

Etruscan Types of Heads

A Revised Chronology of the Archaic and Classical Terracottas
of Etruscan Campania and Central Italy

By P. J. RIIS

Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab
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Synopsis

The present volume is the result of the author's studies in continuation of his paper "Art in Etruria and Latium during the First Half of the Fifth Century B.C." (Fondation Hardt Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique 13, Geneva 1967). The author has aimed at a revision of the style chronology of Etruscan Italy, but for practical reasons he limited his investigation to the terracottas of the period c.600 – c.300 B.C., whatever being their use. This material is sufficiently large and well distributed, both geographically and chronologically, and therefore easier to utilize than the stone sculptures and the bronzes, which present special problems. A total of 352 types of heads, and moreover a number of variations, have been tentatively placed within seven series representing different local traditions, attributed to Capua, Caere, Latium, Veii, Falerii, Vulci or Volsinii, and Clusium. It is finally attempted to evaluate the time lag between the Etrusco-Italian products and their Greek models.

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ABBREVIATIONS

(see also Archäologische Bibliographie, Beilage zum Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts).

ActaA	Acta Archaeologica 1 ff, Copenhagen 1930 ff.
Andrén	A. Andrén, Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples, Lund 1939–40.
ArchCl	Archeologia Classica 1 ff, Rome 1949 ff.
BdA	Bollettino d'Arte 1 ff, Rome 1907 ff.
Beazley ABV	J. D. Beazley, Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters, Oxford 1956.
Beazley ARV	J. D. Beazley, Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters ² , Oxford 1963.
Beazley EVP	J. D. Beazley, Etruscan Vase-Painting, Oxford 1947.
Bedello	M. Bedello, Capua preromana, terrecotte votive, Catalogo del Museo Provinciale Campano 3, Florence 1975.
Breitenstein	N. Breitenstein, Danish National Museum, Catalogue of Terracottas, Cypriote, Greek, Etrusco-Italian and Roman, Copenhagen 1941.
BurlExh	Burlington Fine Arts Club, Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art, London 1904.
Della Seta	A. Della Seta, Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome 1918.
DissPontAcc	Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Dissertazioni 1 ff, Rome 1881 ff.
FestschrVogt	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung hrsg.v.H.Temporini (Festschrift J. Vogt) I 4, Berlin 1973.
Gatti	L. Gatti lo Guzzo, Il deposito votivo dall'Esquilino detto di Minerva Medica, Florence 1978.
Gempeler	R. D. Gempeler, Die etruskischen Kanopen, Einsiedeln 1974.
Giglioli	G. Q. Giglioli, L'arte etrusca, Rome 1935.
Gjerstad	E. Gjerstad, Early Rome 1–6, Lund 1953–73.
Helbig	W. Helbig, Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom ⁴ 1–4, Tübingen 1963–72.
Heurgon	J. Heurgon, Recherches sur l'histoire, la religion et la civilisation de Capoue Préromaine, Paris 1942.
Jovino	M. Bonghi Jovino, Capua preromana, terrecotte votive, Catalogo del Museo Provinciale Campano 1–2, Florence 1965–71.
Koch	H. Koch, Dachterrakotten aus Campanien, Berlin 1912.
Laumonier	A. Laumonier, Catalogue de terres cuites du Musée Archéologique de Madrid, Paris 1921.
Masner	K. Masner, K. K. Oesterreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie, die Sammlung antiker Vasen und Terracotten, Vienna 1892.
MemLinc	Atti della Accademia dei Lincei, Memorie 1 ff, Rome 1877 ff.
MonLinc	Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura della Accademia dei Lincei 1 ff, Milan 1899 ff.
NCGBild	Bildertafeln des etruskischen Museums (Helbig Museum) der Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen 1928.
NCGColl	From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 1–3, Copenhagen 1931–42.
NCGEtr	Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, den etruskiske samling, Copenhagen 1966.
NSc	Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità 1 ff, Rome 1876 ff.
Origines	Les origines de la république romaine, Fondation Hardt Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique 13, Vandoeuvres-Geneva 1967.
Pallottino	M. Pallottino, Etruscan Painting, Geneva 1952.
Panofka	T. Panofka, Terracotten des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin, Berlin 1842.
Pyrgi	Pyrgi, scavi del santuario etrusco (1959–1967), NSc 95 1970, Supplemento 2, 1–2, Rome 1970.
RendLinc	Atti della Accademia dei Lincei, Rendiconti 1 ff, Rome 1891 ff.
Scullard	H. H. Scullard, The Etruscan Cities and Rome, London 1967.
Sprenger	M. Sprenger, Die etruskische Plastik des V. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. und ihr Verhältnis zur griechischen Kunst, Rome 1972.
Tyrrhenika	P. J. Riis, Tyrrhenika, an Archaeological Study of the Etruscan Sculpture in the Archaic and Classical Periods, Copenhagen 1941.
UnCalPublClArch	University of California, Publications in Classical Archaeology 1 ff, Berkeley 1929 ff.
Vagnetti	L. Vagnetti, Il deposito votivo di Campetti a Veio, Florence 1971.
Walters	H. B. Walters, Catalogue of Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, London 1903.

I. Introduction

The chronological problems in Greek archaeology are no longer those of creating a fundamental system, but rather of placing individual works in the commonly accepted framework. Even for periods without ample written evidence scholars mostly agree on the main lines. For instance nobody will nowadays seriously discuss whether the Late Protocorinthian vases including the famous Chigi jug should be assigned to the mid-6th or the mid-7th Century B.C. (1), nor does the material from the Homeric Age give rise to widely-differing opinions on dating principles. It is otherwise with Etrusco-Italian archaeology, where the written evidence remains much scarcer, insufficiently conducted or published early excavations are felt as a heavier burden, and the very character of Etruscan art which uses many Greek forms of expression presents us with an extra problem, that of evaluating the time-lag between the creation of the Greek model and of the final Etrusco-Italian work inspired from it. Of course, no detail of style which had its origin in Greece and not in Italy could appear in Italy before Greek works with such a detail had been made known to

the local artists, and so the earliest Greek parallels to Etrusco-Italian works with the same detail provide only a *terminus post quem* for the Italian products. Or as F. Messerschmidt put it: “Die stilistisch zu ermittelnde Zeit ist nicht die der Ausführung des Werkes, sondern die des Vorbildes” (2). On the other hand, it is essential to be aware of the difference between Epi-Archaic and Archaistic elements so that too late a dating does not result from our deliberations. Will it really be possible to date a head like the marvellous silenus fig. 1 (3), which recalls works of the period 465–420 B.C., e.g. figs. 3–11, as late as about 300 B.C.? (4). Or even assigning a seemingly earlier one, fig. 2 (5) to the 2nd or 1st Century B.C.? (6). And are we allowed to date the same facial features sometimes in the late 5th Century or in the early 4th and at other times in the 4th or 3rd Centuries? (7). No doubt increasing specialization has prevented many scholars interested in Etruscan art from closely following the internal development in Greek art history, and ideas as well as dating methods already abandoned within this subject may therefore for some time as yet exert an influence upon workers in the other field. All this may help to explain why considerable disagreement is still reigning on several important points of Etruscan style chronology, and perhaps the missing consensus is most deeply felt as regards the Classical period in Etruria. The following table, which gives the opinions advanced during a little more than fifty years by leading authorities on Etruscan art history, will clearly illustrate our dilemma, fig. 12. Not all of these figures can be the right ones, and it may be useful for a while to take a glance at some sides of the history of our discipline to understand the difference of views.

- 1: A. Rumpf, HdA 4.1, Munich 1953, 33 pl. 6.7, cf. R. Compennolle in Atti del Primo Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Napoli 1962, 264.
- 2: Beiträge zur Chronologie der etruskischen Wandmalerei, Ohlau i.S. 1928, 15.
- 3: Our Caeretan type 18 C, below p. 27.
- 4: Cf. Giglioli 61 pl. 324.2: “arcaistico”, 5th-4th Centuries, Andrén 53: late 4th or 3rd Century, G. Foti in NSc 84 1959, 191: 4th or beginning of 3rd Century.
- 5: Our Latin type 18 G, below p. 35.
- 6: Cf. Andrén 60.
- 7: Our Vulcian or Volsinian types 11 H–J, below p. 58, cf. Andrén 159, 162, 165; 169, 179; 68–69.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

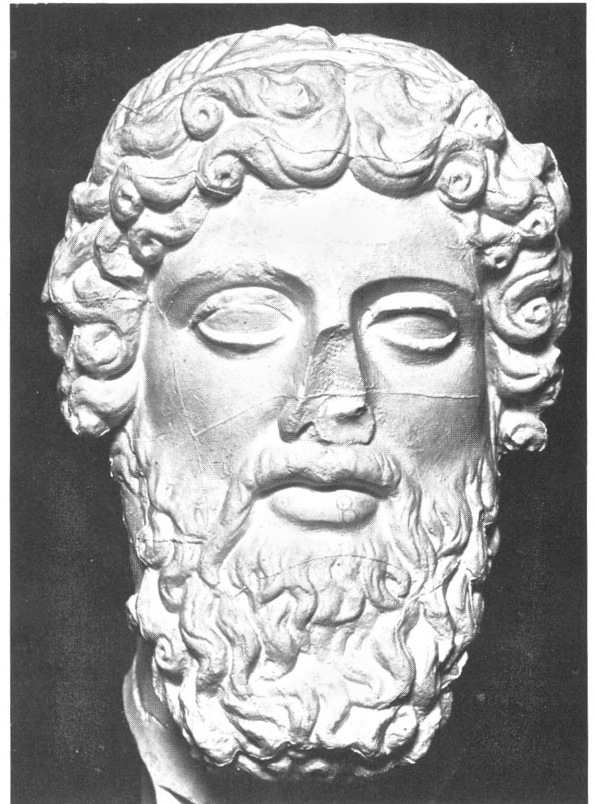


Fig. 4.

Fig.1. Antefix from Caere, variation of Caeretan type 18 C. London, British Museum. Museum photo. By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig.3. Head of bronze statue of Poseidon from Cape Artemision, c. 465 B.C. Athens, National Museum. After V. Poulsen.

Fig.2. Antefix from Italy, Latin type 18 G. Copenhagen, National Museum. Museum photo.

Fig.4. Head of Roman marble copy of Pheidias Zeus, c. 455 B.C. Rome, Villa Borghese. Cast.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.

Figs.5-8. Centaur heads on the marble metopes of the Parthenon, South 31, 9, 30 and 4, c. 445 B.C. Casts. After G. M. A. Richter.

Figs. 9–11. Sicilian silver coins issued in Naxos, Gela and Naxos, c. 460, c. 430 and c. 420 B.C. After Hirmer.

Fig. 9.



A typological repartition of ancient art into styles marking a development, a culmination, and a degeneration is no recent phenomenon. Already under the early Roman Empire there were tendencies to reason typologically in dealing with styles, as when *Quintilian* called some early statues “harsher” or “stiffer” than their “less rigid” followers and those after them, who were “more mel-

low” (8), and when *Pliny the Elder*, comparing Myron and Polykleitos, said that the former was more careful in balancing the individual parts of

8: *Institutio oratoria* XII 10.7: “similis in stauis differentia, nam duriora et Tuscanicis proximis Callon atque Hegesias, iam minus rigida Calamis, molliora adhuc supra dictis Myron fecit”.

Fig. 12. Dates suggested by various authors for some Etruscan paintings.	F. Poulsen, Etruscan Tomb Paintings 1922	F. Messerschmidt, Beiträge zur Chronologie der etr. Wandmalerei 1928	A. Rumpf, Griechische und römische Kunst 1931	A. v. Gerkan & F. Messerschmidt, RM 57 1942.
Tarquinia, Tomba del Triclinio	Beg. of 5th C.	480/70	C. 480	
Tarquinia, Tomba della Pulcella	1st half of 5th C.	460/50–400	C. 480	
Tarquinia, Tomba degli Scudi	End of 5th C.	4th C.	Beg. of 4th C.	
Tarquinia, Tomba dell’Orco I	End of 5th C.		Still 5th C.	
Tarquinia, Tomba dell’Orco II	Transit. from 5th to 4th C.		Beg. of 4th C.	
Orvieto, Tomba Golini I	End of 5th C.		Beg. of 4th C.	
Tarquinia, Sarcophagus of Amazons			Ripe 4th C.	
Vulci, Tomba François	4th C.		Still 4th C.	C. 125–50
Tarquinia, Tomba del Tifone	1st half of 4th C.		2nd C.	

Fig. 10.



Fig. 11.



the figures, but although he paid attention to the bodies, he did not express the spiritual feelings, and he was old-fashioned and unnaturalistic in his treatment of the hair (9).

9: *Naturalis Historia* XXXIV 58: "in symmetria diligentior, et ipse tamen corporum tenus curiosus animi sensus non expressisse, capillum quoque et pubem non emendatius fecisse quam rudis antiquitas instituisset".

In his fundamental "Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums" first published in 1764 *Johann Joachim Winckelmann* followed this trend and distinguished between four styles: the Archaic one before Pheidias, the Grand or High Style of Pheidias, the Beautiful Style of the 4th Century B.C., and that of the imitators in Hellenistic and

M. Pallottino,
Etruscan
Painting
1952

A. Rumpf,
Handbuch der
Archäologie
IV 1 1953

M. Cagianò
de Azevedo,
StEtr 27 1959

E. Richardson,
The Etruscans
1964

M. Cristofani,
Dialoghi di
Archeologia
1 1967

M. Torelli,
Elogia Tar-
quiniensia
1975

c. 470
470-400
280-200
325-300
280-150
325-300
Towards 350
2nd or beg. of 1st C.
1st C.

500-470
500-470
340-300
410-390
400-370
400-370
340-320
350-300
310-250

C. 460

500-450

3rd C.
350-300
350-300

350-300
2nd C.

C. 340-310
2nd-1st C.

1st half of 5th C.

3rd quarter of 4th C.
1st quarter of 4th C.
Late 4th C.

2nd C.

Roman times (10). A similar classification of the Greek vases was established 1831 by *Eduard Gerhard* in his famous “Rapporto intorno i vasi volcenti”, and it is still our preliminary way of sorting them: an “Egyptian”, *i.e.* Orientalizing group, an “Archaic” or “Black-Figured”, a “Perfect” or “Red-Figured”, and a later, more variegated group, developed from the red-figured one and comprising the South Italian vases (11). Whereas *Winckelmann’s* grouping of the material rested upon the written tradition concerning the outstanding artists and so would not come into conflict with History, that of *Gerhard* was in one respect incorrect, namely with regard to the absolute chronology, inasmuch as he thought that the inscriptions on the black- and red-figured vases would place them between 484 and 280 B.C. Only a very few years later *Christian Josias Bunsen* pushed the red-figured vases of “Beautiful Style” back to the period 524–400 and regarded the black-figured ones as having begun earlier still, but being partly contemporary with them (12). Real proofs were not given to support any of these views, and although *Ludwig Ross* in his pioneer excavation on the Athenian Acropolis south of the Parthenon in 1835–36 stated that red-figure painting had been in use before the Persian sack of 480, few scholars accepted his results, which were written down in 1841, but unfortunately not published until fourteen years later (13). An advance in comparison to *Gerhard’s* datings was nevertheless the chronology proposed by *W. Abeken*; according to him the “Egyptian” group belonged to the time from 660 onwards, the vases with inscriptions had then to begin 580 at the earliest, the Archaic black-figured ones should be placed between 500 and 416 and the red-figured after 460 (14.) *Otto Jahn* did not go much further in his introduction to the Royal Vase Collection in Munich (15), where he maintained that the Black-Figure Style was created in the period before the Peloponnesian war and in all essentials ceased about 436, the Panathenaic vases, however, continuing till 312 (16), and that the Red-Figure Style

was mainly later than the 5th Century, but its earliest works, in the so-called Severe Style, were close to the black-figured and accordingly of the time before 400, whereas the Beautiful Style reached down to c. 300–296 (17). *Gerhard* himself somehow accepted the new situation and admitted both that the black-figured vases with the exception of the Panathenaic were prior to 431, and that the first red-figured ones had appeared before 480 (18); but it was the large Acropolis excavations of the 1880’s (19) that made the archaeological world realize that *Ross* had been right.

