

VULCIENTIA VETUSTIORA

A Study of Archaic Vulcian Bronzes

By P.J. RIIS



Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter **19**

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Preface

It was when writing my "Tyrrhenika" that I began studying the so-called Vulcian bronze industry as it was defined by Professor Karl Anton Neugebauer. A few years before I had the opportunity of seeing him in the Antiquarium of the Berlin Museums, where he was the director. I wanted information on different Etruscan objects, but we did not discuss the art of Vulci in particular. In fact, I owe more to Sir John Beazley, who from 1936 onwards followed my Etruscan studies with interest and gave me much advice and inspiration. Due to him I was invited to publish the Uffington Hermes and thus to revert to the study of the Vulcian bronzes. Two other scholars who encouraged and helped me in the early phases of this work should also be mentioned, Professors Bernard Ashmole and Paul Jacobsthal.

With a grant from the Ny Carlsberg Foundation I was in 1956 enabled to begin a systematic registration of Vulcian and related bronzes, an enterprise which in the later years has been continued by building up a database at the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology in the University of Copenhagen by means of a subvention from the Carlsberg Foundation. It is impossible here to enumerate all those who in some way or other have assisted in this registration; but three of my collaborators must be named, as they have given me their aid at crucial points in the process: Mrs. Annette Rathje, Lecturer of Classical Archaeology in the University of Copenhagen, Mrs. Susanne Bernth and Miss Alexandra Nilsson, assistants in the National Museum of Denmark.

Throughout the years I have received much support from my colleagues and the staffs in the National Museum, in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek and in the Thorvaldsen Museum, in the final stage of my work especially from Mrs. Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen of the National Museum, Mrs. Mette Moltesen and Mr. Claus Grønne of the Glyptotek, and Mr. Torben Melander of the Thorvaldsen Museum. A great number of col-

leagues in foreign countries have moreover provided me with useful information and permission to reproduce museum photographs: in Oxford Professor Sir John Boardman and Mr. M. Vickers of the Ashmolean Museum, Mr. J. Coote and Miss K. White of the Pitt Rivers Museum, in Cambridge Professor A. M. Snodgrass and Dr. Penelope Wilson, in London Dr. D. J. R. Williams of the British Museum, in Edinburgh Dr. E. Goring of the Royal Museum of Scotland, in Paris Mme M. F. Briguet of the Musée du Louvre, Mme S. Edard of the Musée des Arts Décoratifs and Mme I. Aghion of the Bibliothèque Nationale, in Brussels Professor J.-C. Balty and Mme C. Evers of the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, in Leiden Dr. R. B. Halbertsma of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, in Berlin Professor W.-D. Heilmeyer and Dr. U. Kästner of the Staatliche Museen, in Mainz Professor F.-W. von Hase of the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, in Karlsruhe Dr. M. Maass of the Badisches Landesmuseum, in Munich Dr. F.-W. Hamdorf of the Staatliche Antikensammlungen, in Wien Dr. K. Geschwantler of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, in Florence Professor F. Nicosia of the Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana, in Perugia Professor A. E. Feruglio of the Soprintendenza Archeologica per l'Umbria, in Rome Dr. F. Buranelli of the Vatican Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Dr. A. M. Moretti of the Soprintendenza Archeologica per l'Etruria Meridionale, Dr. J. Zahle and Mrs. K. Ascani of the Accademia di Danimarca, in Athens Professor K. Fittschen and Dr. H. R. Goette of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. I wish to express my deep gratitude to all the institutions and persons mentioned above. The manuscript was ready for press at the end of 1996. The publication was made possible by means of a special grant from the Carlsberg Foundation, to whose Board of Directors I offer my sincere thanks.

Copenhagen, July 3rd 1997.

P. J. Riis

Abbreviations

(See also Archäologische Bibliographie des deutschen archäologischen Instituts)

- ActaA = Acta Archaeologica.
 Adam = A.-M. Adam, Bronzes étrusques et italiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris 1984.
 AdI = Annali dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica.
 AmsterdamAPM = Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum.
 AthensNM = Athens, National Museum.
 Babelon & Blanchet = E. Babelon & J.-A. Blanchet, Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris 1895.
 BaselAM = Basel, Antikenmuseum.
 BaselMMAG = Basel, Münzen und Medaillen, A. G.
 BdA = Bollettino d'Arte.
 BdI = Bullettino dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica.
 BerlinSM = Berlin, Staatliche Museen.
 BMBronzes = H. B. Walters, Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman and Etruscan, in the British Museum, London 1899.
 BMNimrudIvories = R. D. Barnett, Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories in the British Museum, London 1957.
 BolognaMC = Bologna, Museo Civico.
 BostonMFA = Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.
 Brown = W. L. Brown, The Etruscan Lion, Oxford 1960.
 BrusselsMRAH = Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire.
 BurlExh = Burlington Fine Arts Club, Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art, London 1904.
 CambridgeFM = Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum.
 CAVulci = A. Neppi Modona (ed.), La civiltà arcaica di Vulci e la sua espansione (Atti del X^o Convegno di Studi Etruschi e Italici), Florence 1977.
 CopenhagenNCG = Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.
 CopenhagenNM = Copenhagen, National Museum.
 CopenhagenTM = Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum.
 Della Seta = A. della Seta, Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome 1918.
 De Ridder = A. de Ridder, Les bronzes antiques du Louvre I-II, Paris 1913-15.
 ETH = P. J. Riis, Etruscan Types of Heads, Copenhagen 1981.
 Etruskerstadt = F. Poulsen, Aus einer alten Etruskerstadt, Copenhagen 1927.
 FerraraMNS = Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina.
 FlorenceMAN = Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.
 FPU = Finding place unknown.
 Giglioli = G. Q. Giglioli, L'arte etrusca, Milan 1935.
 Hama = Hama, Fouilles et recherches de la Fondation Carlsberg I-IV3, Copenhagen 1948-97.
 HamburgMKG = Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe.
 HaynesEB = S. Haynes, Etruscan Bronzes, London 1985.
 HaynesEBU = S. Haynes, Etruscan Bronze Utensils, London 1965.
 Jacobsthal & Langsdorff = P. Jacobsthal & A. Langsdorff, Die Bronzeshnabelkannen, Berlin 1929.
 JbRGZM = Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums.
 Krauskopf = I. Krauskopf, Der Thebanische Sagenkreis in der etruskischen Kunst, Mainz 1974.
 LeidenRO = Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.
 Magi = F. Magi, La Raccolta Guglielmi II, Vatican 1941.
 MainzRGZM = Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum.
 MasterBronzes = S. Doehringer & D. G. Mitten, Master Bronzes from the Classical World, New York 1967.
 MdI = Monumenti dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica.
 MEFRA = Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome.
 MMABull = Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.
 MonLinc = Monumenti antichi dell'Accademia dei Lincei.
 MunichMAK = Munich, Museum antiker Kleinkunst.
 MusGreg = Museum Etruscum Gregorianum, Rome 1842.
 NCGAncSc = F. Poulsen, Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen 1951.
 NCGBild = Bildertafeln des etruskischen Museums (Helbig Museum) der Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen 1928.
 NCGBill = Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Billedtavler til Kataloget over antike Kunstværker, Copenhagen 1907.
 NCGColl = From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 1-3, Copenhagen 1931-42.
 NCGEtr = Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, den etruskiske Samling, Copenhagen 1966.
 Neugebauer, Führer = K. A. Neugebauer, Führer durch das Antiquarium, Berlin 1924.
 NewYorkMMA = New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.
 NMArb = Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark.
 OxfordAM = Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.
 OxfordPRM = Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum.
 ParisBN = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.
 ParisMAD = Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs.
 ParisML = Paris, Musée du Louvre.
 ParisPP = Paris, Petit Palais.
 PerugiaMAN = Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

RichardsonEVB = E. H. Richardson, *Etruscan Votive Bronzes*, Mainz 1983.

RomeVG = Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia.

San Giovanale = A. Boëthius (ed.), *San Giovanale*, Malmö 1960.

StPetersburgEM = St. Petersburg, Ermitage Museum.

Teitz = R. S. Teitz, *Masterpieces of Etruscan Art*, Worcester, Mass. 1967.

Tyrrh = P. J. Riis, *Tyrrhenika*, Copenhagen 1941.

VaticanMGE = Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco.

ViennaKM = Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Chapter I

Was there a Vulcian Bronze Industry of an Artistic Character?

Etruscan bronzes were much appreciated in Antiquity. They were widely spread, and as time passed they became even objects of collecting by connoisseurs; both Horace, Pliny the Elder and Athenaios bear witness to their fame in the Roman Empire.¹ Fine specimens have been found in archaeological contexts in Greece, Germany and France, e. g. on the Akropolis of Athens, in Olympia, and in princely graves beyond the Alps. For both Strabo and Quintilian the characteristic Etruscan style was archaic, which probably means that the production culminated in the 6th or early 5th century B.C.²

Of course, bronzes in Etruscan style have been found in all parts of Central Italy west of the Appennines (fig. 1). This region is by nature divided into three: I. The foreland of the Appennines with the low limestone hills north of the valley in which flows the river Ombrone. – II. The northern part of the Central Italian volcanic zone south of the Ombrone valley and north of the La Tolfa-Ciminian hills. – III. The southern part of the volcanic zone from the La Tolfa-Ciminian range to Monte Circeo in the south. The natural limits between these three countries are determined by the watersheds in the hills and their spurs towards the sea, i.e. one line running from the extinguished volcano Monte Amiata to

the Monti dell' Uccellina at the coast north of Talamone, and the other from the environs of Bomarzo to the coast near Civitavecchia. So, the second part of the Central Italian region west of the Appennines comprised the ancient Etruscan towns of Vulci, Volsinii and Tarquinii.³

To a certain extent the modern study of Etruscan bronzes was started by the German scholar Karl Anton Neugebauer in his fundamental article “Die Bronzeindustrie von Vulci”, appeared in the *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1923/24. Taking for basis a series of implements found at Vulci,⁴ preferably the so-called rod-tripods decorated with figures, he assembled several other bronzes to workshops in that town, which was one of the twelve members of the Etruscan League. However, there is no written evidence of a Vulcian bronze industry, nor have local bronze factories been found, and even if many bronzes belonging to the large group attributed to Vulci actually were excavated in its cemeteries, we have to-day after seventy years of research only to do with a working theory. What W. Llewellyn Brown in 1960 wrote in his book “The Etruscan Lion” is still valid: “I do not consider it proved that this large bronze industry had its seat in Vulci, but the name ‘Vulcian’ to describe it is convenient because it is widely accepted and understood”,⁵ and similar words were uttered recently by Brian B. Shefton: “Wenn ich ‘Vulci’ nenne, meine ich

1: Horace, *Epistulae* II 2.180: “Tyrrhena sigilla” as objects of collecting. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* XXXIV 7 (16). 34: “Signa quoque Tuscanica per terras dispersa quin in Etruria factitata sint, non est dubium”. Athenaios, *Deipnosophistae* I 28 b (50): Τυρονηνῆ is not only a χρυσότυπος φιάλη, but πᾶς χαλκός ὅτις κοσμεῖ δόμον ἐν τινι χρειᾷ, and XV 700 c (60) the question τίς τῶν λυχναίων ἠργασία; is simply answered with the word Τυρρηνική.

2: Strabo, *Geographia* XVII 806. Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* XII 10.7.

3: Cf. P. J. Riis, *Tyrrhenika* (henceforth quoted as Tyrrh), Copenhagen 1941, 6 pl. 24.

4: Vulci or Volcei was the Latin name of the town, in Greek Οὐλκοί or Ὀλκίον, probably from *Fούλκοι. The inhabitants were called Vulceiani or Volceiani, Vulcientes or Volcentani, in Greek Ὀλκίεις or Ὀλκίηται.

5: W. Llewellyn Brown, *The Etruscan Lion* (henceforth quoted as Brown), Oxford 1960, 95 note 1.

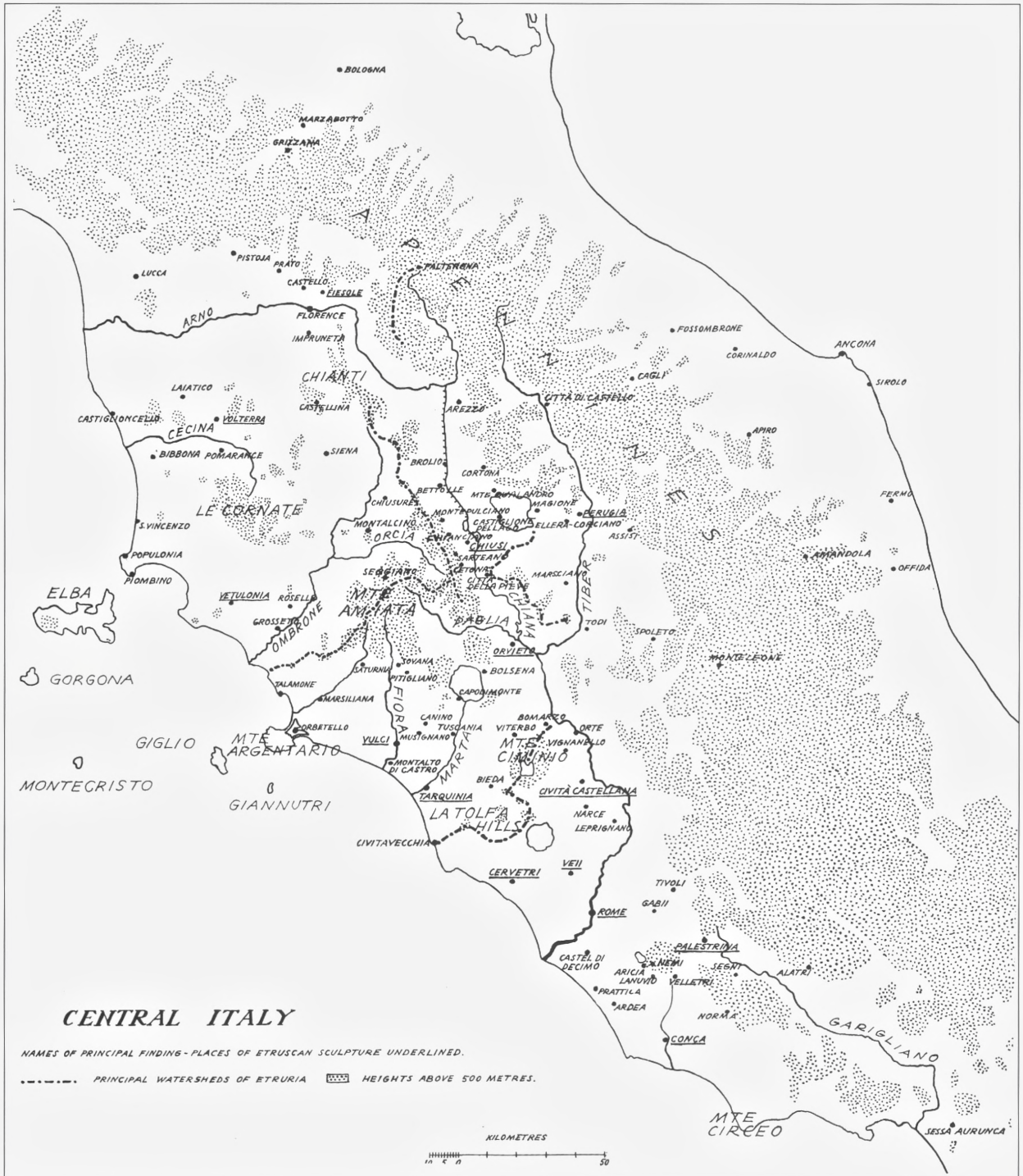


Fig. 1. Map of Central Italy. (Drawing by P. J. Riis).

im Grunde den südlichen Teil der Etruria Maritima, wo eine unverkennbare, über mehrere Generationen andauernde Fundkonzentration geradezu an Vulci im engeren Sinne denken lässt".⁶

When I myself in 1936 began to take an interest in this problem and by chance had to with Campanian bronzes I realized that it was difficult to distinguish certain Late Archaic non-Greek bronzes found in Campania from the so-called Vulcian ones, and when I really started to study the latter, I ran into similar difficulties looking at finds from Tarquinia and Orvieto.⁷ I particularly found the similarities between the Vulcian bronzes and the Orvietan terracottas and stone sculptures so great that I for some time was inclined to regard the bronzes as made in the ancient Volsinii.⁸ In my early notebooks the word Orvietan was therefore employed where I would now write Vulcian without meaning more than Brown. The idea of Volsinii as the home of the bronzes was supported by two facts: Firstly that the same style is represented in the so-called Orvieto find in Copenhagen, a series of antiquities partially published 1927 by Frederik Poulsen in "Aus einer alten Etruskerstadt" and divided between the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek and the National Museum of Denmark.⁹ Secondly that there is a literary tradition of an enormously great Roman booty of bronze statues in Volsinii 264 B.C.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the Orvieto find is nowadays hardly fit to be used in this connection, as there is considerable uncertainty about the provenience

stated by the dealer. According to the late Sir John Beazley, who generally was very well informed, and who moreover had close relations to the Marchesi Guglielmi di Vulci, the objects acquired 1924 by the Ny Carlsberg Foundation of Copenhagen had in reality been part of the Guglielmi property and been found on their Vulcian estate.¹¹ As to the literary note on the many Volsinian bronzes, there is no absolute agreement about the identity of Orvieto and Volsinii; but to judge from the new Orvietan finds¹² viewed together with the ancient records dealing with Volsinii Veteres and the principal sanctuary of the Etruscan League, the Fanum Voltumnae, the latter lay in this town, and so both the very rich local terracotta finds and Pliny's remark on the numerous bronzes can easily be understood. We are in fact only informed about the bronze statues having been put up in Volsinii, not about their place of origin. The importance of the town as a religious and political centre makes it possible that a great deal of the bronzes, perhaps even the majority, were offerings and importations from other Etruscan towns.

6: Die Etrusker und Europa, Paris 1992, 108.

7: Tyrrh, 77-78.

8: For the identification of Volsinii with Orvieto, see P. J. Riis, Etruscan Types of Heads (henceforth quoted as ETH), Copenhagen 1981, 56 note 235, 60.

9: The entire lot comprises 110 items, 49 in the Glyptotek (Inv. Nos. 2692-2705, 2715-2719 and 2748, H. Inv. Nos. 445-473), 61 in the National Museum (Inv. Nos. 8295-8355).

10: Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* XXXIV 7 (16). 34: "propter duo milia statuarum Volsinios expugnatos".

11: ETH 83-84. In a private letter of May 5th, 1995 the Director of the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Dr. Francesco Buranelli, who in connection with the Vatican's recent acquisitions has studied the history of the Guglielmi family and its excavations (cf. his book *La raccolta Giacinto Guglielmi*, Vaticano 1989), kindly gave me the following valuable information: "Non ho elementi per confermare o contraddire quanto hanno sostenuto il Beazley e il Magi sui materiali pubblicati dal Poulsen, ma l'autorevolezza dei due archeologi ed i buoni rapporti che essi avevano con la famiglia Guglielmi potrebbero far ritenere plausibile la loro teoria. Le ricordo che negli anni della pubblicazione del Poulsen venne scavato a Vulci il canale idroelettrico che sventrò la necropoli e tutto l'altopiano della città antica, favorendone forse la dispersione di alcuni materiali". The said "canale idroelettrico" was made in the years 1919 and 1920, A. Modena (ed.), *La civiltà arcaica di Vulci e la sua espansione* (Atti del X Convegno di Studi Etruschi e Italici) (henceforth quoted as *CAVulci*), Florence 1977, 71.

12: ETH 56 note 235, 60 note 242.



Fig. 2. Map of the territory of Vulci. (Drawing by P. J. Riis).

In spite of all uncertainties and reservations we are on comparatively firm ground with the so-called Vulcian bronzes, in so far as it seems without discussion that they cannot be located outside the rather small Central Etruscan country; but if we shall succeed in locating the production more closely, we must try to trace it back to its roots in the Central Etruscan society of the period characterized by the Orientalizing style, and we must try to distinguish the products of some leading workshops from those of less important ones and to compare the result with the geographical distribution. If we shall evaluate the possibilities of Vulci to come into consideration as the home of the production, we have first

of all to look at the geographical situation of the Vulcian city state.

The territory of Vulci was towards the north-west limited by the natural border of Central Etruria, the hills between Monte Amiata and the coast, towards the northeast by the hills west of Lake Bolsena, and towards the southeast by the river Arrone (fig. 2).¹³ So, the important finding-places Talamone, Marsiliana, Magliano, Saturnia, Sovana, and Poggio Buco all belonged to the territory. There were iron mines at Magliano, copper and iron ore also occurred on the Monte

13: See the map A. Carandini (ed.) *La romanizzazione dell'Etruria: il territorio di Vulci*, Rome 1985, 48 fig. 34.

Argentario south of Talamone and Marsiliana, iron on the island Giglio west of Monte Argentario, moulds for casting metal have been found in the remains of a Protovillanovan settlement at Scarceta c. 15 km. north-northwest of Vulci, and in the same region also two foundry hoards of the same time.¹⁴ Apparently there was in the Vulcian state a base for a beginning production of bronzes, but the country did probably not have the necessary supplies for a growing industry, and certainly not for that which issued the famous "Vulcian" works of the late 6th and early 5th century B.C. No doubt, raw material had to be brought from other parts of Central Italy or even more distant places. The North Etruscan states had sufficient resources to exploit for export; but it may have been a political question to obtain their help, and perhaps it was easier to import the metals from Corsica and Sardinia. Actually there is evidence of early ties between Vulci and Sardinia, as three Sardinian bronzes, a human figure, a pyxis and a miniature stool, have been discovered in a Vulcian grave of the late 9th or early 8th century B.C.¹⁵ Also later finds document commercial relations across the Tyrrhenian Sea; Etruscan pottery from Vulci has turned up in Sardinia,¹⁶ and Vulcian transport amphorae made about 600 B.C. have been found at Aleria (Alalia) in Corsica and at the south point of the island.¹⁷

The present situation of Vulci may not seem to have favoured a maritime trade; but conditions were different in pre-Roman times. Recent research has shown that the Tyrrhenian sea-shore

had a very different character from what we see to-day. No doubt the mouths of the rivers Fiora and Albegna, Vulci's and Marsiliana's connections with the sea provided good anchorage as did the bays at Talamone and Monte Argentario, and as regards Vulci itself, especially the then much larger lagoon of Burano was presumably navigable in a way to make the access to the city easier (fig. 3).¹⁸ The route chosen by the Vulcian tradesmen-sailors must have been by Monte Argentario only 30 km. from Vulci, from there 20 km. to Giglio, and then by Montecristo to Aleria on the east coast of Corsica, the distances of the latter two passages being 50 and 70 km. respectively. From Aleria the important harbours of Sardinia could be soon reached.

A look at the earliest finds of artistic products within the Vulcian territory will be useful if we are to determine the possibilities of the country's giving rise to an industry issuing bronze figures and implements decorated with such pieces.

Perhaps the earliest bronze work of art from Vulci which may be of local origin is the hut urn of the mid-8th century, related to the ones found at other Central Italian places, but not completely similar.¹⁹ More interesting from an artistic point of view is a scabbard with two plastic figures at the opening, one male and one female, from an 8th century grave in the Vulcian Necropoli dell'Osteria.²⁰ If it was made locally we cannot tell, but the possibility exists. From the same cemetery, found in 1965, came a globular head with neck and the forearms with hands of an urn

14: CAVulci 138-139 nos. 5. 2. 5-7, 151 nos. 5. 3. 4, 158-159, 215, cf. 100 fig. 1 nos. 24, 28 and 38, pl. 39 nos. 2-3, G. Camporeale (ed.), *L'Etruria mineraria*, Milan 1985, 32, *Die Etrusker und Europa*, Paris 1992, 36.

15: CAVulci 74 pl. 27 fg. M. Gras, *Trafics tyrrhéniens archaïques*, Rome 1985, 144-147 pl. 4. 1-3, *Die Etrusker und Europa*, Paris 1992, 116-117 nos. 36-38.

16: *Colloques internationaux du CNRS 569*, Paris 1978, 144, *Società e Cultura in Sardegna*, Cagliari 1985, 43-44, 57-58, pls. 13-14.

17: *Archeo Dossier 2*, Novara 1985, 22.

18: *Archaeology 26* 1973, 198-212 with map 207. A Vulcian harbour settlement at Le Murelle, the ancient Regae halfway between the mouths of Fiora and Arrone, existed from the late 6th century B.C. onwards, CAVulci 210-213 fig. 5, pls. 38-39 and 44.

19: *Rome VG 84900*, from Vulci, M. Sprenger & G. Bartoloni, *Die Etrusker*, Munich 1977, 80 fig. 6, S. Haynes, *Etruscan Bronzes* (henceforth quoted as HaynesEB), London 1985, 131, 245-246 no. 3.

20: *Rome VG 64487*, from Vulci. M. Pallottino e.a., *Il Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia*, Rome 1980, 39 figs. 18 and 20, HaynesEB 73.



Fig. 3. Map of the Etruscan coast and islands. Lagoons and rivers hypothetically navigable in Etruscan times are reconstructed. (After *Archaeology* 26 1973, 207).



Fig. 4. Bern, Collection E. Bloch-Diener. (After *Kunst der Etrusker*, Hamburg 1981, 30 no. 12).

resembling a specimen of unknown provenience in a Swiss private collection (fig. 4). As several scholars have pointed out, this type of ossuary seems to have been restricted to the Vulcian area in the first half of the 7th century, being the prototype of the Clusine canopic jars.²¹ A bust of

21: *Rome VG 84875 + 84867 + 84868*, CAVulci 175-177, 182, 200-201 fig. 2, pls. 34 a-b and 40 a-b, *Kunst der Etrusker*, Hamburg 1981, 29-30, *Gnomon* 56 1984, 167, M. Cristofani, *I bronzi degli Etruschi*, Novara 1985, 214, 288 nos. 107-108.



Fig. 5. London, British Museum 434. (After *Antike Plastik IV 2* pl. 9).

sheet bronze from Marsiliana is technically related to the just-mentioned objects and datable to the second quarter of the 7th century; it lay in the fossa grave no. 41 of the Banditella necropolis, the so-called Circolo della Fibula,²² which also contained another work of consider-

22: *Florence MAN. A. Minto*, Marsiliana d'Albegna, Florence 1921, 87, 276-277 pl. 43, Cristofani, *op. cit.* 215, 288-289 no. 109, A. Maggiani in *Archeo* 90, Novara 1992, 76: "simbolica reintegrazione del 'principe' incinerato".

able importance, the well-known ivory figure of a naked woman squeezing her breasts for milk.²³ She is an Etruscan imitation of North-Syrian representations of the fecundity goddess,²⁴ and she has a globular head recalling that of the anthropoid ossuaries. That in fact North Syrian works of art happened to come as far as to the Vulcian city-state has recently been stressed by Annette Rathje.²⁵ Such pieces may well have reached Vulci by Sardinia, where Phoenicians seem to have settled no later than about the end of the 8th century, perhaps earlier, to judge by the finds at Nora, Sulcis and Tharros.²⁶

It has often been assumed that the Orientalizing works excavated at Vulci and Marsiliana were importations from Vetulonia or Caere;²⁷ but if there were Orientals established in Sardinia in the 8th century already, and trade relations between Sardinia and Vulci existed about the same time, the Oriental artistic impulses may well have come directly from Sardinia, and so it is

probable that Vulci and not Marsiliana was the town where the new local style was born.^{27a}

Orientalizing ivories and a bust of sheet metal, but this time silver, are also among the treasures coming from another Banditella grave at Marsiliana, the Circolo degli Avori. The bust was stylistically more advanced than that in the Circolo della Fibula, but unfortunately very little of it has been preserved: ears and other small parts of the head.²⁸ Of the ivories I would like to mention two combs, as they like the nude ivory woman obviously are imitations of North-Syrian, probably Hamatite products.²⁹

The fully developed archaic style of Vulci is well represented by the local stone sculptures, in some cases still with reminiscences of the Orientalizing art,³⁰ and in the big bust of sheet-bronze belonging to the outfit of the Vulcian Isis or Polledrara Tomb (fig. 5) no element of Orientalizing character is left, and so most modern scholars place it in the 6th century.³¹ However, the technique and the wavy locks connect it with the relics of the silver bust from Marsiliana, and it is certainly more primitive than the stone statue

23: *Florence MAN*. Minto, op. cit. 86, 216-217 pl. 16. 2, G. Hanfmann, *Altetruskische Plastik*, Würzburg 1936, 31-32 no. 2, Y. Huls, *Ivories d'Etrurie*, Bruxelles 1957, 40 no. 13, 146-149 pl. 9, *StEtr* 37 1969, 359 pl. 84, I. Strøm, *Problems concerning the Origin and Early Development of the Etruscan Orientalizing Style*, Odense 1971, 192-193, L. Bonfante in *Brendel Essays*, Mainz 1976, 16-17 pl. 4 f-g, A. Maggiani in *Archeo* 90, Novara 1992, 77 (the illustration reversed).

24: Cf. *BMNimrudIvories* pls. 63. S146, 70. S183-184, 76.S231 and 234, 122.V16, *Ivories from Nimrud IV* 2 pls, 343 no. 1296 and 345 no. 1301, *Hama II* 2, 221-225.

25: *Stips Votiva*, Papers Presented to C. M. Stibbe, Amsterdam 1991, 171-175 fig. 1-5.

26: H. G. Niemeyer and W. Röllig in *JRGZM* 31 1984, 10-11 and 13 fig. 5. 1, F. Barreca in *BdA* 31/32 1985, 59, H. G. Niemeyer, *Das frühe Karthago und die phönizische Expansion im Mittelmeerraum*, Göttingen 1989, 25-26, S. F. Bondi in *Archeo* 96, Novara 1993, 48-49, 55.

27: E. g. G. C. Cianferoni & M. Cygielman (edd.), *Etrusker in der Toskana*, Hamburg 1987, 155-156 no. 206, 166 no. 240, 167-168 no. 243, G. Camporeale in *StEtr* 35 1967, 31-40 pl. 12, Cianferoni & Cygielman, op. cit. 27, 136 nos. 138-139.

27a: Cf. the remarks of G. Camporeale in *CAVulci* 216. In the opinion of G. Colonna, *ibid.* 202, Marsiliana, which was important as a station on the land route from Vulci to the North Etruscan mine district, was destroyed by the Vulcians c. 620 B.C.

28: *Florence MAN 117397*. Minto, op. cit. 121, 211, Cianferoni & Cygielman, op. cit. 151-152 no. 197.

29: *Florence MAN 93437*, Minto, op. cit. 122-123, 226-229 fig. 13 a-b pl. 17, Huls, op. cit. 38-39 no. 11 pl. 7, Cianferoni & Cygielman, op. cit. 33, 155-156 no. 206. Cf. *BMNimrud Ivories* pl. 21. S6, *Hama II* 2, 221-225.

30: A. Rumpf, *Staatliche Museen Berlin, Katalog der etruskischen Skulpturen*, Berlin 1928, 12 no. E 1 pl. 1, *Tyrrh* 75 no. 1, 195, from Vulci. Mrs. S. Haynes, *AntK* 6 1963, 3-4 does not share my opinion that the alabastra British Museum D 2-3, *ActaA* 27 1956, 28 nos. B 1-2, from the Isis Tomb at Vulci, are Etruscan.

31: *LondonBM 434*, *Tyrrh* 88, 159, S. Haynes in *Antike Plastik IV* 2, Berlin 1965, 13-14, 20-27 pls. 9-11 figs. 2-10, M. Cristofani, *I bronzi degli Etruschi*, Novara 1985, 111. The chariot frieze does not belong.

found in the grave;³² M. Cristofani dated it to the last quarter of the 7th century, whereas Sybille Haynes put it in the first quarter of the 6th. In so far as it marks a clear tradition from the quoted early repoussé bronzes we may, in spite of the ties with Marsiliana, regard it as a local product, and it cannot be precluded that the Marsiliana bronzes also were Vulcian or at least dependent on Vulcian models. It is normal that a beginning bronze industry trying to produce works of art prefers using sheet metal and reluctantly embarks on casting figures, and then only small ones; for the making of bigger cast representations request of course more knowledge and experience.

The provenience "Vulci, Campanari 1847" is indicated for a Late Orientalizing cast bronze protome from an andiron; it has the shape of the forepart of a griffon and is by Mrs. Haynes held to have been made somewhere in coastal Etruria about 600.³³ It is different from and later than the protomai on the Praenestine Barberini cauldron, but earlier than the Brolio cauldron's and that of the Clusine chariot pole,³⁴ and in fact we find similar birds and griffons on an ostrich egg from the Isis tomb at Vulci, probably a local work.³⁵ Equally from Vulci, and by Mrs. Haynes regarded as a Vulcian work of c. 575-550, is a cast handle in the Vatican, showing a male acrobatic figure, a type to become rather popular in later

Etruscan bronze industry (fig. 6),³⁶ and to Vulci she has also ascribed a sheet-bronze vase in the shape of a siren with a cast female handle-figure of the same kind as that just mentioned,³⁷ although being as late as about 550 it is technically and stylistically close to the bust of sheet-bronze from the Isis tomb.

So it seems that some production of cast bronzes was going on at Vulci in the Early Archaic period, and it is tempting to attribute a few more pieces to the same centre. The first one I would like to mention is the votive kouros from Ghiaccio Forte c. 8 km. northeast of Marsiliana, i.e. still within the Vulcian territory (fig. 7).³⁸ It is varyingly dated, to the second quarter of the 6th century, and c. 550-520. Viewed en face as well as in profile it offers some similarity to the bust from the Isis Tomb. The kouros from Talamone, also a place near the northern frontier of the Vulcian state, is my next example (fig. 8).³⁹ I have formerly felt that it had its nearest relatives in North Etruria, but I am now inclined to take it for a Central Etruscan Ionizing work of the 6th century's third quarter; its facial features are not unlike those of the two seated women of terracotta found in the Isis Tomb and probably of local make.⁴⁰

32: *LondonBMD 1*, Antike Plastik IV 2, 15-19 pls. 6-8.

33: *LondonBM 47.11-1,4*. Haynes EB 142, 254 no. 25. The Campanari family of Toscanella began excavations in the Tenuta Camposcala 1828 and provided the Vatican and the British Museum with ancient objects from their digs.

34: H. Mühlstein, *Die Kunst der Etrusker*, Berlin 1929, 203-204 figs. 102-103.

35: *LondonBM 1850, 2-27,5*. StEtr 33 1965, 336 no. 8. F. Johansen, *Reliefs en bronze d'Etrurie*, Copenhagen 1971, 115 note 6, 120 note 17 pl. 41 a, A. Rathje in J. Swaddling (ed.), *Italian Iron Age Artefacts in the British Museum*, London 1986, 397 (2), 399, 402 fig. 1.

36: *VaticanMGE 12725*. HaynesEB 141, 253 no. 22.

37: *LondonBM 1965.7-26.1*. S. Haynes, in *Antike Plastik IV 2*, Berlin 1965, 22 and Haynes EB 141, 253-254 no. 23. Unfortunately, the provenience is unknown.

38: *FlorenceMAN 73.14*. AJA 79 1975, 84-85 pl. 15, M. A. Del Chiaro, *Etruscan Ghiaccio Forte*, Santa Barbara 1976, 17-18, 51 fig. 22 pls. I and D, E. Richardson, *Etruscan Votive Bronzes* (henceforth quoted as Richardson EVB), Mainz 1983, 106 no. 6 pl. 57, 209-211.

39: *FlorenceMAN 73234*. NSc 3 1887, 230-232 pl. 5.2, Tyrhh 106 note 4, 138 pl. 23.3. Richardson EVB 106 no. 5 pl. 56. 207-208, O. v. Vacano, *Gli Etruschi a Talamone*, Bologna 1985, 166-168 fig. 34.

40: Cf. ETH 56 pl. 3. 1F and 2D, 61-62 figs. 34-35, and the Bomford tripod in Oxford, mentioned in Chapter II (fig. 12a-d).

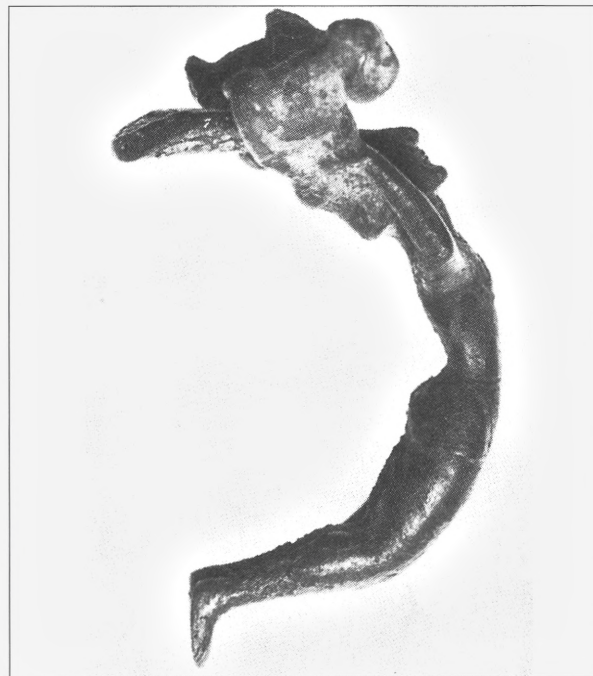
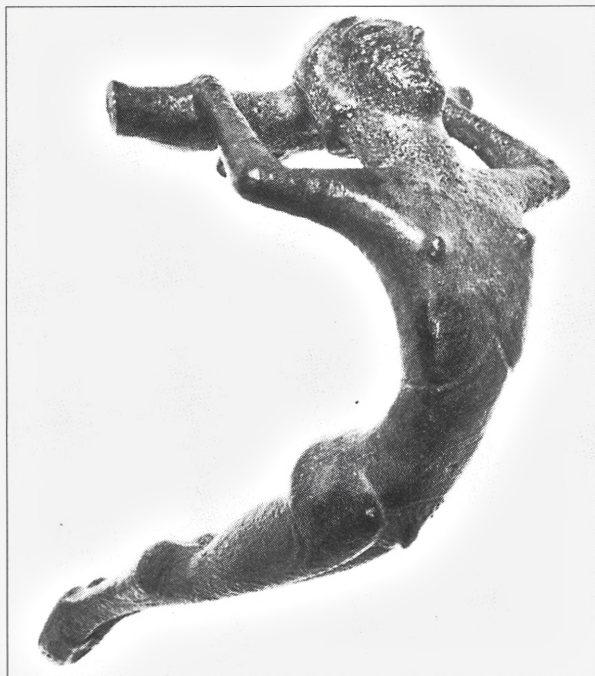


Fig. 6a-b. - a: Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 12725. - b: London, British Museum 1965.7-26.1. (After Haynes, *Etruscan Bronzes* 141 nos. 22-23).



Fig. 7. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 73.14. (After American Journal of Archaeology 79 1975 pl. 15.1 a and d).

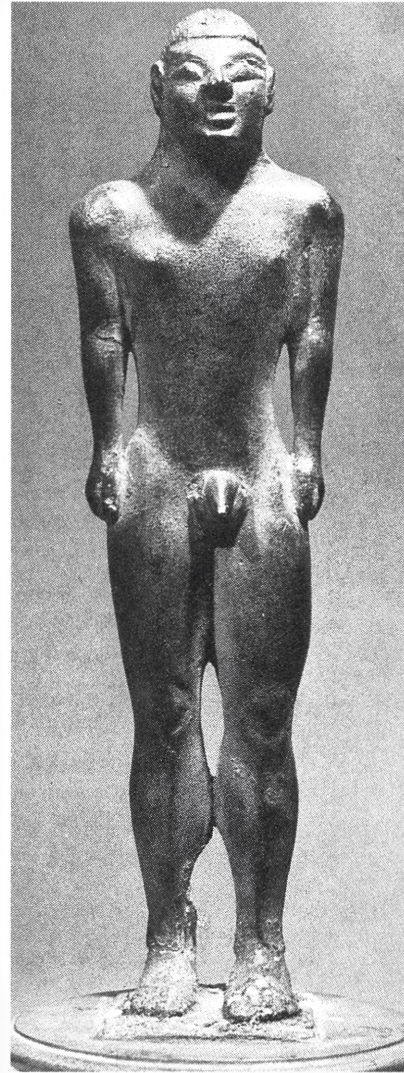
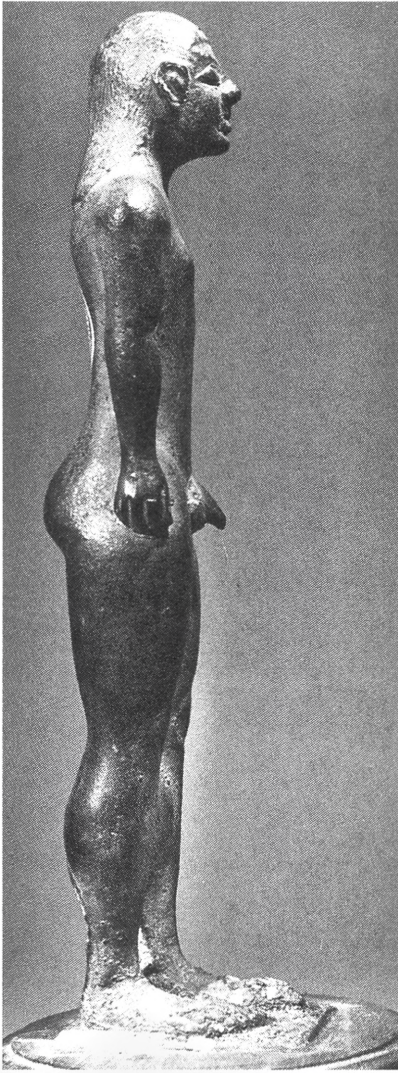


Fig. 8. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 73234. (After Richardson, *Etruscan Votive Bronzes* figs. 207-208).

Between these two kouroi I place two attachments in the shape of heads very much resembling those of the statuettes (fig. 9).⁴¹ About the middle of the 19th century they were in the possession of the art dealer Giuseppe Basseggio in Rome. The finding place is not known; but there is a great probability that it was Vulci, for

41: *CopenhagenNM 1280*. Cf. *ETH* 56 pl. 31E and 2E.

Basseggio's Etruscan and Greek antiquities came to a large extent from the Vulcian excavations,⁴² as was expressly stated by E. Braun: "i vasti magazzini di vulcenti stoviglie posseduti dal sig. Gius. Basseggio". It is even possible that the Danish National Museum's fittings from a rod-tripod of about 600 or the first quarter of the 6th century,

42: *BdI* 1839, 21, *AdI* 14 1842, 62-63, *BdI* 1843, 60, *AZ* 5 NF 1847, 187, *Beil.* 1:4, 5, 7-8 and 24, *Beil.* 2:23-24.

some of them with plastic bull heads, had a Vulcian provenience, as they also belong to the lot originally acquired from Basseggio.⁴³ Typologically these heads are a little less advanced than those on the specimen from Tomba del Tripode at Cerveteri;⁴⁴ the tongue-shaped projections occur on another 6th century tripod, from Falerii.⁴⁵



Fig. 9a-b. Copenhagen, National Museum 1280. Museum Photo (Lennart Larsen).

43: *Copenhagen.NM ad 1248-1299*, ActaA 10 1939, 18-20 no. E 3 fig. 8 a-b.

44: MonLinc 7 1897, 320-321 nos. A-B figs 14-15, ActaA 10 1939, 19 no. E 5, L. Pareti, La Tomba Regolini Galassi, Vatican 1947, 384-385 no. 444 pl. 59, Gnomon 23 1951, 68, BCH 86 1962, 484-486 figs. 10-12 (here dated too early, cf. BCH 88 1964, 443).

45: MonLinc 7 1897, 320-323 no. D fig. 16, ActaA 10 1939, 19 no. E 4, Gnomon 23 1951, 68.

Chapter II

The Horse-Lion-and-Acrobat Tradition

Proceeding to the later phases of the Archaic period we must begin with a wheeled brazier from the Isis Tomb at Vulci, the contents of which included the bust discussed in our Chapter I and there regarded as the product of a local tradition of sheet-bronze making. With this brazier (fig. 10)⁴⁵ we may connect a long series of implements embellished with horses and/or lions, and sometimes even provided with acrobatic figures like those of some cast handles also mentioned in Chapter I. Ornaments, facial features and other details then enable us to attribute other works to the same tradition, and special characteristics make it moreover possible to divide it into three groups.

