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MULIEBRIS CERTAMINIS LAUS: BRONZE DOCUMENTS OF A
CHANGING ETHOS

The first line of the title of my talk – a quotation from Livy (I, 57, 9) – is, I think, a convenient starting-point for some speculations about the Etruscans' changing attitude towards what constitutes the highest virtue in women and its reflection in some little-known Etruscan bronzes.

Livy describes an episode which took place during the protracted siege of Ardea by the Tarquins: while away the time in camp one day by drinking in the quarters of Sextus Tarquinius, the young Etruscan princes and their cousin Collatinus, the son of Egerius, began to boast about their wives, each praising his own as superior to all others. The discussion got heated until Collatinus, confident in his Lucretia's virtues, suggested that they should ride back to Rome and, taking their wives unawares, see for themselves which of them was the most virtuous. The other young men agreed and, although they had drunk a good deal, they all galloped off to the city, reaching it as dusk fell. Here they found the wives of Tarquin's sons enjoying themselves at a lavish dinner-party in the company of young friends.

We know perfectly well from numerous wall – and vase – paintings of the later sixth century B.C. what this feast would have been like: the Etruscan princesses reclined beside their guests, both male and female, on soft couches and were waited on by boy cup-bearers pouring wine from precious vessels, as for example in the Tomba dei Leopardi at Tarquinia (*tav. I a*). This was the normal form of an aristocratic Etruscan banquet of that period and Tarquin's daughters-in-law just carried on as they would have, had their husbands been of the party instead of encamped at Ardea.

No comment is made at this point by Livy who simply goes on to relate that the riders, having proceeded through the night to the Latin city of Collatia, found Collatinus' spouse, the Roman lady Lucretia, very differently employed, despite the lateness of the hour. She was sitting by lamplight in the hall of her house, surrounded by her maids, all busily engaged in spinning wool. Livy's conclusion that Lucretia was the wife who had won the contest of womanly

virtue epitomizes the Republican Roman ideal of womanhood¹ which is in striking contrast with that exemplified by the behaviour of the Etruscan ladies of Tarquin's court. As Larissa Bonfante has pointed out², epitaphs of Roman matrons such as that of Claudia³ proclaim the same stern ideal: *Domum servavit, lanam fecit*, and a funerary eulogy, the so-called *laudatio Turiae*, refers amongst the other virtues of this admirable woman to her industry in working wool⁴.

The convention that a woman's place is in the seclusion of her quarters, sitting by her wool-basket and employed in carding, spinning and weaving is, of course, illustrated from the sixth century B.C. onwards by innumerable Attic vase-paintings⁵ and so is the complementary view that no decent woman ever lies down on a dining-couch together with men. When a Greek lady is represented beside her husband at dinner, as on numerous funerary reliefs, she is either seated on a chair or stool beside his kline or sitting upright at the foot of it⁶.

The Greeks' and Romans' disapproval of the startlingly different manners of Etruscan ladies and the reasons for their censure have been analyzed perceptively by Jacques Heurgon⁷ and Larissa Bonfante⁸. We should, however, slightly modify the latter's view⁹ that it was only in Southern Etruria that ladies dined in the company of men lying down. On a number of North Etruscan funerary reliefs from Chiusi banquets at which both sexes recline on the same dining-couch are clearly represented¹⁰. But the custom is, as noted already by S. de Marinis¹¹, less frequently attested at Chiusi than in the South.

¹ Cf. R. M. OGILVIE, *A Commentary to Livy, Books 1-5* (1965) 222.

² L. BONFANTE WARREN, *The Women of Etruria*, in *Arethusa* 6, 1973, 94, 100 note 20; *Etruscan Couples*, in H. P. FOLEY (ed.), *Reflections of Women in Antiquity* (1981) 329.

³ *CIL* VI, 15346; F. BÜCHELER, *Carm. Lat. Epig.* (1921) 52, 8.

⁴ E. WISTRAND, *The so-called Laudatio Turiae, Introduction, Text, Translation, Commentary*, *Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia* 34 (1976) 20 f., Text I, 30. See also the *laudatio* of Murdia, *CIL* VI, 10230, quoted by J. P. HALLET, *Fathers and Daughters in Roman Society. Women and the Élite Family* (1984) 43, n. 11.

⁵ A selection is illustrated by E. C. KEULS, *Attic vase painting and the home-textile industry*, in W. G. MOON (ed.) *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* (1983) 209 ff., 214 ff. For the comparatively rare representation of spinning hetairai see 227-229. Cf. also D. WILLIAMS, *An oinochoe in the British Museum and the Brygos painter's work on a white ground*, in *JBerlMus* 24, 1982, 20 and I. JENKINS, *The ambiguity of Greek textiles*, in *Arethusa*, forthcoming.

⁶ Cf. R. THÖNGES STRINGARIS, *Das griechische Totenmahl*, in *AM* 80, 1965, 3 f., Beilage 3-9. E. PFUHL, H. MÖBIUS, *Die Ostgriechischen Grabreliefs II*, nos. 1542-1580.

⁷ J. HEURGON, *La vie quotidienne chez les Étrusques* (1961) 48 ff., 98 ff.

⁸ *Arethusa* 6, 1973, 92 ff.; *Reflections of Women in Antiquity* (1981) 323 ff.

⁹ *Reflections of Women in Antiquity*, cit., 336, note 7; *Out of Etruria*, *BAR* 103, 1981, 39.

¹⁰ F. N. PRYCE, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum* (1931) 170, fig. 18, D 14; J.-R. JANNOT, *Les reliefs archaïques de Chiusi* (1984) no. 180; nos. 301, 302, 305, 306, 307 (= Berlin 1238, 1239); no. 512; n. 162 (= Florence 81928); no. 164 (= Chiusi 2278).

¹¹ S. DE MARINIS, *La tipologia del banchetto nell'arte etrusca arcaica* (1971) 59.