- 10: *Winckelmann’s Werke* hrsg. v. H. Meyer & J. Schulze 5, Dresden 1810, 207–310, especially 278.
- 11: *AdI* 3 1831, 98–105, cf. *BdI* 1831, 167.
- 12: *AdI* 6 1834, 62.
- 13: *L. Ross, Archäologische Aufsätze* 1, Leipzig 1855, vi–xx, 136–142, 325–338, cf. 74. Being born 1806 near Bornhöved in the Duchy of Holsten, *Ross* was a Danish subject, and after his studies at the University of Kiel he came to Copenhagen in 1829 as a teacher for a private family named *Gottschalk*. A travelling scholarship from King *Frederik VI* enabled him in 1832 to go to Greece, where, from the birth of the Greek kingdom in 1833 to 1843, he was the head of the Department of Archaeology. He himself directed the excavations at the Parthenon begun in January 1835, with the Bavarian architect *Leo von Klenze* as the daily leader and the Silesian *Eduard Schaubert* and the Dane *Christian Hansen* as assisting architects. *Hansen* was born in 1803 in Copenhagen, obtained the gold medal of the Royal Academy of Arts in 1829, was in 1831 awarded a scholarship by the Academy for visiting Italy and Greece, and remained in the latter country till 1854, since 1834 as Royal Greek architect. *A. Rumpf, Archäologie* 1, Berlin 1953, 69 holds that *Ross’s* “etwas eigenwillige Natur war vielleicht mit schuld, dass diese Entdeckungen nicht sofort gewürdigt wurden, wie sie es verdienten. Gerade die Vasenchronologie hätte vor manchem Irrweg bewahrt werden können”.
- 14: *Mittelitalien vor den Zeiten römischer Herrschaft*, Stuttgart & Tübingen 1843, 289–300.
- 15: *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung König Ludwigs*, Munich 1854, cxliv–ccxxvii.
- 16: *Op.cit.* clxxiii–clxxiv, ccxlii.
- 17: *Op.cit.* clxxviii, clxxxviii, cxcix, ccxliii.
- 18: *AZ* 13 1855, 113–116, with reference to *Ross’s* remarks in *Allgemeine Monatsschrift* 1852, 356–357.
- 19: See now *J. A. Bundgaard, The Excavation of the Athenian Acropolis 1882–1890*, Copenhagen 1974.

Strangely enough the influential *Heinrich Brunn*, when writing his paper “Probleme in der Geschichte der Vasenmalerei” in the series of the Bavarian Academy 1871, had preferred a much later dating for the large majority of the painted pottery than even Gerhard did in 1831; for he maintained that it was Attic Hellenistic and Archaistic of c. 250–100 B.C. (20), and it had apparently little effect when *Wolfgang Helbig* drew attention to the fact that the Attic black- and red-figured vases in Central Italy never were found together with struck coins (21). The idea of an Archaistic trend hereafter continued to dominate the debate. In *W. Deecke’s* 1877 edition of Karl Otfried Müller’s “Die Etrusker” there are references to both Brunn and Helbig (22), and also as regards the tomb paintings a distinction is made between four styles, an “Archaistic” corresponding to Gerhard’s “Egyptian” vases, a “Tuscan” matching the black-figured ones, a “Hellenic” as the counterpart of the red-figured class, and finally a style of decadence (23). To the first of these styles Deecke assigned among others the Early Archaic Campana Tomb at Veii, to the second the later Archaic Tarquinian tombs, to the third style graves like Tomba dell’Orco and also the Tomba del Tifone, and to the fourth style, finally, which he believed to continue into Roman times, the Tomba del Cardinale. A similar idea of the situation was expressed by *George Dennis* in the second edition of his “Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria” 1878: The “Egyptian”, “Phoenician” or “Babylonian” style of vase-painting was in reality a varia-

tion of the Archaic Greek, particularly Doric painting, which he compared with that of the earliest tombs such as the one at Veii, the most Archaic Etruscan bronzes and the earlier metopes at Selinus. The “Etruscan”, or more correctly “Archaic Greek”, black-figured class corresponded, according to him, to the Aeginetans, but some of the vases were possibly later than these. The “Perfect” red-figured vases belonged to the happiest and purest period of Greek art, and the latest of the South Italian vases in the fourth and “Decadent” style might be as late as about 150 B.C. (24).

The first modern handbook of Etruscan art history was *Jules Martha’s* “L’art étrusque” of 1889, in which the author utilized the new vase chronology established by the excavations of the Athenian Acropolis, but also made allowance for a certain retardation in mural painting (25). Consequently he placed the Ripe Archaic tombs between 500 and 450, the Late Archaic or Early Classical ones between 450 and 350, and the Late Classical as well as some which even nowadays are commonly regarded as Hellenistic, in the 3rd and 2nd Centuries B.C. In the following years the idea of a retardation was further elaborated. According to *Walther Amelung’s* “Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz” published in 1897, the sudden blossoming of Etruscan art in the 6th Century was succeeded by a break in the imports from Greece and thereby also in the internal development of Etruscan art towards freedom, so that the same Archaic style elements remained in use through almost two centuries of stagnation, after which the artists engaged directly in imitating the free Late-Greek style (26).

This view, which presupposes a veritable standstill, is a fundamental characteristic of a long series of mostly Italian and even recent publications, above all *Alessandro della Seta’s* catalogue of the Villa Giulia, where it is taken for granted that the High Classical Greek art was not represented in Central Italy, neither through imported objects nor through local style scions (27). So, Della

20: *AbhMünchen* 12.2 1871, 87–156.

21: *BdI* 1871, 92.

22: K. O. Müller, *Die Etrusker*, neu bearbeitet von W. Deecke 2, Stuttgart 1877, 247–248 note 9.

23: *Op.cit.* 2, 270–271 note 6b.

24: *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*²¹, London 1878, lxx-lxxvi, lxxxiv-xcvi, cf. the Third Edition, London 1907, 48, 56–69.

25: *L’art étrusque*, Paris 1889, 421–450.

26: *Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz*, Munich 1897, 161.

27: *Museo di Villa Giulia*, Rome 1918, in particular 127, 128, 132, 144–146.

Seta distributed the architectural terracottas of this region upon three style phases: an Ionizing in the decades about 550, an Iono-Atticizing in the late decades of the 6th Century and the first third of the 5th, and a Scopasian-Praxitelean-Lysippian-Hellenistic reaching from the late decades of the 4th Century until well into the 2nd, and within this later phase he thought he was able to distinguish two partly parallel currents, a naturalistic one and a somewhat later and more protracted Archaistic trend. The idea of a complete hiatus between c. 465 and c. 320 was rejected by *Pericle Ducati*, who modifying Amelung's thesis supposed an Archaic decadence c. 475–400 and an Etruscan revival in the 4th Century under the influence of the Late Classical Greek art (28).

Also several German scholars have since the days of Amelung operated with the theory of an Epi-Archaic mannerism in both wall-painting, terracotta work and metal-engraving, most radically *Franz Messerschmidt* (29). Although *Andreas Rumpf* to a certain extent admitted Amelung's view (30), he kept clearly aloof from a total exclusion of the High Classical style, and on a small group of Etruscan late black-figured vases and related engraved mirrors he plainly wrote: "Sie widerlegen den Gemeinplatz, dass die archaische Kunst für Etrurien die klassische geworden sei" (31). Nor have a complete standstill in the 5th and 4th Centuries and the lacking of the Ripe Classical style been accepted by *Arvid Andréén* (32), the present writer *P. J. Riis* (33), *Maria Santangelo* (34), *German Hafner* (35), *Maja Sprenger* (36), and most recently *Quentin Maule* (37).

Quite independently of the predominant currents in Etruscan archaeology Sir *John D. Beazley* undertook his datings of Etruscan painted vases and engraved mirrors, basing them on the Greek vase chronology in force today. His results must be regarded as reliable by reason of the very close connection of Etruscan and Greek vase-painting and engraving. According to him the latest Etruscan red-figured pictures belong to the end of the 4th Century and the beginning of the 3rd, which

period obviously was one of decadence (38). The engraved designs of the mirrors attach themselves to the interior tondos of the Greek and Etruscan drinking cups and span chronologically from Late Archaic to Hellenistic times, i.e. from the 6th to the 3rd Centuries (39).

Looking again at our table fig. 12, which betrays the discrepant opinions of some modern scholars, one cannot liberate oneself of the suspicion that several archaeologists, probably unconsciously, are still under the spell of ideas like those of Gerhard and Brunn. The thesis of Amelung supposing a retardation or prolongation of the Archaism at the sacrifice of Polykleitan, Myronian and Pheidian Classicism, matches as far as it goes both the Gerhardian view that the Greek black-figure style reigned till 431, and Brunn's belief that the later part of Attic painted pottery was archaizing and datable to c. 250–100 B.C. It is not to be precluded that such superseded erroneous chronologies may have influenced some later writers, for instance *if* these authors have quoted earlier publications for datings of excavated material, *if* they have based their own dates of more recent finds on such material and simultaneously overestimated the Epi-Archaic elements and underrated the Classical features, and *if* statistics

28: *Etruria antica* 2, Torino 1927, 56, 81; *Storia dell'arte etrusca* 1, Florence 1927, 9, 14–15, 305, 313, 316–317, 321, 330, 383.

29: RM 43 1928, 90–102, 147–164.

30: *Griechische und römische Kunst*, Leipzig 1931, 81.

31: HdA 4.1, Munich 1953, 103.

32: *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples*, Lund 1939–40, cxxx, ccxiii–ccxiv.

33: *Tyrrhenika, an Archaeological Study of the Etruscan Sculpture in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, Copenhagen 1941, 147–162, 188–195; *ActaA* 12 1941, 68–70; *An Introduction to Etruscan Art*, Copenhagen 1953, 71–73.

34: *BdA* 33 1948, 1–16.

35: RM 72 1965, 41–61; RM 73/4 1966/7, 29–52.

36: *Die etruskische Plastik des V. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. und ihr Verhältnis zur griechischen Kunst*, Rome 1972, 87.

37: *AJA* 81 1977, 487–505.

38: *Etruscan Vase Painting*, Oxford 1947, 1–10.

39: *JHS* 69 1949, 1–17.

have been established on such foundations. The prevalent chronological uncertainty is particularly unfortunate, because particularly the archaeological finds, including the works of art, are one of the most important sources of the early history of Italy, affording authentic evidence of a more reliable character than several later writings, and it is to be hoped that a few words which were said at an international symposium in 1966 on the cooperation of History and Archaeology in order to solve the problems around the beginnings of the Roman Republic have not been uttered in vain: "Before one attempts to draw any historical conclusions from the art of Central Italy one must know where the things were made, and when they were made" (40), and we ought to add: "know *with certainty*". Each party must therefore be interested in any objective attempt to establish a safe Central Italian style chronology. As the archaeological literature has become so large and kaleidoscopic that one is sometimes reminded of Goethe's words: "Die Masse der Worte nimmt zu, man sieht zuletzt von den Sachen gar nichts mehr", as stratigraphical investigations are still too few, and as the Ancient written sources flow so sparingly for the early periods, the desired safer chronology may perhaps most easily be obtained by setting up qualified typological series of appropriate material and combining them with the evidence of lite-

ature and excavations (41). With some reason typology has been characterized as a central archaeological method, and type as a central archaeological concept (42); but, of course, we should not forget that we have to do with works of art, not with ordinary artifacts as in prehistoric archaeology. Maja Sprenger's datings were purely stylistic, obtained by means of direct comparisons with Greek works of art in each individual case (43). The modern Italian publications of the votive finds from Capua, Rome and Veii offer typological classifications of a technical character; but as far as absolute chronology is concerned, it is still based upon style analysis (44). One of the neatest examples of what we may need in Central Italy was offered years ago by R. J. H. Jenkins's classification of head-types within the so-called Daedalic tradition in Greek plastic art of the 7th and early 6th Centuries B.C. (45). First he distinguished six chronological stages during the period c. 700–580 and even subdivided the middle one into three phases (46), thus in fact obtaining at least eight phases. Besides, he managed to discern four local variations within this material (47).

In the following an attempt will be made to establish type-series according to the same general principles as those which guided Jenkins and other scholars working similarly in their respective fields of interest. However, it must be admitted that the situation in Etruscan Italy during the centuries of Archaic and Classical art was much more complex than in Daedalic Greece. Our Italian material is naturally divided into three large geographical groups, although importations from one region to another occur. Nobody will probably to-day deny that there was a separate tradition in Campania centered in Capua (48). It may also be obvious to many students of Etruscan art that the styles of South Etruria and Latium seem closely interrelated (49), and that in general the artistic products of these regions are easily distinguished from those of Central and Northern Etruria, which on the other hand appear to be mutually connected (50). The South-Etruscan

40: P. J. Riis, in *Origines* 67.

41: Cf. *Origines* 74: "Many sculptures can .. only be safely dated through their fitting-in well into a carefully established, long and amply represented typological series after due comparisons with its individual specimens".

42: M. P. Malmer, *Jungneolithische Studien*, Bonn & Lund 1962, 47–57.

43: *Op.cit.* 18.

44: Cf. Jovino 1, 16–21, Bedello 3, 19, Gatti 21, 150, Vagnetti 23–24, 174.

45: *Dedolica, a Study of Dorian Plastic Art in the Seventh Century B.C.*, Cambridge 1936.

46: *E.g. op.cit.* pls. 1, 2, 5 and 8: Subgeometric, Protodadalic, Early, Middle and Late Dadalic, Postdadalic.

47: *E.g. op.cit.* pl. 5: Crete, Laconia, Corinth, Rhodes.

48: See Koch, Heurgon, and NCGColl 2 1938, 140–168.

49: *Tyrrhenika* 58–59.

50: *Tyrrhenika* 188.

and Latin finds present the richest facets, and at least at Caere and Veii we are enabled to trace local traditions (51). Suffice it here to point out the three different Minervas Caere 13 B, Latium *ad* 14 F and Veii 12 J, see below p. 26, 33 and 44. The typological attempts which both Andrén and I myself published in the early 1940's were principally based upon the proveniences of the individual works of art; they were, so to speak, topographical registerings. But a votive deposit may very often contain objects showing rather different styles and at least in some cases probably dedicated by persons coming from places with different art traditions. Nor are the temple terracottas always stylistically unequivocal, as moulds and workers could often be brought from elsewhere (52). Planning my contribution to the Geneva symposium of 1966 on the origins of the Roman Republic I therefore made another experiment, rearranging the Late Archaic and Early Classical architectural terracottas from Latium and South Etruria according to the facial types with no regard to provenience. On the one hand this method gave longer and more coherent typological series, on the other so much new material had been brought about since 1941, particularly by the Italian excavations in the Caeretan harbour town of Pyrgi, that a number of lacunae could be filled out with hitherto "missing links". This new and quite preliminary approach was made with the economical support of the Ny Carlsberg Foundation and the practical aid of Mr. Poul T. Christensen, the draughtsman of the Institute of Classical and Near-Eastern Archaeology in the University of Copenhagen, and the resulting typological table was reproduced in the proceedings of the symposium (53); but it was only a small chapter of the entire development, as both the earlier Archaic and the later Classical types were left out, as well as those of the other Etruscan regions. Accordingly, it may have been difficult to understand why some types were assigned their places in the table. It is obvious that if we are to reach a more satisfying result we must include all

essential types, both architectural, votive and sepulchral, from the beginning of the Archaic style until the flowing out of the Classical into the Hellenistic. A reviewer of my attempt to define Etruscan "schools" by means of a typological *table* did not feel convinced because "different types seemed to co-exist in the Caeretan group, especially in the latest period" dealt with, i.e. the Early Classical style phase, and because both the maenad-silenus antefixes with rosettes, the immediately preceding couple known from a mould, an earlier Juno Sospita – these five placed in my Veientan-Faliscan series – and the late Latin silenus with moustache ending in double curls, all occur at Falerii among the finds from the large temple in the Contrada Vignale; the reviewer held that even allowing for the replacement of old antefixes and the use of old moulds, it would be rather hard to credit that the six types should cover 30–40 years (54). I mention this to give a hint of the problems, and I am, of course, fully aware that the individual works of art constituting a typological series *may* have been created rather rapidly one after the other so as to cover a quite short span of time. However, the dates which I proposed were nothing but a framework based on external evidence, not upon an estimate of the duration of the stages in the evolutionary process. When I placed five typological stages between two dates, this did not at all mean that the period should be divided into five phases of equal length, but only that we are able to make a five-linked chronology somewhere within the period, perhaps even in its later part, and therefore possibly not that far from the following period's earliest Latin silenus but one.

51: Origines 77–83.

52: Cf. Andrén, *cxix-cxxi* figs. 13–14, and L. Vagnetti in *ArchCl* 18 1966, 111–114 pls. 44–45.

53: *Ibid.* fig. 2; the figures at the left border of the table are the dates suggested 1941 in my *Tyrrhenika*, those at the right one have all of them queries added to indicate their hypothetical character.

54: *JRS* 60 1970, 200.

Other reactions seem to be due to some misunderstanding of what I *wrote*. It is believed that for certain terracottas (55) “il Riis propone una datazione nella prima metà del V sec.a.C.” (56); but in actual fact I only mentioned “works that bear the impress of early classical Greek art”, which is something different, and in a chronological table I placed the Early Classical style phase in the southern Etruscan regions 475/450? – 425/400 B.C. (57). Nevertheless, it has been held that originally I was one of those to whom “the fifth century appeared to be something like a prolonged extension of the archaic”, and that as a mature man I “denied the earlier claims of a Fifth-Century stagnation, recognizing a flourishing classicism in certain fields at this time” (58); but as a matter of fact I did not change my mind between 1941 and 1953 (59). It is also a little embarrassing for me to read of “la rigida classificazione in scuole regionali proposta dal Riis per l’arte etrusca” (60), when I have tried to express myself with what I believed to be sufficiently clear reserva-

tions: “As one would expect, the art of these three regions is not homogeneous. We find that the principal towns possess workshops or workshop circles with some character of their own. In the case of works of good quality it is often possible to form an opinion as to from which of these workshops they came, whereas works of inferior quality often cannot be identified more exactly than as North, Central or South Etruscan... More than between South and Central Etruria there seems to have been intercourse between the latter region and its northern neighbour. For example, Central-Etruscan architectural terracottas found employment in various North-Etruscan towns, and it is also possible in the North Etruscan finds to single out much evidence of stylistic dependence on the art of Central Etruria... We have already voiced the possibility of a certain connection between the art of Veii and that of Central Etruria... Sometimes there is even a certain physiognomic likeness between Veientine and other South Etruscan works... The Latin and Faliscan finds permit of no sharp boundary to be drawn between the sculptures of the two regions, and both seem to evidence an intimate connection with the art of Caere. As regards several specimens we should be at a loss to say which of the three groups was their original home... The discovery of moulds proves nothing, as it is more probable that moulds were exported than finished antefixes” (61). My aim was “merely to help towards creating a more solid foundation to future research. As regards the separation of the various style groups, and the placing of the plastic works to these groups, many of the problems cannot of course be solved all at once” (62).