1. The Early Copenhagen Tripod and Its Relatives

The horses of the Isis Tomb brazier are closely related to three protomai with similar short-cut manes and anatomical details which we find on a tripod said to have come from San Vincenzo 12 km north of Populonia and now in the Danish National Museum (fig. 11 a-c).⁴⁶ The tripod's other protomai are leonine and of the very same style as some on a tripod from Orvieto in New York⁴⁷ and as a couchant lion in the Danish National Museum.⁴⁸ To be linked to these tripods is

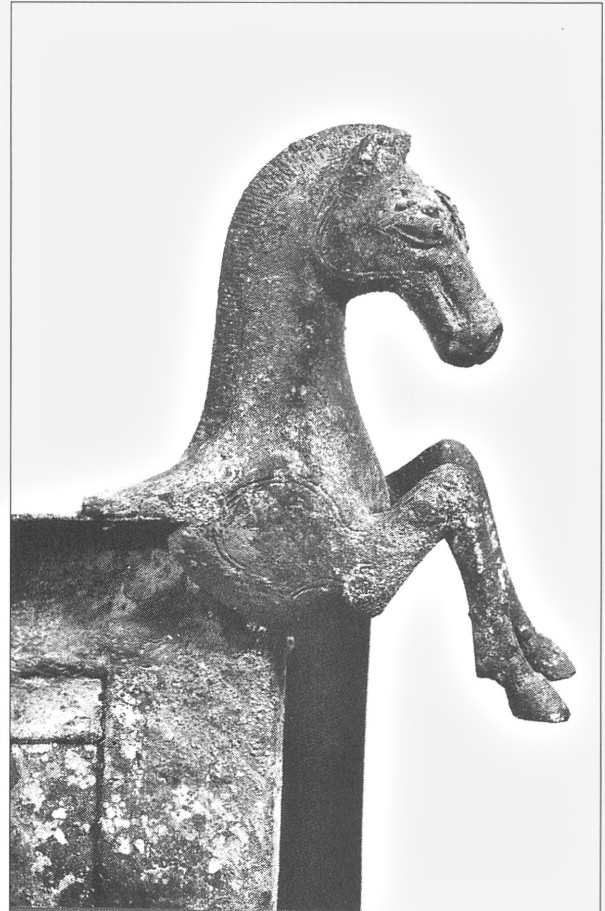


Fig. 10. London, British Museum 437. Museum Photo.

45: *LondonBM 437*, from the Isis tomb at Vulci 1839, ex-Canino, ex-Braun. *ActaA 10 1939*, 3-4 fig. 2, Strøm, op. cit. 190, 284 note 713 fig. 98.

46: *CopenhagenNM 9872*, from tomb at San Vincenzo near Campiglia Marittima, *ActaA 10 1939*, 1-5 fig. 1, 19-21 no. E 8 pls. 1-2, San Giovenale, 365 figs. 379-381, Brown 112-113 pl. 43 d, O. Brendel, *Etruscan Art*², Harmondsworth 1978, 215 fig. 142, T. M. Cross, *Bronze Tripods and Related Stands in the Eastern Mediterranean*, Ann Arbor 1984, 131-132.

47: *New YorkMMA 55.129*, from Orvieto, ex-Hirsch. *MMA Bull 17 1958*, 88-89 figs. 1-4, *BCH 88 1964*, 442. Here lion heads alternate with duck heads.

48: *CopenhagenNM 4205*, FPU, ex-Simonetti 1873/4. C. Blinkenberg, *Führer durch die Antikensammlung, Copenhagen 1899*, 166 no. 42, *ActaA 10 1939*, 3, 5 fig. 3, Brown 113 pl. 43 b.

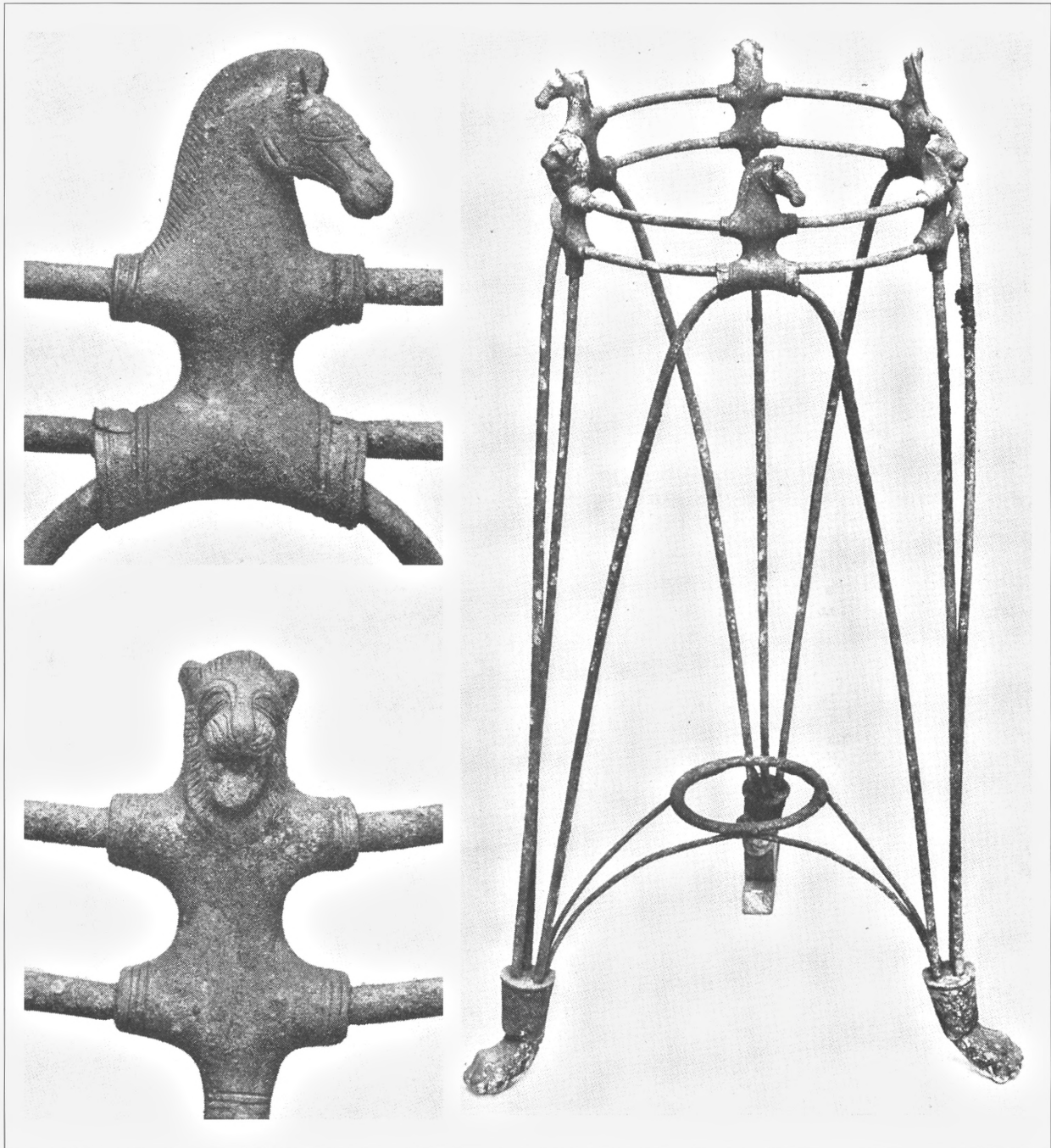
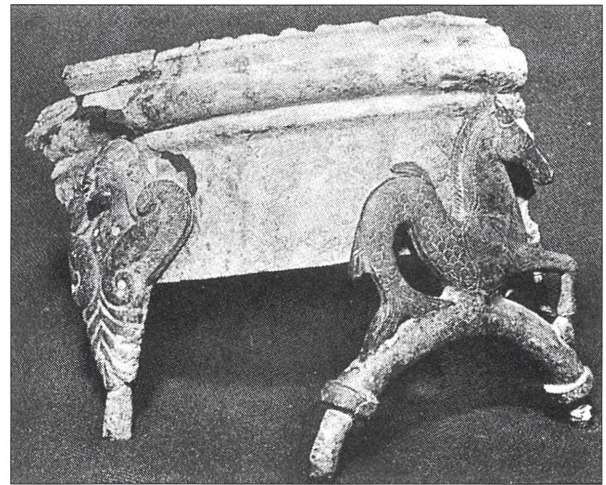


Fig. 11a-c. Copenhagen, National Museum 9872. (After *Acta Archaeologica* 10 1939, 2 fig. 1 a-b and pl. 1).

an isolated tripod foot in the same museum, formerly in Basseggio's possession and so perhaps from Vulci.⁴⁹ Already more than fifty years ago I argued that this small number of bronzes have issued from a Vulcian workshop, a view that was accepted by some scholars; W. L. Brown, on the other hand,⁵⁰ connected it with finds at Castel San Mariano southwest of Perugia, which in my opinion do not look sufficiently close to be attributed to the same centre.

Very near to the Isis tomb horses with cut mane are also the sea-horses belonging to a third tripod, of which several pieces have been acquired by the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, whereas a separate fragment has gone to an American collection (fig. 12 a-d).⁵¹ The finding-place is not known; but Mrs. Haynes has ascribed the tripod to the workshop of the Copenhagen tripod. The facial features of the siren on top of the vertical rods are not un-related to those of the Talamone kouros mentioned in Chapter I. Here, too, we should probably add a Dresden pair of handles with sea-horses, although their manes have the stiff tuft of forehead hair seen on later horses.⁵² These handles resemble the ones of the well-known stamnos from Dürkheim in the Rhineland,⁵³ already by Neugebauer and Jacobs-



49: *CopenhagenNM* 1282, FPU, ex-Basseggio, i. e. possibly from Vulci (see above, notes 41-43) *ActaA* 10 1939, 18-20 no. E 3 fig. 8 b, there ascribed to the same tripod as the fittings fig. 8 a, but I am now less sure about this attribution.

50: Brown 112-113.

51: *OxfordAM* 1971.912, FPU, ex-Bomford. *AntK* 9 1966, 101-102 pl. 24. 1-4, Haynes EB 148, 260-261 no. 42. – *New York, Christos G. Bastis Collection*, FPU. *Master Bronzes* 190 no. 196, E. Swan Hill (ed.), *Antiquities from the Collection of Christos G. Bastis*, New York 1987, 211 no. 119.

52: *Dresden, Albertinum ZV* 30.42, FPU, perhaps from the Viterbo region, ex-Martinetti of Viterbo and later Rome. *Die Welt der Etrusker*, Berlin 1988, 190 nos. B 7. 28-29.

53: *Speyer, Historisches Museum der Pfalz*, from Dürkheim in the Palatinate. *JdI* 58 1943, 242-244 fig. 30, P. Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic Art*, Oxford 1944, 135-136 pl. 253 a, *ActaA* 30 1959, 38, W. Kimmig (ed.), *Das Kleinaspergle*, Stuttgart 1988, 108 note 19.

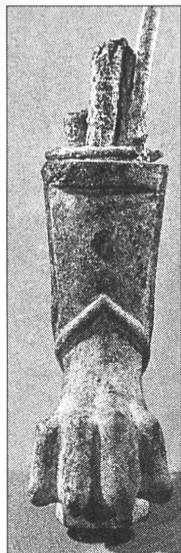


Fig. 12a-d. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1971.912. (After *Antike Kunst* 9 1966, pl. 24.1-4).

thal called Vulcian. Actually they represent the same kind of palmette as that supporting the Oxford siren – the faces of the sea-horse riders moreover recall the siren's -; but the horses have the long uncut manes common on Late Corinthian and Early Attic black-figured vases, and recurring both on another Isis Tomb brazier and in the local Vulcian stone sculpture (fig. 13).⁵⁴ Speaking of the latter we must state that the lion type of the Copenhagen and New York tripods is easily paralleled among the statues found at Vulci, where we see similar slanting eyes, wrinkled muzzles and a triangular “apron” of the manes.⁵⁵

The siren of the Oxford tripod looks like an older sister of the two winged female busts on a situla found together with the Copenhagen tripod (fig. 14 a-b),⁵⁶ and following Neugebauer we



Fig. 13. London, British Museum 436. Museum Photo.

may similarly regard a pair of horizontal handles found at Vulci and decorated with foreparts of “Scythian” horsemen over a palmette⁵⁷ as descendants of the sea-horse riders on the Dürkheim stamnos, the horses however being of the type of the Dresden handles. A pair of vertical handles with closely related figures is kept in the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford (fig. 15),⁵⁸ and a silver fibula from Vulci in Hamburg is shaped as a couchant sphinx with a pointed cap like the horsemen of the said handles.⁵⁹ Three ampho-

54: *LondonBM 436*, from the Isis Tomb at Vulci, ex-Canino, ex-Braun. Strøm, op. cit. 190, 284 note 713 fig. 97. – A. Hus, *Recherches sur la statuaire en pierre étrusque archaïque*, Paris 1961, 39-40 no. 5 pls. 4 and 21, 48 no. 30 pl. 7, 51 nos. VI-VII and 52 no. XIII pl. 8, 187, 190, 192 note 2; the Ionizing sea-horse rider occurs also in the repertoire.

55: E. g. Hus, op. cit. 47 no. 25 pl. 25.

56: Formerly *Florence art market*, from tomb at S. Vincenzo near Campiglia Marittima, *ActaA* 10 1939, 3 no. 1.

57: *VaticanMGE 12720-12721*, from Vulci. *Mus Greg I* pl. 60 f, AA 1923/24, 322, *StEtr* 10 1936, 29 pl. 9.3, Tyrrh. 86 note 6, *JdI* 58 1943, 243 fig. 31 above left, 244 note 3, HaynesEB 167, 273 no. 73.

58: *OxfordPRM 1884.67.17.1-2*, FPU, ex-Pitt Rivers 1884. The late Sir John Beazley kindly drew my attention to this piece.

59: *HamburgMKG 1966.111*, from Vulci, AA 84 1969, 366 no. 52 fig. 52, P. G. Guzzo, *Le fibule in Etruria*, Florence 1972, 187, *Kunst der Etrusker*, Hamburg 1981 no. 158.

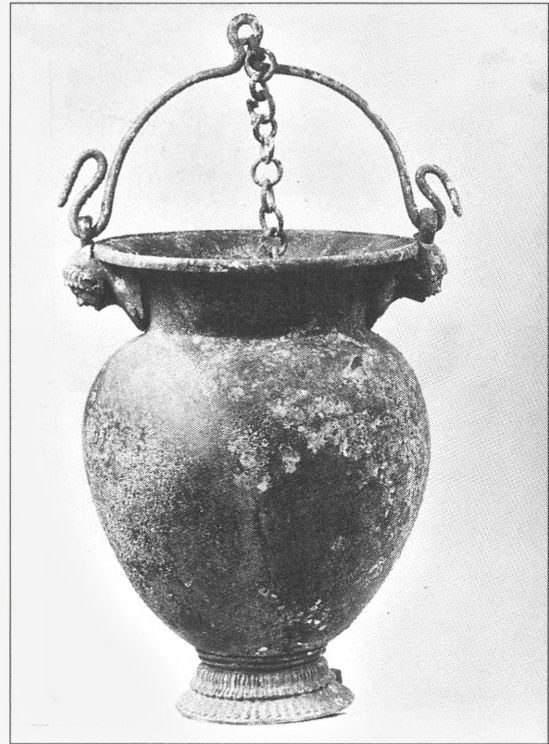
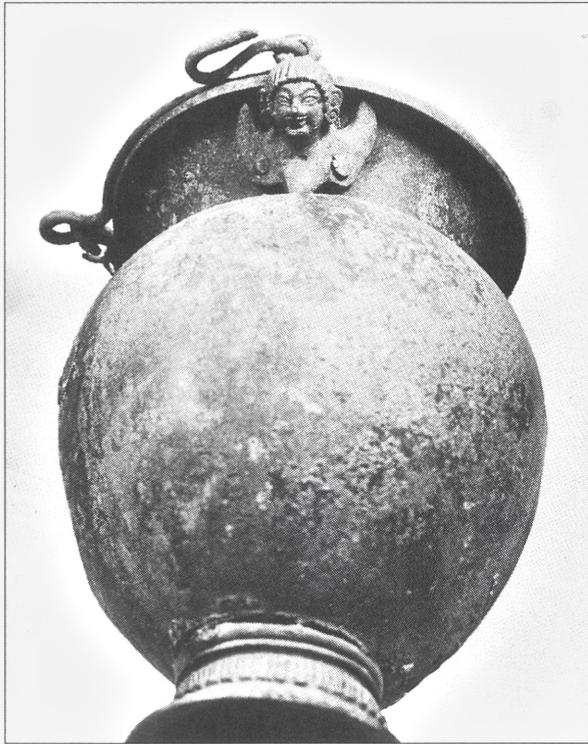


Fig. 14a-b. Formerly Florence art market. Photos in the National Museum, Copenhagen.

rae, the vertical handles of which are adorned with a bead-and-real pattern, correspond to the Pitt Rivers handles.⁶⁰ One of them is in Copenhagen and was acquired 1854/5 in Rome (fig. 16). The one from Conliège in the Jura somehow descends from the Oxford tripod, combining as

60: *HamburgMKG 1919.358*, FPU. AA 1917, 72 no. 14 figs. 21-22, Jacobsthal & Langsdorff, 48 note 3, 56-57 no. 5 pl. 31 c-d, *Master Bronzes 192* no. 198, *Kunst der Etrusker*, Hamburg 1981 no. 97. – *Lons-le-Saunier, Musée Archéologique 3617*, from Conliège, barrow 6 with contents of the late 6th century B.C. J. Dechelette, *Manuel de la préhistoire II 3*, Paris 1914, 1048-1049 fig. 432, 1604 no. 45, Jacobsthal & Langsdorff, 48 note 3 no. 5, *Actes du colloque sur les influences helléniques en Gaule*, Dijon 1958, 89-95 pls. 11-12, C. Rolley, *Les vases de bronze de l'archaïsme récent en Grande Grèce*, Naples 1982, 27-28, J. Swaddling (ed.), *Italian Iron Age Artefacts in the British Museum*, London 1986, 66 note 32, 67, *Die Etrusker und Europa*, Paris 1992, 264 no. 325. – *CopenhagenNM ABA 668*, FPU, acquired in Rome 1854/5.

it does horses and sirens, whereas the Hamburg specimen has horses and lions, that in Copenhagen lions alone. The Conliège and Hamburg vases were by Jacobsthal regarded as products of one and the same workshop.

Frontal sirens also embellish a handle shaped like an acrobatic kouros who grasps the tails of two Achelooi; it is in a private collection at Málaga and was excavated below the local castle (fig. 17).⁶¹ As a particularly exquisite work of art it has repeatedly been taken for Greek, a view that was opposed by Miss Dorothy Kent Hill, W. L. Brown

61: *Málaga, B. Fernandez-Canivell Collection*, found between 1904 and 1906 at the foot of the Alcazava. *Comisaría General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas, Informes y Memorias 12* 1946, 58-59 pl. 21, *AJA 53* 1949, 151 pl. 21 b, P. J. Riis, *Etruscan Art*, Copenhagen 1953, 76, AA 1954, 394-396 fig. 67, *BCH 79* 1955, 60, *AJA 72* 1958, 195 no. 23, 200, Brown 121, *Madrider Mitteilungen 6* 1965, 84-90 pls. 31-36.



Fig. 15. Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum 1884.67. 17.2. Museum Photo.

and the present writer. The sirens connect the handle with a few more, one of them with a kouros holding the tails of two feline animals, the others plain, but also with lions.⁶² An isolated

62: *Swiss private collection*, formerly London, N. A. C. Embiricos Collection, FPU. *Apollo* 1964, 137-138 fig. 2-3, Haynes EB 160, 268 no. 62 – *BerlinSM 8477*, FPU. AA 1923/24, 319 note 1 fig. 9, Brown 123-124 no. A 1. – *ParisBN 1449 bis*, FPU. AA 1923/24, 321 note 1, Brown 124 no. A 6, Adam 9 no. 10.

siren, formerly in Basseggio's collection, and so possibly from Vulci, may have been part of a similar handle (fig. 18).⁶³ On other handles, one kouros-shaped and one plain, fluted, both with lions above, the sirens are replaced by sea-horse protomai.⁶⁴

63: *CopenhagenNM 1280*, FPU, ex-Basseggio, i.e. possibly from Vulci, see above notes 41-43.

64: *ParisBN 1445 and 1448*, FPU. *AJA* 62 1958, 196 no. 30, 200, Brown 121, 124, 128-129, Adam 4-6 nos. 6-7.

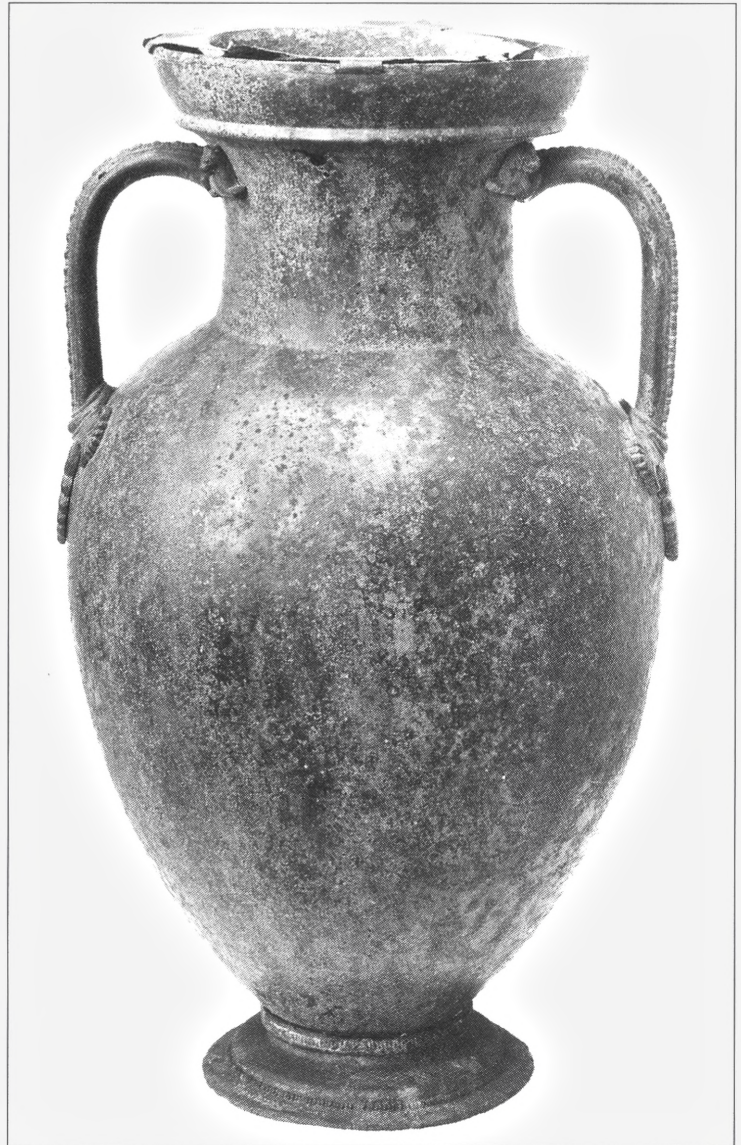


Fig. 16. Copenhagen, National Museum ABa 668. Museum Photo (Lennart Larsen).

The lions of these handles lead us to another kind of bronzes. From the type of lion heads on the tripods in Copenhagen and New York and from the figure Danish National Museum 4205 there is only a small step to the type employed on

an Orvieto brazier formerly in Jacob Hirsch's possession,⁶⁵ and then another to a series of seated lions closely related to the just-mentioned handles; it was put together by W. L. Brown, and unfortunately in most cases the finding-place is

65: *Lucerne, Ars Antiqua*, from Orvieto, ex-Hirsch. Auktion 1

1959, 33 no. 79 pl. 39, Brown 91-92, 95 no. B 10 pl. 37 b.

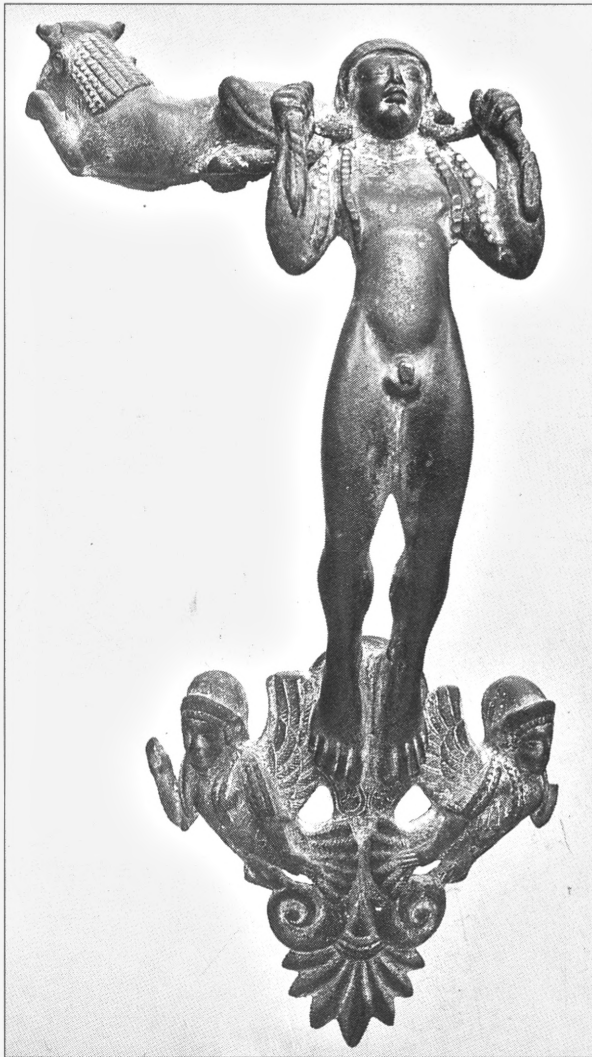


Fig. 17. Málaga, B. Fernandez-Canivell Collection. Photo Seminario de Historia Primitiva, Madrid.



Fig. 18. Copenhagen, National Museum 1280. Museum Photo (Lennart Larsen).



Fig. 19a-b. London, British Museum 1752. Museum Photos.

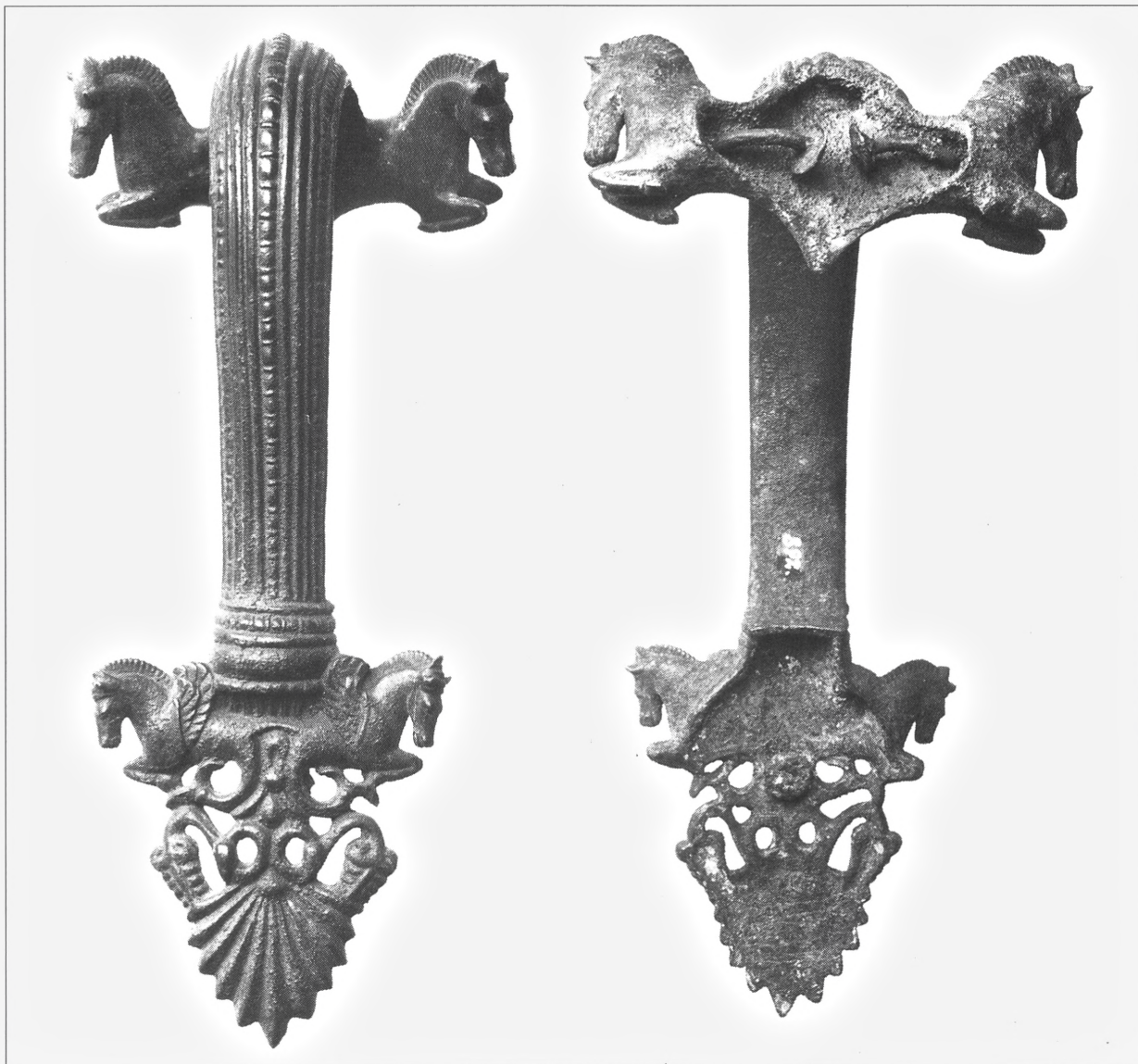


Fig. 20a-b. Copenhagen, National Museum 892. Museum Photos (Lennart Larsen).

unknown.⁶⁶ The stated proveniences are Castel San Mariano near Perugia and Tarquinia; but there is a striking resemblance between some of them (fig. 19 a-b) and the stone lions from Vulci.⁶⁷

66: *LondonBM 1752*, FPU, Brown 90 no. A 2, 92, 95 pl. 34 a 1-2. – *ParisBN 1110*, FPU, ex-Janzé 1865, Brown 90 no. A

Perhaps we should add a few more instances of the combination lions-and-sea-horses on handles, although they are not all of them of the same quality, and at least one could be an imitation.⁶⁸ A pair of amphora handles in Copen-

1, 92, 95 pl. 34 c, Adam 81 no. 87. – *Dresden, Albertinum 1382*, from Italy, ex-Schulz. AA 1895, 225 no. 20. Brown

hagen (fig. 20)⁶⁹ have ordinary horse protomai above and winged sea-horses below, very much like those of the handle Bibliothèque Nationale 1448 (see above, note 64), and similarly fluted handles with a central bead-and-reel are still attached to the rim on the remains of a vase from the Campana collection, now in the Louvre; but here there are fighting mermen and youths above and pegasoi below, the mermen recalling the Acheloos on Bibliothèque Nationale 1448.⁷⁰ On an amphora in the Villa Giulia⁷¹ the mermen have been displaced by horses, the pegasoi by mermen. The lower palmette attachments of these handles are not identical, that of Louvre 2638 having more rounded petals, the others ridged and pointed ones.

We have not yet mentioned that the acrobatic figure forming the handle on Bibliothèque Nationale 1445 (see above, note 64) has a counterpart in Florence,⁷² where there are two reclining cloaked men above and pegasoi below. The latter are squatting more than on Louvre 2638, and the bearded faces look somewhat later, just as the pleated cloaks, of course, represent a more advanced stage of style than the plain chitons of the early riders.



Fig. 21. London, British Museum 467. Museum Photo.

91 no. A 11, 92, 95.-New York, Eric de Kolb Collection, FPU, ex-Käppeli, ex-Ortiz. Brown 91 no. A17, MMAG Auktion 22, Basel 1961, 37-38 no. 69 pl. 20, Master Bronzes 184 no. 188.-Formerly Zürich, Galerie Heidi Vollmoeller 4303, FPU, Auktion 20, Zürich 1970 no. 76.-CopenhagenNCG H228a, FPU, Ny Carlsbergfondets Årsberetning, Copenhagen 1971, 25.-OxfordAM 1948.195, FPU, ex-F. Oppenheimer. Ashmolean Museum Summary Guide, Oxford 1951, 56 pl. 43 b, Brown 91-92 no. A 16, 96-97 pls. 34 d and 35, Haynes EB 55, 271 no. 69.-ParisBN 1111, FPU, ex-Janžé 1865. Brown 90 no. A 3, 92, 95, Adam 82 no. 88.-MunichMAK 23, from Castel San Mariano. Brown 90 no. A 9, 92, 95 pl. 34 b 1-2. U. Höckmann, Die Bronzen aus dem Fürstengrab von Castel San Mariano bei Perugia, Munich 1982, 82 no. 37 pl. 45 3-4. The lion Munich MAK 22 seems to be a local imitation or a local substitute for a damaged or lost original.-Basel, Erlenmeyer Collection, from Tarquinia. Brown 91 no. A 10, 95.

67: Cp. e. g. LondonBM 1752 and Hus, op. cit. 45-46 nos. 18-21 pls. 6 and 24-25.

68: St. Petersburg EM V 582-583, FPU, ex-Campana. Die Welt der Etrusker, Berlin 1988, 186-187 nos. B. 7.15-16. - ParisML 2647, FPU, ex-Durand 1825. De Ridder II, 107 no. 2647 pl. 96, RM 38-39 1923/24, 387 note 2, Brown 124 no. B 7. - AmsterdamAPM 1479, from the environs of Capua. Algemeene Gids, Amsterdam 1937, 89 no. 772 pl. 37.3, Brown 123-124 no. A 3.

69: CopenhagenNM 892, FPU, ex-Rollin & Feuarent, Paris 1875/6. Tyrh 85 note 2. - The very same volute and palmette pattern occurs on a stamnos handle with hippalektryon figures in Paris, see our note 73.

70: ParisML 2638, FPU, ex-Campana 1868. De Ridder II, 106 pl. 96, Tyrh 85 note 2.

71: RomeVG 24712 (51248), FPU.

72: FlorenceMAN 538 (723), FPU, MonLinc 7 1897, 347-348 fig. 23, L. A. Milani, Il R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze, Florence 1912, 131 pl. 22.3, AA 1923/4, 317-318, Giglioli 38 pl. 209.2, Tyrh 85 note 2, Brown, 121, 124. A similar handle was mounted on a stamnos recently found at Adria, Archo 139, Novara 1996, 21.

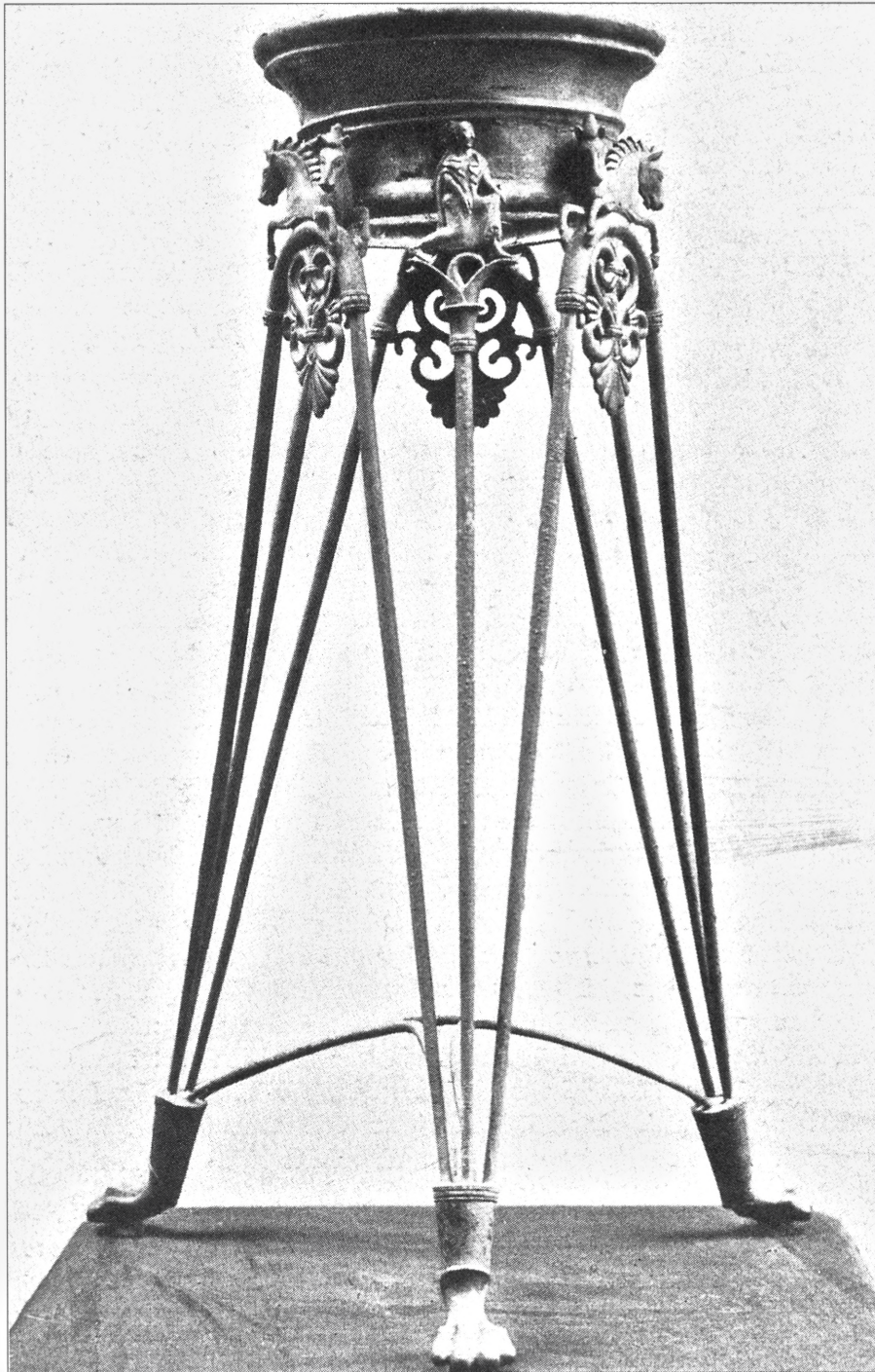


Fig. 22. Saint Louis, Miss., City Art Museum 37.26. (After *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 58 1943, 214 fig. 7).



Fig. 23. Munich, Museum antiker Kleinkunst 3852. Photo Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek (M. Maass).

The very same ridged and pointed palmette and volutes ending in small palmettes as on the Embiricos and Berlin handles quoted above in our note 62 and on the Copenhagen handle fig. 20 recur on a stamnos handle in Paris with hippalektryon figures.⁷³ This ornamental scheme is moreover used on some other attachments of

73: *ParisBN 1458*, FPU, AA 1923/4, 322 note 3, StEtr 10 1936, 29 note 2, Tyrrh 85 note 2, JdI 58 1943, 244 note 4, ArchCl 19 1967, 253 pl. 69.3, Adam 12 no. 14.

74: *ParisML 2788-2789*, FPU, acquired 1858, De Ridder II 118 nos. 2788-2789 pl. 100, AA 1923/24, 316-317 note 2, JdI 58 1943, 238, 240 fig. 28, ASAtene 24-26 1946-48, 93, 96 fig. 16, AJA 62 1958, 197 note 8, Krauskopf 80 note 246, 115. – *LondonBM 467*, FPU, AZ 4 1846, 220, Tyrrh 85

vertical handles with mythological fighters, Herakles and a woman (fig. 21); in some cases, an amphora and a beaked jug, a kouros forms the handle.⁷⁴

2. The Saint Louis Tripod and Its Relatives

The Horse-Lion-and-Acrobat tradition also includes a number of objects where the horses have tufted manes, first of all the well-known tripod in St. Louis, Miss. (fig. 22).⁷⁵ Two fragments of similar tripods exist in European museums (fig. 23), and one, whose present whereabouts are unknown, was formerly in the Swiss art market.⁷⁶ A little more elaborate is a fine tripod in London

note 1, ASAtene 24-26 1946-48, 93, 95 fig. 15. – *VaticanMGE 12717 and 12719*, from Isola di Gorgona 1838. Mus Greg I pl. 6.3, AA 1923/4, 316, StEtr 10 1936, 33 pl. 7.5, Tyrrh 84 note 5, JdI 58 1943, 240-241 fig. 29, 243, ASAtene 24-26 1946-48, 93-94 figs. 13-14, AJA 62 1958, 197 no. 40, 200, Brown 101.-*Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum G 104*, from Schwarzenbach in the Saarland, barrow 2 (La Tène I). H. Hettner, Führer des Provinzialmuseums, Trier 1903, 127-128 no. 8, AA 1923/4, 316-318 fig. 8, Jacobsthal & Langsdorff 26, 41, 61 no. 113 pl. 11, StEtr 10 1936, 33, Tyrrh 85 note 1, 86 note 7, JdI 58 1943, 238-241 figs. 26-27, P. Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic Art*, Oxford 1944, 135-136, AJA 62 1958, 196 no. 33, Brown 95-96 pl. 38 a. Here the lions are sejant and recall fig. 19.

75: *St. Louis. City Art Museum 37.26*, from Vulci, Campomorto, ex-Feoli, ex-Kerkerian. Mdl 2 1834-38 pl. 42 B, AdI 9 1837, 162 note 1, 164-165, AdI 34 1862, 202-208, Mdl 6/7 1862 pl. 69.3 (here with figures of satyr, maenad and bird on ring between feet), MonLinc 7 1897, 292 no. I, AA 1923/24, 304 note 4, ActaA 10 1939, 22, 24, 26 no. F 4, JdI 58 1943, 214-216 figs. 7-8, StEtr 18 1944, 10-11, 25 fig. 16, Master Bronzes 188-189 no. 195, Teitz 34-35 no. 19, 122 fig. 19.

76: *MunichMAK 3852*, FPU, ex-Paul Arndt, our fig. 23. – *Oxford AM 1965.290*, FPU, ex-Spencer-Churchill, ex-Seltman. Exhibition of Antiquities... from the Collection of the Late Capt. E. G. Spencer-Churchill, Oxford 1965, 9 no. 43 pl. 3. – *CambridgeFM Gr.2.1948*, FPU, ex-Winifred Lamb 1948, JdI 58 1943, 216-217 fig. 9. – *Zürich, Galerie Nefer*, FPU, Nefer 7 1989, 15 no. 12, StEtr 56 1991, 135-136 note 59 pl. 51.18.

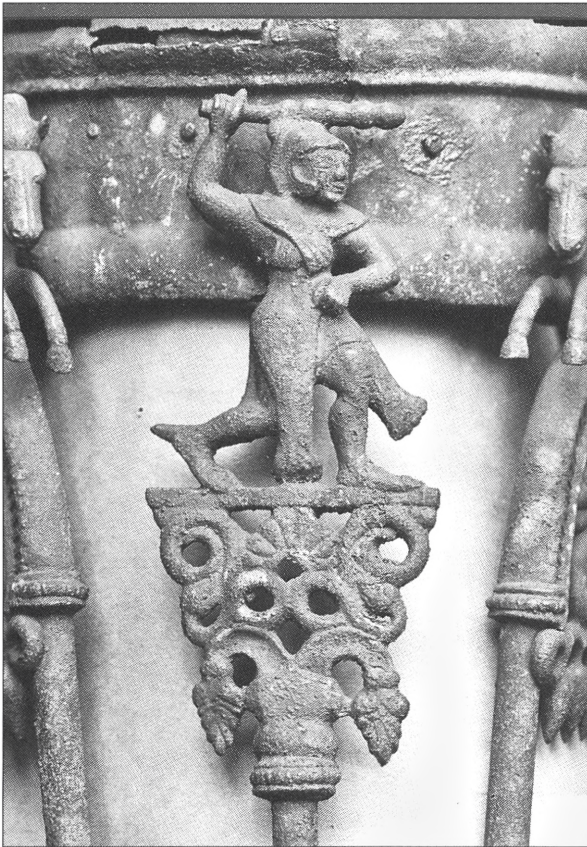


Fig. 24a-b. London, British Museum 588. Museum Photos.

(fig. 24 a-c).⁷⁷ As compared with its predecessors it presents several novelties: the arcs have got a profiled moulding with a tongue pattern, the ornament under them is now a standing lyre with palmettes over a range of hanging buds, and the simple lotus flower on top of the vertical supports has been replaced by a complex motif combining snakes and palmettes with a flower; but as on the

St. Louis tripod the three top figures have a mythological character.

On some other bronzes we find signs of a style rather much akin to that of the London tripod as regards both the drapery and the bearded faces: a couple of actors published by Mrs. Haynes and a situla handle (fig. 25).⁷⁸ A tripod foot resembling those of the above-mentioned stands is in

77: *LondonBM 588*, from Vulci, ex-Canino. *MonLinc* 7 1897, 293 no. III, 353 fig. 25, 356 pl. 9.2, *AA* 1923/24, 306, W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, London 1929, 132 pl. 45.6, *Giglioli* 21 pl. 102.1, *ActaA* 10 1939, 22 no. F 3, 24-25, *JdI* 58 1943, 218-219, *Krauskopf* 35-36, *Haynes EB* 154, 264 no. 52.

