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III

P. J. RIIS

Art in Etruria and Latium during the First Half of the Fifth Century B.C.

As to style geography, there is, although authorities of some order of mind are of different opinion, still a fairly general agreement that the main divisions have been agreed upon. Of course, a number of the regional styles of Central Italy have been agreed to be around the borders of the country; the Etruscan, the Campanian and the Apulian are dependent upon the available materials, and the hill ranges and mountain ranges as well as the deep ancient forests have had an obnoxious effect upon the traffic which accordingly had to follow the valleys. In the main Central Italy can be divided into a northern region in the north and a southern region in the south. The former is North Etruria, among whose chief centres was the most important art centre. The southern region begins immediately west and south of the latter zone, and is the so-called Campanian Hill-land into two zones, a northern one and a southern. The northern one is in fact the central part of Latium, where the productions of Tarquinii and Veii are particularly interesting. The southern zone comprises south Etruria with Caere and Volterra, the Agri Falisci around Falerii, and

¹ On style geography, see P. J. Riis, *Journal of Archaeology* (1911), p. 44, 185-186; on chronology, *ibid.*, p. 187-188, 191-192, 194-195.

ART IN ETRURIA AND LATIUM DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

Before one attempts to draw any historical conclusions from the art of Central Italy one must know where the things were made, and when they were made; style geography and chronology are of primary importance, also to the historian¹. Therefore, I shall concentrate upon these subjects, especially as, unfortunately, not all the problems have been solved, or treated, in a satisfactory way, so as to produce unanimity among scholars.

As to style geography, however—although attributions of some series of works and of some individual objects still differ considerably—it seems that the main divisions have been agreed upon. Of course, a modern view of the regional styles of Central Italy must have regard to the natural divisions of the country; for both architecture, sculpture and pottery are dependent upon the available materials, and the hill ranges and mountains as well as the dense ancient forests have had an obstructing effect upon the traffic, which accordingly had to follow the valleys. In the main Central Italy can be divided into a limestone region in the north and a volcanic region in the south. The former is North Etruria, among whose cities Clusium was the most important art centre. The volcanic region begins immediately west and south of the latter town and is by the Ciminian Hills cut into two zones, a northern and a southern. The northern one is in fact the central part of Etruria, where the productions of Tarquinii and Vulci are particularly interesting. The southern zone comprises both South Etruria with Caere and Veii, the Ager Faliscus around Falerii, and

¹ On style geography, see P. J. Riis, *Tyrrhenika*, Copenhagen 1941, p. 4-8, 187-188; on chronology, *ibid.*, p. 147-149, 159-161, 188, 191-195.

Latium; it is important that between these three districts there are no physical borders offering any real obstacle. So it was a region of vivid cultural contacts and fluctuating frontiers. The Alban Hills constitute the centre of Latium; Rome lies in the northwestern periphery of the Latin territory, next to Etruria, just as Tibur and Praeneste are on the northeastern borders, and Satricum on the verge to Campania. All this may seem commonplace, but it is necessary to remember it when art is dealt with. It should also be pointed out that the regional styles were not more uniform than that the more elaborate products betray different traditions in the principal towns.

In chronology the main problem is raised by the fact that the artists of Central Italy to an astonishing degree used the Greek ways of expression, so that there are very few local works of art which have nothing whatever in common with Greek art. Consequently, no detail of style which had its origin in Greece and not in Italy, could appear in Italy before Greek works with such a detail had been made known to the local artists. The earliest Greek parallels to Etrusco-Italian works with the same detail provide only a terminus post quem for the Italian products, and thus our difficulty consists in evaluating the time lag between the Greek source of inspiration and the final Etrusco-Italian work. To make the right estimate it is also necessary to be aware of the difference between subarchaic and archaistic elements that too late a dating does not result. Unfortunately, not all scholars have realized that an extremely profound knowledge of Greek art is indispensable for those who have to deal with the Etrusco-Italian production; for without this knowledge we shall not be able to find the right Greek parallels and to single out that Greek detail in the individual Etrusco-Italian work which actually is the latest, as no specimen can be older than its latest feature. The results of style analysis must be checked by a study

of find complexes and their relationship to the deplorably few historical data which offer a basis for art chronology.

The dependence upon Greece is easiest to demonstrate in two-dimensional art, where copying is a comparatively simple matter. I shall show you a few examples, first a figure in a North Etruscan fresco painting, in the Tomba del Colle Casuccini near Clusium¹. The way of rendering the folds of a chiton by means of a restricted number of vertical wavy lines as those seen here in the lower part of the drapery is a feature which appeared on Attic vases, e.g. by the Amasis Painter, already in the third quarter of the 6th century. In general, however, the Clusine fresco has a Late Archaic character. The profile of the face, for instance has parallels in vase pictures by the Panaitios Painter; but the ductus of the drapery borders, which offer a certain superficial likeness to those drawn by the Kleophrades Painter, are in fact more free, roughly as we find them in Athens about the time 470-465. An earlier date for the fresco is not possible.

A red-figured vase, decorated in superposed colour and said to have come from Orvieto in Central Etruria, is kept in the Danish National Museum². The hands, the eye and the mouth of the woman depicted on the vase resemble what can be seen in Attic paintings of the late 6th century; nevertheless her firm chin, the folds of her chiton and the head of the silenus forbid us to place this pot before 490, as similar details do not occur before certain works of the

¹ *Vie Italienne*, Revue Officielle de l'E.N.I.T., VIII no. 24, Bergamo 1957, p. 65. These tomb frescoes were dated to the decade 500-490 by F. MESSERSCHMIDT, *Beiträge zur Chronologie der etruskischen Wandmalerei*, Ohlau 1926, p. 53 note 12, 59, 63 no. 31; but M. PALLOTTINO, *Etruscan Painting*, Geneva 1952, p. 131 rightly put them after 470.

² *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Copenhagen, Musée National, fasc. 5, Paris s. a., IV B p. 169, pl. 218.3 a-c. H. DRAGENDORFF, in *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* XLIII, Berlin 1928, p. 346 fig. 17. J. D. BEAZLEY, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, Oxford 1947, p. 195, 197 no. 37.

Berlin, Foundry and Kleophrades Painters, and even remind us of the Pistoxenos Painter in the 470's. Another vase from the same Central Etruscan workshop, found at Vulci and now in Munich¹ (fig. 1) is particularly interesting on account of the theme rendered on one of its sides: Aineias as a beardless youth leaving Troy, with Anchises on his left shoulder, and preceded by Kreousa and Askanios.

This is not the way in which the famous Trojan exit is shown on Attic vases². We find a more similar rendering on Late Archaic coins issued by the Macedonian town of Aineia³ and on the Capitoline Tabula Iliaca, according to the inscription an illustration of the *Ilioupersis* by Stesichoros of Himera, who wrote in the first half of the 6th century; the said inscription moreover stated that Aineias was in the act of emigrating to Hesperia, i.e. Italy⁴. In his *Troïka* the historian Hellanikos of Mytilene, who died about 400, let Aineias both found Aineia and come to Italy⁵. Certainly, it is a non-Attic source which lies behind the Etruscan representations like the one in Munich, and as both the

¹ O. JAHN, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung König Ludwigs in der Pinakothek*, Munich 1854, p. 290-291 no. 903 (Inv. No. 3185). E. GERHARD, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder* III, Berlin 1847, p. 131-132 pl. 217. G. Q. GIGLIOLI, in *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica di Roma* LXIX, Roma 1941, *Bullettino del Museo dell'Impero*, p. 9 fig. 2. BEAZLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 195 no. 3. K. SCHAUENBURG, in *Gymnasium* LXVII, Heidelberg 1960, p. 181 no. 58. No inscriptions.

² SCHAUENBURG, *loc. cit.*, p. 176-191.

³ W. H. ROSCHER, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* I 1, Leipzig 1884-86, p. 167, 185.

⁴ O. JAHN, *Griechische Bilderchroniken*, Bonn 1873, p. 2-4, 36-37 pl. 1*; A. SARDURSKA, *Les tables iliaques*, Warsaw 1964, p. 29, no. 4 and 7, a, lines 1-2; p. 30, f, lines 9, 31-36 and 39-41; p. 32-35, 99-100 no. 10 pl. 1. Two not identical groups, but similar in so far as the movement is directed towards the right, Anchises is carried on Aineias's left shoulder and holds himself a cista; with them fly a woman and a boy. The inscriptions read: 'Ιλίου πέρσις κατὰ Στησίχορον... Αινήας σὺν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀπαίρων εἰς τὴν Ἑσπερίαν... Ἀγχίσης καὶ τὰ ἱερά.