These words printed in 1941 may still hold good to-day, and what is written on the following pages should therefore also be read *cum grano salis*.

Again with the help of Mr. Poul T. Christensen, I have now tentatively prepared new typological tables for Etruscan Campania, for South Etruria and Latium as well as for Central and North Etru-

55: Tyrrhenika pl. 8.1–2.

56: Vagnetti 43.

57: Tyrrhenika 54–55 and 195.

58: AJA 81 1977, 487 note 2, with references to Tyrrhenika 147 note 2, 192 and to my Introduction to Etruscan Art 69–71.

59: Comp. the chronological tables Tyrrhenika 195 and Introduction to Etruscan Art pl. 3. In Tyrrhenika 147 note 2 I only referred to the views of Della Seta, Messerschmidt, Ducati and Andrén, and I criticized some of Messerschmidt’s arguments for a low chronology. *Op.cit.* 192 I wrote: “There is much evidence that a sub-archaic style prevailed in the greater part of North Etruria throughout the 5th Century and even into the 4th...; but to my mind there is no reason for considering any of the works whose style is *pure* archaic as being later than the middle of the 5th”. These remarks do not characterize the situation in Central and South Etruria, where I dated the Early Classical style between 475/50 and 425/00, *op.cit.* 195.

60: Vagnetti 183, repeated by Maria W. Stoop, BABesch 48 1973, 212, and by Q. Maule, AJA 81 1977, 495 note 24.

61: Cf. now the statements of Andrén in *OpRom* 8 1974, 16.

62: Tyrrhenika 187–188, 58–59 and 6.

ria. I do not pretend to have solved all or the majority of the problems, but I do hope that my presentation of the material may contribute to a clearer conception of the complicated style situation in Central Italy so that it will now be easier than before to obtain a comprehensive survey of both the main lines of the development in general and in the different parts of the country. The selection of specimens representing the individual types was scheduled to be as wide as possible with inclusion of all essential innovations, but without enumerating the smaller variations, not to speak of presenting a museography or a fully comprehensive corpus. In some cases the rather abundant material has for purely practical reasons been limited to two columns for each sex to make it possible to compare the representatives of the different branches of a tradition on one and the same table. Gorgons, negroes and other physiognomic specialities have been omitted, as the purpose was to follow the succession and repartition of the ordinary male and female head-types. In the tables the types form vertical series marked with *letters* and establishing a relative chronology to be read from top to bottom, each specimen being placed according to the typologically most advanced features. From the point of view of the style-historian the essential action was not the casting or use of the preserved specimens of a certain type, but the artist's primary conception or realization of a new stylistic ideal or mental image, *i.e.* the shaping of his first or original model, the "prototype", whether it be a now lost clay sketch (*ébauche*) or a patris used for a mould or matrix in which the actual terracottas were cast. Therefore, a type's place in the system marks the creation of the prototype, not that of the individual piece nor its actual chronological context (63). The female types are placed in the left half of each series, the male to the right. As far as possible, documented pairs of female and male types have been juxtaposed. Hair style, head-dress, frame and attributes serve to establish the type series; for want of space, however, more than one

type sequence has occasionally had to be placed in the same vertical column. Synchronisms are established by means of find combinations and counterparts like husband and wife on the same sarcophagus or couples of silenus and maenad antefixes. So, in the grid of the tables the horizontal ranges marked with *numbers* indicate the evolutionary stages, being a sort of "sequence dates", but these need not all have been of the same duration. The text of each chapter consists of a catalogue and a commentary with datings suggested by external evidence. In the catalogue the numbers and letters at the left border refer to the location in the respective tables, to the "sequence dates" and to the type series. Types missing in the tables may be found in the catalogue in connection with their nearest relations in the tables. In the text it may often be stated that a piece, let us call it "a", is typologically later than another piece "b". This means that in the development of style the conception of the original idea lying behind "a" happened later than in the case of "b"; but it does not necessarily mean that, in terms of absolute chronology, it cannot be contemporary with two other pieces, of which "c" is typologically earlier and "d" typologically later. The piece "a" represents a definite stage of development, and its creator as compared to that of "c" was an advanced artist, but in comparison with that of "d" a laggard. Lastly I should like to mention that, as we are dealing with artistic production in Antiquity, ancient place names, if known, have been preferred to the modern ones.

I wish to tender my sincere thanks to all those who in some way or other have furthered these studies of mine. First of all, the Directors of the Ny Carlsberg Foundation made it possible for me

63: Cf. Jovino 1, 16–17, Vagnetti 23 note 1, 174. Moreover "evidence .. indicates that a temple decoration wanted repairing every twenty or twenty-five years ... it must be supposed that at the time of the construction .. a large supply of spare tiles and revetments was acquired and repairs were made from time to time from this reserve", F. E. Brown, in *MemAmAc* 26 1960, 169–170.

to have the preparatory tables drawn and to make several study tours to Italy. The Council of the Institute of Classical and Near-Eastern Archaeology, University of Copenhagen, permitted the draughtsman of the Institute, Mr. Poul T. Christensen to help me; he patiently followed my suggestions during the whole difficult process of selecting and drawing the individual specimens, and made the final tables with much care. Professor Rudi Thomsen, Århus University, Mr. Mogens Gjødesen, the former Director of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Mr. Flemming Johansen, the present Director, and Mrs. Mette Moltesen, Assistant Keeper and Librarian in the same museum, Mrs. Dyveke Helsted, Director, and Mr. T. Melander, Assistant Keeper in the Thorvaldsen Museum, Dr. Marie-Louise Buhl, Keeper of Classical and Near-Eastern Antiquities in the Danish National Museum, Mr. T. Fischer-Hansen, Field-Director of the excavations at Ficana, and Mrs. Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen have kindly given me their favourable attention and partaken in – for me very fruitful – discussions on the material. For photographs and special information I am also indebted to a number of colleagues abroad, particularly Professor M. Pallottino of the University of Rome, Professor M. Moretti, former Director of the Museo di Villa Giulia in Rome, Professors Paolo Sommella and Anna Sommella Mura, Rome, the late Dr. P. Krarup, Director of the Danish Academy in Rome, Professor Frank E. Brown, Director of the American Academy in Rome, Dr. Maria Cataldi Dini of the Archaeologi-

cal Superintendence of Ostia, Dr. A. E. Feruglio, Superintendent of the Antiquities of Umbria, Perugia, Professor G. Maetzke, former Superintendent of the Antiquities of Tuscany, Florence, Professor Francesco Nicosia, the actual Superintendent, Dr. Anna Rastrelli, Director of the Museo Nazionale Etrusco at Chiusi, Professor B. Benedetti, Director of the Museo Civico di Modena, the late Dr. Dieter Ohly, Director of the Collections of Ancient Art in Munich, Dr. Jürgen Thimme, Director of the Collections of Ancient Art in Karlsruhe, Dr. Irmgard Kriseleit of the State Museums, Berlin, Dr. U. Gehrig of the Museum of Antiquities in Charlottenburg, Monsieur Jean Balty, Keeper of Ancient Art in the *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, Brussels, Mr. Denys Haynes, the former Keeper, and Dr. Brian Cook, the present Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, London, Professor John Boardman, Oxford, Dr. Cornelius C. Vermeule, Curator, Miss Claire F. Blackwell, and Miss Marion True of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. I moreover thank Dr. Thomas Riis, former Associate Professor in the European University Institute at Florence, and his wife, Licenciée ès-Lettres Rabia Coumine Riis for hospitality and practical help during my stays in Tuscany, and Mrs. Helle Salskov Roberts, lecturer in the University of Copenhagen, and Mr. John Roberts, who revised my English manuscript.

The latter was finished mid-October 1980, and literature coming later to the author's knowledge has not been taken into consideration.

II. The Etrusco-Campanian Tradition: Capua

PLATE I

- 1 F Koch 71 pl. 19.1, NCGColl 2 1938, 141–142 fig. 1, RM 85 1978, 34 pl. 9.3, from *Capua*.
- 2 F MonLinc 37 1938, 738–740 pl. 5.2 and 4, Andrén 485–486, Minturno I 2, RM 85 1978, 34 pl. 9.2, from *Minturnae*.
- 3 F Koch 41 pl. 8.1, Heurgon 347 pl. 5.2, NCGColl 2 1938, 141–142 fig. 2, RM 85 1978, 35 pl. 12.3, from *Capua*. Also represented by specimens found at *Salernum*, NSc 77 1952, 91–92, and *Satricum*, and by others believed to have come from *Etruria* and *Italy*.
- 4 B Koch 52 pl. 12.1, from *Capua*.
- 4 E Bedello 3, 52, K IV a 1 pl. 11.4, from *Capua*.
- 4 F Andrén 467–468, *Satricum* II 6 pl. 144.503, ActaA 12 1941, 67–68 fig. 67.2, RM 85 1978, 35, from *Satricum*. Crude imitation found at *Salernum*, NSc 77 1952, 91–92 fig. 6.
- 4 G Koch 96 pl. 31.2, NCGColl 2 1938, 142–143 fig. 4, from *Capua*.
- 5 C Koch 55–56 pl. 12.2, NCGColl 2 1938, 141–142 fig. 3, RM 85 1978, 38 pl. 15.1, from *Capua*. Also represented by specimens said to have come from *Campania*.
- 5 D Koch 59–60 pl. 13.3, Heurgon 348 pl. 6.3, RM 85 1978, 43 pl. 22.3, from *Capua*. Also represented by specimens believed to have come from *Caere*, *Campania* and *Italy*.
- 5 E Walters 165, B 584, RM 85 1978, 40 pl. 18.4, from *Capua*.
- 5 F MonLinc 37 1938, 734 pl. 5.11, Andrén 486, Minturno I 3, RM 85 1978, 41 pl. 19.1, from *Minturnae*.
- 5 G Koch 70 pl. 18.1a, from *Capua*. Also represented by specimens believed to have come from *Caere*.
- 5 J Koch 64–65 pl. 15.6, from *Capua*. Mould.
- 6 A Koch 47–48 pl. 10.1, from *Capua*.
- 6 C Koch 59 pl. 13.2, from *Capua*.
- 6 D Koch 57–58 fig. 70 pl. 12.5, Heurgon 348 pl. 6.2, from *Capua*. Perhaps a female counterpart of 6 L.
- 6 E Koch 43–44 pl. 9.1, NCGColl 2 1938, 143 fig. 5, RM 85 1978, 40 pl. 18.1, from *Capua*. A related type, however recalling 7 E as far as the framing volutes are concerned, is represented among the finds at *Himera* in Sicily, perhaps a local work after a Capuan model, ArchCl 27 1975, 1–8 pls. 1–3.
- 6 F Koch 44–45 pl. 8.2, Heurgon 348 pl. 5.3, RM 85 1978, 40, 46 pl. 18.3, from *Capua*. Also represented by a specimen from *Teanum*, BdA 48 1963, 133, 135 fig. 5a, 160 note 28.
- 6 G Koch 70 pl. 18.2, from *Capua*.
- 6 H Koch 70 pl. 18.4, from *Capua*.
- 6 J Koch 64 pl. 35.2, from *Capua*.
- 6 K Koch 70–71 pl. 18.5, from *Capua*.
- 6 L Koch 91–92 figs. 115–116 pl. 29.1, from *Capua*. Perhaps a male counterpart of 6 D.
- 7 B Koch 58–59 pl. 13.1, Heurgon 348 pl. 6.1, from *Capua*.
- 7 C Koch 56–57 pl. 33.1, RM 85 1978, 40 pl. 17.4, from *Capua*. Also represented by a specimen from *Suessula* and by others believed to have come from *Etruria* and *Italy*. Related specimens were found at *Capua*, Koch 45 pl. 9.2, RM 85 1978, 43 pl. 21.4, at *Salernum*, NSc 77 1952, 92–94 figs. 8–9, at *Cales*, BdA 46 1961, 264 fig. 13, 267 note 41, and at *Melfi*, S. Moscati, *Italia sconosciuta*², Milan 1972, 175.
- 7 D BurlExh 1904, 86, F 92 pl. 86, NCGColl 2 1938, 144–145, A 1 fig. 6, finding-place unknown. Also represented by a specimen stated to have come from *Capua*.
- 7 E H. Bulle & E. Langlotz, *Sammlung antiker Kunst... aus dem Nachlass des... Freiherrn Max von Heyl... und seiner Gemahlin...*, Darmstadt 2, Munich 1930, 11 No. 58a pl. 17, NCGColl 2 1938, 144–145, A 2 fig. 6, supposed to have come from *Capua*. A related specimen is believed to have come from *Nola*.
- 7 F Koch 40–41 pl. 7.5, RM 85 1978, 40 pl. 18.2, from *Capua*. Also represented by part of a specimen found at *Teanum*, BdA 48 1963, 133, 135 fig. 5i, and by another said to have come from *Campania*.
- 7 G Walters 161, B 539 fig. 35, NCGColl 2 1938, 145–146, C 1 fig. 6, from *Sicily*. Also represented by specimens believed to have come from *Capua* and *Nola*.
- 7 H Masner 94 Nos. 895–896, NCGColl 2 1938, 145–146, C 2 fig. 6, 151 fig. 12 right, ActaA 30 1959, 42, from *Capua*.
- 7 J NCGColl 2 1938, 144–145, C 3 fig. 6, 151 fig. 13 right, ActaA 30 1959, 42, allegedly from *Athens*. Also represented by specimens said to have come from *Capua* and *Italy*.
- 7 K NCGColl 2 1938, 145–146, B 2 fig. 6, 149 fig. 11 right, ActaA 30 1959, 42, finding-place unknown (ex-Saulini). Also represented by specimens found at *Capua* and by