78: Formerly *Geneva, N. Koutoulakis Collection*. *FPU*. *Festschrift H. Keller*, Darmstadt 1963, 14-16, 21 note 5 figs. 4-6. – *BerlinSMFr. 715c*, *FPU*, *Festschrift Keller*, 16, 19, 21 note 8 figs. 9-10, *HaynesEB* 176, 277 no. 86. – *CopenhagenNM 1280*, *FPU*, ex-Basseggio, i.e. possibly from Vulci, see above notes 41-43.



Fig. 24c. London, British Museum 588. Museum Photo.



Fig. 25. Copenhagen, National Museum 1280. Museum Photo (Lennart Larsen).

Amsterdam,⁷⁹ but otherwise the nearest relatives are three horse figures, of which the two are rendering amblers.⁸⁰

79: *AmsterdamAPM 140*, FPU. *Algemeene Gids*, Amsterdam 1937, 92 no. 806.

80: *Art Market*. *AntK 9* 1966, 103-104 pl. 25. 1-2, from Northern Etruria, ex-Bomford, - *Archeo 70* 1990, 22, 24, Sotheby's New York, June 6th 1991 no. 27, FPU, ex-Hunt-Sotheby's New York, June 12th 1993 no. 141, FPU, ex-Sussel, with a mortise for a rider.

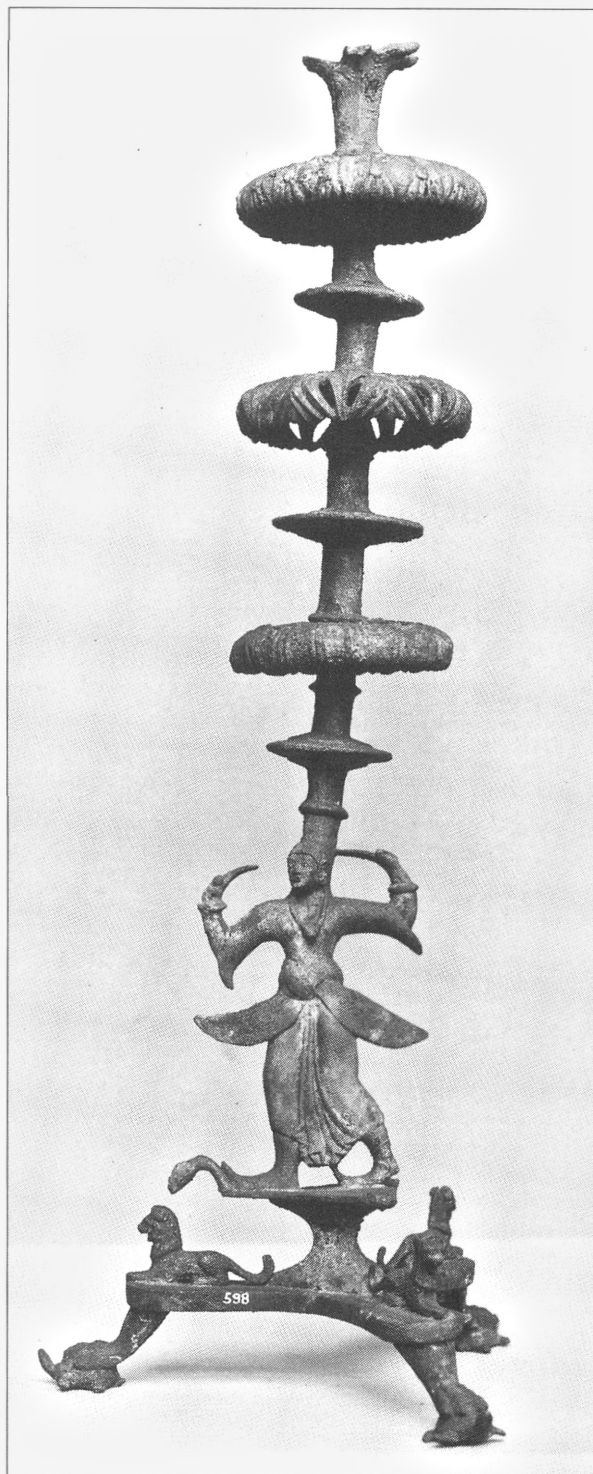


Fig. 26. London, British Museum 598. Museum Photo.



Fig. 27. London, British Museum 516. Museum Photo.

The following works are mostly censers. The first one (fig. 26)⁸¹ has a dancing female figure balancing in an acrobatic way the shaft with its bobbins and umbels on her head. Her face recalls that of Herakles on the London tripod, and her drapery folds are rather similar to those of his companions. Like them she wears rather long pointed boots, but without wings. On the three corners of the tripod base there are small couchant lions, which obviously belong to the same family as the sejant ones dealt with above (e.g. fig. 19). Under the woman's right foot a flower bud is protruding, and the feet of the base rest upon tortoises. The latter is also the case with the base of another censer, which, however, seems to be a pasticcio;⁸² each of the upper corners of the base have a flower bud like that at the foot of the just-mentioned dancer. A censer statuette in America has much in common with the London censer, but nevertheless does not inspire confidence.⁸³ The exaggerate length of the hands and of one foot, the placing of a tortoise under it, and the details of the dress do in fact arouse some suspicion. Probably the maker copied and com-

81: *LondonBM 598*, FPU, ex-Basseggio 1848, i.e. possibly Vulci, cf. above notes 41-43. Tyrrh 78-79 no. A 1, Brown 147, *StEtr* 30 1962, 91 note 1, HaynesEBU 18 pls. III and 5, Haynes EB 158, 265-266 no. 56, J. Swaddling (ed.), *Iron Age Artefacts in the British Museum*, London 1986, 81-82 fig. 12 a-d. The solderings under the lions and between the female figure and the base are modern. Small lions of the same kind are to be seen on the censer *ParisML 3143*, our fig. 28, and – in a standing posture – on a basin from Vulci, M. Pallottino e.a. *Il Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia*, Rome 1980, 57 fig. 54.

82: *LondonBM 589*, FPU, Blayds 1849. *Festschrift H. Keller*, Darmstadt 1963, 13-14, 20 notes 1-4 figs. 1-3. It is to be doubted that the representation figs. 1-2 really belongs to the censer, cf. *ibid.* 20-21 notes 1-2, and below, Chapter III, note 164.

83: *Cleveland, Museum of Art 53.124*, FPU, ex-A. Brass, Venice. *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 42 1955, 182, 186-188, *Classical Art Handbook*, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland 1961, 16 pl. 15, Teitz 38-39 no. 23, 134 fig. 23, A. P. Kozloff & D.G. Mitten (edd.), *The Gods Delight*, Cleveland 1988, 199-203 no. 34.

posed elements of the London censer and of one in Paris (see below, note 92).

A fine kouros statuette, which might be called a descendant of the one from Talamone (our fig. 8), has the broad shoulders, the narrow waist, and more or less also the facial features of the dancer in London (fig. 27).⁸⁴ In spite of the differences it is tempting to connect it with a Herakles having the same build of body and limbs.⁸⁵ Fine and of the same build is the silenus of a censer in Berlin.⁸⁶

From the former Canino collection, i.e. excavated in Vulci, came a censer shaped as a kouros on a wheeled cart with small couchant lions on the corners, thus recalling the Hirsch brazier (see above, note 65). Like the London dancer this kouros wears bracelets and a necklace with pendants (fig. 28).⁸⁷ Next follows a series of censers where the dancers are male, naked but for

pointed boots; they are counterparts of the London woman, whom they somehow resemble, not only on account of the boots, but also because the faces present similar traits, and usually their bases have the same general shape, although there are squatting birds instead of lions. In one case the youth is dancing on a three-legged table, and four of the dancers hold a small goblet-shaped censer in their left hand (fig. 29).⁸⁸

Some more censers join the group. In two of the cases the figure, a man and a woman, is wrapped in a cloak and has the left hand on the hip;⁸⁹ the base of the female figure has floral buds on the upper corners as on the specimen referred to in our note 82. This decoration is repeated on an exquisite Vulcian find in the Vatican (fig. 30);⁹⁰ here the figure is a kouros wearing pointed boots and a necklace with a

84: *LondonBM 516*, FPU, ex-Hamilton 1772, i.e. possibly from Campania. Tyrrh 89, Richardson EVB 131 no. 11 fig. 289, Haynes EB 145, 258 no. 36.

85: *LondonBM 464*, from Umbria, ex-Castellani 1873. BMBronzes pl. 13, Tyrrh 88 note 5, JdI 58 1943, 270 note 5, Richardson EVB 340 no. 1 figs. 803-804.

86: *BerlinSMFr 688*. FPU. Neugebauer, Führer I 69, BerlMus 51 1930, 130 note 1, Giglioli 38 pl. 210.3, StEtr 10 1936, 38, Tyrrh 79-80 no. B 3, JdI 58 1943, 268-269 note 5.

87: *ParisML 3143*, FPU, ex-Canino, i.e. probably from Vulci. De Ridder II, 150-151 no. 3143 pl. 111, Giglioli 38 pl. 211.3, StEtr 10 1936, 39 note 1, Tyrrh 79-80 no. C 1, Kunst und Leben der Etrusker³, Zürich 1955, 152 no. 458 pl. 33, Art et Civilisation des Étrusques, Paris 1955, 44 no. 224 pl. 28, Pallottino e.a., L'art des Étrusques, Paris 1955, 18 pl. 69, Brown 115 no. 7, A. Hus, Les bronzes étrusques, Bruxelles 1975, 39, 88 pl. 22.

88: *BaselAM 172.9*, from Vulci, ex-Pourtalès, ex-Bachofen. BerlMus 45 1924, 29 note 5, JdI 58 1943, 273 fig. 50, 275-277 note 1, K. Schefold e. a., Führer durch das Antikenmuseum, Basel s.a., 122 no. 172.9. – *BerlinSMFr 694*, FPU. Berl Mus 45 1924, 29 note 5, Neugebauer, Führer I 69-70, Giglioli 38 pl. 210.2, StEtr 10 1936, 38 note 6 pl. 12.1, Tyrrh 61 note 2 no. 2, JdI 58 1943, 276 note 2, 277, AA 1966, 375 note 2, Haynes EB 156, 265 no. 54, Die Welt der Etrusker 1988, 198-199 no. B 7.59. – *ParisBN 958*, FPU, ex-Durand 1836. BerlMus 45 1924, 29

note 4, Giglioli 38 pl. 209.3, StEtr 10 1936, 38 note 5, Magazine of Art 33.8, Washington D.C. 1940, 476-477 fig. 13, Tyrrh 61 note 2 no. 3 pl. 10.3, JdI 58 1943, 276 note 3, A. Hus, Les bronzes étrusques, Bruxelles 1975, 80, Adam 45-46 no. 46. – *Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 62/93*, FPU. L. Hannestad, Etruskerne og deres kunst, Århus 1982, 75 fig. 92, Haynes EB 156, 265 no. 54. – *ParisML 3147*, FPU, ex-Campana. De Ridder II, 151 no. 3147 pl. 111, BerlMus 45 1924, 29 note 2, 31, BerlMus 51 1930, 130 note 2 no. 1, 134 fig. 4, Tyrrh 61 note 2, JdI 58 1943, 273 note 1, Master Bronzes 186. – *RomeVG 24405*, FPU, ex-Kircher. BerlMus 45 1924, 29 note 3, Giglioli 38 pl. 213.2, StEtr 10 1936, 37 note 3, Tyrrh 61 note 2, JdI 58 1943, 274-275, M. Pallottino e.a., Il Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome 1980, 164 figs. 205-206.

89: *Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 419*, FPU, ex-Maler. K. Schumacher, Beschreibung der Sammlung antiker Bronzen, Karlsruhe 1890, 74-75 no. 419 pl. 5.3, BerlMus 51 1930, 131 note 2, JdI 58 1943, 271-272 fig. 48, Haynes EB 157, 265 no. 55. – *ParisBN 1477*, FPU, ex-Durand 1836. JdI 58 1943, 271 fig. 49, 272 note 1, P. Jacobsthal, Greek Pins, Oxford 1956, 51 fig. 233, Adam 42-43 no. 44.

90: *VaticanMGE RG I*, from Vulci, ex-Guglielmi. Magi 165 –171 no. 1 pls. 47-49, Tyrrh 79-80 no. B 6, JdI 58 1943, 265-267 figs. 45-46, Brown 106, San Giovenale 365 fig. 392, E. H. Richardson, The Etruscans, Chicago 1964, 113.

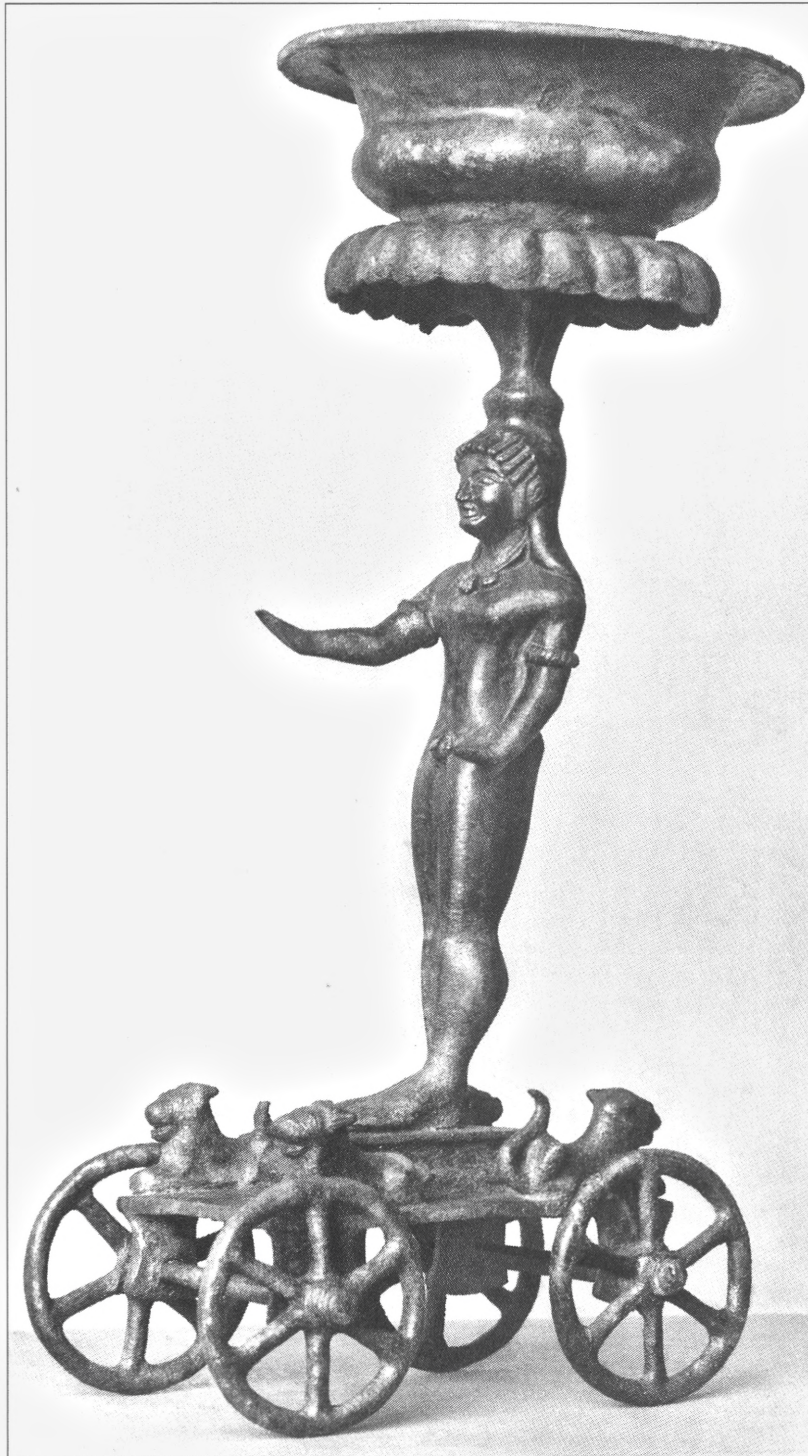


Fig. 28. Paris, Musée du Louvre 3143. (After Pallottino e.a., *L'art des Étrusques* pl. 69).

pendant like the London dancer, and in his right hand holding an egg, in his left what may have been a goblet. Instead of corner birds the lower part of the base has reclining hinds or calves. On two censors a Herakles has taken the place of the kouros or cloaked person; the faces have a later character, and the finer specimen has human corner figures (fig. 31), apparently balancing themselves on tortoises, whereas the other one, only with birds, has tortoises under the three feline feet,⁹¹ and instead of a triangular podium for the figure there is a round member with a bead-and-reel above. Similar bases characterize two fine pieces in Paris and Munich (fig. 32),⁹² the latter found at Vulci.

Finally, three excellent bronzes should be ascribed to this group. The first one is a statuette in Kassel representing a cloaked youth with his left hand on the hip (fig. 33).⁹³ The square build links him to our fig. 27 and its closer relatives, his posture to some of the censors quoted in note 90, the drapery folds to the Florence handle of note 72, and the pointed boots he has in common with many of the dancing figures. As to face, he is not



Fig. 29. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Fr. 694. (After Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca* pl. 210.2).

far in style from the Berlin dancer fig. 29 and the Copenhagen kouros of note 121.

One of the finest Archaic Etruscan bronzes is the second work to be added, the Ariccia head in

91: *BerlinSM Fr. 687*, FPU. Neugebauer, Führer I, 69, *BerlinMus* 51 1930, 130 note 1, 133 fig. 3, Giglioli 38 pl. 210.1, *StEtr* 10 1936, 38 note 2, Tyrrh 79-80 no. B 2, *JdI* 58 1943, 269-270, *Festschrift Bernhard Neutsch*, Innsbruck 1980, 190, 194 note 28. - *RomeVG 24408*, FPU, ex-Kircher. Giglioli 38 pl. 213.3, *StEtr* 10 1936, 37-38, Tyrrh 79 no. B 1, *JdI* 58 1943, 270 note 4, Pallottino, *op. cit.* 165 fig. 208. The feet of the tripod rest on tortoises.

92: *ParisML 3233*, FPU. De Ridder I 158 no. 3233 pl. 113, Giglioli 38 pl. 211.1, *StEtr* 10 1936, 38-39 note 7, *Magazine of Art* 33, Washington D.C., 1940, 472-473 fig. 4, Tyrrh 79 note A 11. - *MunichMAK 55/56*, from Vulci, ex-Candelori. Giglioli 38 pl. 212.1 and 3, *StEtr* 10 1936, 38 pl. 11.3, Tyrrh 79-80 no. B 5, *JdI* 58 1943, 265, 268, *JRS* 36 1946, 45 note 13, *Kunst und Leben der Etrusker*, Zürich 1955, 87 no. 197, M. Pallottino e.a., *L'art des Étrusques*, Paris 1955, 21 no. 81, P. Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins*, Oxford 1956, 51 fig. 234. - Closely related is a somewhat later censor figure in America: *Williamstown, Mass., Williams College Museum of Art*, FPU. M. del Chiaro, *Re-Exhumed Etruscan Bronzes*, Santa Barbara, Cal. 1981, 25, 48-49 no. 21.

93: *Kassel, Hessisches Landesmuseum 120*, FPU. M. Bieber, *Die antiken Skulpturen und Bronzen des kngl. Museum Friedericianum in Cassel*, Marburg 1915, 53 no. 120 pl. 38, *StEtr* 2 1928, 52 no. 5 pl. 4, Giglioli 25 pl. 124. 4 and 6, Tyrrh 143 note 4, 167, *MemAmAc* 21 1953, 120-121 fig. 38, *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 33 1961, 37-38 notes 1-2, Richardson EVB 233, U. Höckmann, *Antike Bronzen*, Melsingen 1973, 24-25 no. 35 pl. 12.

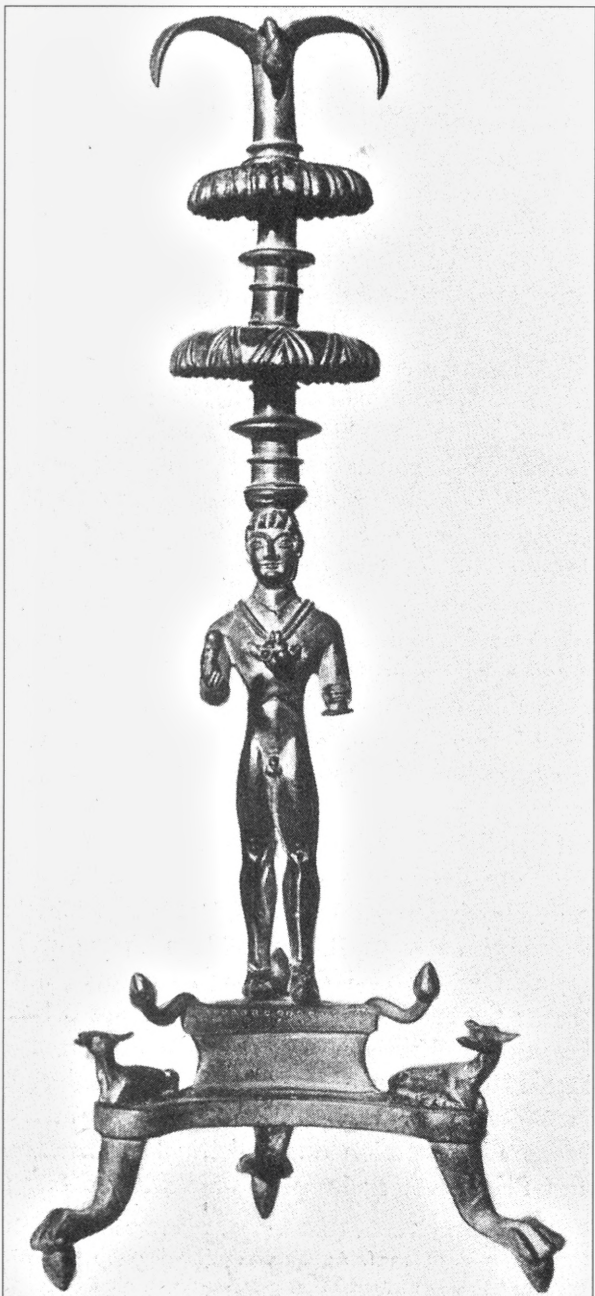


Fig. 30. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco RG 1. (After *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 58 1943, 266 fig. 45).

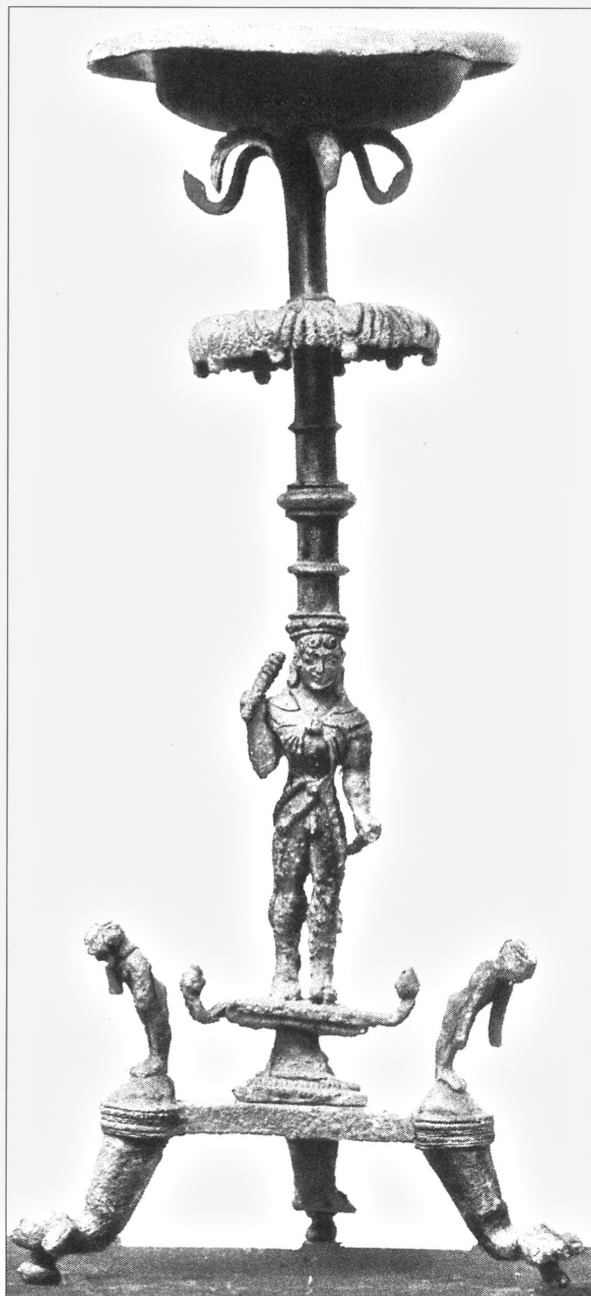


Fig. 31. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Fr. 687. (After Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca* pl. 210.1).

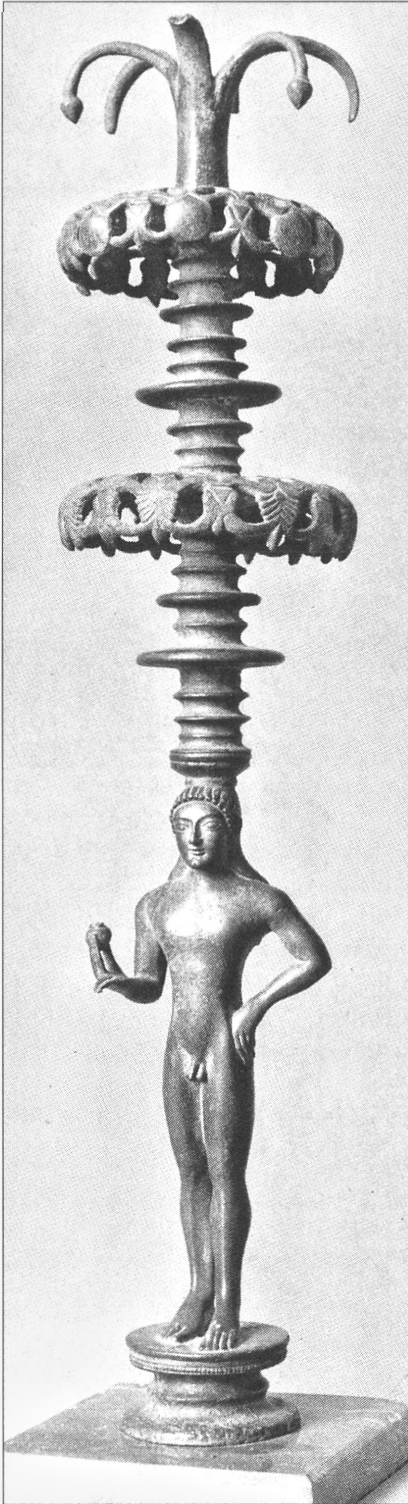


Fig. 32. Munich, Museum antiker Klein-kunst 55/56. (After Pallot-tino e.a., *L'art des Étrusques* pl. 81).



Fig. 33. Kassel, Hessisches Landesmuseum 120. (After Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca* pl. 124.4).

the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (fig. 34).⁹⁴ Apart from the size it definitely resembles not only the Kassel figure, but also the Herakles fig. 31 and the Vatican youth fig. 30, who have a slightly earlier look. It has a fully developed Late Archaic character and a distinct quality that has attracted the attention of many scholars. However, the opinions differ considerably as far as its origin is concerned, although it seems that to-day nobody

94: *Copenhagen* NCGH 216 b, found near Ariccia, ex-Despuig. C. Jacobsen, *De antike Kunstværker*, Copenhagen 1907, 16-17 no. 29, NCGBill pl. 2 no. 29, E. Langlotz, *Früh-griechische Bildhauerschulen*, Nürnberg 1927, 179 notes 12 and 15, BrBr 742, ActaA 12 1941, 2-3, note 10, Tyrrh 89 note 3 pl. 17.1, JRS 36 1946, 45 note 13, NCGAncSc 46-47 no. 29, San Giovenale 428-429 figs. 408-411, NCGEtr 39 no. H 216 b, ActaA 37 1966, 72-75 fig. 4 a-d, MEFRA 81 1969, 461-466 figs. 9, 11-12, O. Brendel, *Etruscan Art*², Harmondsworth 1978, 293-294, 306 fig. 208, *Dialoghi di Archeologia* 1 1981, 41-48 fig. 1, Richardson EVB 137, 361 figs. 293-294, M. Cristofani, *I bronzi degli Etruschi*, Novara 1985, 218, 290 no. 113, Haynes EB 37, 267-268 no. 61, M. Cristofani (ed.), *Civiltà degli Etruschi*, Milan 1985, 261-262 fig. 10.3.

will take it for Greek. Thirty years ago I examined the circumstances of its provenience and pointed out that it offers a close likeness to the coin images rendering the cult statue of Diana Nemoensis, of which it may be a fragment. This suggestion had been accepted by several scholars, for whom the provenience rather indicates a South Etruscan or Latial master, although certain traits connect it with Vulci. To me the above stressed resemblances seem conclusive, and I find no reason to exclude the possibility of a Late Archaic Central Etruscan artist having worked for an important and famous sanctuary in Latium; we all of us remember the tradition of Tarquin the Elder summoning Vulca from Veii to make a cult statue of Jupiter for his temple on the Capitol.

The third bronze in question is also a masterpiece, but of smaller dimension. It was found before 1737 at Pizzidimonte 4 km. southeast of Prato near Florence and came in the early 19th century to the British Museum (fig. 35).⁹⁵ The type of the Kassel youth fig. 33 is here represented in an elaborate edition of the Latest Archaic style. In the later years there has been a tendency to regard this statuette as North Etruscan, probably on account of the finding-place, but I find the quality too fine and both type and details so well paralleled in our group that I must reject such an attribution.

95: *LondonBM 509*, from Pizzidimonte near Prato, cf. *Edizione Archeologica della Carta d'Italia al 100 000*, Florence 1929, fol. 106, IV SE 2, 25, ex-Bianchini, ex-Payne Knight. A. F. Gori, *Museum Etruscum I*, Florence 1737, 8-9 pl. 2 (the finding-place misprinted Pizzirimonte), *BMBronzes* pl. 16, W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, London 1929, 109pl. 40 b, *Tyrrh 91* note 1, 167, *MemAmAc 21* 1953, 116 fig. 37, E. H. Richardson, *The Etruscans*, Chicago 1964, 106, 282 pl. 25 b, Teitz 59-60, 149 no. 48, Richardson *EVB* 233 figs. 526-528, M. Cristofani, *I bronzi degli Etruschi*, Novara 1985, 43, Haynes *EB* 168, 273-274 no. 75, *StEtr 54* 1988, 61-62, 66-68, 70 no. 1 2 pl. 23 c.

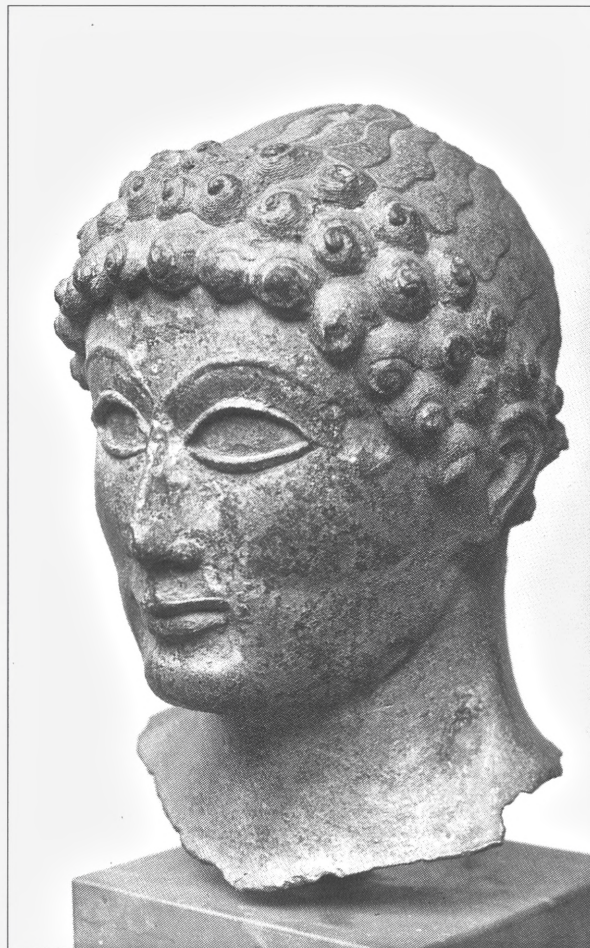


Fig. 34. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H 216 b. Museum Photo (Ole Woldbye).

3. The Mainz Censer and Its Relatives

Long ago it was realized that a censer in Mainz (fig. 36 a-d)⁹⁶ is related to the tripods and censers ordinarily taken to be Vulcian, but it holds a special position in our material because its lower

96: *MainzRGZM A 189*, from Italy, presented by Emperor Napoleon III 1861, ex-Campana, ex-Fould. *Mainzer Zeitschrift* 6 1911, 4-6 pl. 1, *AA* 1923/24, 311-312 fig. 4, *Tyrrh 81* note 1, *JdI* 58 1943, 262-263 fig. 44, *ASAtene* 24-26 1946-48, 87, 89 fig. 4, *Bilderhefte des RGZM, Etruskisches Kunsthandwerk*, Mainz 1956 pls. 8-11, *Krauskopf* 36, *RA* 1977/1, 12-13 fig. 14.



Fig. 35. London, British Museum 509. (After Museum Post-Card).

part has the shape of a triangular pyramid. Its sides nevertheless recall the hair-pin supports of the St. Louis tripod with the hanging palmette above, and several details such as the tortoises under the feline feet, the “bobbin” of the shaft, the upper part’s curved stems ending in buds and its pointed petals, are also found in our second group. Like the St. Louis and London tripods the censer has on its three sides figures illustrating a myth. The three feet end above in wings, a feature which the Berlin censer quoted in our note 86 has in a summary form, and which connects these works with quite a number of objects to be mentioned in the following.

First, some feet of “ciste a traforo”. They display over the wings the figure of a sort of bearded and winged demon with snakes for legs (fig. 37).⁹⁷ Their Vulcian affinities have been recognized by Fritzi Jurgeit, who, however, suggests an origin in the Clusine district. I find no great discrepancy in style and quality between these pieces and the Mainz stand, and the proveniences may point to Vulci rather than to Clusium as the issuing centre.

Next comes a related censer in the Vatican (fig. 38),⁹⁸ excavated at Vulci and of a somewhat finer workmanship. Its three sides are approximately trapezoid, the winged feet are of the same general type as on the Mainz censer, and on top of the shaft composed of “bobbins” and umbels there are similar petals and budding stems, but from each foot protrudes the upper part of a silenus figure recalling both the sileni on one of the sides in Mainz and the cista demons. The broad bell-shaped discs under the feet recall those of the London tripod.

Another old Vulcian find comprised two stamnos handles, of which one fragment was acquired by King Ludwig I of Bavaria, the remaining parts by Thorvaldsen (fig. 39).⁹⁹ The faces and wings of

97: *CopenhagenNM* 542, from Tarquinia, ex-Depoletti 1871. – *MunichMAK SL* 6 a-c (and lid figure *SL* 7), from Ferentino, chamber tomb, ex-Loeb 1904. J. Sieveking, *Die Bronzen der Sammlung Loeb*, Munich 1913, 21-24. – *ViennaKM VI* 2989, from Orvieto. K. Geschwandtler & W. F. Oberleitner, *Götter, Heroen, Menschen, antikes Leben im Spiegel der Kunst*, Vienna 1974, 66 no. 196. – F. Jurgeit, *Cistenfüsse, Le Ciste Prenestine II* 1, Rome 1986, 33-35 nos. K 7, 1-3 and 6-7, cf. 95 – 103 pls. 13 a-d, 14 a-b, 15 a-b.

98: *VaticanMGE* 12678, from Vulci 1837. Mus Greg pl. 48.5, Giglioli 59 pl. 315.5, A. Testa, *Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Candelabri e thymiateria*, Rome 1989, 86-87 no. 33.

99: *CopenhagenTM V* 280 + *MunichMAK* 206, from Vulci, ex-King Ludwig I. L. Müller, *Fortegnelse over Oldsagerne i Thorvaldsens Museum III*, Copenhagen 1847, 178 no. 280, E. di Majo e.a., Bertel Thorvaldsen 1770-1844, scultore danese a Roma, Rome 1989, 294-295, T. Melander, *Thorvaldsens antikker*, Copenhagen 1993, 111 no. 67.

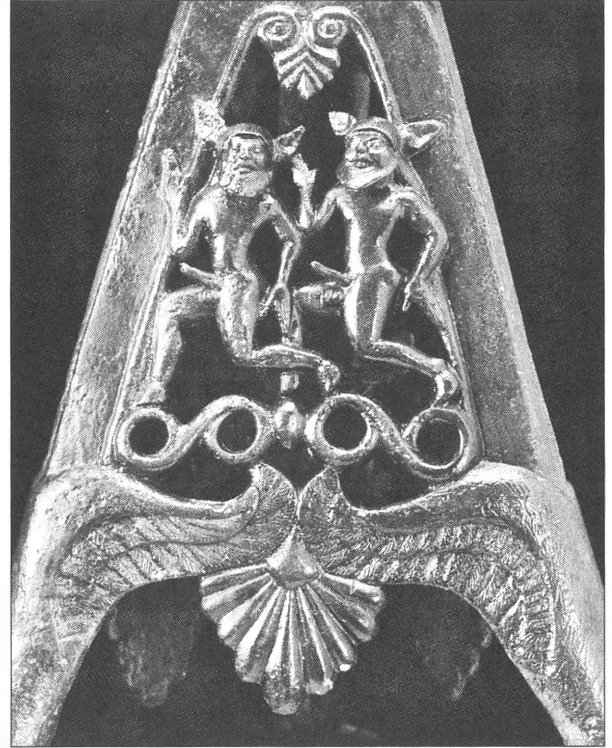


Fig. 36a-d. Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum A 189. Museum Photos (Christin Beeck).

the sphinxes on these handles are not far from what we see on the Mainz stand, but in other respects there are differences. However, the female head type recurs on the maenad of a group in New York, probably from a candelabrum,¹⁰⁰ and here the silenus has a face which makes him a near relative of the Vatican protomai; another is a candelabrum silenus in London,¹⁰¹ but this is a more modest work, not by the same hand.

100: *New YorkMMA 12.228.5*, FPU. G. M. A. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, New York 1915, 42-43 no. 61, Ead., *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, New York 1940, 28 note 15 fig. 75, Tyrrh 175 note 4, San Giovenale, 365 fig. 394.

101: *LondonBM 474*, FPU, ex-Blacas 1867. E. Hyams, *Dionysus, a Social History of the Wine Vine*, London 1965, 108 fig. 35, 359.

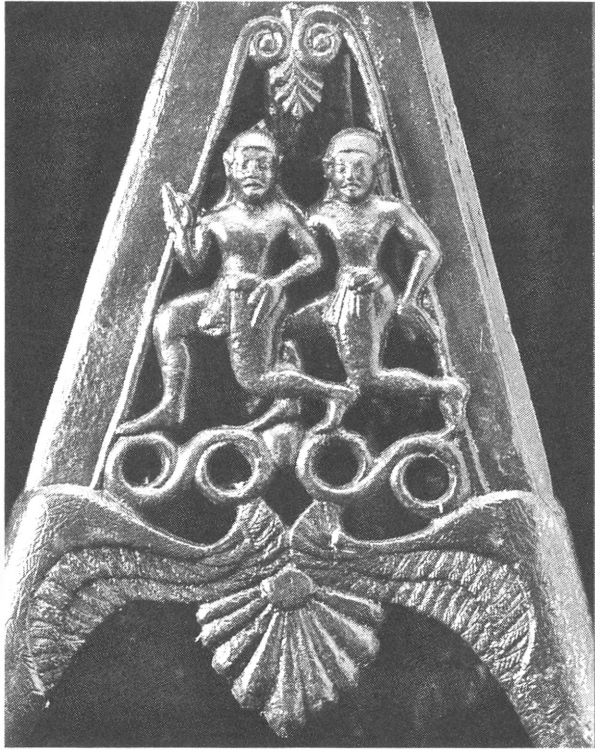


Fig. 37.
Copen-
hagen,
National
Museum
542. Mu-
seum Photo
(Sophus
Bengtsson).



Fig. 38. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 12678. (After Testa, *Candelabri e thymiateria* no. 33).

Winged feet resembling the above-men-
tioned, and particularly those of the Mainz cen-
ser, occur likewise on a "cista a traforo" in Co-
penhagen, but they are here deprived of figural
decoration and have above only a vertical palm-



Fig. 39. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum V 280. Museum Photo (Ole Woldbye).

leaf ornament (fig. 40 a-c).¹⁰² The belonging acrobatic lid figure is evidently more advanced in style than the censer; it has a counterpart in the Vatican, which was found in Vulci^{102a}, and comes very close to a youthful acrobat riding on the lion

feet of one more three-sided censer in the Vatican, also excavated in Vulci (fig. 41).¹⁰³ Under the feet of the latter stand there is a small square base as under a specimen in the art market;¹⁰⁴ but the round disc was used for other censers of the

102: *CopenhagenNCG H 230*, said to have been found at Orvieto, but possibly from Vulci, see above with notes 9 and 11. *Etruskerstadt 38-39* figs. 76-79, *NCGBild* pls. 100-101, *StEtr* 11 1937, 124, *NMArb* 1950, 40 fig. 12, *NCGEtr* 42-43 no. H 230, *Jurgeit*, op. cit. 40-41 no. K 12.1-3, 106-107 pls. 20 a-d and 21 a. The latter author took this cista for North Etruscan.

102a: *VaticanMGE RG 8*, from Vulci, ex-Guglielmi. *Magi* 179-182 pls. 49 and 69.

103: *VaticanMGE 12677*, from Vulci 1837. *Mus Greg* I pl. 51. 3-3a. *AA* 1923/24, 326, *Giglioli* 59 pl. 315.4, *Tyrhh* 87 note 2, *JdI* 58 1943, 264 note 2, *Studies Presented to D. M. Robertson I*, St. Louis 1951, 738-739 no. 1 pl. 88, *Haynes EB* 189, 288 no. 117, *Testa*, op. cit. 84-85 no. 32.

104: *BaselMMAG*, FPU. *Auktion* 18, Basel 1958, 14 no. 35 pl. 11, *Sotheby Sale New York*, 22-5-1981 no. 109.

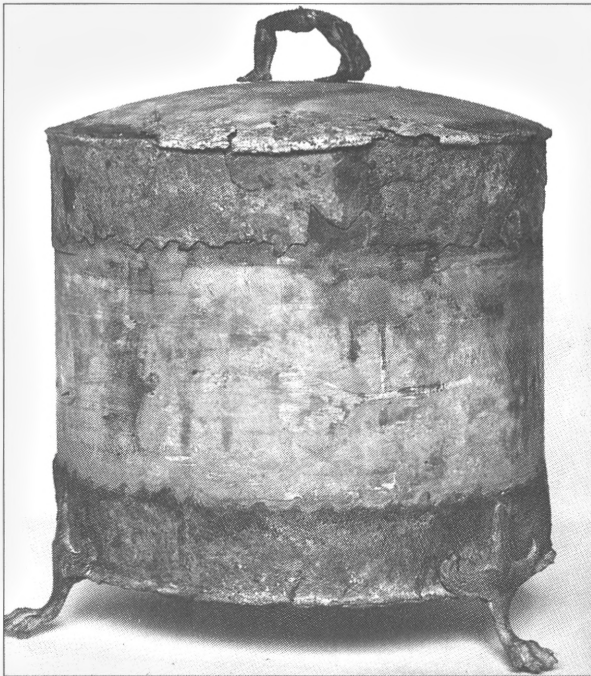


Fig. 40a-c. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H 230. Museum Photos (Sophus Bengtsson).

same kind (fig. 42),¹⁰⁵ occasionally without figures.¹⁰⁶ Others have a button-shaped element instead of a disc under the feet.¹⁰⁷ In one case the rider is a bearded man,¹⁰⁸ and in another neither the upper part of the rider nor the small base under the foot has been preserved.¹⁰⁹

We must here insert a censer of a more traditional character recalling the ones in our second group, but having the winged feet of the Mainz stand, the Ny Carlsberg cista and the Vatican censers 12677-12678 as well as buttons under the feet like the small stand in the Vulcian Tomba del Guerriero (fig. 43).¹¹⁰ The figure is a silenus with equine hoofs; as to face he has much in common with the sileni of Vatican 12678, but is later with a modelling of the abdomen as on the figures of 12677.