⁵ Dion. Halic., *Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἀρχαιολογία* I 48,1; 47,6; 49,4 and 72,2.



Fig. 1. Detail of Etruscan red-figured Vase.

Munich 3185. By Courtesy of the Direktion der Antikensammlungen.

Aineian die-cutters and the Etruscan artists drew from it, there is reason to believe that the source was not the poem of Stesichoros, who may have utilized the myth for local Sicilian purposes, but rather a separate Ionian tradition, perhaps the same as was reflected in Hellanikos's work. At any rate the Munich pot was not the first to make people in Vulci acquainted with Aineias. He also appears in Vulcian black-figure, although in other scenes, both about 470 on a vase in Würzburg, and twice perhaps in the so-called Pontic Group of the second half of the 6th century, on vases in Paris and Copenhagen¹, and of the 57 Attic vases with representations of Aineias 17 were found in Etruria and 10 of these came from Vulci, among them the earliest one of the whole series, a cup of the 520's from the workshop of Nikosthenes², who had specialized in meeting the demands of his Etruscan customers. So, we have to conclude that people at Vulci took a certain interest in Aineias about that time already, and it seems that Vulci was the first Central Italian town either to learn the Aineias myth or to make it popular. No wonder that just the Pontic workshop in Vulci treated Greek subjects and was very familiar with Greek myths and epics; for the style seems to indicate that at least the founder of the workshop was an Ionian Greek.

But we must return to the vase in Munich. Although there are zigzag borders in the manner of the late 6th century,

¹ E. LANGLOTZ, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, Munich 1932, p. 142-143, no. 799 pl. 232. BEAZLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 17-18. P. J. RIIS, *Den etruskiske kunst*², Copenhagen 1962, p. 148-149, fig. 86. R. HAMPE & E. SIMON, *Griechische Sagen in der frühen etruskischen Kunst*, Mainz 1964, p. 41-42, fig. 8; pl. 28.1; p. 51; pl. 19. The picture of the first Pontic vase, from the Tityos Painter's workshop, has been explained as referring to the persuasion of Helena as told in the epic *Kypria*, that of the other, of the latter part of the Paris Painter's œuvre, to the death of Achilleus, dealt with by Arktinos of Miletos in the *Aithiopis*.

² *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Paris, Musée du Louvre, fasc. 10, III H e, Paris 1951, p. 90-91; pl. 99.1. J. D. BEAZLEY, *Attic Black-Figure Vase Painters*, Oxford 1956, p. 231 no. 6. SCHAUENBURG, *loc. cit.*, p. 181, no. 52.

and though the picture no doubt was inspired by works of Douris and the Brygos Painter, Anchises's chiton, Askanios's abdominal muscles and Aineias's face with the firm and full chin are drawn as on the Pistoxenos Painter's skyphos in Schwerin, and the figures tend towards the elongated as on vases by the Danaë Painter, the Sabouroff Painter and other Early Classical masters. It is impossible to place the vase earlier than the 470's; in time it is not far from the Tyrant Slayers of Kritios and Nesiotes, put up in Athens in 477.

In spite of the deep Greek influence, the workshop which produced the two red-figured pots in Copenhagen and Munich is by the employed techniques and style defined as purely Etruscan and probably to be localized in Vulci. More than half of the vases belonging to the same group were found at that place, as already mentioned, also the Munich one. The word Praxias, which is written on the mouth of another member of the group, is possibly the name of the potter or rather that of the painter. Writing in the Greek alphabet of Northern Sicily and South Italy he appears to have been either himself a Greek or of Greek descent. According to Dragendorff the earliest works of the Praxias Painter should be dated about 465-460.

If we go to Tarquinii, Central Etruria's other important art centre, we shall find a similar style in the frescoes of the Tomba del Triclinio¹. The draperies are more archaic than classical, but it is from ca. 470 onwards in the oeuvre of the Attic mannerists, for instance that of the Pan Painter, that such faces occur.

To judge from its inside painting a Vulcian red-figured cup in the Rodin Museum at Paris² was not made before

¹ MESSERSCHMIDT, *op. cit.*, p. 50-52, 59, 63-64 no. 41 gives the date 480-470. PALLOTTINO, *op. cit.*, p. 73-80, 131, that of about 470.

² *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Paris, Musée Rodin, Paris 1945, p. 39-41; pl. 28-30. BEAZLEY, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, p. 3; 25-27; pl. 4, 1-3. *Mélanges offerts à Jérôme Carcopino*, Paris 1966, p. 515-528, fig. 1-3.

450; but the external frieze must have been copied from an older work, an Attic, Dourian, cup of the 460's, and there may be at least 15 years' distance between the Greek prototypes of the two pictures. The vase is one of the first Etruscan made in the ordinary Attic red-figure technique, and a special curiosity is the Etruscan inscription containing the name Avle V(i)pinas which Professor Heurgon recently explained to us.

South Etruria does not present the same wide range of painted vases and frescoes as Vulci and Tarquinii, but I should like to call attention to some fragments of painted terracotta slabs which embellished temples in the southern region. On the interior cella walls of the Portonaccio sanctuary at Veii, the one with the famous Apollo group on its roof, there were friezes composed of such slabs¹. A front view of a female head may remind us of similar drawings by Euphronios and other Attic vase painters between 510 and 500, but also of pictures by the Brygos Painter, of the following decades, and, in fact, it is not till about 480 that we find the same broad black border stripe of the mantle as on another slab from the frieze. So far the style situation seems analogous to that of Central Etruria, and this is confirmed by a completely preserved slab recently acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston²; probably it came from a temple site 8 kilometres to the east of Caere, where related plaques have been found. The conspicuous archaisms, particularly the swallow-tail borders, the scallops of the forehead hair and the old-fashioned eye, have not deceived Vermeule, who in his publication of the painting rightly dated it to the decade 470-460.

¹ *Notizie degli Scavi* VII, Rome 1953, p. 70-72 no. 1; 74-75 no. 6, fig. 49 a-b and 52 bis; cf. p. 68-69, fig. 48.

² *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* LXI, Boston 1963, p. 155-158, fig. 4, presumably from Ceri.

All these Etruscan paintings help to show how few details betray the advanced date, as a certain conservatism is predominating. They warn us against a superficial dating from a general impression alone, and we have now been prepared to meet similar phenomena in the reign of sculpture; but it must be particularly emphasized that but rarely do we still have the entire plastic work, and not always, probably, does a fragment include just the very latest style element of the complete object. Many sculptures can therefore only be safely dated through their fitting-in well into a carefully established, long and amply represented typological series after due comparisons with its individual specimens.

Of such series we possess in Northern Etruria the numerous limestone sculptures from the Clusine district. Unfortunately the statues of the Late Archaic range, as it is now preserved, have not retained their heads, but some interesting reliefs and an excellent mid-5th century statue to some extent indemnify the art historian. On a cippus in Palermo¹ the drapery of the flanking figures have a central bundle of folds with a swallow-tail border like the early red-figured ones in Athens, and the facial profile of the right figure may recall certain Ionian and Attic works of the late 6th century. However, the cloak folds of the central figure and the chiton border with closely put vertical striations are not paralleled in Athens before the 470's, and if we look very thoroughly we may find out that after all the central folds and the swallow-tail border are more freely cut than those of the 6th century. The second afore-mentioned Clusine sculpture, now in Florence, represents a seated woman with a child in her arms². The head of the statue is

¹ E. GÀBRICI, in *Studi Etruschi* II, Florence 1928, p. 72, pl. 10. G. Q. GIGLIOLI, *L'arte etrusca*, Milan 1935, p. 29, pl. 151.3.