- others said to have come from *South Italy* and *Naukratis*.
- 7 L Breitenstein 79 No. 763 pl. 91, NCGColl 2 1938, 144–146, B 1 fig. 6, 149 fig. 10, ActaA 30 1959, 42, from *Capua*. Also represented by specimens said to have come from *Nola*, *Rubi*, *South Italy*, *Athens* and *Tarentum*; on the latter one, see O. W. von Vacano, *Italische Antiken*, Tübingen 1971, 61 No. 174.
- 7 M Walters 163, B 576 fig. 39, ActaA 30 1959, 42, finding-place unknown (ex-Durand). Also represented by a specimen believed to have come from *Nola*, Panofka 136–137 pl. 47.6.
- 8 C Jovino 1, 27, A I a 1 pl. 1.1–2, probably from *Capua*.
- 8 D MonLinc 37 1938, 736 pl. 5.6, Andrén 487, Minturno I 5, RM 85 1978, 40 note 33, from *Minturnae*.
- 8 E NCGColl 2 1938, 144–145, A 4 fig. 6, 149 fig. 8 left, ActaA 30 1959, 42, allegedly from *Athens*. Also represented by specimens said to have come from *Capua*.
- 8 F Koch 39–40 pl. 7.4, from *Capua*.
- 8 H Bulle & Langlotz, *op.cit.* 11 No. 59 pl. 17, NCGColl 2 1938, 145 and 147, C 5 fig. 6, ActaA 30 1959, 42, finding-place unknown. Also represented by specimens found at *Capua* and by another said to have come from *South Italy*.
- 8 J Breitenstein 79 No. 764 pl. 91, NCGColl 2 1938, 145–146, C 4 fig. 6, 151 fig. 15, acquired in *Naples*. Also represented by specimens found at *Capua*.
- 8 K NCGColl 2 1938, 145–146, B 3 fig. 6, 151 fig. 14b left, finding-place unknown (ex-Campana). Also represented by specimens found at *Capua* and *Olympia*, ActaA 30 1959, 42–43 fig. 27, and by others said to have come from *Caere*, *Etruria* and *Magna Graecia*.
- 8 L Koch 48 pl. 10.2, from *Campania*.
- 9 E NCGColl 2 1938, 144–145, A 5 fig. 6, 149 fig. 9 left, finding-place unknown (ex-Saulini).
- 9 H NCGColl 2 1938, 145 and 147, C 6 fig. 6 (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1889.128), from the vicinity of *Naples*. Also represented by a specimen said to have come from *Capua*. A related type with a head band, dropping moustache and a longer beard is represented by five masks in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale at Siena, Studi e Materiali di Archeologia e Numismatica pubblicati per cura di L. A. Milani 1, Florence 1899, 149 No. 46, from *Capua*.
- 9 K Laumonier 185 pl. 102.3, NCGColl 2 1938, 145–146, B 6 fig. 6, finding-place unknown. Also represented by specimens stated to have come from *Capua* and *Tarentum*; on the latter one, see O. W. von Vacano, *op.cit.* 61 No. 173.
- 10 E MonLinc 37 1938, 747–749 No. 2 pl. 9.1–3, Andrén 492, Minturno II 2, from *Minturnae*. Related: NCGColl 2 1938, 144–145, A 8 fig. 6, finding-place unknown (ex-Barone, Naples). For the tripartition of the hair and the modelling of the lips, cf. the somewhat later head Jovino 1, 28, A VI a 1 pl. 2.3.
- 10 F Koch 47 pl. 9.6, from *Capua*.
- 10 K Panofka 136–137 pl. 47.3, NCGColl 2 1938, 145–146, B 7 fig. 6, from *Nola*.
- 10 L NCGColl 2 1938, 145–146, B 8 fig. 6, 151 fig. 16, finding-place unknown (ex-Campana).
- 11 E Bedello 3, 42–43, H XII a 1 pl. 7.2, probably from *Capua*. A related type is probably also from *Capua*, Jovino 1, 64 XII 1 pl. 24.3, Bedello 3, 41.
- 11 F Bedello 3, 67, A XII b 1a pl. 16.4, probably from *Capua*.
- 11 K Breitenstein 79 No. 765 pl. 91, NCGColl 2 1938, 145–146, B 9 fig. 6, 151 fig. 17, ActaA 30 1959, 42, acquired in *Naples*. Also represented by specimens said to have come from *Capua*, *Sicily* and *Athens*.
- 11 L Jovino 1, 86, O I a 1 pl. 39.3, probably from *Capua*. A related type is stated to have come from *Capua*, Jovino 2, 78, MNN 2 pl. 46.1–2.
- 12 A Koch 63 pl. 14.5, from *Capua*. Related specimens have been found at *Pompeji*, Bicenenario degli Scavi di Pompei, Naples 1948, 23–24, show case 2.
- 12 C Koch 72 pl. 19.3, from *Capua*.
- 12 E Koch 76 fig. 85, from *Capua*.
- 12 F Koch 72 pl. 19.5, from *Capua*.
- 12 G Koch 68–69 pl. 17.3, from *Capua*.
- 13 A Koch 62 pl. 15.1 left, from *Capua*. Related specimens have come from *Salernum* and *Pompeji*, NSc 77 1952, 98–99 fig. 14.
- 13 C Koch 72 pl. 19.4, from *Capua*.
- 13 D Jovino 1, 28–29, A VIII a 1 pl. 3.1–2, probably from *Capua*.
- 13 E Bedello 3, 30–31, A XVII a 1 pl. 1.1–2, probably from *Capua*. A related type is probably also from *Capua*, Bedello 3, 36, D XXXIII a 1 pl. 5.2.
- 13 F Koch 62 pl. 14.6 left, from *Capua*.
- 13 K Koch 62–63 pl. 15.1 right, from *Capua*. Same type: Bedello 3, 23, 57–59, O XI a 1 pl. 13.3, probably from *Capua*.
- 14 D Jovino 1, 27, A II a 1 pl. 1.3, probably from *Capua*.
- 14 E CVACapua 4, IVB, 21 pl. 14.8 a–b, from Sant'Angelo in Formis near *Capua*.
- 14 F Koch 69 pl. 17.5, from *Capua*.
- 15 D Bedello 3, 30, A XVI a 1 pl. 1.1, probably from *Capua*.
- 15 E CVACapua 4, IVB, 20 pl. 14.3, *Archaeologica*, Scritti in onore di Aldo Neppi Modona, Florence 1975, 29–35 figs. 1–3, from Sant'Angelo in Formis near *Capua*. A related type is stated to have come from *Capua*, CVA Stuttgart I, 81 pl. 69.1–2.
- 15 F Koch 72–73 pl. 19.6, from *Capua*. Also represented by a specimen from *Allifae*, NCGEtr 5, H 31, NCGBild pl. 16.
- 15 K Jovino 1, 128–129, W I a 1 pl. 62.1, probably from *Capua*.
- 15 L Jovino 1, 130, W V a 1 pl. 63.1, probably from *Capua*.

Unfortunately there is virtually no direct evidence providing absolute dates for the Capuan terracotta types enumerated here, and other means of affording more than a relative chronology are exceedingly few (64). In general, the typological series may be regarded as fairly secure, although in some cases the exact placing of a type in the system may be a matter of judgement. The female types with beaded locks obviously lead on to specimens with curly shoulder-locks, and in both groups shell frames occur during a certain period with the lotus-and-palmette frame as a parallel and contemporary phenomenon. The helmeted women form another, separate series, as does that of the *πρότυποι Θηρῶν*. Among the males similar developments are constituted by the silenus and Acheloos heads.

By far the majority of the specimens here registered have been reported as found at Capua. The first one of our types, 1 F, is in fact only known from Capua, and outside this town the earliest appearances are Minturnae 2 F, Salernum and Satricum 3 F, Caere 5 D, and Teanum 6 F. 1 F, 2 F, 3 F and 6 F certainly form a consistent series, whereas 5 D has a special character; but the latter can be explained as the result of a development from type 5 C, whose sole, exactly localized representative was found at Capua. It is worthwhile noting that other Campanian towns do not figure in our list before the seventh range. In the cases of Latin Satricum and South-Etruscan Caere, 3 F, we obviously have to do with exportations. A local imitation is documented in Salernum, 4 F. So apparently the tradition, which probably had its original home at Capua, soon spread to other towns, at least through direct export of the final products or through casts from exported moulds.

Of course, the Greek prototypes or antecedents give definite *termini post quos* for the individual types; but what presents the real difficulty is the estimation of the time lag between the production of the Greek models and their Capuan derivatives.

Capua, the principal town of the region named

after it, was no Greek city. Archaeological finds and philological sources indicate that it existed well before the arrival of the Etruscans (65). Tombs from c. 900 B.C. onwards have been found at Capua; but the earliest reliable evidence of Etruscan presence in Campania is the local Capuan production of Etruscan bucchero and Etrusco-Corinthian ware from c. 630/20 B.C. (66). The appearance of somewhat later, locally made terracottas in a non-Greek, but rather Hellenized style, must be due to the Etruscans, who by some authorities were credited with the foundation of the town (67). The Ausonian land of Campania was by the Etruscan newcomers organized as a dodekapolis with Capua as its capital, and Campanus was simply the ethnicon formed from it (68). After a long period of Etruscan rule the local Italic population revolted, and in the subsequent period the town was twice captured by the Samnites and finally by the Romans. This common fate of the non-Greek parts of Campania seems to have been that more or less correctly epitomized by Strabo when speaking of Herculaneum and Pompeii (69).

Velleius Paterculus, who wrote about 30 A.D., and whose ancestors belonged to the Capuan ari-

64: To avoid confusion with Greek works made in Campania, I have preferred as a short term "Capuan" instead of "Campanian", if I have not used the expression "Etrusco-Campanian".

65: M. Frederiksen, in *Italy before the Romans*, edited by D. & F. R. Ridgway, London 1979, 277, 280, 281, 286 and 295.

66: Frederiksen, *op.cit.* 277, 295, 298.

67: On the style character, see Riis, *Introduction etc.* 43, cf. 40–41, *NCGColl* 2 1938, 164–168, and Frederiksen, *op.cit.* 300–301.

68: Strabo, *Geographica* V 4.3 (242), J. Whatmough, *The Foundations of Roman Italy*, London 1937, 300, E. Wiken, *Die Kunde der Hellenen von dem Lande und den Völkern der Apenninenhalbinsel bis 300 v. Chr.*, Lund 1937, 75, 83–84, 119–124.

69: V 4.8 (247): Ὅσσοι δὲ εἶχον., εἶτα Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ Πελασγοί, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ Σαυνίται· καὶ οὗτοι δ'ἔξεπεσον ἐκ τῶν τόπων.

stocracy, believed Capua and Nola to have been founded by the Etruscans c. 830 years earlier, *i.e.* c. 800 B.C.; but he also quoted Cato the Elder for

- 70: *Historia Romana* I 7.2–4: “Nam quidam huius temporis tractu aiunt a Tuscis Capuam Nolamque conditam ante annos fere octingentos et triginta. Quibus equidem ad-senserim: sed M. Cato quantum differt! Qui dicat Capuam ab eisdem Tuscis conditam ac subinde Nolam; stetisse autem Capuam, antequam a Romanis caperetur, annis circiter ducentis et sexaginta. Quod si ita est, cum sit a Capua capta anni ducenti et quadraginta, ut condita est, anni sunt fere quingenti”. Cf. G. Radke, *Capua*, in *Der kleine Pauly* 1, Stuttgart 1964, 1048: a misinterpretation of *Polybios* II 17.1.
- 71: Frederiksen, *op. cit.* 281, 295; although Etruscan bucchero sottile of the 7th Century B.C. has been imported to Campania, see H. Jucker, in *Gnomon* 37 1965, 298–299, and Frederiksen 295–296, 298, we are not allowed to conclude that the preceding local Villanova culture was Etruscan, as suggested by W. Johannowsky, in A. Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins*, *Ann Arbor* 1965, 420–423.
- 72: Livy, *Ab urbe condita* libri, VII 31.4.
- 73: Livy VIII 14.10: “civitas sine suffragio”.
- 74: Livy IX 20.5–6: “eodem anno primum praefecti Capuam creari coepti”. The inhabitants were enlisted in the *Tribus Falerna*.
- 75: Livy XXVI 11 and 16.
- 76: If the rectilinear town-plans of Capua and Pompeji, as held by some, date from the early 5th Century, and if Cato referred to a re-foundation of Capua and Nola, the year 471 might be right, Frederiksen, *op.cit.* 300.
- 77: *NCGColl* 2 1938, 141 notes 1–2, cf. *e.g.* E. D. Van Buren, *Archaic Fictile Revetments in Sicily and Magna Graecia*, New York 1923, 147 No. 49 pl. 16.66, P. Wuilleumier, *Tarente*, Paris 1939, 425 pl. 38.1. Therefore, it will not be possible to place it to the late 7th Century as some scholars propose, *e.g.* Frederiksen, *op.cit.* 300.
- 78: Frederiksen, *op.cit.* 302.
- 79: Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* XII 31: τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Καμπανῶν συνέστη; cf. Frederiksen, *op.cit.* 306.
- 80: IV 37.1: “Etruscorum urbem, quae nunc Capua est, ab Samnitibus captam”, cf. Frederiksen, *op.cit.* 305. Oscan family names do not appear till the 4th Century, *ibid.* 303.
- 81: R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, British Museum 1, London 1954, 337 note 2, cf. Frederiksen, *op.cit.* 300.
- 82: Cf. Breitenstein 49 No. 447 pl. 55: “not earlier than about 400”, Wuilleumier, *op.cit.* 427 pl. 39.2: “Hellenistic”.

a different opinion, namely that the foundation of Capua took place 260 years before it was seized by the Romans, and that Nola was founded immediately after Capua. This information Velleius himself rejected, supposing Cato to be reckoning from the capture of Capua in the Second Punic War (70). The first date, no doubt, is wrong, also for philological reasons (71), and the second clearly depends upon which year one may choose for the Roman conquest. True, it is stated that when a wave of Samnite mountain people in 343 B.C. overran Campania, the Capuans were obliged to ask Rome’s aid and surrender to her (72), that in 338 B.C. the inhabitants of Capua got Roman citizenship (73), and that at any rate Roman rule was formally instituted in 318 B.C. (74); but after the town’s taking sides with Hannibal it was for a long time besieged and in 211 B.C. finally taken and heavily punished by the Romans (75). Cato’s foundation figure may accordingly be either 603, 598, 578 or 471 B.C. If we look at our terracottas, the first three of these dates are all acceptable, whereas the fourth one appears rather unlikely – no break being perceptible in the early 5th Century (76); the earliest type, I F, evidently depends on Greek, sub-Dedalic Middle Corinthian and Tarentine works of the first quarter of the 6th Century B.C. (77). The first written Etruscan records in Campania appeared c. 600 (78), but as mentioned above other finds make an Etruscan invasion c. 625 or a little before more likely.

The “Campanian” riot is reported to have happened in 438/7 B.C. (79); but according to Livy Capua nevertheless remained Etruscan till 424 B.C. (80). As to terracottas an increasing Tarentine influence is indicated, partly through the documented importation to Capua of Tarentine antefix types of the late 5th and early 4th Centuries B.C. (81), partly through the introduction of a few completely novel types, the “nun” and the youthful Tarentine Pan, as numbers 12 C and 13 K respectively in our Capuan series (82), and these facts may betray the new cultural orientation after the expulsion of the Etruscans in 424



Fig. 13. Bronze figurine from Satricum. Rome, Villa Giulia. Photo Faraglia.

B.C. As our types of range 11 all more or less depend on Greek models of the third quarter of the 5th Century and those of range 12 have a later 5th or early 4th Century look – judged by Greek standards (12 C is a scion of Myron's Marsyas) –, we may with some confidence let the Samnite conquest of 424 B.C. mark the *terminus post quem* for the latter range. On the other hand, the hair style of types 15 F, K and L presupposes the portrait of Alexander the Great; so, at least with such specimens the Hellenistic period of Campania must have been entered.

If we proceed to the indirect evidence from stratigraphy and find combinations, only a very limited series of points can be made without unduly stretching the material, and even they give too wide limits.

First, a few words on the Etrusco-Campanian or Capuan finds at Pompeji (83). Particularly important are the discoveries in the sanctuary of

Apollo, whose earliest temple dates from the 6th Century B.C. (84), and it should be pointed out that the orientation of the temple corresponds well with that of the town plan so that a close connection between its construction and the foundation of the town is highly probable (85). Some Etrusco-Campanian bucchero fragments including sherds with Etruscan inscriptions were unearthed in the sanctuary, one in the foundation for the east porch found together with both black-figured and red-figured Attic sherds, another in the foundation for the west porch, and the remaining four in a pit at the east side of the temple podium, which contained fragments of architectural terracottas from the first period of the temple and Attic black-figured sherds datable between 550 and 470 according to Maiuri; the inscriptions themselves point to the same time (86). The said architectural terracottas were of Capuan make (87) with parallels both from Capua, Minturnae and Satricum (88). The antefixes with a simple palmette fan instead of a head must certainly be more advanced than the late 7th Century Lakonian akroterion on the Olympic Heraion (89), and the more developed specimens with an inverted volute-and-palmette ornament paralleled at Satricum may date from the mid-6th Century, as shown by the finds from that locality to be

83: Cf. Riis, Introduction *etc.* 39, Neue Forschungen in Pompeji und den anderen vom Vesuvausbruch 79 n.Chr. verschütteten Städten, hrg.v. B. Andreae und H. Kyrieleis, Recklinghausen 1975, 227–228, 231.

84: RMErg 17 1970, 18 note 23.

85: *Ibid.* 58. Neue Forschungen in Pompeji 230; still, cf. Frederiksen, *op.cit.* 281 and 303.

86: MemLinc 7.4 1943/4, 124–130 figs. 1–6, A. Sogliano, Pompei nel suo sviluppo storico, Pompei preromana, Rome 1937, 90 pl. 10.27, Bicentenario degli scavi di Pompei, Naples 1948, 24, show-case 5, A. Maiuri, Alla ricerca di Pompei preromana, Naples 1973, 138–143 figs. 86.1–4 and 87.5–6.

87: Sogliano, *op.cit.* 90 pl. 10.26.

88: Koch 23 pl.3.1, Heurgon pl. 4.1 and 4, MonLinc 37 1938 pl. 5.5 and 9, ActaA 12 1941, 67 fig. 3.

89: Olympia 2 pl. 115.

discussed below. It has, however, often been said that the so-called Greek temple on the “Triangular Forum” was the earliest one at Pompeii; but none of the fragments exhibited or published is necessarily earlier than those from the sanctuary of Apollo, the earliest Greek sherds from the site being Late Corinthian of c. 575–550 B.C. (90). The simai with lions’ heads, on the other hand, have quite a Greek look, and a mineralogical analysis seems to indicate the clay as Pithekoussian, but they cannot be placed before ca. 470–450 B.C. (91). Although there are no representatives of our early Capuan head-types among the terracottas from Pompeii, the local finds as such corroborate the above suggested initial date for the Capuan series.

The antefix figured as type 4 F was excavated in the sanctuary of Mater Matuta at Satricum, and it belongs to the earliest set of architectural terracottas found on the spot, a range which also com-

prised other pieces of Capuan make and is attributed to Temple I A *in antis* (92). Below this temple and intersected by its pronaos wall, there was a votive pit, the contents of which give us a *terminus post quem* for the building in question (93). Apparently, the latest ex-votos date from the years c. 560–540 B.C. (94). One of these, fig. 13 (95), is a bronze figurine representing a spear-throwing warrior with greaves, a barrel-shaped cuirass and an Etruscan helmet, and it was formerly by me held to recall Capuan works like our type 6 F and comparable bronzes (96); but, in fact, it is more related to type 4 F and either a Capuan importation or a Latin work influenced by Capuan art. As it lay in the pit under the temple decorated with antefixes of type 4 F, the conclusion must be that these and the bronze are roughly contemporary, and it is worth noticing that E. Petersen actually believed the pit to have been constructed at the same time as the cella (97).