As we have seen, the Etruscans' ideal of aristocratic womanhood is depicted mostly on wall-paintings and reliefs, but the famous large terracotta sarcophagi from Cerveteri in the Villa Giulia (*tav. I b-c*) and in the Louvre¹² and their smaller companion urns show that the subject of couples feasting on the same bed was also treated by sculptors in the round. To find it represented in bronze is, however, rare indeed.

The British Museum possesses a splendid, four-handled bronze basin (*tav. I d-II a*) which, though acquired from Alessandro Castellani in 1873, published by Walters¹³, mentioned by Winifred Lamb¹⁴ and partially illustrated by Riis¹⁵, is not as well known as it deserves. We shall, therefore, be looking at it in some detail. The vessel is of the form called *ποδανπτήρ* by the Greeks, a type studied by Marjorie Milne¹⁶ and more recently by Werner Gauer¹⁷.

The plain, shallow basin of hammered bronze rests on a cast, fluted ring with three lion's legs¹⁸. Of the four handles, which are also cast, two are elliptical and swivel in spool-like attachments on opposite sides of the basin. The other two (*tav. II b-c*) are both in the form of a banqueting couple surmounting a flat, semicircular ring attached to the rim of the basin by lateral extensions ending in serpent's heads. The banqueters recline with the left elbow supported by a folded cushion or a wine-skin and a cup in the left hand. The hands of two are missing (*tav. II c-d*). With his free arm each man clasps his partner round the back while she rests hers on her knee. The women wear tight, short-sleeved dresses reaching to their pointed shoes, the men short-sleeved tunics and a mantle draped over the left shoulder (*tav. III a-b*). The faces of all four are triangular with short, prominent noses and low, receding foreheads. With their widely-spaced almond eyes, the pupils of which were originally inlaid with some contrasting material, and their smiling mouths they convey an impression of cheerful conviviality. One of the men is clean-shaven, the other has a smooth, pointed beard and a moustache. The hair of both men and women is carefully modelled in vertical, cross-grooved strands, forming a ridged band across the forehead and falling in a corrugated mass behind (*tav. III c-d*); several isolated tresses of the women's hair hang forward over their shoulders and breasts.

Let us now consider on what models the sculptor of our handles might have based his work. The motif of the banqueter lying on a couch is, as Jean-

¹² R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI, A. GIULIANO, *Les Étrusques et L'Italie avant Rome* (1973) Pls. 198-200.

¹³ H. B. WALTERS, *Catalogue of Bronzes, Greek, Roman and Etruscan in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (1899) 81, n. 562.

¹⁴ W. LAMB, *Greek and Roman Bronzes* (1929) 139.

¹⁵ P. J. RIIS, *Tyrrhenika* (1941) 60, Ll. 9, 3.

¹⁶ M. MILNE, *A Greek footbath in the Metropolitan Museum*, in *AJA* 48, 1944, 44, n. 29.

¹⁷ N. GAUER, in *Olympiabericht* X, 1981, 120, note 29.

¹⁸ The vessel is now published in S. HAYNES, *Etruscan Bronzes* (1985), figs. 39a,b, 259.

Marie Dentzer has shown¹⁹ an Assyrian invention of the second half of the seventh century B.C., occurring for the first time on the relief of Assurbanipal from Nineveh in an imagery which glorifies the power of the victorious king, his opulence and his divinely protected good fortune. Greek vase-painters of Corinth took over the motif at the turn of the seventh to the sixth century B.C. to illustrate symposia; but Samian and East Greek sculptors, perhaps stimulated by imported Cypriote limestone figurines of the first quarter of the sixth century²⁰, were the first to carve large-scale marble statues of reclining draped men (*tav. IV a-b*)²¹. The earliest surviving example formed part of a votive family group, made by the sculptor Geneleos about the middle of the sixth century B.C. Excavated in the sanctuary of Hera on Samos, the massive sculpture was thought to represent a woman because of its ample forms and swelling pectoral muscles and the fragmentary name in the votive inscription on its plinth was read as ending in -οχη)²². Subsequently the statue was correctly identified as that of a man, the donor of the family group to the goddess Hera, whose name terminated, according to a fresh reading, in -ιλάρχησ)²³ (*tav. IV c*). Leaning with his left elbow on a folded wineskin, the man holds in front of his chest an object no longer identifiable, while his right hand rests on his right knee. His bare left knee emerges from his long, unbelted chiton just below the folds of the mantle draped over his lower legs.

Fragments of another reclining male figure found at the Heraion belong to a banqueter holding a drinking-horn²⁴ and three similar fragmentary statues of draped symposiasts of approximately the same date were discovered at Myus on the Maeander and are now in Berlin²⁵. Two further marbles of this type from Didyma have been published by Klaus Tuchelt²⁶.

The comparatively large number of such sculptures of banqueters from Samos and Western Asia Minor suggests that the type was invented in this particular region, and a small Samian bronze statuette from the rim of a cauldron (*tav. IV d*), dated by Buschor to the third quarter of the sixth century²⁷, is clearly

¹⁹ J. M. DENTZER, *Le motif du banquet couché dans le Proche-Orient et le monde grec du VII^e au IV^e siècle a.J.C.* (1982) 21 f., 76 ff., 158.

²⁰ G. SCHMIDT, *Kyprische Bildwerke aus dem Heraion von Samos, Samos VII* (1968) 54; 62 f.; 124; 125.

²¹ Cf. B. FEHR, *Orientalische und Griechische Gelage* (1971) Part. VI, 119, 210.

²² E. BUSCHOR, *Altsamische Standbilder I-III* (1934) 28 f.

²³ N. HIMMELMANN-WILDSCHÜTZ, *MarbWPr* 1963, 13 f.; B. FREIER-SCHAUENBURG, *Bildwerke der archaischen Zeit und des Strengen Stils, Samos XI*, 11 f.; 116 ff. no. 63; and see now: E. WALTER KARYDI, *Geneleos*, in *AM* 100, 1985, 95 ff. und G. DUNST, *AM* 87, 1972, 132 ff.

²⁴ *Samos XI* (see note 23) 148 ff., n. 70 A/B.