More or less the same facial features as those of the censer fig. 42 and a hair-band with three discs or flowers as on the sphinxes of the Thorvaldsen handles and on the maenad of the New York group are presented by a diskophoros from a candelabrum in the Ny Carlsberg collection and



Fig. 41. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 12677. (After Testa, *Candelabri e thymiateria* no. 32).

105: *CopenhagenNCG H 221*, from "Orvieto", see above with notes 9 and 11. *Etruskerstadt* 37-38 figs. 72-74, NCGBild pl. 95, Tyrrh 87 note 2, 91, *Studies Robinson*, 738-739 no. 2, NCGEtr 40. – *Olympia, Museum B 1001*, from Olympia. Tyrrh 87 note 2, *Studies Robinson*, 736-738 pl. 88, A. Mallwitz & H.-V. Hermann, *Die Funde aus Olympia*, Athens 1980, 120-121 pl. 82, Haynes EB 189, 288-289 no. 118. – *New York, Christos G. Bastis Collection*, FPU. Sotheby Sale New York 22-11-1974 no. 193, E. Swan Hill (ed.), *Antiquities from the Collection of Christos G. Bastis*, New York 1987, 218 no. 124. – *New YorkMMA 20.37.1 a-c*, FPU, ex-Borelli Bey, ex-Canessa. *Vente Drouot Paris* 11-13.6.1913 no. 250 pl. 31, G. M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, New York 1940, 30, 35 note 32 fig. 88.

106: *CopenhagenNCG H 222*, from "Orvieto", see above with notes 9 and 11. *Etruskerstadt* 38 fig. 75, NCGBild pl. 89, NCGEtr 40.

107: *RomeVG*, from Vulci, Necropoli dell'Osteria, Tomba del Guerriero no. 10. R. Vighi, *Il nuovo Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia*, Rome 1957, 23 pl. 7.10. – *RomeVG 1272*, from Civit  Castellana, Tomba a Camera 61 (XCIX). *MonLinc* 7 1897, 291 note 3.

108: *ParisBN 1465*, FPU. Adam 94 no. 106.

109: *Istanbul, Archaeological Museum*, from Lindos. C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos I*, Berlin 1931, 746 no. 3217 pl. 151, Testa, op. cit. 85 ad no 32.

110: *New York, Pomerance Collection*, FPU. The Pomerance Collection of Ancient Art, Brooklyn 1966, 107 no. 122, Teitz 66-67, 164 no. 55.



Fig. 42. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H 221. Museum Photo (Ole Woldbye).



Fig. 44. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H 227. Museum Photo (Ole Woldbye).

Fig. 43. New York, L. & H. Pomerance Collection 122. (After The Pomerance Collection, Brooklyn 1966).

a siren in Berlin (fig. 44).¹¹¹ Somehow related to these bronzes, but difficult to evaluate on account of the corrosion scars in the face is a large spear-thrower in Vienna,¹¹² and we should probably also here mention a well-known statuette in Modena showing a bearded man, clad in chiton and himation,¹¹³ and a siren in the Balearic island of Menorca.¹¹⁴

A series of exquisite bronzes put together by Mario del Chiaro belongs to the same great family of sirens, sileni and riding youthful acrobats: two amphorae (fig. 45), four separate handles, and the famous Cortona lamp.¹¹⁵ The sileni of some of these works, e. g. fig. 45, look like brothers of the silenus in the New York group quoted above in our note 100. An ithyphallic silenus

among Thorvaldsen's bronzes has the same forehead hair as fig. 45, the beard is modelled in a way intermediate between the Modena¹¹³ and Cortona¹¹⁵ stages of development, and it may therefore be added to the series (fig. 46).¹¹⁶ Because of their special character and high quality Del Chiaro attributed the amphorae and handles to one workshop, most likely made by a single craftsman. He did not explicitly let the lamp join them, but stressed its provocative similarity. Although some recent writers have regarded it as North Etruscan, either eclectic or a product of immigrated Vulcians, I do not hesitate to place it in our third group; the differences in style can easily be understood, because it is the latest work of the series.

- 111: *Copenhagen* NCG H 227, from "Orvieto", see above notes 9 and 11. Etruskerstadt 36 fig. 69, NCGBild pl. 95, NCGEtr 42. – *Berlin* SM Fr. 2287, from Italy, ex-Gerhard 1848. AdI 8 1836, 58-61 no. 3, Mdl 2 1834-38 pl. 39, second row, left and right, Tyrrh 90 note 2, U. Gehrig, A. Greifenhagen & N. Kunisch, Führer durch die Antikenabteilung, Berlin 1968, 100.
- 112: *Vienna* KM 208 (VI 5) I, FPU, ex-Khevenhüller 1804. E. von Sacken, Die antiken Bronzen, Vienna 1871, 112-113 pl. 41.5.
- 113: *Modena*, *Galleria Estense* 523P-12205, FPU. EA 1954-1955, AM 53 1928, 77-78 note 6, Tyrrh 91 note 2, RM 58 1943, 87-88 pl. 7, NCGColl 3 1942, 18 fig. 14, 20 note 4, M. Cristofani, I bronzi degli Etruschi, Novara 1985, 283 no. 99, Id. (ed.), *Civiltà degli Etruschi*, Milan 1985, 284 fig. 10. 29, *Die Etrusker und Europa*, Paris 1992, 142 no. 172, 320, 322.
- 114: *Ciudadela (Menorca)*, *Seminario Conciliar*, from Rafal de Toro, before 1890, ex-N. Pons Piris, ex-M. Mercader y Arroyo. A. Garcia y Bellido, Los hallazgos griegos de España, Madrid 1936, 46 no. 11 pls. 19-21, AA 1941, 208 fig. 6, A. Garcia y Bellido, *Hispania Graeca II*, Barcelona 1948, 95-96 no. 13 pl. 29, P. J. Riis, *Etruscan Art*, Copenhagen 1953, 76.
- 115: *Berlin* SM Fr. 674, from Schwarzenbach in the Saarland, cremation grave, ex-Böcking. AZ 13 1855, 31-32, AZ 14 1856, 161-163 pl. 85, AdI 51 1879, 135 note 1, RM 38/39 1923/24, 365-370 no. 18 fig. 8, Neugebauer, Führer I 78 pl. 27, Tyrrh 85-86 note 4, Jdl 58 1943, 235 note 3, U. Gehrig, A. Greifenhagen & N. Kunisch, Führer durch die Antikenabteilung, Berlin 1968, 95 pl. 14, RendPontAcc 48 1975/76, 78-85 nos. 5-6 figs. 6-8, Prospettiva 20

1980, 8-9 note 18, 14 note 1. – *Vatican* MGE 16299, from Vulci. Mus Greg pl. 8.2, AdI 51 1879, 135 note 1, RM 38/39 1923/24, 365 no. 17, Tyrrh 85 note 4, Jdl 58 1943, 235 note 3, RendPontAcc 48 1975/76, 77-78 nos. 3-4 figs. 4-5. – *Santa Barbara, Cal.*, *Wright S. Ludington Collection* 81.64. 30-31, FPU. RendPontAcc 48 1975/76, nos. 1-2 figs. 1-3. – *Boston* MFA 99.464, FPU, ex-E. P. Warren. Annual Report Museum of Fine Arts 1899, 44 no. 20, Teitz 72-73 no. 62, 166 fig. 62, M. Comstock & C. Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts, Greenwich, Conn.* 1971, no. 495 (507), RendPontAcc 48 1975/76, 82-83 no. 7 fig. 9. – *Haverford, Pa.*, *Waelder Collection*, FPU. Archaeology 11 1958, 292, Master Bronzes 194 no. 199, RendPontAcc 48 1975/76, 82-83 fig. 10 no. 8. – *Cortona*, *Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca*, found 1840 at the foot of the hill on which Cortona lies, at the locality La Tratta, ex-Luisa Bartolozzi Tommasi 1843. Bdl 1840, 164-169, AdI 14 1842, 53-62, AdI 15 1843, 354, AZ 14 1856, 161-163, Mdl 3 1839-43, pls. 41-42, CIE I no. 443: inscription – tinsvil, G. Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*², London 1878, 402-405, BrBr 666, Giglioli 42 pls. 229.2 and 230, Tyrrh 86 note 1, Jdl 58 1943, 254-255, RendPontAcc 46 1975/76, 82 note 5, 83-85 fig. 11, Haynes EB 193, 290-291 no. 122.

- 116: *Copenhagen* TM V 8, FPU, acquired before 1832. G. Micali, Monumenti per servire alla storia degli antichi popoli italiani, Florence 1832, pl. 41.6-7, L. Müller, Fortegnelse over Oldsagerne i Thorvaldsens Museum III, Copenhagen 1847, 158 no. 8, EA 1486 b, T. Melander, Thorvaldsens antikker, Copenhagen 1993, 116-117 no. 72.



Fig. 45. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 16299. (After *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia* 48 1975-76, 78 fig. 5).

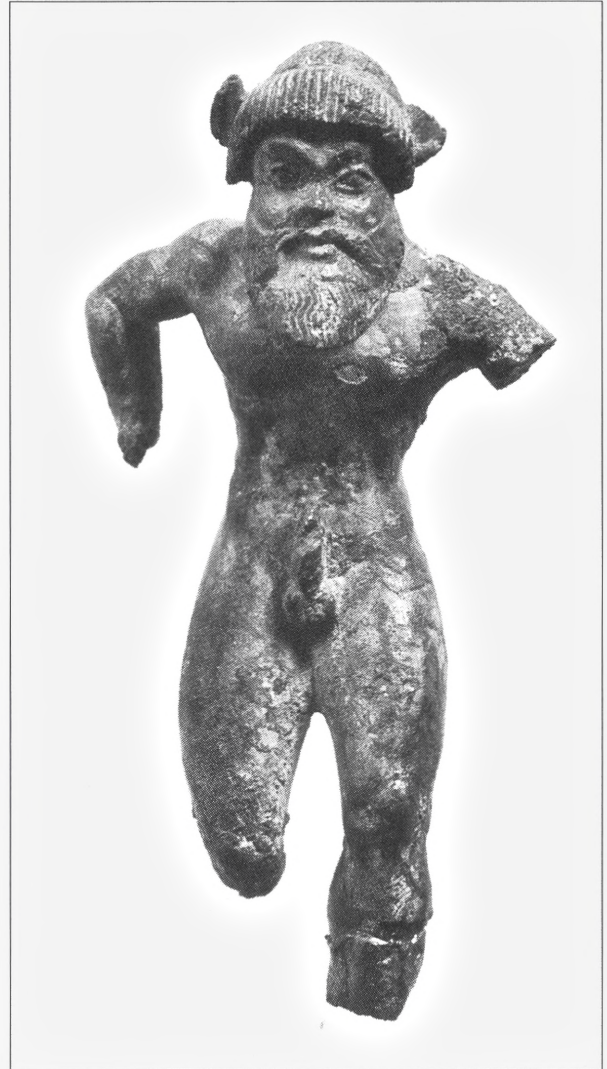


Fig. 46. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum V 8. Museum Photo (Ole Woldbye).

Chapter III

The Animal-Combat Tradition

A large number of bronzes can be grouped around that series of ornate tripods which over their hair-pin supports have representations of animal-combats. For lack of a better common denominator to designate all these bronzes I have simply called them “The Animal-Combat Tradition”, because it is their affinities to the tripod series which have enabled me to group them. Also this tradition consists of minor groups.

1. The Saint Petersburg Tripod and its Relatives

A tripod found in Vulci and since long ago in St. Petersburg (fig. 47)¹¹⁷ is in several respects closely related to the Bomford-Bastis fragments of the “Horse-Lion-and-Acrobat Tradition” (above fig. 12 a-d), but some details are different, it is more elaborate and also a little more advanced in the modelling of the figures. The skill and pleasure of story-telling and decorating displayed in this work is not equalled among the early tripods, and it has nothing to do with the later representatives of the said tradition. So, it marks a new beginning. The most striking novelty is the replacing of the sea-horses by animal-combats over two of the hair-pin supports, and by Herakles fighting Acheloos, nearly an animal, over the third one, and on two of the vertical rods instead of sirens Herakles subduing animals, viz. the Nemean lion and the Erymanthian boar. For the third vertical support the artist used Eurystheus

in the pithos seconded by his wife or mother (fig. 48 a-c).

The style characterizing these figures reappears in an openwork relief portraying Herakles with a woman, which has belonged to Lucien Bonaparte, the Prince of Canino excavating the Vulcian necropolis in the years 1828-40.¹¹⁸ A slightly later stage of development is exemplified by two tripod fragments, top figures of vertical supports, a male in Munich and a female in London.¹¹⁹ The lotus flower on which they are seen running is very like those of the Saint Petersburg stand, but its bulging lower part is fluted so as to resemble a melon. Distinctly different are the lotuses on another tripod, and its figures, although related, are absolutely not by the same hand as the afore-mentioned objects, but it is not later (fig. 49 a-d).¹²⁰ Whereas the arcs of the hair-pin supports in St. Petersburg are cylindrical, they are here bevelled. Also the animal-combats have another scheme, and taken together

117: *St. Petersburg EM 338*, from Vulci, ex-Campana. AdI 34 1862, MdI 6/7 1862 pl. 69.2a-f, MonLinc 7 1897, 299 no. IX, 297 fig. 3, AA 1937, 501-506 fig. 6, ActaA 10 1939, 22, 24-25 no. F 1, Tyrrh 78 pl. 14.3, JdI 58 1943, 210-213 figs. 2-6, 216, Krauskopf 35 pl. 6.2-4.

118: *Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 918.3.113 (CA 314)*, FPU, ex-Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino, so most likely from Vulci. MemAmAc 21 1953 fig. 4, Master Bronzes 187 no. 193.

119: *Munich MAK 3727*, FPU. AA 1923/24, 303-304 fig. 1, ActaA 10 1939, 23 no. F 7, 24-26, JdI 58 1943, 216-217 fig. 10. – *London BM 539*, from Todi, grave at Le Loggie. NSc 1880, 260, MonLinc 7 1897, 292-293 no. II, AA 1923/24, 304, ActaA 10 1939, 22 no. F 5, 24-25 fig. 9, Tyrrh 78 note 5 pl. 14.2, JdI 58 1943, 216, StEtr 18 1944, 18 fig. 2, HaynesEB 148, 261 no. 43.

120: *Berlin SM Fr. 767*, found at Vulci 1833, ex-Durand. BdI 1834, 7-9, MonLinc 7 1897, 294 no. IV, 351-356 fig. 24 pl. 9.3, AA 1923/24, 303 note 1, Neugebauer, Führer I, 77-78 pl. 19, Giglioli 22 pl. 103, StEtr 10 1936, 34 note 1 pl. 4, ActaA 10 1939, 22 no. F 6, 24-26, JdI 58 1943, 218-222 fig. 11, StEtr 18 1944, 12-13 note 9, 25 pl. 4.3, RM 66 1959, 53 note 64, Krauskopf 35, A. Hus, Les bronzes étrusques, Bruxelles 1975, 87 note 21.



Fig. 47. Saint Petersburg, Ermitage Museum 338. (After *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 58 1943, 211 fig. 2).



Fig. 48a-d. Saint Petersburg, Ermitage Museum 338. (After *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1937, 501-506 fig. 6 (a) and Krauskopf, *Sagenkreis* pl. 6.2-4 (b-d)).



Fig. 49a-d. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Fr. 767. Museum Photos (Ingrid Geske-Heiden).

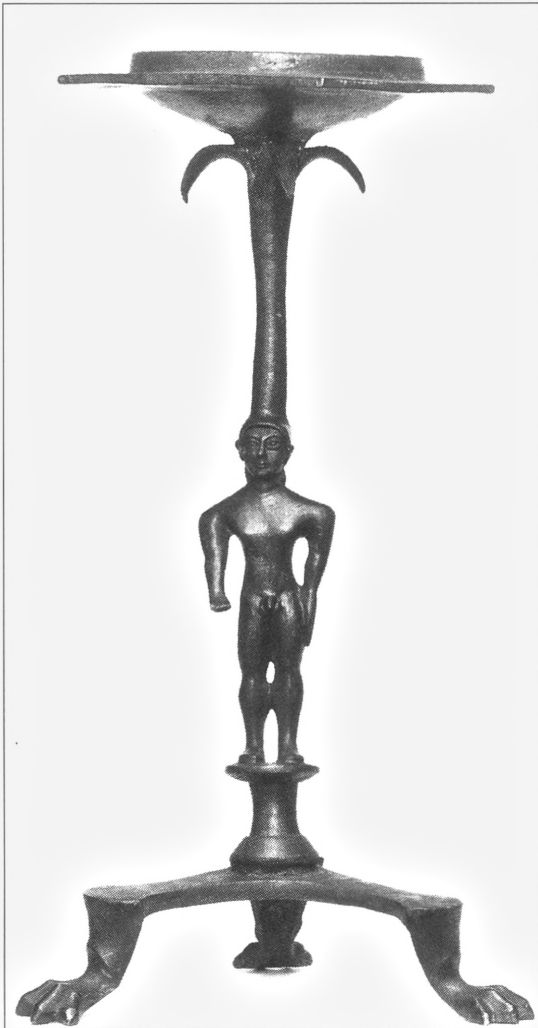


Fig. 50. Copenhagen, National Museum ABA 557. Museum Photo (Sophus Bengtsson).

the three persons on the vertical rods tell one story, that of Perseus pursuing Medousa; in this respect the tripod is a counterpart of the later tripods in the “Horse-Lion-and-Acrobat Tradition”. The figure style, however, is of another kind, and we find it again in a series of censers and fragments of similar stands; if known, the finding-place was Vulci. Both proportions and facial features are more or less the same. Evidently the persons represented are dancers, but their gestures resemble those of the tripod run-

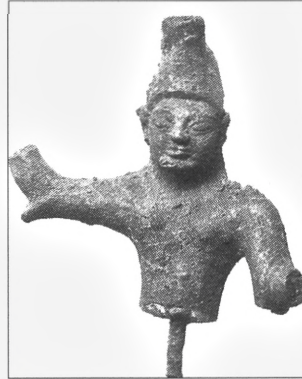


Fig. 51. Copenhagen, National Museum 1280. Museum Photo (Sophus Bengtsson).

ners, and the female dancers’ tight chiton with its pointed “sleeves” certainly recalls the dress of the Medousa (figs. 50-52).¹²¹ All these thymiateria are rather simple. Three of them rest on three feline feet, and one of them has summarily mod-

121: *BerlinSM*, without no., FPU. Tyrrh 79 no. A 3 pl. 15.2, JdI 58 1943, 276 note 3.-*CopenhagenNM ABA 557*, FPU, ex-Rollin, Paris 1852/53. Tyrrh 79 no. A 8 pl. 15.4, JdI 58 1943, 268 note 4, 269. -*Geneva, G. Ortíz Collection*, from Vulci. The George Ortíz Collection, London 1994 no. 193.- Formerly *BaselMMAG*, FPU. Auktion 34, Basel 1967, 14-15 no. 22 pl. 8.- Formerly *BaselMMAG*, FPU. Auktion 22, Basel 1961, 38 no. 70 pl. 21. - *CambridgeFM Gr. 17.1864*, FPU, ex-Leake 1864. JdI 58 1943, 274 fig. 51, 276-277. - *CopenhagenNM 1280*, FPU, ex-Basseggio, i.e. possibly from Vulci, see above notes 41-43, Tyrrh 79 no. A 5 pl. 15.1, JdI 58 1943, 277 note 1.- *LondonBM 599*, from Vulci, ex-Campanari 1847. AZ 5 1847, 186 no. 9, BerlMus 45 1924, 28-30 fig. 2, Tyrrh 79 no. A 4, JdI 58 1943, 275 fig. 52, 277, HaynesEB 160, 266 no. 58. - *BerlinSM Fr. 692*, from Vulci. Neugebauer, Führer I, 69 pl. 29, BerlMus 45 1924, 28-29 fig. 1, Giglioli 38 pl. 213.1, StEtr 10 1936, 36-37 note 3 pl. 11.1, Tyrrh 79-80 no. A 2, JdI 58 1943, 277 note 1, Kunst und Leben der Etrusker, Köln 1956, 121 no. 301, AA 1966, 373, 376 note 24, 378 fig. 11. - Formerly *Basel, Borowski Collection*, FPU. E. Borowski, L’art étrusque, Galerie archéologique, Paris 1968, 5 fig. 2. -*FlorenceMAN 680*, FPU. BerlMus 45 1924, 28-31 fig. 4, Tyrrh 79 no. A 7, JdI 58 1943, 277 note 1. - *ViennaKM 2873*, FPU, ex-Böhm 1865. JdI 58 1943, 277 note 1, K. Geschwantler e.a., Guss+Form, Bronzen aus der Antikensammlung, Vienna 1986, 122-123 no. 178 fig. 178. - *MunichMAK 57*, FPU, ex-Dodwell. BerlMus 45 1924, 28-31 fig. 3, StEtr 10 1936, 38, Tyrrh 79 no. A 6, JdI 58 1943, 277 note 1.

elled birds on the corners over the feet; in three cases the base has the shape of a three-legged table. The shaft over the figure is usually either plain, ending above in a sort of flower with outwards curved petals, or shaped like a stem with a few buds or leaves; twice a bird is clinging to the side of the stem. A plain shaft rising directly from the head is partially preserved in two other bronzes (figs. 53-54).¹²² This time the figures are dancing sileni not directly comparable with the beings represented on the tripods and stands just dealt with; but one of them has a round three-legged table for base. So, I nevertheless venture to ascribe them to the same group, and on account of some resemblance to the silenus on the table I add also a situla with two winged Acheloos masks, and a recumbent silenus, perhaps from a tripod, where he may have been placed on a ring between the feet as on later tripods (fig. 55).¹²³

The beards allow us to connect these works and a number of Acheloos heads and winged silenus busts, which to judge from later finds were helmet attachments.¹²⁴ One of them has only the simple, but elegantly curved moustache

122: *MunichMAK 3731*, FPU, ex-Arndt, ex-Kohn 1940. *Berl-Mus 45 1924*, 32. – *CopenhagenNM ABa 249*, FPU, ex-Capecelatro 1825, i.e. probably South Italy, perhaps Campania.

123: Formerly *Paris. Julien Gréau Collection*, FPU. *Vente Drouot, Paris 1885*, 5-6 no. 16. – *CopenhagenNM 94*, FPU, ex-Feuardent, Paris 1867/68. C. Blinkenberg, *Führer durch die Antikensammlung, Copenhagen 1899*, 166 no. 43.

124: *RomeVG 27930*, from Capena. *Della Seta 340*, *NSc 1922*, 211-212 fig. 3, *Giglioli 25 pl. 127.5*. – *ParisBN 75*, FPU, ex-Caylus. *JdI 58 1943*, 246 note 7, *Latomus 33 1974*, 786, *Adam 111 no. 135*. – *CopenhagenNM 8176*, FPU, ex-Cassirer, Rome 1924. – *CopenhagenNM, without number*, FPU. – Formerly *BaselMMAG*, FPU. *Auktion 51, 1975*, 109 no. 247 pl. 66. – *ParisBN 417*, FPU, ex-Caylus. *Adam 111 no. 136*. – *ParisBN A-V H 3372*, FPU, ex-P. Valton 1907. *Adam 111-112 no. 137*. – In 1955 I noticed a similar attachment with the remains of a suspension ring in *Pesto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale*.



Fig. 52. London, British Museum 599. Museum Photo.

of the just mentioned bronzes; but on others the moustache splits like the bifid one of fig. 54 or is even trifid. The bifid moustache recurs twisted on an Acheloos head embellishing the arm rest of a chair.¹²⁵

125: *LondonBM 483*, FPU.

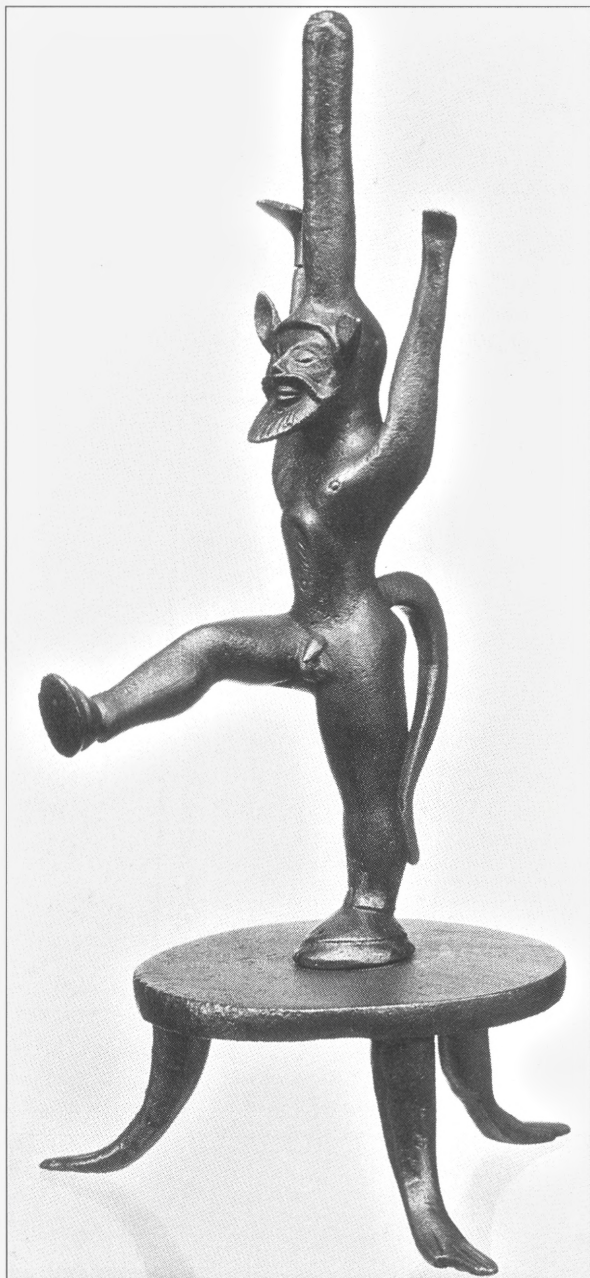


Fig. 53. Munich, Museum antiker Kleinkunst 3731. Photo Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek (M. Maass).



Fig. 54. Copenhagen, National Museum ABA 249. Museum Photo (Lennart Larsen).

2. The Karlsruhe Tripod and Its Relatives

Someone must have felt a need for more room to tell a story on the tripods, where one figure on each of the vertical rods apparently did not suffice. So it was tempting to let a platform with figures take the place of the animal combat over the arcs. A tripod in Karlsruhe (fig. 56 a-c)¹²⁶ is the earliest preserved specimen with this arrangement; but it may not be the very first, for the new opportunities have not been fully uti-

¹²⁶: *Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 414*, from Vulci, ex-Basseggio, ex-Maler. *Adl* 14 1842, 67, K. Schumacher, *Beschreibung der Sammlung antiker Bronzen, Karlsruhe 1890*, 72-73 no. 414 pl. 17.2, *MonLinc* 7 1897, 294-295 no. V, *AA* 1923/24, 306-307 fig. 2, *StEtr* 10 1936, 24 note 3, *ActaA* 10 1939, 23 no. F 11, 24, 26, *Jdl* 58 1943, 219, 221 fig 12, 223, 226, M. Maass, *Wege zur Klassik, Führer durch die Antikensammlung, Karlsruhe 1985*, 162-163, 165 fig. 129.



Fig. 55. Copenhagen, National Museum 94. Museum Photo (Sophus Bengtsson).

lized, as one and the same figure type is repeated on all three arcs and another on the vertical supports. The running winged men and the reclining person recall the Phineus myth; but the female diner and the mechanical application of the two types make a safe interpretation difficult. In spite of all differences the Karlsruhe stand has obvious connections with the preceding works. The outer garment of the reclining ladies and its folds are more or less the same as on the London fragment, the running youths have much in common with their Munich and Berlin counterparts, even the facial features are not totally unlike, there is no great step from the bevelled arcs in Berlin to the fluted and beaded ones in Karlsruhe, and the complex lyre ornament under them can easily be explained as developed from the scheme displayed on that tripod, as can also the top decoration of the vertical rods. In general the volute motifs correspond to those of the London tripod in the “Horse-Lion-and-Acrobat Tradition”, where they probably do not have their origin: they may rather have developed gradually in the “Animal-Combat Tradition” with the Berlin tripod or one like it as starting point. Reclining youths have displaced the ducks,

which in St. Petersburg decorated the ring between the tripod’s feet, and surprisingly the nearest parallel to them is a recent Spanish find, perhaps from a tripod of a slightly earlier date than the one in Karlsruhe (fig. 57).¹²⁷

Also here it seems possible to attach some censers to the tripod. There are several points of significant resemblance between the latter and a stand in Scotland as well as one in Belgium (figs. 58-59);¹²⁸ faces, proportions, movements of the figures and even some bead-and-reel decoration link them together. The principal figure of the Belgian censer with his left hand on the hip is heavier built, but the three small ones acting as table legs are slim like the others. Next come two

127: *Cádiz, Museo de Cádiz*, from a forest sanctuary near Sanlúcar de Barrameda at the mouth of the Guadalquivir. A. Álvarez Rojas, *Fichas de arqueología gaditana*, Cádiz 1995, 24-25, there regarded as a cista handle.

128: *Edinburgh, Royal Museum of Scotland A1956.384*, FPU. – *BrusselsMRAH R 1214 bis*, FPU, ex-Ravestein. E. de Meester de Ravestein, *Musée de Ravestein*, Brussels 1880,216.



Fig. 56a-c. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 414. Museum Photos.



Fig. 57. Cádiz, Museo de Cádiz. (After Álvarez Rojas, *Fichas de arqueología gaditana*, 24).

more censers with hip-holding youths.¹²⁹ All of them remind us of the stand Munich 55/56 in the “Horse-Lion-and-Acrobat Tradition”, our fig. 32, but they are simpler versions of the type. Related are moreover two dancing male figures from thymiateria, one of them with a round base like the Scottish stand.¹³⁰

129: *RomeVG* 24409, FPU, ex-Kircher. Giglioli 38 pl. 213.4, *StEtr* 10 1936, 37 pl. 11.2, *Tyrrh* 79-80 no. A 10, *JdI* 58 1943, 268 note 2. – *New YorkMMA* 97.22.22, FPU, ex-Marquand. G. M. A. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, New York 1915, 372-373 no. 1298, *Tyrrh* 79-80 no. A 12, *JdI* 58 1943, 268 note 3, *Teitz* 42 no. 27, 135.

130: *AthensNM* 2728, FPU, ex-Karapanos, i.e. from Greece? – Formerly *BaselMMAG*, FPU, Auktion 34, Basel 1967, 14 no. 21 pl. 8.

Among the very finest Etruscan tripods we must, no doubt, reckon that one of which one fragment was found on the Akropolis of Athens, a worthy gift to Athena (fig.60 a-b).¹³¹ It is obviously a close relative of the tripod in Karlsruhe, but has a tongue pattern on the arc, as has the London tripod in the “Horse-Lion-and-Acrobat

131: *AthensNM* 6511 (1456), from the Akropolis of Athens. *Olympia* IV, Berlin 1890, 128, *RM* 10 1895, 95, A. de Ridder, *Catalogue des bronzes trouvés sur l’acropole d’Athènes* I, Paris 1896, xvi, 283-284 no. 760 fig. 269 pl. 5, *BCH* 20 1896, 401-422 pls. 1-1 bis, *MonLinc* 7 1897, 277-278, 302-303 no. XIII, 375-376, pl. 9.1, *AA* 1923/24 302, 310, Giglioli 21-22 pl. 102.2, *StEtr* 10 1936, 24 note 5, 49 note 5 pl. 7.3, *ActaA* 10 1939, 22 no. F 2, 26-27, *Tyrrh* 78 pl. 14.1, *JdI* 58 1943, 231-232 fig. 20, *Studies D. M. Robinson* I, St. Louis 1951, 741, *RA* 1977/1, 14 fig. 17.



Fig. 58. Edinburgh, Royal Museum of Scotland A1956.384. Museum Photo.



Fig. 59. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire R 1214 bis. Museum Photo (Copyright IRPA-KIK, Bruxelles).



Fig. 60a-b. Athens, National Museum 6511. Photos German Archaeological Institute (E. F. Gehnen).

Tradition". We see on the platform a procession of four persons, apparently the introduction of Herakles on the Olympos – the woman to the left of the bearded man seems to wear the aigis –, and protomai of Achelooi fill the space between the platform and the arc. We may let a Parisian kore¹³² follow the fragment, on account of her kinship with the women in the procession; the quality is not the same, but the general style

character is very much alike. A related, rather heavy and square body type is displayed by another tripod fragment with two figures on part of the top of a vertical rod, and enough of the latter is preserved¹³³ to indicate that the ornament was of the same elaborate scheme as on a tripod in Paris (fig. 62 a-b), to which we shall revert later. First I would like to mention a pair of helmet attachments to be connected with the earlier tripods of

132: *ParisML* 239, FPU, ex-Durand 1825. De Ridder I, 42 no. 239 pl. 23, Tyrh 89 pl. 18.1, JdI 58 1943, 234 note 4, RichardsonEVB 284.

133: *LondonBM* 487, FPU. ActaA 10 1939, 23 no. F8, 25 fig. 10, 27-28, JdI 58 1943, 232 note 1, RA 1977/1, 12-13 fig. 13.



Fig. 61a-b. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 861/1. Photos Soprintendenza Archeologica per l'Umbria.

this group (fig. 61 a-b).¹³⁴ Together they form an elaborate representation of Medousa's flight; both the persecutor and the pursued one are related to the tripod runners, the lotuses are of the same type as in Berlin, and as a whole the ornamental pattern recurs on the feet of the Karlsruhe stand. The style, however, is more advanced. Resembling this Medousa set is a piece in Oxford;¹³⁵ here a lotus flower is flanked by palmettes, but the face and drapery folds recall the reclining Karlsruhe ladies.

The Paris tripod (fig. 62 a-b)¹³⁶ has like the above-mentioned fragment two figures over the vertical supports; over each of the arcs there are

three. The drapery of the women is a little more Atticizing; but the long feet and the heads with their pointed caps have still an Ionizing look. The tongue pattern of the arcs is similar to that of the Athens fragment, except that it lacks the fine petals between the tongues. The ducks between platform and arc are more freely modelled than the strange creatures seen under the couches and tables of the Karlsruhe ladies, whose drapery on the other hand offers some likeness to parts of the Parisian women's dress. Evidently there is no great distance between the two tripods, neither in style nor in time, nor is there far from them to an often reproduced tripod in the Vatican (fig.

134: *Perugia*MAN 861/1, from Orvieto.

135: *Oxford*AM EF 838, from Palestrina, ex-Fortunum. A similar ornamental scheme is seen on an attachment with a youth leading a horse: *Rome*VG, FPU, ex-Kircher, Giglioli 22 pl. 104.2.

136: *Paris*BN 1472, from Vulci 1831, ex-Campanari, ex-De-Luynes. AdI 9 1837, 161-167, Mdi 2 1834-38 pl. 42 A, MonLinc 7 1897, 300-301 no. X, AA 1923/24, 307-310

fig. 12, Giglioli 21 pl. 101, StEtr 10 1936, 24 no. 4, ActaA 10 1939, 23-24, 27-28 no. F 12, Jdi 58 1943, 228-230 fig. 19, StEtr 18 1944, 17-18 pl. 4.4, ASAtene 24-26 1946-48, 88, 91 fig. 9, Kunst und Leben der Etrusker, Zürich 1955, 85 no. 187, Art et Civilisation des Étrusques, Paris 1955, 46 no. 232, A. Hus, Vulci, Paris 1971, 81-82 pl. 5 b, RA 1977/1, 3-22 figs. 1-6 and 16, Adam 63-66 no. 65.



Fig. 62a-b. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1472. Museum Photos.

63 a-b);¹³⁷ but here the bronze worker has again used animal-combats to embellish the arcs, so that the mythological narrative is confined to the vertical supports. The representation has relationship to both that in Paris and to the groups on the Mainz censer of the “Horse-Lion-and-Acrobat Tradition”, but the couple of Herakles defending a woman is made in nearly the same way as on the former stand. Whether a similar

tripod in Saratow on the Volga¹³⁸ is genuine or simply a modern cast, I cannot decide; but it seems that a pasticcio in Brussels incorporates the lower part of an ancient one belonging to this group (fig. 64 a-b).¹³⁹ The sileni on the lower rings of these tripods have counterparts in several museums, probably also coming from tripods. Very similar to the Brussels sileni are a figure in Berlin¹⁴⁰ and another in Athens, found on the

137: *VaticanMGE 12110*, from Vulci, Tomba Campanari 1833, which also contained a helmet in ParisBN 2013, our note 184, an amphora in LondonBM 557, our note 187, fig. 81 a-b, and a set of jewellery, i.a. a necklace in NewYorkMMA 40.11.6, our note 218, fig. 99. *BdI 1835*, 203-205, *MdI 2 1834-38* pl. 42 C, *Mus Greg I* pl. 56, *MonLinc 7 1897*, 289, 295-296 no. VI fig. 2, 359 fig. 26, *AA 1923/24*, 305-306, *Giglioli 22* pl. 102.3, *ActaA 10 1939*, 23 no. F 13, 24, 27-28, *Tyrh 176* note 5, 179, *JdI 58 1943*, 223, 226-228, *ASAtene 14-26*, 1946-48, 88, 91 fig. 8, *Brown 96-97* pl. 39 b, *San Giovenale 365* fig. 382, *RA 1977/1*, 11-12 figs. 11-12.

138: *JdI 58 1943*, 227 fig. 17.

139: *BrusselsMRAH R 1203*, from grave at Tarquinia 1854, ex-Ravestein. E. de Meester de Ravestein, *Musée de Ravestein*, Brussels 1880, 213. The heads of bulls and rams mounted on top of the supports apparently belonged to the cauldron which once rested upon the tripod.

140: *BerlinSMFr. 1490 p*, FPU, ex-Gerhard 1869, Olympia IV, Berlin 1890, 24 note 2, *AA 1923/24*, 315-316 fig. 6, *StEt 18 1944*, 21 pl. 4.2.

141: *AthensNM 6604*, from the Akropolis of Athens. *JHS 13 1892/3*, 239-240 fig. 12, A. de Ridder, *Bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athènes I*, Paris 1896, 286-287 no. 763 fig. 272, *MonLinc 7 1897*, 302 ad no. XII, *AA 1923/24*, 316 note 2, *ActaA 10 1939*, 22 ad no. F 2.



Fig. 63a-b. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 12110. (After *Annuario della Scuola di Atene* 24-26 1946-48, 91 fig. 8).

Akropolis,¹⁴¹ and a few more join them,¹⁴² some slightly different.¹⁴³

Two running youths clad in chitoniskoi and with faces like those of the beardless figures on

the Vatican tripod originally formed part of a related stand.¹⁴⁴ The fragment was found at Falerii; its platform is embellished with a tongue pattern apparently developed from the orna-

142: *OxfordAM EF 836*, from Palestrina, ex-Fortnum. – *BerlinSM 1490 q*, FPU, ex-Gerhard 1869. AA 1923/24, 315-316 fig. 7, StEtr 18 1944, 21 pl 4.1, – *ViennaKM VI 468 (1254)*, FPU, ex-Khevenhüller 1804. E. von Sacken & F. Kenner, *Die Sammlungen des K. K. Münz-und Antiken-Cabinetes*, Vienna 1866, 308 no. 1254, E. von Sacken, *Die antiken Bronzen*, Vienna 1871, 61 pl. 26.11, AA 1923/24, 316 note 1, ActaA 10 1939, 24 no. F 18, StEtr 18 1944, 21-22 fig. 4, K. Geschwandtler & W. Oberleitner, *Götter, Heroen, Menschen, Antikes Leben im Spiegel der Kunst*, Vienna 1974, 31 no. 79. – *ParisML 3142*, FPU, ex-Campana. De Ridder II 150 no. 3142 pl. 111, CAVulci 65-69 pl. 22 d.

143: For instance the following specimens: *Rouen, Musée Départemental des Antiquités*, FPU, ex-Beugnot 1840. E. Espérandieu & H. Rolland, *Bronzes antiques de la Seine-Maritime, XIIIe Supplément à "Gallia"*, Paris 1959, 45-46 no. 69 pl. 27. – *ParisBN 412*, FPU, ex-Oppermann 1874. AA 1923/24, 316 note 2, StEtr 18 1944, 22 note 32, ActaA 10 1939, 24 no. F 19, Adam 66-67 no. 66.-

ParisML 3142, FPU, ex-Campana. De Ridder II 150 no. 3142 pl. 111, CAVulci 65-69 pl. 22 c.

144: *RomeVG 1270*, from Cività Castellana, Necropoli di Celle, chamber grave 61 (XCIX) no. 74, MonLinc 7 1897, 291, 301-302 no. XI, 361-362 fig. 27, 373, Della Seta 55, AA 1923/24, 305, ActaA 10 1939, 23-24 no. F 14, JdI 58 1943, 217-218 note 1. The figure of a standing woman with the arms hanging down, dressed in a long gown, and with a pointed cap on her head was found together with the tripod fragment and three feet: *RomeVG 1271*, MonLinc 7 1897, 291 note 3, Della Seta 55, StEtr 10 1936, 41 note 1, ActaA 10 1939, 23 ad no. F 14, JdI 58 1943, 217 note 1. All these things have been regarded as belonging to one and the same object. Neugebauer, however, detached the female figure, and I myself now take the feet to come from a censer, see above note 107. As to the female figure, I feel that she has more to do with the small bronzes found in Rome. E. Gjerstad, *Early Rome III*, Lund 1960, 248-249 fig. 155. 9-11, than with so-called Vulcian works.

Fig. 64a-b.Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire R 1203. Museum Photos (Copyright IRPA-KIK, Bruxelles).



mentation on the Vatican tripod or borrowed from the arcs. The remains of a lotus flower under the platform indicate the kind normal on later tripods. The type of Herakles occurring on the Vatican stand was used for isolated statuettes too, some of them of a fine quality.¹⁴⁵

A number of small decorative attachments from helmets related to those already dealt with (fig. 61 a-b) display heads of sileni and Achelooi, which resemble the bearded faces of the old men on the Athens and Paris tripods, and some of them have a split moustache like a censer silenus

145: *Fiesole, Museo Civico 484*, From Fiesole, S. Apollinare 1898, E. Galli, Fiesole, Milan s. a., 114 fig. 100, Giglioli

25 pl. 124.1, *Mostra dell'Etruria Padana I*, Bologna 1960, 381 ad no. 1224, E. Richardson, *The Etruscans*,



in our first group of the “Animal-Combat-Tradition” (fig. 54). One of these attachments, with a winged “silenus” protome, belongs to a helmet of the non-Greek, so-called Negau type.¹⁴⁶ Very near are a couple of similar protomai acquired by Thorvaldsen before 1838, i.e. perhaps from Vulci, the necropolis of which was being excavated in those years; the same holds good of a small fragmentary group of a man leading a horse, part of the holder of a helmet’s crest (fig. 65 a-c).¹⁴⁷ The horse-leader, this time Bellerophon with Pegasus, recurs on another Negau helmet, where even the Acheloos and silenus attachments are preserved “in situ”.¹⁴⁸ It is impossible here to enumerate the related helmet attachments kept in European and American museums; a few marking this stage of development are referred to in



Fig. 65a-c. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum V 11-12 and 21. Museum Photos (Ole Woldbye).

Chicago 1964, 105, 281 pl. 24.- *FlorenceMAN* 96, FPU. MdI 2 1834-38 pl. 29, AdI 16 1844, 180 pl. F, Tyrrh 88 note 5, Mostra dell’Etruria Padana I, 258 no. 842 pl. 122 right, Archaeological News V 4, Tallahassee 1976, 128-130 fig. 8.- *Adria, Museo Civico Bocchi* 669, from Adria, R. Schöne, *Le antichità del Museo Bocchi di Adria*, Rome 1878, 160 no. 669 pl. 18.2 a-b, Tyrrh 88 note 5, Mostra dell’Etruria Padana I, 381 no. 1224 pl. 122 left.-*LondonBM* 465, FPU, ex-Blacas 1867.

146: *VaticanMGE* 34868+39749, from Vulci, Camposcala, ex-Guglielmi. Magi 232-233 no. 121 figs. 117-118 pl. 68, JdI 58 1943, 250 note 8, F. Buranelli, *La raccolta Giacinto Guglielmi*, Rome 1989, 18 fig. 4, 56-57 no. 63.

147: *CopenhagenTM* V 11, V 12 and V 21, FPU. L. Müller, *Fortegnelse over Oldsagerne i Thorvaldsens Museum III*, Copenhagen 1847, 152-153 nos. 11-12 and 21.