The next chronologically fixed point is the Capuan tomb of the well-known bronze head-vase in the Danish National Museum, which is dependent on Greek works of c. 565–540 B.C. and much resembles our type 4 G (98). That the latest vases in the tomb were of the Corinthian style is evidence in full harmony with that from Satricum.

Further, we have a cremation grave containing both an Attic red-figured cup signed by Euergides about 520–510 B.C., an Attic black-figured amphora by the Diosphos Painter of the first quarter of the 5th Century B.C. and a Capuan cinerary urn in the shape of a bronze dinos with plastic figures reflecting Greek art of c. 530–510 B.C. and related to our types 5 J, 6 A, D–E and H–K (99). It is obvious that the urn was not deposited before the beginning of the 5th century; still, we do not know how old it was at that time.

To judge from the profiles of the seated men in the better one of the Capuan wall-paintings, that of Tomb III discovered by Simmaco Doria at Capua (100), this picture, which reproduces the Greek style of about 470 B.C., must be roughly

90: *Bicentenario etc.* 23, show-case 4 (not mentioned, but seen there by the present writer in June 1955).

91: Sogliano, *op.cit.* pl. 11.29, *Bicentenario etc.* 23, show-case 3; cf. P. Marconi, *Il Museo Nazionale di Palermo*, Rome 1936, 7–8, 36. Later still is the metope *Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli* 45 1970, 129–137.

92: *ActaA* 12 1941, 67–68, *Origines* 84.

93: *NSc* 21 1896, 29–31, *Della Seta* 279–292.

94: *Della Seta* 285 No. 10426, *StEtr* 29 1961, 68–69 No. 15; *Della Seta* 286 No. 10452, *RA* 1 1972, 114 No. 3, cf. 117 and 119; *Della Seta* 280 and 292 Nos. 10516, 10519 and 10520.

95: *Della Seta* 292 No. 10520.

96: *NCGColl* 2 1938, 143 fig. 5 and 165 fig. 22, *Tyrrhenika* 41 note 9.

97: *RM* 11 1896, 160–161, 173, *Andrén* 455.

98: *BdI* 1874, 243–247, *AdI* 52 1880, 223–224, 232 pl. 5.1–1a and 3–3b: “non ... alcun vaso a figure nere o rosse, ma esclusivamente stoviglie di stile corinzio”, *NSc* 85 1960, 198–203 No. 29 fig. 9 pls. 41–43, *NCGColl* 2 1938, 153–155 fig. 19.

99: *AdI* 23 1851, 36, *AdI* 51 1879, 132 No. 3, *AdI* 52 1880, 345, *NCGColl* 2 1938, 157, *A* 2, 160–163 fig. 20 a–c, *Beazley ARV* 1, 88 No. 1, *Beazley ABV* 509 No. 120.

100: *JdI* 24 1909, 108–109 No. 15 fig. 4, *Riis, Introduction etc.* 42–44 pl. 18.26.

contemporary with our type ranges 7–8, and rather the latter than the former, as the heavy chin of the young man seems quite like that of 8 D. Now, this tomb contained Attic red-figured vases of the period c. 460–435 B.C., three by the Niobid Painter in his middle years, one by the Painter of the Berlin Hydria, and one by Polygnotos, and Beazley in his commentary of the find complex rightly stated: “If 470 is the date of the wall-paintings there is a gap between them and the earliest tomb contents... I doubt if we can be quite certain that 460–450 is too advanced a date for the sub-archaic wall-paintings in Italy” (101). The chronological limits of the painting, then, should be 470 and 450 B.C.

A bronze dinos used as a cinerary urn was also unearthed at Suessula together with some vases, an Attic red-figured amphora by the Pan Painter c. 470–460 B.C., and some others which clearly date from the second half of the same century (102). So, in this case, too, there is a considerable interval, about half a century, between the creation of the earliest object in the find and the depositing of the urn. Accordingly, it is impossible to give an exact date for the lid figure of the latter, which has an Early Classical facial type more or less comparable to our 8 C–E.

For the later period there are even fewer fully comparable and well-dated works within the Capuan material. To some degree certain figures

with more or less frontally painted faces on red-figured vases made at Capua and Cumae may be adduced as parallel phenomena, *e.g.* such recalling our types 12 A and E with a trapezoid cheek-and-chin contour, a triangular forehead and bulky hair over the temples (103), or our 14 D and F, where the face is elliptical and slightly pointed above (104); but although the former in principle are Greek creations of the late 5th and early 4th Centuries (105), the Capuan vase pictures compared date from the years c. 360–330 B.C., and that with the Praxitelian contour from c. 340–320 B.C. (106). 15 F, K and L, finally, with their “leonine” hair like the Alexander portraits, must certainly be of the time after 330 B.C.

101: AJA 49 1945, 154–156.

102: RM 2 1887, 236–241 figs. 4–6 and 9–12, NCGColl 2 1938, 157 and 159, A 14, Beazley ARV 553 No. 39; for the skyphos fig. 11, cf. Hesperia 18 1949, 318–319 No. 25 fig. 1, The Athenian Agora 12, Princeton 1970, 259 No. 346 pl. 16: c. 420 B.C.

103: A. D. Trendall, *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*, Oxford 1967, 228 No. 13, 243 No. 126 pls. 90.7 and 96.4.

104: Trendall, *op.cit.* 497 No. 412 pl. 192.1.

105: See the remarks Tyrrhenika 64 on the Tarquinian antefix type A 4, the Vulcian type 3, 72 pl. 12.4, and a related stone sculpture 77 No. 16 pl. 13.3, as well as the Orvietan antefixes A 9 and their relatives, 97 and 100 pl. 19.3, cf. ActaA 12 1941, 71.

106: Cf. Trendall, *op.cit.* 223 and 495.

III. The South-Etruscan Tradition: Caere

PLATE

- 1 A Andrén 20–21, Caere I 4 a pl. 6.13, Tyrrhenika 9, A 2, ActaA 12 1941, 71, RM 85 1978, 35 pl. 11.1 above right, from *Caere*. Also represented in *Rome*, RendPontAcc 47 1974/5, 33, RM 85 1978, 35 note 14.
- 1 B BdA 50 1965, 125–126 fig. 42, StEtr 35 1967, 336–337, a, from *Punicum*.
- 2 A Andrén 21, Caere I 4 b pl. 6.14, Tyrrhenika 9, A 1, ActaA 12 1941, 71, RM 85 1978, 35 pl. 11.1 below right, from *Caere*. Also represented by specimens found at *Pyrgi*, NSc 84 1959, 147, 182 fig. 32.1, *Pyrgi* 648 note 2.
- 3 A Andrén 21–22, Caere I 4 c pl. 6.15, Tyrrhenika 10, A 3, ActaA 12 1941, 71, from *Caere*. Slight variations resulting from different moulds occur, Andrén 22, Caere I 4 d pl. 6.16–17, Tyrrhenika 10, A 8, ActaA 12 1941, 71, RM 85 1978, 38 pls. 11.1 centre and below left, and 15.2, from *Caere*.
- 4 A Andrén 22, Caere I 4 e pl. 6.18, Tyrrhenika 10, A 5, ActaA 12 1941, 71, RM 85 1978, 38 pl. 11.1 centre right, from *Caere*. Related specimens were found at *Pyrgi*, NSc 84 1959, 148, 182 fig. 32.3, *Pyrgi* 648 note 2, RM 85 1978, 38 note 26.
- 4 B Della Seta 119 No. 6646 pls. 32–33, Tyrrhenika 14 No. 3, RA 1 1968, 49–50 fig. 2, 55 fig. 5, from *Caere*. Part of same sarcophagus as 4 C.
- 4 C Part of same sarcophagus from *Caere* as 4 B, see above.
- 5 A Andrén 31–32, Caere II 11 a pl. 9.28, Tyrrhenika 10, A 7 pl. 1.3, ActaA 12 1941, 71, RM 85 1978, 38, 40 pls. 11.1 above and 15.4, from *Caere*.
- 5 B Tyrrhenika 15 No. 5, RA 1 1968, 50–51 fig. 3, 57 figs. 7 and 9, from *Caere*. Part of same ossuary as 5 D.
- 5 D Part of same ossuary from *Caere* as 5 B, see above and RA 1 1968, 57 fig. 8.
- 6 A Andrén 342, Capitolium I 4 pl. 103.369, Tyrrhenika 25–26 pl. 4.3, Gjerstad 3, 204–205 fig. 129, 4.2, 462–464 fig. 133.1, 6, 96–97 fig. 22, RM 85 1978, 40 pl. 16.4, from *Rome*, but it fits easily into the Caeretan series.
- 7 A Andrén 33–34, Caere II 11 c pl. 9.30, Tyrrhenika 10, A 4 pl. 1.1, ActaA 12 1941, 71, from *Caere*. A related specimen was found at *Pyrgi*, NSc 84 1959, 147, 182 fig. 32.2, *Pyrgi* 648 note 2, RM 85 1978, 41 note 36.
- 8 A Andrén 48, Caere III 5 pl. 18.54, Tyrrhenika 10, A 6, ActaA 12 1941, 71, RM 85 1978, pl. 11.1 above left, from *Caere*. Also represented by a specimen said to have come from *Falerii*, Andrén 48, and probably by another found at *Pyrgi*, *Pyrgi* 648–649 fig. 493 (certainly not our type 3 A as there suggested), as well as one from modern *Ceri*, ArchCl 18 1966, 16 note 2 pl. 4. A related specimen was found at *Rome*, Gjerstad 3, 88, 90 fig. 57, 4.2, 463, 465 fig. 134.1–2, 6, 125, 127–128 fig. 46.
- 8 B P. Brandizzi Vittucci, Cora, Rome 1968, 137–138 figs. 303–304, ArchCl 24 1972, 224–225 pl. 50.5–7, cf. pl. 50.2–3, RM 85 1978, 38, from *Pometia* (?).
- 9 A *Pyrgi* 313–315 figs. 241.5 and 242.1, cf. figs. 241.11 and 242.2, from *Pyrgi*. Female counterpart of the horse-breaker 9 C.
- 9 B ArchCl 16 1964, 55 pl. 32, *Pyrgi* 301–302 figs. 225–226, cf. 298, 300 fig. 221, *Origines* 79 fig. 2, from *Pyrgi*.
- 9 C Andrén 35, Caere II 14 pl. 10.34, *Origines* 77–78 fig. 2, from *Caere*. Also represented by a specimen said to have come from *Falerii*, Andrén 35. Similar types, but rendering warriors, *sileni*, and a deceased man, have been found at *Caere*, Andrén 34–35, Caere II 13 pl. 10.33, 37–42, Caere II 17–18 fig. 20 pls. 10.35 and 11.41, Tyrrhenika 12, B 1 pl. 2.1 and 15 No. 9, ActaA 12 1941, 71, RA 1 1968, 60 fig. 13, 62 figs. 16–19, as well as horse-breakers at *Pyrgi*, *Pyrgi* 314–315 figs. 241.2–3 and 243.
- 9 D Andrén 345, Esquiline I 4, Gjerstad 3, 139, 143, 4.2, 461–462 fig. 131.3, from *Rome*, cf. 9 A–C.
- 10 A *Pyrgi* 336–337 figs. 269–270, RM 85 1978, 42 note 37, from *Pyrgi*. Related: *Ibid.* 343–345, 404 figs. 276–277, RM 85 1978, 40 pl. 16.3, from *Pyrgi*, RM 85 1978, 43 pl. 22.2, from *Caere*, and StEtr 41 1973, 510 pl. 93 f, L. Quilici, Collatia, Rome 1974, 236–237, 239 figs. 492–494, RM 85 1978, 43 note 43, possibly from *Collatia*.
- 10 B Tyrrhenika 15 No. 8, RA 1 1968, 58–61 figs. 12 and 15, 64–66 figs. 22–23, from *Caere*. Related facial types occur among the material found at *Pyrgi*, NSc 84 1959, 183–184 figs. 33.1 and 34.4
- 10 D Sprenger 19–20 No. 1 pl. 1, from *Caere*.
- 11 B Andrén 50, Caere III 8 pl. 17.53, Tyrrhenika 10–11, A 9, ActaA 12 1941, 71, *Origines* 79 fig. 2, RM 85 1978, 44, from *Caere*. Female counterpart of 11 C.
- 11 C Andrén 49–50, Caere III 7 pl. 17.52, Tyrrhenika 12, B 2, ActaA 12 1941, 71, *Origines* 79 fig. 2, from *Caere*. Male counterpart of 11 B.



Fig. 14. Antefix from Falerii, Caeretan type 16 D. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire. Photo Archives Centrales Iconographiques d'Art National.



Fig. 15. Antefix, possibly from Praeneste, related to Caeretan type 18 B. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum. Museum photo.

- 12 A Pyrgi 89 fig. 62, from *Pyrgi*. Female counterpart of 12 C. A related head has been found at *Veii*, Vagnetti 32, A IV and V a pls. 8 and 6.
- 12 B NSc 84 1959, 147, 189 fig. 40, Pyrgi 98 note 1, Origines 80 fig. 2, from *Pyrgi*. Possibly female counterpart of 12 D. A related, but typologically a little earlier, type was formerly in the Swiss art market, pictured on an undated poster of Galerie für antike Kunst Heidi Vollmoeller, Zurich, Bollmann print, finding-place unknown.
- 12 C Pyrgi 86–88 pl. 3.1, from *Pyrgi*. Male counterpart of 12 A.
- 12 D NSc 84 1959, 189–190 fig. 41.2, Pyrgi 94 fig. 65, Origines 80 fig. 2, from *Pyrgi*. Possibly a male counterpart of 12 B.
- 13 B Pyrgi 49 fig. 35, 68–69 pl. 2.2, from *Pyrgi*. Part of same relief as 13 C–D.
- 13 C Pyrgi 49 fig. 35, 64 pl. 2.1, from *Pyrgi*. Part of same relief as 13 B and D.
- 13 D Pyrgi 49 fig. 35, 65–66 fig. 41 pl. 1.2, from *Pyrgi*. Part of same relief as 13 B–C.
- 14 A Andrén 50, Caere III 9 pl. 18.55, Tyrrhenika 11, A 10, ActaA 12 1941, 71, Origines 79 fig. 2, from *Caere*. Also represented by specimens found at *Pyrgi*, Pyrgi 341 fig. 274.2, RM 85 1978, 42 pl. 20.2, and at *Montetosto* between Caere and Pyrgi, StEtr 31 1963, 138 No. 4 pl. 19 a, RM 85 1978, 42 note 39.
- 14 D Pyrgi 345–346 fig. 278. 1, from *Pyrgi*. Related specimens with ears turned out were found at *Caere*, M. Moretti, Il Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, Rome 1961, 78 show-case 2.
- 15 A Andrén 51, Caere III 11 pl. 18.57, Tyrrhenika 11, A 13, ActaA 12 1941, 71, Origines 79–80 fig. 2, from *Caere*.
- 16 A Andrén 51–52, Caere III 12 pl. 18.59, Tyrrhenika 11, A 12 pl. 1.2, ActaA 12 1941, 71, Origines 81 fig. 2, RM 85 1978, 44, from *Caere*.
- 16 B Andrén 414, Velletri I 10 pl. 129.454, Tyrrhenika 37–



Fig. 16. Votive head from Italy, Caeretan type 21 A. Copenhagen, National Museum. Museum photo.

- 38, ActaA 12 1941, 71, Origines 81 fig. 2, RM 85 1978, 44 pl. 22.4, from *Velitrae*. A variety of 16 A, fitting well into the Caeretan series. Also represented by specimens found at *Praeneste*, Andrén 375, Palestrina II 2 pl. 116.408, RM 85 1978, 43, cf. the related heads RM 72 1965, 45–46 pl. 14.1, from *Caere*, and Vagnetti 32, A IV pl. 8, from *Veii*.
- 16 C Andrén 52, Caere III 13 pl. 15.49, ActaA 12 1941, 71, Origines 81 fig. 2, from *Caere*.
- 16 D Andrén 151, Narce 1 pl. 57.189, Tyrrhenika 52, B 2, ActaA 12 1941, 71, Origines 80–81 fig. 2, from *Narce*. A variety of 16 C. Also represented by specimens found at *Veii*, NSc 78 1953, 51–52 fig. 27 c–f and m–n, NSc 98 1973, 58 No. 3, 61–62 figs. 31–32, and at *Falerii*, a fragmentary antefix in Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire A 1645, our fig. 14, above p. 26.
- 17 B ClassJourn 61 1966, 296 fig. 16, 301 note 42, from *Caere* (ex-Lanciani).



Fig. 17. Votive head from Politorium (?), Caeretan type 21 B. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Museum photo.

