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Warriors from Spina*

Eric HOSTETTER

Five bronze warriors, all finial statuettes from decorative candelabra, have been recovered during excavations in the necropoles of Spina[1]. Three of them represent hoplites donning their corslets, and two, striding warriors in 'heroic nudity' with shields, helmets, and (now lost) spears. Craftsmanship and connection with candelabra betray their Etruscan origin, but Greek iconography and an imitation of Greek style bespeak an Hellenic spirit that was at home at Spina, *hellenis polis endoxos*[2]. The best documented trade in this hellenized emporium, one of the few Etruscan cities to maintain a treasury at Delphi[3], is the massive importation of Athenian black and red-figured pottery. It is therefore hardly surprising that the dominant inspiration for the bronze warriors was Attic.

Tomb 140 A (pl. 85, fig. 1-6)

The first warrior was recovered together with a candelabrum crown in inhumation tomb 140 A of Valle Pega[4]. He was deposited to the right of the corpse along with Attic red-figured and black-glazed pottery and some 'local' black-glazed wares. The pottery may fall into two chronological groups: Attic red-figured and black-glazed wares of *c.* 440 to 410 and 'local' fabrics which, though difficult to date, appear to belong to the first quarter of the fourth century[5].

A slender youth draws his protective corslet around his abdomen and steps onto his left foot in a modified, archaic, *kouros* pose. Both feet face forward and the right heel is raised, a stance reflecting the forward motion of the body. He is solidly proportioned with a long and blockish head, slim torso, and stout limbs. His heavy cap of hair, with a low raised roll above a slight fringe or tiny row of curls across the front, is trimmed over the ears and behind. Finely incised, straight locks radiate from a single point on the crown. The rectangular face displays a low forehead, high arching brows which lead into the straight-ridged, worn-down nose, bulging, outlined, almond eyes, a narrow, smiling mouth with heavy lips, and a ponderous jaw. The short neck provides little transition between head and broad shoulders. The rounded arms with protruding elbows end in enormous, rectangular hands with elongated fingers separated by incised grooves. He wears a clinging *chitoniskos* which suggests the underlying pectoral muscles by a constriction above the stomach. The garment is made of sheer stuff which falls in delicate, parallel folds over a flat abdomen. It has a round neck adorned with a row of punched circlets, short sleeves bordered by a single line, and a broad, undulating hem enlivened by an incised line and a row of punched circlets. In back, it hangs below the corslet. The defensive corslet is only half-way on. The *epomides*, decorated along the edges with an incised line and punched circlets, curve over his shoulders and, behind, end in three deeply scored vertical grooves. As the rolled chest sections held in either hand are roughly equal in size, they presumably join at the *linea alba.* The flexibility of the rolls suggests leather. The back of the corslet is somewhat randomly covered with clusters of punched circlets, but there is a neat row of circles around the waist. The corslet follows the curve of the spine from the low, ascending, rectangular tab beneath the neck to the rounded waistband, just above a single row of *pteryges* indicated in outline. The heavily muscled legs are fairly accurate. The ankles are thick and the fat feet have

cold-incised grooves between the toes. The warrior is mounted on a circular spool plinth with beading on the upper rim and a tiny flare on the lower.

The *chitoniskos* is a Greek garment generally worn by hoplites beneath their abrasive corslets. The delicate, linear treatment of the folds on the Spinetic figure recall those of the *chitoniskos* on the late sixth century grave stele of Aristion in Athens[6] and those on the arming warriors on a red-figured cup by Douris of the early fifth century[7]. The lower borders of Aristion's garment and those of Douris's painted warriors hang in clusters of symmetrical, zig-zagging folds and contrast with the statuette's wavy-edged garment. The *chitoniskoi* hems of two Etruscan retreating hoplites, also a candelabrum finial decoration, also descend in bunches *(pl. 86, fig.7)*[8], but that of a warrior donning his corslet statuette from Felsina hangs in the same, slow, wavy border *(pl. 86, fig. 8-9)*[9].

The leather corslet or cuirass of the Spinetic figure is a Greek type of ultimately Oriental origins which first appeared in the second quarter of the sixth century and became standard hoplite equipment by the beginning of the fifth[10]. It was most commonly represented around the time of the Persian Wars, which probably reflects its extensive use in actual warfare.

Shortly after the middle of the sixth century, the Etruscans borrowed the light, leather corslet for the striding, spear-bearing warrior[11]. In Etruscan art, the knowledge of this armour dates to the time of strong Ionic influence, but it is most frequently portrayed during the period of strongly Attic style[12]. At Spina this period begins around 480 when there is a marked increase in imported Attic pottery.

It is difficult to judge how much, if any, of the warrior's corslet was metallic. The chest was easily rolled, so perhaps it was leather or leather lined with linen. The white and brown colors on the inside of Patroklos's raised left *epomide* on a cup by Sosias suggest certain models may have been so lined or padded[13]. The outlined *pteryges* are most likely to have been of metal. Buttons, hooks, or tie strings to fasten the *epomides* in front are not depicted. The free use of cold-punched decoration on the *epomides* and torso section suggests an artistic rather than a literal representation and contrasts with the strict, formal nature of the sculpture.

The motif of a warrior donning his corslet fits into the broader Greek theme of warriors arming themselves with greaves, helmets, shields and swords. The earliest representations of arming warriors are probably found on Corinthian vases, but they were more popular in Attica of *c.* 600-550[14]. Athenian artists borrowed the 'greaving' motif from Corinth, and may have been responsible for adding the motif of the warrior donning (not receiving) his corslet[15]. The Etruscans in turn borrowed these variations on the theme without hesitation[16].

Warriors donning corslets are not abundant in Greek art. A few early examples show individuals adjusting the old, cumbersome bell cuirass, but most pull on the newer light-weight corslet[17]. For example, on two red-figured amphorae by Euthymides, Hektor and Thorykion put on the new corslet[18]. These do not have rolled chest sections and the *epomides* stand stiffly upright giving the impression of metal, not leather. Both Hektor and Thorykion look down to the side and stand in a splayed stance, freedoms not permitted the statuette from tomb 140 A.

In Greek sculpture arming scenes are rare[19], but it is not difficult to determine the origin of the corslet-donner's posture. A bronze statuette of *c.* 550-525, missing its lower half, which was found to the west of the Sicyonian treasury at Delphi, repeats the pose except for the head which turns slightly to the right[20]. The figure even wears a garment with short sleeves whose raised borders run over either arm. A late sixth century running hoplite on a stele from Athens with bent head, protruding elbows, curled fingers, and thumbs raised to the chest in a hitch-hiker's gesture also makes use of the same scheme[21]. The position of the arms is an archaic sculptural convention used to depict a variety of movements.

With the exception of bronze statuettes, warriors donning their corslets are unusual in Etruria as well[22]. In both Greece and Etruria the motif is most popular around the time of the Persian Wars, and it is possibly then, or slightly earlier, that it was adopted by Etruscan craftsmen[23].

Our statuette's style is very Greek. Most of his features may be compared to those of monumental *kouroi* (fragments of which have been recovered at Marzabotto and Felsina) and bronze statuettes of the late sixth and early fifth centuries[24]. The long face and cubic head shape recall those of a head, believed Attic, in the Louvre[25]; the hair style with incised locks on the crown is similar to that on a statuette from the Athenian Acropolis[26]; and the drawn-out proportions of the torso are like those of a *kouros* from Leontini in Syracuse[27]. The tiny fringe of hair over the forehead is paralleled on a bearded head found at Athens but attributed to Aegina[28]. If the fringe is really a thin row of tight curls, perhaps it is similar to those on a late archaic *kouros* from the Ptoan sanctuary[29].

Among the corslet-donners, the closest stylistic parallel is a statuette—termed Greek—from Majorca[30]. The general form and modelling are the same, but proportions are stockier and

minor variations such as a heavy roll on the front of the hair, sharply pointed *epomides* touching at the chest, and a slightly more naturalistic face point to a different workshop. The Majorcan hoplite is later than the Spinetic statuette.

The best general stylistic comparison for the warrior from tomb 140 A is the early fifth century wounded hoplite, supported by his companion-in-arms, in New York *(pl. 86, fig. 7)*[31]. Although he is of higher quality and wears a 'muscle cuirass', the proportions, head shape, hair style, facial features, approximate position of the arms, and even the frontal stance with a raised heel are repeated.

Despite the associated pottery of the later fifth century, comparisons with late sixth and early fifth century Greek *kouroi* and statuettes date the warrior from tomb 140 A, like the New York pair, to no later than *c.* 480[32]. This is the time of the Persian Wars when cuirass-clad and arming warriors enjoyed their greatest popularity in Greece and towards the end of the period when the statuette's style is current. The Spinetic warrior is an early sculptural example of the corslet-donner in Etruria.

Whom does the statuette represent? In the absence of an identifying inscription or narrative context the comparison with arming figures in other media of Greek and Etruscan art is helpful.

Mythological figures are sometimes named in arming scenes in Greek vase painting, among them, Achilles, Hektor, Me(ne)leos, and Demodokos[33]. In Etruria, Patroklos strapping on Achilles's corslet is recognizable from the narrative context on a third century sarcophagus from Tarquinia[34], while on two inscribed mirrors Orestes and Ajax adjust their sword belts[35]. If the statuette is intended as an Homeric character, clearly he could be one of many, though the major heroes, Achilles and Hektor, are the most likely candidates.

Armed warriors may also represent Ares, but I know no example of that god donning his cuirass.

Historical figures are another possibility. One of Euthymides's warriors on one of the Munich amphorae is labelled "Thorykion", probably, but not necessarily, an allusion to the cuirass motif[36]; "Lyk(o)s Ka(l)o(s)" is inscribed beside a youth with a partially applied corslet on a red-figured hydria in Boston, though the inscription may refer to another[37]; and arming warriors on the late sixth century krater by Euphronios in New York have been considered participants in Athenian political events of the late sixth century[38].

In the end, perhaps it is best to consider the Spinetic hoplite either an anonymous 'heroized' ephebe or an unidentifiable Homeric hero.

Tomb 127 (pl. 87, fig. 10-15)

The second warrior, together with candelabrum, was found beside the skeleton in inhumation tomb 127 of Valle Trebba[39]. Associated pottery includes Attic red-figured and black-glazed wares datable between *c.* 450-440 and the end of the fifth century[40].