148: *RomeVG* 63579, from Vulci, Necropoli dell’Osteria, Tomba del Guerriero (47) no. 27. StEtr 11 1937, 115-

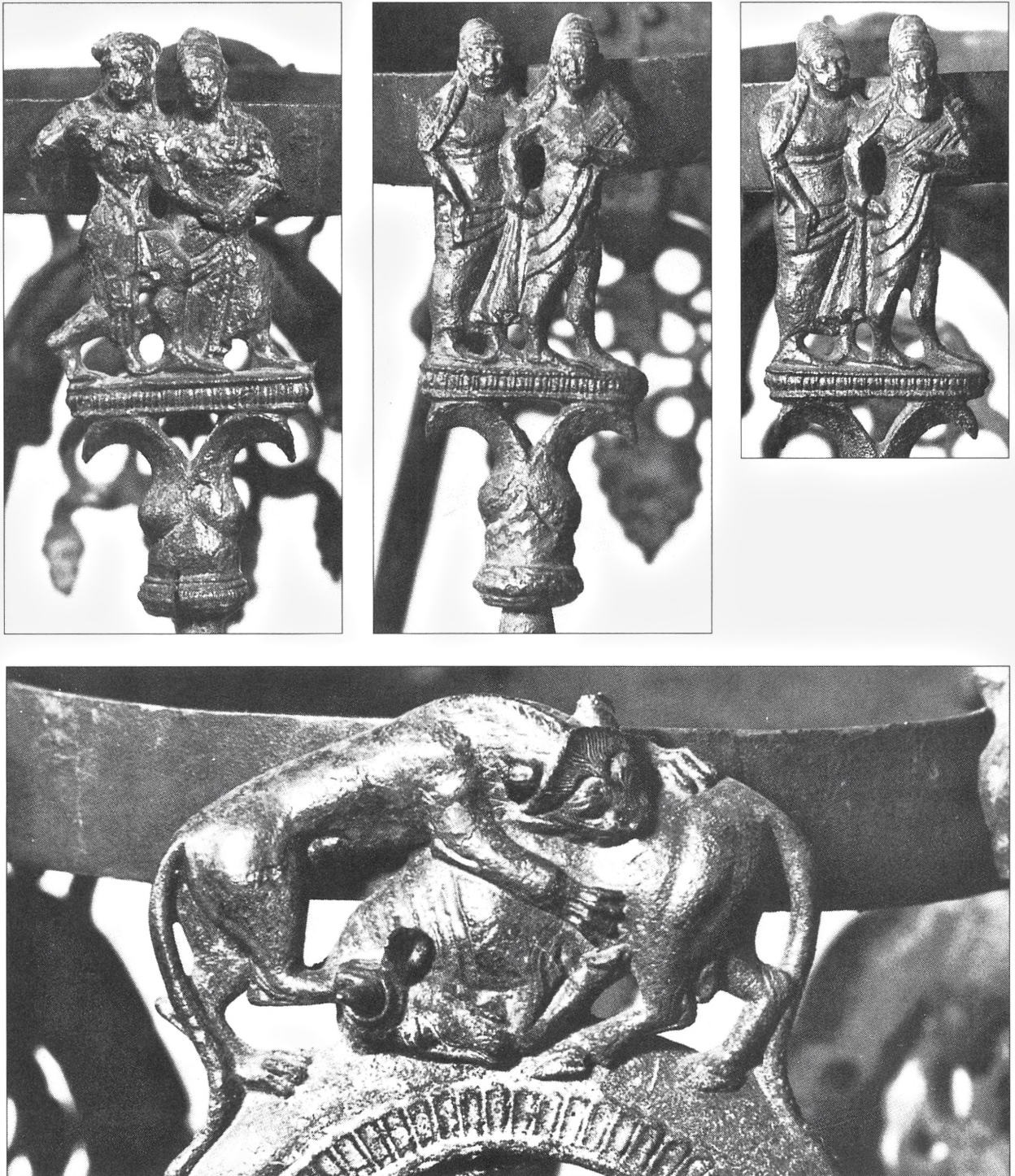


Fig. 66a-d. Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina 2899. (After Hostetter, *Bronzes from Spina I* pls. 2 a-c and 3 b).

the note.¹⁴⁹ At this place we might insert a recumbent Acheloos,¹⁵⁰ who as far as the face is concerned resembles the bust in the set of attachments quoted in a later note (152). Attachments with fighting warriors, with horsemen or a centaur were likewise used.¹⁵¹ In one case the centaur attachment was part of a rather heterogeneous set¹⁵² comprising an Acheloos bust, the protome of a winged "silenus", and a group of an armed warrior fighting a merman. Some of the figures on these attachments look definitely Late Archaic or even Early Classical; of course, the attachments on a used helmet need not be contemporaneous. The Acheloos mask on a bronze mounting for a chariot pole¹⁵³ is not unlike the bearded faces of the centaur and the merman.

Although certainly not from the hand of one those bronze workers responsible for the objects here enumerated, two pieces of jewellery tempt to mention in this connection, one of them an old Vulcian find.¹⁵⁴ They are two signet rings showing a priest or priestly prince sacrificing,

apparently grasping his dress with one hand and offering a goat with the other. With his pointed cap and the stiff zig-zag folds of the clothing he is not far away from some of the persons on the Paris tripod. The goldsmith who made the rings may well have had some relation to the workshop from where the tripod issued.

3. The Ferrara Tripod and Its Relatives

The tripod from Spina, now in Ferrara (fig. 66 a-d),¹⁵⁵ marks the beginning of a new series. It combines the single lotus supports of the St. Petersburg and Berlin tripods with the Karlsruhe platforms, the arcs have a lyre ornament recalling the Berlin one as well as tongue patterns and animal-combats like those of the Vatican stand. Two of its three human couples have much in common with members of the Paris procession; but Herakles is running towards the right as the isolated persons in Berlin and Karlsruhe.

Before proceeding further I would like to mention a few statuettes the style of which some-

116 figs. 8-9 pl. 13.2, Tyrhh 87 note 6, JdI 58 1943, 246-247 note 5 fig. 33, M. Pallottino e.a., *Il Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia*, Rome 1980, 54-55 figs. 49-51, HaynesEB 28, 267 no. 60. The original drawing of the helmet is incorrect as far as it renders the flanking palmettes of the crest attachments as half-palmettes; there are in fact three full palmettes, which recall the ones on the helmet attachments dealt with earlier in this chapter.

149: *Houston, Tex., D. and J. Menil Collection*, FPU. H. Hoffman, *Ten Centuries that shaped the West*, Houston 1970, 189 no. 87.- *RomeVG*, from Vignanello. NSc 21 1924 pl. 8 e, Giglioli 25 pl. 127.4.- *CopenhagenNM 1280*, FPU, ex-Basseggio, i.e. possibly Vulci, see above notes 41-43.

150: *LondonBM 211*, FPU, ex-Millingen 147.

151: *RomeVG*, FPU, ex-Kircher. Giglioli 22 pl. 104. 4-5, JdI 58 1943, 249 notes 2-3. -*CopenhagenNM 4199*, FPU.- *Dresden, Albertinum 68*, from Tarquinia, ex-Martinetti 1877. AdI 46 1874, 46-48 no. 1 pl. K. H. Hettner, *Die Bildwerke der Kgl. Antikensammlung*⁴, Dresden 1881, 48-49, JdI 58 1943, 248 fig. 34, 250-251.

152: *Dresden, Albertinum 71, 70 and 69*, from Tarquinia, ex-Martinetti 1877. AdI 46 1874, 46-48 nos. 4, 3 and 2 pl. K,

Hettner, op. cit. 48-49, JdI 58 1943, 248-251 figs. 36, 37 and 35. The belonging helmet seems to have been of the Attic type, cf. a specimen in *FlorenceMAN*, from Le Marche, AdI 46 1874, 46-48 pl. K 6-7.

153: *CopenhagenNCG H 246*, FPU, acquired 1895. NCGBild pl. 109, NCGEtr 45 no. H 246.

154: *Naples, Museo Nazionale 25081*, probably from Vulci, ex-Feoli, G. Becatti, *Oreficerie antiche*, Rome 1955, 181 no. 278 pl. 72, *Schriften des Deutschen Archäologen-Verbandes 5*, Mannheim 1981, 127-128 fig. 4, H. Heres & M. Kunze (edd.), *Die Welt der Etrusker*, Berlin 1990, 302-305 pl. 63.2, *Archeo 90*, Novara 1992, 65. -*BerlinSM 1987.8*, FPU, ex-Northumberland. Heres & Kunze, op. cit., 301-305 pls. 62.2-3 and 63.1.

155: *Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina 2899*, from grave 128 at Commachio, ancient Spina, NSc 21 1924, 310-311 pls. 14.1-2 and 15.2, S. Aurigemma, *Il R. Museo di Spina*, Bologna 1935, 186-187 pl. 99, *StEtr 10* 1936, 16 pl. 5, *ActaA 10* 1939, 23 no. F 10, JdI 58 1943, 218 note 1, 221-222, *StEtr 18* 1944, 15-16 pl. 2.4, *ASAtene 24-26* 1946-48, 88, 90 fig. 7, *Mostra dell'Etruria Padana II*, Bologna 1960, 295 no. 929 pls. 66-67, *RA 1977/1*, 12, 16, E. Hostetter, *Bronzes from Spina I*, Mainz 1986, 15-18 no. 1, pls. 1 f-g, 2 a-c and 3 a-d.



Fig. 68. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1887.2271. Museum Photo.



Fig. 67. London, British Museum 506, Museum Photo.

how connects them with the Ferrara tripod, an actor resembling the standing couples C and E on the tripod (fig. 67),¹⁵⁶ and a silenus with the same facial features, but clad in a tight-fitting feline hide like that of Herakles (fig. 68).¹⁵⁷ Both may have been top figures on candelabra.

A tripod exported to Germany in ancient times is our first example of the Late Archaic standard type with a fixed set of elements: feline

feet resting on frogs, alternating acorns and palmettes under coiling snakes forming the lyre ornament, rather stereotyped animal-combats, and couples of human figures illustrating the same myth with Herakles and a woman, two youths often having winged boots, and two sileni. Unfortunately, the find was early dismembered, and whereas most of the tripod remained in the region, two of the figure groups found their way

156: *LondonBM* 506, FPU, ex-Payne Knight 1824. Tyrh 89, Festschrift H. Keller, Darmstadt 1963, 16-17 note 6 figs. 7-8, HaynesEB 176, 277-278 no. 87.

157: *OxfordAM* 1887, 2271, from Italy, ex-Bodleian Collection. The resembling silenus censer *LondonBM* 471, HaynesEB 176, 278 no. 88, of unknown provenience, gives me an impression of being an 18th century work.



Fig. 69a-b. Budapest, Art Museum 8451.1-2. (After *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 58 1943, 220 figs. 15-16).

to Hungary, and the silenii went astray (fig. 69 a-b).¹⁵⁸

Horse-leaders of a similar, rather short and heavy build are found on some handles of volute craters;¹⁵⁹ in one case they are running with their

horses and otherwise resemble the Herakles on the tripod in Germany (fig. 70).¹⁶⁰

Helmet attachments can be added also to this group. A crest attachment has three standing figures recalling the groups on the arcs of the

158: *Speyer, Historisches Museum der Pfalz*, from Dürkheim in the Palatinate 1864. *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 5 1886, 233-235, *MonLinc* 7 1897, 299 no. VIII, *AA* 1923/24, 302 no. 2, 305, *ActaA* 10 1939, 23 no. F 9, 24-28, *JdI* 58 1943, 222-228 figs. 13-14, *JRS* 36 1946, 45 note 13.-*Budapest, Art Museum 8451.1-2*, from Dürkheim 1864. *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 5 1886, 233-235 pl. 11. 2-3, *JdI* 58 1943, 222, 226 figs. 15-16, *ASAtene* 24-25 1946-48, 88, 90 fig. 6, J. G. Szilágyi & L. Castiglione, *Museum der bildenden Künste, griechisch-römische Sammlung, Führer*, Budapest 1957, 24 pl. 9.1, *RA* 1977/1, 9-10 figs. 7-8, *Die Welt der Etrusker*, Berlin 1988, 390-391 nos. I 5-6.

159: *ParisML* 2635, *FPU*. De Ridder II, 105 no. 2635 pl. 96, *AA* 1923/24, 323-324 fig. 12, *Jacobsthal & Langsdorff* 43 note 3, *Giglioli* 41 pl. 224.1, *StEtr* 10 1936, 24 note 1, 39, *Tyrrh* 86 note 5, *JdI* 58 1943, 232, 234 fig. 21, A. Hus,

Les bronzes étrusques, Bruxelles 1975, 42 note 44.-*Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina A 2314-2315*, from Comacchio, ancient Spina, grave 128. *NSc* 21 1924, 300, 312 pl. 15.3, S. Aurigemma, *Il R. Museo di Spina*, Bologna 1935, 138 pl. 67, *JdI* 58 1943, 234 note 1, E. Hostetter, *Bronzes from Spina I*, Mainz 1986, 18-19 no. 2 pls. 45.-*Volterra, Museo Guarnacci 1911/2*, from Casale Marittima. *JdI* 58 1943, 233-234 fig. 22, E. Fiumi, *Volterra, Etruscan Museum and Ancient Monuments*, Pisa 1977, 55 fig. 155. – Somewhat later is a bearded horse-leader from a crater of the same kind: Formerly *BaselMMAG*, *FPU*. *Auktion* 18, Basel 1958, 14 no. 34 pl. 10, Hostetter op. cit. 191 ad no 2.

160: Formerly *BaselMMAG*, from Orvieto, ex-Hirsch. *Auktion* 18, Basel 1958, 14 ad no. 34, Hostetter, op. cit. 19 ad no. 2.



Fig. 70. Formerly New York, J. Hirsch Collection. Photo in the National Museum, Copenhagen.

Paris tripod (fig. 71);¹⁶¹ but under the platform there are remains of a range of volutes. A range of volutes with hanging acorns and palmettes like those of the German tripod decorates a se-

ries of attachments with fighting warriors, some of them bearded.¹⁶² Large beards as on these helmets attachments are likewise found on two situla attachments¹⁶³ and on part of a composite

161: *LeidenRO Co. 15*, from the environs of Cortona, ex-Corazi. F. Valesio, F. Gori & R. Venuti, *Museum Cortonense*, Rome 1750, 26-27 pls. 18-19, F. Barocchi & D. Gallo, *L'Accademia Etrusca*, Milan 1985, 118-120 fig. 67.

162: *ParisML 1682*, FPU. De Ridder II, 42 no. 1682 pl. 75, *StEtr* 10 1936, 22 note 3, J. Swaddling (ed.), *Italian Iron Age Artefacts*, London 1986, 447-451 fig. 3.- *ParisBN 580*, FPU, ex-Oppermann 1874. AA 1923/24, 322 fig. 11, *StEtr* 10 1936, 22 note 1, *JdI* 58 1943, 248 note 5, *ASAtene* 24-26 1946-48, 96-97 fig. 18 b, *Krauskopf* 37, Adam 113 no. 140, Swaddling, op. cit. 447-451 fig. 4.- *LondonBM 1814.7-4.735*, FPU, ex-Townley. Swaddling, op. cit. 451 fig. 1.- *LondonBM 1974.12-4.29*, FPU. Swadd-

ling, op. cit. 447-451 fig. 2. - *Marzabotto, Museo Aria*, from Marzabotto. Swaddling, op. cit. 447-451 fig. 5. Related warriors occur on helmet attachments with winged Acheloos or Silenus busts: *ParisBN 579*, FPU, ex-Oppermann 1874. AA 1923/24, 322 note 4, *StEtr* 10 1936, 26 note 1, *JdI* 58 1943, 249 note 5, *ASAtene* 24-26 1946-48, 95-97 fig. 18a, *Latomus* 33 1978, 786 pl. 10.23, *Krauskopf* 80, Adam 112-113 no. 139. - *ParisML 1681*, FPU, acquired 1855. De Ridder II, 42 no. 1681 pl. 75, *StEtr* 10 1936, 26, *JdI* 58 1943, 249 note 4, *ASAtene* 24-26 1946-48, 90-91, 93 fig. 12. *Krauskopf* 37.

163: Formerly *BaselMMAG*, FPU. Auktion 22, Basel 1961, 38 no. 71 pl. 22, *Latomus* 33 1978, 785 pl. 10.22.



Fig. 71. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden Co. 15. Museum Photo.

stand.¹⁶⁴ Whether from a censer or a kottabos, the latter is obviously influenced by works of the “Horse-Lion-and-Acrobat Tradition”, where, however, the beards have another look.

A closer follower of the German tripod is now in an American museum, which later acquired a fragment of a related tripod,¹⁶⁵ and two fragments in Paris come next (fig. 72 a-b).¹⁶⁶ Here we have two running youths and two running sileni, and the size as well as the modelling of hair and limbs are such as to enable us to attribute them to one and the same stand. Related are some reclining sileni, one of them on a cista foot (fig.



Fig. 72a-b.-a: Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs 27.179. Museum Photo (Laurent Sully-Jaulmes) -b: Musée du Louvre 3142. (After Atti X Convegno Studi Etruschi pl. 22 b).

164: *LondonBM* 589, FPU, ex-Blayds 1849. Festschrift H. Keller, Darmstadt 1963, 13-14, 20 notes 1-3, figs. 1-2. As mentioned above, Chapter II, note 82, I do not believe that this fragment belongs together with the two fragments of a censer.

165: *Richmond. Va., Virginia Museum of Fine Arts* 61.23, from Vulci?, ex-Koutoulakis, Geneva. *Archaeology* 17 1964, 18-25 figs. 1-9, Teitz 35 no. 20, 123 fig. 20.- *Ibid.* 63.17, FPU, *Master Bronzes* 188 no. 194.



166: *ParisMAD* 27.179, from Italy, ex-J. M. LeRoy 1929. I noticed this piece in 1947, and I am much indebted to Madame M.-F. Brigueat, who kindly re-examined it and secured me an excellent photo.- *ParisML* 3142, FPU, ex-Campana. De Ridder II 150 no. 3142 pl. 111, *AA* 1923/24, 314 fig. 5, *Tyrrh* 86 notes 4 and 7, *JdI* 58 1943, 253-254 note 1, 255 fig. 39, *ASAtene* 24-26 1946-48, 88, 92 fig. 11, A. Hus, *Les bronzes étrusques*, Bruxelles 1975, 37-38 pl. 44, *CAVulci* 65-69 pl. 22 b.



Fig. 73. Damascus, National Museum 8943. Photo P. J. Riis.

73),¹⁶⁷ others probably from tripod rings,¹⁶⁸ further a kottabos top or the like with two sileni back

167: *Damascus, National Museum 8943*, from Tall Sukas on the Syrian coast. *AASyr* 8/9 1958/9, 129-130 fig. 14, *Olympiabericht* 8 1967, 241-242 notes 58 and 65, P. J. Riis, *Sukas I*, Copenhagen 1970, 93 no. 4 note 308, 117 fig. 41 a, F. Jurgeit, *Cistenfüsse, Le Ciste Prenestine II 1*, Rome 1986, 156 fig. 53 E, *AA* 1990, 440-441 no. 2 fig. 6. The piece was found in fill of period F (c. 380-140 B.C.), but had, probably by re-building activities, been brought up from the remains of a sanctuary of period G 1 (c. 552-498 B.C.), where the cist may have been deposited as a votive gift. Immediately after the find the late Mr. M. Gjødesen and I myself discussed the possibilities of origin, and both of us were aware of the affinity to Etruscan metal work, but with the then existing evid-



Fig. 74. Copenhagen, National Museum ABA 867. Museum Photo (Sophus Bengtsson).

to back (fig. 74),¹⁶⁹ and lastly some occasional protomai and masks on beaked jugs.¹⁷⁰

ence we found a Greek origin more likely. Emil Kunze revived our doubt, and after the find of Etruscan bucchero at Basit only c. 60 km. north of Sukas, Syria 68 1986, 201-202 fig. 36, there is no longer any reason to take the piece for Greek.

168: For instance: *BaselAM 170.5*, FPU, ex-Käppeli. E. Berger e.a., *Kunstwerke der Antike aus der Sammlung Käppeli*, s.l. & a., B 12 fig. 12, K. Schefold e.a., *Führer durch das Antikenmuseum*, Basel s.a., 121.- *BaselAM 170.6*, FPU, ex-Bachofen. K. Schefold, *Basler Antiken im Bild*, Basel 1958, 22-23 pls. 12b and 13b, Id. e.a., *Führer durch das Antikenmuseum*, Basel s.a., 121.- *New York, Norbert Schimmel Collection*, FPU. O. W. Muscarella, *Ancient Art*, The Norbert Schimmel Collection, Mainz 1976 no. 88.- *OxfordAM 1924*, 62, FPU, ex-Beazley. Select Exhibition of Sir John and Lady Beazley's Gifts, London 1967, 157 no. 595.

169: *CopenhagenNM ABA 867*, FPU, ex-Reutze, Vienna 1860/1. *Kunstmuseets Aarsskrift* 1943, 141.

170: *New YorkMMA 12.160.1-2*, from Civit  Castellana. G. M. A. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, New York 1915, 188 nos. 489-490, Jacobsthal & Langsdorff, 41-43, 48-50, 65 nos. 46 and 107 pls. 6 and 10, *StEtr* 10 1936, 35, G. M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, New York 1940, 29 note 26, B. Bouloumi , *Les oenocho s en bronze du type "Schnabelkanne" en Italie*, Rome 1973, 36-37 figs. 45-46.- *FlorenceMAN 79111*, from Ascoli Piceno. Jacobsthal & Langsdorff, 13, 48-50, 65-67, 93 no. 105 pl. 9, *AJA* 62 1958, 196 no. 28, 200, *Brown* 122 no. 1, pl. 45 a, *AntK* 10 1967, 42 no. C 2. - *Stuttgart, W rttembergisches Landesmuseum*, from Heuneburg on the Danube. *Ancient cast of handle attachment*, *Germania* 51 1973, 72-85 figs. 1-2 pls. 5-6.



Fig. 75a-c. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H 223 a. (After Riis, *Den Etruskiske Kunst*² 1962, 121 fig. 67).

The following tripod fragments (e.g. fig. 75 a-c)¹⁷¹ and comparable works are all on the verge to the Early Classical style. Among the former the pieces in New York are to be connected with the remains of a volute crater, evidently a descen-

dant of those earlier mentioned,¹⁷² and – as was realized by the late Hans Jucker – with a fine cauldron in Ancona and some figures which may have belonged to it or to a duplicate.¹⁷³

171: *San Casciano, Val di Pesa, Prince E. Schwarzenberg Collection* (stolen 1988 and not recovered), FPU, formerly Basel-MMAG, Auktion 18, Basel 1958, 13 no. 32 pl. 10, *StEtr* 56 1989/90, 135-138 no. 5, pl. 48.5. – Formerly *New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Collection*, FPU, ex-Mannheim. *BurlExh* 57 no. C 76 pl. 59, C. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Bronzes in the Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan*, Paris 1913, 11 no. 25. *Copenhagen NCG H 223a*, FPU, partly ex-Käppeli. *San Giovenale*, 365 figs. 383-390 pl. 51, *NCGEtr* 40 no. H 223a, O. Brendel, *Etruscan Art*², Harmondsworth 1978, 221 figs. 146-148. – *Munich MAK 5185*, from Taranto, ex-Pollak, Rome 1908. Ancient cast of animal-combat and part of arc. – *London BM CP*, FPU. Two legs of tripod, feline foot on frog, range of volutes with palmette, two lotuses and two buds. – *New York MMA 60.11.11*, FPU. *MMABull* 19 1961, 146-147 and 149 figs. 19-21, *AA* 1967, 631-632, note 33 fig. 19, E. Richardson, *The Etruscans*, Chicago 1970, 113-114, 282 pl. 28.

172: *New York MMA 61.11.4*, FPU. *MMABull* 20 1961, 52, 67, D. v. Bothmer, *MMAGuide*, Greek and Roman Art, New York 1964, 36 fig. 48, *Teitz* 60-61 no. 49, 150-151 fig. 49, E. Hostetter, *Bronzes from Spina I*, Mainz 1986, 19 ad no. 2.

173: *Ancona, Museo Nazionale 4865*, from Amandola in the Marche. A. Furtwängler, *Kleine Schriften II*, Munich 1913, 329, H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, Oxford 1931, 352-355, P. Marconi & L. Serra, *Il Museo Nazionale delle Marche in Ancona*, Rome 1934, 22 pls. 57 and 58 above, U. Jantzen, *Bronzwerkstätten in Grossgriechenland und Sizilien*, Berlin 1937, 27 no. 25, 33, *Tyrrh* 93 note 6, *Brown* 103, 144, 146 pl. 52 a, *Olympiabericht* 8 1967, 241 note 62, *AA* 1967, 625, 627-632 figs. 17-18 a-b. – *Boston MFA 10.162-163*, from the Ancona region, ex-Warren. *BurlExh* 53-54 nos. C 63 and 65 pl. 68, *BullMus-FineArts* 8 1910, 49-50, *AM* 57 1932, 6 note 1 Beil. 2.2, Jantzen, *op. cit.* 27 no. 26, *Brown* 144-146, pl. 52 b, *AA* 1967, 628-629 fig. 18 c-d.

The latest, epi-Archaic development of the traditional helmet attachments is exemplified by two finds, one in Copenhagen¹⁷⁴ and another in Perugia.¹⁷⁵ The Herakles-Acheloos group from the Copenhagen find has an early acquired counterpart in London.¹⁷⁶ The Perugine one is likewise a helmet of Attic type, decorated with crest-attachments in the shape of Bellerophon-Pegasos groups as on the Negau helmet quoted in our note 148, but the hero has now a distinct Early or perhaps even Ripe Classical appearance. This holds also good of a number of related helmet attachments.¹⁷⁷

4. The Late London Tripod and its Relatives

Superficially seen a fine late tripod in London (fig. 76 a-c)¹⁷⁸ may seem to be a counterpart of that in New York. The general type and the representations are the same; but in details the style is different, and the heads of the figures do not

mark any continuation of the production dealt with in the third section of this chapter. On the contrary, the beardless faces are more comparable with such on late works in the second group of the “Horse-Lion-and-Acrobat Tradition”, particularly the Herakles of the censer Berlin Fr. 687, the youth of the censer Munich 55/56, the cloaked youth Kassel 120, the Ariccia head Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H 216 b, and the Prato man British Museum 509. The characteristics which tie the tripod to these bronzes are the strong jaw, the slightly curved mouth, the sharp-cut curved nose, the vigorously modelled eye surroundings, and the short, vertically striated forehead hair. More or less the same features recur also on a rather large number of later bronzes bearing the stamp of the transition from the Archaic style to the Classical, and that is why I have here put them together as a fourth group of the “Animal-Combat Tradition”.

A few sileni resembling those of the London tripod may also have come from tripods.¹⁷⁹ If the same is the case with some other recumbent figures¹⁸⁰ I cannot tell; a placing on the rim or shoulder of a cauldron or a basin is an alternative. Two bronzes, which were mounted on utensils of a different kind, perhaps three-sided censers, display bearded faces recalling the tripod sileni; one of them is the famous Aias in Florence

174: *CopenhagenNCG H 229*, from “Orvieto”, i.e. possibly Vulci, see above with notes 9 and 11. Etruskerstadt 28-32 figs. 53-58, NCGBild pls. 97-99, AA 1937, 502-503, Tyrh 87 note 4, 176 note 6, 179 note 4, JdI 58 1943, 252-253, NCGEtr 42 no. H 229.

175: *PerugiaMAN 834/B 1274*, from Perugia, Frontone di S. Pietro, chamber grave I 1886. StEtr 6 1932, 511-512 pl. 25.1.

176: *LondonBM 606*, FPU, ex-Payne Knight 1824.

177: For instance: *ParisBN 800*, FPU, ex-Oppermann 1874. StEtr 10 1936, 23 note 2, Adam 114 no. 142.- *ParisBN 895*, FPU, ex-Oppermann 1874. StEtr 10 1936, 23 note 4, Adam 114 no. 141.- *ParisBN 897*, FPU. StEtr 10 1936, 23 note 3, 48 note 1, MEFRA 92 1980, 653 note 54, Adam 114 no. 143.- *ParisBN 896*, FPU, ex-Oppermann 1874. StEtr 10 1936, 23 note 3, 48 note 1, Adam 114-115 no. 144.

178: *LondonBM 587*, from Vulci, tomb on the right bank of the Fiora, excavated 1835, ex-Campanari, ex-Basseggio, ex-Blayds. BdI 1835, 203-205, AdI 9 1837, 162, BdI 1839, 21, AdI 14 1842, 62-65, Mdi 3 1839-43 pl. 43, MonLinc 7 1897, 298 no. VII, AA 1923/24, 305, 312, ActaA 10 1939, 23-24 no. F 15, 27, Tyrh 85, 168, 176 note 5 pl. 14.4, JdI 58 1943, 228-229 fig. 18, ASAtene 24-26 1946-48, 88-89 fig. 5, RA 1977/1, 10 figs. 9-10, HaynesEB 155, 264-265 no. 53.

179: For instance: *ParisBN 414*, FPU, ex-Janzé 1865. E. Es-pérandieu & H. Rolland, *Bronzes antiques de la Seine Maritime*, XIIIe Supplément à “Gallia”, Paris 1959, 46, Adam vii.- *LondonBM 469*, FPU, ex-Hertz 1859.

180: For instance: *ParisML 270*, FPU. De Ridder I 45 no. 270 pl. 24, E. Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen*, Nürnberg 1927, 179 note 15, Tyrh 90.- *Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum H 2465*, FPU, ex-Martin von Wagner 1858. E. Simon (ed.), *Führer durch die Antikenabteilung*, Mainz 1975, 277.- *ParisBN 971*, FPU, ex-Oppermann 1874. Magi 173, Adam 83-84 no. 91.- *ParisBN 733*, FPU, ex-Oppermann 1874. Adam vii.- *LondonBM 609*, from Vulci, ex-Canino 1837. BMBronzes pl. 13.-Related to the latter figure, but much smaller and relief-shaped: *LondonBM 203*, FPU, ex-Payne Knight 1824. HaynesEB 164, 270 no. 67.

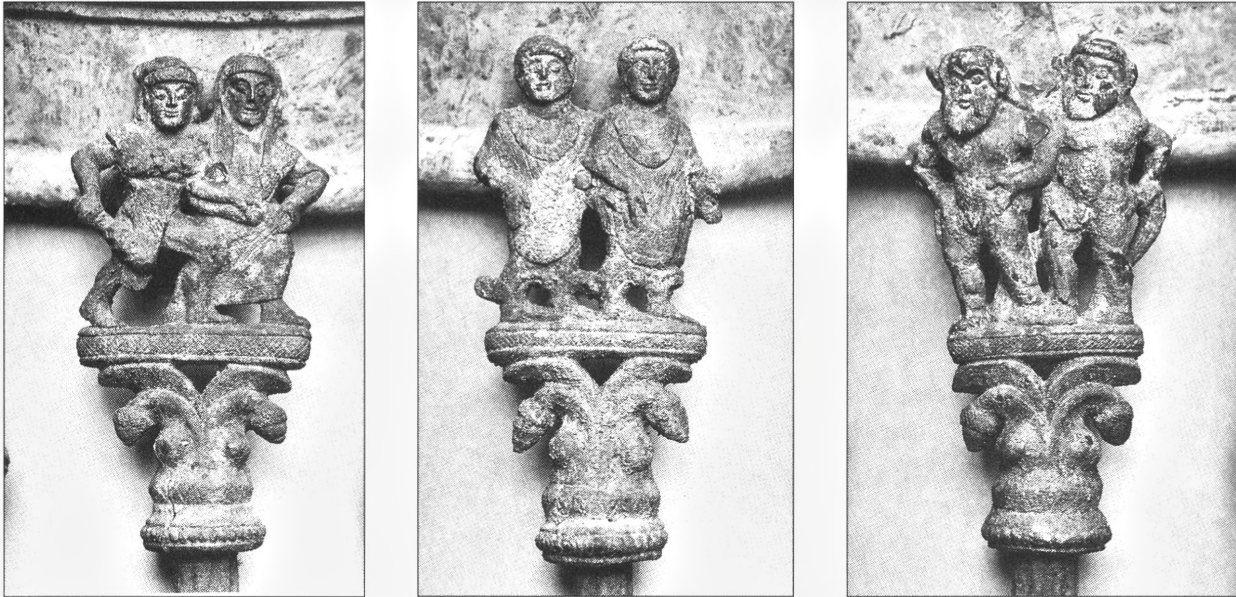


Fig. 76a-c. London, British Museum 587. Museum Photos.

(fig. 77),¹⁸¹ the second is a combat group in Copenhagen (fig. 78).¹⁸²

Faces of the characteristic style on an otherwise awkward relief helps us to ascribe a series of cista feet to this fourth group,¹⁸³ and apparently it

was an artist working in the same milieu who produced the front representation on the Corinthian helmet found in a Vulcian grave together with the Vatican tripod and the bronze amphora to be mentioned below.¹⁸⁴ The special style is

181: *Florence* MAN 223, from Populonia. NSc 5 1908, 207-208 fig. 12 a-b, L. A. Milani, *Il R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, Florence 1912, 44 no. 223, W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, London 1929, 144 pl. 41 b, Giglioli 39 pl. 217. 1-2, A. Minto, *Populonia*, Florence 1943, 186 pl. 50 a-b, Tyrrh 91 note 3, StEtr 22 1952/53, 76 fig. 7, 334-338, San Giovenale 365 figs. 398-399, StEtr 47 1979, 89, 91, HaynesEB 75, 290 no. 121.

182: *Copenhagen* NM 4197, FPU, bought in Rome 1894. C. Blinkenberg, *Führer durch die Antikensammlung*, Copenhagen 1899, 167 no. 44, *AbhLeipzig* 37.5 1926, 64-65 fig. 49, *JdI* 43 1928, 198 fig. 47, Tyrrh 91 note 4 pl. 17.4, San Giovenale figs. 395-396, NSc 95 1970, Suppl. II 1, 82 note. 6.

183: For instance: *Haverford, Pa.*. *Waelder Collection*, FPU, ex-Cahn, Basel 1959. *Master Bronzes* 187 no. 192, F. Jurgait, *Cistenfüsse*, *Le Ciste Prenestine* II 1, Rome 1986, 25 no. K 2, 9, cf. 79-87.- *ParisBN* 581, FPU, ex-Oppermann 1874. *MonLinc* 7 1897, 360 note 3, StEtr 10 1936, 19 note 4, Tyrrh 86 note 8, *Master Bronzes* 187,

Krauskopf 80, Adam 27-28 no. 26; Jurgait, *op. cit.* 25 no. K 2, 10 pl. 6 a holds this piece to be a modern cast.- *ParisBN* 582, FPU, ex-Oppermann 1874. AZ 26 1868, 14, StEtr 10 1936, 18 note 1, 19 note 1, Tyrrh 87 note 1, *Studi in onore di G. Maetzel*, Florence 1984, 321-324, Adam 28-29 no. 27, Jurgait, *op. cit.* 28 no. K 3, 14, cf. 79-87 pl. 9 b.- Formerly *New York, A. Emmerich Collection*, FPU. *Art of Ancient Italy, Etruscans, Greeks and Romans*, New York 1970, no. 15, Sotheby Sale, London 6.12.1971 no. 160 pl. 29, Jurgait, *op. cit.* 26 no. K 3, 1-3, cf. 79-87 pl. 6 b-c. The belonging lid figure is a descendant of the above-mentioned, see notes 102-102a fig. 40 a-b.

184: *ParisBN* 2013, from Vulci, Tomba Campanari 1833, ex-Durand, ex-DeLuynes. Bdl 1834, 7-9, Bdl 1835, 204, *MonLinc* 7 1897, 290 note 3, AA 1923/24, 324-325, Giglioli 22 pl. 104.1, StEtr 10 1936, 42 pl. 14.3, *ActaA* 10 1939, 23 ad no F. 13, Tyrrh 87 note 3, *JdI* 58 1943, 251 fig. 38, 254, *Kunst und Leben der Etrusker*, Zürich 1955, 85 no. 189 fig. 34, M. Pallottino e.a., *L'art des*



Fig. 77. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 223. (After Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca* pl. 217.2).



Fig. 78. Copenhagen, National Museum 4197. Museum Photo (Kit Weiss).

more clearly perceptible in some figures decorating vessels: sirens on cauldron lids (figs. 79-80),¹⁸⁵ on a beaked jug¹⁸⁶ and on an amphora,

Étrusques, Paris 1955, 15-16 no. 58 fig. 58, *Art et civilisation des Étrusques*, Paris 1955, 43 no. 211 fig. 27, Krauskopf 80, Adam 108-110 no. 132.

185: *LondonBM* 490, FPU, ex-Kestner 1839. AdI 51 1879, 137 note 1, Tyrrh 84, 90 note 2.- *CopenhagenNCG H* 228, from "Orvieto", i.e. possibly Vulci, see above with notes 9 and 11. *Etruskerstadt* 36-37 figs. 70-71, NCGBild pl. 96, RA 30 1929, 284 no. 3, StEtr 4 1930, 363, Giglioli 41 pl. 226.2-3, Tyrrh 90 note 2, San Giovenale figs. 404-405, AA 1966, 55 note 40, NCGEtr 42 no. H 228, AA 1973, 658 note 22.

186: *Linz, Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum A* 2330, from Sunzing am Inn, hoard find. Jacobsthal & Langsdorff 31 no. 108, 48-49, 61, 66, 93 pl. 10, *Mostra dell'Etruria*

which also has two extremely fine acrobat handles (fig. 81 a-b).¹⁸⁷

Among the utensils the candelabra began to play an increasing role, and their finial was usually a standing single figure, but groups did occur. Before giving some examples of top figures from candelabra I must mention a rare piece of another

Padana II, Bologna 1960, 152 ad no. 57, B. Bouloumié, *Les oenochoés en bronze du type "Schnabelkanne" en Italie*, Rome 1973, 189, 247, 285, 293, 296, 302.

187: *LondonBM* 557, from Vulci, Tomba Campanari 1833, see above notes 137 and 184, ex-Pourtalès 1865. Bdl 1835, 204, AA 1923/24, 326-327, Giglioli 41 pl. 225.4, ActaA 10 1939, 27, Tyrrh 84 note 2 pl. 17.3, Jdl 58 1943, 243 note 1, JRS 36 1946, 45 note 9, AJA 62 1958, 197 no. 39, HaynesEBU 20 pls. IV and 7, HaynesEB 184-185, 284 no. 105.



Fig. 79. London, British Museum 490. Museum Photo.

er kind with a similar finial (fig. 82).¹⁸⁸ It is a stylus, the upper part of which is shaped as a standing boy carrying a writing-tablet in his left hand and a stylus in the right; on his head rests an acorn-like object to be used for erasures. This exquisite little work is closely related to the youths and the sileni of the London tripod. One of the finest candelabrum tops is a statuette representing Nike or another winged female deity (fig. 83).¹⁸⁹ Her posture and dress are those of an

188: *BerlinSM* 7265, from Orvieto. *AZ* 35 1877, 118 pl. 11.4, Neugebauer, *Führer* I 88 pl. 44, Tyrrh 103 note 5, *Archaeology* 18 1965, 190, U. Gehrig, A. Greifenhagen & N. Kunisch, *Führer durch die Antikenabteilung*, Berlin 1968, 93.

189: *MunichMAK SL* 3, FPU, ex-Castellani, ex-Rémusat, ex-

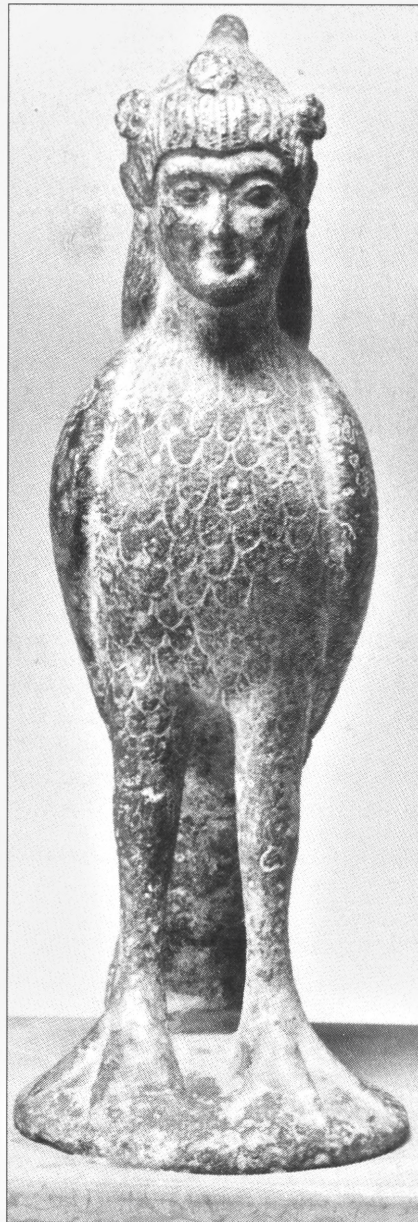


Fig. 80. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H 228. Museum Photo (Ole Woldbye).

Akropolis kore; but the physiognomy matches what we see on the tripod. Other korai, more or

Loeb. *Catalogue des objets d'art . . . de la Succession Alessandro Castellani*, Paris 1884, 45 no. 271, *Collection Joseph de Rémusat*, Paris 1900, 15 no. 110 pl. 5, J. Sieveking, *Die Bronzen der Sammlung Loeb*, Munich 1913, 8-10 pl. 4, Tyrrh 82 no. 7, *Jdl* 58 1943, 261 note 2.

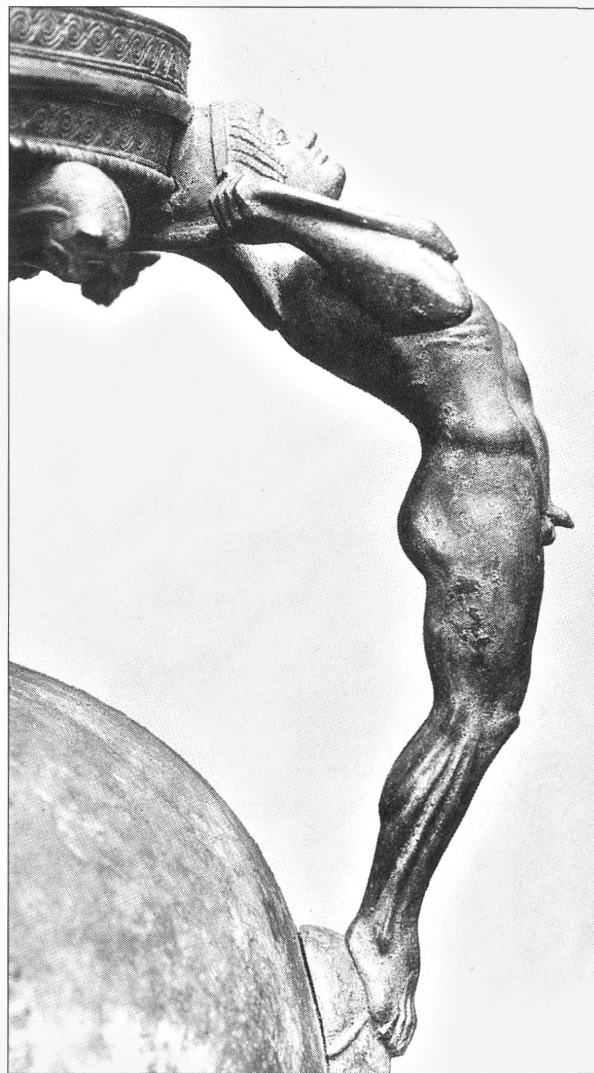


Fig. 81a-b. London, British Museum 557. Museum Photos.

less with the same features, figure as dancers,¹⁹⁰ leading boys,¹⁹¹ or in the shape of a winged goddess carrying a boy away, perhaps Eos and Kephalos or simply a death demon.¹⁹² The bronzes referred to in the notes, although of the same general style, are not all contemporary, nor made by the same hand, as will be seen from the articulation of the bases and the details of hair

190: *CopenhagenNCG H 226*, from "Orvieto", i.e. possibly Vulci, see above with notes 9 and 11. *Etruskerstadt* 34-35 figs. 64, 67-68, *NCGBild* pl. 94, *Giglioli* 39 pl. 216.7, *Tyrrh* 81-82 no. 4, *JdI* 58 1943, 259-260 note 5, *RM* 86 1959, 46, *NCGEtr* 41 no. H 225 (sic!).

