

Martin Bentz, *Etruskische Votivbronzen des Hellenismus*. Istituto Nazionale di Studi Etruschi e Italici. Biblioteca di "Studi Etruschi", Band 25. Verlag Leo S. Olschki, Florenz 1992. 258 Seiten, 281 Abbildungen auf 50 Tafeln.

This book is a highly interesting study of the bronze figures found in Etruscan sanctuaries of the Hellenistic period. The author provides a catalogue of fourteen sanctuaries, after a preamble describing eleven Classical votive deposits, some of which also included Hellenistic figures. Most of these groups of bronzes are illustrated; those that are not are either in the process of publication or are well published elsewhere and well described here. The illustrations are a valuable contribution and a distinct help to the reader.

Bentz warns us that the sanctuary bronzes are seldom works of art, but rather examples of local craftsmanship, which the reader can easily verify from the illustrations. Few really handsome figures have been found in the excavated sanctuaries. Montecchio, north of Cortona, provided two: a beautiful Hellenistic lady (Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden CO 30; BENTZ figs. 52–56), and a Standing Boy with Goose (Leiden CO 4; BENTZ fig. 56). The Fontanile di Legnissina at Vulci (BENTZ 90–94; G. COLONNA/B. MASABÒ/L. RICCIARDI, *Una nuova dedica alla etrusca Uni. Il tempio, l'altare e il deposito votivo*. *Boll. Arte* 48, 1988, 23–26; 34–35) produced several handsome figures of different periods: a late Archaic kouros, a Classical youth wearing a himation, a lady in the sleeved chiton and voluminous himation worn by Classical Etruscan ladies with a low, crescent diadem in her carefully smoothed and bound hair, and an early Hellenistic boy wearing a long tunic inscribed with a dedication to Uni (Juno), as well as poorer Hellenistic figures.

Some of the larger and handsomer votive bronzes that we believe to be Etruscan do have a provenience, even if it was not a sanctuary. For example, BENTZ 99, Kat. 19 no. 1, fig. 147 (now lost) was found near Chiusi. Florence, *Mus. Arch.* 84407 (BENTZ 100, Kat. 19 no. 4, figs. 153–54) comes from S. Angelo in Colle (Montalcino). Florence, *Mus. Arch.* 141 (BENTZ 117, Kat. 30.3 no. 3, fig. 226) comes from Paterno di Valombrosa. And Volterra, *Mus. Guarnacci* no. 228 (BENTZ 114, Kat. 28 no. 8, figs. 212–15) was found near Volterra.

Some of these handsome bronzes with a provenience and many others without one carry Etruscan inscriptions, and these figures, too, must be native Etruscans. Bentz considers them the prototypes of the countrified little figures from the sanctuaries that share their costumes and attributes and try to copy their pose and gestures. For instance, a handsome Hellenistic lady in Florence (*Mus. Arch.* no. 554; BENTZ 105, Kat. 23.1 no. 1, figs. 176–78) who wears a himation wound around her hips and covering her left elbow and forearm, a thin, sleeveless dress, soft shoes, a torque around her throat, and an elaborate diadem in her hair, has an Etruscan inscription on her right hip (M. PALLOTTINO, *Testimonia Linguae Etruscae* [1954] [TLE] 739) and may have served as the inspiration for BENTZ 102–4, Kat. 22.1 and 2, figs. 161–70, or Florence 13927 (BENTZ 42 no. 14, fig. 40).

The dress of Florence 554 is the characteristic costume of the Etruscan Hellenistic lady, based on late Classical Greek figures, except for the diadem that Etruscan ladies wear, which in Greece would make them divinities. Apparently in Etruria a diadem was a regular part of a lady's costume, perhaps a sign of rank.

Of the male figures, some wear a purely Etruscan costume that had been part of the repertory of votive bronzes since the late Archaic period, a semicircular cloak that was the ancestor of the Roman toga wrapped around the body leaving the right arm free, as Greek gentlemen wore the late Archaic himation (see BENTZ figs. 224–34), or pulled around the hips with both ends thrown back over the left forearm, leaving the upper torso bare, a purely Etruscan arrangement (see BENTZ figs. 87–89; 206–7; 264). Other bronzes are based on Greek Classical types, the nude standing ephebe, often with one hand on the hip (BENTZ figs. 48–51; 62–63; 179–81), or the more theatrically posed ephebe with a wisp of drapery over his left shoulder (BENTZ figs. 192–95; 204). The Hellenistic Etruscan repertory includes no athletes or men in armor, in fact, very few figures in action and none that could be called aggressive. They represent worshippers or offering-bearers, as they did in the Classical period, but some of those wore armor, and a few of the nudes were athletes.