- 18 A StEtr 9 1935, 92 pl. 20.3, Tyrrhenika 18, A 4, RM 72 1965, 50 pl. 20.1, from *Caere*.
- 18 B Andrén 57, Caere IV 6 pl. 20.66, Tyrrhenika 11, A 14 pl. 2.3, ActaA 12 1941, 71, RM 85 1978, 44, from *Caere*. A variety of this type is in the Thorvaldsen Museum, Copenhagen our fig. 15, above p. 26, L. Müller, Fortegnelse over Oldsagerne i Thorvaldsens Museum 1–2, Copenhagen 1847, 105 No. 58, finding-place unknown, possibly from *Praeneste*, cf. E. K. Sass, Thorvaldsens Portrætbuster I, Copenhagen 1963, 172.
- 18 C Andrén 55–56, Caere IV 4 pl. 20.64, Tyrrhenika 12, B 3 pl. 2.4, ActaA 12 1941, 71, from *Caere*. Also represented by a specimen found at *Pyrgi*, Pyrgi 95–96 fig. 67. Slight variations exist, e.g. our fig. 1, above p. 6.
- 19 A RM 43 1928, 159–160 fig. 7, Tyrrhenika 18, A 6, StEtr 24 1955/6, 213, 215 fig. 9, RM 72 1965, 48 pl. 16.4, from *Caere*.
- 19 B Tyrrhenika 18, A 3, UnivCalPublClArch 3.4 1957, 323

- fig. 8, RM 72 1965, 46–47 pl. 15.1, from *Caere*. A retouched specimen of the cast type.
- 19 C Andrén 56, *Caere* IV 5 pl. 20.65, Tyrrhenika 12, B 4, ActaA 12 1941, 71, from *Caere*. A related specimen was found at *Nemi*, ActaA 12 1941, 8 fig. 4, 10 No. 2.
- 19 D RM 73/4 1966/7, 39–40 pl. 10.1, probably from *Caere*. A bearded variety produced by incision of the beard has the same provenience, *ibid.* pl. 10.2.
- 20 A Andrén 58, *Caere* IV 7 pl. 20.67, Tyrrhenika 11–12, A 15 pl. 1.4, ActaA 12 1941, 71, from *Caere*. Related terracottas are reported to have been found at *Caere*, UnivCal-PubliClArch 3.4 1957, 302, 321 pl. 27 a, and at *Tarquinius*, RM 72 1965, 48 pl. 16.3.
- 20 B Pyrgi 606–607 fig. 463, ArchCl 29 1977, 200–201, A VIII 1 pl. 53.2, cf. pl. 54.1, from *Pyrgi*. Female counterpart of 20 C. Related is a type of πότηνια Θηρῶν antefix, Andrén 445, *Ardea* IV 5 pl. 135.476, Tyrrhenika 39, from *Ardea*, and a slightly later one from *Caere*, Andrén 61, *Caere* V 4 pl. 21.71, Tyrrhenika 12–13.
- 20 C NSc 84 1959, 189–190 fig. 41.1, Pyrgi 201 note 1, cf. ArchCl 29 1977, 202, A VIII 2 pl. 54.2, from *Pyrgi*. Male counterpart of 20 B.
- 21 A Breitenstein 84 No. 799 pl. 101, RM 72 1965, 49, 51 pl. 17.3, finding-place unknown (ex-Læssøe), our fig. 16, above p. 27. Also represented by specimens found at *Lavinium* and *Aricia*, *Lavinium* 2, Rome 1975, 200–201, 251, C 11 fig. 263, *Archeologia Laziale* 2, Roma 1979, 226 pl. 48.3. The type seems to be a descendant of the Caeretan type 20 A, to which it is linked by the same ear-ornaments (“Hufeisenoehrringe”) as 18 B and 19 A. Closely related specimens without these ear-ornaments have been found at *Rome*, *Lavinium*, *Veii*, *Lucera* and *Montecassino*, Gatti 88, G II 1 pl. 34, *OpRom* 3 1961, 128 No. 24 pl. 5, *Lavinium* 2, 205–206, 251, C 34 fig. 274, Vagnetti 48–49, B II pl. 19; cf. also a type of πότηνια Θηρῶν antefix, Andrén 402, Segni II 1 pl. 123.434 left, Tyrrhenika 41, from *Signia*.
- 21 B NCGEtr 51, H 267 m, Tyrrhenika 39, our fig. 17 above p. 27, from *Politorium* (?); for this locality, see StEtr 41 1973, 41. Also represented by a specimen probably from *Caere*, RM 72 1965, 47 pl. 15.2.
- 22 A StEtr 9 1935, 92 pl. 20.4, Tyrrhenika 18, ad A 8, RM 72 1965, 53 pl. 20.2, from *Caere*.
- 22 B Pyrgi 199–200 fig. 130.2, cf. ArchCl 29 1977, 198–199, A VII 1 pl. 51.1, from *Pyrgi*. Female counterpart of 22 C.
- 22 C Pyrgi 201–202 fig. 132.2 and perhaps also fig. 133, ArchCl 29 1977, 199–200, A VII 2 pl. 52.2, from *Pyrgi*. Male counterpart of 22 B.
- 22 D StEtr 9 1935, 92 pl. 19.4, Tyrrhenika 18–19, B 1 pl. 2.2, from *Caere*. Related terracottas have been found at *Caere*, StEtr 9 1935, 92 pl. 20.2, RM 73/4 1966/7, 40 pl. 10.3–4.
- 23 A RM 72 1965, 52 pl. 19.1 and 3, probably from *Caere*. cf. *ibid.* 41.
- 23 B RM 72 1965, 54 pls. 20.4 and 21.1, presumably from *Caere*. Related specimens have been held to have come from *Caere*, *ibid.* 41, 54–55 pl. 21.3.
- 23 C Andrén 102, Vignale (smaller) II 2 pl. 34.116, 136, Scasato II 2, Tyrrhenika 53, B 11, ActaA 12 1941, 71, from *Falerii*. Being a derivative of 22 C and the prototype of an imitation found at *Caere*, Andrén 63, *Caere* VI A 1 pl. 21.72, Tyrrhenika 12, B 6, ActaA 12 1941, 71, it may itself be of Caeretan origin. Also represented by a specimen more vaguely stated to have come from *Italy*, J. Sieveking, *Die Terrakotten der Sammlung Loeb* 2, Munich 1916, 59 pl. 117.1.
- 23 D Andrén 63, *Caere* VI B 1 pl. 21.74, Tyrrhenika 12, B 5, ActaA 12 1941, 71 from *Caere*. A variant has been found at *Veii*, Vagnetti 28–29 pl. 2.8. A related youthful Praxitelean head, belonging to a torso, is too badly preserved to be utilized here, but it seems to represent the same general stage of development, ArchCl 21 1969, 294 pl. 109.1, from *Pyrgi*.

The mutual resemblance of the enumerated items from Caere and its neighbourhood and the typological consistency of the established series indicate an intimate relationship which can only be explained as the expression of a local tradition (107). The integrity of the early part of the A-column, 1–8 A, is beyond doubt; nor can 1 B, 4 B–C, 5 B–C be separated from these works. The 9 and 10 ranges connect the early group with a later series, 11 B–C, 12 A and C, 18 B–C, 19 C, 20 B–C and 22 B–C. In principle the remaining specimens of ranges 12–17 can easily be understood as derivatives of earlier local types, as can also 19 A–B, 20 A, 21 A and 23 C. Less obvious descendants seemingly representing new trends are 18 A, 19 D, 22 A, 22 D, 23 A–B and D, which nevertheless come from Caere, too.

Interesting is the fact that Caeretan types from the beginning were appreciated in Latium, and at least from range 12 onwards also at Veii. As to the Faliscan District, the earliest certain instance is 16 D, 8 A and 9 C being only said to have come from Falerii. Finally, there is one instance of Caeretan export to Tarquinii, 20 A.

107: Cf. Tyrrhenika 9–24 and 58.

By all appearances type 1 A cannot be earlier than the Capuan type 1 F, created after c. 600 B.C.; its local antecedents are Orientalizing heads of c. 625–600 like those of the three well-known seated figures from the Tomba delle Cinque Sedie (108). The Roman specimens of 1 A were discovered in a layer between the floors of the 3rd and 4th Regias (109); the destruction of the 3rd Regia, dated by Attic black-figured lekythoi of c. 540–530 (110), seem to provide a *terminus ante quem* for 1 A. The antefix 1 B was found in a sanctuary the earliest securely datable ex-votos of which were objects of pottery of c. 540–520, including Little Master cups; accordingly this terracotta type must date from the preceding period. The Ceri specimen of type 8 A lay at the bottom of a well together with fragments of a painted Etruscan pinax in a style of c. 530–520, whereas the Veientan representative of type 16 D published in 1973 came from a context of before c. 450 B.C.

Otherwise, reliable external evidence helping us towards an absolute chronology is only to be had from the recent excavations at Pyrgi. The peripteral temple, B, whose original set of terracottas included our types 9 A–C, was the earlier of the two completely unearthed buildings. The foundation layers (“*terrapieni di fondazione*”)

108: RM 82 1975, 165–179 pls. 41–42, 43.1, 44–45, 46.1–3 and 48.2.

109: Personal communication by Professor Frank E. Brown in a letter dated February 19th 1980: “Three of this type stamped in the same matrix and made of Caeretan clay were found in Level III, between the floors of the 4th and 3rd Regias”.

110: RendPontAcc 47 1974/5, 30.

111: Pyrgi 426–427 No. 6 fig. 333, cf. a cup by the Caylus Painter in Copenhagen, CVACopenhagen 3 pl. 115.2, Beazley ABV 634 No. 22, 650, of the late 6th or early 5th Century B.C.

112: Pyrgi 340 No. 2 fig. 273, 405.

113: Pyrgi 459–461 No. 3 fig. 465.

114: Pyrgi 459–460 Nos. 2 and 1 fig. 365.

115: Pyrgi 238–239 No. 30 fig.s 163–164, 267.

116: Pyrgi 263–265 figs. 180–183, cf. 24 fig. 7 section B–B.

117: Pyrgi 195–203.

contained some sherds of imported Attic vases, not a single red-figured piece, but several black-figured and, as the latest among them, a fragment of a late eye-cup of the so-called “Leafless Group” (111). Therefore a date earlier than ca. 500 B.C. for Temple B is most unlikely; on the other hand, the absence of Attic red-figure prevents too much lowering of the date after that year. A specimen of a secondary type of antefix from the same temple (112), matching our type 10 A, was discovered in the pavement, stratum B α , of the Temple Area, which, according to the excavators, was laid out shortly after the construction of the other temple, A. The objects from this stratum included an Attic black-figured fragment of c. 470 B.C. (113); but the deeper strata, B β and B γ , contained even later material, of c. 450–440 and c. 460 B.C. respectively (114). So, the *terminus ante quem* for such secondary antefixes from Temple B as 10 A and perhaps also for the other secondary terracottas like 14 A and D, seems to be the 440’s B.C.

As to Temple A, of the tripartite Etruscan scheme, it was evidently built after c. 460 B.C., as the latest sherd from its foundation layers was an Attic red-figured fragment of that time, found in layer B γ (115). Certainly later than the temple are the finds from the pavement mentioned above, so that its construction and original decoration (cf. our types 12 A and C, 13 B–D) must have taken place between c. 460 and 450/40 B.C. If so, the above-mentioned types 14 A and D from Temple B would be of the same decade. Apparently in concordance with this date is the occurrence of a small coin hoard with the latest issue datable between c. 450 and 406 B.C.; it is reported to have been found in a mixed layer, B μ , over the north-eastern angle of the podium (116). To Temple A also other, more advanced terracottas, among them our types 20 B–C and 22 B–C, have been ascribed (117); they recall Greek works of the third or last quarters of the 5th Century and of the middle or third quarter of the 4th Century respectively – 20 C should be compared with the Hermes Propylaios of Alkamenes, 22 B with Arte-

mis from Gabii and Demeter from Knidos –, and, as well as most of the other ornamental parts of the two temples, they were discovered in the late strata A α – γ and B μ . The latter, rather disturbed one (“terreno rimescolato”) was reached directly under the surface soil (“terreno vegetale”), and in places it filled cuttings into layer A β and must therefore be later than the latter (118). Stratum A β ¹ seems to be a Hellenistic pavement, A β and γ the fills under it reposing on the pavement B α , which is dated c. 450–440 B.C. by the above-mentioned Attic red-figured sherds. The latest objects in both A α and A β – γ belong to the 1st Century B.C. (119).

Our Ripe Classical types 20 B–C were also represented in a well with fill ranging from the Late Archaic to Hellenistic times (120); the latest datable object was a spindle-shaped unguentarium of c. 325–225 B.C. (121). Accordingly, the well had probably gone out of use about this time, and at least that roof of Temple A to which our types 20 B–C belonged must by then already have been destroyed. Whether the destruction comprised the types 22 B–C, too, we cannot tell. From a stratigraphical point of view they are certainly earlier than the 1st Century B.C., but not necessarily later than c. 325 B.C. So, unfortunately, for them we are left with a rather wide chronological range.

Essential, however, is the fact that there was a destruction – from the traces on many of the terracottas apparently a fire –, and this event seems to have been connected with some military operation; for in the same late layers as the majority of the temple terracottas a considerable number of sling-bullets (“innumerevoli ghiande missili”) and eight arrow-heads as well as one spear-head were picked up (122). Two of the sling-bullets were discovered in the “Cist of the Gold Sheets” with the famous inscriptions in Phoenician and Etruscan languages (123), which are variously dated within the 5th Century B.C. (124). Apart from these objects the contents of the “cist” had the same character as the fill encircling it, *i.e.*

the stratum A β ², and the whole was covered by the layer A β ¹; the terracotta fragments apparently all came from Temple B (125), as did three sima elements used to build part of the cist, and perhaps also the gold sheets.

Temples A and B were probably demolished simultaneously and their remains buried under the Hellenistic pavement together with the other evidence of a catastrophe. If the disaster took place no later than, and rather before, 325/225 B.C. – as seems likely, to judge from the unguentarium in the well – we are faced with the possibility of identifying it with the raid on Pyrgi made by Dionysios I of Syracuse in 384 B.C. The ancient authors expressly mention his ravaging the sanctuary of Leukothea or Eileithyia (126), and these names given to the goddess by Greeks have been regarded by modern scholars as equivalent to the names Uni and ‘Astart of the Etruscan and Phoenician inscriptions found in the “cist” (127). The excavators, however, are inclined to disconnect the complete destruction of Temples A and B from the Dionysian raid, dating the former to the beginning of the 3rd Century B.C. at the earliest (128); I quote an important passage (129): “Contrary to what had been thought, the Syracusan expedition of 384 B.C. did not cause appreciable damage to the sanctuary. We have been able to

118: Cf. Pyrgi 24 fig. 7.

119: Pyrgi 530–531 Nos. 30–32, 540 No. 14, 551 fig. 394.15–18.

120: Pyrgi 588 figs. 437–438 section C–C, 604–625.

121: Pyrgi 604, 616 No. 20.

122: Pyrgi 263, 544, 582–586 figs. 432.1–4, 433.1–2, 434, 435.3 and 5–9, 600–601 and 647 fig. 492.2–3.

123: Pyrgi 600 No. 4.

124: DenkschrWien 88.2 1965, 8, 23–24 and 40, JRS 56 1966, 8.

125: Pyrgi 290–303 figs. 211–227.

126: The texts have been conveniently collected by the excavators in one of their preliminary reports, NSc 84 1959, 261–263 Nos. 1–5 and 14.

127: Pyrgi 737–739, JRS 56 1966, 5.

128: Pyrgi 742: “perduranza di ambedue i grandi templi fino almeno all’inizio del III secolo”.

129: Archaeology 19 1966, 21.

establish that the destruction of the temples took place much later, probably during the first half of the Third Century B.C.... Unfortunately, the historical sources throw no light on the events in question, which must certainly have taken place after the last wars between Caere and Rome that are known to us”.

True, we have no cogent evidence that the hostilities of 353 B.C. (130), to which the last lines refer, caused any destruction at Pyrgi or at Caere, and the assertion of the excavators that they have been able to establish that the destruction probably occurred between 300 and 250 B.C., is not founded upon unambiguous stratigraphical evidence, but rather on inference from the architectural terracottas as dated by André in 1940 (131). As was pointed out years ago by the writer (132), the dates suggested in André's monumental work have mostly been obtained by means of stylistic criteria, but the latter have not always been used quite consistently, and particularly the then advanced appreciation of the Post-Achaic terracottas and the conclusions derived from it should be accepted only “cum grano salis”. In connection with the Pyrgi finds it has a special interest here to

repeat my old warning against André's placing of our types 18 B–C to the late 4th or the 3rd Century and his Caeretan type V 2 – which I myself hold to be Latin, see below p. 35, type 18 G – to the 2nd or 1st Century B.C. (133). In the Pyrgi publication Francesca Melis more cautiously dated type 18 C to the second half of the 5th Century, perhaps towards its end (134).