191: *Bologna, Museo Civico*, from Bologna, grave in the Giardino Margherita. *NSc* 1876, 51-53, *Giglioli* 39 pl. 215.3, *Tyrrh* 81 no. 6 pl. 16.1, *JdI* 58 1943, 260-261 note 5, *Mostra dell'Etruria Padana I*, Bologna 1960, 155-156



and dress; only Louvre 245 and Ashmolean Museum G 404 are nearly identical in type. A maenad resembling the Ny Carlsberg Dancer and

no. 542 pls. 36 and 38, *AJA* 81 1977, 492-494 no. 2 fig. 5, C. Govi & D. Vitali, *Il Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna*, Bologna 1982, 302-303.- *ParisML* 245, FPU, ex-Campana. De Ridder I 43 no. 245 pl. 23, *Tyrrh* 82 no. 8, *JdI* 58 1943, 261 note 1.- *OxfordAM G 404*, from Castiglione del Lago, HaynesEB 175, 276-277no. 84.

192: *LondonBM 481*, from grave at Sinalunga, Val di Chiana, ex-Millingen, *Adi* 12 1840, 152, *MdI* 3 1839-43 pl. 2.3, HaynesEB 196, 291-292 no. 125.

Fig. 82. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Misc. 7265. Museum Photo (Jutta Tietz-Glagow).



Fig. 83. Munich, Museum antiker Kleinkunst SL 3. Photo Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek (M. Maass).



placed on a similar base together with a silenus joins the group¹⁹³ and connects it with a few other finial couples of a little more advanced, nearly

pure Classical style.¹⁹⁴ Among them the warrior of the Paris couple has three fellows with a crested Attic helmet in other collections, probably all

193: *LondonBM* 590, FPU, ex-Campanari 1849. E. D. van Buren, *Figurative Terra-Cotta Revetments in Etruria and Latium*, London 1921, 5 pl. 1.1, Giglioli 39 pl. 215.2, Tyrh 81 no. 5, 83, *JdI* 58 1943, 259-260 note 1 fig. 41, HaynesEB 188, 287 no. 115, J. Swaddling (ed.), *Italian Iron Age Artefacts*, London 1986, 83-85, 88-89, 96 fig. 16, 97 fig. 24.

194: *FlorenceMAN* 784/785, two nearly identical finials, from Chiusi. *Magazine of Art* 33, Washington D. C. 1940, 475 fig. 11.- *BaselAM* 171.6, from Vulci, ex-Käppeli. E. Berger e.a., *Kunstwerke der Antike aus der Sammlung Käppeli*, s. I. & a. B 17, K. Schefold e.a., *Führer durch das Antikenmuseum, Basel* s.a. 123 no. 171.6, from Vulci.- *ParisPP*, *Collection Dutuit* 167, from Cività Cas-

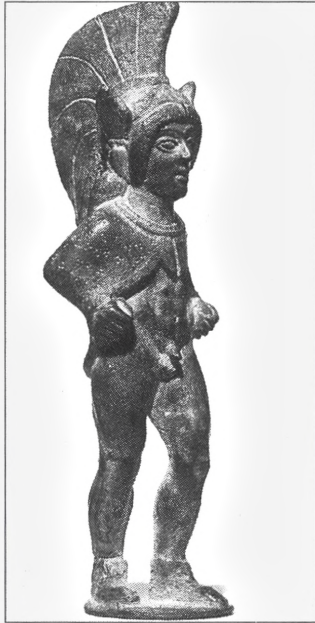


Fig. 84. Formerly New York, J. Hirsch Collection. Photo in the National Museum, Copenhagen.

of them armed runners; their faces remind us again of the London tripod (fig. 84).¹⁹⁵ Dependence on Attic models seems also to have been a factor in the case of some archers with a similar physiognomy and somehow resembling the Scythian policemen in Athens, even in Etruria known from the pictures on imported vases, but perhaps submitted to an “interpretatio etrusca”

tellana, ex-Castellani, ex-Tyszkiewicz. W. Froehner, Collection d'antiquités du Comte Michel Tyszkiewicz, Paris 1898, 42 no. 122 pl. 11, id. La collection Auguste Dutuit II, Paris 1901, 133 no. 167 pl. 148, Tyrrh 82 no. 25, StEtr 35 1967, 650-653 pl. 142 b, where this group is rightly compared with the slightly different piece *BerlinSM Fr. 696*, from Locri, and the more classical one in *Marzabotto*, pls. 141a-c and 142a.- *BerlinSM Fr. 697*, from Vulci. RM 38/39 1923/24, 437 fig. 23 centre, Neugebauer, Führer I 103 pl. 30 centre, Etruskerstadt 37 note 3, Giglioli 38-39 pls. 214.2 and 215.4, StEtr 10 1936, 40 note 1 pl. 7.4, Tyrrh 82-83 no. 14, JdI 58 1943, 258 note 6, Studies D. M. Robinson I, St. Louis 1951, 738 no. 3, 740-741, Teitz 72, 78, JdI 94 1979, 219 note 181.

195: Formerly in *New York, J. Hirsch Collection*, FPU. - *LondonBM 460*, from Viterbo, ex-Payne Knight 1824.- *ViennaKM 2987*, from Capua. ÖJh 5 1902, 165-170 pl. 4, U. Jantzen, *Bronzewerkstätten in Grossgriechenland und Sizilien*, Berlin 1937, 5 note 1 ad no. 1.

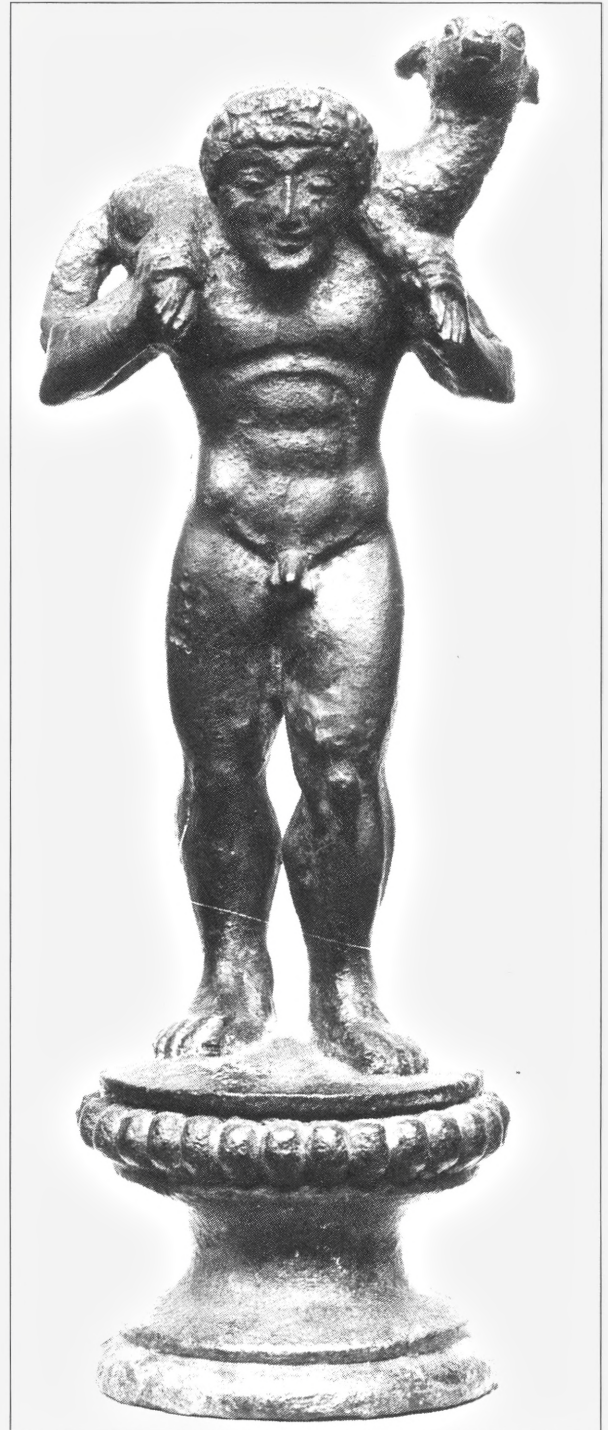


Fig. 85. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H 225. Museum Photo (Sophus Bengtsson).



Fig. 86. London, British Museum 1966.3-28.14. (After British Museum Quarterly 1968 pl. 34 above, left).



Fig. 87. Copenhagen, National Museum ABa 707. Museum Photo (Kit Weiss).



Fig. 88. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1888.1484. Museum Photo.

and taken for representations of a local god.¹⁹⁶ Equally recalling the London tripod is a statuette of Hermes, which Neugebauer strangely enough took for a fake,¹⁹⁷ and a standing silenus may also be compared with the late tripod sileni.¹⁹⁸

196: *VaticanMGE 12056*, FPU. *StEtr* 4 1930, 418-419 no. 2 pl. 34.3-4, *Tyrrh* 88 note 5, 180, L. Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress*, Baltimore 1975, 77, 143 note 89.- *ParisML* 223, FPU. *De Ridder* I 40 no. 223 pl. 22, *StEtr* 4 1930, 419 note 1, *Tyrrh* 88 note 5, 1801, Bonfante, *op. cit.* 77, 143 note 89, 208-209 fig. 157.- The name Silvanus has plausibly been proposed for this type.

197: *ParisML* 269, from Vulci 1850. *De Ridder* I 45 no. 269 pl. 24, *Tyrrh* 81 no. 1, *Jdl* 58 1943, 258 note 4, A. Hus, *Vulci*, Paris 1971, 82 note 4 pl. 7 b, Bonfante, *op. cit.*, 194-195 fig. 117, M. Cristofani, *I bronzi degli Etruschi*, Novara 1985, 156-157, 268 no. 46.

198: *New York, Pomerance Collection*, from "Bertoli near Cortona", i.e. probably Bettolle in the Val di Chiana. The Pomerance Collection of Ancient Art, Brooklyn 1966, 108 no. 123.

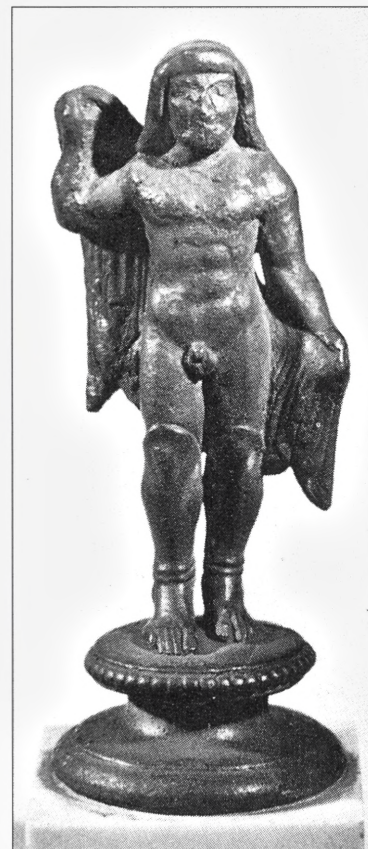


Fig. 89. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 938. (After Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress* fig. 102).

The rich repertoire of the transitional candelabrum makers includes more types, both sacrificing youths (figs. 85-86),¹⁹⁹ athletes (fig. 87)²⁰⁰

199: E.g. youth offering lamb: *Copenhagen.NCG H 225*, from "Orvieto", i.e. possibly Vulci, see above with notes 9 and 11. *Etruskerstadt* 34 figs. 64-66, *NCGBild* pls. 93.1 and 94.1, *Giglioli* 39 pl. 216.2 and 4, *Tyrrh* 82-83 no. 23, *NCGEtr* 41 no. H 225.- Youths making libation: *VaticanMGE III C 26*, FPU. Photo Alinari 35534.- *LondonBM* 1966, 3-28.14, FPU, ex-Spencer-Churchill. *BMQ* 32 1968, 112-113 pl. 34 a-d, *Quaderni ticinesi di numismatica e antichità classica* 13 1984, 21 note 3, 27 fig. 7, *HaynesEB* 172, 275 note 80.- Formerly *BaselMMAG*, FPU. *Auktion* 22, Basel 1961, 40 no. 74 pl. 23. Possibly an imitation of a figure like the preceding.

200: E.g. scraper: *LondonBM* 1907, 10-20.2, from Arezzo. *Tyrrh* 135 note 2, S. Doehring et al. (edd.), *Art and Technology*, Cambridge, Mass. 1970, 185 figs. 13-14.- *Runners*: *ParisBN* 937, FPU, ex-Durand 1836, Adam 54



Fig. 90. Copenhagen, National Museum 1283. Museum Photo (Sophus Bengtsson).

and ordinary cloaked men (figs. 88-90).²⁰¹ Roughly contemporary, they are not uniform in style; different elements, some Archaic, others Classical, occur together in a way not enabling us to make a clear distinction. Apparently we have to do with the production of more than one worker. This is most obvious in the case of two youths offering libations¹⁹⁹ and in that of two others putting on a semi-elliptic cloak (figs. 88-89).²⁰¹

no. 53.- *Omaha, Nebr., Joslyn Art Museum 1960.263-264*, FPU, ex-Carlebach. M. del Chiaro, *Re-Exhumed Etruscan Bronzes*, Santa Barbara 1981, 24-25, 46-47 no. 20. For armed runners see above note 195.- *Diskoboloi: CopenhagenNM ABA 707*, FPU, acquired 1855/56. Tyrhh 168 note 6.- Formerly *Zürich, Galerie Heidi Vollmoeller 4433*, FPU.

201: *OxfordAM 1888.1484*, from Italy. Tyrhh 82 no. 10, *Jdl* 58 1943, 261 note 5, HaynesEB 178, 279 no. 92.- *ParisBN 938*, FPU, ex-Caylus. Tyrhh 82 no. 11, *Jdl* 58 1943, 261

The present group does not exclusively comprise utensils or parts of utensils. Some statuettes and especially a few bigger bronzes were probably votive offerings. A bearded man caressing a woman (fig. 91)²⁰² may have been a decorative work, but the preserved base does not give any hint of how the group was used. The style is excellent and connects it with the better of the afore-mentioned candelabrum finials. The well-

note 5, *MemAmAc* 21 1953, 106 note 118, *AJA* 75 1971, 282 pl. 67.21-22, Bonfante, *op. cit.* 189 figs. 102-103, *Adam* 54-55 no. 54, *ActaA* 64 1993, 175 note 188, 178 fig. 37.- *CopenhagenNM 1283*, FPU, ex-Basseggio, i.e. possibly Vulci, see above notes 41-43. C. Blinkenberg, *Führer durch die Antikensammlung*, Copenhagen 1899, 168 no. 49, *NMArb* 1950, 38-39 fig. 7 a-b.

202: *LondonBM 498*, FPU, ex-Payne Knight 1824. Tyrhh 90, HaynesEB 176, 277 no. 85.



Fig. 91. London, British Museum 498. Museum Photo.

known Juno Sospita in Florence²⁰³ is also a little enigmatic as far as its original placing is concerned, for the posture seems to presuppose an opponent; it has been suggested that it was designed for the rim of a cauldron or mixing bowl.

203: *FlorenceMAN* 28, FPU, ex-Medici. A. F. Gori, *Museum Etruscum* I, Florence 1737, 85 pl. 25, L. A. Milani, *Il R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, Florence 1912, 138 pl. 31.3, *JRS* 3 1913, 65 no. 8, *Tyrrh* 90 note 4, *Archaeological News* 5, Tallahassee 1976, 131-132 fig. 12, RichardsonEVB 360-361 figs. 864-865, M. Cristofani, *I bronzi degli Etruschi*, Novara 1985, 198, 281 no. 93.

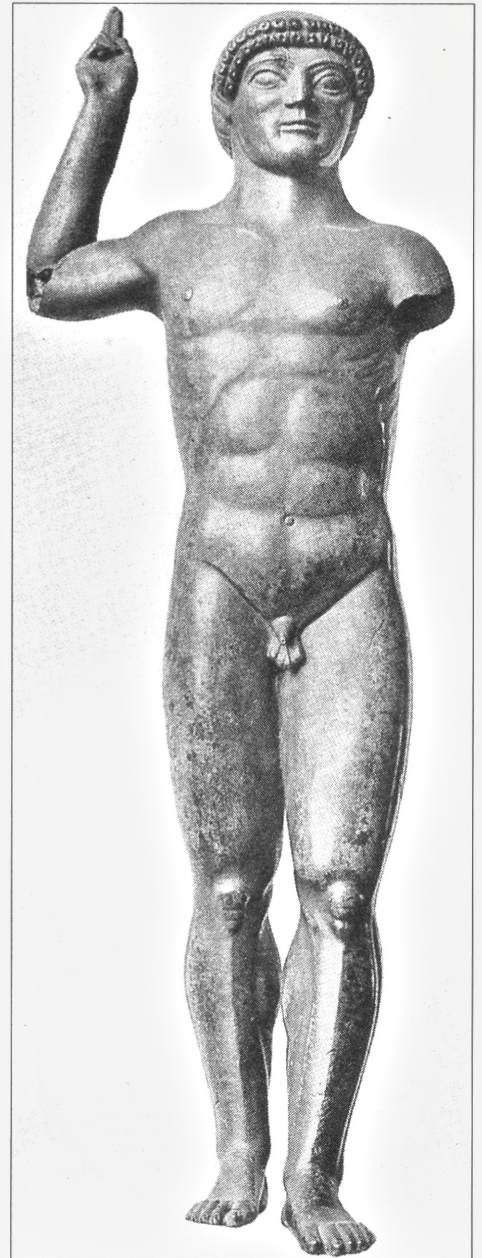


Fig. 92. Paris, Musée du Louvre 3. (After Riis, *Tyrrhenika* pl. 11.1).

In spite of the differences this figure comes very near to the winged goddess in Munich (fig. 83). Another spear-thrower (fig. 92), completely erect, needs no visible enemy and may simply be

an athlete or a heroized warrior.²⁰⁴ Like many good Etruscan bronzes it was, even by leading archaeologists, taken for Greek; but particularly Ernst Langlotz convinced his contemporaries of the statuette's Italian origin and established a small group of related works, i.a. the Ariccia head fig. 34 a-b, the recumbent figure Louvre 270, above note 180, and a charioteer, also in the Louvre.²⁰⁵ He believed them to have been produced in the same workshop, which he named "Werkstatt des Speerwerfers". At any rate the bronze in question is closely connected with the handle figures of the amphora fig. 81 a-b, who have exactly the same face profile, modelling of the trunk and rendering of the calves. To the workshop Langlotz also attributed a statuette formerly in Count Stroganoff's collection;²⁰⁶ it has much in common with the youths on the London tripod, but looks slightly later. A more heavy build and another type of cloak separate an otherwise resembling figure²⁰⁷ from the just mentioned, but there is no reason to detach it from the group, which certainly includes the fine Tyszkiewicz head in the British Museum (fig. 93).²⁰⁸

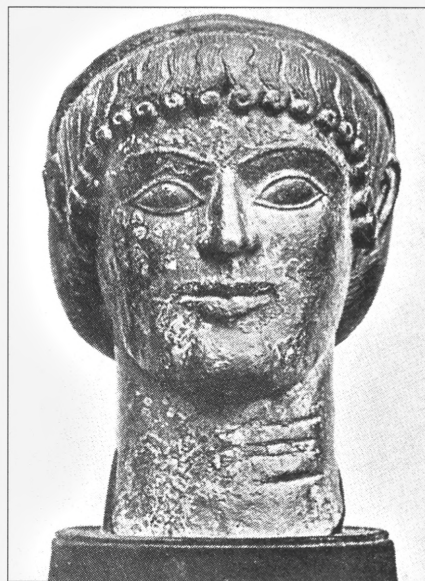


Fig. 93.
London,
British Museum 3212.
(After Riis,
Tyrrhenika
pl. 17.2).

This bronze has retained somewhat more of the pure Late Archaic style, especially the forehead curls. The very special way in which these locks of hair are stylized is a characteristic of the most famous Italian bronze, the Capitoline She-Wolf (figs. 94a-94b).²⁰⁹ A very acute and convincing

204: *ParisML* 3, FPU, ex-RoyalCollection. JdI 7 1892, 127-140 pl. 4, A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik*, Leipzig & Berlin 1893, 718 note 1, De Ridder I 8 no.3 pl. 2, E. Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen*, Nürnberg 1927, 41, 179 note 15, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art*, Musée du Louvre III, Paris 1938 pl. 99 e, Tyrrh 61 pl. 11.1, *Kunst und Leben der Etrusker*, Zürich 1955, 82 no. 176, M. Pallottino e.a., *L'art des Étrusques*, Paris 1955, 18 pl. 68, A. Hus, *Les bronzes Étrusques*, Bruxelles 1955, 80, O. Brendel, *Etruscan Art*², Harmondsworth 1978, 291, Richardson EVB 204 fig. 472, M. Cristofani, *I bronzi degli etruschi*, Novara 1985, 156-157, 268 no. 46.

205: *ParisML* 272, FPU. De Ridder I 46 no. 272 pl. 24, Langlotz, op. cit. 179 note 15.

206: *Minneapolis, Minn., Institute of Arts* 47.39, FPU, ex-Stroganoff. L. Pollak & A. Muñoz, *Pièces de choix de la collection Comte G. Stroganoff*, Rome 1912, 19 pl. 20, EA 3509-3510, Langlotz, op. cit. 179 note 15, Tyrrh 90 note 6 pl. 18.3, JRS 36 1946, 45-46, *Master Bronzes* 168 no. 167, Bonfante, op. cit. 50, 194-195 fig. 118.

207: *ParisBN* 1029, FPU, ex-Caylus. Adam 59 no. 59.

208: *LondonBM* 3212, from Etruria, ex-Castellani, ex-Tyszkiewicz. W. Froehner, *Collection d'antiquités du Comte Michel Tyszkiewicz*, Paris 1898, 40-41 no. 119 pl. 9, Giglioli 43 pl. 234.2, Tyrrh 89-90 note 1 pl. 17.2, JRS 36 1946, 45 note 15, San Giovenale fig. 412, Brendel, op. cit. 293 fig. 209, RichardsonEVB 148 figs. 327-328, M. Cristofani, *I bronzi degli etruschi*, Novara 1985, 214, 290 no. 112, HaynesEB 170, 274 no. 77.

209: *Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Sala dei Fasti Consulares* I, FPU, in the 10th century A.D. at the Lateran in Rome. H. S. Jones, *The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, Oxford 1926, 56-58 no. 1 pl. 17, BrBr 318, Giglioli 36 pl. 197, Tyrrh 30-31, *Studies* D. M. Robinson I, St. Louis 1951, 755-756 pl. 93 a, P. J. Riis, *Etruscan Art*, Copenhagen 1953, 66-67 pl. 35 fig. 54, *OlympForschungen* 4 1959, 45, San Giovenale 151, 366 pl. 14, *Fondation Hardt Entretiens* 13, Geneva 1966, 90-91 fig. 3, 93, 95, H. Temporini (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* I 4, Berlin 1973, 550-583 figs. 29, 34-47, Cristofani, op. cit. 220-221, 290-291 no. 114, HaynesEB 166, 271-272 no. 70.



Fig. 94a. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Sala dei Fasti Consulares I. (After Fondation Hardt Entretiens 13 1966, 86 fig. 3).

analysis of its style was given in 1951 by Friedrich Matz, who dated it to the second quarter of the 5th century and found it closely related to bronzes usually ascribed to Tarquinia and Vulci. One small, but significant detail should be noted: the upper lid of the right eye intersects the lower lid, and the same may have been intended with the left eye, where the intersection, however, does not come out clearly. This detail is a Post-Archaic feature, not appearing in Greece before the end of the Early Classical period, i.e. about 450. Matz

was followed by Franz Willemsen, who in 1959 even put *La Lupa* into the late 5th century.

Let us return to the male statuettes. First a bearded head, which is all that has been left of a rather big figure of a warrior (fig. 95).²¹⁰ Apart from the beard the details place it rather near to the youths on the amphora fig. 81 a-b and the

210: *Copenhagen.NCG H 224 a*, FPU, acquired in Rome 1898. NCGBill pl. 1.3, EA 3760-3761, Tyrrh 89 note 4, F. Poulsen, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture*, Copenhagen 1951, 20 no. 3, NCGEtr 41 no. H 224 a.

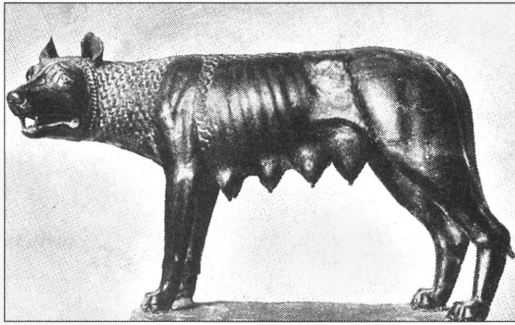


Fig. 94b.



Fig. 95. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek H 224 a. Museum Photo (Ole Woldbye).

Stroganoff bronze;²⁰⁶ comparison should also be made with the candelabrum finials (fig. 84).¹⁹⁵ Some representations of Herakles,²¹¹ Hermes²¹²

211: *BerlinSM Fr. 2071 a*, from Italy, ex-Gerhard. Tyrrh 90, RichardsonEVB 344 no. 1 fig. 815.-England, private collection, from Populonia, ex-Borowski. E. Borowski, *L'art étrusque*, Galerie archéologique, Paris 1967 fig. 17, HaynesEB 172, 275 no. 79.

and a bearded demon²¹⁴ remain. They are added here, because their facial features as well as other details connect them with the bronzes of the present group. Elsewhere I have compared the Hermes (fig. 96) with the London tripod, the amphora, the Tyszkiewicz head and the Stroganoff statuette; here I shall only make another point. The upper border of his semi-elliptic skirt is twisted in a peculiar way – perhaps because a skirt made from an animal's hide is rendered – a trait which we also see on a terracotta relief found at Vulci, a cast of a mounting from the lock of a door or chest;²¹³ the naked parts of its figures correspond to those of the Hermes, whose modelling of the calves is similar to that of the “spear-thrower” fig. 92. A head in Thorvaldsen's collection (fig. 97)²¹⁴ looks like a Zeus or Poseidon, but has equine ears and so must represent a silenus or one of those giant-like demons with snakes instead of legs.²¹⁵ The forehead curls recall the “spear-thrower”, otherwise the nearest relatives are the tripod silenus British Museum 469,¹⁷⁹ the Aias fig. 77, the Pomerance silenus¹⁹⁸ and the group fig. 91.

The terracotta relief referred to above has much in common with two relief-decorated mir-

212: *OxfordAM 1943.38*, from Uffington, Berkshire. Report to the Visitors, Oxford 1923, 12, Tyrrh 90, Report to the Visitors, Oxford 1943, 7, JRS 36 1946, 43-47 figs. 2-3 pl. 7, RichardsonEVB 359-360 pl. 863, ActaA 30 1959, 38, StEtr 35 1967, 651, Archaeological News 5, Tallahassee 1976, 131 fig. 11, Cristofani, op. cit. 208, 285 no. 102, StEtr 54 1988, 61 pl. 23 a-b, HaynesEB 171, 275 no. 78, *Die Etrusker und Europa*, Paris 1992, 188-189.

213: *RomeVG 63447*, from Vulci, Necropoli dell'Osteria, grave 25. P. Ducati, *Storia dell'arte etrusca*, Florence 1927, 454-455 figs. 1-2, StEtr 10 1936, 51 pl. 15, Tyrrh 73 note 1, JdI 58 1943, 208-209 fig. 1, JRS 36 1946, 45 note 10, Studi in onore di G. Maetzke, Florence 1984, 321-324, F. Jurgeit, *Cistenfüsse*, Le Ciste Prenestine II 1, Rome 1986, 87-88.

214: *CopenhagenTM V 9*, FPU. L. Müller, *Fortegnelse over Oldsagerne i Thorvaldsens Museum III*, Copenhagen 1847, 152 no. 9.

215: R. Herbig, *Götter und Dämonen der Etrusker*, Heidelberg 1948, 30, 36 figs. 45-46.



Fig. 96. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1943.38. Museum Photo.

rors, one of which has an indisputable Vulcian provenience (fig. 98).²¹⁶ They are slightly different, but in both cases the details show that the

216: *LondonBM* 542, FPU, ex-Hamilton 1772, probably from Viterbo 1771. E. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel* IV, Berlin 1865, 88-92 pl. 344, Giglioli 27 pl. 134.2, JHS 69 1949, 2-3 pl. 2 a, San Giovenale 368 fig. 413, HaynesEBU 19 pl. 6, Teitz 61-63 no. 50, 156 fig. 50, G. Pfister-Roesgen, *Die etruskischen Spiegel des 5. Jhs. v. Chr.*, Frankfurt a.M. 1975, 17-21 no. S 1, 89-92 pl. 1, HaynesEB 167, 272 no. 71, *Vases and Volcanoes*, Sir William



Fig. 97. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum V 9. Museum Photo (Ole Woldbye).

mirrors belong to the same family as the London tripod, the winged Munich goddess, the candelabrum finials shaped like korai with or without boys, the Florence Sospita, the Louvre spear-thrower and the Populonia Herakles.²¹¹

5. The New York Necklace and Its Relatives

The Tomba Campanari at Vulci excavated in 1833 on the right bank of the Fiora had two chambers, one with the body of a warrior, the other with that of a woman. The warrior had on

Hamilton and his Collection, London 1996, 214 no. 124.- *VaticanMGE* 12241, from Vulci 1840. Mdl 3 1839-43 pl. 23 right, Mus Greg pl. 36.1, Gerhard, op. cit. III, Berlin 1862, 173 pl. 180, Giglioli 27 pl. 134.1, San Giovenale 72, 75 fig. 63, Pfister-Roesgen, op. cit. 21-22 no. S 2, 92-94 pl. 2, U. Fischer Graf, *Spiegelwerkstätten in Vulci*, Berlin 1980, 11-12 no. V 2 pl. 1.2.



Fig. 98. London, British Museum 542. Museum Photo.



Fig. 99. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 40.11.6. (After *Monumenti dell'Instituto* 2 1834-38 pl. 7).



Fig. 100. London, British Museum 585. Museum Photo.

his head the helmet Bibliothèque Nationale 2013,¹⁸⁴ in his chamber were also the tripod in the Vatican 12110 (fig. 63 a-b)¹³⁷ and the amphora British Museum 557 (fig. 81 a-b).¹⁸⁷ The woman in the second chamber had worn several articles of jewellery, which lay scattered on the ground.²¹⁷ This set is now in New York and includes a necklace with siren-shaped clasps and with pendants embellished by archaizing heads of women, sileni and Achelooi (fig. 99).²¹⁸ The women have their front hair arranged in three ranges of curls rendered as small balls just like

217: Bdl 1835, 203-205, G. Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*² I, London 1878, 455, M. Cristofani, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, Novara 1983, 289-290.

218: *New York MMA 40.11.6*, from Vulci, Tomba Campanari 1833, ex-Beugnot, ex-Rougemont de Löwenberg. AdI 6 1834, 243-248, Mdl 2 1834-38 pl. 7, MMABull 35 1940, 223, G. M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, New York 1940, 33, 36-37 note 54 fig. 106, G. Becatti, *Oreficerie antiche*, Rome 1955, 184 no. 304, Cristofani, *op. cit.* 158-159, 289 no. 128, *Archeo Dossier* 2, Novara 1985, 10-11.

the candelabrum figures Munich SL 3 (fig. 83),¹⁸⁹ Louvre 245¹⁹¹ and Oxford G 404;¹⁹¹ the same style of hair characterizes the male representations Ny Carlsberg H 225 (fig. 85),¹⁹⁹ British Museum 1966.3-28.14 (fig. 86),¹⁹⁹ Omaha 1960.263-264²⁰⁰ and the Borowski Herakles from Populonia.²¹¹ The sileni and Achelooi, on the other hand, although recalling the man who caresses a woman British Museum 498 (fig. 91),²⁰² have more in common with other jewellery²¹⁹ and a long series of handle attachments in the shape of sileni masks. Most of the latter are in a way two-dimensional rather than three-dimensional and very like the flat necklace pendants. The earliest and the most plastic are three more or less archaizing versions of the sileni on the London tripod (fig. 76 a-c).¹⁷⁸ Two of them are certainly from Vulci; one of these is a stamnos

219: For instance a gold brooch: *Rome VG 44009*, from Vignanello, NSc 21 1924, 200-201 no. 1 pl. 8 c, Giglioli 39 pl. 218.10, Cristofani, *op. cit.* 192, 301 no. 195, *Archeo* 61 1990, 95 (reversed).



Fig. 101.
Leiden, Rijks-
museum van
Oudheden LR
3. Museum
Photo.

handle, the others belonged to basins of a sort where the very handles apart from the attachments end in similar lotus flowers (figs. 100-101).²²⁰ It is strange that the nearest stylistic parallels to these masks – in spite of their relationship to our third and fourth groups of the “Animal-Combat Tradition”, see for instance the tripod silenus Oxford 1924.62¹⁶⁸ – are Campanian terracottas.²²¹ The reason may be that casts of such bronzes had been used as models in

220: *LondonBM* 585, from Vulci, ex-Canino 1829, ex-Burton. HaynesEB 187, 285 no. 109.- *LeidenRO LR* 3, from Vulci 1829, ex-Canino, ex-Till, ex-Reuvenus 1836.- Formerly *BaselMMAG*, from Etruria. Auktion 34, Basel 1967, 16 no. 26.- For the type of basin, see e.g. *CopenhagenNCGH* 235, from “Orvieto”, i.e. possibly Vulci, see above with notes 9 and 11. *Etruskerstadt* 39 no. 10 fig. 80, *NCGBild* pl. 104, *NCGEtr* 43 no. 325.

221: *ETH* pl. I. 7 H, J, L and 10 K.

Capua; in the above we have referred to a South Italian partial cast of a tripod.¹⁷¹

The series of Etruscan stamnoi, so admirably dealt with by Brian Shefton²²² includes a number of items, his classes II B and III, the so-called Kleinaspergle and Weisskirchen groups of the period c. 480-400,²²³ which offer some points of

222: In the publication by W. Kimmig e.a., *Das Kleinaspergle*, Stuttgart 1988, 104-152.

223: For instance: *Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum* 8723, from Kleinaspergle at Asperg, Württemberg. *NCGColl* 2 1938, 167 note 1, J. D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase Painting*, Oxford 1947, 248-249 no. A 7, Shefton in Kimmig, op. cit. 104-111, 123 no. II B 5 pls. 10-17, *Die Etrusker und Europa*, Paris 1992, 268 no. 343.- *VaticanMGE* 13279-13280, from Vulci. *Mus Greg* pl. 60 d, *NCGColl* 2 1938, 167 note 1, *JdI* 58 1943, 243 fig. 31 above right, 244 note 5, Beazley, op. cit. 249 nos. A 4 and 10, Shefton, loc. cit. 125 ad II-III nos. 3-4.- *LondonBM* 1844.7-5.45, from Vulci, ex-Canino. Shefton, loc. cit.



Fig. 102. Copenhagen, National Museum ABa 627. Museum Photo (Sophus Bengtsson).

resemblance to the afore-mentioned handles, especially our fig. 100. However, they are technically different and neither copies nor what one might call real descendants, rather a kind of imitations. For some of them I already in 1938 suggested a Vulcian origin, and Shefton attributed both groups to "Vulci", in his terminology meaning the southern part of the Etruria Mar-

ittima, a rather loose localization. Eight items are in fact recorded as having come from the site of Vulci, two from Bologna; other proveniences are only represented by one item.

Three globular jugs or olpai (fig. 102),²²⁴ one of them a Vulcian find, are related to the stamnoi. Their attachment masks show the same flat style; they have a late 5th century successor (fig.

126 ad II-III no. 6, 127 figs. 49-50.- *VaticanMGE RG 64*, from Vulci, ex-Guglielmi. Magi 204 no. 64, Shefton, loc. cit. 128 ad II-III no. 9.- *ParisML 2667-2668*, from Corinth. De Ridder II 108 nos. 2667-2668 pl. 97, NCGColl 2 1938, 167 note 1, Beazley, op. cit. 249 no. A 6, Shefton, loc. cit. 128 ad II-III no. 12.

224: *MunichMAK 478*, from Vulci. Jacobsthal & Langsdorff, op. cit. 48 note 1 pl. 31 a, Tyrrh 86 note 7, JdI 58 1943, 234-235 fig. 23.- *CopenhagenNM ABa 627*, from Torre dell'Annunziata, acquired 1854/55 in Naples. Tyrrh 86 note 7, JdI 58 1943, 234-235 note 6.- A little different: *AthensNM, Karapanos Collection 693*, from Dodona.

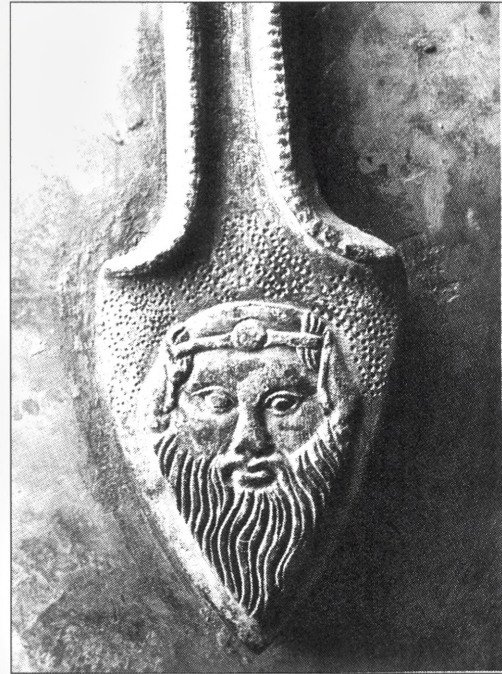
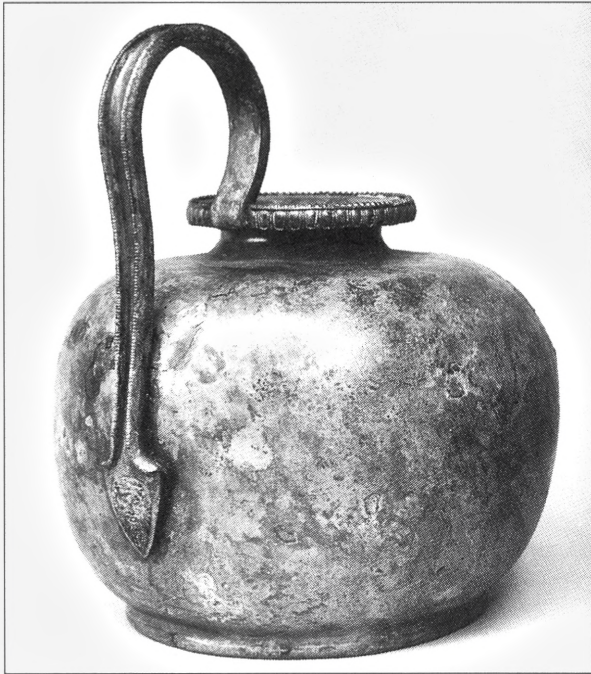


Fig. 103a-b. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1313/340. Photos Soprintendenza Archeologica per l'Umbria.

103 a-b), and a similar mask occurs on a beaked jug.²²⁵ The bearded mask on the Perugine jug tempts us to ask the question if the production of archaizing helmet attachments in the shape of

Acheloos heads also continued so far down in time, for such an attachment with a similar beard may have come from Vulci (fig. 104).²²⁶



Fig. 104. Copenhagen, National Museum 1280. Museum Photo (Sophus Bengtsson).

225: *PerugiaMAN 1313/340*, from Perugia, Monteluçe, grave at Predio Ara 1887.- Formerly *BaselMMAG*, FPU. Auktion 22, Basel 1961, 41 no. 77 pl. 23.

226: *CopenhagenNM 1280*, FPU, ex-Basseggio, i.e. possibly from Vulci, see above notes 41-43. The authenticity of this piece, however, is not above suspicion.

Chapter IV

Distribution, Trade-Routes and Imitations

The material treated in Chapters II-III was not grouped with the intention of constituting a corpus of so-called Vulcian bronzes. I deliberately confined myself to discuss only such objects which I found it justifiable to bring into a closer connection with the tripod series, and I have not deemed it necessary to enumerate all replicas known to me nor to search for more, for instance among the amply represented candelabrum finials and helmet attachments whose provenience is uncertain. Still, I think that the material, nearly 325 items, is sufficiently large to permit of some conclusions.²²⁷

1. Distribution

About 150 pieces have a geographical provenience recorded, and among these places the great majority is represented by singular finds. In Etruria outside of Vulci and Orvieto only the Faliscan region, Tarquinia and the district of Populonia have yielded as much as 7, 4 and 4 specimens respectively. On the other hand Vulci comes out with 45, and if we add the pieces with the doubtful provenience "Orvieto" (see above notes 9 and 11) and those from the former Basseggio collection (see above note 42), which may be Vulcian finds, we get the figure 63 for Vulci and only 6 for Orvieto. Moreover, there is the possibility that 33 items whose finding-places are unknown, but which were acquired in the period 1828-69, really are spolia from the ruthless ex-

ploitation of the Vulcian cemeteries between 1828 and 1857. Even if we follow those who retain an Orvietan provenience for the so-called "Orvietan Find", Orvieto will be represented by only 15, that is a third of the number of sure Vulcian finds. In both cases such a distribution would normally be taken to mean that the objects in question came from the town with their greatest frequency, except if it could be proved that they were made elsewhere. It was not until the 1830ies that Athens for epigraphical reasons was admitted as the great producer of the vases found in Italy which we now call Attic; but there is no inscription on the Vulcian finds that could support a localization of the producing workshops outside of Vulci, nor have remains of such workshops been found. So, the opinion that bronze workers in Vulci made the bronzes mentioned in Chapters II-III seems to be more than a simple hypothesis (see the table p. 100).

2. Trade-Routes

The distribution of our bronzes somehow indicates those main routes by which they were spread. Towards the north the traffic apparently went by Chiusi, through the Chiana and Arno valleys to Fiesole and Prato, continuing through the Reno valley to Bologna, then to Spina and Adria in the Po delta, along the Adige and over the Brenner pass to the Inn, from it to the Rhine and finally following this river to the North Sea and Britain.

Years ago I tried to sketch the main routes from Italy to Northern Europe, and in this connection I mentioned a few Late Archaic, presumably Vulcian bronzes found in Switzerland. Together with the Conliège find (see above note 60) they suggest a secondary route crossing the

²²⁷: For reason of simplicity, not to repeat long definitions, the eight groups of bronzes put together in Chapters II-III will in the following be called the Copenhagen, St. Louis, Mainz, St. Petersburg, Karlsruhe, Ferrara, London and New York Groups.

	Copenhagen Group	St. Louis Group	Mainz Group	St. Petersburg Group	Karlsruhe Group	Ferrara Group	London Group	New York Group	Total
FPU total.....	25	23	13	20	25	29	37	1	171
FPU 1828-69.....	6	3	2	3	8	3	8		33
Italy.....	1		2			2	2		7
South Italy.....				1					1
Taranto.....						1			1
Pesto.....				1					1
Campania?.....		1							1
Torre Annunziata.....								1	1
Capua and environs.....	1						1		2
Palestrina.....					2				2
Ariccia and environs.....		1							1
Rome.....							1		1
Etruria.....							1	1	2
Capena.....				1					1
Cività Castellana.....					1	1	1		3
Vignanello.....					1			1	2
Ferentino.....			1						1
Todi.....				1					1
Orvieto.....	2		1		1	1	1		6
"Orvieto" = Vulci?.....			4			1	3	1	9
Viterbo and environs.....	1						2		3
Tarquinia.....	1		1		2				4
Vulci.....	4	6	6	7	6		9	7	45
Vulci?.....	2	2		1	1	1	1	1	9
North Etruria.....		1							1
Populonia.....							2		2
S. Vincenzo.....	2								2
Volterra and environs.....						1			1
Isola di Gorgona.....	1								1
Chiusi.....							2		2
Castel S. Mariano.....	1								1
Perugia.....						1		1	2
Cortona and environs.....			1			1			2
Castiglione del Lago.....							1		1
Bettolle.....							1		1
Sinalunga.....							1		1
Arezzo.....							1		1
Fiesole.....					1				1
Prato and environs.....		1							1
Umbria.....		1							1
Amandola.....						1			1
Ascoli Piceno.....						1			1
Marzabotto.....						1			1
Bologna.....							1		1
Adria.....					1				1
Spina.....						2			2
Sunzing am Inn, Austria.....							1		1
Conliège, Jura.....	1								1
Heuneburg, Württemberg.....						1		1	1
Asperg, Württemberg.....								1	1
Dürkheim, Palatinate.....	1						1		2
Schwarzenbach, Saarland.....	1		1						2
Uffington, Berkshire.....							1		1
Menorca.....			1						1
Málaga.....	1								1
Sanlúcar de Barrameda.....					1				1
Greece?.....					1				1
Dodona.....								1	1
Olympia.....			1						1
Corinth.....								1	1
Athens.....					2				2
Lindos.....			1						1
Sūkās.....						1			1
Total.....	45	36	33	32	45	46	69	17	323

Imitations of the	Copenhagen Group	St. Louis Group	Mainz Group	St. Petersburg Group	Karlsruhe Group	Ferrara Group	London Group	New York Group	Total
South Italy.....							1		1
Palestrina.....							1		1
Bracciano.....		1							1
Vulci.....							1		1
Vulci?.....						1			1
Prodo east of Orvieto.....	1								1
Chiusi.....	3				1		3		7
Chianciano west of Chiusi.....							1		1
Tuscany.....		1							1
Castel S. Mariano.....	6	6	1						13
Arezzo.....							1	1	2
Piombino.....		1					1		2
Castellina in Chianti.....							2		2
Prato?.....							2		2
Cascia east of Spoleto.....					1				1
Isola di Fano.....		1							1
Falterona.....		1							2
Monteguragazza.....						1			2
Marzabotto.....							5		5
North Italy.....							2		2
Contarina east of Adria.....							1		1
Dürkheim.....						1			1
Spain.....							1		1
Ampurias.....	1								1
Total.....	11	11	1		2	3	23	1	52

Alps at the Grand Saint Bernard,²²⁸ and there is nothing in our list of finding-places which seems to show that objects of indisputable Vulcian origin came to the North through the lower Rhône valley.