² L. A. MILANI, *Il Regio Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, Florence 1912, p. 234; pl. 87.1. GIGLIOLI, *op. cit.*, p. 42; pl. 231. RIIS, *Tyrrhenika*, p. 116 no. 12; 161. M. PALLOTTINO, H. & I. JUCKER, *L'art étrusque*, Paris 1955, p. 23, pl. 92.

inspired by Attic art of the 450's, but the sphinxes of the chair have their hair dressed according to the Greek fashion in the third quarter of the century. The body is hollow, originally having had the function of a cinerary urn, and in the interior was found an imported Attic plastic vase of the decade 470-460, seen below left in Giglioli's photograph. This fact clearly shows that Greek works of art could be kept for twenty years or more during which period they were able to serve as models for several Etruscan sculptures. Thus we better understand the simultaneous appearance of the two quite different head types in the same piece of sculpture.

Since Neugebauer in 1924 published his fundamental article on the widely dispersed Etruscan bronze objects with plastic decoration¹, many of which were found at Vulci, it has been customary to regard that town as the seat of Etruria's most important bronze industry, the centre that issued the famous tripods, censers, candelabra and other utensils elaborately embellished with figures and ornaments. One of the finest Vulcian bronzes is the tripod British Museum no. 587, of the years shortly before 470². Over each of the vertical or hairpin-shaped supports there are plastic groups: animal combats, a couple of sileni, two youths with winged boots, and Hercules in the company of a woman. Signora Zancani-Montuoro has made it highly plausible that groups as the latter three formed a whole and represented a Greek myth of Hera attacked by sileni, but

¹ K. A. NEUGEBAUER, in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, Berlin 1923/24, p. 301-326; *id.* in *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* LVIII, Berlin 1943, p. 206-278. For other views, see W. L. BROWN, *The Etruscan Lion*, Oxford 1960, p. 95 note 1. Cf. however, P. J. RIIS, in *Gnomon* XXXV, Munich 1963, p. 207.

² *Monumenti dell' Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica* III, Rome 1834-38, pl. 43. H. B. WALTERS, *Catalogue of the Bronzes in the British Museum*, Greek, Roman and Etruscan, London 1899, p. 85 no. 587. P. J. RIIS, in *Acta Archaeologica* X, Copenhagen 1939, p. 23-28 no. 15; *id.*, *Tyrrhenika* p. 78, pl. 14.4.

defended by Herakles¹. As to type, the woman and the youths are less advanced than the bald-headed one of the sileni, who has Late Archaic Attic relatives, e.g. on vases by the Kleophrades Painter, and the head of the other silenus even resembles that of the terracotta Zeus with Ganymedes found in Olympia and belonging to the second quarter of the 5th century. The Hercules is wearing the lion skin drawn over his head and tightly fitting to his trunk as if it were a nicely buttoned morning-coat. This type of Hercules had been in vogue in Vulci and other towns of Etruria since the 520's, at which time—and apparently before its occurrence elsewhere—we also meet, both in Vulcian bronzework and pottery, and often together with Hercules, a peculiar female figure². Over her clothes she has a goat skin with horns, and it is worn in more or less the same way as the lion's hide by Hercules. She is armed, and in some cases she evidently is his partner in the same story as on the London tripod; accordingly she must be Uni, the Etruscan counterpart of Hera. In a similar form she was worshipped in Latin Lanuvium under the name of Juno Sospita Mater Regina; her statue there seems to be reproduced on Roman coins of the 1st century B. C.³. A Juno the Queen received cult also in Etruscan Veii before the Roman conquest in 392.

¹ P. ZANCANI-MONTUORO, in *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene* XXIV-XXVI (VIII-X), Bergamo 1946-48 (1950), p. 85-98. Cf. ROSCHER, *op. cit.* I 2, 1886-90, p. 2235; IV, 1909-15, p. 467, fig. 6.

² RIIS, *Tyrrhenika* p. 81, n. 2; 178 n. 5 no. 2. PALLOTTINO & JUCKER, *op. cit.*, p. 15; pl. 54-56. RIIS, *op. cit.* p. 178 n. 5 no. 1. H. B. WALTERS, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum* II, London 1893, p. 66-67 no. B 57. P. DUCATI, *Pontische Vasen*, Berlin 1932, p. 14-15 no. III 5; pl. 13. HAMPE & SIMON, *op. cit.* p. 5, 24; pl. 6.1, by the Paris Painter.

³ *American Journal of Archaeology* LXIII, Princeton 1959, p. 4-6; pl. 4.1-12 and 5.7-8. Cf. ROSCHER, *loc. cit.*, and the inscription *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* ² I 2, Berlin 1918, p. 617 no. 1430. On some of the coins, e. g. *American Journal of Archaeology*, *loc. cit.*; pl. 4.3-4, the head of the goddess looks like Classical Etruscan works of the time 450-350.

It we turn to South Etruria Caere will offer the richest material, and it is now amply supplemented by the sensational recent excavations, directed by Professor Massimo Pallottino, at Pyrgi, where was in Antiquity one of the ports of Caere¹. The new finds have tempted me to reconsider our entire stock of archaic and classical architectural terracottas from Southern Etruria, Latium and the Faliscan District; for in Pyrgi there were both unfamiliar types which fill out certain lacunae in our series, and also well-known ones which never before appeared in the Caeretan publications. Thus we must be extremely grateful to the lucky excavators for having presented us with some missing links. A revision of the material may enable us to establish at least three separate typological double-series, each of them composed of a male and a female range, and if one pays attention to the finding-places, particularly those of the Early and Ripe Archaic specimens of the series, it will appear justified to give the three series geographical names and to regard the individual series as sort of pedigrees and representing special artistic traditions or schools (fig. 2). The first of these traditions has its roots in Caere and is therefore labelled "Caeretan", the second one called "Latin" seems to issue from Central Latium, the third may be named "Veiento-Faliscan" as it originated in Veii and apparently continued in Falerii. But much of all this falls outside the subject of my lecture to-day, and I shall confine myself to stressing the principal peculiarities of the three traditions and naming some examples of the Late Archaic and Classical times. In this period the predominant female types of the Caeretan series had the hair arranged in scallops and later in fine waves; at the beginning of the period those with a hair fringe were preferred in Latium. Characteristic Caeretan

¹ *Notizie degli Scavi* XIII, Rome 1959, p. 143-263. *Archeologia Classica* XVI, Rome 1964, p. 49-117. *Studi Romani* XIII, Rome 1965, p. 1-15. *Studi Etruschi* XXXIII, Florence 1965, p. 191-235. *Archaeology* XIX, Vermont 1966, p. 11-23.

male heads have snail-curls and a simple or wavy moustache, whereas usually the ends of a Latin moustache are split into two. It is difficult to find a sharp division between the Latin tradition and the Caeretan. Exportation from Latium to Caere cannot be precluded, but perhaps the true reason is that prototypes unknown to us existed at Caere. Veientan female hair is scalloped or waved as at Caere, but more sharply modelled, and the male heads have mostly plain, sometimes dropping moustaches, and often a mouche under the mouth¹.

As will be known from the preliminary publications, two temples named A and B were unearthed at Pyrgi². A, the one towards the North-West, is of the traditional Etruscan, so-called Tuscan type; but for B, the south-eastern one, which is the earliest of the two, the Greek peripteral scheme was employed³. In itself a peripteros is an indicium of a very strong Greek influence, and up

¹ Already A. ANDRÉN, *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples*, Lund 1939-40, compared certain types represented in Rome with specimens found at Velitrae and Veii, taking all of them for Veientan by origin, *ibid.* p. cxix-cxxi, cl-cli: Rome, Palatine I 4-6, 8-9, Forum Romanum I 7 and 10, Capitolium I 5-6 and Esquiline I 1, Velitrae I 1-5 and 13, Veii, Sporadic Finds 1-2. Others from Rome he compared with pieces from Satricum, Signia, Velitrae and Falerii and believed that at least in some of the cases the types were created in the latter town, *ibid.* p. clxvi-clxvii, clxxvii: Rome, Esquiline I 3, Satricum II 7, Falerii, Celle I 1 — Rome, Palatine I 11, Satricum II 8, Signia I 2, Velitrae I 11, Falerii, Sassi Caduti I 5 and Vignale Maggiore, mould b, Uncertain Provenance I 4; variant: Satricum II 9 — Falerii, Sassi Caduti I 6-7, Vignale Maggiore I 3-4 and Vignale Minore I 2 — Caere III 15, Antemnae, Norba 6, Signia I 4, Satricum II 10, Uncertain Provenance I 17-20, Falerii, Sassi Caduti I 9 and Vignale Maggiore, mould c. Others again he put together without saying anything on the home of the type, *ibid.* p. clxxii-clxxiii: Velitrae I 10, Veii, Falerii, Vignale Minore I 3, cf. Praeneste II 2 and Caere III 12 — Caere III 13, Veii, and Narce 1.