The statuette is badly corroded, but early photographs fortunately record its condition after preliminary cleaning but before restoration *(pl. 87, fig. 13-14)*[41].

A stocky youth standing with his right foot advanced pulls on his corslet. His heavy physique is marred by disproportion and asymmetry—an overly large head, a depressed right shoulder, enormous feet—due only to poor workmanship. The cubic head is covered with a heavy mass of circlet-punched hair that hides the ears. The face displays a low forehead, arching brows that meet over a short nose, dominating, outlined, almond eyes, a smiling mouth, and a square jaw. A stout neck supports the head above narrow, heavily rounded, sloping shoulders. The circlet-punched nipples and navel and the abnormally large, quadripartite abdominal panel are clearly rendered. The thick, round, bent arms are solidly attached to the body along their entire length even though the claw-like hands are raised to the waist and the elbows stick out. He presses the short left half of the corslet flat against his side while rolling the longer right half around his abdomen. It fastens on his left flank. The *epomides*, decorated with punched circlets around the edges, form a single piece with the shoulder guard. A low rectangular tab protects his nape. The early photographs show the back of the corslet divided into four, cold-decorated bands above the waist. From top to bottom: a criss-cross pattern (barely visible between the descending *epomides*), a row of punched circlets, criss-crosses, and, again, punched circlets. A single row of stubby *pteryges* followed by a narrow, unadorned band hang below the waist. The sinuous lines of the heavy legs show weak attempts at articulation around the knees. Slightly ridged shins lead to flat, elongated feet with cold-incised grooves between the toes, solidly planted on the ground. The statuette is cast atop a circular spool plinth with beading on the upper rim and a squarely profiled lower rim.

The candelabrum *(pl. 87, fig. 15)* preserves only five of its original six components. The base consists of three, seven-sided leonine legs resting on flattened balls. The legs rise to a central stem topped by an overhanging ring which bears descending tongues with beading. The octagonal, tapering shaft begins with a lower tang inserted into the base stem and ends in an upper tang which fits through the missing (corroded?) inverted bowl and into the profiled double spool[42]. The spool, with beading on the central rim and a horizontal hole to receive a lynch pin in the lower reel (locking into the upper shaft tang), is cast as a single piece with the crown. The four octagonal branches of the crown rise steeply from a central ring and end in ball and lotus flower tips. Statuette and crown with double spool probably joined with a lead-tin soft solder[43].

The hoplite does not wear a *chitoniskos*; most Attic warriors do, but not all[44]. The corslet combines real and fantastic features. The circlets and criss-crosses are probably pure decoration meant to enliven a dull, broad surface, but the horizontal bands which contain them are not. Such banded corslets may be found in Greek vase painting of the Severe Period[45], but appear beyond doubt by *c.* 460-450, as the banded cuirass of a warrior on a kalyx krater by the Niobid Painter in Ferrara demonstrates[46]. In sculpture they are uncommon. Two horsemen on the south frieze of the Parthenon wear banded corslets perhaps their first sculptural appearance in Greece if the bands do indeed run all the way across the back[47]. The statuette from tomb 127 predates the Parthenon frieze and may be taken as an early sculptural example of the banded corslet. In Etruscan and Italic art the type is actively taken up only in the fourth century[48].

Around the middle of the fifth century, cuirassed warriors fall out of favor in Greek sculpture—though they continue in vase painting—a development linked to changing artistic interests, particularly the concept of 'heroic nudity'[49]. The cuirassed horsemen on the Parthenon frieze are exceptions[50]; they uphold the notion of the Parthenon as a conservative work or as a work specifically illustrating the heroized warriors who fell at Marathon many years before[51].

The cuirassed warrior never disappears from Etruscan sculpture[52]. The question then arises whether the corsleted statuette from tomb 127 is an Etruscan hold-over from an earlier period or a work inspired by still evolving Greek models. A youth donning his cuirass on a Attic column krater from Ruvo of *c.* 460 demonstrates that the type perseveres in Greek vase painting[53], and among the works of the Argive sculptor Polykleitos listed by Pliny is a "military commander putting on his armour"[54]. Thus, one sculpted warrior donning his armour continues at least as far as the mid-fifth century.

Despite the stiff, frontal attitude, the statuette boasts marked stylistic advances over his predecessor from tomb 140 A—stouter proportions, a more oval but still cubic head, and exaggerated, but relatively accurate, abdominal musculature. The elongated feet are now disposed in an angled stance, a position better suited to a warrior donning his corslet than a striding pose and one which reveals increasing understanding of the standing figure at rest. There is still no contrapposto. The big, almond-shaped eyes may be a sub-archaic feature. Heavily outlined eyes are common in Greek sculpture of the Severe Style, and here they are either exaggerated by a craftsman trying to come to grips with Greek sculptural advances, or are archaic in style[55]. A contemporary Scythian archer statuette from Felsina stares with the same bulging eyes[56]. The overall effect of the statuette from tomb 127 is one of lingering archaism in the face of early classical innovations. This may be owed to a limited fidelity to an earlier type—since other Spinetic statuettes of the second quarter of the fifth century tend to keep pace with Greek developments—or provincialism.

The corslet-donner from the Certosa illustrates an intermediate phase between the statuettes from tombs 140 A and 127 *(pl. 86, fig. 8-9)*[57]. Like the former, he stands with his left leg advanced in what was probably a strictly frontal stance (the feet are missing); he has a low roll of hair in front and linear incised locks on the crown; and his *chitoniskos* hangs in delicate, parallel folds. His corslet resembles neither, but its beaded belt and neat, regular *pteryges* recall the Scythian archer from Felsina. His slender body is neither elongated nor stout. The head shape and facial features match those on the hoplite from tomb 127, though his eyes are smaller. The slight leftward turn of the head and the position of the arms—the right raised as he pulls the right *epomis* over his shoulder, the left at chest height as he presses the second *epomis* in place—are freer and more natural than the poses of either Spinetic statuette. Of the three, this carefully crafted statuette comes closest to Greek models as we know them from vase painting[58].

A ponderous hoplite donning his corslet in the Louvre is contemporary *(pl. 88, fig. 16-17)*[59]. This statuette, too, has a large head with cap-like hair, swollen eyes, narrow, rounded shoulders, arms webbed to the torso, sloping hands clutching the chest rolls of a banded corslet, and heavy legs with big, flat feet, the right advanced in a splayed stance. He also does not wear a *chitoniskos*, as the circlet-punched navel reveals, nor is there any sign of contrapposto in the

stance. The profile of the circular spool plinth with summarily executed beading on the upper rim and a flat, squarish lower rim is similar. Furthermore, the measurements of both figures alone and figures with plinths are nearly identical[60]. The Louvre warrior very probably issued from the same workshop and from the same mold used to cast the wax positive of the statuette from tomb 127[61]. Variations, including the differing corslet forms and decoration, are due to handling and finishing in the wax positive and cold-working after casting, differences to be encountered again in the final two Spinetic warriors[62].

A contemporary corslet-donner from Castelvetro is also similar in style to the statuette from tomb 127, but the pendant ivy leaves between the legs of the tripod base, an accessory decoration unknown at Spina, probably indicate a different workshop[63].

Finally, a finial statuette depicting a striding swordsman with scabbard held at arms length in a private English collection was fashioned by the same craftsman[64]. He has a slighter physique—a type familiar from Spinetic statuettes of the early classical period—but, in fairness, lacks the encumbering corslet. He, too, has heavy, cap-like hair, arching brows, bulging eyes, a squarish jaw, rounded arms with big hands, and heavy legs with oversized, cold-incised feet. The profile of his circular plinth is related to those on the Louvre and Spinetic statuettes. Another, circumstantial, argument for attributing him to a Spinetic workshop lies in the fact that a second bronze from the small English collection was drawn from the same mold as a statuette excavated at Spina.

The swordsman accentuates Spinetic bronzework's close dependence upon Attic models. With the addition of a beard and a *chlamys* over the outstretched arm and alteration of the angle of the head he becomes Aristogeiton, the elder Tyrannicide, or a swordsman in a very similar attitude. The pose is a common one[65].

The warrior from tomb 127, blending late archaic and early classical styles and wearing an early example of the banded corslet, is to be dated around 460-450.

He remains a generic, formulaic figure, even though Polykleitos's "military commander" implies that the iconography of the type was changing from an Homeric hero or 'heroized' ephebe to a mortal field commander, a transition corroborated by the probable erection of non-public, personalized statues of Athenian statesmen-generals like Miltiades and Themistokles around the middle of the fifth century[66].

Tomb 344 B (pl. 88-89, fig. 18-26)

The third warrior putting on his corslet was deposited to the right of the skeleton in inhumation tomb 344 B in Valle Pega[67]. The associated pottery, with one earlier exception, dates to the third quarter of the fifth century[68].

A mature, stocky warrior holds the left half of his corslet down with his left hand while rolling the right towards the abdomen. He leans slightly forward with the weight on his straight left leg and the bent right advanced. The left buttock rises accordingly, but the axis of the shoulders does not respond. The head tilts to the right. The attitude creates an inherent compositional conflict—the confined, horizontal motion of pulling the stiff corslet towards the abdomen is difficult to combine with the 'S' curve obtained in the standing figure at rest. The result is awkward. The large head shows excellent workmanship. Long, tousled locks created by deep, wavy, wax-incised furrows radiate from a single point on the crown and fall in short bangs over the forehead. They completely cover the ears and reach to the shoulders behind in two waves. A full, triangular, wedge-shaped beard with long locks hangs to the chest. The face, with a wide forehead, slightly rounded, crisp brows, deep-set eyes, a mildly ridged nose and a slightly open mouth expresses reserve, dignity, and world-weariness. His short neck is mostly hidden by hair; his arms are carefully shaped but end in mechanically modelled hands, one open flat, one closed. Incised grooves separate the parallel fingers. The youth's chest is concealed by the parallel, wavy, low-relief folds of a prim *chitoniskos*. The garment's short sleeves are visible on his upper biceps; the waist is girt with a twisted, rope-like belt. The stiff skirt hangs smoothly with a straight, pressed, overfold pleat in front and two uneven, rounded folds behind. The lower border is decorated with two incised lines between two rows of delicate, raised dots. The corslet is a fancy model. The *epomides* and shoulder guard, covered with small scales (?), and a low, rectangular nape tab form a single piece. Two curved tabs scored by three deep, vertical grooves descend behind the armpits. The corslet body is covered with tiny, probably metallic, scales; the waistband is adorned with beading along its lower edge. A single row of outlined *pteryges* hang below. The rounded legs have prominent knee-caps and thick calves and ankles. The feet, cold-incised between the toes, are placed at an angle to one another. He is set on a circular spool plinth with beading on the upper rim and a concavely profiled lower rim.

