# THE MASTER OF FLORENCE WARRIOR 586

(Con le tavole XIV-XVIII f.t.)

The elongated warrior figure no. 586 in Florence's Archaeological Museum has long been cited as a prime example of Etrusco-Italian bronzework. The hand of the unknown master who created this work has been detected in eight other figurines, and the resulting group of nine objects has been arranged in an order that is intended to suggest their natural developmental sequence. Then, by juxtaposing various of these items with precisely dated pieces that are verifiably earlier and with others that are demonstrably later than these works, one is able to propose an absolute chronology for the career of the master: specifically, after about 440 B.C. and before about 420 B.C. Further consideration leads one to the conclusion that this very able Etrusco-Italian craftsman can perhaps be labelled as a « classicistic » artist, although his considerable grasp of Hellenic classicism never quite overcame his native Etrusco-Italian background.

The objects are presented here in a sequence which most closely corresponds to the presumed order of the internal development of the group.

### 1) Ancona, Museo Archeologico, no. 511 (tav. XIV a) 1.

The figurine represents a warrior in standard lance wielding pose: right hand raised, with a hole in the fist for a (missing) lance, left arm extended to the front for bearing a shield. The left leg is slightly advanced. The figure wears a helmet with raised cheek guards and a moderately high crest. Two rows of pteryges are attached to a belted corslet. A skirt below the pteryges is gracefully draped to leave the genital area exposed. Greaves cover the lower legs, but the feet are bare. The left forearm of this example has been broken off; the right leg has broken through at the knee and has been reattached.

This is what one can immediately recognize as an example of the elongated

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ancona, Museo Archeologico, inv. 511. Emeline Richardson, Etruscan Votive Bronzes, Mainz, Philipp von Zabern 1983 – hereafter, EVB – p. 185, listed there incorrectly as museum number 767. (The figurine as it stood in the museum when it was photographed had evidently been placed on a base that was used at one time for object no. 767). Photograph courtesy of Soprintendenza Archeologico delle Marche.

warrior type, a large class of bronze sculpture which flourished in central Italy in the fifth century B.C.<sup>2</sup>. There are numerous varieties of this mannerism, and several individual styles can be recognized among the many examples known.

For purposes of comparison – as a standard example of the class, *not* as a work by the same artist as the other pieces discussed here – one might consider the grave little warrior in the Museum of Art of the Rhode Island School of Design in Providence  $(tav. XIV b)^3$ . This figure is measurably thinner than the Ancona example, having wirelike arms and legs, and a stiff pose (the Ancona warrior has what seems by contrast to be an almost classical contrapposto), plus larger eyes, flatter body, large platelike crest, more schematic decor and more hastily executed details. Stylistically, one could claim that RISD 34.011 is, if not exactly primitive, at least a bit more archaic than Ancona 511 – although it could conceivably be later in an absolute sense than the Ancona figure.

Reverting to the Ancona warrior, one notes that certain of its features are not necessarily linked to the figure's degree of archaicism: the elaborately draped skirt, the thin belt consisting of little more than a narrow cord encircling the body just slightly below the true waist, the corslet fitting tightly around a rather cylindrical body, and the angular shoulder lappets which meet in a V on the chest. It is among such attributes that one will look for evidence of personal style: the style which is characteristic of some particular artist — as distinct from period style, which is characteristic of a given chronological epoch.

Ancona 511 is in poor condition, and some details are unclear. Only the general nature of the incised decorative motifs on its surface can be made out: the all-over scale pattern on the cuirass, dotted-line borders on most elements of armor, scrolls on the frontlet of the helmet, wavy lines describing folds on the drapery, and hash marks laid on to give a naturalistic texture to pteryges and crest. The face,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A conventional date of « 5c B.C. » is commonly ascribed to these objects on the strength of an observation made some years ago that the helmets' cheek pieces are generally represented as mobile, and are pictured in the raised position. From the evidence of early red-figured vase painting we know that this type of armor was in general use in Greece toward the end of the sixth century B.C. One could reasonably suppose that the Italians would have acquired that fashion by the fifth century (Q. Maule, AJA LXII, 1959, p. 224). These extremely elongated warriors were at one time dated much earlier, in sympathetic deference, as it were, to the term « geometric » by which such stick-figures have sometimes been referred. It must be pointed out that among the relatively few instances where the provenience of an elongated warrior is known, none were excavated under conditions that would yield an archaeologically dependable date.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Providence, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, no. 34.011. D. G. Mitten, Classical Bronzes in the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence 1975, p. 119 ff., figs. a-e; G. Colonna, Bronzi votivi umbro-sabellici a figura umana. I - Periodo « arcaico », Rome 1970, p. 77 ff., no. 77; E. Richardson, in Papers Presented to George M.A. Hanfmann, Mainz, Philipp von Zabern 1971, p. 166. This piece came from Ancarona, in Norcia (G. Guardabassi, AttiMemSciMor 3.5, 1880, p. 214, no. 1). Photograph courtesy of Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design.