² *Archeologia Classica* XVI, Rome 1964, pl. 25. *Studi Etruschi* XXXIII, Florence 1965, pl. 1 (plan of actual remains) and 2 (restored plan). *Archaeology* XIX, Vermont 1966, p. 14, fig. 3 (restored plan).

³ As my manuscript for this lecture was written before the Pyrgi campaign of 1966 I had no possibility of taking the most recent finds into consideration.







































		CAERE				LATIUM				VEII & FALERII					
		♀		♂		♀		♂		♀		♂			
525-00	Late archaic													500 ?	
															
															
															
															
475-50	Early classical													470-65 ?	
															
															
425-00															

Fig. 2. Facial types of South-Etruscan and Latin terracottas.

Drawn by Mr. Poul Christensen, Copenhagen.

till now this building and Temple II at Satricum are the only early Central Italian ones. It seems that the now already famous Etruscan and Phoenician inscriptions on the gold scrolls buried between the temples refer to a "Holy Place" in Temple B, a dedication by the Caeretan king Thefarie Velianas to the goddess Uni or Juno, who was identified with the Phoenician Astarte. The details of the lettering and the language place the inscriptions not later than about 415-400, so that this date becomes a terminus ante quem for the temple¹. Supposing that the temple was finished in the decade 500-490 we cannot be far from truth. The acroteria in the shape of female figures, among them Amazons, strongly resemble some terracottas from a temple at Caere itself, found in 1869 in the Vigna Marini-Vitalini, and of which two important lots already in the last century came to Copenhagen and Berlin. If we consider the proportions and the modelling of the preserved female face from Pyrgi, particularly the curls over the forehead it will be evident that this type of face is the counterpart of the sileni and other similar males from the old find².

A more advanced stage in the archaic development at Caere is marked by a couple of shell antefixes in Berlin and Copenhagen³, and next come two antefixes in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek and a rather badly restored one in the Louvre; the hair of the latter corresponds to that of the

¹ A. PFIFFIG, *Uni-Hera-Astarte, Studien zu den Goldblechen von Santa Severa/Pyrgi: mit etruskischer und punischer Inschrift*, in Denkschriften der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil. Hist. Kl. LXXXVIII 2, Vienna 1965.

² *Archaeologia Classica* XVI, Rome 1964, pl. 32-33. *Archaeology* XIX, Vermont 1966, p. 15, fig. 6-7. Cf. ANDRÉN, *op. cit.*, p. 34-35, 37-45, pl. 10-13: Caere II 13, 14, 17, 18 and 20. *Etruscan Culture, Land and People, Archaeological Research... in San Giovenale*, Malmö 1962, pl. 44.

³ ANDRÉN, *op. cit.*, p. 49-50, pl. 17, 52-53: Caere III 8 and 7. *Etruscan Culture etc.*, pl. 42.

female Olympia sculptures and similar Attic terracottas¹. If we make one more step in the same direction we arrive at the stage of the Temple A at Pyrgi². Again, it is the Pyrgi excavations which yield a valuable dating, for during the 1965 campaign, as Professor Pallottino kindly told me, a fragment of an Attic red-figured vase of the transition between Archaic and Early Classical times was unearthed in the foundation pit of Temple A. Accordingly, the terminus post quem for the latter is roughly spoken 475 B. C., which means that its terracottas should be placed to the second quarter of the 5th century. What makes Temple A particularly interesting is a large relief with a combat between gods and giants which adorned the end of the ridge-pole beam³. We see the remains of four figures in different planes behind each other, in the background Minerva in a rather quiet position facing the onlooker, still in a way twisted around the vertical axis, a motif which distantly recalls that of Myron's Athena. The god in chiton and cloak striding in front of her must be Juppiter; below, a third deity is fighting a giant. The latter three figures are all bearded, and their faces, as that of Minerva and fragments of others, whose places in the relief have not yet been determined, are firmly rooted in the Caeretan tradition as exemplified in the foregoing. In spite of some archaisms the relief must date from the years just before 450, and it is immediately followed by a smaller version of the male Pyrgian antefix type, which was employed in Veii and the Faliscan District, perhaps fashioned over an imported

¹ ANDRÉN, *op. cit.*, p. 51, pl. 18.57: Caere III 11.

² *Notizie degli Scavi* XIII, Rome 1959, p. 189, fig. 40 and 41.2: Pyrgi II 22-23.

³ *Notizie degli Scavi* XIII, Rome 1959, p. 171, fig. 21. E. RICHARDSON, *The Etruscans*, Chicago 1964, pl. 37. *Archaeology* XIX, Vermont 1966, p. 16-18, fig. 8-9.

Caeretan specimen¹; with the ears placed differently it occurred also at Caere itself². Its female counterpart is purely Early Classical; it has a fringy forehead hair, and its finding-places are Caere, Praeneste, Velitrae, Veii and Falerii³.

In Veii we cannot build upon an independent chronological evidence as that of the Pyrgi temples, but have to rely upon style analysis alone. One of the earliest types represented in the Portonaccio sanctuary is a female antefix on which Professor Luisa Banti rightly wrote that it was "not made before 510/00, perhaps later". This head⁴ I should place at the beginning of our period. The temple was of the Tuscan type like Building A at Pyrgi, and along the ridge of its roof the famous Apollo and its counterparts functioned as acroteria⁵. I have already shown you some of the cella paintings, which seem to belong to the years about 480 at the earliest, and that must mean that the building as such was then existing; but of course we cannot a priori tell if the roof figures were put up before or at the same time as the paintings. At any rate the antefixes corresponding to the Apollo and the other roof figures are more advanced than the specimen you saw a moment ago⁶, i.e. after 500. From these descend not only very similar pieces⁷, but apparently also a bald-headed silenus antefix in Boston stated to have

¹ *Notizie degli Scavi* VII, Rome 1953, p. 51-52, fig. 27 c-f, m-n: Veii, ANDRÉN, *op. cit.*, p. 151, pl. 57.189: Narce 1.

² ANDRÉN, *op. cit.*, p. 52, pl. 15.49: Caere III 13.

³ ANDRÉN, *op. cit.*, p. 51-52, 101, 375 and 414; pl. 18.59, 35.120, 116.408 and 129.454: Caere III 12, Falerii, Vignale Minore I 3, Praeneste II 2 and Velitrae I 10, and *Notizie degli Scavi* VII, Rome 1953, p. 51-52, fig. 27 g-h: Veii.

⁴ *Bollettino d'Arte* XXXVII, Rome 1952, p. 156, 159, fig. 27. L. BANTI, *Die Welt der Etrusker*, Stuttgart 1960, p. 42, 274, pl. 35 above.

⁵ *Notizie degli Scavi* VII, Rome 1953, p. 107, fig. 73: plan, cf. the model of a Tuscan temple, *Etruscan Culture* etc., p. 57, fig. 38.

⁶ ANDRÉN, *op. cit.*, p. 6-8: pl. 2.4 and 3, 3.5: Veii 4, 3, 5-6.

⁷ *Notizie degli Scavi* VII, Rome 1953, p. 51-52, fig. 27 i and o.

been found at Veii¹. In between the latter ones seem to fit a couple with rosettes represented only in Faliscan finds² and another silenus type differing but slightly from the said bald-headed specimen³.

Falerii had no tradition of its own as far as architectural terracottas were concerned, and the first local antefixes are made from a mould which has luckily been preserved and is of an other clay than the antefixes⁴. That of the mould recurs in the archaic silenus antefix with rosettes mentioned before; but it is the antefixes made from the preserved mould that are of local clay, and the other clay does not look unlike the Veientan. The mould has not simply a frontal head, but displays a group representing a silenus and a maenad in the Late Archaic style. The facial types of the two figures fit very well into the Veientan series, as does that of another mould.