Only the base and crown of the candelabrum *(pl. 89, fig. 25-26)* are preserved. Three leonine legs resting on profiled, beaded discs and separated by descending, five-petalled palmettes join in a central stem topped by an overhanging ring which is decorated with beading and descending tongues. The crown consists of four octagonal branches flanked by vertical ridges rising from a flattened ring. The branches end in ball and lotus flower tips.

The wavy chest folds and the ironed, pleated skirt of the *chitoniskos* are an odd combination. The wavy folds recall those on the *chitoniskos* of a warrior with an old man finial pair in Bologna, whose lost twins were excavated at Spina[69], and hark back to patterned folds of the archaic period. The realistically executed overfold pleat in the skirt is hard to parallel. It vaguely, but hardly convincingly, reminds one of the painted fold in the skirt of Busiris's garment on a volute krater by the Painter of Bologna 279 of *c.* 440[70]. The fancy scaled cuirass is a detailed model which matches those on Greek vases; it is most often seen in the first half of the fifth century, though it is not unusual in the second half as well[71].

A new kind of warrior is portrayed. He is no longer a vigorous hero or 'heroized' youth in early manhood, but a mature and seasoned, long haired and bearded soldier. The weariness and gravity in his face mark him a man serving in an official capacity. This "military commander" is a general, at Athens as probably at Spina, a *strategos*, an official who had acquired the right to erect statues of himself[72]. Unfortunately, almost no such statues survive in their original form[73].

That *strategoi* were also represented by statuettes is demonstrated by a standing, helmeted, spear-bearing bronze in Hartford of the late fifth century[74], a related statuette from Orchomenos of the late third or early second century (a free-hand copy of a fifth century statue?)[75], a helmeted, bearded statuette from Sineu on Majorca[76], and, probably, a late Hellenistic commander in helmet and cuirass from Pergamon[77].

Long tousled hair, as Aristophanes takes pleasure in pointing out, was often considered a sign of snobbish aristocracy and disliked by the common people—"if ever peace is made and we have got over our troubles, then do not take it ill in us if we wear our hair long"(*Knights* 579), or, "He wears long hair and rides" (*Clouds* 14), or yet, "Hater of the people and lover of tyranny---, who wear your beard unclipped" (*Wasps* 474)[78]. This luxurious hair style probably sets our hoplite apart from the rank-and-file soldier of the second half of the fifth century.

Like our bare-headed fellow, not all *strategoi* are represented with helmets: Miltiades and Themistokles lack them[79] and even onion-headed Perikles had occasionally to submit to helmetless portraits—"... the images of him, almost all of them, wear helmets, because the artists, as it would seem, were not willing to reproach him with deformity" (Plutarch, *Perikles* 3, 2)[80].

Nor did all *strategoi* parade naked but for helmet and spear. A late fourth century bronze protome, probably from Karditza, portrays a general in both cuirass and helmet[81] and Athenian coins of the Roman period may depict fifth century statues of Miltiades and Themistokles in helmets and cuirasses[82]. The cuirass, like the helmet or spear, served as symbol of office and military prowess.

The individualized, worn face of our statuette reflects the early attempt at portraiture of its prototype. Of the numerous *strategoi* portraits preserved, the helmeted Pastoret head in Copenhagen, the best in a series of Roman copies, bears a striking resemblance to our statuette[83]. The two heads share a greater breadth at the cheek bones than at the temples, a low forehead, slightly arching sharp brows, deep-set eyes, undulating, tired cheeks, a barely open mouth, long, tousled locks combed forwards and covering the ears, and a thick, triangular, wedge-shaped beard. Both stress realism and express the life weariness and sobriety of a man conscious of the responsibilities of his office.

The two works are heavily influenced by the style of Pheidias. The Pastoret head can be compared to numerous bearded figures on the Parthenon[84], while the Spinetic statuette shows strong affinities with centaurs on the fourth and fifth metopes from the south side[85] and a bearded relief head of *c.* 440-430 from the Altar of Ares in the Agora[86].

The Spinetic bronze, however, is earlier than the Pastoret head. The facial expression is less pathetic, less intense, and the hair is treated in a single mass with large, clearly defined locks, possibly miniature simplifications of more monumental modes. The hair style contrasts with the rich play of tangled hair on the Pastoret head. The 'baroque' qualities of the Pastoret head have been claimed to be late classical traits and suggest a date towards the end of the fifth century[87]—such a dating could explain the Pastoret head's similarity to, yet greater elaboration than, the Parthenon sculptures. Still, impressive resemblances remain; it is possible that the Pastoret head represents a slightly later version of the same man as the statuette.

Other features signal an earlier date for the Spinetic *strategos*. Contrappostal ponderation is commonly 'mastered' on Spinetic statuettes after *c.* 440-430, but our *strategos* is still rather stiff. His attitude recalls that of Anacreon of *c.* 440, the only fifth century portrait which preserves the

entire body[88]. The simple, voluminous folds on the back of the *chitoniskos* skirt and the patterned, wavy folds on the chest seem earlier features—the latter markedly so. Most *strategoi* wear helmets, but the earliest of whom we possess portraits, Miltiades and Themistokles, do not. Nor, always, did Perikles, nor does our statuette. The warrior donning his cuirass motif, most popular in the archaic period and around the time of the Persian Wars when brave men performed heroic deeds in the defense of Greece, was, by the late fifth century, an artistic formula in decline. It can still be found in vase painting around 430, but not happily[89].

The wavy folds, the bare head, and the use of the motif itself may represent conservatisms. If so, perhaps an Etruscan artist was working in a familiar, traditional scheme; or the creator of the prototype portrayed a contemporary, aristocratic, even reactionary *strategos* of ancient lineage in an established mode; or the person depicted was an earlier historical figure, a participant in the wars against the Persians. At any rate, the statuette belongs to the decade between 440-430.

Which *strategos* could our statuette portray? If the head type was merely borrowed by local craftsmen to represent a Spinetic admiral or a generic "military commander" then we are at a loss. If a Greek general is intended, then he was surely Athenian and possibly one who championed Spina's cause in Athenian affairs of state sufficiently to win acclaim in that northern emporium.

If the statuette refers to a hero of the Persian Wars—such warriors appear in the paintings of the Stoa Poikile (Paus. 5, 11, 6; 1, 15, 1), the south frieze of the Nike Temple[90], and, possibly, in the cavalcade of the Panathenaic Procession on the Parthenon frieze[91]—then, to hazard a guess, Xanthippos, Perikles's father may be represented[92]. Xanthippos, a *strategos* and admiral who fought the Persians at Mykale and Sestos, had, according to Pausanias (1, 25, 1), a statue on the Acropolis.

> On the Athenian Acropolis is a statue of Pericles, son of Xanthippus, and one of Xanthippus himself... But that of Pericles stands apart, while near Xanthippus stands Anacreon of Teos...[93]

If, as seems reasonable, the statue of Xanthippos was an *ex voto* dedicated by Perikles[94], it could represent a ploy by the quick-witted son to exploit his father's wartime reputation, an attempt to equate himself with a 'heroized' Xanthippos as a father of liberty, a defender of the state in danger. If this is the case, the prototype of the Spinetic statuette must date before Perikles's death in 429.

But all this is conjecture. We know only that our statuette and possible the Pastoret head probably depict an Athenian, possibly one portrayed for political reasons in a pose popular in the Persian Wars, and who might still be the motif of Polykleitos's "military commander putting on his armour." He is unlikely to date later than *c.* 430.

Conclusions

The heavy concentration in a small, relatively culturally homogeneous area—Spina and Felsina—of a single iconographical type which exhibits dynamic stylistic development over forty years argues for the recognition of a local workshop artistically independent of the Etruscan hinterland—even if Etruscan centers produced related bronzes of Greek inspiration.

The archaic statuette from tomb 140 A may have been inspired by warriors in Greek vase painting and stone or bronze *kouroi*, but it is difficult to believe that the *strategos* bronze from tomb 344 B, despite possible conservatism, combined current sculptural advances with a motif exclusive to painting. The statuette could reflect a lost Greek sculptural type, perhaps Polykleitos's "military commander putting on his armour." Judging by the *strategos* bronze, the latest sculptural example of the corslet-donner known to me, the type died out in the later fifth century. It may have ceased because of the dominant taste for portraying warriors in 'heroic nudity' and because of the compositional difficulty created by combining in a single statue the rigid, somewhat symmetrical motion of pulling on the leather corslet and the 'S' curve of the standing figure at rest.

If a lost statuary type, the cuirassed *strategos* assumes an even greater importance because he falls in the middle of the second half of the fifth century, a period in Greek sculpture when warriors are nearly always portrayed nude. He may bridge the gap between the standing cuirassed hero or 'heroized' ephebe type of the archaic and early classical periods and the

standing generals and leaders of the fourth century on, works which ultimately lead to Hellenistic and Roman cuirassed statues[95].

Pliny (*NH* 34, 18) states,

> Also naked figures holding spears, made from models of Greek young men from the gymnasiums—what are called figures of Achilles—became popular. The Greek practice is to leave the figure entirely nude, whereas the Roman military statuary adds a breastplate...[96]

Perhaps, by the time he wrote, no sculptural examples of the less common warrior donning his cuirass remained to be seen.

* * *

Tomb 185 A (pl. 90-91, fig. 27-33; pl. 91-92, fig. 34-39)

The last two warriors and their candelabra were found upright, side-by-side, near the right shoulder of the skeleton in inhumation tomb 185 A of Valle Pega[97]. The associated red-figured pottery dates from *c.* 400 to well into the fourth century[98].