especially the area around the mouth, is also obscured. But one is able to determine that the jaw is pointed, the mouth thin and somewhat sunken, with flat cheeks and high cheek bones. We shall find a sort of family resemblance in this part of the face among all members of our group.

## 2) FLORENCE, Museo Archeologico, no. 586 (tav. XV a) 4.

This warrior figurine, the name-piece of the group, is quite large, as such bronzes go: some 33 cm. high. The figure held a sword or dagger in the raised right hand — which, however, has broken away at the handle 5. A round shield on the left arm is intact. The tunic is visible not only as the fancifully garlanded skirt below the pteryges but also at the shoulders and neck, its zigzag pleats molded in relief. The same elaborate repertory of surface decoration is present here as on Ancona 511, only richer and more carefully done, with additional motifs of spirals, beadwork, circles, and cross-hatchings.

This figure is not as thin as Ancona 511: the face is fuller, waist thicker, legs more stocky. One might note how the pteryges cling more closely to the hips than they did on the other piece, hardly projecting from the general outline of the body. The piece is of extremely careful workmanship, executed by a well-trained artist.

Two aspects of the figure have special significance here: the swag skirt and the soft mouth. The particular pattern of the carefully draped tunic-ends, covering the flanks of the figure while revealing the sex in front, can only be found on members of this group and is almost a trademark of the artist. The delicately sensitive mouth suggests that in spite of the archaic eyes and stiff pose the figure

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> FLORENCE, Museo Archeologico, no. 586. LUIGI LANZI, Notizie della scultura degli antichi, 2nd ed., Poligrafia Fiesolana 1824, p. 24, no. 3, pl. 6; G. Q. GIGLIOLI, L'arte etrusca, Milan 1935, pl. 221.2; EVB, p. 180 f., fig. 413; M. CRISTOFANI, I bronzi degli etruschi, Novara, DeAgostini 1985, p. 279, no. 87, figs. pp. 190-191. Photograph courtesy of Soprintendenza alle Antichità - Firenze.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> A replica of Florence 586 exists in London: British Museum, no. 455. H. B. Walters, Catalogue of the Bronzes in the British Museum, London 1897, p. 63, no. 455; Giglioli, pl. 221.1; EVB, p. 180, note 29. All details of the London and Florence examples are identical, including the missing weapon, broken off at the handle at exactly the same place on both statuettes, and the right foot, slightly deformed in both examples (M. Clarke and N. Penny, The Arrogant Connoisseur: Richard Payne Knight 1751-1824, Manchester University Press 1982, p. 135, color plate 5) – so that the conclusion that one is a cast of the other is inescapable. To determine which is the cast and which the original is not a simple matter, however. A metallographic examination in 1968 revealed a high zinc content in the alloy of BM 455 which is seldom found with ancient Etruscan bronzes (BM Rsch. Lab. File no. 2620). The Florence version is the more frequently reproduced. Another example of the Florence 586 type, with changes in disposition of the arms, has long been on exhibit in the Musée de Mariemont, Morienval, Belgium. Recent metallographic examination of this piece has shown that it too is mostly brass (i.e., high in zinc), with the conclusion that it is probably modern (personal communication to author).

must have been conceived after the advances of high classicism had occurred in Greece. The provocatively deliquescent lips of Florence 586 are of most interest in this regard.