The Contrada Vignale, where these moulds and one of the antefixes made from it were found, was the ancient acropolis of Falerii. Of course, it is to be expected that a new way of embellishing temples was first introduced there, by means of imported works and probably such as were made at Veii, the nearest Etruscan city of importance. Thus, the Vignale finds give us the clue to the intermingling, and it may not be too far-fetched to attribute also the remains of an exquisite Early Classical series of group antefixes from another local temple site, Sassi Caduti, to a Veientan artist or at least to the Veientan tradition; they too represent

¹ ANDRÉN, *op. cit.*, p. 496-497, pl. 154.520: Uncertain Provenance I 2.

² ANDRÉN, *op. cit.*, p. 95, 100, 102, 112; pl. 29.103 and 102: Falerii, Vignale Maggiore I 4 and 3, Sassi Caduti I 7 and 6, Vignale Minore I 2.

³ ANDRÉN, *op. cit.*, p. 146, 341-342 and 398; pl. 55.179 and 121.427: Falerii, Sporadic Finds I 2, Rome Capitolium I 3, Signia I 3, and *Rendiconti dell' Accademia dei Lincei* XVI, Rome 1961, p. 58-59, pl. 3.1: Rome, Basilica Julia.

⁴ ANDRÉN, *op. cit.*, p. 99, 100-101, 111, pl. 32.111 and 33.114: Falerii, Vignale Maggiore, mould a, Vignale Minore I 1 and Sassi Caduti I 4 b.

something stylistically new at Falerii¹. The ties connecting them with the archaic rosette antefixes and with their bald-headed male descendants are evident, and we may also point out a special feature characteristic of all these as well as of the Portonaccio sculptures, namely the protruding eyes with very marked lids.

At Veii we again meet our old friend Aineias, this time in terracotta, exemplified by three fragmentary votive figurines made in the same mould². Here too he is beardless and carries his father on his left shoulder; but in other respects the type is different: Aineias has greaves on his legs, a round shield on his left arm and a high-crested Attic helmet with the cheek guards cocked upwards, and Anchises is clinging to his neck with both arms. Although the details are somewhat blurred sufficient is seen to enable us to date the type to the second quarter of the 5th century. If local Veientan the facial features of Anchises should be compared with those of the bald-headed silenus antefix in Boston, whereas Aineias may recall the beardless Sassi Caduti heads.

We may now proceed to Latium. The architectural terracottas once more help us to form an idea of the artistic development. A Latin tradition was actually existing already in the 6th century, as far as can be gathered from finds at Satricum, Lanuvium and Praeneste, and on the verge to the Late Archaic period we have a female antefix from Tibur with the fringy forehead hair characteristic of a Ripe Archaic type from Praeneste³. Very similar, but slightly later is a head from Tre Fontane near Rome⁴, and

¹ ANDRÉN, *op. cit.*, p. 109-111; pl. 37-38. 125-128: Falerii, Sassi Caduti I 3 a-q.

² *Le Arti* I, Florence 1938/39, p. 402-403, pl. 126-127. *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica di Roma* LXIX, Rome 1941, *Bullettino del Museo dell'Impero* p. 1-16, p. 8, fig. 1, pl. 1-2a and 2b: two specimens from the Portonaccio sanctuary, one from that of the Contrada Campetti.

³ ANDRÉN, *op. cit.*, p. 370, pl. 114.402: Tibur I 1.

⁴ P. E. ARIAS, *Storia della scultura romana*, Messina 1941, p. 13-14, pl. 1.1.

then follows a piece with scalloped hair, from Praeneste and now in the American Academy at Rome ; I am much indebted to Professor Frank Brown for information and a photograph ¹.

As I maintained several years ago, the first terracotta series of the sanctuary of Mater Matuta at Satricum (Temple I A) was imported from Capua or made in Capuan moulds in the Early Archaic period. Apart from casual renewals the next was a local and somewhat provincial set from a complete rebuilding in the Ripe Archaic period, put up when a colonnade was added (Temple I B), and the third series was that of the later peripteros ; but evidently this temple had originally a rather narrow peristasis (II A) and was later provided with the wider one (II B), to which probably the famous groups of maenads and uncouth sileni belong ². As was already realized by Della Seta a safe for the dating of the peripteral temple is given through the fact that its terracotta series included representations of Greeks fighting Amazons and other Orientals, among them at least one Persian³; but it is impossible to say for the moment whether this figure belonged to Temple II A or II B. Combats with Persians, Amazons and Centaurs were popular themes in Greek art after the victories at Salamis and Plataiai, and no doubt we may regard the Satricum series as a reflexion of such Hellenic representations, so much the more because we also find a Centaur painted on the shield of one of the Greeks ⁴. At Satricum a silenus head with split moustache, related to the type of the group antefixes, was matched with a female head wearing a helmet

¹ ANDRÉN, *op. cit.*, p. 375, pl. 116.407 : Praeneste II 1.

² *Acta Archaeologica* XII, Copenhagen 1941, p. 67-69, fig. 1-6, cf. ANDRÉN, *op. cit.*, p. 453-457, fig. 39. *Studi Etruschi* XXXIII, Florence 1965, p. 192-197, pl. 1.

³ A. DELLA SETA, *Museo di Villa Giulia*, Rome 1918, p. 272 ad no. 10045. ANDRÉN, *op. cit.*, p. 462, 464, fig. 43 : Satricum II 2 g.

⁴ ANDRÉN, *op. cit.*, p. 461-462, pl. 141.492 : Satricum II 1.

with goat's horns and ears, evidently the same Juno whom we already met in Vulcian art of the late 6th century, and there also connected with *sileni*; thus these antefix couples may allude to the same Greek myth as the bronzes¹. As an antefix type this Juno seems to have had predecessors in the Caeretan tradition, likewise represented in Satricum and used on the Ripe Archaic Temple I B already², and in the Veientan series³.

The typologically latest stage in the Satricum range is marked by a *silenus* with split moustache ending in curls; the same type was found at Velitrae, Lavinium, Falerii and Rome⁴. It is subarchaic, Early Classical, and corresponds to the bald-headed Boston *silenus* from Veii, but nevertheless it does not seem to have belonged to Temple II B, where the antefixes were whole figures and not heads. I suppose that this *silenus* type was a substitute used secondarily on Temple II A, to whose original set I should rather ascribe the earlier head antefix with split moustache without curls. That would mean that Temple II A was built and II B with its whole-figure antefixes strongly recalling the head antefixes

¹ ANDRÉN, *op. cit.*, p. 468-469, pl. 145.505 and 508: Satricum II 7 and 10.

² ANDRÉN, *op. cit.*, p. 52, 112, 387, 398-399, 469, 502-503, pl. 156.522: Caere III 15, Falerii, Sassi Caduti I 9, Norba 6, Signia I 4, Satricum II 10 (smaller variety), Uncertain Provenance I 17, 18 and 20. *Rendiconti dell'Accademia dei Lincei* XVI, Rome 1961, p. 58-59, pl. 3.2: Rome, Basilica Julia. Cf. the Caeretan types, ANDRÉN, *op. cit.*, p. 33-34, 48 pl. 9.30 and 18.54: Caere II 11 c and III 5. E. GJERSTAD, *Early Rome* III, Lund 1960, p. 90, fig. 57: Rome, Palatine.

³ ANDRÉN, *op. cit.*, p. 99, 502-503, pl. 32.113 and 156.524: Falerii, Vignale Maggiore, mould c, Uncertain Provenance I 19, cf. p. 6-7, pl. 2.4: Veii 4.

⁴ ANDRÉN, *op. cit.*, p. 468, 414, 88, 99, 112, 330, 497; pl. 145.506, 27.95, 32.113, 157.535: Satricum II 8, Velitrae I 11, Falerii, Celle I 1, Vignale Maggiore, mould b, Sassi Caduti I 5, Rome, Palatine I 11, Uncertain Provenance I 4. — An unpublished specimen from Lavinium in the Castello Borghese at Pratica di Mare. — *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica di Roma* LXIX, Rome 1941, *Bullettino del Museo dell'Impero* p. 91-92, fig. 9. GJERSTAD, *op. cit.*, III, p. 88-89, fig. 56.9, 188-189, fig. 119.1-2: Rome, Palatine and east slope of Capitol. Though a mould was found at Falerii, the type is not Faliscan.

of II A planned before the creation of the "curly" type, but completed after this date, and that accordingly the preparing and realization of the rebuilding for some reason or other (war perhaps?) took some time¹. Therefore I should prefer to date the completion of Temple II B after ca. 465.