The two naked warriors, modelled in heavy, rounded forms that approach flabbiness, are nearly twins. Both stride with casual step onto the left foot; wear Attic helmets; brandish raised, downward sloping spears (now missing) in their right hands; and bear huge shields on their left arms. The Attic helmets have large, bristly, cold-incised hair crests but no cheek guards. The tail of the first warrior's crest *(pl. 90, fig. 27-31)* has short hair and trails in a slow curve down the back; that of the second *(pl. 91-92, fig. 34-38)* has extremely long, meandering hair. Their faces are triangular in shape with big, outlined eyes under low arching brows. The first warrior's strikingly large eyes are unevenly set. The right one is bigger than the left; the sharp horizontal lids seem almost gashed in. The eyes of the second warrior are smaller and almond shaped. Both have snub noses and small, tightly set mouths giving them grim expressions. Their necks are short and thick; their clavicles curve downwards and meet in the middle. The arms are short and rounded. Armbands with two protruding rivets support the large, convexly rimmed shields on the left forearms. The large hole in the closed left hand of the first warrior matches that in his right, suggesting that he carried a spare spear into the fray behind his shield. The other warrior's left hand has no such hole, nor are there traces of a shield grip. The torsos are smoothly rendered in soft, lightly defined forms with circlet punched navels and small genitalia. Flattish backs with deep spinal furrows meet plump, rectangular buttocks. The heavy legs have big feet cold-incised between the toes. Both warriors stride atop profiled, circular plinths with beading on the upper rims.

The linear quality of the hair of the helmet crests, the sharp, symmetrical outlines of the shield rims, the clearly defined spear shafts, and the decorative plinth beading must have created a pleasing contrast to the smooth forms of the supple bodies *(pl. 91, fig. 32)*.

The two candelabra *(pl. 91, fig. 33; pl. 92, fig. 39)*, unusually elaborate models for Spina, display minor differences. Both have modelled tripod bases, but the leonine feet of one rest on profiled discs with beading on the upper rim; the other base sits directly upon the ground, although one loose disc was recovered. Each base has seven-petalled, button-tipped palmettes separating the legs and tendril and frond palmette decoration. Minor forms like the bands linking the opposing tendrils vary in shape. Both bases rise to a central stem adorned by a lower, beaded ring and an upper, overhanging ring with descending tongues and beading. The tapering, fluted shafts begin with differing, profiled rings and two rows of overlapping incised frond palmettes. The first shaft has twelve flutes, the second thirteen; those on the second undulate on the lower half. The wax model was probably accidentally exposed to heat. The first shaft supports the inverted bowl by means of three protruding pins; the second uses a flared ring. Both inverted bowls are decorated with rim rings and cold-incised descending tongues. Above, profiled double spools with beading on the middle rims and holes for lynch pins through the lower reels support crowns whose four octagonal branches end in ball and lotus flower tips.

The second candelabrum *(pl. 92, fig. 39)* carries three, single, cold-incised letters: two ⋔s, one on the top of the base's overhanging ring and the other on the lower shaft tang, meet and an 'A' on the bottom of the double spool[99]. These are workshop symbols used to keep track of the different components of a single candelabrum and to remind which parts join together. That only some candelabra bear such symbols suggests that they were only occasionally made, like a workman's note to himself, and that substitutions of individual components was common practice.

The two statuettes are armed in the manner of hoplites. The Attic helmets with high, trailing crests are a type developed in Greece in the early sixth century[100]. The shields, the great round *hople*, were used throughout the fifth century in both Greece and Etruria. Its regular diameter is about three feet, roughly the same size, proportionally, as the shields of the twin statuettes[101]. The hand grips are omitted, but may be seen on one of the bearded 'generals' from Riace Marina[102].

The warriors' spears are missing, but a statuette in Florence featuring a running hoplite shows how the spare spear was held behind the shield[103], while a statuette from Falerii Veteres preserves a lance in his raised right hand[104]. In Greek vase painting the hoplite armed with two spears is a common motif in the seventh and sixth centuries and does not die out until the fifth, even though comments by Euripides and Plato suggest that the flesh-and-blood warrior of the fifth century fought with a single spear[105]. Representations of warriors and Amazons with spears in both hands, with and without shields, do occur in vase painting, but are relatively rare[106]. Thus, by Greek standards, the twin warriors are armed in an outdated, archaic fashion[107].

The type of a striding warrior nude but for helmet and spear arrives in Etruria from Greece before 650 and is followed a century later by the hoplite armed with either bell or leather cuirass, greaves, shield, and spear[108]. In Greek statuettes, striding warriors die out at the end of the sixth century, but in Greek vase painting they continue throughout the fifth century and later. In Etruria, the type is popular for small bronzes through the first half of the fifth century, but in Umbria a stylized, elongated variant continues well into the fourth century, nearly a hundred years after it was abandoned in Etruria[109].

The two-speared manner of arming of the first warrior and the lack of late fifth century sculptural parallels for either figure suggest that the prototypes for the statuettes may be late archaic—works like the monumental striding warriors on the west pediment of the Temple of Aphaia at Aegina[110] and, indirectly, the painted representation of an overlifesized bronze warrior being scraped down in a foundry scene on a red-figured cup of *c.* 490-480[111].

An archaic Etruscan striding warrior in the Louvre *(pl. 92, fig. 40)*[112] highlights the differences between a statuette produced in the first half of the fifth century after late archaic Greek prototypes and the Spinetic hoplites produced long afterwards but which recall similar models—whether in sculpture or vase painting is uncertain. The Louvre warrior stands solidly in an erect, angular pose—a simple, strong composition based on clearly defined triangles. He possesses long legs with mildly ridged shins; a squarish torso with a small waist, a patterned, quadripartite abdominal panel, and broad, square shoulders; and a rather rectangular face with crisp, arching brows, bulging eyes, a smiling mouth, and a heavy jaw. By contrast, our strolling warriors are soft and flabby with stout legs, big buttocks, rounded chests, and narrow, weak shoulders. Except for the startling facial expressions created by the large, staring eyes, they are devoid of vigor or menace. Unlike most current, striding, spear-bearing Greek warriors, the Spinetic hoplites do not lean forwards or backwards in a violent, diagonal pose—they appear to revive the archaic type in a later, local style.

A few athletes from Felsina show a related style[113], but the best stylistic parallels, as yet unpublished, are from Spina. Among the published Spinetic bronzes, the more elaborate but similar detailing on the tripod bases, the unusual blackish tone of the patinas, and limited stylistic resemblances—rounded bodies, facial structure, clavicle forms, and cold-work on the hands, toes, buttocks, and faces—recall the two Turmses and women candelabra from tomb 136 A of Valle Pega, products of *c.* 400 from the same workshop[114]. These figures do not yet glare with wild eyes.

A swordsman finial statuette in a private California collection has a similarly proportioned, rotund body, a long face, and the same lunatic eyes[115]. The profile of his circular plinth is typical of Spina, as is the cold-working technique and his pocked, corroded condition. He seems to be from Spina and dates to the earlier fourth century.

The tendency towards geometric abstraction—not stylization—manifest in the extraordinary eyes of the Spinetic hoplites, particularly the first, and the California swordsman, is also present in the increasingly expressionistic eyes of the painted female heads of the later, local, red-figured pottery conventionally named Alto Adriatica, which begins no earlier than the mid-fourth century[116], and in the faces on the gold jewelry from Spina, whose independent style, which also undergoes a transformation from an emphasis on plastic form to an abstract, geometric expressionism, hints at local manufacture[117]. Moreover, the decorative elements of both the Alto Adriatica pottery and gold jewelry gradually become irrational, geometric patterns[118]. In the figurative bronzes, this tendency towards abstraction begins to assert itself in the early fourth century, when, possibly due to adverse events in the Greek world—the Peloponnesian Wars and the disastrous Sicilian Expedition—Spina's ties with Athens are

weakened and her main source of artistic inspiration fades. It may fairly be called a native, anticlassical sub-current.

Why did Spinetic craftsmen revive the striding warrior type, an aggresive image in strong contrast to the previous reserved-but-ready warriors donning their corslets and the remarkably pacific picture presented by the archaeology of the city and its outlying necropoleis[119]? Could the striding hoplites be a response to the Gallic incursions? Sometime during the first half of the fourth century the Gauls, possibly the Boii, became a real menace[120]. By the first half of the fourth century Celtomachies are being carved into the Felsinian sandstone steles[121]. On these steles related hoplites usually shun the use of body armour and duel in 'heroic nudity'—an artistic concept which undoubtedly assumed new meaning for the defenders of Spina as they engaged the unrelenting Celt.

Even the California swordsman finds a counterpart in a Felsinian stele where a cuirassed warrior in a similar pose tugs the beard of his adversary with his left hand while skewering him with the sword in his right[122].

Like the craftsman responsible for the Felsinian steles, the Spinetic artisan selected the Greek model which best suited his own pressing spiritual and artistic needs—in this case an invincible warrior in 'heroic nudity', a vanquisher of Celts, a personification of the triumph of civilization over barbarism. This is the light in which the hellenized population of Spina may have viewed their struggle. They chose an Attic heroic type because those were the most familiar in both current vase painting and the earlier sculpture they may have seen[123] and, possibly, because those were the models which illustrated the 'civilization vs. barbarism' theme for the Greeks in their wars against the Persians. The Spinetic warriors may present provincial visions of Attic art, but they are direct visions nonetheless.

It unfortunately remains obscure whether the Spinetic warriors represent Ares, a triumphant hero like Achilles, or, as the Felsinian Celtomachies hint, a local doughty.

By the time the besieging Gauls took Spina (Dion. Hal.1, 18, 5), perhaps around the end of the fourth century[124], the foundries that produced decorative candelabra had already closed down. The striding, spear-bearing warriors, dating *c.* 400-380, may reflect the brave and confident beginning of the Gallic struggles, but, to our knowledge, the theme was not pursued. The next and final phase of Spinetic bronzework features continuing favorites—athletes and Herakles—not warriors.

Notes

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[1] For the best study of the type, T. Dohrn, Kandelaber, *MDAI(R)* 66, 1959, 45-64. Candelabra may be seen in use in the Golini 1 tomb at Orvieto, G. Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca* (1935) pl. 245.