²⁵ C. BLÜMEL, *Die archaisch-griechischen Skulpturen* (1963) Pl. 212, no. 67; Pls. 215, 216, no. 68; Pls. 213, 214, no. 66.

²⁶ K. TUCHELT, *Zwei gelagerte Gewandfiguren aus Didyma*, in *RA* 1976, 55 ff.

²⁷ E. BUSCHOR, *Altsamische Standbilder I-III*, 50, figs. 181, 182, 193. For the most recent list of bronze statuettes of reclining figures see J. M. DENTZER, *cit.* (note 19) 216 ff.

derived from these monumental prototypes. The feasting couples of the handles on the basin in the British Museum have certain features in common with this bronze symposiast. Both he and they wear dresses with half-sleeves and smooth, ankle-length skirts and their soft shoes are of the same pointed shape. The Samian's hair, which is long at the back, falls forward over each shoulder in two individual tresses like that of the women.

Other Samian bronze statuettes provide even closer parallels for the hairstyle of the couples: a flattish, corrugated band above the forehead and temples and a finely detailed corrugated mass of hair hanging over the back. The head of a sphinx²⁸ (*tav. V a*) and the offering-bearer in Berlin²⁹ (*tav. V b*) are both from Samos and date from the end of the third quarter of the sixth century B.C.

The treatment of the pointed beard of the older of the banqueters on the basin in the British Museum (*tav. V c*) recalls that of an East Greek, perhaps Rhodian alabastron³⁰ (*tav. V d*) in the form of a kneeling, long-haired man, whose beard is shaved on the cheeks and jaws to form a double curve. This specimen was found in the Heraion of Samos, but a similar alabastron turned up in the excavation at Gravisca³¹.

I think that there can be little doubt that East Greek, probably Samian, models provided the inspiration for the artist of our banqueting couples at the beginning of the last quarter of the sixth century B.C. The same influence is clearly reflected in the monumental version of this theme, the 'Sposi' of the terracotta sarcophagi from Cerveteri (*tav. VI a*), and a similar stylistic dependence on East Greek prototypes is recognizable in contemporary Etruscan black-figure vase-painting. *Tavole VI b* and *VI c* show two drawings of the figures on an amphora in Boston³². The vase, which came from Cerveteri, was assigned to the 'La Tolfa Group' by Dohrn³³. The hairstyle of two of the youths depicted here is strikingly similar to that of the symposiasts on the podanipter in the British Museum³⁴.

The evidence for the presence of Samians in Southern Etruscan ports is too well documented to need further comment, but it is worth remembering as well that, according to Stephanos Byzantios, Pozzuoli was a Samian colony³⁵,

²⁸ E. BUSCHOR, *Altsamische Standbilder IV, V* (1960) 97 f. figs. 398, 399.

²⁹ BUSCHOR, *cit.* (note 28) 70, figs. 295-300.

³⁰ BUSCHOR, *cit.* (note 27) 49, fig. 179.

³¹ M. TORELLI, *Il santuario greco di Gravisca*, in *Quaderni della Ricerca scientifica* 100 (1978) 398, fig. 3.

³² INV. No. 187639. A. FAIRBANKS, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (1928) no. 550, Pl. LX.; cf. A. GREIFENHAGEN, *RM* 85, 1978, 60 f., Pls. 24, 25.

³³ T. DOHRN, *Die schwarzfigurigen etruskischen Vasen*. Diss. 1937, 23 ff., 145, 42.; BEAZLEY, *EVP*, 11.

³⁴ Cf. also the youth holding a jug and kantharos on an East Greek scarab seal-stone: J. BOARDMAN, *Engraved Gems: The Ionides Collection* (1968) 91, Pl. 1.

³⁵ PAULY-WISSOWA, *RE* XXIII, 2, 2039, s.v. *Puteoli* (M.W. Frederiksen)

founded perhaps by refugees from the tyrannis in their homeland. That Samian bronzes reached not only Southern coastal Etruria³⁶, but also the interior of northern Etruria and Umbria is proved by the Samian griffin-protome found in the deposit of Brolio in the Val di Chiana³⁷ and by the four Samian griffins from the Trestina find, all in the Museo Archeologico in Florence³⁸.

To return to our bronze basin: undeniably derived from East Greek prototypes as the figures on its handles are, they nevertheless perfectly exemplify the purely Etruscan ideal of the aristocratic form of the banquet – men and women reclining side by side and raising their drinking-vessels as if to toast or to have them refilled by the cup-bearer.

What could such an exceptionally richly decorated basin have been used for? As its name suggests, the Greek podanipter was employed for washing feet, but it also served for other purposes during dinner³⁹. Its use during Etruscan feasts is illustrated on numerous Chiusine reliefs, where we find such shallow basins with swing-handles placed on tripod-stands under or beside the dining-couches. Two reliefs in the British Museum⁴⁰ (*tav. VI d-VII a*) clearly show that the basins contained stamnoi, wine-jars, which were kept cool by being immersed in the water-filled podanipter⁴¹, and on a fragmentary urn in Palermo⁴² (*tav. VII b*) a naked boy cup-bearer bends over the vessel with a ladle in his right hand, ready to dip into the stamnos. There could hardly be a more suitable allusion to the use for which our basin was destined than the lively figures of feasting couples decorating its handles.

The figured Etruscan bronze handle on *Tavola VII c* was made about two hundred years later, probably in Central Southern Etruria. One of an identical pair originally attached to a relief-decorated bell-krater, it was discovered near Tuscania in chamber-tomb no. I of the Curunas family. The mass of spectacular grave-goods found there by Mario Moretti in 1967 has recently been published in a worthy form by the excavator and his collaborators⁴³. There is little one would like to add to the publication and I illustrate this handle merely to point out the contrast between it and the handles from the British Museum basin.

³⁶ See the griffin-protome from Gravisca: *Civiltà degli Etruschi*, fig. 7. 1. 8.

³⁷ A. ROMUALDI, *Catalogo del Deposito di Brolio in Val di Chiana* (1981) 3, no. 1. But see now ROMUALDI in *Santuari d'Etruria*, 162.