It is on this wide background of South Etruscan and Latin works of art that we have to review the rather scarce Roman finds of the period. The Capitoline Juppiter temple was mainly a work of the preceding century to judge from the Ripe Archaic terracotta friezes found on or near the site, but there is one more precious fragment, of an antefix whose discovery on the temple site leaves no doubt as to its belonging to the structure. It is a bald-headed silenus head of the type with a dropping moustache, which I would now take for Veientan and date after 470/65, at least not before 490². It may be a sign that the roof was not finished when the temple was dedicated in 509, but it may of course also be taken as evidence of a repair. However, it is no isolated indication of 5th century work on the temple, for another fragment from the Capitol corresponds to the palmette-and-lotus friezes of Satricum Temple II B and thus leads us down to the same time as the silenus³.

Probably from the temple of the Dioscuri or Castor, consecrated in 484, we may have two fragments of antefixes, a silenus and a Juno, found under that end of the Basilica Julia which is facing the Castor temple⁴. The silenus is of the same, perhaps Veientan type as the Capitoline one just

¹ When the narrow peristasis of Temple II A was demolished, the roof tiles could, of course, be re-used for the temporary roofing of the cella during the building of the new and wider peristasis; but some of them may have been broken during the work and substitutes therefore needed.

² GJERSTAD, *op. cit.*, III, p. 188-189, fig. 119.3-4.

³ A. Muñoz, *Campidoglio*, Rome 1930, p. 11, fig. 7. GJERSTAD, *op. cit.*, III, p. 202 and 204, fig. 128.1.

⁴ *Rendiconti dell'Accademia dei Lincei* XVI, Rome 1961, p. 58-59, pl. 3.1-2.

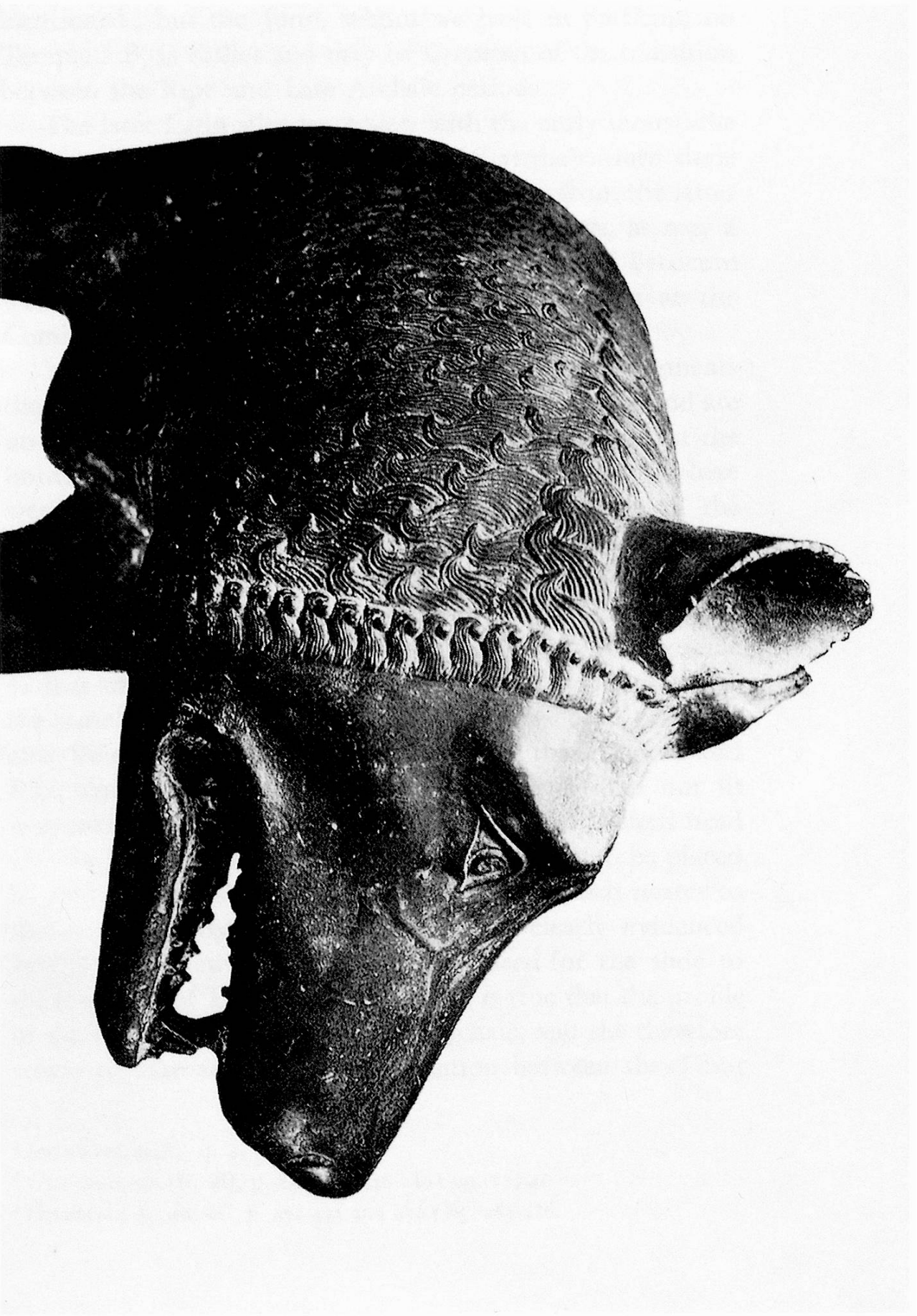


Fig. 3. Right profile of the Capitoline She-Wolf.

By Courtesy of the Direzione dei Musei Capitolini.

mentioned ; but the Juno, whom we have in Satricum on Temple I B, is earlier and may be Caeretan of the transition between the Ripe and Late Archaic periods.

The later Latin silenus version with the curly moustache is represented both on the Palatine and at the eastern slope of the Capitol near the Comitium ¹. The one from the latter place may have come from a repair of the Curia, as may a female head from a group antefix like those of Satricum Temple II B, found during the old excavations at the Comitium ².

Notwithstanding the interest offered by these fragments the most important Roman terracotta finds of the period are no doubt those from the sacral area at S. Omobono, at the border of the Forum Boarium. Also in this sanctuary there were employed Ripe Archaic Veientan friezes as on the Capitoline temple, but more exciting are the remains of two small statues, a Minerva and a Hercules ³. The head of the Minerva is preserved, but of her male counterpart we have now only the trunk and the left thigh. The clay is the same as that of the Ripe Archaic friezes, but in Velitrae, where the same slabs occurred, the belonging antefix type, probably also Veientan, was evidently earlier than the Minerva and Ripe Archaic. Still, the Omobono Minerva does not fit very well into the Veientan series between the Velletri head and the Portonaccio terracottas, where it ought to be placed if really Veientan. In my opinion it comes much nearer to the females of Satricum Temple II B, as clearly evidenced by the front views ; I owe the photos used for the slide to the kindness of Professor Gjerstad. It is true that the profile of the Minerva is somewhat more archaic, and she therefore seems to take an intermediate position between the Tibur

¹ See above, p. 85, n. 4.

² GJERSTAD, *op. cit.*, III, p. 244 and 248-249 ; fig. 155.4.

³ GJERSTAD, *op. cit.*, III, p. 452-453 and 456 ; fig. 283-286.

antefix with the fringy forehead hair and the Satricum girls. If we check this placing into the Latin series by means of a comparison with Greek works we shall find that—in spite of its Ionisms—it can hardly be earlier than the head no. 696 from the Athenian Acropolis¹. By Schrader this marble was dated about 500, by Payne about 490, and that the “Ionic” smile still occurred in the Athens of the early 5th century is shown by the sculpture no. 687 of about 490², which in the modelling of the features, also in profile, corresponds rather closely to the Minerva. Accordingly the latter should not be put before 490, and the same dating is in fact also recommended by its place in our Latin series. Evidently the Ionisms of the figure provide us only with a terminus post quem.