Towards the east it was perhaps the simplest to pass by Chiusi or Orvieto to Perugia and then to some harbour on the Adriatic coast, e.g. Ancona. Southwards the traffic may have gone via Orvieto and the Tiber valley to Civit  Castellana and Rome, then by Palestrina through the Sacco and Liri valleys to Capua. Beyond Campania Pesto and Taranto indicate the otherwise uncertain route.

228: ActaA 30 1959, 39 notes 119-120, from Canton Wallis and the Neuch tel region. Unfortunately the Grand St. Bernard pass was closed by snow the only time I have followed this route. So I was not able to visit the museum in the monastery, and I only know the notes on the local finds published in NSc 1890, 273, 294, 1891, 75-81, 1892, 63-77, 440-450, 1894, 33-47; but Professor Gerold Walser of Berne has kindly told me that there are no archaic Etruscan bronzes.

Both from the Po delta, from Ancona and Taranto Etruscan goods could easily reach the west coast of Greece and the Gulf of Corinth. Probably it was not so much Etruscan ships that carried them eastwards, but Greek, at least from places like Ancona and Taranto;²²⁹ but very fine Etruscan dedications in Olympia (above note 105)²³⁰ and Athens (above note 131 and fig. 60)

229: Cf. A. W. Johnston, *Trademarks on Greek Vases*, Warminster 1979 49, 51.

230: The earliest Etruscan objects found at Olympia date from the late 8th or early 7th century B.C., OIBer 10 1981, 82-90, *Schriften des Deutschen Arch ologen-Vereins* 5, Mannheim 1981, 9-24, e.g. 13-15 fig. 3. The 7th century crater *ibid.* 14-15 fig. 4 may well have been an Etruscan votive gift, but fragments of Etruscan arms and armour found in the sanctuary could, of course, be the remains of Greek booty dedicated to Zeus, *ibid.* 15. According to Pausanias, *Graeciae descriptio* V 12.5 an Etruscan king named Arimnestos was the first of the Barbarians to make an offering to the Olympian Zeus, a throne seen by Pausanias in the temple built between 468 and 456. If it were an earlier gift, it would probably have been placed in the Heraion, but it may have been moved from there much later.

may be evidence of occasional Etruscan visits. On the other hand it is most likely that the Vulcian objects excavated in the island of Rhodos and in Northern Phoenicia (above note 109, note 167 fig. 73) were brought there on Greek ships.²³¹

Finally the spread to the west. No doubt this route was served, at least partly, by Vulcian ships. Early there were objects from Vulci coming to the Populonia region (above note 46) and the island of Gorgona (above note 74); perhaps calls were also made at the mouth of the Cecina, where Volterra had its harbour. From these places the westward traffic must have passed north of Corsica to the Balearic Islands and along the Spanish east coast to Málaga and through the Straits of Gibraltar to Cádiz. The find of the recumbent youth (above note 127 fig. 57) in a sanctuary at the mouth of the Guadalquivir seems to imply the dedication of a Vulcian tripod to the local deity, probably to ensure a good result of some expedition, or a happy return, or to thank for the accomplishment of an enterprise. It was most likely the demand for more raw material which made the Etruscans sail so far towards the west; there were copper mines in the Sierra Morena, at Rio Tinto and in Estremadura, and the access was just through the district at the mouth of Guadalquivir.²³² That Etruscans could make business in this region was certainly due to the good relations between them and the Phoenicians of Carthage. Recent research has proved that the Phoenicians had created quite a series of trade stations on the south coast of Spain, not only at Cádiz and Málaga.²³³

Herodotus tells us that in 540 the Etruscan and the Carthaginians jointly expelled the Phocaean Ionians who about 565 had established themselves at Alalia (Aleria) on the east coast of Corsica, and that the decisive naval battle took place in

the Sardinian Sea.²³⁴ From what was stated above in Chapter I there is a good reason to believe that there were Vulcian ships among the sixty Etruscan mentioned by Herodotus, and the Phocaeans of Massilia, now Marseilles, would probably not favour any Vulcian commercial activity along the Riviera or through the Rhône delta controlled by them. The situation is moreover illuminated by the treaty which the Carthaginians concluded with the Romans in 509 after the expulsion of their Etruscan king, and which somehow may reflect earlier treaties with city states of Etruria.²³⁵ According to Polybius who renders the wording of the treaty, neither the Romans nor their allies were allowed to sail beyond “The Beautiful Promontory”, except if compelled by bad weather or enemies, and if someone against his will was driven ashore, he was not permitted to trade or get anything, except such as was necessary for equipping the ship or for worship.²³⁶ About the Beautiful Promontory Polybius says that it is lying in front of Carthage towards the north, i.e. the cape near Utica now called Rās Sīdī °Ālī al-Makkī.²³⁷ Most scholars agree that with these stipulations the treaty is forbidding navigation along the North-African coast west of Carthage. East of Carthage, in the Punic parts of Sicily and in Sardinia busi-

231: Cf. Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punicci 1, Rome 1991, 203-211.

232: Madrider Beiträge 8 1982, 314, 318.

233: JbZMusMainz 31 1984, 39 fig. 33.

234: Herodotus, *Historiae* I 166.1-2: στρατεύονται ὧν ἐπ' αὐτοῦς κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι Τυρσηνοὶ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι νηυσὶ ἐκάτεροι ἐξήκοντα. οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖες πληρώσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πλοῖα, ἔοντα ἀριθμὸν ἐξήκοντα, ἀντίαζον ἐς τὸ Σαρδόνιον καλεόμενον πέλαγος.

235: E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*² III, Stuttgart 1937, 652-656, *AJA* 81 1977, 368 note 1.

236: Polybius, *Historiae* III, 22.5-6: μὴ πλείν Ῥωμαίους μηδὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχους ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Καλοῦ ἄκρωτηρίου, ἐὰν μὴ ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἢ πολεμίων ἀναγκασθῶσιν· ἐὰν δὲ τις βία κατενεχθῆ, μὴ ἐξέστω αὐτῷ μηδὲν ἀγοράζειν μηδὲ λαμβάνειν, πλὴν ὅσα πρὸς πλοίου ἐπισκευὴν ἢ πρὸς τερά.

237: *Op. cit.* III 23. 1: Τὸ μὲν οὖν Καλὸν ἄκρωτηρίον ἐστὶ τὸ προκείμενον αὐτῆς τῆς Καρχηδόνος ὡς πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους.

ness was possible, but only through a local official. Neither Corsica nor the Balearic Islands are mentioned, and it is evident that the Carthaginians did not prevent their allies from using a westward route north of Sardinia.

3. Imitations

In our chapter I it was mentioned that the early Vulcian cinerary urns made of repoussé bronze and provided with a head-shaped lid and loose hands were the antecedents and models of the first canopic jars in the region of Chiusi (above note 21 fig. 4).²³⁸ There are also other indications of early Vulcian influences upon Clusine art. Certain stone figures found in tombs at Chiusi²³⁹ may reflect the style of bronzes like the bust from the Vulcian Isis Tomb (above note 31 fig. 5), as may some Clusine bronzes, e.g. the Brolio kore.²⁴⁰ If I am right in ascribing the chariot from Monteleone di Spoleto to a workshop in Clusium,²⁴¹ its kouros figures will be another case of dependence upon models made in the territory of Vulci.²⁴² The same may hold good of three kouroi from the Fonte Veneziana at Arezzo.²⁴³ They have been regarded as made locally, and certainly they do not have the fine quality of the Monteleone and Brolio bronzes, nor of certain well-known statuettes from Chiusi,²⁴⁴ but also in

the region of Chiusi there must have been lesser bronze workers.

If we proceed to works related to the Copenhagen Group (table p. 101), we shall find more instances of a Clusine dependence upon Vulcian art. A tripod from Chiusi, now in Orvieto, has heads of ducks and lions alternating, the latter very similar to those on the early Copenhagen and New York tripods (above notes 46-47 fig. 11);²⁴⁵ it may be a local work rather than an importation. In spite of all resemblance to the horse-protomai on the Isis Tomb brazier (above note 45 fig. 10) and the Copenhagen tripod (above note 46 fig. 11) as well as to the sea-horses of the Oxford tripod (above note 51 fig. 12), their Castel S. Mariano counterparts have a definite character of their own, the incised details being less precise.²⁴⁶ There are also some horse-protomai from Chiusi whose manes are long and smooth, and which somehow recall Vulcian ones (above notes 53-54 fig. 13); but their non-Vulcian style is nevertheless obvious.²⁴⁷

In 1941 I stressed the relationship of some of the Castel S. Mariano bronzes to the art of Vulci, and in some cases I even thought that we had to do with pieces of Central Etruscan origin.²⁴⁸ A reconsideration of the circumstances based on Ursula Höckmann's final publication of all the material from the princely tomb c. 8 km southwest of Perugia has convinced me that with a single exception (above note 66) the works in question are North Etruscan and either Perusine or perhaps more likely Clusine.²⁴⁹ The Castel S.

238: E.g. Tyrhh 108 no. 1. R. D. Gempeler, *Die etruskischen Kanopen*, Einsiedeln 1974, 22-23 no. 7 pl. 3.1.

239: E.g. H. Mühlestein, *Die Kunst der Etrusker*, Berlin 1929, 238 fig. 231, Tyrhh 113 nos. A 1-2.

240: Mühlestein, *op. cit.* 233 figs. 181 left, 183 right, Tyrhh 120 note 6.

241: Cf. Tyrhh 132, P. J. Riis, *Etruscan Art*, Copenhagen 1953, 61 fig. 44.

242: Cf. the Ghiaccio Forte and Talamone statuettes above notes 38-39 and figs. 7-8.

243: *Florence MAN 61, 68 and 56*, RichardsonEVB 113 nos. 7 and 9, 114 no. 1, *Studi in onore di G. Maetzke*, Florence 1984, 119-123, M. Cristofani, *I bronzi degli Etruschi*, Novara 1985, 251 nos. 3.1-2, 252 no. 3.10.

244: *LondonBM 510 and 512*, Tyrhh 121-122 pl. 21.3, RichardsonEVB 107 no. 8 figs. 214-215, 201-202 no. 1 figs. 465-466.

245: *Orvieto, Museo Faina*. MonLinc 7 1897, 322 no. E fig. 17, ActaA 10 1939 no. E 6, Brown 113, BCH 86 1962, 487-488 fig. 13, 88 1964, 442.

246: *MunichMAK 26-27 and PerugiaMAN 1415 and 1421*. U. Höckmann, *Die Bronzen aus dem Fürstengrab von Castel San Mariano bei Perugia*, Munich 1982, 77-78 nos. 33-34, 98 ad no. 55, 77-78 ad no. 33.

247: *LondonBM 390*, Mühlestein, *op. cit.* 208 fig. 133, Tyrhh 124 note 4.

248: Tyrhh 81 note 2, 85 note 2, 131 notes 2, 4 and 6.

249: Höckmann, *op. cit.*, cf. H. Jucker's review *Gnomon* 56 1984, 163-167.



Fig. 105. Munich, Museum antiker Kleinkunst 22. (After Höckmann, Fürstengrab von Castel San Mariano pl. 45.1-2).

Mariano find also incorporates lion figures which come very near to the series put together by W. L. Brown (above notes 65-66 fig. 19) (fig. 105).²⁵⁰ Some related lion heads, which embellished chariot poles or the like, should be mentioned in this same connection;²⁵¹ all of them reflect Vulcian works of the Copenhagen Group.

The bronzes of the St. Louis Group (e.g. above notes 75-77 figs. 22-24) have likewise left an impact on North-East Etruscan art. Sea-horses with tufted manes do occur among the objects from Castel S. Mariano,²⁵² and this kind of mane has even been transferred to lions, where they act as a sort of crest on the very mane (fig. 106).²⁵³

250: *MunichMAK 15, 16, 18 and 22*, Höckmann, op. cit. 78-79 nos. 35-36, 82-83 no. 37. In 1968 I had another look at no. 22 and found that it was an imitation of no. 23, which I took for Vulcian, Höckmann, op. cit. 82-83 no. 38, see above note 66.

251: *LondonBM 1911.4-18.2*, from Prodo east of Orvieto, Brown 100 no. 111. – *Barcelona, Museo Arqueológico Nacional*, from grave in the Portitxol necropolis at Ampurias, Brown 100-101. – *New York, C. G. Bastis Collection*, FPU. E. Swan Hill (ed.), *Antiquities from the Collection of Christos G. Bastis*, New York 1987, 208-209 no. 117.

252: *MunichMAK 24-25*. Höckmann, op. cit. 76 no. 32.

253: *MunichMAK 11-14*. Höckmann, op. cit. 79 no. 36.

Otherwise the latter figures resemble those of the Copenhagen Group.

A number of mostly North-Etruscan kouroi have equally some affinity to bronzes of the St. Louis group. The first one I would like to mention is said to have come from Piombino in the region of Populonia, and the late Hans Jucker regarded it as a Populonian work (Fig. 107).²⁵⁴ It is evidently not Vulcian, but it recalls the Hamilton kouros in London (above note 84 fig. 27). Jucker rightly compared it with the statuette of a youth holding his left hand on the hip; but the South-Etruscan provenience of the latter bronze, given as “Bracciano”, is a little intriguing.²⁵⁵ I find the attribution to a North-Etruscan workshop quite reasonable, and its master may well have been inspired by Vulcian pieces of the St. Louis group (e.g. above note 92 fig. 32). Other bronzes

254: *Zürich, E. G. Bührle Collection*, from Piombino. H. Jucker, *Die Sammlung E. G. Bührle*, Zürich 1958, 36 no. 5, AA 1967, 621-624 figs. 7 and 10, Richardson EVB 139 no. 6.

255: *BaselAM 173.2*, from Bracciano. E. Berger e.a., *Kunstwerke der Antike aus der Sammlung Käppeli*, s.l. & a. B 14, K. Schefold e.a., *Führer durch das Antikenmuseum*, Basel 1966, 120 no. 173.2, AA 1967, 622 note 14, 624 figs. 8-9, Richardson EVB 226 no. 4 fig. 510.



Fig. 106. Munich, Museum antiker Kleinkunst 13. (After Mühlestein, *Kunst der Etrusker* fig. 171).

with hand on hip seem to belong to the same North-Etruscan class (figs. 108-109),²⁵⁶ they also resemble the late representatives of the St. Louis Group (above notes 93 and 95, figs. 33 and 35). If we consider the proveniences of all these works dependent on the latter, a North-Etruscan origin will appear plausible, but the distribution does in my opinion not favour an ascription to Popu-

256: *ParisML* 218, from Lake Falterona 1838. *Art and Technology*, Cambridge, Mass. 1970, 210 fig. 28, RichardsonEVB 229 no. 5 fig. 519A, M. Cristofani (ed.), *Civiltà degli Etruschi*, Milan 1985, 284 fig. 10.30, 1, Id., *I bronzi degli Etruschi*, Novara 1985, 98-99 no. 4.1, *Les Étrusques et l'Europe*, Paris 1992, 405-406. - *FlorenceMAN* 72725, from Isola di Fano, Tyrrh 89 note 2, RichardsonEVB 237 no. 1 figs. 539-540, *StEtr* 54 1988, 67 pl. 240.- *Copenhagen.NM ABA* 159, FPU, bought in Florence 1839, i.e. possibly from the Falterona find of 1838. *Art Quarterly* 19 1956, 133 fig. 6, *AJA* 80 1976, 302 note 13, RichardsonEVB 232 no. 2 fig. 525.

lonia, rather to some centre on the main road of the interior, e.g. Clusium.

The Castel San Mariano censer with the relief figures of Juno Sospita, Herakles and a second woman²⁵⁷ has been taken for possibly Vulcian and presents, as a type of furniture, a clear relationship to the Mainz censer (above note 96 fig. 36), but also to the Loeb tripods which generally are taken for Clusine or Perusine. Now, I must admit that my revision of the Vulcian material has not enabled me to insert it into the Mainz Group or any other Vulcian context. So I must regard Mrs. Höckmann's attribution to Clusium or its sphere of influence as cogent.

257: *MunichMAK* 720 and *PerugiaMAN* 1413. Tyrrh 81 note 2, *JdI* 58 1943, 264 note 2, Höckmann, *op. cit.* 64-69 no. 26, 126-127.



Fig. 107a-b. Zürich, E. G. Bührle Collection 5. (After *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1967, 624 fig. 7 right and fig. 10).

A well-known kore statuette in New York (fig. 110)²⁵⁸ was often taken for Vulcian, and it does indeed have some resemblance to the female figures of the Mainz Group, especially on account of the hair-band with three rosettes; but I still feel that the relations to the locally made bronzes from the Tomba della Boncia at Chiusi are stronger, and a personal inspection in 1970 corroborated my first impression.

I have no obvious examples of an imitation of the bronzes in the St. Petersburg Group (however, see below); but that may be a mere chance, for there are more than a few works which seem to betray influences from Vulcian bronzes of the “Animal-Combat Tradition”, particularly such of

258: *New York MMA* 56, FPU. G. M. A. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, New York 1915, 34-38 no. 56, Ead., *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, New York 1940, 28 fig. 71, Tyrrh 123 note 1, RM 58 1943, 90, Teitz 44 no. 30, 146-147, RichardsonEVB 297 no. 1 fig. 706, A. P. Kozloff & D. G. Mitten (edd.), *The Gods Delight*, Cleveland 1988, 194-199 no. 33.



Fig. 108. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 72725. (After Mühlestein, *Kunst der Etrusker* fig. 196).

the late London Group. A small number recalls the Karlsruhe Group, one of them coming from the just-mentioned La Boncia Tomb at Chiusi, another from the environs of Cascia east of Spoleto; three of them are censers (fig. 111), to which we may add part of one with vegetal top as

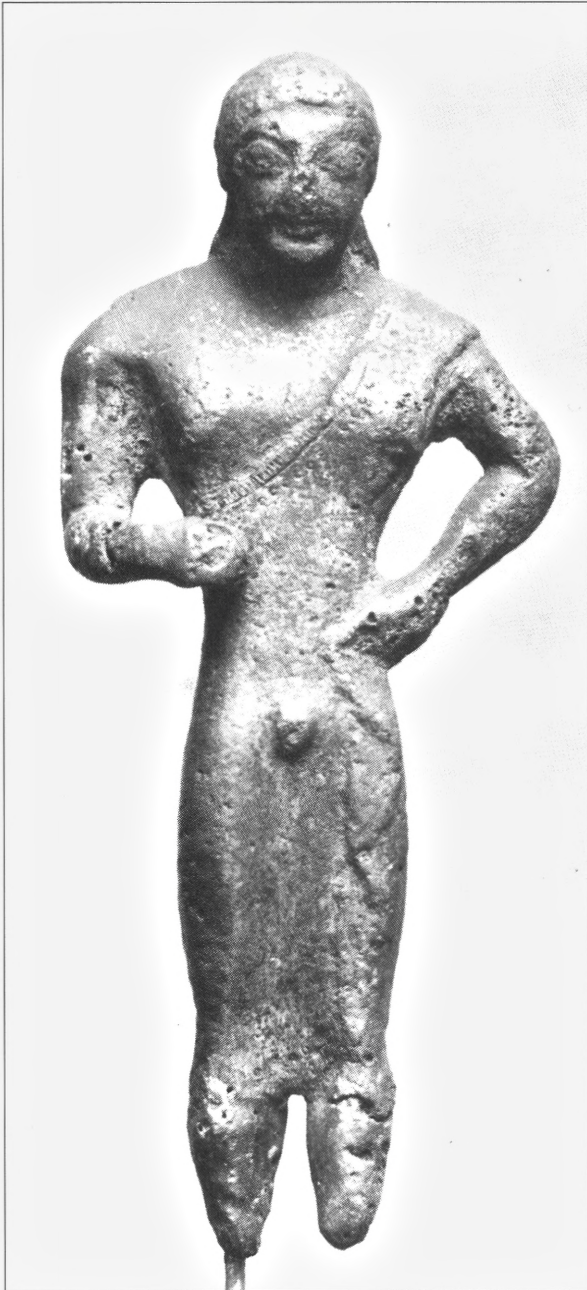


Fig. 109. Copenhagen, National Museum ABa 159. Museum Photo (Kit Weiss).



Fig. 110. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 56. (After Handbook of the Etruscan Collection fig. 71).

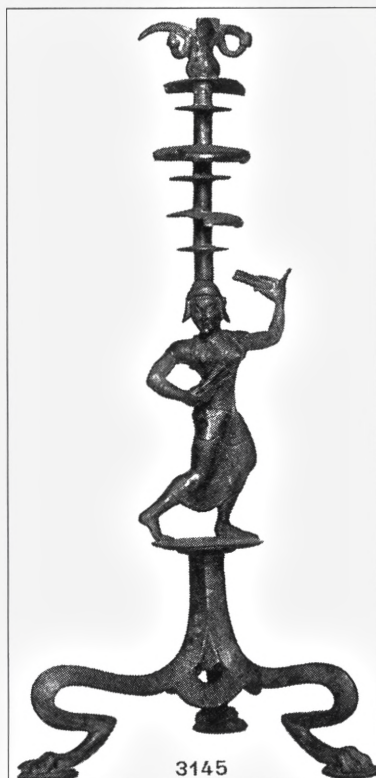


Fig. 111. Paris, Musée du Louvre 3145. (After De Ridder, *Bronzes II* pl. 111).

on later censers from Chiusi.²⁵⁹ Several scholars including myself have taken most of the said censer pieces for Vulcian, and I still find some affinity to Vulcian bronzes (e.g. above notes 128 and 130 fig. 58 and even two of the St. Petersburg Group above note 121 figs. 51-52); but related works from Chiusi have convinced me of their Clusine make. A female figure in Copenhagen²⁶⁰

259: *ParisBN* 956, FPU. Adam 43-44 no. 45. – *ParisML* 3145, FPU. De Ridder II, 151 no. 3145 pl. 111, *Magazine of Art* 33, Washington 1940, 477 fig. 17, Tyrrh 79 no. A9, S. Cles-Reden, *Les Étrusques*, Paris 1955, 179 fig. 64. – *ParisML* 3146, FPU. De Ridder II, 151 no. 3146 pl. 111, Tyrrh 79 no. C 2, Magi 167. – *Florence 70473*, from Tomba della Boncia at Chiusi. *StEtr* 10 1936, 39, Tyrrh 123, *JdI* 58 1943, 270-271, *StEtr* 22 1952/3, 329-339 figs. 1-3, F. Jurgeit, *Le ciste prenestine II* 1, Rome 1986, 100-101 pl. 47c.

260: *CopenhagenNCG H* 224, FPU. *NCGBild* pl. 92, *NCGEtr* 41 no. H 224, San Giovenale 427 fig. 406, RichardsonEVB 295 no. 1 fig. 700.



Fig. 112. London, British Museum 450. (After Museum Post-Card).

may be compared with a Vulcian bronze in Paris (above note 132), but is a coarser, more provincial work, and in spite of their links to the type used on the Vatican tripod (above notes 137 and 145 fig. 63) two Herakles statuettes differ considerably from it and may be North-Etruscan.²⁶¹

261: Formerly *Rome, Bunsen Collection*, from the environs of Cascia east of Spoleto. *MdI* 2 1834-38 pl. 29.2, *AdI* 8 1836, 55-58, RichardsonEVB 342 note 63. – *BerlinSMFr.* 2163, FPU, ex-Pourtales, *JdI* 58 1943, 269-270 fig. 47, RichardsonEVB 342 no. 2.

At least three bronzes offer a certain relationship to the Ferrara Group (Figs. 112-113).²⁶² Of these the one from Lake Falterona shows a face not unlike those on the Dürkheim tripod figures (above note 158 fig. 69) and even that of the woman on the late London tripod (above note 171 fig. 75), but the drapery will put it apart from the Vulcian. I have formerly taken it for granted that the Ny Carlsberg censer came from Vulci, as the modelling of the face recalls several bronzes of the London Group and also the late ones in the St. Louis Group. The type of tripod base, however, is an elaboration of the shape presented by the just-mentioned censers resembling Vulcian works of the Karlsruhe Group, and but for the epiblema, which is rendered as on the Dürkheim woman, the drapery with its plastic lines indicating folds is not quite conform with the Vulcian manner. So, reconsidering the case I think that Neugebauer, who did not take it for Vulcian, was right. Both if the provenience according to what was stated above (notes 9 and 11) should be "Vulci", and if "Orvieto" were correct, we must regard the piece as an importation, probably from Clusium, where bronzes of good quality actually were made. As to the third bronze, part of a beaked jug, there cannot – as already stated by Jacobsthal and Brown – be any doubt about its being a provincial work heavily indebted to Vulci. Although it has an old-fashioned look, we may point out that actually the

262: *LondonBM* 450, from Lake Falterona 1838. *BMBronzes* 62 no. 450 pl. 12, *Tyrrh* 123 note 1, *RichardsonEVB* 292 no. 2 fig. 692, M. Cristofani, *I bronzi degli Etruschi*, Novara 1985, 98 no. 4.2, 254, *HaynesEB* 182, 283 no. 103, *Die Etrusker und Europa*, Paris 1992, 142 ad no. 172. – *CopenhagenNCG H* 223, from "Orvieto", i.e. possibly Vulci, see above notes 9 and 11. *Etruskerstadt* 32-33 figs. 59-63, *NCGBild* pls. 90-91, *Tyrrh* 79-80 no. B 4 pl. 15.3, *JdI* 58 1943, 261, *San Giovenale* fig. 420, *NCGETr* 40 no. H 223, *HaynesEB* 159, 266 no. 57. – *Speyer, Historisches Museum der Pfalz B* 99, from Dürkheim. *Jacobsthal & Langsdorff* 22, 63 note 12 no. 114 pl. 12, *Brown* 122-123 no. 4.

Ferrara Group comprises beaked jugs (above note 170).

Products of the London Group seem to have created more interest outside of Vulci than the works of the other groups. Some reclining figures somehow remind of the Late Archaic Vulcian ones (above note 180), but are quite different, more rigid, schematic in pose and modelling. Although one of them is said to have been found at Vulci in 1927, they probably all of them are North-Etruscan.²⁶³ It has been suggested that some of them were made at Clusium; but the style is not so refined as that of the two censers with a dancer on a table, both found at Chiusi and in spite of their fine quality probably to be enrolled in our non-Vulcian series; Neugebauer took them for Clusine (fig. 114),²⁶⁴ and their vegetal top ornament is that seen also on one of the censers recalling the Karlsruhe Group

263: *San Francisco, Palace of the Legion of Honour* 1952, 26, from Vulci 1927, ex-Sachs, perhaps originally mounted on the same cauldron as the following figure. *JRS* 39 1949, 136, *Master Bronzes* 164-165 no. 162, M. Del Chiaro, *Etruscan Art from West Coast Collections*, Santa Barbara 1967, 40 no. 44, *Teitz* 46 no. 31, 129 fig. 31. – *New YorkMMA* 27.1200.22, FPU. Perhaps originally mounted on the same cauldron as the preceding figure. G. M. Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, New York 1940, 28 note 16 figs. 76-77, *San Giovenale* 365 fig. 397, *Master Bronzes* 165 ad no. 162. – *ParisBN* 1027, FPU, ex-Oppermann 1874. *Adam* 82-83 no. 90. – *LondonBM* 556, FPU, ex-Millingen. K. A. Neugebauer, *Antike Bronzestatuetten*, Berlin 1921, 100 pl. 54, *RM* 51 1936, 194, *Tyrrh* 123 note 1, *San Giovenale* 422 fig. 393, *HaynesEB* 58, 280-281 no. 96.

264: *BerlinSMFr* 693, from Chiusi. Neugebauer, *Führer* I, 31 pl. 28, *BerlMus* 45 1924, 32-33 and frontispiece, *Magazine of Art* 33, Washington 1940, 476 fig. 12, *Tyrrh* 79-80 no. C 4, *Die Antike* 18 1942, 29-30 fig. 10, *JdI* 58 1943, 276 note 4, *Kunst und Leben der Etrusker*, Köln 1956, 151 no. 398a, U. Gehrig, A. Greifenhagen & N. Kunisch, *Führer durch die Antikenabteilung*, Berlin 1968, 94, *HaynesEB* 177, 279 no. 9. – *LondonBM* 448, from Chiusi, ex-Pulsky 1868. F. Ingherami & D. Valeriani, *Etrusco Museo Chiusino*, Fiesole 1832, 197 pl. 203, *BerlMus* 45 1924, 34 fig. 7, *Tyrrh* 79-80 no. C 3, *Die Antike* 18 1942, 29, *JdI* 58 1943, 276 note 4, *HaynesEB* 177, 278-279 no. 90.

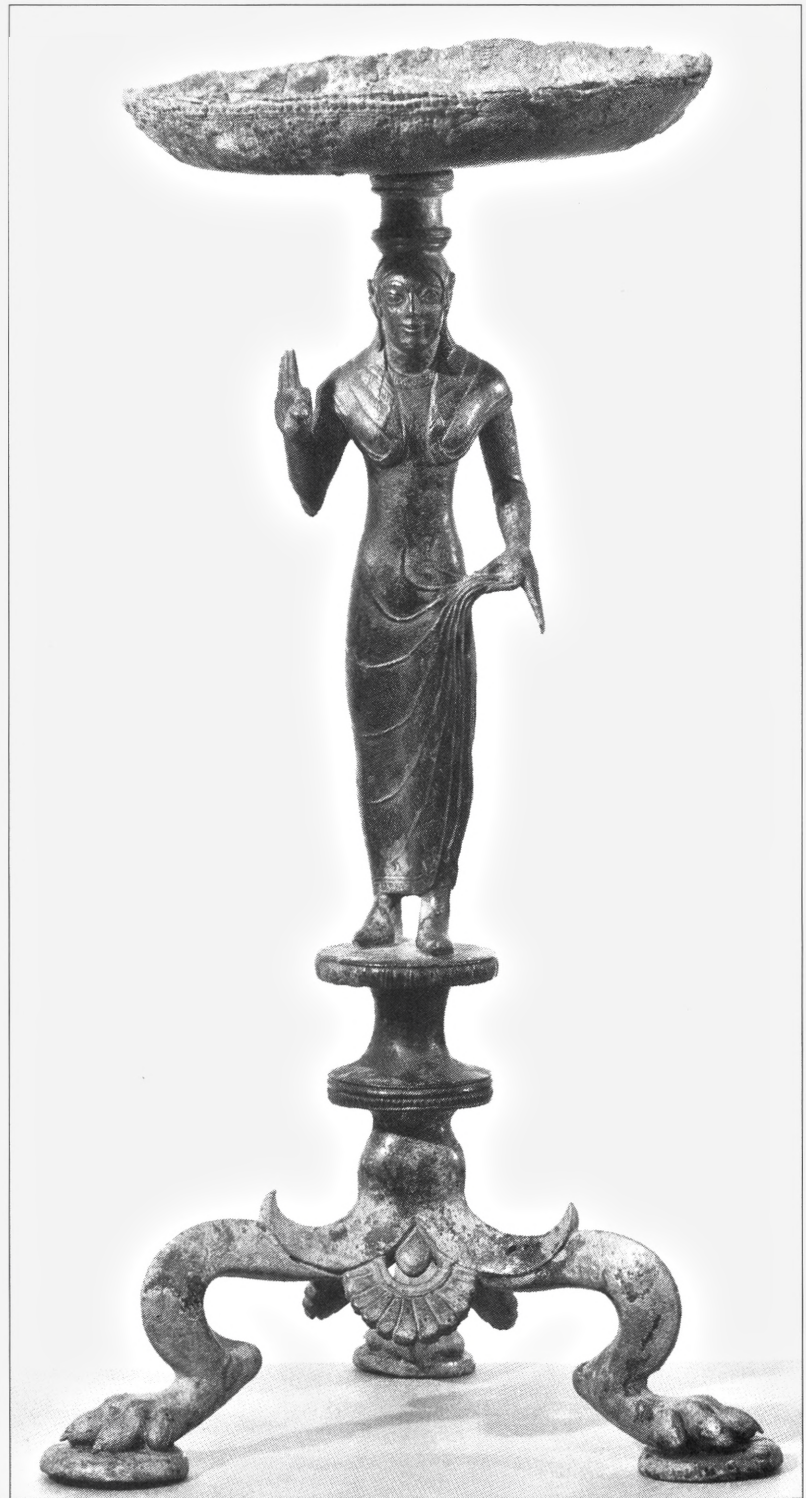


Fig. 113. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg
Glyptotek H 223. Museum Photo (Ole
Woldbye).



Fig. 114. London, British Museum 448. Museum Photo.

(above note 259). Nevertheless, they are, both as regards faces, hair-dress, and modelling of body and limbs so near to the Pourtalès amphora of the London Group (above note 187 fig. 81) that one might be inclined to suppose a Vulcian settled in Clusium as the producer.

Quite a number of bronzes have faces like those displayed in the London Group; but their



Fig. 115. Copenhagen, National Museum 946. Museum Photo (Sophus Bengtsson).

bodies or their drapery has a rather simplified, sometimes even crude character. For this reason they cannot be classed with the Vulcian works dealt with in Chapters II-III, although their heads have led scholars, also the present writer, to refer them to Vulci. There is evidence that terracotta casts of Vulcian bronzes have occasionally been made (above notes 171 and 213), and it is possible that the Vulcianizing faces of the said figures were produced by means of casts. Among the female statuettes we may single out two of the crude kind (fig. 115)²⁶⁵ and two more detailed

²⁶⁵: *CopenhagenNM 946*, FPU, ex-Feuardent 1876/7. Tyrrh 90 note 7, RichardsonEVB 305 no. 20 fig. 729. – *VaticanMGE 12095*, FPU, Photo Alinari 35534 centre, RichardsonEVB 317 no. 2 figs. 756-757.



Fig. 116.
Bologna,
Museo Civico
27828. (After
Notizie degli
Scavi 11
1882/3 pl. 1).

ones (fig. 116).²⁶⁶ Coarser as far as the face is concerned and certainly by another hand is a related bronze from the same Monteguragazza

266: *BolognaMC* 27828, from votive pit at Monteguragazza 1882; the text of the Carta Archeologica d'Italia fol. IV SE 13-14 no. 1 has this rendering of the place name, the map Montecatino Ragazza. *NSc* 11 1882/3, 60-66 pls. 1.2

find as fig. 116.²⁶⁷ The male statuettes of this category are more numerous; as in the female series some are rather crude, still with faces dependent upon our London Group (fig. 117).²⁶⁸

and 2.2, Tyrrh 90, *Mostra dell'Etruria Padana* 1, Bologna 1960, 234-235 no. 763 pl. 52, *StEtr* 35 1967, 651, RichardsonEVB 302 no. 5 figs. 715-717, HaynesEB 282-283 no. 102, *StEtr* 54 1988, 61, 68, 70 no. II 3 pl. 22c. – *CambridgeFM Gr 2.1946*, from the environs of Prato. *ILN* 11.5.1946, 523, *Handbook to the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge 1952, 10, C. Winter, *The Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge 1958, 59-61 no. 12, *Pantheon* 22 1964, 163-165. The genuineness has been questioned.

267: *BolognaMC* 27817, from Monteguragazza (see preceding note). *NSc* 11 1882/3, 60-66 pls. 1.3 and 2.3, *Mostra dell'Etruria Padana* 1, Bologna 1960, 235 no. 764, RichardsonEVB 302 figs. 718-719, *StEtr* 54 1988, 73 pl. 31a.

268: E.g. *RomeVG* 13079 = *Palestrina, Museo Nazionale* 89, from Palestrina, ex-Barberini. Della Seta 456, RichardsonEVB 161 no. 1, *StEtr* 54 1988, 65-66, 70 no. II 12 pl. 26a. – *BerlinSM Fr.* 2159, presumably from the Chiusi region, ex-Bartholdy. Neugebauer, *Führer I* 20 pl. 6, H. Mühlstein, *Die Kunst der Etrusker*, Berlin 1929, 233 fig. 189, Tyrrh 90 no. 7, *Master Bronzes* 163 no. 160, U. Gehrig, A. Greifenhagen & N. Kunisch, *Führer durch die Antikenabteilung*, Berlin 1968, 91 pl. 25. – *Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery* 54. 946, FPU, ex-Kann. D. K. Hill, *Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture*, Baltimore 1949, 80 no. 173 pl. 36. – *Dresden, Albertinum ZV* 491, FPU, ex-Castellani 1884. AA 1889, 103, E. Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen*, Nürnberg 1927, 179 note 15, *Art and Technology*, Cambridge, Mass. 1970, 204-205 fig. 22a-c, RichardsonEVB 142 no. 4, *StEtr* 54 1988, 65, 70 no. II 14 pl. 26c. – *New YorkMMA* 96.18-19, from Marzabotto. G. M. A. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, New York 1915, 11 fig. 20, RichardsonEVB 151 no. 6 fig. 337, *StEtr* 54 1988, 68, 70 no. I 5 pl. 27c. – *FlorenceMAN* 62, from Montecalvario near Castellina in Chianti. *NSc* 1905, 241 fig. 41, *StEtr* 47 1979, 86 pl. 24d-e, RichardsonEVB 144 no. 7 figs. 318-319, *StEtr* 54 1988, 68, 70 no. I 4 pl. 27b. – *Santa Barbara, Museum of Art* 81.64.17, FPU, ex-Ludington. M. del Chiaro, *Etruscan Art from West Coast Collections*, Santa Barbara 1967, 41 no. 48, *AJA* 80 1976, 302 pl. 57.4a-c, *StEtr* 54 1988, 68, 70 no. I 6 pl. 28a. – *VaticanMGE* 12016 and 12019, FPU. Photo Alinari 35534 left and right, RichardsonEVB 161 nos. 3-4 figs. 365-366. – *Arezzo, Museo Archeologico*, from Arezzo. Tyrrh 135 note 2.



Fig. 117. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Fr. 2159.
(After Mühlestein, *Kunst der Etrusker* fig. 189).

Rather more exquisite are other related bronzes, first three censors with curved feline feet like the North-Etruscan pieces recalling the Karlsruhe

Group.²⁶⁹ Next come the fine Monteguragazza youth (fig. 118) and his kinsmen (fig. 119).²⁷⁰ They present several traits which we already know from the London Group, not only facial features, but also details of anatomy, e.g. the rendering of chest, abdomen and wades; but the

269: *LondonBM 595*, FPU, ex-Blayds 1849. J. Swaddling (ed.), *Italian Iron Age Artefacts*, London 1986, 86-87, 98 fig. 26a-c. – *Santa Barbara, Museum of Art 81.64.25*, FPU, ex-Ludington. *Quaderni ticinesi di numismatica e antichità classiche* 13 1984, 21-31 pl. 1.5. – *Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum H 3090*, FPU, ex-Vogell, acquired in Olbia. *BerlMus* 51 1930, 137 fig. 8.

270: *BolognaMC 27816*, from Monteguragazza (see above note 266). *NSc* 11 1882/3, 60-66 pls. 1.1 and 2.1, *StEtr* 6 1932, 69, *Tyrrh* 90 pl. 18.2, *JRS* 36 1946, 44-46 note 8, *Mostra dell'Etruria Padana I*, Bologna 1960, 234 no. 762 pl. 52, *StEtr* 35 1967, 651, *StEtr* 47 1979, 86, *RichardsonEVB* 240 no. 1 figs. 546-548, *HaynesEB* 181, 282 no. 101, *StEtr* 54 1988, 61-63, 70 no II 7 pl. 22 a-b. – *HamburgMKG 1917.210*, FPU. *AA* 1917, 80 fig. 1, *RichardsonEVB* 241 no. 3 fig. 549, *StEtr* 54 1988, 69-70 no. III 18 pl. 29b. – *New YorkMMA 20.209*, FPU. *RichardsonEVB* 242 no. 1 fig. 551, *StEtr* 54 1988, 69-70 no. III 22 pl. 29a. – *FlorenceMAN 110*, FPU. *Tyrrh* 90. – *Cambridge, FM Gr. 1.1946*, from the environs of Prato. *ILN* 11.5.1946, 523. *Handbook to the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge 1952, 10 pl. 1.1. The genuineness has been questioned. – *FlorenceMAN 120*, FPU. L. A. Milani, *Il R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, Florence 1912, pl. 32.1, *ArchCl* 13 1961, 122 pl. 61.2, *Richardson* 150 no. 1 figs. 329-330, *StEtr* 54 1988, 68-70 no. III 19 pl. 28b. – *BolognaMC 24760*, from the Fontile sanctuary at Marzabotto. *StEtr* 38 1970, 222 pl. 14a, *RichardsonEVB* 150 no. 4 fig. 335, *StEtr* 54 1988, 69-70 no. III 17 pl. 28c. – *Frankfurt a. M., Liebighaus 785*, from Italy. *Skulpturensammlung im Liebighaus*, Frankfurt a. M. 1930, 97, *NCColl* 2 1938, 152 note 3, F. Eckstein & A. Legner, *Antike Kleinkunst in Liebighaus*, Frankfurt 1969 pls. 13-14, *RichardsonEVB*, 155-156 no. 20 fig. 353, P. C. Bol & T. Weber, *Liebighaus, Antike Bildwerke II, Melsungen* 1985, 48-52 no. 14. – *BerlinSM Fr. 1826*, FPU, ex-Bartholdy. *Neugebauer, Führer I*, 42, *Tyrrh* 90 note 1, *RichardsonEVB* 203-204 no. 1 fig. 470. – *BolognaMC 8*, FPU. *RichardsonEVB* 184 no. 9 fig. 427. – *Barcelona, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 5569*, FPU, ex-Mateu. *AntK* 6 1963, 41-43 pl. 16.1-4 and 7. – *BerlinSM Fr. 2166*, FPU. *AA* 1922, 91, *RichardsonEVB* 150 no. 2 figs. 331-332, *StEtr* 54 1988, 69-70 no. III 20 pl. 30b. – *BrusselsMAH, A 1321*, FPU. *RichardsonEVB* 151 no. 7 fig. 338.



Fig. 118. Bologna, Museo Civico 27816. (After *Notizie degli Scavi* 11 1882/3 pl. 1).

Fig. 119. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 110. Photo Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana.



drapery is much more schematic, as are also certain details of the head. Rightly Quentin Maule detached these statuettes from the Vul-

cian and called them North-Etruscan. A few bronzes are coarser variations of the same type.²⁷¹

Three bronzes of a special character remain.

271: *BolognaMC* 27818 (two similar figures), from Monteguragazza (see our note 266). *RendLinc* 1926, 291 fig. 6 left, *Tyrrh* 90 note 5, *Mostra dell'Etruria Padana* I,

Bologna 1960, 235-236 nos. 765/6-767/8, Richardson *EVB* 152 no. 10 fig. 343, *StEtr* 54 1988, 73 pl. 31 b. – *FlorenceMAN* 126, FPU. Richardson *EVB* 142 no. 3 figs.



Fig. 120. Este, Museo Nazionale Atestino 15844. (After Glioli, *L'arte etrusca* pl. 124.3).

One is a representative of the type called "Scythian archer" (fig. 120);²⁷² compared with the certain Vulcian examples it has a differently looking physiognomy, and for that reason as well as on

312-313, *Quaderni ticinesi di numismatica e antichità classiche* 13 1984, 21-22 note 5 fig. 10. – *BolognaMC*, from Monteguragazza (see our note 266). *StEtr* 54 1988, 73, *RichardsonEVB* 163 nos. 1-2 figs. 372-373.