To define that aspect more exactly, however, it is necessary to examine the lower facial area at greater length (tav. XV b) 6. One sees a well-developed vertical median groove on the upper lip (the so-called philtrum), which in turn lends a bow shape to the mouth. The cheeks are rather flat, their most visible bulge being high up on the face just below the eyes, with only enough roundness in the lower reaches of the cheeks to form a slight pucker as the ends of the lips pull the skin in and cause the neighboring flesh to swell into a counter-bulge. This soft mound at the and of the mouth may have been responsible for the « slightly melancholy expression » noted on Florence 586 by Emeline Richardson as she compares the face to that of the Blond Boy of the Acropolis 7. That comparison is generally apposite, but not quite specific enough for the case at hand. A closer look at the faces of the Blond Boy and Florence 586 reveals some definite differences: the upper lip of the Acropolis figure is thinner, and the ends do not terminate in the rococo-like counter curves which the warrior develops: the lower lip of the Blond Boy presents as a more severe curve, an arc of a simple circle, while the lower lip of Florence 586 bulges inordinately at the center and is quickly drawn in at the ends to produce a mouth that is, on the whole, smaller than the corresponding feature on the Greek example.

This is hardly a tangible difference, especially as measured on the much smaller scale of the bronze. But just that slight change of surface modelling reveals a distinct change in attitude toward representation of human expressions. In Greece, the change is a matter of a full generation's development. This soft puffiness does not appear at Olympia or on the Parthenon metopes, for instance, but it does exist on the Parthenon frieze. The head of one of the hydrophoroi on the North frieze is a case in point <sup>8</sup>.

In Greece, then, it must have been precisely in the interval between the time the metopes were created and the time that the frieze was finished that this significant step toward more realistic representation took place. And with current aesthetic theory accepting it as axiomatic that Italian works executed in a grecizing mode would not have adapted Greek mannerisms before they had appeared in Greece itself, it stands to reason that our Etruscan bronze would have been created after about 445-438 B.C., the accepted dates for the creation of the frieze 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Photograph by the author. See also the excellent detail photograph in Cristofani, op. cit., p. 190.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Athens, Acropolis Museum, no. 689. G.M.A. Richter, Kouroi. Archaic Greek Youths, New York, 1960, figs. 570-574; EVB, p. 181.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Athens, Acropolis Museum, Slab N VI 17. F. Brommer, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*, London, Thames and Hudson 1979, pl. 67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ibidem, p. 19.

The stage of the expressive lips, however, represents only a fleeting moment in the career of our artist, and will soon transform itself into something quite different.

3) Lyon, Musée Archéologique, no. 2756, a Minerva figurine (tav. XIV c) 10.

The tightly contained torso of this figure, the thin chest and modestly but abruptly bulging hips produce a silhouette like that of (the male) Florence 586. Of even more interest is the peculiar manner by which the ideally classical mouth begins to take on a slightly different form, a distinctive shape of its own. The lips have continued their bowlike development, but to a point where the effect is no longer so perfectly balanced between pleasantness and melancholy as they were on Florence 586. Something has happened to change the expression – perhaps the upper lip is too long – and the face becomes an eerie caricature of the classical. The mouth is sunken, almost as if the figure is represented as toothless.

4) London, British Museum, Walters 462, a warrior figurine from the Hope collection (tav. XVI a) 11.

The mouth is rather small here, with lips that are not as mobile as on Lyon 2756, although the peculiar sunken appearance of that area has a familial resemblance to the Lyon Minerva. The large almond-shaped eyes, slightly flaring nostrils, and the upright crest supports (without the crest) are also almost identical to corresponding elements on the Lyon piece. The skirt is draped in swags, but the detailing on cuirass and pteryges is more schematic than hitherto seen in the group; the shoulder pieces have developed a rather heavy, beaded border.

5) Paris, Musée du Petit Palais, a warrior from the Dutuit collection (tav. XVI b) 12.