³⁸ Inv. nos. 84484-87. Cf. B. B. SHEFTON, *Die 'rhodischen' Bronzekannen*, Marburger Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Bd. 2 (1979) 13 ff. note 60.

³⁹ HEROD. II, 172. ATHEN. IV, 168 f.

⁴⁰ PRYCE, *cit.* (note 10), 170, fig. 17 = D14 left; 177, fig. 27 = D17a.

⁴¹ DE MARINIS, *cit.* (note 11) 65.

⁴² DE MARINIS, *cit.* no. 66, Pl. VIII, b.

⁴³ M. MORETTI *et al.*, *I Curunas di Tuscania* (1983). See also S. HAYNES, *Etruscan Bronzes* (1985) 305, no. 162 and F.-H. PAIRAULT MASSA, *Problemi di lettura della pittura funeraria di Orvieto*, in *Ricerche di Pittura Ellenistica* (1985) 20, note 11, where the krater is dated somewhat earlier in the first half of the 4th century. I am greatly indebted to P. Pelagatti and to A. M. Sgubini Moretti for the photograph of *Tav. VII c*.

Although both pairs of handles come from banqueting-vessels and both show reclining figures, the difference in meaning and spirit could hardly be greater. The earlier pairs with their cheerfully lifted, smiling faces, their lively attitudes and eagerly raised cups express an infectious joie-de-vivre in the here and now, whereas the languid poses of the young woman on a couch supported by anguiped demons and of the mournfully brooding seated man flanked by winged spirits on the attachment-plate of the later handle convey a profound melancholy indicative of death and the beyond. The woman's reclining posture here no longer signifies feasting on a banqueting-couch, but lassitude, the approaching end of life; it recalls the figures on the lids of stone sarcophagi carved, for example, at Tarquinia, which show the deceased on his or her deathbed, supine as if asleep or resting extended with the head supported by the left hand and pillows.

When a symposium is depicted at this period, such as in the wall painting of the Tomba degli Scudi at Tarquinia (*tav. VII d*), dated to about the third quarter of the fourth century B.C.⁴⁴, we find that, though the men still feast lying on a dining-couch, their wives no longer recline beside them, but sit at the end of the kline in the decorous attitude familiar from Greek funerary reliefs⁴⁵. A profound change has taken place: the archaic Etruscan ideal of aristocratic womanhood banqueting has given way to the sober custom of Greek ladies and of Roman matrons of the Early Republic⁴⁶.

We must now consider whether there is any evidence in Etruscan bronze sculpture of the Hellenistic period for the representation of women in the act of spinning. For obvious reasons only a very few ancient bronze statues have survived, but two of them would, I submit, support the theory that the ideal of womanly virtue, by this time, was thought to be most tellingly expressed by this exemplary occupation.

There is one slightly earlier Etruscan bronze sculpture of a spinning woman, a votive statuette in Florence, dated by Dohrn to the second quarter of the fourth century B.C.⁴⁷, but this is an Athena (*tav. VIII a*). According to Dohrn, the figure is based on a Greek original of about 400 B.C. of the same type as that represented by the Roman copy known as the Athena Giustiniani.

A mortal woman, not a goddess is, however, almost certainly represented by an over life-size bronze statue in Munich (*tavv. VIII b-IX a*). A mature draped figure, she is clearly engaged in spinning⁴⁸, though her distaff and spindle, which

⁴⁴ M. SPRENGER, G. BARTOLONI, *Die Etrusker* (1977) 146, figs. 218-222 with earlier lit.; M. CRISTOFANI, *L'arte degli Etruschi, Produzione e Consumo* (1978) 170 f.

⁴⁵ Cf. DE MARINIS, *cit.* (note 11), 75, note 5.

⁴⁶ VAL. MAX. II, 1, 2.

⁴⁷ T. DOHRN, *Etruskische Kunst im Zeitalter der griechischen Klassik. Die Interimsperiode* (1982) 68 f. Pl. 47.

⁴⁸ The distinctive attitude of her fingers and hands makes this explanation of her action (see LOESCHKE, *AZ* 1880, 102) by far more likely than 'flötenhaltende Muse', given by L. LINFERT-REICH, *Musen und Dichterinnenfiguren des 4. und frühen 3. Jhdts*, Diss. Köln 1971, 48 f.

were made separately, are missing. Discovered without her head in a deposit in the city of Vulci in November 1834⁴⁹, the statue was briefly exhibited in the Vatican⁵⁰ before being sold to Munich at the end of 1837; it is now in the Antikensammlungen⁵¹.

The bronze which was cast in many separate parts and welded together, has recently been expertly restored, when the modern head, modelled by Thorwaldsen, was removed. The woman stands with her weight on her left leg and her right knee relaxed. Her dress consists of pointed shoes, a sleeved chiton of fine, crinkly material, closely buttoned⁵² on shoulders and arms, and a heavy rectangular mantle draped round her body and left arm; one end of the garment, held tightly between elbow and chest, hangs down her left side in a bundle of folds with a wavy edge. She wears a ring on the second and fourth fingers of her left hand, whose gesture clearly implies that it once held a distaff, while with her right hand she obviously pulled the wool and rotated the spindle.

The statue's stance, her dress and the intricate drapery of her mantle are inspired by a Praxitelean prototype⁵³, perhaps, as Furtwängler suggested⁵⁴, the *catagousa*, the 'Spinning Woman' which, according to Pliny (N.H. 34, 69), was one of the bronze works of Praxiteles. The woman's shoes and finger rings are additions the Etruscan artist made to turn his Greek model into a contemporary Etruscan lady. Her fashionable attire seems to exclude the possibility that she could be Athena, an identification to which we might otherwise have been tempted by the reported discovery in the same deposit of the crest of a helmet of which no more is known. Her missing head presumably was a portrait and we might imagine it to have looked not unlike one of the women's profiles painted on the neck of the Volterranean kelebe from the Tomb of the Calini Sepus

⁴⁹ *BullInst* 1835, 11, 120 f.; 1836, 145 f., 170; 1837, 5, 153.

⁵⁰ A. NIBBY, *Museo Chiaramonti* II, Pl. A.