As far as the more advanced terracottas are concerned, we have then to search elsewhere for conclusive evidence, and there is actually a better-dated group of Caeretan products which may help us to a rather safe chronological evaluation of some of the types. I mean the series of red-figured vases of the 4th Century B.C. convincingly attributed to Caere by M. Del Chiaro (135). This scholar himself drew attention to the similarities between our type 19 B and plates by the Copenhagen Genucilia Painter (136) and stated that “in the foregoing parallels there is surely a hint that the Genucilia plates... may be of value for dating works of Etruscan art much less humble”. In its retouched state our type 19 B obviously marks a later stage of development than 18 B which André regarded as Early Hellenistic (137) in spite of its Early and Ripe Classical elements; but the Caeretan Genucilia group certainly belongs to the 4th Century, if not as originally supposed, to its first half, then at least to the second (138). So, it is within the period c. 350–300 that we should place the retouched type 19 B, but the original mould for it and 18 B must be earlier. Moreover, our type 20 A was by Del Chiaro rightly compared with a red-figured skyphos in Boston, which he regards as Tarquinian made by a Faliscan emigrant resettled there, probably not before c. 350 (139), and our type 22 B, which, as was mentioned above, has Greek counterparts of the middle or third quarter of the 4th Century, recalls a votive head also dealt with by Del Chiaro as related to the works of the Copenhagen Genucilia Painter (140). Finally, the more general likeness between Caeretan vase-paintings of the second half of the 4th Century and our bald-headed sileni 20 C, 22 C and 23 C

130: Livy VII 19.6–20.8, Scullard 271.

131: Cf. Pyrgi 184: “Non possiamo ... dallo scavo stesso ricavare nuovi elementi per la classificazione delle terrecotte architettoniche, le quali rimangono perciò tuttora ordinate secondo la sistemazione proposta dall'André”.

132: ActaA 12 1941, 68–70.

133: André 53, 60–61, cf. the remarks Tyrhenika 11–12 on types A 14 and B 3.

134: Pyrgi 95–96.

135: Cf. AJA 70 1966, 31.

136: UnivCalPublClArch 3.4 1957, 322–323 figs. 7–8.

137: André 53.

138: UnivCalPublClArch 3.4 1957, 245, 313, 325, AJA 70 1966, 36.

139: UnivCalPublClArch 3.4 1957, 302–304 pl. 27 b, M. Del Chiaro, *The Etruscan Funnel Group*, Florence 1974, 23–24 No. 1 pl. 14, cf. UnivCalPublClArch 3.4 1957, 306 and AJA 70 1966, 36: “the better products may be placed near the middle of that century”.

140: UnivCalPublClArch 3.4 1957, 323 fig. 9.

and also the youthful satyr 23 D should not be completely disregarded (141).

Until now I have deliberately not touched on the problem of utilizing the so-called Gaulish warrior type represented among the Caeretan finds and comparable to our type 22 A (142). Formerly, I connected it with the tradition of the Gaulish invasion across the Apennines in 387/6 B.C.; but other scholars (143) have doubted the interpretation of the figures in question, first advanced by A. Furtwängler, even if they accepted a date in the first quarter of the 4th Century for them (144). Admittedly there is occasional evidence of the oblong scutum in other Italian and earlier contexts than the Gaulish of the 4th Century B.C.; but I still have the impression that the greater frequency of this weapon in Italy after 400 must be due to its advantages as realized in the battles with the intruding Gauls (145).

Taking all things together I find that there is actually no real reason not to allow for the possibility that a partial burning of the Pyrgi temples took place during the events in 384 B.C. The following points seem fixed: (I) The construction of the Archaic Temple B (our types 9 A–C) about or shortly after 500 with additions and/or repairs before 450/40 (our type 10 A, perhaps also 14 A and D). – (II) The construction of the Early Classical Temple A (13 B–D, but also including our late

Archaic types 12 A and D) between c. 460 and 450/40 with additions and/or repairs before 325/225 (our types 20 B–C). – (III) The use of later Classical terracottas (our types 19 B in its retouched state, 20 A, 22 C and 23 C–D) between c. 350 and the beginning of the 3rd Century B.C. Both on account of the relationship to later Etruscan red-figure painting, and because the Greek models preclude a higher date, types 22 B–C must be assigned to the third quarter of the 4th Century at the earliest, and as they “grosso modo” repeat and are very close to the types 20 B–C, they obviously are but slightly later variations of the latter. Thus it would be tempting to suggest that the roof of Temple A at Pyrgi was somehow damaged during the raid of 384 B.C., and some time afterwards, but not more than a generation, at least partially replaced by a new set of terracottas including antefixes of types 20 B–C and 22 B–C.

141: *AJA* 70 1966, 33–34 pls. 11.2, 13.6, 11 and 13.

142: *Tyrrhenika* 19, C 2, 150–151 pl. 3.1.

143: *UnivCalPublClArch* 4.1 1959, 1–59; *AJA* 81 1977, 501: “not necessarily Gauls.”

144: *Ibid.* 56 note 193.

145: A similar case is that of the torques occurring on 17 B and Vulci/Volsinii 13 D, cf. *UnivCalPublClArch* 4.1 1959, 7–8, 10–11 and 15.

IV. The South-Etruscan Tradition: Latium

PLATE II

- 3 E Andrén 460, Satricum I 8 pl. 139.489, ActaA 12 1941, 68, from *Satricum*.
- 4 E OpArch 2 1941, 159–161 fig. 1 pl. 1, said to have come from *Tarquiniū*, but evidently related to 3 E, from *Satricum*.
- 5 E Andrén 420–421, Lanuvium I 1 pl. 130.455, RM 85 1978, 42 pl. 19.2, from *Lanuvium*. Also represented by a specimen found in *Rome*, Andrén 332, Forum Romanum I 2 pl. 105.372, Gjerstad 3, 256, 258 fig. 157.1, 4.2, 462–463 fig. 132.1, 6, 96, 101 fig. 27.1.
- 6 F Andrén 460, Satricum I 7 pl. 140.490–491, ActaA 12 1941, 68–69 fig. 6, RM 85 1978, 38, from *Satricum*. Female counterpart of 6 G.
- 6 G Andrén 469, Satricum II 9 pl. 145.507, ActaA 12 1941, 68–69 fig. 5, from *Satricum*. Male counterpart of 6 F.
- 8 F Ficana – en milesten på veien til Roma – en vandrestilling om de felles italiensk-nordiske utgravninger..., Copenhagen 1980, 96 No. 50 c pl. 29, from *Ficana*.
- 9 E Tyrrhenika 32 note 1 pl. 4.4, NCGEtr 30, H 169 a, RM 85 1978, 40, from *Praeneste*.
- 9 G Andrén 345, Esquiline I 3 pl. 107.383, Gjerstad 3, 139–140 fig. 92.1–2, 4.2, 458, 460 fig. 130.1–2, 6, 96, 102 fig. 28.1–2, from *Rome*.
- 10 E Andrén 370, Tivoli I 1 pl. 114.402, Origines 83 fig. 2, RM 85 1978, 40 pl. 16.2, from *Tibur*.
- 11 E Le Arti 2 1939/40, 45–47 fig. 5, P. E. Arias, Storia della scultura romana, Messina 1941, 13–14 pl. 1.1, Origines 83 fig. 2, RM 85 1978, 40, from Tre Fontane near *Rome*. Also represented by a specimen of unstated provenience, probably from *Italy*, The Pomerance Collection of Ancient Art, Brooklyn 1966, 115 No. 1135.
- 12 E Andrén 375, Palestrina II 1 pl. 116.407, Origines 84 fig. 2, RM 85 1978, 40 pl. 16.5, from *Praeneste*, our fig. 18, below p. 34. Also represented by a specimen found at *Collatia*, StEtr 41 1973, 510 pl. 93 e, L. Quilici, Collatia, Rome 1974, 216–217 figs. 419–420, and another from *Falerii*, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire A 1339, our fig. 19, below p. 34.
- 12 F Andrén 397, Segni I 1 e pl. 120.425, Giglioli pl. 166.1–2, Tyrrhenika 41, 42 note 1, from *Signia*.
- 13 E NSc 67 1942, 374–382 fig. 1, from *Gabii*.
- 13 F Andrén 502, Uncertain Provenance I 17 pl. 156.522, Tyrrhenika 12, C, Origines 85 note 2, finding-place unknown. Also represented by specimens found in *Rome*, Gjerstad 4.2, 466–467 fig. 135.2–3, 6, 125–126 fig. 45.2, in the region of *Fidenae*, NSc 67 1942, 150–151 figs. 1–2, at *Falerii*, *Norba*, *Signia* and *Satricum*, Andrén 112, Sassi Caduti I 9, 387, *Norba*, Diana 6, 398–399, Segni I 4, 469, *Satricum* II 10, smaller variety; it is not at all certain that the fragment Andrén 52, Caere III 15, was part of a *Juno Sospita*. In *Rome* and *Signia* apparently female counterpart of 16 H. A fragment of a related head was found in *Rome*, Naissance de Rome, Petit Palais, Paris 1977, No. 707, *Róma* Születése, Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest 1980, 62 fig. 107.
- 13 H NSc 26 1901, 538–539 fig. 18, from *Norba*. By the excavator taken for female, but on account of the back hair more likely male.
- 14 F Andrén 469, Satricum II 10 pl. 145.508, ActaA 12, 1941, 71, Origines 85 fig. 2, from *Satricum*. Female counterpart of 14 G. A related *Minerva* was found in *Rome*, Gjerstad 3, 452–453, 456 figs. 283–284, 4.2, 452, 454, 456 fig. 126.1–2, 6, 116, 118 fig. 39, Origines 87–88, PP 32 1977, 99–126 figs. 26–27, 37 and 44–45.
- 14 G Andrén 468, Satricum II 7 pl. 145.505, Origines 85 fig. 2, from *Satricum*. Male counterpart of 14 F.
- 14 H Della Seta 275 No. 9982 pl. 52, Giglioli 36 pls. 199–200, Tyrrhenika 41 note 5, from *Satricum* (“The *Satricum* Jupiter”). Closely related: A. Mazzolai, Grosseto, il Museo Archeologico della Maremma, Grosseto 1977, 162 pl. facing 127, pl. 33, finding-place unknown.
- 15 E Andrén 470, Satricum II 12 pl. 146.509, Origines 84–86 fig. 2, from *Satricum*. Female counterpart of 15 H.
- 15 F Andrén 470–472, Satricum II 13 f pl. 149.512, Origines 84–86 fig. 2, from *Satricum*. Part of same kind of antefix as 15 G. A head from a related antefix was found in *Rome*, Gjerstad 3, 244, 248–249 fig. 155.4, 4.2, 490–491 fig. 153.4, Origines 87.
- 15 G Andrén 470–472, Satricum II 13 e pl. 149.512. Part of same kind of antefix from *Satricum* as 15 F, see above.
- 15 H Andrén 469, Satricum II 11 pl. 146.509, Origines 84–86 fig. 2, from *Satricum*. Male counterpart of 15 E.
- 16 E OpRom 3 1961, 125, 136 No. 1 pl. 1, *Lavinium* 2, Rome 1975, 204–205, 251, C 33 fig. 274, from *Lavinium*.



Fig. 18. Antefix from Praeneste, Latin type 12 E. Rome, American Academy. Photo Felbermeyer.



Fig. 19. Antefix from Falerii, Latin type 12 E. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire. Photo Archives Centrales Iconographiques d'Art National.

16 G Andrén 468, *Satricum* II 8 pl. 145.506, *ActaA* 12 1941, 71, *Origines* 85 fig. 2, from *Satricum*. Also represented by specimens found in *Rome*, Andrén 330, *Palatine* I 11, Gjerstad 3, 88–89 fig. 56.9, 188–189 fig. 119.1–2, 4.2, 458, 460 fig. 130.3–4, 6, 96, 102 fig. 28.2, *GGA* 222 1970, 61, at *Lavinium*, *Origines* 85 (seen by the present writer in December 1965 in the Castello Borghese at Pratica di Mare), at *Velitrae*, Andrén 414, *Velletri* I 11, at *Signia*, Andrén 398, *Segni* I 2 pl. 121.426, and at *Falerii*, Andrén 88, *Celle* I 1 pl. 27, 95, 99, *Vignale* (larger) b pl. 32.113 (mould), and 112, *Sassi Caduti* I 5. Though a mould was found at *Falerii*, the type does not belong to the local or the Veientan tradition (see below p. 52 ff, 44 ff); accordingly the mould is either an exportation from Latium or shaped over a Latin antefix.

16 H Gjerstad 4.2, 458, 461–462 fig. 131.1–2, 6, 125–126 fig.

45.1, from *Rome*. Male counterpart of 13 F. Also represented by specimens found elsewhere in *Rome*, Andrén 341–342, *Capitolium* I 3, Gjerstad 3, 188–189 fig. 119.3–4, at *Signia*, Andrén 398, *Segni* I 3 pl. 121.427, and at *Falerii*, Andrén 146, *Sporadic Finds* I 2 pl. 55.179, *ActaA* 12 1941, 71, *Origines* 82 fig. 2. Related specimens were discovered at *Caere* and *Pyrgi*, see above p. 26, Caeretan type 14 D. Cf. also the warriors' heads from *Satricum* recalling 14 H and 15 H, e.g. Andrén 463, *Satricum* II 2 c pl. 142.493, *Sprenger* 49–50 pls. 21.1–2 and 22.1, our fig. 20, below p. 38, and a *silenus* head antefix said to have come from *Veii*, Andrén 496–497, *Uncertain Provenance* I 2, pl. 154.520, *Origines* 81–82 fig. 2.

17 F Andrén 422, *Lanuvium* I 5 pl. 131.456, from *Lanuvium*. Part of same antefix as 17 G.

- 17 G Part of same antefix from *Lanuvium* as 17 F, see above.
- 18 F G. P. Campana, *Antiche opere in plastica*, Rome 1851, 110 pl. 28.3, Tyrrhenika 51, A 4, from the region of *Falerii*. Also represented by specimens found at *Antemnae*, NSc 12 1887, 68, one of these perhaps identical with Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 89.19 = P 5620, photo Baldwin Coolidge 8367, finding-place not recorded, acquired 1889 from R. Lanciani. Female counterpart of 18 G.
- 18 G Breitenstein 81 No. 773 pl. 94, Tyrrhenika 37 note 4, finding-place unknown, our fig. 2, above p. 6. Also represented by specimens found at *Lanuvium*, Andrén 427, *Lanuvium* II 1, at *Caere*, Andrén 61, *Caere* V 2 pl. 21.69, in the region of *Falerii*, Campana, *op.cit.* 110 pl. 28.1, Tyrrhenika 52, B 6, *ActaA* 12 1941, 71, and by a specimen in the Museo Provinciale Campano at *Capua*. Male counterpart of 18 F.
- 18 H OpRom 3 1961, 125, 136 No. 2 pl. 1, *Lavinium* 2, 219–220, 251, C 93 fig. 301, from *Lavinium*.
- 19 E Breitenstein 84 No. 792 pl. 99, from *Praeneste*.
- 19 F Andrén 369, *Ostia* 2 pl. 113.401, *ActaA* 12 1941, 71, from *Ostia*. Female counterpart of 19 G.
- 19 G Andrén 369, *Ostia* 1 pl. 113.400, from *Ostia*. Male counterpart of 19 F. Also represented by a fragment found at *Tellenae*, Scandinavian Excavations at La Giostra, inv. No. 76/21.
- 19 H NCGEtr 49, H 267 b, Tyrrhenika 39 pl. 4.2, from *Politorium* (?); for this locality, see StEtr 41 1973, 41. Also represented by related specimens from *Lavinium*, OpRom 3 1961, 127, 136 Nos. 11–13 pls. 2–3, *Lavinium* 2, 229, 231, 251, C 124 fig. 315.
- 20 E L. Müller, *Fortegnelse over Oldsagerne i Thorvaldsens Museum* 1–2, Copenhagen 1847, 100 No. I B 13, finding-place unknown, possibly from *Praeneste*, cf. E. K. Sass, *Thorvaldsens Portrætbuster* 1, Copenhagen 1963, 172, our fig. 23, below p. 39. Related specimens without ear-ornaments and wreath have been found at *Lavinium*, *Lavinium* 2, 209–210, 251, C 42 fig. 279, OpRom 3 1961, 128, 137 Nos. 26–27 pl. 5, *Lavinium* 2, 210, 251, C 44 fig. 281; the curly locks of the latter head recall those of *Caere* 19 A.
- 20 F F. Castagnoli, *Il culto di Minerva a Lavinium*, *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Quaderno* 246, 1979, 3–8 pl. 5, cf. pls. 1–4 and 6–9, from *Lavinium*. Same stage of development as *Caere* 20 B, but presumably a Latin work.
- 20 G Walters 424, D 729, cf. D 730, BSR 11 1929, 88 Nos. 19–20, Andrén 427, *Lanuvium* II 2, from *Lanuvium*, our fig. 24, below p. 39.
- 20 H NCGEtr 50, H 267 c, Jovino 90 note 1, from *Politorium* (?), our fig. 25, below p. 40; similar: Breitenstein 84 No. 795 pl. 100, finding-place unknown. Related specimens have been found in *Rome*, Gatti 93, G X a pl. 36, and at *Lavinium*, OpRom 3 1961, 128, 137 No. 25 pl. 5, *Lavinium* 2, 211–212, 251, C 51 fig. 285.
- 21 E *Lavinium* 2, 179, A 19 fig. 233, from *Lavinium*. A related specimen was found earlier on the same site, *Lavinium* I, Rome 1972, 31 fig. 39, 33 note 3 (from 29), f. 24.
- 21 F Laumonier 220–221 No. 1004 pl. 127.1, Tyrrhenika 51, ad A 4, finding-place unknown, believed to have come from *Spain*, also represented by specimens found at *Capua*, Koch 46 pl. 9.5; but the rosettes, berry-clusters and ivy-leaves place the type in the Latin tradition.
- 21 G Breitenstein 81 No. 772 pl. 94, finding-place unknown, but the rosettes, berry-clusters and ivy-leaves place it in the Latin tradition.
- 21 H NCGEtr 49, H 267 a, Tyrrhenika 39, from *Politorium* (?), our fig. 26, below p. 40. Related, but beardless: Gatti 91–92, G VIII pl. 36, from *Rome*.
- 22 E OpRom 3 1961, 127 No. 20, 136 pl. 4, *Lavinium* 2, 213, 215, 251, C 62 figs. 288 and 290, from *Lavinium*.
- 22 F NSc 46 1921, 47 fig. 6, Andrén 341, RM 78 1971, 71 pl. 55.4, from *Rome*. A related type has been employed on revetment plaques from *Lanuvium* together with a bald-headed male type resembling 22 G, Andrén 429, *Lanuvium* II 16 pl. 132.459. Related, too, are some maenads' heads with a similar face (cf. also 22 H), but with another arrangement of the hair and wearing an ivy wreath (cf. 18–19 and 21 F): I. S. Ryberg, *An Archaeological Record of Rome*, Philadelphia 1940, 189 fig. 188 a–c, Gatti 146, Z 6 pl. 56, from *Rome*.
- 22 G Andrén 345–346, *Esquiline* II 1 pl. 107.384, from *Rome*. Related specimens have been found at *Lanuvium*, Andrén 427, *Lanuvium* II 2, and a related bald-headed type has been employed on revetment plaques from *Lanuvium* together with a female type resembling 22 F, see above.
- 22 H NCGEtr 50, H 267 d, from *Politorium* (?), our fig. 27, below p. 41.
- 23 E NCGEtr 52, H 267 r, from *Politorium* (?), our fig. 28, below p. 41. Fragments of a statue with a related head were found at *Ardea*, Studi in onore di Luisa Banti, Rome 1965, 15–21 pls. 6–7.
- 23 F Andrén 389, *Norba*, Juno 9 pl. 117.418, from *Norba*.
- 23 G Andrén 389, *Norba*, Juno 10 pl. 117.416, from *Norba*. A closely related type has been found at *Veii*, Vagnetti 28 No. 8 pl. 2; cf. also the variety *Lavinium* 2, 178, 179, A 18 fig. 231, from *Lavinium*, and MemAmAc 26 1960, 176–177 No. 2 pl. 22.1, from *Cosa*.
- 23 H OpRom 3 1961, 125–126 No. 3, 136 pl. 1, *Lavinium* 2, 222–223, 251, C 100 fig. 304, from *Lavinium*. Related specimens were found at *Aricia*, *Archeologia Laziale* 2, Rome 1979, 227 No. 6 pl. 48.4, in *Rome*, Gatti 89, G III pl. 34, and probably also at *Caere*, RM 73/4 1966/7, 36–37 pl. 8.3.

