between them the body of a hero.⁴⁴ We have mentioned earlier a gem of Severe style in Boston (see note 35) on which two Vanths escort away a dead youth who is represented as walking between them. This shows that the concept of a pair of female death demons existed already. But the attitude in which two Vanths on a bronze handle in Florence⁴⁵ support the corpse of a dead warrior, is clearly inspired by Greek vasepaintings with Sarpedon borne by Hypnos and Thanatos. The skilful modelling of the dead body and the subtle treatment of the drapery of the Vanths which reveals the underlying forms of their limbs, show that this Etruscan artist was extremely able and familiar with Greek prototypes of a high quality.

The handle is one of a pair. The curved bases of these handles have a projecting flange at the back which must once have been soldered to the underside of the rim of a large bronze basin. This was presumably destined for funerary use. Stylistically the handles are closely related to two Etruscan bronze tripod feet also in the Museo Archeologico of Florence.⁴⁶ They are decorated with Peleus subduing Thetis and with Perseus slaying the Medusa. The Vanths' full-cheeked faces with hollow eyes, their finely striated hair and the interplay of their rounded limbs with the thin pleated material of their dress point to the same workshop for both the tripod and the handles. In my book on *Etruscan Bronzes*⁴⁷ I have argued tentatively for a Central Etruscan, probably Orvietan origin for the tripod, strongly influenced by Greek pictorial prototypes of the second quarter of the 5th century. I would date the handles a little later, that is to say about 450-440 B.C.

The next clearly identifiable and datable examples of Vanths appear on sides A and B of a calyx crater of the Praxias group that was sold at Basel in 1969.⁴⁸ Only very little of the original applied paint is preserved so that the catalogue's drawing of the incised lines of the two scenes must suffice as illustration. As the text of the auction catalogue of *Münzen und Medaillen* states correctly, the crater belongs to the Vagnonville group, which represents the work of the latest followers of Praxias, falling within the third quarter of the 5th century. Deeply influenced by Attic red figure vase-painting, the production of Praxias has been localized in Vulci, while the Vagnonville group, several

⁴⁴ For Hypnos and Thanatos see ROSCHER, *Lexikon der Mythologie* V, 1924, 489 ff.; EAA VII, 798; KRAUSKOPF 1987, 25, note 51; 26, note 54 with recent literature; see also: VON FREYTAG, (note 22), 144, note 570; *The Gods' Delight. The Human Figure in Classical Bronze*. Cleveland 1968, 244, no. 45.

⁴⁵ Florence, Museo Archeologico, Inv. 682; HAYNES 1985, no. 120.

⁴⁶ Florence, Museo Archeologico, Inv. 710, 711; HAYNES 1985, no. 119 with earlier literature.

⁴⁷ HAYNES 1985, nos. 119, 120.

⁴⁸ *Münzen und Medaillen* 40. Kunstwerke der Antike, *Auktion* 13.12.1969, no. 117, with literature. See also the observations of S. Bruni on p. 271 sgg. of this volume.

vases of which have been found in the territory of Chiusi, may have been produced in dependent workshops of Chiusi or Orvieto.⁴⁹

On side A of the calyx crater a bearded man is shown between Hermes and a Vanth who raises her hand as if to signal to the god. She is dressed in a richly bordered sleeved chiton and obliquely draped mantle with a tasselled ribbon hanging from one shoulder, a detail of female fashion we have already noticed on some of the statue-cinerario. On side B a similarly dressed and long-haired Vanth gently seizes by the wrist the dead man, who is still in conversation with a bearded companion. The direction of her feet indicates that she is going to lead him away to the left. By equally balancing on side A of the vase the apparition of the Greek Hermes with that of Vanth, the vasepainter has clearly conveyed the idea that the nature of the Etruscan winged female demon corresponds to that of Hermes in his aspect as Psychopompos. On side B of the crater Vanth is shown executing this duty as Totengeleiterin. If the localization of the Vagnonville group in Chiusi is accepted,⁵⁰ we would have here another indication that it was in this region that the image of Vanth was first and most consistently represented during the 5th century.