So much for the Latin terracottas. I still have to mention three bronzes from Latium, but I quite deliberately desist from commenting upon those Roman works of art which we know from written sources alone, as we cannot say anything for certain about their style, at least not enough to place them into the right stylistic context.

The first bronze is a head from Aricia, now in the Glyptothek of Copenhagen, to which museum it came from the collection of the Spanish cardinal Despuig³. Elsewhere I shall in detail explain that this head may be regarded as a remainder of Diana’s famous cult image at Nemi which Professor Alföldi has persuaded us to recognize in the representations on certain denarii issued in 43 B. C.⁴. If

¹ H. PAYNE & G. M. YOUNG, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, London s. a., p. 38-40, pl. 82-83.1, H. SCHRADER, *Die archaischen Marmorwerke der Akropolis*, Frankfurt 1939, p. 61-62 no. 20, pl. 29.

² PAYNE & YOUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 71, pl. 92.1 and 4. SCHRADER, *op. cit.*, p. 59 and 61 no. 19, pl. 28.

³ F. POULSEN, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Ancient Sculpture*, Copenhagen 1951, p. 46-47 no. 29.

⁴ *American Journal of Archaeology* LXIV, Princeton 1960, p. 137-144, pl. 31-34. A. ALFÖLDI, *Early Rome and the Latins*, Ann Arbor 1965, p. 47-55, pl. 1.1-3.

my identification is right we now have a much better basis for obtaining a safe dating than by means of the busts on the obverses of the coins. As to style there is no direct connection between the bronze head and the Latin terracottas just discussed, and I still stick to regarding the Aricia-Nemi head as Vulcian of the Late Archaic period ¹. The corkscrew curls are three-dimensional to the same degree as those of a marble from the Athenian Acropolis, no. 621, which the best authorities date to the years about 500 or the very beginning of the 5th century ². This is the Greek stage of development reflected by the Etruscan head, and the latter must then be placed to the following decade at the earliest, a date which in fact is also implied by its Vulcian parallels. Such a placing, however, differs from that assigned by Professor Alföldi to the original of the coin images, and, therefore, the historical conclusions to be drawn from the bronze head cannot be the same; but the inscription recording the dedication of the *Lucus Dianius*, the Holy Grove of Diana, does not mention any statue, and it is not at all to be taken as granted that the grove and the cult image were consecrated at one and the same time ³.

The second bronze which I am going to mention is the so-called *Sciarra Youth*, also in the Copenhagen Glyptothek ⁴.

¹ RIIS, *Tyrrhenika* p. 61, 89, pl. 11.1 and 17.1. A. DE RIDDER, *Les bronzes antiques du Louvre* I, Paris 1913, p. 8 no. 3, pl. 2. *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art*, Musée du Louvre III, Paris 1938, pl. 99 E. PALLOTTINO & JUCKER, *op. cit.*, p. 18, pl. 68. Cf. RIIS, *Tyrrhenika*, p. 78, tripods 13 and 15, p. 79 no. B 5. PALLOTTINO & JUCKER, *op. cit.*, p. 21, pl. 81.

² PAYNE & YOUNG, *op. cit.*, pl. 103 no. 621. SCHRADER, *op. cit.*, p. 231-233 no. 315, pl. 142.

³ *American Journal of Archaeology* LXIV, Princeton 1960, p. 143-144, ALFÖLDI, *op. cit.*, p. 48-55.

⁴ F. POULSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 45-46 no. 28. RIIS, *Tyrrhenika* p. 29-30, pl. 4.1. *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* IV, Berlin 1951, p. 32-34. *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, Berlin 1954, p. 233. *Athenische Mitteilungen* LXXI, Berlin 1956, p. 150, note 4. P. J. RIIS, *Den etruskiske kunst* ², Copenhagen 1962,

It was found about 1642 on the Janiculum in Rome, when the ramparts were renewed by Pope Urban VIII of the Barberini family, and thus it came into the possession of the latter and from them to the Sciarra. Its most extraordinary feature is the feathering which covers the hair; but it has been plausibly suggested that the youth originally wore a cap in the shape of a swan's neck like certain Etruscan boy figures which have been interpreted as rural deities related to the Roman Lares. In the right hand of the statue we must reconstruct an offering-bowl, in the left a wine jug or the like. There is unanimity among art historians about the date; it is a typical work of the Early Classical style, of the decade 470-460. Some have taken it for a work of Magna Graecia; but I think that the nearest relatives are Caeretan of the years shortly before 450, e. g. the Minerva on Temple A at Pyrgi and the female antefix type with fringy forehead hair of roughly the same time ¹.

To conclude this survey of early 5th century art in Central Italy I take as my last example the most famous of all Etrusco-Latin materpieces, the "Lupa Capitolina" ². Friedrich Matz has given us a particularly acute analysis of its style, in the *David M. Robinson Festschrift* of 1951. The result obtained by him is that the wolf is a Central Italian work of the first half of the 5th century, and rather of the second quarter than of the first, and that it is closely related to bronzes which have been attributed to Tarquinii and Vulci. I myself find Matz's observations conclusive and have very little to add ³. I feel that the wolf is more likely to be

p. 128-129, fig. 74; *Etruscan Culture etc.*, p. 373, fig. 459-460, pl. 50. Furtwängler, Bulle, Langlotz and Curtius held it for South-Italian.

¹ See above, p. 80, n. 3 and 81, n. 3.

² *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson I*, Saint-Louis 1951, p. 754-760, pl. 93 a-b, with reference i. a. to Riis, *Tyrrhenika*, pl. 17.2.

³ Riis, *Tyrrhenika*, p. 30-31; *Etruscan Art*, Copenhagen 1953, p. 66-67, 70, pl. 35.54; *Den etruskiske kunst* ², Copenhagen 1962, p. 114-115, fig. 63.

a Central Etruscan than a Veientan work, and I may venture the step to ascribe the statue to a workshop in Vulci. With regard to its date one small, but significant detail seems to have been overlooked: The upper lid of the right eye intersects the lower lid (fig. 3), and the same may have been intended with the left eye; but there the intersection does not come out clearly. Now, this detail is a characteristic which we do not meet at all in Archaic art. It belongs to the naturalism emerging at the end of the Early Classical period, particularly as conceived in the workshop of Phidias¹. This would lead us to the very years about 450.

Here I must stop, having tried to provide you with a chronology which in my opinion is far safer than what you will find in several hand-books and catalogues. The attributions to local schools are, in fact, much more problematic than the dating; until new excavations and—above all—exhaustive publication of the old excavations, bring us over the dead point, considerable uncertainty will reign. This is one of the reasons why the views of competent archaeologists still differ so greatly.

¹ Cassel Apollo: *From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek* III, Copenhagen 1942, p. 37, fig. 4. — Lemnia: A. FURTWÄNGLER, *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik*, Leipzig-Berlin 1893, pl. 3. — Parthenos: P. ARNDT & W. AMELUNG, *Photographische Einzelaufnahmen antiker Sculpturen* XIII, Munich 1932, p. 56 no. 3845-3847. Cf. *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* LV, Berlin 1940, p. 231, note 1. — Metopes, frieze and pediments of the Parthenon: *ibid.*, p. 230, fig. 48; p. 231, fig. 50. F. BROMMER, *Die Skulpturen der Parthenon-Giebel*, Mainz 1963, pl. 94.1 and 95.1. The Parthenon sculptures, being Greek originals, present, of course, the best evidence.

DISCUSSION

M. Brown: This summer's excavations at Pyrgi have shown that the temple B is not a peripteros, but more equal to the Etruscan and Italic temple.

Further, I would like to ask you where you place the Palladium published by Paribeni in the *Bolletino d'Arte*.

M. Riis: As to the Palladium I have not seen it myself (now also mentioned in *AJA* LXIX 1965, pp. 359-360, pl. 87). The head is held to be Attic of the late 6th Century B.C., but may have belonged to a statue, which came to Rome in Late Republican or Imperial times. As to the temple from Pyrgi, we must then accept the fact that Satricum has the only early peripteros in central Italy.

M. Brown: You assume a quite brisk activity in the second quarter of the 5th century B.C. Do you connect this with the possibility of a beginning of the Roman republic in this same period?

M. Riis: By this matter I would like to be extremely cautious; but something concerning early Roman *history* might be indicated by the finds in the area of S. Omobono.