New types appear in the repertory of Hellenistic votive bronzes: children, evidently inspired by the child figures of late Classical and Hellenistic Greece. Bentz illustrates one in Cortona (*Mus. Accad. Etrusca* no. 1280; BENTZ 196, figs. 273–76), a young boy in a short tunic holding up an apple in his right hand and

clutching another in his left. He is dedicated to a god named Mantrns (TLE 653), otherwise unknown. There are other bronze children, all boys, aged from one year or less to twelve or perhaps fourteen.

Figures of priests have been found, four apparently in a sanctuary in the territory of Siena. They wear a special costume, a shawl draped over both shoulders, fastened in front with a large fibula, over a short tunic, and an elaborate cap. It seems to be based on a herdsman's dress, like the costume of an Arcadian figure from Andritsena (BENTZ 68–70, figs. 75–86; F. RONCALLI, *Die Tracht des Haruspex als frühgesch. Relikt in historischer Zeit*. In: *Die Aufnahme fremder Kultureinflüsse in Etrurien und das Problem des Retardierens in der etruskischen Kunst* [1981] 124–32). There are a few other figures similarly dressed; one was found on the right bank of the Tiber in a Vatican excavation in 1836 (Vatican, Mus. Gregoriano Etrusco no. 12040; RONCALLI *loc. cit.* figs. 3a and b; M. CRISTOFANI, *I bronzi degli etruschi* [1985] no. 60, pp. 168, 272). It has an Etruscan inscription, a dedication by a man named Vel Sveitius to an unspecified god (TLE 736). This type seems to be purely Etruscan and purely Hellenistic.

There are changes in the costumes of the traditional types. The lady's diadem becomes much taller, sometimes pointed or with volutes at the ends (see BENTZ figs. 163–69, 176–78), and the hair is no longer tight but breaks out in curls or puffed-up locks (BENTZ figs. 52–55, from Montecchio, and figs. 148–54, three bronzes in Florence, nos. 296, 297, 84407). The gentleman sometimes wears his toga like the Roman *palliat* assembled by M. BIEBER (*Romani Palliati, Roman Men in Greek Himations*. Proc. Cambridge Philol. Soc. 103, 1959, 374–417, and *Ancient Copies* [1977] 129–47, figs. 581–85). The toga is big, reaching to the right ankle, covering both arms, pulled over both shoulders to make a sling for the right arm, while the hand grasps the upper edge, the left arm hanging at the side. This costume and pose are based on a statue type created in Athens in the late Classical period for the portraits of Sophocles and Aeschines (BIEBER *loc. cit.* [1977] figs. 581–82) whose left arms are bent so that the left hand rests on the back of the hip, a pose that the Hellenistic period abandoned for the friendlier attitude of the Boy from Eretria or the figure of Dioscurides at Delos (BIEBER *loc. cit.* [1977] figs. 583–84). It became very popular in Italy and at Rome was used for grave stelae and funerary statues. Greek figures wear the himation, and so do many of the Roman figures, for example, a bronze boy in the Art Museum at Princeton (BIEBER *loc. cit.* [1977] figs. 591–94, one of very few bronzes in this pose), but some of the Roman figures wear the toga (BIEBER *loc. cit.* [1977] fig. 604 left, fig. 609 left), and a small bronze found in the votive deposit at Carsòli, a Latin colony founded in 302 or 298 B.C. in Aequian territory, wears a *toga exigua*, the only example of so brief a costume worn in this way, so far as I know (A. CEDERNA, *Carsòli. Scoperta di un deposito votivo del III secolo a. C.* [Prima campagna degli scavi]. *Not. Scavi Ant.* 1951, 193 no. 9 and figs. on p. 191, fig. 8). The *palliat* from Bolsena (BENTZ 39–48, Kat. I nos. 1–13, figs. 27–38) seem to wear the himation. Bentz dates them in the second century B.C., but the bronze from Carsòli is almost certainly third century, and there are terracotta *palliat* from Campania that also date from the third (G. COLONNA, *Statue votive di togati da Cales*. In: G. COLONNA [ed.], *Santuari d'Etruria* [1985] 41 no. 1.27.1 and 2).