Let us now turn to another small bronze statuette (*tavv.* II, III *a, b*) which was once in the Bomford collection in England but is now in the Arts Museum of Princeton.⁵¹ This Vanth stands with her booted feet apart and the right leg slightly forward on a square plinth surmounting a cylindrical socket, horizontally pierced by a pin. She is dressed in subarchaic fashion in a sleeved bordered chiton with a mantle draped over her right shoulder. In her right hand she originally held a separately cast object, perhaps a patera, and with her left hand she pulls up the side of her skirt. Her serious face is framed by soft waves of hair, parted in the centre and crowned by a half-diadem; at the back the hair is turned up into a neat roll. The closest parallel for the Vanth's features and front hair is provided by the beautiful Paolozzi terracotta head from Chiusi⁵² and related end-tiles;⁵³ comparable, too, is the face of the Vanth on the statua-cinerario from Chianciano in Florence.⁵⁴ I have therefore suggested a Chiusine workshop for this statuette and dated her to the 3rd quarter of the 5th century.⁵⁵ In accepting this provenance and my tentative dating,

⁴⁹ J.D. BEAZLEY, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, Oxford 1947, 197; C. LAVIOSA, *Su alcuni vasi etruschi sovradipinti*, in *Bollettino d'Arte* 43, 1958, and «Vasi etruschi sovradipinti II» in *Bollettino d'Arte* 45, 1960, 297 ff., especially 309 for location of workshop.

⁵⁰ M. CRISTOFANI in *La Ceramica degli Etruschi*, Novara, 1987, no. 140 expresses some doubt.

⁵¹ HAYNES 1966, 103 ff.; HAYNES 1985, no. 124.

⁵² ANDREN 1939, Pl. 86, no. 306; CRISTOFANI 1975, pl. 43.

⁵³ P. PENSABENE, M.R. SANZI DI MINO, *Museo Nazionale. Le Terrecotte III*, 1, *Antefisse*, Rome 1983, 62 f. no. 24, Pl. 9.

⁵⁴ CRISTOFANI 1975, Pl. XXXII.

⁵⁵ HAYNES 1966, 103 ff.; HAYNES 1985, no. 124.

Mauro Cristofani⁵⁶ has drawn attention to a similar bronze statuette in the Glyptothek in Munich⁵⁷ (*tav.* IV a). Thematically and stylistically it is related to the Vanth in Princeton and may also have been made in the Chiusi region.

Both these two quietly standing figurines, pulling up their Attic-Ionic chiton in a familiar gesture, are clearly inspired by late Archaic Greek korai; but their massive wings belong to the iconography of Nike. They remind us of a fragmentary decorative bronze of this goddess from the Acropolis of Athens which originally formed part of a tripod or cauldron dedicated there.⁵⁸ Dated to about 520 B.C. the statuette represents Nike in a finely pleated, sleeved chiton with her rippling locks crowned by a diadem and her hands raised in a lively gesture. Her wings are no longer of the archaic upswept sickle form typical of numerous earlier Nikai of this type,⁵⁹ but of the heavier rounded shape with downward pointing feathers which was to become the norm for Nikai in red figure vasepainting from the beginning of the 5th century onwards.

The Pan painter was particularly fond of Nike as a subject and even attempted daring frontal views of her. A lekythos by his hand from Gela in the Ashmolean Museum⁶⁰ shows Nike flying upwards with a lyre, and on two slightly later lekythoi in Oxford by him Nike appears holding in one instance an oinochoe and a thymiaterion and in the other a phiale and a thymiaterion.⁶¹ On an amphora in the Louvre⁶² the flying goddess is represented pulling up her skirt with her left hand while carrying an incense-burner with her right. This vase was found in Etruria and came to the Louvre from the Campana collection.

Images such as these Nikai on imported Greek vases may have provided yet another inspiration for local artists seeking to give form to the Etruscan concept of a supernatural being connected with death and the passage into the beyond. Completely divorced from its Greek spiritual content which is associated with strife, competition, agonistic ideals and victory, in Etruria the borrowed Nike image is turned into Vanth, the solemn guide and watcher of the dead. And if the numerous Greek bronze statuettes of Nike from the

⁵⁶ CRISTOFANI 1975, 79.

⁵⁷ SIEVEKING 1913, Pl. 4, from the Castellani Collection (Vente no. 271), then Rémusat Collection (Vente 1900). H. RUSCH, G. EDELMANN, *Etruskische Kunst*, Frankfurt am Main 1969, fig. 125 and Cristofani 1975, 79 give the provenance «Perugia» for this bronze, but this is a mistake. No evidence for such a provenance exists in the archives of the Glyptothek. I am grateful to K. Vierendeel and F.W. Hamdorf for this information.