⁵¹ Inv. n. GL 444. A. FURTWÄNGLER, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek König Ludwig I* (1900) 366 f. no. 444. S. HAYNES, *Etruscan Bronzes* (1985) 318 f. n. 191. Cf. also *Santuari D'Etruria*, 79. The photographs of Tav. 30-33 are owed to the generosity of K. Vierendeis.

⁵² These 'buttons' are of an unusual shape: pointed ovals of which one half is slightly raised above the other by a curving step. (Wie ineinandergesteckte Filzpantoffeln oder wie eine Bohne, die zur Hälfte in eine Hülse steckt', as K. Vierendeis described them). In a recent letter (24.7.86) F. W. Hamdorf has made the following attractive suggestion: 'Ich halte die Schließen auf der Schulter der Spinnerin für hakenähnliche Knöpfe, die nur bis knapp zur Hälfte durch entsprechende Knopflöcher gesteckt wurden. Diese Vorrichtung schließt sicher nur bei Zug; sie ist entsprechend bequem zu öffnen'. No other example of this kind of fastening is at present known to me. I do not think it likely that we are dealing here with a series of small fibulae of unique shape (a single fibula of normal size is represented joining the two edges at the bottom of the half-sleeve of a woman in the painted Tomba di Spinazzo in the Museo Nazionale of Paestum, see: A. ROUVERET and A. GRECO PONTRANDOLFO, *Pittura Funeraria in Lucania e Campania. Puntualizzazioni cronologiche e proposte di lettura*, in *Ricerche di Pittura Ellenistica* (1985) fig. 24, 116.

⁵³ S. REINACH, *Rep.* II, 303, 9; G. RIZZO, *Praxiteles* (1932) 90, Pl. 134b.

⁵⁴ FURTWÄNGLER, *cit.* (note 51) 367.

at Monteriggioni ⁵⁵ (*tav. IX b*), or like one of the votive terracotta heads in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco ⁵⁶ (*tav. IX c*), or like the marble head from Montalcino in the Museo Archeologico of Florence ⁵⁷ (*tav. IX d*); all these works have been dated to the period from the second half of the fourth century B.C. to the early third. The style and quality of the bronze statue would accord well with its having been made in Early Hellenistic times ⁵⁸.

The fact that Vincenzo Campanari discovered the bronze statue and its stone base within the city of Vulci and not in one of the many outlying cemeteries beyond its walls is significant. It was found carefully deposited in a specially constructed container of travertine slabs joined with lead. A note by Campanari, recently traced in the Vatican's archives by Francesco Buranelli who had kindly looked into the history of the finding for me, has added the fresh information that the letters F.C. were carved on the slabs (see the communication by F. Buranelli on p. 1657). My original theory that the statue might have been hidden to protect it from destruction threatened by the war between Vulci and Rome which ended with the city's defeat in 280 B.C. must therefore be amended. The inscription, *fulgur conditum*, indicates that the statue thus solicitously buried in a stone container – a bidental – was struck by lightning ⁵⁹, a fact which would account for the lack of the woman's head which was presumably destroyed by this event. The ritual burial may have taken place after the Romanization of Vulci as the Latin letters of the inscription suggest, though the possibility that they were carved on a preexisting bidental cannot be ruled out. The bidental seems to have been constructed in the vicinity of the great temple of Vulci, probably on the spot in which the statue originally stood ⁶⁰. The location of the bronze statue near the main sanctuary of the city implies that it was an honorary or votive monument rather than a funerary one. Its base, discovered by Campanari together with the statue, was unfortunately subsequently lost and we do not know if it bore traces of an inscription giving the lady's name or that of the divinity to whom the dedication was made. In any case, for our purpose it is important to note that this subject – an aristocratic woman working with her

⁵⁵ Antikenabteilung V.I.3988 = M. MONTAGNA PASQUINUCCI, *Le Kelebai Volterrane* (1968) 60 XL, nos. 55, 57. For a recent bibliography on kelebai see G. S. Chiesa in *AC* 33, 1981, 303, 11, 24.

⁵⁶ No. 13904 = G. HAFNER, *RM* 72, 1965, 52 f. Pl. 19.

⁵⁷ A. ANDREN, *AntPl* 7, 1967, 35, Pls. 20-22.

⁵⁸ A. KABUS-JAHN, *Studien zu Frauenfiguren des 4. Jhdts. v. Chr.* Diss. Darmstadt 1963, 31, gives no explanation of her view: 'Die Bronzereplik kann als eine aus dem 1. Jh. stammende etruskische freiere Replik des attischen Originals galten'.

⁵⁹ PAULY-WISSOWA, *RE* X, 1, 1130 f. s.v. *Jupiter* (Thulin) and *RE* III, 1, 429 f. s.v. *Bidental* (Wissowa). F. RONCALLI, *Il Marte di Todi. Bronzistica Etrusca ed Inspirazione Classica*, in *MemPontAcc* 11, 2, 19., 111 f. note 10. A. PFIFFIG, *Religio*, 136, fig. 58. Quoted by Piffiffig and not accessible to me: TH. MOMMSEN, *BerSächsGesdWissPhil HistKl* 1849, 292, who may refer to the actual bidental at Vulci where the statue was discovered.

⁶⁰ See G. COLONNA in *Santuari d'Etruria*, 79.

distaff and spindle – was now considered a fitting expression of womanly virtue and worthy to be represented in a public monument or as a votive sculpture.

In conclusion let us turn to another bronze, the half life-size figure of a draped girl, bequeathed to the British Museum in 1919 by William Waldorf, first Viscount Astor⁶¹ (*tav. X a*). The statue has been known since 1908, when Messrs. Spink and Sons acquired it from Italy together with seven smaller bronze figures. As I reported briefly in my publication of this group of bronzes in *Römische Mitteilungen* 1960⁶², accounts of the discovery of the statuette vary, but all agree that it was found at Nemi. We can discount on stylistic grounds the suggestion that it formed part of the group of objects brought up from the imperial galleys at the bottom of Lake Nemi during diving operations conducted there by the Roman art dealer Eliseo Borghi in 1895. Far more probably the statuette and the small bronzes associated with it were votive gifts, dedicated in the sanctuary of Diana on the lake's shore.