This continues the hollow-faced, taut-lipped, high-cheek look of the two examples immediately preceding it, while the garlanded skirt and pointed chin are reminiscent of Ancona 511. The figure grasps a sword (as, we recall, Florence 586

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, no. 2756. S. BOUCHER, Bronzes grecs, hellénistiques et étrusques des Musées de Lyon, Lyon 1970, pp. 80-81, fig.; EVB, p. 350, fig. 833. Photograph courtesy of Musée des Beaux-Arts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> LONDON, British Museum, no. 49.6-20.15. Walters, p. 64, no. 462; EVB, p. 180, fig. 412; S. Haynes, Etruscan Bronzes, New York, Sothebys 1985, p. 281, fig. 97; dated there to 475-450 B.C. Photograph copyright of British Museum.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Paris, Musée du Petit Palais, Dutuit Collection no. 127. W. Froehner, Collection Auguste Dutuit, Paris 1897, p. 51, no. 82, pl. 77. Photograph reproduced by permission of Musée du Petit Palais.

had done), not the more typical lance. Here, however, the right arm with sword is held down to the side. A scabbard is represented on the left side of the body. The crest is lower and thicker, consisting of what can be seen to be two rows of horsehair plaited into separate tufts, plus a narrower band next to the crown. This more stable crest does not have (does not require?) the crest support which the other helmets possessed. The greaves are more prominent, as are the shoulder lappets, continuing the tendency of British Museum 462.

The modelling of arms, legs and surfaces of the costume is not so sensitively rendered as we are accustomed to seeing in this group; and even though the long forms of the limbs and torso are not appreciably thicker than those of the preceding examples the overall impression is of a heavier, stockier figure. This may be because the stance is not as active as in the preceding examples, which (earlier) figurines express a certain tension in their raised arms, threatening weapons, and aggressively striding pose; and partly also because the summary treatment of the additions – the heavy lapels, lower, bulkier crest, added bulge of scabbard on the left, thicker greaves – makes for more squat proportions in general. We shall see this tendency increasing with time.

# 6) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, no. 182 (tav. XVI c) 13.

This piece adds new elements to the repertory of our artist. The figure has long hair falling to the shoulders, while the garlanded skirt of numbers 1, 2, 4, 5 and the hollow cheeks of numbers 4 and 5 are retained. The right arm is lowered, like the Dutuit warrior. The belt is thicker, crest bulkier and shaggier. The overall surface is apparently not so precisely incised with descriptive ornament.

#### 7) FLORENCE, Museo Archeologico, no. 121 (tav. XVII a) 14.

A second example with long hair. The pose, with raised right arm, has reverted to that of the traditional lance wielder. The mouth is small and pursed, with pointed chin, continuing the manner first noted on the Lyon Minerva. The cuirass now appears to be the old-fashioned bell cuirass, although the skirt still falls in a swag distantly recalling the more delicate garlanding of the « earlier » figures. The sex appears to be covered by this thick skirt; but the corrosion on the piece makes it difficult to be sure.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, no. 182. E. Babelon and J.-A. Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1895, p. 82, no. 182; Anne-Marie Adam, *Bibliothèque Nationale*. *Bronzes étrusques et italiques*, Paris 1984, no. 60, p. 59 f., figs., pp. 59-60. Photograph reproduced by permission of Bibliothèque Nationale.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> FLORENCE, Museo Archeologico, no. 121. EVB, p. 181, figs. 414-415. Photograph courtesy of Soprintendenza alle Antichità - Firenze.

### 8) FLORENCE, Museo Archeologico, no. 123 (tav. XVII b) 15.

Another long-haired example, now with a skirt (or second row of pteryges) which definitely covers the genitals. This becomes the prevailing fashion among small bronzes of the succeeding period. The swag is also given up in this example, but the raised right arm, trim torso, V-shaped lapels, thin legs, and more youthful face can be traced to Florence 586.

### 9) RAVENNA, Museo Nazionale, no. 91 (tav. XVII c) 16.

This piece is presented as the latest example of the work of the Master of Florence 586. The figure has a decoratively draped skirt on the order of the earlier members, and the pteryges appear to have assumed about the same conformation as numbers 1-2: long top layer almost completely overlapping the second row; but now the pteryges flare out smartly and are altogether more prominent. The stance is the traditional striding lance-wielding one.

The sculptural technique employed in this example is much heavier handed, and all parts are cut in deeper relief. The crest is thicker and lower, cheek guards larger, epaulettes thicker, greaves heavier, and, as noted, pteryges more prominent. It is this more robust treatment that leads one to place the figure late in the series. It seems to represent a certain vulgarization of forms. One can now see that this tendency may have begun as far back as British Museum 462 and Dutuit 127 (Petit Palais); the shoulder lappets, for instance, have the same sort of flatness as on British Museum 462. The mouth is quite different, not as pinched-in as the immediately preceding examples, with the skin around the mouth loose and heavy. There is, finally, a correspondingly increased thickness of the entire figure – to the point, in fact, that the warrior can no longer be considered elongated.