⁵⁸ C. ISLER-KERÉNYI, *Nike*, Erlenbach-Zürich 1969, 62 f. Pl. 5, no. 113.

⁵⁹ ISLER-KERÉNYI, *op.cit.* nos. 107, 108, 114, 115, 117.

⁶⁰ Inv. 312, CVA, *Oxford* III, I, Pl. 33,2.

⁶¹ Inv. 313, 314, CVA, *Oxford* III, I, Pl. 33,3,4.

⁶² G 199; CVA *Paris* III, I C, Pl. 34,3, page 26.

Acropolis of Athens and elsewhere decorated tripods and cauldrons,⁶³ dedicated in celebration of achievement or victory by living human beings, the Etruscan statuettes we have been looking at were most probably destined for funerary use.

The Vanth in Munich, to judge from the shape of its base, formed the finial of a candelabrum. For the placing of these utensils in tombs we have not only the testimonial of many actual examples found in excavations of graves,⁶⁴ but also of their representation in painting in the Tomba Golini I at Orvieto.⁶⁵

The Vanth in Princeton surmounts a socket which must have fitted on to the top of a wooden stand. We cannot be sure what the precise shape of the stand was, but, if it was provided with hooks, it could have served for the suspension of vases or other utensils.

Such was the most likely use of this fragmentary bronze (*tav. IV b*) in the British Museum⁶⁶ of unknown provenance and subarchaic style. It shows a winged female figure in chiton and mantle on a small circular platform below which the remains of upward-curving hooks round a central shaft are preserved. That similar stands for holding vases and other utensils were placed in Etruscan tombs, is proved by the specimen painted on the left wall of the Tomba dei Demoni Azzurri in Tarquinia next to a kylikeion.⁶⁷ The tall tripod stand represented there shows a number of trefoil jugs hanging from a cross bar at its top which is surmounted by a finial in the form of a fish-tailed demon.⁶⁸ In the 'Tomba del Triclinio' at Cerveteri which was decorated with frescoes of banqueting-scenes,⁶⁹ two such reggiasi were represented standing beside the dining-couches; both are crowned by winged female figures which we may perhaps now permit ourselves to call Vanths.

During this brief survey of a number of gem-engravings and bronzes, we have repeatedly found that Greek red figure vases of late Archaic and Severe style appear to have been the most likely source of inspiration for Etruscan artists⁷⁰ eager to give form to a concept of their own spiritual world. The

⁶³ ISLER-KERÉNYI, *op. cit.* (note 57), 65 f.

⁶⁴ At Spina, for example, E. HOSTETTER, *Bronzes from Spina I*, Mainz 1986, 236 (index s.v. candelabra); M. MARTELLI in *Prima Italia, Exhibition Catalogue*, Brussels 1980/81, 200 f.no. 129.

⁶⁵ STEINGRÄBER, *op. cit.* (note 18), 286 f. no. 32, with earlier lit.

⁶⁶ WALTERS 1899, no. 494.

⁶⁷ I am extremely grateful to the Soprintendente P. Pelagatti and to M. Cataldi for permission and practical help to visit the tomb in February 1988.

⁶⁸ For such demons see M. BOOSEN, *Etruskische Meeresmischwesen. Untersuchungen zur Typologie und Bedeutung*, Rome, 1986, 65-135.

⁶⁹ STEINGRÄBER, *op. cit.* (note 18), 273, after C. CANINA, *L'Antica Etruria Marittima*, Rome 1851, Pls. 63, 64; the paintings are unfortunately so badly preserved that one must turn to Canina's illustrations to gain an approximate impression.

⁷⁰ Cf. CRISTOFANI 1975, 75 f. for the models provided for the Chiusine cippus reliefs and wall-paintings of the first half of the 5th century by Attic pottery; see also: JANNOT 1984, 250 ff.