Hellenistic figures tend to be taller and slimmer than the Classical, and their attitudes more artificial: the attenuated S-curve of some of Bentz's ladies, weight on the left leg, hip out, torso curving to the right shoulder and back to the head, the right arm out and down, the left pressed to the side and the hand stretched open at the hip in a gesture of prayer (BENTZ figs. 42–44; 68–69; 124–38; 280), has no Classical forerunner. The lifted heel of some Hellenistic male figures (BENTZ figs. 192–95; 226–28; 235–40; 277; 279) is found in the Classical repertory only once (T. DOHRN, *Die etruskische Kunst im Zeitalter der griechischen Klassik: Die Interimsperiode* [1982] 30–31, pl. 13), although it was one of the great innovations of the Classical period in Greece.

Some of the offerings carried by Classical figures, fruit and birds in particular, were still in use in the Hellenistic period, but, as Bentz points out, the *patra* (libation bowl) became more and more popular, and later the *acerra* (incense box). But whatever the differences between the Classical and the Hellenistic votive bronzes in proportions, pose, costume, and offerings, the subjects are the same, worshippers and offering-bearers, rarely a divinity.

Bentz discusses a very few figures of gods. Two come from Cortona (BENTZ 49–52; CRISTOFANI *loc. cit.* 209 no. 104; 212 no. 105); both are young, beardless, nude except for hunting boots and a twisted necklace; they have one hand on the hip, one foot advanced, the heel of the other lifted as if stepping forward; the free hands are pierced to hold a staff or spear, Pliny's *nudae tenentes hastam* (nat. 34,18). Apparently they are

the only two divinities inscribed with their own names, the guardians of one of the gates of Cortona, Culsans and Selans (Selvans). Culsans is Janiform, suitable for the protector of a gate; Selvans is known to be a god of boundaries. Both names appear on the liver of Piacenza, Culsans once (CVL), Selvans twice. Culsans has only one other votive inscription, on a lead plaque also from Cortona (TLE 647); Selvans has ten, seven of which are on votive figures (young men and a little boy: TLE 148 from Tarquinia; TLE 504 from Sarteano; TLE 559 without provenience; TLE 641 from Cortona; TLE 696 from Carpegna, Villa Giulia 59459, said to come from Bolsena; and Fleischman Collection, New York).

One of the most interesting and valuable sections of Bentz's discussion of the sanctuary figures is his careful description of the differences between the bronzes from Etruscan sanctuaries and the repertoires of votive bronzes from other parts of Italy, particularly from Latium and the Umbro-Sabellian regions, which he counts as one, although I believe they are at least two. Umbrians and Sabellians liked aggressive figures, while the nearest approach to aggressiveness in Etruria appears in the pose of the two guardians of the gate of Cortona, and they are not truly aggressive. But Umbria in the late Archaic and Classical periods turned out warriors in full armor charging with javelins at the ready, their style based on a group of late Archaic and early Classical Etruscan warriors. The Sabellians dedicated enormous numbers of bronze Hercules figures brandishing their clubs. Hellenistic Latin sanctuaries are more complicated; we have three: at Nemi, Carsòli, and thanks to Bentz, Telamon (Talamone). The bronzes from Nemi, except for the beautiful "priests and priestesses" (S. HAYNES, *The Bronze Priests and Priestesses from Nemi*. Mitt. DAI Rom 67, 1960, 34–47, pls. 12–20), which Bentz considers late Etruscan, I think correctly, for there are no other togate men with vine-leaf crowns south of the Tiber (BENTZ 119–25, figs. 235–49), include figures of Diana wearing a short, belted tunic and hunter's boots, carrying torches, a youth, possibly Apollo, nude except for a bit of drapery wound around his left shoulder and arm, a *patera* in his right hand, a togate figure with his right hand on his hip, a seated "priestess" not one of the handsome ones, two hunting dogs and an eagle (Boston Mus. Fine Arts nos. 156–64; M. COMSTOCK/C. VERMEULE, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* [1971] 136–40). Other bronzes from Nemi are now in the Villa Giulia at Rome (Diana again, a togate figure with *patera* and *acerra*, a nude boy with a pruning hook, and one with a drinking horn, nos. 6765, 6768, 6769, 6770). These are all stocky, broad-faced figures standing stiffly on straddled legs with a vestigial contrapposto and obstinate frontality.