The small figurines all conform to a votive type common in Etruria and Latium during the Hellenistic period; the draped, wreathed youth (*tav. X c*) and the draped, diademed woman (*tav. X d*), each sacrificing with a libation-bowl in the right hand and a pyxis in the left. But the large statuette's attitude is different and her now empty hands obviously once held objects other than an omphalos-bowl and an incense-box. In my first discussion of it in 1960 I left open the question of what the girl originally supported in her slender, bent fingers, though I pointed out that her effortless pose suggested that the objects must have been light and thin. When I recently reexamined the statuette with the subject of spinning ladies in mind, it struck me that this was probably what she was. I therefore constructed a primitive model of a distaff and spindle which Brian Cook kindly allowed to be inserted into the girl's waiting hands for a photograph (*tav. X b*). However approximate the form of the implements, the result of this reconstruction seems to me to confirm that here we have indeed another statue represented in that exemplary occupation of women. It is true that the girl appears to have interrupted her activity temporarily to gaze at a spectator or dreamily into the distance, but I think distaff and spindle would fit the attitude of her hands better than any other objects. The reputed provenance of the statuette makes it probable that it was a votive gift to Diana which once stood in her sanctuary on the *speculum Dianae*, and the sculpture's style points to a date for its erection there in the second century B.C.⁶³

⁶¹ Reg. n. 1920, 6-12. 1.

⁶² S. HAYNES, *The bronze priests and priestesses from Nemi*, in *RM* 67, 1960, 34 ff.

⁶³ M. CRISTOFANI, *I Bronzi degli Etruschi* (1985) 274, fig. 68 has recently dated the statuette surprisingly early (= 300-250 B.C.). But S. HAYNES, *Etruscan Bronzes* (1985) 320 f. n. 196, points to the figure's elongated, angular proportions and the abstract treatment of the folds of the drapery which are more consistent with a date in the second century B.C. Compare the over life-size marble statue from Melos in the National Museum at Athens, n. 236,

The last century of the Roman Republic with its great political and social upheavals was a time during which the moral climate in Rome and Italy altered profoundly. Ancient customs and beliefs were abandoned, new values discovered and the position and image of women changed accordingly. Their old-fashioned virtues and traditional occupations became nostalgic literary topoi: Tibullus, for example, imagines his Delia chastely sitting at home by lamp-light in the company of her ancient female guardian who is spinning⁶⁴, a vision that hardly corresponded to reality. The emperor Augustus, presumably for propaganda reasons, insisted on wearing simple clothes made at home by the ladies of his family⁶⁵, none of whom were models of virtue; and we may doubt that the majority of aristocratic Roman women were by this time prepared to spend their days employed in the time-honoured female occupation of wool-working. If they did, spinning was obviously no longer considered an edifying and suitable subject for representation in sculpture to glorify the highest womanly virtue, for no Roman bronze statues of ladies spinning have come down to us.

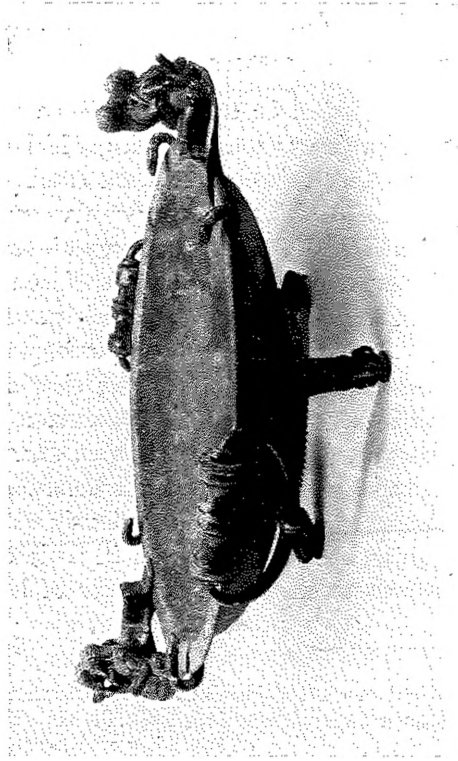
dated to ca. 125-110 B.C. by A. LINFERT, *Kunstzentren hellenistischer Zeit. Studien zu weiblichen Gewandfiguren* (1976) 118, Taf. 53, Abb. 279, 280, and the acroterion in the form of a Nike from the Hieron of Samothrace, dated to 150-125 B.C. by the excavators, see: K. LEHMANN, *Samothrace, A Guide to the Excavations and the Museum*⁶ (1983) fig. 49.

⁶⁴ I, 3, 83-86.

⁶⁵ SUTONIUS, *Divus Augustus*, LXIV, 2 and LXXIII. Cf. E. C. KEULS, *The Hetaera and the Housewife. The Splitting of the Female Psyche in Greek Art*, in *MededRom* 44-45 (1983) 23, 32, and J. P. V. D. BALSDON, *Roman Women* (1962) 202 ff.