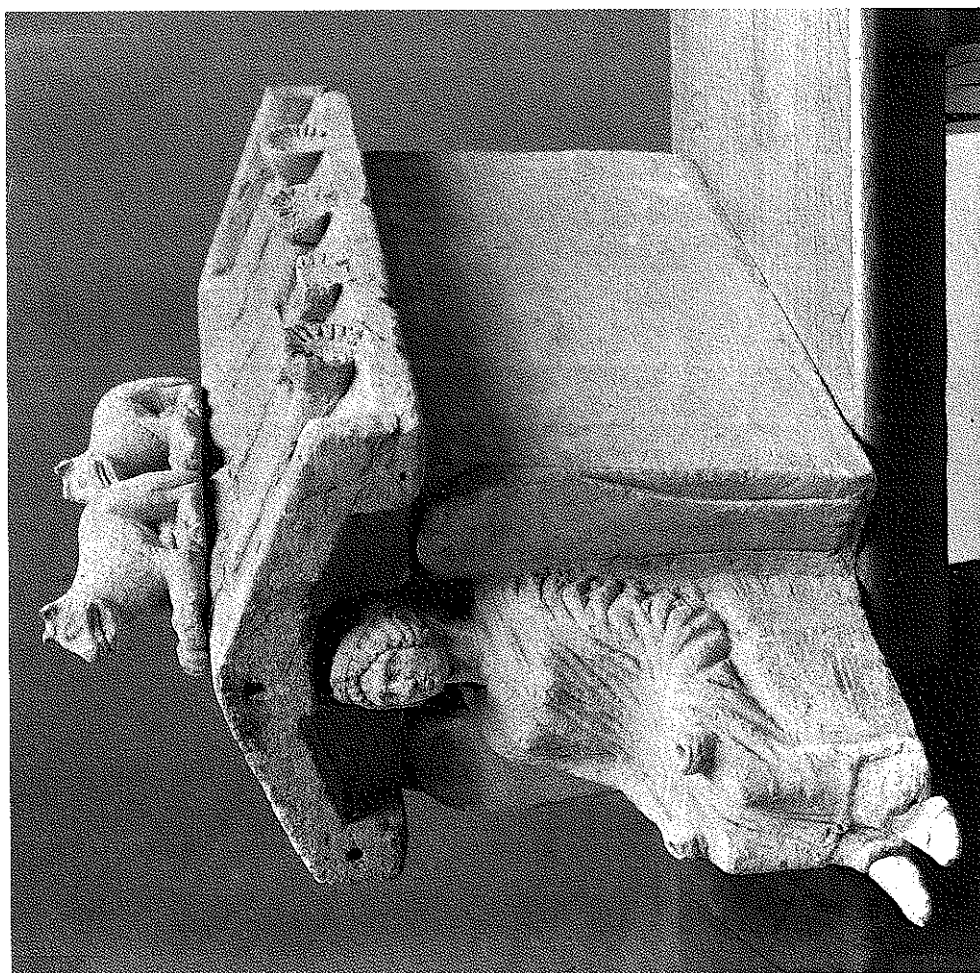
important figure of Vanth may have existed already in the Etruscans' imagination during the Archaic period, but it became a visible reality only in the 5th century with the help of a number of pictorial schemata provided by Attic pottery. The remarkable number of representations of Vanth found in the region of Chiusi during this period suggests that the creation of a clearly defined early image of this demon may have originated in this part of Etruria.⁷¹ The most imposing examples of the new type are undoubtedly the Vanths sculpted for the statue-cinerario, but bronze statuettes, gems and the cylix crater of the Vagnonville group have helped to throw some light on the complex sources which led to the formation of this Etruscan image.