M. Momigliano: By any account the early fifth century B.C. is a very creative period of Roman history. If we accept Gjerstad's chronology of political events, we are entitled to identify it with Servius Tullius' period of reforms. But if we keep the traditional chronology and think that the early V century is the period of the struggles between patricians and plebeians, then we may connect the artistic and religious developments of the time with the rise of the plebs. I shall try in my paper to emphasize the creativeness of the plebeians in this period.

M. Brown:*The temple of the Castores, built 484 B.C., constituted one of the corners of the Forum. It is possible that

these things on the Forum happened earlier, not about 450 B.C. but about 480 B.C.

M. Riis: The *lupa* is best understood as having been put up about the middle of the century.

M. Alföldi: Concerning the original location and purpose of the statue of the *lupa*, there are two important analogies: the representation of the myth of origin of Lavinium by a statuary group on the market-place of that city with the figures of an eagle, a she-wolf and a fox; further on, the statue of the *porca cum triginta porcellis* in Lavinium and in all likelihood in all the member-cities of the Latin confederacy. In this case, the originally cultic purpose of this statuary group is well established by the *Lares grundules* in Rome.

M. Wieacker: Are we perhaps to see the *lupa* as a symbol of the *new* republic, or rather as a relict from Etruscan times?

M. Riis: Rather as a dedication dating from the beginning of the Republic. Similarly, the Capitoline temple of the Tarquins and the Olympieion at Akragas—both extraordinary big structures showing the arrogance of the builders—may be taken as instances of political manifestations.

M. Momigliano: Do you think the *lupa* stood in a temple?

M. Riis: If a cult-image, it would, being of bronze, rather have stood in the open; but it might, of course, have been a votive offering.

M. Gjerstad: I would like to return to the chronological problem of the sculptures from the area of S. Omobono. The frieze adorning the temple of Fortuna and Mater Matuta was made in moulds dating from the late 6th century, but the Minerva akroterion dates from the early 5th century, as shown by Riis. This forms no chronological conflict: the moulds were sometimes used for a long time, and we have to date the temple from its latest terracottas. An analogous phenomenon is shown by the Velletri terracottas: the same frieze as that from S. Omobono is there combined with antefixes considered to date from the early 5th century.

M. Riis: In Velletri the friezes and antefixes are, in my opinion, contemporaneous; but one should be careful with the dating of architectural terracottas in Etruria and Latium, for it is certain that the *moulds* could be used for a long time.

M. Alföldi: How long do you suppose moulds would exist?

M. Riis: That depends in the first place on how *often* a mould was used.

M. Brown: The question is also how many moulds there were.

M. Heurgon: Il est certain que le moule d'une antéfixe à Capoue, datant du cinquième siècle, a encore été employé au quatrième (cf. Heurgon, *Etudes sur les inscriptions « iuvilas »*, Paris 1942, p. 45).

M. Brown: A most important point is also the *form* of the mould: the flatter it is, the less are its chances to be broken.

M. Hanell: Ich möchte hier vor allem die überragende Wichtigkeit der *Datierung* betonen und, in diesem Zusammenhang, meine Dankbarkeit für die von Professor Riis vorgenommenen Datierungen aussprechen.

Ich nehme an, dass die *Wölfin* des Kapitols einige Bedeutung für die *Geschichte* haben kann.

Es ist sehr wichtig, das klarzumachen, was wir mit dem Wort *Republik* meinen. Ich bin der Ansicht, dass es bedeutet, dass die etruskische Herrschaft durch die patrizische ersetzt wurde. Nun kann aber die patrizische Herrschaft ein Zurückgreifen auf die Vergangenheit bedeuten. Dann ist es aber möglich, dass gerade damals beim Beginn der Republik ein *altes* Symbol wiedereingeführt wurde.

M. Momigliano: One has no means to discover what connection, if any, the Romans saw between the *lupa* and the political events of about 450 (if this is the date of the statue we have). Why should the *lupa* be relevant only to the beginnings of the Roman Republic and not—say—to the decemvirate or to the *rogatio Canuleia*?

M. Heurgon: La question qui vient d'être débattue entre M. Alföldi et M. Riis — à savoir si la louve capitoline ne compor-

terait pas une signification politique plus acceptable au début de la République romaine que sous la monarchie étrusque (or M. Riis la date d'environ 450) — me rappelle qu'hier déjà la construction de la *Regia* à la fin du VI^e siècle a pu paraître comme la réaffirmation de traditions non-étrusques et proprement romaines. Il semble donc qu'au début de la République, une renaissance de l'esprit romain se soit manifestée, mais celle-ci n'excluait pas la persistance des influences étrusques. La forte empreinte étrusque de la civilisation romaine dans la première moitié du V^e siècle ne me paraît pas prouver que Rome était encore soumise aux Tarquins. 509 — selon la chronique traditionnelle — est l'année de l'expulsion des rois (*post reges exactos*), mais non d'une rupture avec le monde étrusque. Jamais les historiens latins n'ont eu le sentiment que les Tarquins étaient issus d'un peuple étranger, ethniquement différent, dont leur révolution politique les libérait en même temps que d'un régime abhorré. Si Tarquin l'Ancien était dit par Tite-Live *ne Italicae quidem stirpis* (I 40, 2), c'est qu'il était fils de Démarate de Corinthe. Chasser les Tarquins, établir la République, ne signifiait donc en aucune mesure se refuser à la seule civilisation qui dominât alors l'Italie centrale, la civilisation étrusque; celle-ci ne cesserait de s'exercer à Rome qu'au milieu du siècle lorsqu'elle entrerait en décadence dans ses propres foyers créateurs.

M. Riis : I want to add one more remark about the *dating* of the wolf. One should be careful to date too quickly on account of just one or two uncharacteristic details, as for instance the ribs. At any rate, I cannot accept the early dating of the *lupa* (last quarter of the 6th century B.C.). In my opinion, Matz is right in placing it to the second quarter of the 5th century B.C., at the earliest.

M. Wieacker : Ich möchte dies allgemeiner auf Grund der XII Tafeln bestätigen : der Hintergrund zeigt einen Einfluss ganz neuer griechischer Rechtsgedanken, die wohl aus Grossgriechenland stammen. Aber auch wenn wir das anerkennen, so ist es doch *nicht* nachweisbar, dass hier *absichtlich* der etruskische Einfluss zurückgedrängt worden ist.

M. Alföldi weist hin auf die Wölfin auf einer Stele in Bologna, die ein Kind säugt. M. Riis ascribes this monument to the second half of the fifth century B.C. M. Alföldi weist noch auf die erste Abbildung der Wölfin auf einer Münze, einen silbernen Denarius (Syd. 781 A).

M. Gjerstad: In the discussion of to-day it has been said that there is no evidence for the expulsion of the Etruscans, but only for the expulsion of the Etruscan kings. Quite true: neither the ancient sources, nor the modern scholars have said anything else. On the other hand if the Etruscan names in the *Fasti* of the first half of the 5th century are only considered to prove that there were Etruscans in Rome, but no Etruscan kings, I cannot agree. I must emphasize what I have said before: these Etruscans of the Roman *Fasti* are not private persons, they are Roman chief magistrates, they appear in two distinct groups chronologically associated with the two Tarquins according to my chronology, and their disappearance about the middle of the 5th century indicates the expulsion of the last Etruscan king at that time. There were Etruscans as private persons in Rome after that date, but they were *not* Roman magistrates. Prof. Gabba said in the discussion after my lecture that the second group of Etruscan magistrates in Rome contains only a few names. Yes, but enough to supply evidence for my opinion. I have emphasized that Rome even during the reigns of the Etruscan kings remained a Latin city. It is astonishing that the number of Etruscan magistrates is not less than it is.

M. Waszink might bring forward the fact that most clearly there are not only Etruscan loan-words in Latin, but also Latin loan-words in Etruscan (e.g. macstru, the Indo-European magister; vgl. weiter z. B. Latte, Römische Religionsgeschichte, 149); this shows that we should rather think of an interpenetration than of a domination.

M. Hanell: Die etruskische Sprache sowie die etruskische Kultur sind sicher nicht gleichzeitig mit den Königen aus Rom verschwunden; aber doch muss man unter der neuen Patrizierherrschaft mit einem Zurückgehen des etruskischen Einflusses rechnen.