Bibliography on Spinetic bronzes includes: B.M. Felletti-Maj, Statuetta bronzea, *SE* 16, 1942, 197-209; A. Neugebauer, Vulcenter Bronzen, *JDAI* 58, 1943, 206-278; P.E. Arias, Tomba 136, *RIA* 4, 1955, 145-160; G.A. Mansuelli, Problemi artistici, and P.E. Arias, Arte greca ed etrusca a Spina, in: *Catalogo della mostra dell'Etruria padana e della città di Spina* (1960) 26f., 277-279; N. Alfieri-P.E. Arias, *Spina - Guida al museo archeologico in Ferrara* (1960) 88-92; Q. Maule, Style, *AJA* 81, 1977, 487-505; P.E. Arias, Spina etrusca, *MMAI* 61, 1977, 25-44; E. Hostetter, Bronze Handle, *MDAI(R)* 85, 2, 1978, 256-281.

Essential bibliography on the necropoles and city of Spina includes: A. Negrioli, Vasto sepolcreto, *NSA* 1924, 279-322 and 1927, 143-198; S. Aurigemma, *R. Museo di Spina* (1935); S. Aurigemma - N. Alfieri, *Museo nazionale archeologico di Spina* (1957); P.E. Arias - N. Alfieri, *Museo archeologico di Ferrara* (1955); N. Alfieri - P.E. Arias - M. Hirmer, *Spina* (1955); various authors, *Spina e l'Etruria padana* (*Atti 1 convegno studi etruschi*, 1959); various authors, *Mostra, op. c.* (*supra*); Alfieri - Arias *op. c.* (1960 [*supra*]); S. Aurigemma, *Necropoli di Spina in Valle Trebba* 1, 1[2] (*Scavi di Spina* 1960, 1965); G. Uggeri - S. Patitucci-Uggeri, Spina, *SE* 42, 1974, 69-97; G. Uggeri - S. Patitucci-Uggeri, Scavi e scoperte, *SE* 44, 1976, 404-406; and L. Massei, *Gli askoi a figure rosse nei corredi funerari delle necropoli di Spina* (1978).

[2] Ps. Scyl. 17; Strabo 5, 1, 7. Inscriptions attest the presence of both Greeks and Etruscans at Spina, Uggeri-Uggeri-Patitucci *op. c.* (1974) 96, n. 84-86.

I write on the assumption that the statuettes were produced at either Spina or Felsina. I do not present the arguments here, but will in the study of the corpus of figurative Spinetic bronzes.

[3] Dion. Hal. 1, 18; Strabo 5, 1, 7; 9, 3, 8; Pliny, *NH* 3, 120; Polem. II. *ap.* Athen. 13, 606 a (*F.H.G.* 3, 123, fr. 28). See, P. de la Coste-Messelière, *Au Musée de Delphes* (1936) 476-479. For relations between Spina, the Padania, and Greece, Uggeri-Uggeri-Patitucci *op. c.* (1974) 93-95; G. Colonna, Greci di Adria, *RSA* 4, 1974, 1-21; and M. Zuffa, Commerci ateniesi, *Emilia Preromana* 7, 1975, 151-179.

[4] Ferrara, Museo nazionale archeologico 45995. Tomb 140 A, Valle Pega. Measurements: H. figure 0.079 m; H. figure with plinth 0.090 m; Condition: The surface is worn and pitted, particularly on the face. There is a hole on the inside of the right knee. The plinth has a sticky brown substance (modern) on the lower half. The face of the statuette is black; the rest of the figure ranges from a deep golden brown to matte olive. The crown, recorded in the field journal, is lost. Unpublished.

[5] Such curious mixtures occasionally occur in Spinetic tomb groups, sometimes intrusively, as late burials were often directly on top of, or beside earlier ones. I list the most datable pieces, the majority of which are Attic, and give only general references in order to place the pottery within a broad context. I am not presenting the pieces themselves, nor making a complete list of the gravegoods. All dates in text and notes are B.C. The pottery includes: a. Red-figured column krater fragments. Polygnotan Group (?), *c.* 440-420; b. Red-figured kylix fragments. Second half of the fifth century; c. Four fragments San Valentino kantharos. Close in shape to B. Sparkes-L. Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery* (*Athenian Agora* 12, 1970) nr. 633, *c.* 450-425. Cf. 116. Later fifth century; d. Black glazed oinochoe. Close to *Agora* 12, nr. 103, *c.* 450, but slenderer and later—a shape which lasts through the second half of the fifth century; e. Two black-glazed bowls. Close to *Agora* 12, nr. 814, *c.* 450-430, but larger; f. Two stemmed plates with olive wreaths and wheels. Cf. *Agora* 12, 143, n. 5. Top of foot is flattish and hence older, *c.* 450-425; g. Two fragments black-glazed stemmed plate. Crude fabric, Attic? Second half of the fifth century; h. Two black-glazed stamped bowls. Related to *Agora* 12, nr. 782, *c.* 430-420, and less to *Agora* 12, nr. 783, *c.* 420-410. Stamped designs close to *Agora* 12, nr. 864, *c.* 425; i. Black-glazed bowl fragment. Palmettes same shape as *Agora* 12, nr. 782, *c.* 430-420; j Two fragments rim black-glazed bowl. Attic? Related to *Agora* 12, nr. 779, *c.* 430, but thicker rim, hence later; k. Fragment rim black-glazed bowl. Incurving rim; l. Black-glazed-stamped bowl. 'Local' fabric. Rouletting related to *Agora* 12, nr. 802, *c.* 380, but so crude date is unsure. Also related to other late rouletting, *Agora* 12, nr. 1052, 805, 759, all first half of fourth century; m. Fragment black-glazed stamped bowl. 'Local' fabric. Much ruined; n. Fragment lekythos foot? Fourth century?

[6] Athens, National Museum 29. G.M.A. Richter, *Archaic Gravestones* (1961) 47, nr. 67, fig. 155-158, 180, 211-212.

[7] Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3694. Beazley, *ARV*² 427, 3; *CVA Österreich* 1, 14f., pl. 9-10.

[8] New York, Metropolitan Museum 47.11.3 R.Teitz, *Masterpieces of Etruscan Art* (1967) 57f., pl. 153, *c.* 480; G.M.A. Richter, Greeks in Etruria, *ASAA* 24-26, 1950, 79f., fig. 1-2, pl. 12.

[9] Bologna, Museo Civico. *Mostra, op. c.* (*supra* n. 1) 188, nr. 636.

[10] A.M. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour* (1967) 90-92, pl. 39, 42, 45; E.H. Richardson, Heroic Warrior, in: *Studies Presented to G.M.A. Hanfmann* (1971) 162f.; S. Doeringer-G.M.A. Hanfmann, Bronze Warrior, *SE* 35, 1967, 648f.; F. Roncalli, *Marte di Todi*, in: *Memorie Pontif. Accad.* 11, 2 (1973) 58-65 for the most complete discussion of the leather cuirass in Etruscan art. Early Greek sculptural examples: Richter *op. c.* (*supra* n. 6) 32f., nr. 45-46, fig. 126-129, 176; Siphnian treasury at Delphi, G.M.A. Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors* (1970) 40, 94, 133, fig. 102, 409. An early painted example: a cup by Lydos, Beazley, *ABV* 112, 65; *CVA Italia* 35, 5, pl. 22-23.

[11] Richardson *op. c.* (*supra* n. 10) 162f. An early Etruscan example on a Caeretan hydria in Paris, *CVA France* 14, 7f., pl. 5, 3; 7, 3.

[12] Roncalli *op. c.* (*supra* n. 10) 60.

[13] Berlin, Antiquarium F 2278. Beazley, *ARV*² 21, 1; *CVA Deutschland* 21, 7-9, pl. 49.

[14] Warriors pull on greaves on the Proto Corinthian Chigi vase in the Villa Giulia and, in a slightly different pose, on a Middle Corinthian cup in the Louvre: H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (1931) 71, 95, 114, nr. 39, 994, fig. 17, 29b, 40. For a history of 'greaving' warriors, W.E. Kleinbauer, Dionysios Painter, *AJA* 68, 1964, 364f. A Corinthian helmet-donner, F. von Duhn, Suessula, *MDAI(R)* 2, 1887, pl. 11, 4.

[15] F. Johansen, *Iliad in Early Greek Art* (1967) 106f., and Kleinbauer *op. c.* 365 on early Attic arming scenes. I distinguish between warriors arming and warriors receiving arms. The latter may be traced well into the seventh century, Johansen *op. c.* 105f., fig. 34.

[16] For example: Helmet-donners—statuettes, D.G. Mitten-S.F. Doeringer, *Masterbronzes* (1967) 172, nr. 172; Giglioli *op. c.* (*supra* n. 1) pl. 214f.; bronze relief (receiving) Monteleone chariot, P. Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen* (1968) pl. 5, b and gems pl. 5, 14, 17 & 6, 16; mirror, E. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel* 1 (1843) pl. 5. 'Greaving' warriors—statuettes, Dresden, *AA* 4, 1889, 103f. and Dresden 3120, DAI Fototek, Rome, nr. 4981, Inst. neg. 1935.1541; gems, Zazoff *op. c.* pl. 5, 17; Chiusian cippus, E. Paribeni, Rilievi chiusini, *SE* 12, 1938, 109, pl. 27, 1; mirror, Gerhard *op. c.* 2 (1845) pl. 228 and *op. c.* 4 (1867) pl. 389. Shield-arming warriors—statuette, E. Hill (Richardson), Votive Bronze Warriors, *JWAG* 7-8, 1944-1945, 118, fig. 19. Warriors adjusting sword belts—mirror, Gerhard *op. c.* 4, pl. 385 and *op. c.* 5 (1884-1887) pl. 120; statuette, A. de Ridder, *Bronzes antiques du Louvre* 1 (1913) 48, nr. 292, pl. 26.

[17] D. von Bothmer, *Amazons* (1957) 91f., nr. 2 and E. Gerhard, *Vasenbilder* (1840) pl. 37; B. Neutsch, Unteritalien, *AA* 71, 1956, 432, fig. 151.