⁷¹ For the comparative poverty of sculpture in the coastal region of Etruria in the course of the 5th century see: CRISTOFANI 1975, 85 f.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ANDREN 1939 A. ANDREN, *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples. Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae* 6, Lund 1939.
- AnnInst* *Annali dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, Rome
- BIANCHI BANDINELLI 1925 R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI, «Clusium» in *Monumenti Antichi* XXX, 1925, 209 ff.
- BIANCHI BANDINELLI 1925/26 R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI, «I caratteri della scultura etrusca a Chiusi», in *Dedalo* VI, 1925/1926, 5 ff.
- BRIGUET 1972 M.-F. BRIGUET, «La sculpture en pierre fétide de Chiusi au Musée du Louvre (I)», in *MEFRA* 84, 1972, 2, p. 847 ff.
- BRIGUET 1974 M.-F. BRIGUET, «La sculpture en pierre fétide de Chiusi au Musée du Louvre (II)», in *Mélanges de Philosophie, de Littérature et d'histoire ancienne offerts à Pierre Boyancé*, École Française di Rome 1974, 103 ff.
- CRISTOFANI 1975 M. CRISTOFANI, *Statue-Cinerario Chiusine di Età Classica*, Rome 1975.
- CVA *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*.
- DUCATI 1932 P. DUCATI, «Osservazioni su sculture chiusine», in *Historia* 4, 1932, 22 ff.
- EAA *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica*.
- HAYNES 1966 S. HAYNES, «Neue Etruskische Bronzen», in *Antike Kunst* Heft 2, 9, 1966, 103 f. Pls. 24, 25.
- HAYNES 1971 S. HAYNES, *Etruscan Sculpture*, British Museum, London 1971.
- HAYNES 1985 S. HAYNES, *Etruscan Bronzes*, London 1985.
- HUS 1961 A. HUS, *Recherches sur la statuaire en pierre étrusque archaïque*, Paris 1961; for Chiusi: 235 ff.
- JANNOT 1984 J.-R. JANNOT, *Les reliefs archaïques de Chiusi*, Rome 1984.
- JANNOT 1987 J.-R. JANNOT, «Chiusi au V^e siècle», in *Latomus* XLVI, 1, Janvier-Mars 1987, 37 ff.
- KRAUSKOPF 1987 I. KRAUSKOPF, *Todesdämonen und Totengötter im Vorbellenischen Etrurien. Kontinuität und Wandel*, Rome 1987.
- LIMC *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*.
- MEFRA *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome*.
- MESSERSCHMIDT 1928 F. MESSERSCHMIDT, «Chiusiner Studien» in *RM* 43, 1928, 90 ff.
- MonAntLinc* *Monumenti Antichi*.
- MonInst* *Monumenti dell'Istituto*.
- NS *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*.

- PARIBENI 1938 and 1939 E. PARIBENI, «I rilievi chiusini arcaici», in *StEtr* XII, 1938, 137 ff. and in *StEtr* XIII, 1939, 179 ff.
- PRYCE 1931 F.N. PRYCE, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum. I, 2, Cypriote and Etruscan*, London 1931.
- RIIS 1941 P.J. RIIS, *Tyrrhenika*, Copenhagen 1941, 113 ff.
- RM *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung.*
- RUMPF 1928 A. RUMPF, *Katalog der Etruskischen Skulpturen. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Katalog der Sammlungen antiker Skulpturen I*, Berlin 1928.
- SIEVEKING 1913 J. SIEVEKING, *Die Bronzen der Sammlung Loeb*, Munich 1913.
- StEtr* *Studi Etruschi.*
- TERROSI-ZANCO 1964 O. TERROSI-ZANCO, «Il fenomeno della scultura funeraria chiusina di arte cosiddetta severa» in *Arte Antica e Moderna* 28, 1964, 365 ff.
- TLE *Testimonia Linguae Etruscae.*
- WALTERS 1899 H.B. WALTERS, *Catalogue of Bronzes, Greek, Roman and Etruscan, in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum*, London, 1899.
- ZAZOFF 1968 P. ZAZOFF, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, Mainz 1968.



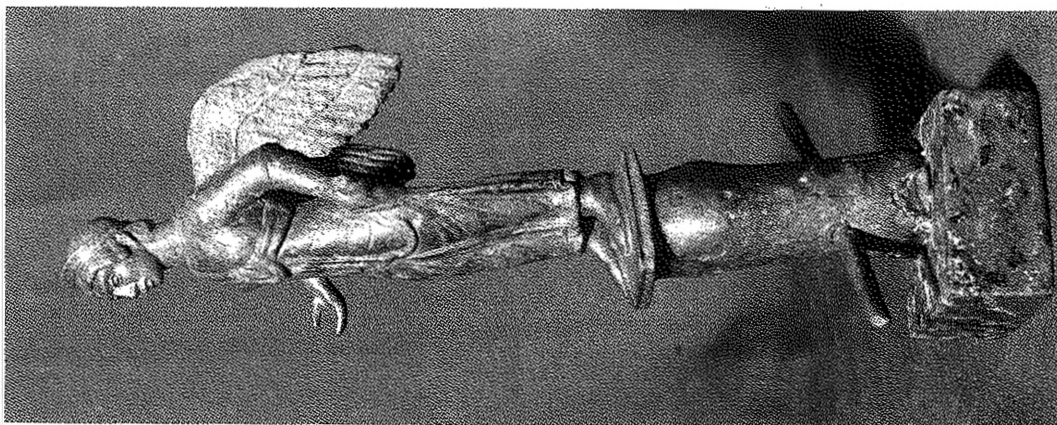
a) Limestone cinerary urn from Chiusi in the British Museum (Pryce, D 19). By courtesy of the trustees.



b) Detail of limestone cinerary urn from Chiusi in the British Museum (Pryce, D 19). By courtesy of the trustees.