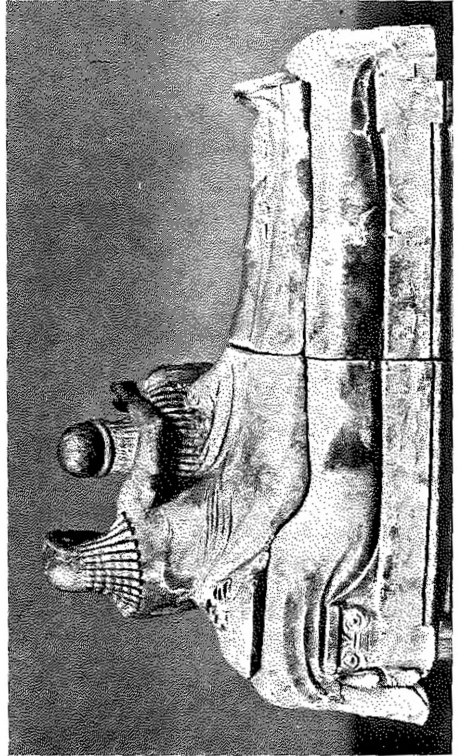
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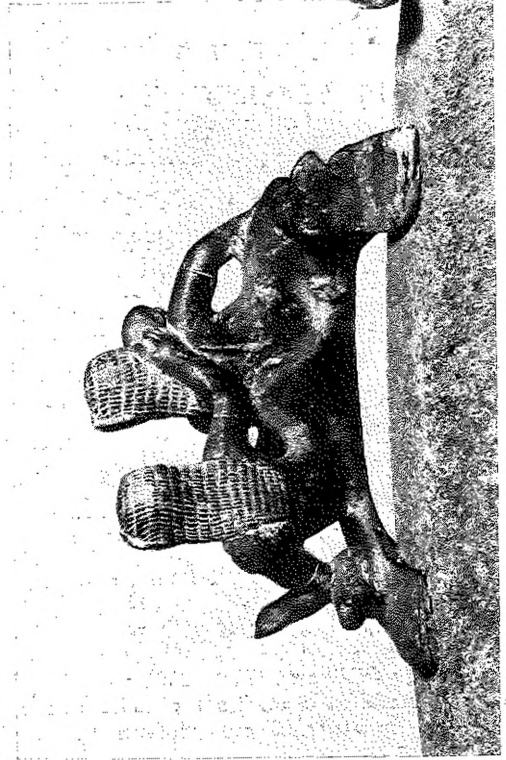
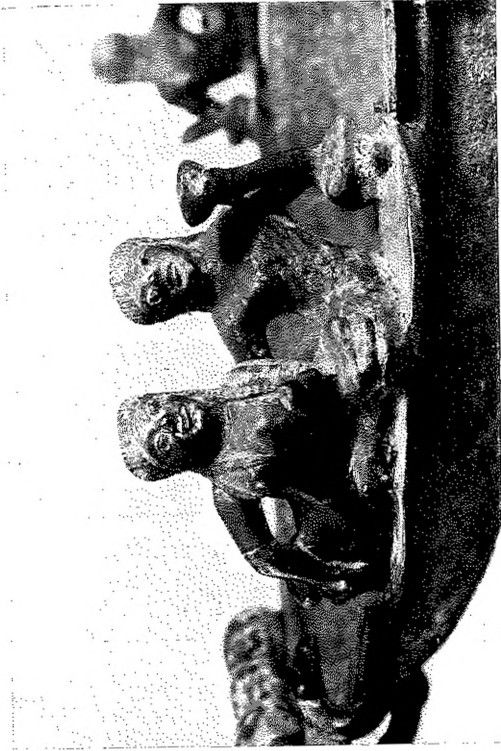
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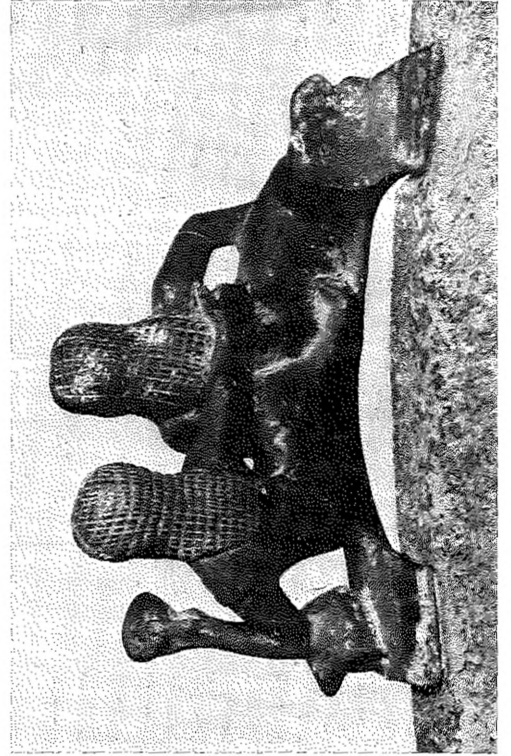