[18] Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst, 2307 (J 378) and 2308 (J 374). Beazley, *ARV*² 26f., 1-2; *CVA Deutschland* 12, 13-17, pl. 166-167, 169-170, 172. Another early example with the light-weight corslet, Beazley, *ARV*² 4f., 13; J. Charbonneaux-R. Martin-F. Villard, *Grèce Archaïque* (1968) 299.

[19] The 'greaving' statuette from Macedonia in Athens is an exception, V. Staïs, *Marbres et bronzes* (1907) 258, nr. 7550, fig. 256. A warrior receives a helmet on the Harpy Tomb at Xanthos of *c.* 480, Richter *op. c.* (1970 [*supra* n. 10]) 82f., fig. 511.

[20] Delphi 3072. C. Rolley, *Les statuettes de bronze* (*Fouilles de Delphes* 5, 1969) 122-125, nr. 181, pl. 131.

[21] Athens, National Museum 1959. H. Wiegartz, Deutung der "Waffenläufer-Stele", in: *Marburger Winkelmanns-Programm* 1965 (1966) 46-64, pl. 12-16.

[22] Etruscan corslet-donner statuettes: Bologna, Museo Civico. *Fig. 8-9*; *Mostra, op. c.* (*supra* n. 1) 188, nr. 636; Paris, Louvre 273. De Ridder *op. c.* (*supra* n. 16) 46, nr. 273, pl. 24; Majorca, private collection. A García y Bellido, Spanien, *AA* 56, 1941, 202f., fig. 4; Modena, from Castelvetro. A. Crespellani, Scavi del Modenese 1879 (*Atti e Memorie*, 1881) 5, pl. 1, fig. 2; provenance unknown. Neugebauer *op. c.* (*supra* n. 1) 262, n. 3, mentions a statuette donning a corslet on exhibition in 1932 in the Palace of Prince Albert in Berlin. The left foot was advanced, the hands were at the chest fastening the *epomides*. A sarcophagus, Tarquinia, Museo nazionale 9872. Roncalli *op. c.* (*supra* n. 10) 62, n. 105, fig. 70.

[23] Although the related motif of (Achilles) receiving arms occurs earlier as on the Monteleone chariot.

[24] G. Sassatelli, Etruria padana, *SE* 45, 1977, 124-126, nr. 15-17, pl. 19d; G.M.A. Richter, *Kouroi*[3] (1970) 147, nr. 189, fig. 599.

[25] Paris, Louvre MND 890. Richter *op. c.* (*supra* n. 24) 138f., nr. 163, fig. 490-491.

[26] Athens, National Museum 6445. Richter *op. c.* (*supra* n. 24) 138, nr. 162, fig. 474-477; H.G. Niemeyer, Attische Bronzestatuetten, *Antike Plastik* 3, 1964, 24f., pl. 17-19, 33b-c.

[27] Syracuse, Museo. Richter *op. c.* 146, nr. 183, fig. 550-552.

[28] Athens, National Museum 6446. M. Robertson, *Greek Art* (1975) 167, 184, pl. 52b.

[29] Athens, National Museum 20. Richter *op. c.* 134, nr. 155, fig. 450-457.

[30] García y Bellido *op. c.* (*supra* n. 22) 202f., fig. 4.

[31] Teitz *op. c.* (*supra* n. 8) 57 f., pl. 153.

[32] Bronzes and pottery in Spinetic tombs are not always coeval. Often, over fifty years separate the earliest and latest vases in a single burial. For example, tomb 11 C of Valle Pega contained: a Panathenaic amphora by the Berlin Painter, Beazley, *ARV*[2] 214; a volute krater by the Niobid Painter, *ARV*[2] 600, 14; two cups by the Koropi Painter, *ARV*[2] 948, 3-4; a dinos by Polygnotos, *ARV*[2] 1144, 11; three oinochoe by Polion, *ARV*[2] 1172, 12, 14-15; and two cups by the Eretria Painter, *ARV*[2] 1252, 51 & 1253, 60. Usually, bronzes whose suggested dates are based on Greek stylistic comparisons and their position within the local stylistic sequence, correspond in date with their associated pottery, most often the earliest pottery in the tomb, the grand Attic vases. Both figurative bronzes and the large Attic vases were valuable and probably coveted objects in antiquity, and both show repairs, implying that they were not deposited in the graves new. Sometimes, however, bronzes are markedly earlier than the accompanying pottery. The two hoplites from Valle Pega tombs 140 A and 344 B (*pl. 85, fig. 1-6* and *pl. 88-89, fig. 18-24*) illustrate the two cases. They were found with Attic pottery of the later fifth century and *c.* 450-425 respectively, yet they exhibit styles of *c.* 480 and *c.* 440-430 respectively. In short, while accompanying Attic pottery normally provides a sound guide to the date of the bronzes, exceptions are common; each bronze must also be judged on stylistic merits.

[33] Achilles, Beazley, *ABV* 112, 56; *CVA Greece* 1, pl. 2, 4; Johansen *op. c.* (*supra* n. 15) 109f., fig. 35; Hektor, Beazley, *ARV*[2] 26, 1; *CVA Deutschland* 12, 13-15, pl. 165; Me(ne)leos, Johansen *op. c.* 104, n. 164; Demodokos, A. Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen* (1927) 9, 46, pl. 10-11; *CVA France* 7, pl. 26.

[34] Roncalli *op. c.* (*supra* n. 10) 62, n. 105, fig. 70.

[35] Gerhard *op. c.* 4 (*supra* n. 16) pl. 385 and 5, pl. 120.

[36] Beazley, *ARV*[2] 26, 2; *CVA Deutschland* 12, 15-17, pl. 169. See J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica* 1 (1901) 486, nr. 7419 (Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 363, 381) for a fifth century Attic traitor by that name and nr. 7420-7421 for later Thorykions.

[37] Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 98.878. J. Buckler, Chabrias, *Hesperia* 61, 1972, 471f., pl. 115f.; Beazley, *ARV*[2] 1596.

[38] New York, Metropolitan Museum. D. von Bothmer, Euphronioskrater, *AA* 91, 1976, 494-496, fig. 2-3, 6, 12-16. Arming warriors may also be competitors in the hoplite weapons race, but without corslets, G. Neumann, Waffenlauf, in: *Der Tübinger Waffenläufer* (1977) 41f., pl. 26-27.

[39] Ferrara, Museo nazionale archeologico. Statuette 20668, candelabrum 2304. Tomb 127, Valle Trebba. Measurements: H. figure 0.073 m.; H. figure with plinth 0.084 m.; H. candelabrum 0.950 m.; W. base 0.256 m.; H. Base 0.102 m.; H. double spool 0.032 m.; H. crown 0.043 m.; W. crown 0.139 m. Condition: One crown branch and the inverted bowl are missing. The lower edge of the double spool and one petal on one crown and lotus flower tip are cracked. Pitting and corrosion overall. The outer surface of the statuette is gone. The patina ranges from a rich, dark olive to blackish-green with traces of light olive incrustation. Bibliography (cf. *supra* n. 1): Aurigemma *op. c.* (1935) 137, pl. 69, 117; Alfieri-Arias *op. c.* (1955) 31; Alfieri-Aurigemma *op. c.* (1957) 26; Alfieri-Arias *op. c.* (1960) 90; Aurigemma *op. c.* 1 (1960) 43, pl. 1, 18b; Neugebauer *op. c.* 261f.; Maule *op. c.* 490-495; Maule is mistaken, the figure shows no sign of "fully classical contrapposto"; Massei *op. c.* 10.

[40] For context and dating, Massei *op. c.* 9f.; for tomb group, see Aurigemma *op. c.* 1 (1960 [*supra* n. 1]) 37-45, pl. 1-18.

[41] *Ibid.* pl. 1, 18a-b.

[42] Compare candelabra from tomb 185 A, Valle Pega *(fig. 33, 39)*.

[43] G. Speroni-D. Cozzi, Ricerche chimiche, *SE* 13, 1959, 351-354, show a Vulcain handle to be soldered to a bronze vessel with equal parts tin and lead. Such solder appears preserved on several Spinetic candelabra.

[44] Roncalli *op. c.* (*supra* n. 10) 63, n. 113.

[45] *CVA USA* 1, 10, pl. 14, 2; *CVA USA* 8, 100, pl. 54, 2a.

[46] Ferrara, Museo nazionale archeologico 2891. Beazley, *ARV*[2] 602, 24; *CVA Italia* 37, 8, pl. 18, *c.* 460-450.

[47] F. Brommer, *Parthenonfries* (1977) 85, pl. 128, 4 & 131, slab S. 13; C. Vermeule, Cuirassed Statues, *Berytus* 13, 1959, 12f., including related earlier corslets.

[48] Roncalli *op. c.* 61f., 64, with list of examples.

[49] A. Hekler, Panzerstatuen, *JŒAI* 19-20, 1919, 192f.; Roncalli *op. c.* 59f.

[50] Brommer *op. c.* (*supra* n. 47): Corslets with horizontal bands divided into plates—85, pl. 131, slab S. 13; corslets with possible plates—85, pl. 128, 4; 131, slab S. 13; Plain corslets—44f., pl. 50, 80, slab N. 22; 61-63, pl. 102, slab N. 38; Scaled corslet—10f., pl. 7, 18-19, slab W. 6.

[51] Vermeule *op. c.* (*supra* n. 47) 12f.; J. Boardman, Parthenon Frieze, in: *Festschrift Brommer* (1977) 39-49.

[52] Roncalli *op. c.* (*supra* n. 10) 60.

[53] New York, Metropolitan Museum 10.210.14. Beazley, *ARV*² 550,1; G.M.A. Richter - L. Hall, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases* (1936) 95f., nr. 68, pl. 71, 170.

[54] Pliny, *NH* 34, 55. J.J. Pollitt, *Art of Greece* (1965) 88, n. 98—some take "military commander" as another name for Herakles, the preceding work in the list of sculptures.

In the Iliupersis by Polygnotos of Thasos in the *Lesche* of the Knidians at Delphi (between 458-447) Odysseus may have been shown putting on his cuirass. Paus. (10, 26, 3) says, "There is also Odysseus... and Odysseus has put on his corslet." This may be an oblique reference to such a movement. Also, Paus. (10, 26, 6), "... in the temple of Ephesian Artemis Calliphon of Samos has painted women fitting on the *Gyala* of the corslet of Patroclus." Translation, W.H.S. Jones, Loeb Classical Library (1955) 521.