What has been gradually evolving in the career of the Master of Florence 586 can perhaps be further understood by comparing Ravenna 91 with a still later figurine – one which, again, does *not* belong to our group.

Warrior no. 51452 in the Villa Giulia Museum (*tav.* XVIII a) <sup>17</sup> is a pretty little fellow. His sturdy body is tilted to one side from the waist, like a stiff doll, and he seems to cock his head, as if quizzically examining that strangely-shaped lance in his right hand.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Florence, Museo Archeologico, no. 123. EVB, p. 181, figs. 416-417. Photograph courtesy of Soprintendenza alle Antichità - Firenze.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> RAVENNA, Museo Nazionale, no. 91. G. BOVINI, Guida del Museo Nazionale di Ravenna, Milan 1962, p. 38, fig. 9, p. 39; EVB, p. 185. Photograph courtesy of Museo Nazionale.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia, Castellani Collection no. 51452. *EVB*, p. 186, figs. 435-436. Photograph by the author.

The figure is a member of a broad class of sculptures that can be identified by their distinctively blocky, chunky style. This class has been named, somewhat cumbersomely, the Near-classical style. The statuettes in that style are mostly decorative pieces, finials to candelabra and the like. They are usually represented as engaged in some casual, anecdotal activity, not hieratically posed: one warrior is shown gesticulating with both hands while attempting to maintain a perilous hold on his scabbard by pressing it between elbow and waist 18; another is adjusting the shield attachment on his left arm <sup>19</sup>; another is fastening his shoulder straps <sup>20</sup>; several examples are shown at the mundane task of drawing on their cuirass 21. One of the latter types was excavated under controlled conditions in a cemetery at ancient Spina (tav. XVIII b) 22, and can be dated to the last third of the fifth century B.C. on the basis of the Attic red-figured vases found in the tomb from which it came. A number of other bronzes in the Near-classical style were found at Spina and Bologna in association with vases datable to the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century B.C., and their dates can thus be accepted as confirming a similar chronological placement for the style as a whole 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.1074. E. Hill (Richardson), *JWalt* 7-9, 1944-45, p. 118, fig. 20; D. K. Hill, *Catalogue of the Bronzes in the Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore 1949, p. 55 f., pl. 26.

<sup>19</sup> Berlin, Antiquarium, no. 7908 (now lost). E. Hill, p. 118, fig. 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Mainz, Roemisches-Germanisches Central-Museum, no. 0.22513. K. A. NEUGEBAUER, *JdI* 58, 1943, p. 206, note 3, p. 262.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Palma (Majorca): Garcia y Bellido, AA, 1941, col. 206, figs. 3-4; Paris, Louvre: A. de Ridder, Les bronzes antiques du Louvre II, Paris 1913, p. 46, no. 273, pl. 24; Modena, Museo Civico Archeologico: A. Crespellani, AttiMemDepStorPatEmil 6.1, 1881, p. 5, pl. 1.2; Ferrara, Museo Archeologico di Spina, no. 2304, from Valle Trebba tomb 127: S. Aurigemma, Il R. Museo di Spina, 2nd ed., Bologna 1936, p. 142, pl. 69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Ferrara 2304. *Ibidem*. Photograph courtesy of Museo Archeologico di Spina.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Archaelogical logic ordains that the graves from which these objects came must be dated by the latest datable objects found in the respective tombs. In making our own computations on this basis, allowance was not made for a time-lag, nor for the possibility that family heirlooms might have been re-used as grave offerings. The rationale for this is as follows: Spina was a bustling port city in regular and direct contact with Greece itself and, as the numbers of near-contemporary graves in its cemeteries attest, funerals must have been as frequent there as in a comparable modern city. The most reasonable explanation for the presence of so many Greek pots of approximately the same period in the graves would, then, simply be that they were purchased in the gift shops of the town, which could easily have restocked their shelves with fresh merchandise from the latest ship newly arrived from Greece; the vases need not have been more than a year or so old by the time they were placed in the grave of a loved one. In such straightforward circumstances, there is simply no excuse for labelling them antiques. Nor is there any more reason to suppose that the Etruscan bronzes in those same graves were heirlooms than were the vases: the bronzes are also almost of uniform style (i.e., not individually hoarded antiques from various periods) and would have had an even shorter trip to market than the vases. Among the tombs in the referred study which yielded both datable Greek vases and Etruscan bronzes of Near-classical style, only one was found to contain bronzes