272: *Adria*, *Museo Archeologico-Este*, *Museo Nazionale Atestino 15844*, from Contarina in the Po delta. *BollArte* 2

account of the provenience I am inclined now to take it for North-Etruscan. The second piece is a bearded man clad in a cloak, the folds of which are rendered in the same way as on our fig. 119 (fig. 121);²⁷³ the face recalls the Thorvaldsen statuette of the London Group (above note 214 fig. 97). Of quite another kind is the third bronze, the finial of a chariot pole (fig. 122).²⁷⁴ It is shaped like the head of a young ram, and the curls indicating the wool remind one of the Tyszkiewicz head (above note 208 fig. 93) and La Lupa Capitolina (above note 209 fig. 94); but they are more simple as on the stone sculptures from Chiusi, and this fact in connection with the finding-place make me hold it for Clusine.

Finally the imitations of the New York Group. I shall only mention the handles of an amphora found at Arezzo and a jug handle of unknown provenience.²⁷⁵ The mask on the latter is very similar to the recumbent bearded man British Museum 556 (above note 263), whereas the other two have something in common with the Piombino statuette fig. 121. These two recorded finding-places speak for a North-Etruscan origin.

On the proceeding pages Clusium and Arretium have been pointed out as possible homes of an early artistic bronze production. For the for-

1923/4., 453-463 figs. 1-4, *Tyrrh* 88 note 5, 180, *Mostra dell'Etruria Padana I*, Bologna 1960, 402 no. 1252 pl. 136, *San Giovenale* 72, 75 fig. 65, L. Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress*, Baltimore 1975, 77, 143 note 89, *RichardsonEVB* 362 no. 1 fig. 866.

273: *Malibu*, *J. P. Getty Museum A 55.5-6*, from Piombino. *Master Bronzes* 166 no. 164, *Teitz* 55-56 no. 44, 152 fig. 44, *Gnomon* 41 1969, 609, *StEtr* 47 1979, 89 pl. 25, *RichardsonEVB* 235 no. 3 figs. 533-535, *StEtr* 54 1988, 62, 65, 70 no. II 11 pl. 24b.

274: *CopenhagenNM 4756*, from Chianciano (stolen 1968 and not recovered). *JdI* 48 1933, 100-101 fig. 17, *Tyrrh* 124 note 3. Length: 0.114 m.

275: *New YorkMMA 97.22.14-15*, from Arezzo. G. M. A. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, New York 1915, 31 nos. 47-48, Ead., *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, New York 1940, 30 note 31, 37. – Formerly *Zürich*, *Galerie Vollmoeller*, FPU. *Antike Kunst*, *Galerie Heidi Vollmoeller*, Zürich 1977, no. 43.



Fig. 121. Malibu, J. P. Getty Museum A 55.5-6. (After Master Bronzes no. 104).

mer town speak the rich finds at Chiusi including bronzes of good quality. Situated on the northern main road from Vulci, only 70 km away as the crow flies, and with comparatively easy internal access to the “colline metallifere” south of Volterra, it had the possibilities of developing an important bronze industry after Vulcian model. Arezzo is nearer to the Volterranean district, and we

know that in the late 3rd century B.C., i.e. after the Roman occupation of the Vulcian territory, it was an outstanding Etruscan purveyor of metal objects to the Roman army and navy;²⁷⁶ but it is obvious that at least the 6th century material found at Arezzo does not equal the Clusine, neither in number nor in quality.

If we keep apart from the instances betraying some relation to the London Group and look at the distribution of the earlier bronzes enumerated in this section, we realize that Chiusi, Arezzo and Castel S. Mariano 30 km east of Chiusi are the only localities which have yielded more than one example. I have formerly attributed a greater importance to Perugia on account of the Castel S. Mariano things kept there, but feel now tempted to follow Mrs. Höckmann in letting Clusium have the honour of being the principal archaic metal-producing art centre in this part of Italy.²⁷⁷

At the end of the Late Archaic period and in the beginning of the Early Classical – the time of the London Group – the situation seems more complicated. Arezzo and Chiusi still figure in our list of imitations; but in spite of the number being much greater their representation has not augmented. On the other hand, Castellina in Chianti, Prato, Monteguragazza and Marzabotto, all of them with more than one example, can hardly indicate a moving northwards of the producing centres, as the North-Etruscan bronzes simply seem to have followed the Vulcian routes of exportation. Therefore, I am not able to accept the idea of a “School of Monteguragazza” or a “Monteguragazza Style” except as a mere conventional label. To speak of a “personal style of the artist or workshop”²⁷⁸ is also difficult, as the details which tie the bronzes dealt with together

276: Livy, *Ab urbe condita* libri XXVIII 45.14-18, *ActaA* 30 1959, 16 note 49, cf. *ETH* note 266.

277: Tyrrh 127-133, Höckmann, *op. cit.* 129: “vor allem eine Beziehung zu Chiusi und auch zu Orvieto”.

278: *StEtr* 54 1988, 61.



Fig. 122. Copenhagen, National Museum 4756 (stolen 1968). Museum Photo (Sophus Bengtsson).

are derived from works of Vulcian masters, which served as models, and besides, the group is not at all uniform. We have to suppose at least two different towns with producing workshops,²⁷⁹

279: Cf. the remarks *ibid.* 73.

and there seems to me no cogent reason to locate any of these workshops in the Po valley as suggested.²⁸⁰

280: *Ibid.* 74.

Chapter V

The Subject Matter

1. The Most Common Types

The bronze industry which we call Vulcian is essentially a production of utensils. Vessels and parts of vessels are best represented in our here treated material, with c. 22 per cent. Next come censers and tripods,²⁸¹ c. 17 and 15 per cent, then pieces of armour and candelabra, c. 12 and 11 per cent; but a regular registration of all existing helmet attachments and candelabrum finials would certainly increase this percentage. Rarer are remainders of wheeled braziers, c. 4 per cent, not to speak of other less common implements.

The tripods and censers had developed from those of the Orientalizing period, but under strong Greek influence, particularly from centres in Southern Italy such as Tarentum, and this may be true of most vessel types as well.²⁸²

Non-Greek are the candelabra and the helmets of the so-called Negau type, which seem to have been outnumbered by the Attic ones, the Corinthian type being but rarely represented.²⁸³ However, it must be pointed out that we are here dealing only with material having figure decoration.

Of course, simple figure types like the standing youth or girl were by the Vulcian bronze workers taken over from their predecessors in Italy and Greece; but they do not dominate our repertoire, not even as isolated representations imitating the Greek kouroi and korai. The following types are the most common; sileni nearly one hundred cases, lions and ducks about sixty, acrobats, dancers and jugglers in all nearly sixty, Her-

akles forty odd instances, horses the same, animal fights, sirens and Achelooi between thirty and forty, frogs and sea-horses about twenty. Sileni, however, do not belong to the very earliest appearances; they turn up in the St. Louis Group and are most frequent in the Mainz, Karlsruhe and New York Groups. Lions, horses, acrobats, ducks and sirens are all legacies from older times and were rather soon joined by Herakles and Achelooi; the ducks apparently disappear in the Late Archaic period. The animal fights, usually a lion or lioness attacking a bull or a calf, are also old stuff, but represented in the archaic Greek way.²⁸⁴

2. The Human Repertoire and the Accessories of Human Life

The human representations include – as may be expected – such types that were current in Greece, just as the style is in general Hellenizing. The chiton-clad woman with a pointed cap and a veil appears in the St. Louis and St. Petersburg Groups; the oblique himation is later, occurring especially in the Mainz and London Groups. Youths are often naked or wearing a loin cloth, a cloak or a chitoniskos, whereas the elderly bearded man has a long chiton and a cloak. Boots of the Persian type are no rarities. What is particularly interesting is the occasional occurrence of the non-Greek semicircular, or rather semi-elliptical cloak, also used as a sort of skirt;²⁸⁵ but the rectangular himation is much more frequent, with about twice the number of cases. The hair-styles of the figures and the jewellery do usually not differ from the Greek; in the St. Louis

281: Presumably mostly used as braziers, cf. ActaA 10 1939, 28-29, JdI 58 1943, 210.

282: ActaA 10 1939, 30, JdI 58 1943, 233, OIForsch 11 1979, 172, 174.

283: JdI 58 1943, 246-253.

284: Tyrh 176 note 5.

285: Cf. ActaA 64 1993, 174-178 figs. 36-37.

Group there are some instances of a specific Etruscan necklace.²⁸⁶

Arms and armour tell a similar story. They are best identified in the Late Archaic material, where they are rendered as mainly of Greek types. The Negau helmet was mentioned above (notes 146 and 283); the Attic type was also here preferred to the latter, but likewise to the Corinthian. The cuirass is rarely well rendered; it could be barrel-shaped or an armour of scales.²⁸⁷ The shield was the round Argive one, and greaves also occur. As offensive weapons the machaira and the xiphos seem to have been equally used, as well as the spear, bow and arrow. A figure type recalling the "Scythian archer" in Attic art (see above note 196) may be the image of a local deity (see below). Ordinary horsemen often occur, rarer men riding over a fallen enemy (above note 174). In two cases in the St. Louis Group a horse is represented as an ambler (above note 80). The sportsmen comprise runners, armed runners, spear and diskos throwers; we also see an apoxyomenos and a charioteer, all of them paralleled in Greece.

A more Etruscan note is struck by the dancers balancing on tables or tortoises, particularly in the St. Louis, St. Petersburg and Karlsruhe Groups. Others, some already in the Copenhagen Group, form in an acrobatic way the so-called "bridge",²⁸⁸ or like jugglers they carry boys or dwarfs. Some may actually be a sort of actors.²⁸⁹

Couples, whether formed by youth and girl, man and woman, warrior and his wife, or woman and boy, do not differ essentially from their Greek models, nor do the recumbent symposiasts or their female companions, nor the klinai

and tables used by them. Some of the reclining persons play an instrument. In addition to the double flute, also appearing in other connections, we see the lyre, which may be rendered with four, five, six or seven strings. Sileni sometimes play the syrinx (above note 115), and dancers may use the krotala. Once a small boy is shown holding a stylus and a slate (above note 188 fig. 82).

In the St. Louis Group dancers of a special type hold a goblet-like vessel, probably a small censer (above note 88 fig. 29), and in one case a youth seems to have held a kylix (above note 90 fig. 30). Some other types occur, but usually connected with sileni. In the Mainz Group we find the kantharos (above note 115), in groups of the "Animal-Combat Tradition" the drinking horn. There are occasional representations of bigger containers like the wine-skin (above note 101) and the pithos (above note 117 fig. 48). All these Dionysiac vessels have the same look as in Greece.

Some representations have a sacral character. A youth pours a libation from an oinochoe or a patera or he is using both at a time, or he carries a widder to be sacrificed (above note 199 figs. 85-86), and a cloaked man is shown in a similar act, but holding a goat (above note 154). A few objects, the pomegranate and the egg, when held by a person, could also have a religious meaning as symbols of fertility and abundance. Frogs, which are not rarely placed under the leonine feet of stands, may equally indicate a wish of these qualities.

3. The Mythical Representations

Let us now turn to mythology. The non-Greek deities are certainly a minority. We see Juno Sospita (above note 203), perhaps Silvanus (above note 196), and if I am right Diana Nemorensis (above note 94 fig. 34); a Roman probably ordered the statue of the She-Wolf (above note 209 fig. 94). Most of the types have an obvious Greek character, although an exact identification can-

286: Cf. P. Ducati, *Storia dell'arte etrusca*, Florence 1927 figs. 160, 168, 333 and 543.

287: The lorica segmentata, exemplified by the so-called Mars of Todi, seems Post-Archaic.

288: Cf. G. Hanfmann, *Altetruskische Plastik*, Würzburg 1936, 6-7 figs. 1-2.

289: *Festschrift H. Keller*, Darmstadt 1963, 17-20.

not be made in all cases. Much was borrowed from the Argivo-Corinthian circle, especially the deeds of Herakles.²⁹⁰ Already on the St. Petersburg tripod (above note 117 fig. 47) he is shown fighting Acheloos, the Nemean lion and the Erymanthian boar, on other works he subdues the Lernean Hydra, quarrels with Apollon about the tripod and the hind, and fights a hoplite or a woman with winged boots and therefore probably supernatural; finally he is on the Athenian tripod fragment (above note 131 fig. 60) introduced to the Olympians. It has been suggested that his female opponent is Artemis, the object of their strife being a stag, a hind, a boar's or a bull's head; but it cannot easily be explained from the written sources, and equally enigmatic seems his connection with another woman often apparently pursued by sileni, but luckily aided by two youths, who sometimes are shown with winged boots and so may be divine, perhaps the Dioskouroi. The representations of Herakles and the unidentified lady are to be found in the Mainz, St. Petersburg, Karlsruhe, Ferrara and London Groups, whereas the renderings of the fighting woman belong to the late Copenhagen Group, the Mainz, Ferrara and London Groups. Paola Zancani-Montuoro has ingeniously interpreted the series with Herakles and the pursued woman as reflecting a South-Italian Greek Hera myth, but a Hera attacked by sileni and protected by Hermes and Herakles is also shown on a well-known Attic vase.²⁹¹

The Medousa-Perseus story was early known (above note 120 fig. 49), but not always quite unambiguously rendered so as to enable us with absolute certainty to identify the persons.²⁹² In some cases (e.g. above note 77 fig. 24) it is even difficult to decide whether we have to do with Perseus or Hermes, and a woman with a skull-cap made from the head-skin of a feline animal must

remain anonymous (above notes 75-76, as well as some winged youths and some reclining women (e.g. above note 106 fig. 56). However, Pegasos and Bellerophon are easily recognized (e.g. above note 148),²⁹³ as are the suiciding Aias (above note 181 fig. 77), Kaineus among centaurs (above note 174), and Apollon with Marsyas (above note 213). A hoplite fighting a merman (above note 152) could be Menelaos in combat with Proteus; but who is a nondescript youth struggling against a merman?

A winged woman with a boy has been interpreted as Eos with Kephalos (above note 192), a winged man with a girl as Thanatos (above note 77 fig. 24);²⁹⁴ both could in fact be death demons, and it is an open question whether sirens and sphinxes had a similar meaning.²⁹⁵ Perhaps seahorses and hippalektryones were, too, a sort of personifications of detrimental natural phenomena, just as a winged silenus or Acheloos might possibly be used to render the horrible Typhon.²⁹⁶

The names of some of the above-mentioned Greek mythological persons appear occasionally in Etruscan inscriptions of the 5th and 4th centuries in a spelling derived from their Doric form, so Pacste = Παγασος, Melerpanta = Βελλεροφοντας, and Aivas = Αιφας. This seems to indicate that the Etruscans borrowed the myths referred to from Doric-speaking Greeks, most likely of Tarentine or Syrakusan origin,²⁹⁷ and we actually know that Etruscan art already about 600 took possession of certain motifs from Argivo-Corinthian myths, perhaps transmitted by Dorians of Magna Graecia.²⁹⁸

293: Cf. Krauskopf 29-30.

294: Krauskopf 35-36.

295: Tyrrh 184.

296: Cf. R. Herbig, *Götter und Dämonen der Etrusker*, Heidelberg 1940, 30.

297: *Schriften des Deutschen Archäologen-Verbandes* 5, Mannheim 1981, 102-103, cf. 105.

298: *Ibid.* 107, cf. 114. The Herakles type without lion's skin and club, as we see it on the St. Petersburg tripod, had a long life at Korinth and in Magna Graecia, Krauskopf 70 note 97.

290: Cf. Krauskopf 35-36.

291: *ASAtene* 24-26 1946-48, 85-98, Roscher, *Lex.* IV 466-467 fig. 6, Krauskopf 36.

292: Cf. Krauskopf 31-32.

Chapter VI

Conclusions

I. The Chronology

Etruscan chronology is a matter of dispute. Some years ago I described and analysed the current views and their history and tried to reach at safer results by means of a typological study of the Archaic and Classical terracottas of Central Italy and the find combinations, and I refer to that publication for details on the basis for my chronology.²⁹⁹

As will appear from the descriptions, the eight groups of Archaic bronzes put together in Chapters II-III are not of the same date, although they may be partially contemporary. The first of them to begin was the *Copenhagen Group*, which by means of the braziers from the Isis Tomb (above notes 45 and 54 figs. 10 and 13) in a way continued the Early Archaic production of bronzes exemplified by the bust from the same tomb (above note 31 fig. 5). No doubt the horses with the short-cut manes as well as those of the Copenhagen tripod and their leonine counterparts (above note 46 fig. 11) place the start of the group in the second quarter of the 6th century. These early works do not show any sign of Ionian influence, as do the sirens of the Oxford-Bastis tripod (above note 51 fig. 12) and the horsemen on the Vatican and Pitt-Rivers handles (above notes 57-58 fig. 15). On the other hand, the latest bronzes in the group (e.g. note 74 fig. 21) look already a little Atticizing. If we compare with the Central Etruscan terracottas, the faces of the better preserved acrobat figures will still seem to belong to the Ripe Archaic phase ending in the

latest quarter of the 6th century, but a few (above note 61 fig. 17 and note 72) may recall the earliest specimens of the Late Archaic phase.³⁰⁰ So, we should place our Copenhagen Group between c. 575 and c. 485.

The “flagship” of the *Saint Louis Group* (above note 75 fig. 22) is Ionizing, but a little later than the Oxford-Bastis tripod (above note 51 fig. 12). The Munich and Guglielmi censors clearly betray Attic influence (above notes 90 and 92 figs. 30 and 32); also the Ariccia head (above note 94 fig. 34) is Late Archaic, but the cloaked Prato youth cannot be earlier than Greek works of the years shortly before 480, i.e. the latest pure archaism, and may even belong to the earlier part of Early Classical times (above note 95 fig. 35), in Etruscan terms, referring to the terracottas, after 465.³⁰¹ The group thus spans the years c. 525-c. 450.

If I am right in identifying the Ariccia head as part of the cult image of the famous Diana Nemorensis, we may ask if it was ordered and consecrated by the Aricians or the Latins in gratitude of the liberation of Aricia from the Clusine attack in 508 or 505.³⁰² A date about 500 or in the nineties for the head would be very appropriate.

The *Mainz Group* cannot have begun before the St. Louis Group. The name-giving censor (above note 96 fig. 36) is obviously Late Ionizing (Late Ripe Archaic) or early Late Archaic; in style development it is roughly contemporary with the London tripod (above note 77 fig. 24). The latest works of the group, the Ny Carlsberg diskopho-

299: Etruscan Types of Heads (abbreviated ETH), Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter 9.5, Copenhagen 1981.

300: Cf. ETH 56-57 pl. 3.4 C and F, 5 G.

301: Cf. ETH 57 pl. 3.6 E.

302: Livy, *Ab urbe condita libri II* 14.5-7, Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *Antiquitates romanae V* 36, VII 5.

ros (above note 111 fig. 44) and the Cortona lamp (above note 115), however, are Early Classical. Parallels among the terracottas seem to fix the group to the time c. 510-425.³⁰³

So much for the three groups of the “Horse-Lion-and-Acrobat Tradition”. We shall now look at those in the “Animal-Combat Tradition”. The name-piece of the *Saint Petersburg Group* (above note 117 figs. 47-48) is certainly a rather near relative of the Ionizing Oxford-Bastis tripod (above note 51 fig. 12), but a little more advanced. Its figures have rightly been compared with those of the Caeretan hydriai and should not be put earlier than about 535. I have not been able to assign many works to the group, and none of them seems to be really Atticizing (e.g. notes 120, 122 and 123 figs. 49, 53-55). A comparison of the faces with the Central Etruscan series of terracotta confirms a date to the years c. 535- c. 500.³⁰⁴

Ionizing are also the earliest works of the *Karlsruhe Group* (above notes 126-127 figs. 56-57), but the affinities to the London tripod (above note 77 fig. 24) and the Mainz censer (above note 96 fig. 36) prevent too early a placing. Terracotta faces of the same style character belong to the advanced Ripe Archaic phase.³⁰⁵ Atticizing details appear on the otherwise Ionizing Paris tripod (above note 136 fig. 62), more Atticizing is the Falerii fragment (above note 144), and the Dresden attachments (above note 152) are on the verge from the Late Archaic period to the Early Classical, and the faces have their counterparts among terracottas of the Early Classical phase.³⁰⁶ Accordingly the group will cover the time c. 510 – 450.

The *Ferrara Group* seems to have begun just when the Attic influence had deplaced the Ionian. The Ferrara tripod (above note 155 fig. 66)

is roughly contemporary with that in Paris (above note 136 fig. 62). Most of the works in the group are evidently Late Archaic, but with the Ny Carlsberg tripod (above note 171 fig. 75) we may have passed into the Early Classical phase, and the Perugia helmet looks even later (above note 175). The terracottas of the Late Archaic and Early Classical phases³⁰⁷ offer the basis for dating the group c. 500 – c. 425.

The possible identification of the Dioskouroi on some crater handles (above notes 160 and 172 fig. 70) would be in perfect harmony with the introduction of their cult in Central Italy after the battle at Lake Regillus in 499.³⁰⁸

The remaining groups are Classical or more precisely Epi-Archaic. Particularly the *London Group* displays a considerable predominance of Late Archaic traits. The London tripod (above note 178 fig. 76) can certainly not be placed before c. 465, the nearest terracotta parallels being of the latest Archaic and earliest Classical style.³⁰⁹ The Stroganoff youth (above note 206) as well as the Uffington Hermes (above note 212 fig. 96) show almost no archaisms; the former looks even early Ripe Classical.³¹⁰ That will give the date c. 465 – c. 400 for the London Group, and the Epi-Archaic details of works like the Tyszkiewicz head (above note 208 fig. 93) and La Lupa Capitolina (above note 209 fig. 94) are certainly no hindrance to a placing about 450.

When participating in the Foundation Hardt Entretien of 1966 on Early Rome, I was by the late Krister Hanell privately asked if I would object to the suggestion that the She-Wolf had been put up on the Forum Romanum in 449 in connection with the publishing of the Law of the Twelve Tables.³¹¹ I answered that I could easily accept that date.

307: E.g. ETH 56 pl. 3.4 F, 6 and 8 G.

308: Livy, op. cit. II 20.12.

309: ETH 57 pl. 3.5 M, 6 F and 7 G.

310: Cf. ETH 57 pl. 3.9 M.

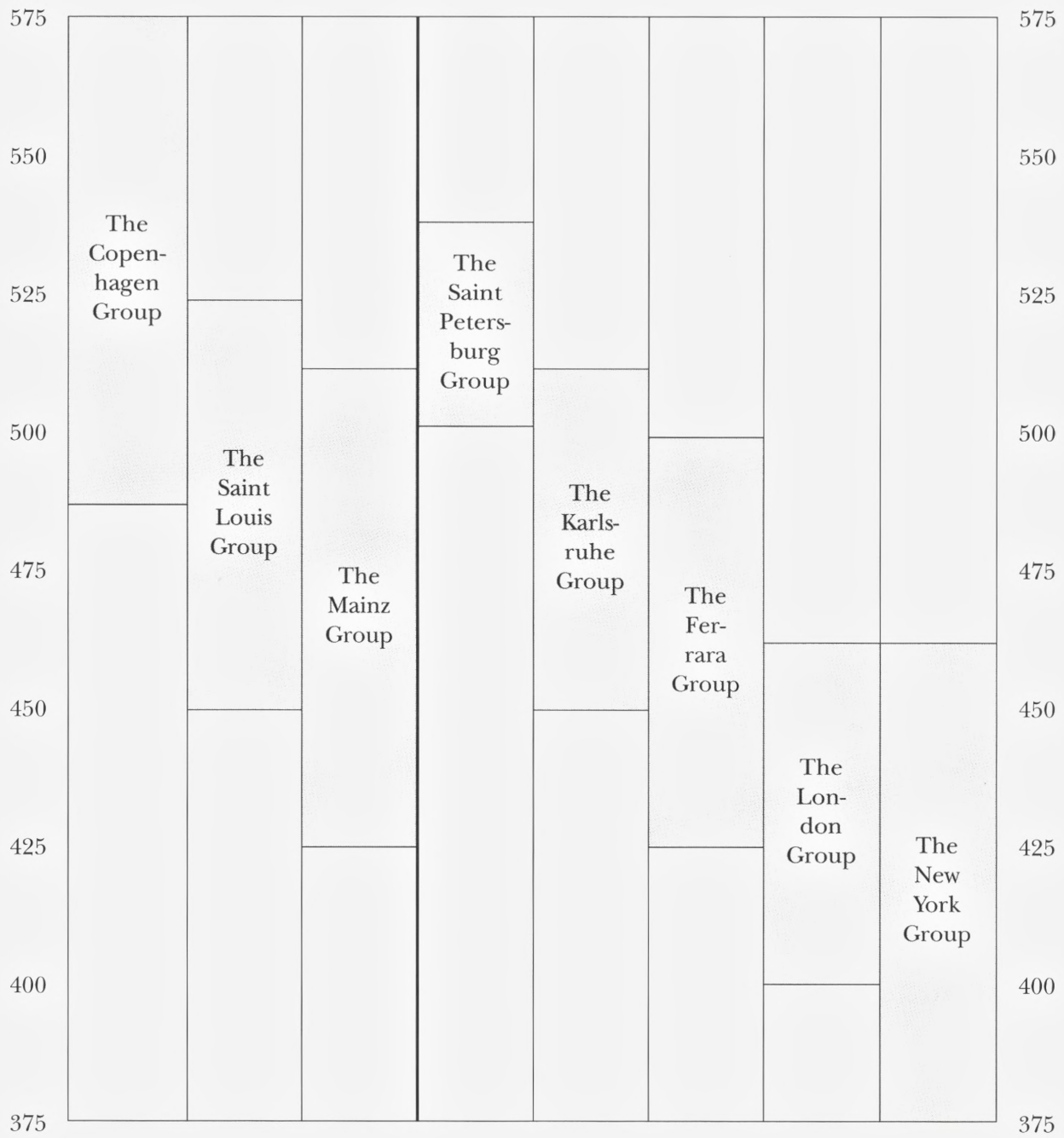
311: Livy, op. cit. III 57.10, cf. Fondation Hardt Entretiens 13, Vandoeuvres-Geneva 1967, 293-362.

303: Cf. e.g. ETH 57 pl. 3.7 G.

304: Cf. ETH 56-57 pl. 3.4-5 G.

305: Cf. ETH 56 pl. 3.3 D-E.

306: Cf. e.g. ETH 56 pl. 3.6 G.



Our last series, the *New York Group*, is certainly Epi-Archaic. The faces on the pendants of the New York necklace (above note 218 fig. 99) and on the London stamnos handle (above note 220 fig. 100) correspond to Early Classical terracottas of c. 465-450/425,³¹² as do the earliest examples of the Kleinaspergle stamnoi (above note 223), which according to Shefton began about 480. The basin handle (above note 220 fig. 101) and the Copenhagen olpe (above note 224 fig. 102) are also distinctly Early Classical, whereas the Perugia olpe (above note 225 fig. 103) may have been made in the earlier part of the Ripe Classical phase.³¹³ So I suggest the date c. 465- c. 375 for the New York Group.

To clarify this chronology I have dressed the table p.123.

2. Workshops and Artists

In the above I have tried to group the bronzes without any prejudice about workshops and artists. I have been guided only by what to me seemed similarities and differences. What these mean is another question. Goethe rightly said: "Die Sinne trügen nicht, das Urteil trügt". It is when we try to interpret what we see that most of the errors are made.

As the material presents itself to me, there are two main classes which I have called traditions, because the sub-groups which I singled out within them betray a certain coherent development and some mutual dependence; but I am well aware that there were also between the two traditions some interrelations, which may indicate a certain influence from one to the other. No doubt, the situation was more complicated than we suspected years ago. More material is now at our disposal, and we must realize that with the growing of the Vulcian production the number of workshops and artists may have increased, for

we have at any rate more late items to study than early ones.

It is impossible to get an exact idea of the number of employees in an Etruscan bronze workshop; but it is useful to throw a glance at the well-known kylix by the Attic Berlin Foundry Painter of the years c. 490-480 (fig. 123).³¹⁴ Four persons are to be seen on each side of the cup, on A: (1) a boy attending the bellows, (2) a man with a skull-cap at the furnace, (3) a youth holding a hammer, and (4) a man assembling the different parts of a statue, on B: (1) a cloaked man indicating something, (2) a man rasping a statue, (3) a man with skull-cap also rasping the statue, and (4) a cloaked man observing the work. It is possible that all eight persons were thought to be present at the same time; but it cannot be precluded, and it is perhaps most likely that A 2 is identical with B 3, depicted active on two different occasions, and similarly A 4 may be the same as B 1. In that case we have to do with only six persons, of which B 4 could be a simple visitor or the man who ordered the statue on this side. Or B 1 might be the customer and B 4 an on-looker. Otherwise B 1 is the owner of the workshop or the master in command who as a senior worker now only gives his orders. Finally A 4 = B 2 could be the master. So, the number of people in the enterprise must have been at least four: the bellows boy, the young smith, the man with the skull-cap, and the master himself taking part in the work. If eight, we have the boy, the youth, two workers with skull-cap, one man assembling the casts, one more rasping, and two superiors, one of them perhaps an active master-director and the other a passive owner.

In the much later Capuan bronze industry there were in addition to the owner of the workshop, whose name was stamped upon the produced objects, probably the following workers:

312: E.g. ETH 56 pl. 3.6 G.

313: cf. ETH 57 pl. 3.10 G.

314: FR III 83-86 pl. 135.



Fig. 123a-b. Berlin, Staatliche Museen 2294. (After J. Bender & B. Bundgaard Rasmussen, *Oldtidens Grækenland* fig. 113).

figuratores or modellers, fusores or founders, tritores or turners/polishers, and caelatores or engravers;³¹⁵ an ordinary workshop would then be run by at least five persons, the figurator as the word indicates being responsible for the decoration with figures. Also in Vulci an artist like the Campanian figurator must have taken care of the modelling of the things to be cast. He was therefore the real creator of the works which we study, whether he made the final polishing and engraving as a tritor or caelator or not; that he would take an interest in the casting is a matter of course. In a very modest workshop the master must have done most of these tasks himself, but probably not without an assistant or two. Having success, he may have augmented his staff, and at last he could probably leave the manual work to his assistants or to the most experienced among them, himself still following the work intensively and giving his advice. In this way, bronzes resembling his own or only inspired by them would be produced, possibly showing signs of different hands.

Scholars have hesitatingly spoken of workshops and different hands in the Vulcian production of bronzes. Neugebauer originally thought that there were at least three active workshops in Vulci;³¹⁶ later he widened the circle.³¹⁷ A few years after Neugebauer's first publication Ernst Langlotz coined an "Italic Workshop of the Spear-Thrower", mainly based upon works to be found in our London Group, but also including pieces in the St. Louis Group and among the North-Etruscan imitations.³¹⁸ I myself first regarded the tripods as issued from at least two workshops; incorrectly, but intelligibly I placed those of the St. Petersburg Group together with the St. Louis

Group and some of the Karlsruhe Group,³¹⁹ and also found the censers divisible into two similar groups, making a few errors of the same character.³²⁰ Later, partly following Langlotz, I suggested a workshop with products from one of the tripod series and one of the censer series, mainly of the present London Group, but including one of the Ferrara Group, two of the St. Louis Group and three North-Etruscan.³²¹ Twenty years afterwards I approached the Ny Carlsberg head from Ariccia, now in our late St. Louis Group, to the name piece of Langlotz's "Spear-Thrower Workshop".³²²

More progressive attempts were made by others in the later decades. In the middle 1970ies Mario del Chiaro convincingly assembled the late specimens of our Mainz Group and held them to have been made by one master,³²³ and recently Quentin Maule discussed a number of Late Archaic and Early Classical bronzes, some of them already dealt with by Langlotz and the present writer; he believed the majority to be the products of a North-Etruscan workshop, which he felt inclined to locate in the eastern Po region.³²⁴ I have already in Chapter III expressed the opinion that most of them are rightly classed as North-Etruscan, but should probably be called Clusine; if pieces which I placed in the London Group have been included in Maule's series, it is because imitations of Vulcian works will resemble their Vulcian prototypes.

It is the dependence of some workshops upon others in Vulci, of individual Vulcian workers upon their masters or admired colleagues, and of Clusine or other North-Etruscan art centres upon Vulci that created the blurring of bounds which made us commit errors of attribution. For

315: E. Guhl & W. Koner, *Leben der Griechen und Römer*⁶, Berlin 1893, 694.

316: AA 1923/24, 303, 321, 326.

317: JdI 58 1943, 206-278.

318: E. Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen*, Nürnberg 1927, 179 notes 12 and 15.

319: ActaA 10 1939, 24.

320: Tyrrh 78-79.

321: JRS 36 1946, 44-46.

322: ActaA 37 1966, 74.

323: RendPontAcc 48 1975/76, 77-85.

324: StEtr 54 1988, 61-74.

in our endeavour to define the production of a workshop or an artist we do not here dispose of the same auxiliary means as for instance do those who study Attic painted vases. Having to cope with works perhaps made by several hands, but without signatures, and with a raw material often making technical analyses inconclusive on account of the use of scrap bronze in the foundries, we are deprived of the controlling factors used by the ceramologists. That is why I hesitate to pass a clear judgment on workshops and artists in the Vulcian bronze industry.

I suppose that the earliest works of the *Copenhagen Group* were made by the same man (above notes 45-48 figs. 10-11), and perhaps he also produced the Oxford-Bastis tripod and the Dresden stamnos handles (above notes 51-52 fig. 12); but do the Dürkheim stamnos and the related brazier (above notes 53-54) come from the same hand or from that of an apprentice or fellow in the workshop? Similar questions we may put in the cases of the later objects. I would not object to a suggestion that the Vatican and Pitt-Rivers handles had a common author, maybe also responsible for the related amphora handles (above notes 57, 58 and 60 figs. 15-16), but was he one of the persons mentioned above? And I might continue in this way, but broadly speaking I guess that my Copenhagen Group in all essentials is the result of the activities of one single workshop, and that the other groups have a similar significance.

Evidently the earliest works of the *St. Louis* and *St. Petersburg Groups* display a special affinity to some works in the Copenhagen Group. The case of the *St. Petersburg* tripod is to be discussed below, but at least the *St. Louis* tripod's master may well have been an apprentice in the workshop of the Copenhagen Group, who afterwards, influenced by the *St. Petersburg* master, made himself independent as the head of a new workshop, and the master of the *Mainz* censer may then later have left the latter. I agree with Mario del Chiaro with regard to the late bronzes of the

Mainz Group, which he took for the works of one craftsman; but I feel tempted to ascribe to him also the somewhat earlier Thorvaldsen handles, the New York candelabrum finial and related pieces (above notes 99, 100, 105, 111-114 figs. 38, 42 and 44) as well as the later Thorvaldsen statuette and the Cortona lamp (above notes 115-116 fig. 46).

So far we seem to have to do with three partly contemporary workshops bound together by following the tradition from the early Copenhagen tripod's master. The master of the *St. Petersburg* tripod (above note 117 figs. 47-48), on the other hand, was a very original and self-determined artist, who apparently created a new tradition. The close relationship to the slightly earlier Oxford-Bastis tripod indicates a certain dependence upon the workshop of the Copenhagen Group, but whether this simply means inspiration and borrowing from the latter, or that the master had been apprentice there, is difficult to tell. At any rate he seems to have been more versed in Greek mythology. Other members of his workshop had something in common with the *St. Louis* workers without losing their connection with him (above notes 119-120 fig. 49); one of them may have been responsible not only for the *Berlin* tripod, but also for a series of thymiateria (above note 121 figs. 50-52), either directly or through assistants.

As to the *Karlsruhe Group* I hinted above that the author of its name piece was not the founder of the workshop from which it issued (above note 126 fig. 56), but the obvious ties to several products of the *St. Petersburg* Group, particularly the *Berlin* tripod, may speak for the idea that the head of the new workshop was a man who had separated himself from his teacher in the *St. Petersburg* circle. It is possible that the *Karlsruhe* tripod and a few more pieces should be attributed to one and the same artist (above notes 126-130 figs. 56-59); but I do not venture to regard any of the preserved bronzes in the *Karlsruhe* Group as a work of the master who created the

exquisite tripod dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis (above note 131 fig. 60). Other bronzes may, however, be assigned to a related artist (above notes 133-137, 139-141, 144 figs. 61-64).

The master of the workshop where the *Ferrara Group* was produced was clearly dependent on workers in the St. Petersburg and Karlsruhe manufactories. A few bronzes seem to be by the same hand as the Ferrara tripod (above notes 155-157 figs. 66-68), but otherwise the most typical representative of the workshop was the person responsible for the tripod remains in Speyer, Budapest, Richmond Va., Paris, Copenhagen and New York, and related pieces (above notes 158-160, 165-166, 171-173 figs. 69, 70, 72, 75).

It was stated above that the late London tripod, although seemingly a counterpart of the New York stand in the Ferrara Group, had a pronounced character of its own. It combines the general type and the mythological representations of the Speyer-Budapest class with facial features recalling the most excellent late works of the St. Louis Group (above note 178 fig. 76, notes 92-95 figs. 32-35), and more or less the same features recur on a rather large number of bronzes in the transitional Late Archaic-Early Classical style. This is my *London Group*, where we find several pieces ascribed by Langlotz to his "Workshop of the Spear-Thrower". A question therefore presents itself: is the establishing of what I would term the London workshop, the achievement of a secessionist from the late St. Louis Group having temporarily joined the Ferrara workshop, or of an outbreaking member of the latter strongly influenced by and perhaps the pupil of the most eminent among the St. Louis workshop's later artists? Or was it simply the master of the Diana Nemorensis who broke out and created the London workshop followed by a few members of the Mainz and Ferrara shops? To judge from the number of works known to us the new workshop was certainly the most prolific in Vulci, housing several gifted artists at a time.

The Ferrara heritage seems clear in the case of

the London tripod itself, and a rather great number of objects should possibly be attributed to its author (e.g. above notes 178-179 fig. 76, notes 188-190, notes 193-195 figs. 82-84, notes 197-198, notes 203 and 206, note 210 fig. 95, note 214 fig. 97, note 216 fig. 98).

Ties to the Mainz Group are presented by some of the finer bronzes, e.g. the sirens (above notes 185-186 figs. 79-80, but note the differences in the modelling of the wings), and they are not far in style from the Tyszkiewicz head and La Lupa, the Pourtalès amphora, the Louvre spear-thrower, and the Uffington Hermes (above notes 208-209 figs. 93-94, note 187 fig. 81, note 204 fig. 92, note 216 fig. 96); but in some of these works we may even find traits recalling the Aricia head and the Prato youth. Also somehow related to the Mainz Group seem the Aias and the Copenhagen fighters (above notes 181-182 figs. 77-78), and perhaps we should let some candelabrum finials join them (above note 191, note 199 fig. 86, note 201 figs. 88-89). More modest pieces, certainly from another hand, also remind of the Mainz Group (above notes 183-184).

In some way the character of the *New York Group* is different from that of the others. The starting point for my assembling the group was not a bronze, but a goldsmith's work, and the bronzes put together present no figures, but only what we call face masks. On the other hand there is no reason to doubt that we have to do with the products of a specialized workshop making bronze vessels of various kinds, and it is the masks that tie them together. The artisan who began the production was apparently a sort of "miniaturist", artistically only mastering or interested in the making of faces, which often have a flat and nearly engraved look. As an artist he certainly was a "Little Master", and maybe he originally had come from the workshop of the jeweller whose necklace opened our series.

3. The Relations to Greek Art

The written sources tell us little of Vulci and nothing about its relations with Greece, but finds in the Vulcian territory show that very early a few Greeks were active inside its frontiers. In the coastland at Pescia Romana between Cosa and Montalto di Castro a local cinerary urn of Villanovan shape but with painted decoration in a Late Geometric Euboean or Cycladic style has demonstrated the presence of a Greek ceramic artist in the late 8th century.³²⁵ It seems also evident that an Ionian vase-painter worked in the region of Vulci c. 615-600, the so-called "Swallow Painter",³²⁶ and for a long time it has been an accepted theory that the first "Pontic Vases" were made by an Eastern Greek immigrant settled in Vulci c. 550.³²⁷ It is even possible that another 6th century artist, the Pseudo-Chalcidian "Memnon Painter", who used the Ionian alphabet for the inscriptions on his vases, likewise was active in Vulci,³²⁸ and there is good reason to believe that the man who in a Vulcian workshop c. 465-460 painted his very Etruscan vase figures in superimposed red and wrote the name Praxias as a sort of signature on one of his pots, was a local inhabitant of Greek descent.³²⁹ From the neighbouring city-state of Tarquinii there is 7th century evidence of a resident naturalized Greek named Rutile Hipocrates.³³⁰ It is a regrettable fact that we do not know of which Etruscan city-state a

man with the Ionian name Arimnestos was the king dedicating a throne to Zeus at Olympia, nor when he lived (see above note 230). Up to now research at ancient Regae on the Vulcian coast, where there was at least from the 6th century onwards a harbour settlement, has not provided abundant material illustrating the Graeco-Etruscan relations to be compared with the finds at Graviscae, the port of Tarquinii having a rich Greek quarter, where the imported pottery included an unusually high proportion of East Greek wares.³³¹ Vulci was actually the greatest importer of Attic pottery.³³²

So, with our present knowledge of an ethnic Greek influx into Central Etruria we are allowed to reckon with the possibility that some of the Vulcian bronze workers either were of a local Greek extraction or settlers from Greece or a Greek colony in the west. The Etruscan character of what I have called the "Horse-Lion-and-Acrobat Tradition" is indisputable, although it picked up quite many Greek traits, both in style and in subject-matter. In the "Animal-Combat Tradition" the Hellenisms are much more dominant, already from the beginning, and it is within its sub-groups, especially the late London Group, that we meet most of those bronzes which scholars have been apt to take for Greek. The St. Petersburg tripod (above note 117 figs. 47-48) is the first and most striking instance of a very strong Greek impact. Its figures are hardly less Ionian than those painted on the Caeretan hydriai, one of which was inscribed in Ionian,³³³ and Neugebauer stated this close relationship very well.³³⁴ Moreover the representations betray

325: J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*³, London 1980, 202-203 fig. 240, 278 note 153, *Schriften des Deutschen Archäologen-Verbandes* 5, Mannheim 1981, 54 fig. 1.

326: Boardman, *op. cit.* 203 fig. 241, 278 note 154, *Schriften etc.* 5 1981, 56, 69, AA 1981, 454-461, PP 246 1989, 163-165 fig. 1.

327: J. D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase Painting*, Oxford 1947, 1, 12 pl. 1.1-4, L. Hannestad, *The Paris Painter*, Copenhagen 1974, 33-34, Boardman, *op. cit.* 207 fig. 248, 279 note 163, PP 246 1989, 165-268 fig. 2.

328: *Schriften etc.* 5 1981, 57 fig. 4.

329: Beazley, *op. cit.* 195, *Fondation Hardt Entretiens* 13, 1967, 72, Boardman, *op. cit.* 279 note 163, *Schriften etc.* 5 1981, 58.

330: *Schriften etc.* 5 1981, 91-93.

331: *NSc* 96 1971, 241 fig. 57, 277 note 2, PP 30 1975, 311-318, 31 1976, 206-214, 32 1977, 398-458, Boardman, *op. cit.* 206, 278-279 notes 158-160.

332: *JRomArch* 7 1994, 55: 45 %.

333: Boardman, *op. cit.* 203, 205 fig. 244, 206, 278 note 156, J. M. Hemelrijk, *Caeretan Hydriai*, Mainz 1984, 46-47 no. 30, 82 fig. 48 pls. 106-108, cf. *ibid.* 193.

334: *Jdl* 58 1943, 216: "Man spürt...die Nähe der Cäretaner Hydrien...Der Formvortrag ist überall derselbe".

an intimate familiarity with the Herakles myths (see above with notes 290 and 298). Of course, several details of technical or ornamental kind have been taken over from the earlier Etruscan tripods; but the whole is treated in a very Greek way, and compared with the later works in the same group it certainly displays a quite individual style which looks more Greek than Etruscan. We find again something of the same spirit, if I may say so, regarding the figures on the hitherto unrivalled tripod fragment from the Athenian Akropolis (above note 131 fig. 60). It is certainly the work of another hand, and its qualities lead us to ask if its master was that innovator whom I supposed behind the maker of the Karlsruhe tripod, but whose early products have not been

preserved or re-exhumed (above note 126 fig. 56).

In spite of their obvious Hellenisms and their exquisite style, not even the best of the later bronzes, neither in the Ferrara nor in the London Group, look to that degree removed from the true Etruscan works of the St. Louis and Mainz Groups that I venture to declare them products of immigrant Greeks; but the “*primus motor*” of the “*Animal-Combat Tradition*”, probably the St. Petersburg tripod master himself, could well be such a personality, perhaps driven to Vulci by the events connected with and following the Alalia episode, and the hypothetical initiator of the Karlsruhe workshop might be a relative or pupil of his.

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