The bronzes from Carsòli (Chieti, Mus. Naz. di Antichità degli Abruzzi e del Molise) include a Diana holding a torch (very like Boston no. 157 from Nemi), a togate figure (very like Villa Giulia 6670 from Nemi), three togate figures *capite velato*, the toga wrapped around the body and its upper border pulled up over the head in the Roman fashion for a sacrifice (Chieti no. 2733 = CEDERNA *loc. cit.* no. 8 on fig. 8; Chieti nos. 4367, 4381), another nude boy holding a large drinking (?) horn (Chieti 4372, apparently the same subject as Villa Giulia 6769 from Nemi), and figures of young men with a draped left arm (Chieti 2749, Carsòli 2; Chieti 4364, Carsòli M). There are warriors in full armor and "heroic" warriors, nude except for a helmet, like impoverished descendents of the heroes of Riace, and a crowd of ladies who wear a Hellenistic dress fashionable in Greece and Magna Grecia, described by Bieber as a sleeveless chiton with a long overfold in imitation of the woolen Attic peplos (M. BIEBER, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der griechischen Tracht von der vorgriechischen Zeit bis zum Ausgang der Antike* ²[1967] 34 fig. 7, pls. 24, 26); it is worn with a girdle tied high under the breasts and often without a himation. The ladies from Carsòli usually do not wear the himation, and they sometimes omit the girdle (CEDERNA *loc. cit.* nos. 10, 11 on fig. 8, 12–17 on fig. 9, 18–22 on fig. 10). The dress itself was probably worn in Etruria as well as in Greece, Magna Grecia, and Latium, but never without a himation or a scarf (BENTZ figs. 147–70).

Carsòli had other figures of divinities, as well as Diana: Minerva, wearing the Hellenistic chiton with a long overfold, but without the girdle (Chieti 4470), Eros (Chieti 4357), Herakles brandishing his club or offering a libation (Chieti 2747, 4369, 4363). It is clear that the repertory of figures in Hellenistic Latin sanctuaries is considerably more diversified than that in Etruria: aggressive gods and men, men wearing the *toga capite velato*, men in armor, ladies wearing the latest Hellenistic fashions and, perhaps most interesting, both male and female figures standing with one arm raised to lean on a tall staff or scepter, or a spear. Some types are purely Latin and Roman, the togate figures, but most of the others are borrowed, either directly from Greece or from Magna Grecia.

And, as Bentz shows us, the votive deposit from Telamon (BENTZ 73–81, Kat. no. 10, figs. 90–104) is also Latin. Here is Diana again, right hand on hip, left arm raised, and another divinity, a beardless Jupiter flour-

ishing a thunderbolt, nude except for a bit of drapery on the left arm, which is raised to lean on a scepter (?), more like the Roman Veiovis than the bearded Jupiter. There are also nude male figures holding a *patera* in the right hand and ladies wearing the fashionable Hellenistic chiton with or without a himation, like the ladies of Carsöli. Two of them (BENTZ figs. 98, 99) raise the right arm to lean on a staff, and the style of these ladies is very close to that of the ladies from Carsöli. No other sanctuary in Etruria includes such figures. The Dianas of Carsöli and Telamon tie these sanctuaries to the Diana of Ariccia, the chief goddess of the Latin League, definitely not the Diana of Rome, dedicated on the Aventine by Servius Tullius. Rome's Diana was the Diana of Ephesus, not a huntress or a wood nymph (L. RICHARDSON, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* [1992] 108–9).