In summary, the career of the Master of Florence 586 as reconstructed here consists of nine sequentially related pieces. The latest object in the sequence is seen to be closely related to works in the so-called Near-classical style, which can be dated on an absolute scale to the last thirty years of the fifth century B.C. and the first two decades of the fourth century. Concluding from the evidence of the internal development of this artist's work – presuming, that is, that the Near-classical style follows hard upon the floruit of the Master of Florence 586 – the beginning of the former style (ca. 430 B.C.) can be taken as a *terminus antequem* for the works of the latter. If one prefers to allow a certain overlap for these two styles, that date might be advanced by, say, a decade. The *terminus postquem* of the career of the Master of Florence 586 is suggested by the known date of the completion of the Parthenon frieze: ca. 438 B.C. All in all, a time span of hardly a decade's duration is postulated.

### Afterword

It would be misleading to leave this discussion without a word or two concerning what relation the present paper has to previous studies of these objects. Of most immediate interest, and perhaps summarizing the bulk of that earlier work, is the catalogue of Emeline Richardson, which places seven of the nine objects listed here (along with a total of 26 other items) into three groupings that are presented in her system as closely related to one another <sup>24</sup>. On one level the

that were et any appreciable stylistic variance from one another, which would warrant a suspicion that one or more of those items could be earlier than the other objects in the grave (and hence « antiques »). The items so concerned, however, did not include the Near-classical bronze in that stipe (Tomb 128 of Valle Trebba, Spina).

The dates thus arrived at for the Near-classical style, about 430 to perhaps 380 B.C., are reinforced by the fact that minor stylistic variations among the bronzes seem to occur in lockstep with smaller variations in the ages of the tombs: certain figurines that might seem a bit «later» in terms of established Greek canons are found to occur in tombs that contain vases of a slightly later vintage, while other tombs, which contain bronzes that are perhaps slightly less advanced within the general limits of the Near-classical style are found in graves that appear, from the evidence of the vases found therein, to be a few years older. (Documentation in Q. Maule, AJA LXXXI, 1977, p. 487 ff.). A recent publication on the Spina bronzes (E. Hostetter, Bronzes from Spina, Mainz, Philipp von Zabern 1986, pp. 12, 17, 37, 41, 53, 56, 58) assigns somewhat earlier dates to these objects, choosing to ignore the irrefutable evidence of the grave groups in its evident determination to adhere to traditional dating patterns established by older scholars. The abundant, and remarkably consistent, evidence of the 4000 grave groups from Spina offers the archaelogical/art historical community more than mere precedent, however. There is now a possibility for arriving at dependably absolute dates for such bronzes.

<sup>24</sup> EVB, pp. 180 ff., 185 f., 347 ff., 350. Mrs. Richardson's arrangement is, by and large, conceived along chronologic/typologic lines rather than stylistically – although she occasionally suggests a stylistic relationship in her groupings. One list of eight objects, for instance, is

present list might be considered a reworking, a refinement perhaps, of those rather broader, less specific groupings.

But this paper also introduces a new consideration into Etruscan studies: it attempts to find evidence for personal style within the great expanse of anonymity that Etruscan sculpture has remained until now. Thus we take a tiny additional step towards what is surely one of the primary goals of our discipline: to begin to approach works of art of archaeological extraction with something of the same depth of awareness that one is able to gain from works that are closer to one's own experience.

Of even greater importance is the increased precision with which one is now able to view the individual objects in the group. Florence 586, for example – one of the finest and best-known Etrusco-Italian bronzes in existence – has been floating as it were in an artistic vacuum for far too long. It has been accepted as fifth century, as perhaps early classical in style; and it is meticulously executed. But what else?