[55] Such large eyes are the exception rather than the rule at Spina. They recall the swollen eyes of the *kouros* head from Marzabotto, Richter *op. c.* (*supra* n. 24) 147, nr. 189, fig. 599. B. Ridgeway, *Severe Style in Greek Sculpture* (1970) 8, on eyes.

[56] Bologna, Museo Civico. From Certosa, tomb 43. *Mostra, op. c.* (*supra* n. 1) 187f., nr. 635, pl. 38.

[57] *Ibid.* 188, nr. 636.

[58] *CVA Österreich* 1, 14f., pl. 9-10; *CVA Deutschland* 12, 13-17, pl. 166-167, 169-170, 172.

[59] De Ridder *op. c.* (*supra* n. 16) 46, nr. 273, pl. 24.

[60] Spina to Louvre: 0.073 m.: 0.071 m. for the figures and 0.084 m.: 0.086 m. overall. Louvre measurements are taken from De Ridder *op. c.* nr. 273.

[61] There is also a limited resemblance between our warrior, the Louvre warrior, the hoplite supporting an old man in a finial group in Bologna, his near twin in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and the like Spinetic pair recorded in a seventeenth century codex in the Vatican, F. Castagnoli, Candelabro, *SE* 17, 1943, 183-185, pl. 21-22. The Louvre warrior is related to the Bologna and Bibliothèque Nationale couples in head shape, hair style, crisp brows, smiling mouth, and rounded body. The outstanding difference between the Spinetic and Louvre statuettes and the Felsinian warrior and his series are the formers' bulging eyes. The genitalia, visible on all the statuettes, possibly indicate an early date, Doeringer-Hanfmann *op. c.* (*supra* n. 10) 648, n. 8.

[62] Mansuelli, in: *Mostra, op. c.* (*supra* n. 1) 26f., on statuettes produced in series. Spinetic statuettes were probably made from mold-cast, wax positive 'blanks' which were finished in a variety of ways for casting in bronze. I will deal fully with the technique of Spinetic statuettes in the study of the corpus of Spinetic figurative bronzes.

[63] Crespellani *op. c.* (*supra* n. 22) 5, pl. 1, fig. 2.

[64] England, B. Bomford Collection. S. Haynes, English Collections, *Apollo* 79, 1964, 137f., fig. 5.

[65] S. Brunnsåker, *The Tyrant-Slayers of Kritios and Nesiotes* (1955) pl. 1-6, 13-14, 148; Richter *op. c.* (1970 [*supra* n. 10]) 155, fig. 609-611. If he is a freehand interpretation of Aristogeiton then the beard is not, perhaps, an absolute requisite. On the shield devices on several early fourth century Panathenaic amphorae Aristogeiton is beardless, Brunnsåker *op. c.* 104f., pl. 23, 6a-c.

[66] G.M.A. Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks* 1 (1965) 94-99.

[67] Ferrara, Museo nazionale archeologico. Statuette 9353. Base and crown 10541. Tomb 344 B, Valle Pega. Measurements: H. figure 0.086 m.; H. figure with plinth 0.098 m.; H. base 0.078 m.; W. base 0.257 m.; H. crown 0.047 m.; W. crown 0.188 m. Condition: The shaft, double spool, and inverted bowl are missing. One crown spike is broken, another is bent to the side. Two of the descending palmettes between the base's leonine legs are bent upwards. Bad pitting overall on crown, base, and statuette. Two gouges are on the top of the base's overhanging ring. There are small gas bubbles on the bottom of the crown ring. A small hole, a casting fault, is on the back of the left shoulder of the statuette. The patina is a dark olive to blackish green with patches of golden brown. Some varnish-like substance has been painted on the bottom of the statuette plinth. Bibliography: Alfieri - Arias *op. c.* (1960 [*supra* n. 1]) 171; Maule *op. c.* (*supra* n. 1) 491, 494; Massei *op. c.* (*supra* n. 1) 174, pl. 42, 2.

[68] For context and dating, Massei *op. c.* 172-174.

[69] Castagnoli *op. c.* (*supra* n.61) 183-185, pl. 21-22.

[70] Ferrara, Museo nazionale archeologico. Beazley, *ARV*² 612, 1; Aurigemma *op. c.* 1 (1960 [*supra* n. 1]) 64f., pl. 53b, 62-63.

[71] Snodgrass *op. c.* (*supra* n. 10) 91, 109f., 123. By the end of the fifth and early fourth centuries such cuirasses become increasingly elaborate with greater use of rectangular metal plates instead of scales.

[72] Most recently, on *strategoi*, G. Dontas, Strategenbildnisse, in: *Festschrift Brommer* (1977) 79-92.

[73] The two bronze statues from Riace Marina may be among the rare exceptions, G. Foti, Calabria 1972, *Klearchos* 14, 1972, 133f., fig. 3-4; G. Foti, *Museo nazionale di Reggio Calabria* (1972) 78, nr. 57, pl. 57. I also recall the base of a statue at Delphi, probably that of a statue of Miltiades by Pheidias (Paus. 10, 10, 1), W. Gauer, Weihgeschenke aus den Perserkriegen, *MDAI(I)* Beiheft 2, 1968, 65-70, nr. 2; U. Kron, *Die Zehn Attischen Phylenheroen* (1976) 215-277; and the Chabrias Monument, whose base has also been found, J.K. Anderson, Chabrias, *AJA* 67, 1963, 411-413; A.P. Burnett - C.N. Edmondson, Chabrias Monument, *Hesperia* 30, 1961, 74-91. A helmeted marble head in the Museo Barracco may be a fifth century original, C. Pietrangeli, *Museo Barracco* (1973) 123, nr. 95.

[74] Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum 1917.820. E. Bielefeld, Bronzestatuette, *Antike Plastik* 1, 1962, 39-41, pl. 30-37; Dontas *op. c.* (*supra* n. 72) 89, pl. 24, 3-4.

[75] Athens, National Museum 14765. Richter *op. c.* 1 (*supra* n. 66) 104, b, fig. 446-447.

[76] García y Bellido *op. c.* (*supra* n. 22) 204, fig. 12.

[77] Pergamon, find GGM 63.22. Mus. Maden işler 193. D. Pinkwart, Drei späthellenistische Bronzen in: *Pergamenische Forschungen*, 1, *Pergamon Gesammelte Aufsätze* (1972) 131-139, fig. 20-28.

[78] Translation, F. Poulsen, Iconographic Studies, *From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek* 1 (1931) 19.

[79] Richter *op. c.* 1 (*supra* n. 66) 94-99, fig. 381-383, 385-389, 405-408.

[80] Translation, B. Perrin, Loeb Classical Library (1916) 9.

[81] Athens, National Museum. Dontas *op. c.* (*supra* n. 72) 84, pl. 24, 1-2.

[82] Richter *op. c.* 1 (*supra* n. 66) 98, b, fig. 393-401.

[83] Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 438. Poulsen *op. c.* (*supra* n. 78) 18-22, fig. 14; V. Poulsen, Phidiasische Bildnisse, in: *Neue Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft* (*Festschrift Bernhard Schweitzer*, 1954) 202-205, pl. 45; W. Gauer, Griechische Bildnisse, *JDAI* 83, 1968, 120-122, fig. 2, with list of copies; Dontas *op. c.* 81f., 89, pl. 25, 1-2 and 26, 1-2 for Vatican copy; D. Pandermalis, *Untersuchungen zu den klassischen Strategenköpfen* (1969) 47-55, pl. 13, 1-2, with list of various datings and identifications.

[84] For example, Brommer *op. c.* (*supra* n. 47) 8f., pl. 14, slab W. 4; 32, pl. 63, slab N. 9; 6, 117-121, pl. 178, 180, slab E. 6; and F. Brommer, *Metopen des Parthenon* (1967) 80-82, pl. 176-177, metope S. 4; 83f., pl. 180, metope S. 5; 124f., pl. 229-231, metope S. 30. For other Pheidian comparisons, Poulsen *op. c.* (1954 [*supra* n. 83]) 203.

[85] Brommer *op. c.* (1967 [*supra* n. 84]) 80-84, pl. 176-177, 180, metopes S. 4-5.

[86] Athens, Agora S. 1459. H.A. Thompson, Agora, *Hesperia* 20, 1951, 57, pl. 29, b-c.

[87] Dontas *op. c.* (*supra* n. 72) 82f., allows an early fourth century date as well. Such 'baroque' hair begins well before the end of the fifth century, as on the 'general' from Riace Marina, G. Foti, *Klearchos* 14, 1972, 133f., fig. 3. The pathos of the Pastoret head is also found in the late fifth century, compare a reclining figure in clay from Athens, H. Thompson, Aspra, *Hesperia* 24, 1955, 68f., pl. 31, c.

[88] Richter *op. c.* (*supra* n. 66) 75-78, fig. 271-298 for bibliography and illustration of Anacreon series. Anacreon has been compared to the 'Kapaneus' reliefs in the Villa Albani and to the Pastoret head, G. Hafner, Anacreon und Xanthippus, *JDAI* 71, 1956, 7, fig. 2-5 and Poulsen *op. c.* (1954 [*supra* n. 83]) 203.

[89] A youth dons a skimpy, ineffectual corslet on a lekythos by the Phiale Painter, *c.* 430, in Palermo, 2564. Beazley, *ARV*[2] 1021,115; A. Furtwängler - K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* 2 (1905) pl. 66a.

[90] E. Harrison, South Frieze, *AJA* 76, 1972, 353-378.

[91] Boardman *op. c.* (*supra* n. 51) 39-49.

[92] For previous attributions to Xanthippos, Richter *op. c.* 1 (*supra* n. 66) 101, and E. Harrison, Amazonomachy, *Hesperia* 35, 1966, 120. More recently, Dontas *op. c.* (*supra* n. 72) 89, who considers the Hartford statuette, *c.* 420, a candidate. For the Greeks of the later fifth century, the late archaic helmet of the Pastoret head belonged to the heroic past, Gauer *op. c.* (*supra* n. 83) 122. This may reinforce the identification of the Pastoret head and the Spinetic statuette with a hero of the Persian wars.