Bronze statuette of a winged and draped woman on a socketed shaft. Princeton, N.J. Art Museum (inv. no. 76-24). Photograph: J. Bomford.

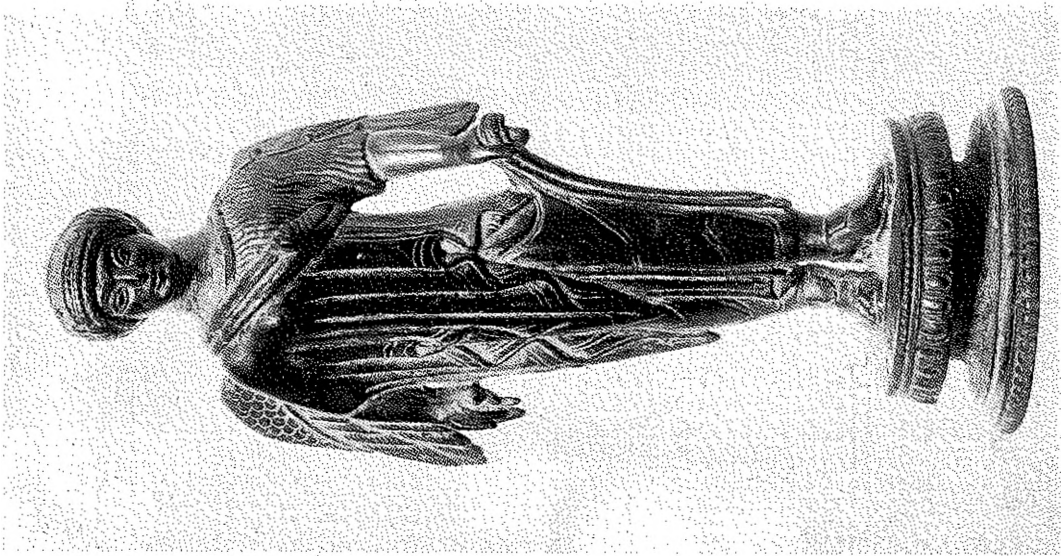


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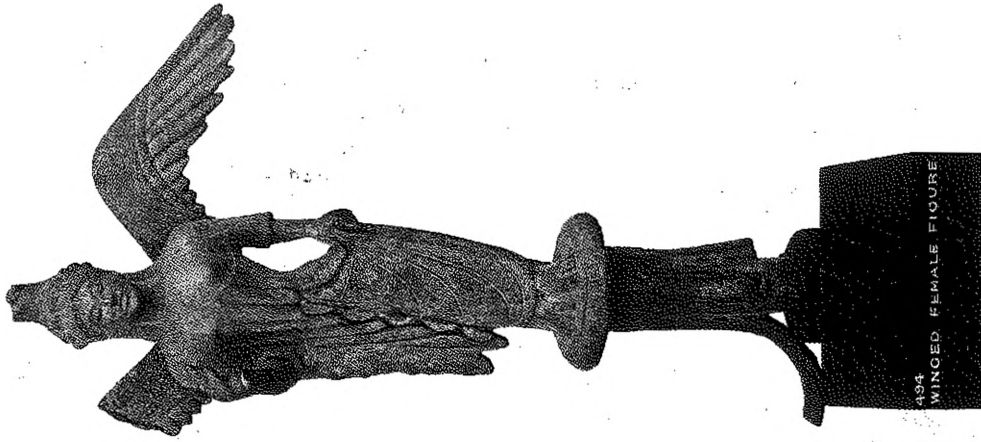


b

a-b) Bronze statuette of a winged and draped woman on a socketed shaft. Princeton, N.J. Art Museum (inv. no. 76-24). Photographs: J. Bomford.



a) Bronze statuette of a winged and draped woman. Munich, Glyptothek (Loeb Coll. no. 3). Photo: Antiken Sammlungen.



b) Bronze statuette of a winged and draped woman, part of a utensil-holder. British Museum (Walters no. 494). By courtesy of the Trustees.