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d



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d



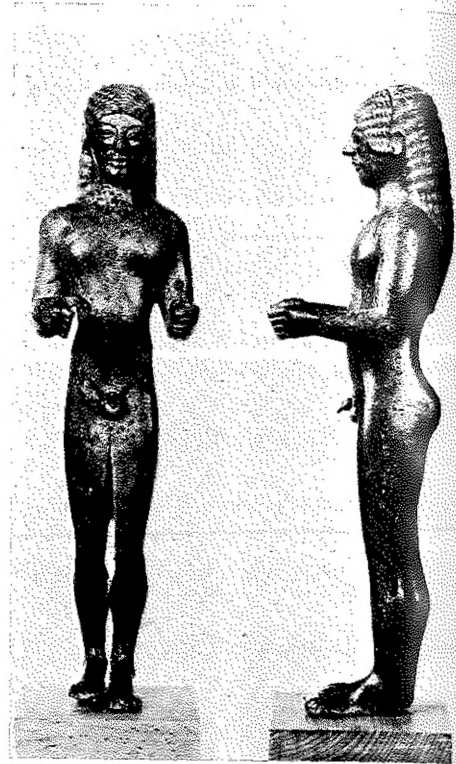
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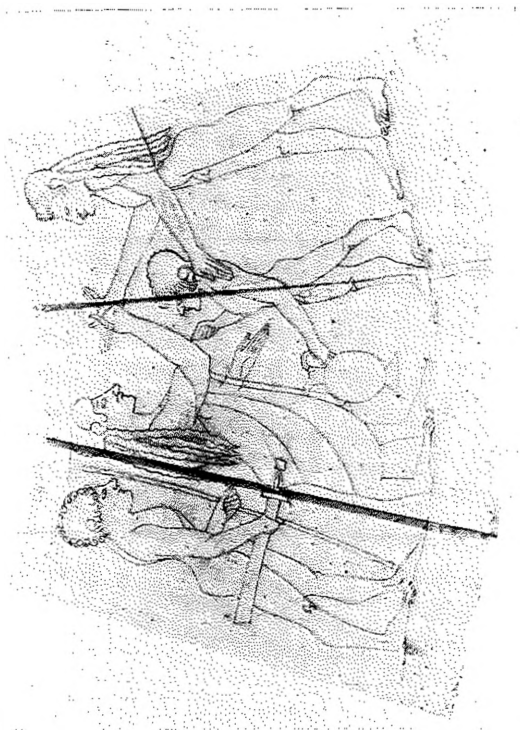
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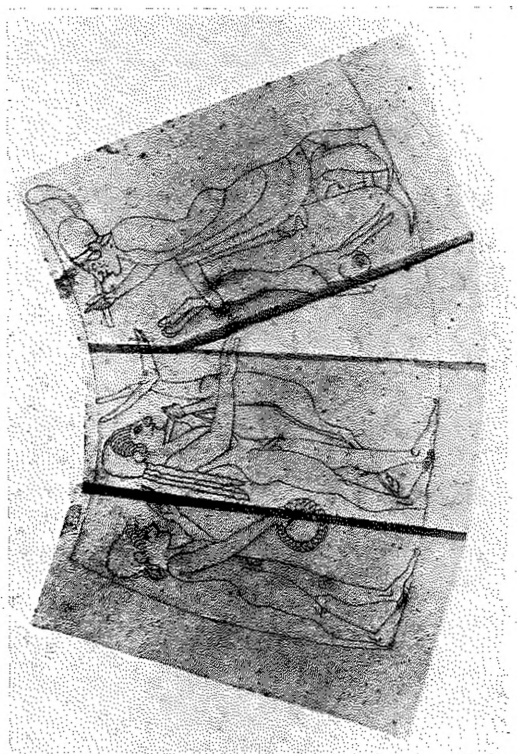
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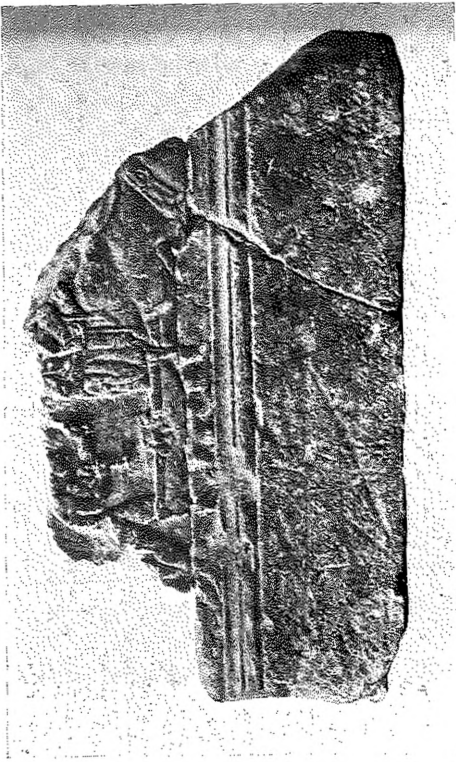
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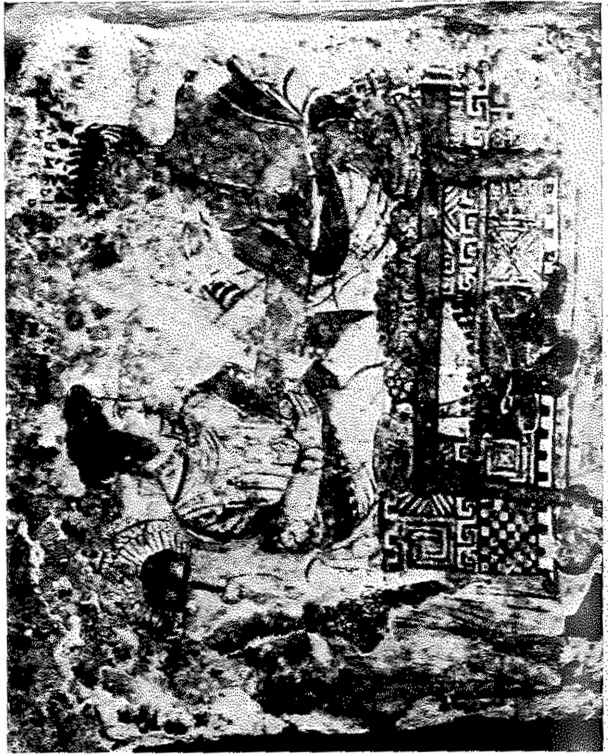
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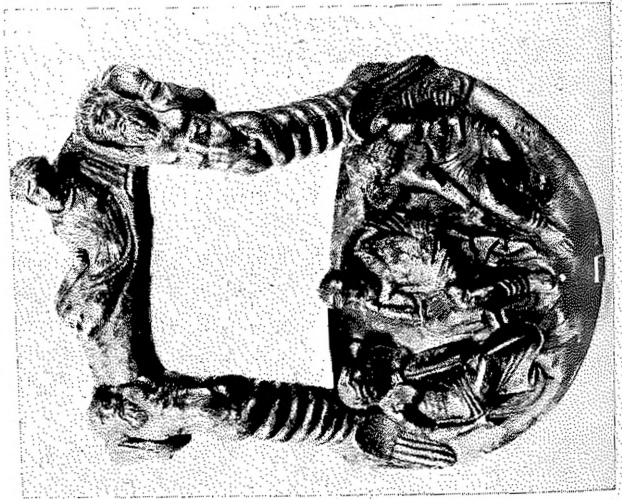
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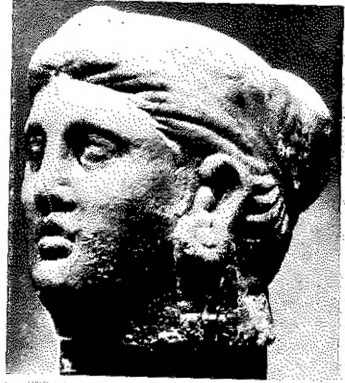
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b



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d