[93] Translation, W.H.S. Jones, Loeb Classical Library (1954) 127.

[94] Argued by Hafner *op. c.* (*supra* n. 88) 1-28 and Poulsen *op. c.* (*supra* n. 78) 6. Did Xanthippos and Anacreon form a group? I recall the agreement in attitude and dates between the Anacreon statue and the Spinetic statuette.

[95] For Hellenistic and Roman cuirassed statues, Vermeule *op. c.* (*supra* n. 47) 1-82. Standing Etruscan warriors in related positions, F. Messerschmidt, Mars von Todi, *MDAI(R)* 43, 1928, 147-164. Roncalli *op. c.* (*supra* n. 10) 88-91, pl. 1-10, claims the 'Mars' of Todi derives directly from Attic models of the third quarter of the fifth century. This suggests another type of military leader statue in late fifth century Athens.

[96] Translation, H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (1952) 141.

[97] Ferrara, Museo nazionale archeologico. Tomb 185 A, Valle Pega.

A. Statuette 5681, candelabrum 5652. Measurements: H. figure 0.080 m.: H. figure with plinth 0.094 m.; H. overall to top of crown 1.023 m.; H. base 0.081 m.; W. base 0.231 m.; H. crown 0.043 m.; W. crown 0.198 m.; D. inverted bowl 0.083 m.; H. double spool 0.036 m. Conditions: Statuette—The spears are missing from both hands. The shield is broken off and restored. The shield's edges are badly corroded and cracked in several places. There is mild pitting on the entire statuette. The statuette's patina varies from greenish black to golden brown. Candelabrum—The lower side of one leg on the midly flaked tripod base is cracked. Severe corrosion exists on the top of the inverted bowl and crown. There are small chips on the profiled rings at the bottom of the shaft column and casting bubbles on the lower shaft. The upper rim of the loose disc is chipped and the lower rim carries two holes. The patina is blackish green. Twenty-six modern metal analysis holes have been drilled on the top of the double spool and one on the bottom of each leonine foot.

B. Statuette 10524, candelabrum 5653. Measurements: H. figure 0.080 m.; H. figure with plinth 0.092 m.; H. overall to top of crown 1.024 m.; H. base 0.101 m.; W. base 0.225 m.; H. crown 0.044 m.; W. crown 0.101 m.; D. inverted bowl 0.078 m.; H. double spool 0.038 m. Condition: Statuette—The spear is missing. The shield is corroded but restored and was attached with two rivets for which the holes are clearly visible. The figure is slightly pitted, mostly on the buttock and knees, and there is a small casting hole on the middle right of the back. The patina is a dark, blackish green with patches of pale green incrustation. Candelabrum—The bottom of the lower shaft tang is broken off at the point of an horizontally drilled hole. One crown spike is bent and traces of filing are found on the underside of another. Little pitting, except on the inverted bowl, double spool, and tripod base. The patina is a blackish olive.

Bibliography for both candelabra: Alfieri-Arias *op. c.* (1960 [*supra* n. 1]) 171, pl. 8a-b; Mansuelli, in: *Mostra, op. c.* (*supra* n. 1) 26f.; Maule *op. c.* (*supra* n. 1) 491, 494; Massei *op. c.* (*supra* n. 1) 281, pl. 75,3; 76,2; 77,1.

[98] For context and dating, Massei *op. c.* 279-283.

[99] I thank Prof. G. Uggeri for the following epigraphical note. *A*, ↓, ↓, *a*, X, X. I segni sono di forma tarda.

I due X possono essere stati usati per indicare le due parti di uno stesso candelabro che andavano innestate, per qui il segno *a* indicherebbe l'utilizzazione di un elemento spurio; si tratterebbe quindi di un restauro.

Da notare l'uso come contrassegno della prima e dell'ultima lettera dell'alphabeto etrusco, che per questo motivo sono le più usate; per *a* v. Rivista di epigrafia etrusca, *SE* 42, 1974, no. 1-5; per X v. *id.*, *SE* 41, 1973, no. 7-12; 42, 1974, no. 11-25.

[100] Snodgrass *op. c.* (*supra* n. 10) 69, 93f.; Richardson *op. c.* (*supra* n. 10) 163.

[101] Snodgrass *op. c.* 53, 95f.

[102] Reggio Calabria, Museo nazionale, G. Foti, Reggio Calabria, in: *Atti 13, Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia 1973* (1974) 376, pl. 68, 1.

[103] Florence, Museo archeologico 17. Giglioli *op. c.* (*supra* n. 1) 41, pl. 224,2.

[104] Rome, Villa Giulia 2547. Giglioli *op. c.* pl. 220, 7-8.

[105] Snodgrass *op. c.* 96f., Plato, *Euthydemus* 299 C and Euripides, *The Madness of Herakles* 193-194.

[106] For example: Chigi vase. H. Payne, *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei* (1933) 23, pl. 27-28, 1 & 29; Macmillan aryballos. *Ibid.* 23, pl. 1-2, 5; Black-figured amphorae. Beazley, *ABV* 288,9 and D. von Bothmer *op. c.* (*supra* n. 17) 80, nr. 96, pl. 55, 1; Beazley, *ABV* 288, 16 and *CVA Italia* 7, 7, pl. 11; von Bothmer *op. c.* 80, nr. 97, pl. 55,2 and 36, 39, nr. 22, pl. 31, 2; Black-figured olpe. *CVA Italia* 48, 27, pl. 35, 4; and an Etruscan black-figured Pontic amphora, *CVA Great Britain* 6, 17f., pl. 9, 1b.

[107] In the Po Valley, however, similarly armed warriors continue much later, though they hold the two spears in the same hand. *Mostra, op. c.* (*supra* n. 1) 399, nr. 1246, pl. 150.

[108] Richardson *op. c.* (*supra* n. 10) 161f. Early examples, E.H. Richardson, Recurrent Geometric, *MAAR* 27, 1962, 168f., fig. 11-13.

[109] Richardson *op. c.* (1971) 163, 167f.; G. Colonna, *Bronzi votivi umbro-sabellici* (1970) 14f.

[110] Munich, Glyptothek. Richter *op. c.* (1970 [*supra* n. 10]) 40, 44, 97, fig. 415.

[111] Berlin, Antiquarium F 2294. Beazley, *ARV*[2] 400,1; *CVA Deutschland* 21, 25f., pl. 72; H.A. Thompson, Berlin Cup, *Marsyas* Suppl. 1, 1964, 323-328.

[112] Paris, Louvre 4266.

[113] *Mostra, op. c.* (*supra* n. 1) 228, nr. 743, pl. 25, *not* corresponding text; P.E. Arias, Discoforo, *SE* 22, 1952-1953, 70f., fig. 6; B. Schröder, *Zum Diskobol des Myron* (1913) 21, pl. 10. Striding warriors occur elsewhere in the Po Valley, but all differ from their Greek prototypes and the Spinetic statuettes. Among them: *Mostra*, 416f., nr. 1289, pl. 147; 402, nr. 1254, pl. 137 top middle statuette; 399, nr. 1246, pl. 150; 210, nr. 719, pl. 25a; *Repertorio delle opere d'arte trafugate in Italia* 1, 1957-1964 (1964) 11; G. Montanari, Sepolcreto Battistini, *SE* 21, 1950-1951, 308f., fig. 5b; R. Pincelli, Bronzetto etrusco, *Arte Antica e Moderna* 4, 1958, 334-338, pl. 119-120. An early warrior from nearby Ravenna, Hill (Richardson) *op. c.* (*supra* n. 16) 106f., fig. 5.

[114] Ferrara, Museo nazionale archeologico 5088, 5089. Arias *op. c.* (1955 [*supra* n. 1]) 145-150, 159, fig. 78-86.

[115] Los Angeles. A. Silvers Collection. M. del Chiaro, *Etruscan Art from West Coast Collections* (1967) 40, nr. 46, pl. 46.

[116] B.M. Felletti-Maj, Alto Adriatica, *SE* 14, 1940, 43-87; Alfieri-Arias *op. c.* (1960 [*supra* n. 1]) 86f.; J.D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase Painting* (1947) 177f.; Prof. S. Uggeri-Patitucci, who is studying the Alto Adriatica ware, tells me it does not begin earlier than the mid-fourth century. Compare *Mostra, op. c.* (*supra* n. 1) 386, nr. 1238, pl. 130.

[117] Mansuelli, in: *Mostra*, 27-29; P.E. Arias, Gli ori e argenti di Spina, in: *Ori e argenti dell'Etruria antica* (1958) 43-46—many Spinetic late fifth-early fourth century human-faced pieces have the large, expressionistic eyes of our bronzes and the later Alto Adriatica ware faces, but so do earlier pieces, so this tendency is already present in the early fifth century—50, 52f., 57f., nr. 60-61, 75, 90-93, fig. 22-25, 34-35.

[118] For example, the nearly complete geometricization of the palmette motif, *Mostra*, 384, nr. 1233, pl. 128.

[119] Uggeri-Uggeri-Patitucci *op. c.* (1974 [*supra* n. 1]) 93, n. 60.

[120] *Ibid.*, 80-82, n. 49; G.A. Mansuelli, *Etruschi e Celti* (*Coll. Latomus* 102, 1969) 499-504; Mansuelli, in: *Mostra*, 34-38; M. Zuffa, I Galli sull'Adriatico, in: *I Galli e l'Italia* (1978) 138-162.

[121] Although Celtic presence is attested at least as early as the end of the sixth century in the region. G.A. Mansuelli, *Problemi storici* (*Coll. Latomus* 58, 1962) 1072f.; Mansuelli *op. c.* (1969 [*supra* n. 120]) 499-501; Mansuelli, in: *Mostra*, 17-24 on steles. Also P. Ducati, Pietre funerarie felsinee, *MonAL* 20, 1912, 360-727; G.V. Gentili, Celtizzazione, in: *I Galli e l'Italia* (1978) 114-116.

[122] Ducati *op. c.* 386f., nr. 43b, fig. 10.

[123] G. Colonna, Greci, *RSA* 4, 1974, 1-21, makes a good case for Aeginetan influence in the Padania.

[124] Uggeri-Uggeri-Patitucci *op. c.* (1974 [*supra* n. 1]) 80-82.

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