Why this particular votive deposit, Latin not Roman, was offered at Telamon is puzzling; perhaps it came from the Latin colony of Cosa, practically next door to Telamon and on friendly enough terms with her to copy some of her temple terracottas (L. RICHARDSON, *The Architectural Terracottas*. In: F. E. BROWN/E. H. RICHARDSON/L. RICHARDSON jr., *Cosa II. The Temples of the Arx*. *Mem. Am. Acad. Rome* 26, 1960, 156; 160; 184; 187; 190–91; 194–95). The Latin colonists must have furnished men to the Roman army, and this offering may have been their Latin thanks for the defeat of the Gauls. Another connection between Telamon and Cosa is in their narrative pediment sculpture, Telamonaccio's representation of the Seven Against Thebes (O. W. VON VACANO, *Gli Etruschi a Talamone, la saga di Talamone dalla preistoria ai giorni nostri* [1985] 94–127) and the pediment of Temple B on the forum of Cosa, the Recognition of Paris (E. H. RICHARDSON, *Terracotta Sculpture from Temple B*. In: F. E. BROWN/E. H. RICHARDSON/L. RICHARDSON jr., *Cosa III. The Buildings of the Forum*. *Mem. Am. Acad. Rome* 37, 1993, 113–26). There are other terracotta friezes from temples in Etruria based on Greek stories, but none so explicit a narrative as these two.

An interesting section of Bentz's conclusions deals with the deities worshipped in the Hellenistic sanctuaries and where and how their names appear. One assumes that the names inscribed on the liver of Piaccenza are those of the great gods of the Hellenistic period. Tinia (Zeus/Jupiter), who has five houses on the liver, is named once in the inscription on one of the priests from the neighborhood of Siena (BENTZ 68–73, Kat. 9 no. 1, figs. 75–77; TLE 742; A. J. PEIFFIG, *Religio Etrusca* [1975] 233). Uni (Hera/Juno), the queen of heaven with one house on the liver, is also named once on a sanctuary bronze, a boy from Vulci, Fontanile di Legnisina (BENTZ 92 no. 5). Tecum, who has one house on the liver but whose character is unknown, has two votive inscriptions, one on a small bronze boy (BENTZ 207 no. 13, Tece Sans; TLE 624; CRISTOFANI *loc. cit.* no. 127 on pp. 241; 299), a very pretty figure now in the Vatican (*Mus. Gregoriano Etrusco* no. 12017), and the life size figure of a togate official, the "Arringatore" (BENTZ 207 no. 13; TLE 651; CRISTOFANI *loc. cit.* no. 129 on pp. 242–44; 300). L. B. VAN DER MEER (*The Bronze Liver of Piaccenza. Analysis of a Polytheistic Structure* [1987]) says of these, "They must have been a god of the ruling class".

This suggestion brings me to a puzzle: Selvans with his two houses on the liver and his ten inscriptions, six on the figures of handsome young men and one on that of a small boy. These bronzes, like those dedicated to Tece San, except for the image of the god himself at Cortona, also look like members of the ruling class. Bentz believes that the statue in London (TLE 559) and those from Carpegna and Sarteano represent Selvans himself, but they could be young aristocrats. There is another type of figure, the Man with a Sickle, found in both Classical and Hellenistic contexts (BENTZ, Kat. C, Ghiaccio Forte, p. 20 nos. 8 and 9; M. DEL CHIARO, *Etruscan Ghiaccio Forte*, University of California, Santa Barbara, *Excavations in Tuscany, Italy*, Spring 1972, Summer 1973 [1976] 19 no. 6, pl. 1, color pl. C, no. 7, pl. 1; BENTZ 29 no. 4, fig. 21, perhaps from Perugia or nearby; p. 203 fig. 279, from the sanctuary of Diana at Nemi). These are also believed to be offerings to Selvans, although none of them has an inscription, probably because they seem countrified. Are the inscribed figures country gentlemen and the sickle-bearers country bumpkins, and was Selvans devotedly worshipped by both classes? Or was the sickle-bearer an earlier, more rustic offering and the handsome, inscribed bronzes evidence that the worship of Selvans had spread to the cities and the ruling class?

The great diversity of the Hellenistic votive figures in the different parts of Italy continues through the third century and well into the second, but the Social War of 91–87 seems to have brought the taste for bronze statuettes to an end. Some Italic shrines were still frequented, but the offerings were meager, usually coins, terracottas and pottery.