The late Otto Brendel considered this piece to be among the « models that probably launched the type » of the elongated warrior <sup>25</sup> Tobias Dohrn characterized the work as subarchaic, emphasizing thereby its mixture of archaic and early classical attributes <sup>26</sup> G. A. Mansuelli observed that the head-on frontal pose is evolving with this example into an oblique view that we know from severe-style Greek sculpture <sup>27</sup>. Mrs. Richardson describes the work, a bit more subjectively, as: « A beautifully cast and finished bronze, less vigorous, even, than . . . (London 462) » <sup>28</sup>. Pericle Ducati, much earlier than that, noted the restrained movement in the pose of the figure (« Manca . . . quell'impeto ardimentoso nell'assalto ») <sup>29</sup>. And Alain Hus ventures what one might characterize as slight disapproval: « Le classicism reste superficiel. L'avantage de représenter un guerrier en cuirasse était d'éviter l'étude anatomique qui accompagne par définition la représentation du nu . . . on a l'impression que les différentes parties du corps tiennent ensemble plus

labelled the «Fine» group of severe-style warriors, and a closely related list (the next but one in her sequence of groups) is called the «Pretty» group. Nine items in Richardson's «Fine» and «Pretty» groups are plainly not by the Master of Florence 586, while four of the items in the «Fine» group and two in the «Pretty» group are by him. To these six is added the Minerva in Lyon, which is listed by Mrs. Richardson within a loosely organized group of 18 female divinities which were presented as being generally related to the warrior figurines of the late-archaic to severe period (which includes the examples mentioned above, plus others). Two additional items (Dutuit 127 and Bibliothèque Nationale 182) were not listed in EVB.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> O. Brendel, Etruscan Art, New York, Pelican Books 1978, p. 311, fig. 230.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> T. DOHRN, Die etruskische Kunst im Zeitalter der griechischen Klassik. Die Interimsperiode, Mainz, Philipp von Zabern 1982, p. 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> G. A. Mansuelli (tr. C. E. Ellis), *The Art of Etruria and Early Rome*, New York, Crown 1963, p. 89, pl. p. 93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> EVB, p. 180.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> P. DUCATI, Storia dell'arte etrusca, Florence 1927, p. 259.

par artefice que par une structure organique » <sup>30</sup>. Mauro Cristofani, finally <sup>31</sup>, has spotted its more precise art-historical position: « Può considerarsi una sorta di capostipite della serie di armati . . . fra cui emerge, sempre per qualità, il guerriero del Falterona ». (The Falterona warrior was illustrated in the original article that formulated the Near-classical style) <sup>32</sup>.

But that is, *in toto*, all there is in the way of artistic commentary on Florence 586, a work which has been in the public eye as long as Ingres' *Voeu de Louis XIII* – as long as Delacroix' *Massacre de Chios*, works about which whole volumes have been written.

Perhaps, though, we can now go a bit further. We are in a position, for instance, to recognize the piece as (1) probably a *late* (not early) manifestation of the elongated warrior style; (2) one of the more classical of the elongated warriors; (3) because of this classicism, a work that is rather far removed from what most of us might consider as Etruscan style. Florence 586 represents the work of an artist well-trained in the sophisticated manner of an essentially alien art, and demonstrates how well a borrowed tradition can be made to fit into a native framework.

Further, in view of the often ephemeral nature of this foreign influence on Etruscan models (as evidenced here, for instance, in the quick disappearance of the Periclean mouth), one might do well to reconsider some of those more truly classical Etruscan works — essentially much different from Florence 586 — such as the examples cited by Maja Sprenger in her dissertation of 15 years ago <sup>33</sup>: the terracottas from Pyrgi and Orvieto, certain figures from Veii and heads from Falerii. What do they represent artistically, a triumph of classicism, or of eclecticism — on a level, say, with such nineteenth century revivalisms as the Houses of Parliament or, perhaps, the works of Thorvaldsen?

The goal, of course, is someday to be able to pose such difficult questions as, which is the « better » work: Florence 586 or – well, RISD 34.011?

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<sup>30</sup> A. Hus, Les bronzes étrusques, Brussels, Latomus 1975, p. 107.

<sup>31</sup> Cristofani, op. cit., p. 279.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Maule, op. cit., p. 495, fig. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> M. Sprenger, Die etruskischen Plastik des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. and ihr Verhaeltnis zur griechischen Kunst. Studia Archeologica 14, Rome, Bretschneider 1972.





