With the exception of the Latin series, each of the other traditions dealt with in the preceding and following chapters is ascribed to a definite city: Capua, Caere, Veii and Falerii. As to Latium the early material is not explicit enough to permit us to name one single town, in which the tradition originated and developed. The Latin demand for plastic embellishment of temples and related buildings was at first met with imports from Capua, Caere and Veii, as witness specimens of the Campanian type 3 F from Satricum, and of the Caeretan 1 A as well as the Veientan 1 J from Rome, and evidently the Latin types 3–5 E with tongue frames betray Capuan influence, just as the frameless 6 F, 8 F and 9–11 E are more or less dependent on Caeretan. The Archaic and Classical finds in Rome are too heterogeneous to indicate the later capital of the Empire as the home of a Latin tradition; obviously early Rome imported most of its art and employed artists from Caere and Veii (146), and although both the earliest type and several others of the Latin series were found at Satricum, we have no reason to consider this town as a centre of such a political, economical and cultural importance that would justify an attribution. One might more easily accept Lanuvium, Praeneste or Tibur, where the series was in fact early represented, or rather one of the leading towns in Central Latium, preferably Aricia (147).

Although the Latin tradition in its earlier half is rather sporadically represented, there are sufficient links to connect the types. As to facial features there is only a little distance from 5 E to 6 F, of which 8 F is an obvious descendant leading on to 12 E–F, and the rudimentary hair fringe over the central part of 5 E's forehead is a precursor of the hair-style of 9–11 E. The consistency of the group 12–17 E–F needs no pointing-out. On the other hand, the sileni with ivy-wreaths 6–22 G have a youthful continuation, 23 G, and are through their wreaths linked to a much shorter series of female counterparts 18–19 F, 21 F and 23 F. 19–23 E descend from 16 E; 13–14 F and 21 E recall the

famous Juno Sospita of Lanuvium, and the related Minerva 20 F join them. 14–16 H have counterparts among the contemporary sileni and females. The remaining male heads 13 H and 18–23 H form a consistent series, and it is through 18 H connected with 18 F–G and through 23 H with 23 E.

In general the proveniences confirm the Latin origin of the series. Among the exceptions Tarquinii as a finding-place of 4 E, which certainly does not belong to the Central-Etruscan tradition, is highly dubious. A number of pieces were found at Falerii, among them a mould, 12 E, 13 F, 16 G–H and 18 F; this is easily understood when one considers the importance of the Tiber valley as a trade route, already in early times. Nor can it surprise us that some terracottas were exported to old trade partners such as Capua, 18 G and 21 F, Caere, 18 G and 23 H, and Veii, 16 H and 23 G, in a period when Rome was playing an increasing rôle. Particularly the occurrence of late types as 23 G–H (23 G also represented in the Roman colony at Cosa in Central Etruria) is very illuminating.

In comparison with the informative literary sources of early Roman history and the numerous excavations in Rome and Latium, the material providing the archaeologist with fixed points of chronology is certainly meagre. As was noticed above, p. 23, the early temple *in antis* at Satricum, with its terracottas of Etrusco-Campanian types including our Capuan 3 F and 4 F, was probably constructed between c. 560 and c. 540 B.C. (148). Our Latin types 3 E and 4 E must be later substitutes for some of the original antefixes of Temple I A, just as certain Roman finds (149) are imitations

146: Riis, Introduction *etc.* 118–123.

147: *Ibid.* 132–133, Origines 83–88.

148: A short summary of the chronology of the Satricum temples is given by C. M. Stibbe a.o., *Lapis Satricanus*, The Hague 1980, 21, 37–38; the recently found inscription of the time before the construction of Temple II B is by epigraphical criteria dated between 525 and 450, *ibid.* 48.

149: Gjerstad 4.2, 457–459 figs. 129.1 and 3.

of early Capuan antefixes (150). 560/40 B.C., then, should be regarded as the *terminus post quem* for our Latin series. Unfortunately, we have no external evidence for an absolute date for Temple I B, to which types 6 F–G have been attributed (151), and not till in the case of type 14 F stratigraphy and find combinations are somehow helping us.

14 F may together with 14 G be ascribed to the smaller peripteral Temple II A at Satricum. They are head antefixes of roughly the same size, h. 0.32–36 m, smaller than the two sets of whole-figure antefixes of the larger peripteros II B, viz. our types 15 E and H, h. 0.47–52 m, and 15 F–G, h. 0.52–59 m (152). Now, the Minerva head compared with type 14 F was found in the 1938-excavations of the sanctuary of Fortuna and Mater Matuta at the Forum Boarium in Rome. It belonged to a statue which was part of a group having a counterpart. There is no hint that these two groups functioned as akroteria, and several details speak against their having been placed in a pediment. A third possibility remains: their being ex-votos put up in the neighbourhood of the temple (153). The earliest building phase of the latter is by the Lakonian pottery found datable to the second decade of the 6th Century, the decoration of the second phase cannot be earlier than c. 525,

and according to the Italian scholars the *terminus ante quem* for the temple is given by eye-cups of the last decade of the 6th Century (154). But it has been convincingly shown by E. Gjerstad that, practically speaking, all the finds of the 1938 dig (155) are part of the same votive deposit as the discoveries in layer C 13 of the 1959-excavations (156). The latter comprised no Attic red-figured pottery and apparently nothing later than Attic black-figured sherds of c. 525–00 B.C., the earliest objects going back to c. 570 B.C. Among the 1938-material, however, there was one Attic red-figured fragment which may be as late as the mid-5th Century, but, on account of the “Rautenschema” of the drapery rendered, probably not later (157); although accepted by E. Paribeni as belonging to the same context, it was disregarded by him and G. Colonna (158). Whether right or not, this exclusion has, of course, no serious effect upon the dating of the Minerva, as we do not know for how long the late-6th Century Attic pottery was in use in Rome. Nor can we tell from the context if the akroteria of the temple in question included the Minerva, as mostly believed, or if they were made a little before or somewhat after 500, or if the late black-figured vases or the akroteria were the latest of the contents in the deposit. At any rate, all these broken objects are the result of a disaster, which must have taken place after 500, and, evidently, akroteria must have been put up before that unknown date; but in the corresponding fill layer A 13 a of the 1959-dig there was also a black-glazed bowl fragment with incurved rim, which seems a 5th Century type (159), and so there will presumably be no cogent reason to exclude the above-mentioned Early Classical red-figured sherd from the rest of the context. Thus, c. 450 will be the *terminus ante quem* for both the adornment and the destruction of the said temple.

As to the date of Temple II B at Satricum we get a hint through the appurtenance of a relief fragment which has plausibly been explained as the face of a dying Persian, our fig. 21 (160). Other

150: Cf. Koch pls. 1.1, 3 and 4, and 4.3–5.

151: ActaA 12 1941, 68, Origines 84.

152: Origines 84–86.

153: PP 32 1977, 123 fig. 44, 113, 119, 122, 124.

154: PP 32 1977, 64, 82; cf. BullCom 81 1968/9, 15.

155: Gjerstad 3, 437–456, cf. H. Riemann, in GGA 223 1971, 74–78.

156: Gjerstad 3, 414–426, GGA 223 1971, 66–68.

157: Gjerstad 3, 447–448 fig. 279.9, 461–462. The fragment *ibid.* fig. 279.8 has another provenience, BullCom 77 1959/60, 124 note.

158: BullCom 77 1959/60, 109, 124 pl. 17.81, 137 note 15, cf. GGA 223 1971, 77, 79.

159: Gjerstad 3, 392, 394 fig. 249.7, GGA 223 1971, 66; cf. Vagnetti 122 No. 114 pl. 66, second half of the 5th Century B.C.

160: Andrén 462, 464, Satricum II 2 g fig. 43.



Fig. 20. Head of dying Greek from Satricum, related to Latin type 16 H. Rome, Villa Giulia. Photo Alinari 41115.



Fig. 21. Head of dying Persian from Satricum. Rome, Villa Giulia. After André.



Fig. 22. Head of so-called "Dying King", marble sculpture from the east pediment of the Aphaia temple in Aigina. Munich, Glyptothek. Museum photo.

fragments indicate the existence of an amazonomachy in relief, and on the shield of one of the Greek warriors a centaur had been painted. In fact we have just that range of representations which recalls those so common in Greece after the Persian invasions, and we must ask ourselves, if not at least Temple II B be of Post-Persian date, *i.e.* more likely after Salamis/Plataiai, 480/79, than immediately after Marathon, 490 (161).

Our type 16 G from Satricum, being a head antefix only 0.29 m high, could not well belong to Temple II B, but perhaps to II A. If so, it must have been a substitute placed secondarily on the latter building, and as the faces of II B do not



Fig. 23. Votive head, possibly from Praeneste, Latin type 20 E. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum. Museum photo.

typologically differ much from those of II A, it follows that II B was planned before the creation of 16 G, but completed after this event. The Epi-Archaic, Early Classical appearance of 16 G is actually a confirmation of the late date of Temple II B involved by the dying Persian, our fig. 21 (162). One more support of this chronology is provided by type 16 H which was represented by

162: Origines 85–86.

163: Andrén 341–342, *Capitolium I* 3, Gjerstad 3, 188–189 fig. 119.3–4. It seems a conjecture that the similar antefix Helbig 1, 581 No. 785, GGA 222 1970, 61, also came from the Capitol.

164: Gjerstad 4.2, 458, 461–462 fig. 131.1–2, 466–467 fig. 135.2–3, 6, 125–126 fig. 45.1–2, GGA 222 1970, 60.



Fig. 24. Antefix from Lanuvium, Latin type 20 G. London, British Museum. Museum photo. By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

specimens found under interesting circumstances in Rome, one on the substructure of the large Capitoline Jupiter temple (163), the other under the east end of the Basilica Julia and its predecessor Basilica Sempronia together with an instance of type 13 F; also in Signia these two types were counterparts, which means that ranges 13–16 must have covered a not very long period. The Fidenae specimen of 13 F was found together with 6th Century pottery. Most scholars agree that the two terracottas from the Forum Romanum were part of the decoration of the first Temple of Castor, situated just east of the Basilica site (164).

The Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus was inaugurated in 508, that of Castor in 484, but the building of both may have covered a number of



Fig. 25. Votive head from Politorium (?), Latin type 20 H. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Museum photo.



Fig. 26. Votive head from Politorium (?), Latin type 21 H. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Museum photo.

years. The latter case seems the most likely, the temple having been vowed in the battle of Lake Regillus in 499 or 496 and presumably begun shortly afterwards (165). If the construction lasted twelve, fifteen or perhaps even more years – we can never preclude that work continued for some time after the inauguration –, we should not be surprised that two such different types of antefixes as 13 F and 16 H really were both employed on the same roof, not to speak of re-utilization of earlier moulds. We may, then, be right in accepting 484 as a *terminus ante quem* for the first use of the typologically earliest of them, 13 F, as part of the original set, after 499/6, and to regard the other antefix of type 16 H as being a later addition or substitute (166). This, at any rate, is the prefer-

able explanation, as 16 H corresponds to the Caeretan type 14 D, which on independent evidence probably should be dated between c. 460 and 450/40 B.C.

According to the predominant tradition the construction of the Jupiter temple was begun and the cult statue ordered by Tarquin the Elder, whereas the sanctuary was completed by Tarquin the Proud, and this would give a building period

165: Livy II 20.12 on the year 499: "dictator ... aedem Castori vovisse fertur", II 21.3 on the year 496: "hoc demum anno ad Regillum lacum pugnatum apud quosdam invenio", II 42.5 on the year 484: "Castoris aedes eodem anno ... dedicata est; vota erat Latino bello a Postumio dictatore".

166: Origines 86–87.



Fig. 27. Votive head from Politorium (?), Latin type 22 H, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Museum photo.



Fig. 28. Votive head from Politorium (?), Latin type 23 E, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Museum photo.

of more than seventy years, if we admit the Livian date for Tarquin the Elder's death in 579 B.C. (167). The dedication of the temple on the 13th of

167: Livy I 38.7 on Tarquin the Elder: "aream ad aedem in Capitolio Iovis ... occupat fundamentis", I 56.1 on Tarquin the Proud: "intentus perficiendo templo, fabris undique ex Etruria accitis". Pliny, Nat.Hist.XXXV 157 on the cult statue: "†Vulcam Veis accitum, cui locaret Tarquinius Priscus Iovis effigiem Capitolio dicendam"; for the first rather problematic words of this passage, see now O.-W. von Vacano, in *FestschrVogt* I, 524–529. Plutarch, *Poplicola* 13 on Tarquin the Proud: ἄρμα κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐπιστήσαι κεραμοῦν ἐξέδωκε Τυρρηνοῖς τισιν ἐξ Οὐρίων δημιουργοῖς. Andrén, *RendPontAcc* 49 1976/7, 65, 70–71, 74–75, ascribes the whole of the temple's plastic decoration to Vulca's workshop in Veii and proposes the date c. 520–505.

September 508 is the cardinal point of early Roman chronology, because it marks the introduction of a reform of the official Roman calendar (168); but also in this case we have no warrant that the temple really was finished that year. In Athens the Parthenon was begun before 447 (169) and in all essentials completed in 432, i.e. after more than fifteen years; but the interior was ta-

168: Origines 105–106, 181–188, 192–193 and 195; the scepticism of T. Pekáry as to the accuracy of this date, *RM* 76 1969, 307–312, seems exaggerated.

169: See now J. A. Bundgaard, *Parthenon and the Mycenaean City on the Heights*, Publications of the National Museum, Archaeological Historical Series 17, Copenhagen 1976, 134–146.

ken into use and the temple officially dedicated in 438 already, when the cella had been roofed in and the cult statue put into its place. Although some of the terracottas generally attributed to the Capitoline Jupiter temple are Ripe Archaic (170), others and among them the above-mentioned specimen of our Latin type 16 H clearly indicate work on the temple still after 508 (171), and it is a fact not to be slightened that the same type was apparently employed on the Castor temple after 499/96 and that the related Caeretan type 14 D on Temple B in Pyrgi seems to have been put up in the 450's. Nor is it without interest that 16 H is closely related to warriors' heads in the Post-Persian Satricum series. Among these the dying Greek, our fig. 20 (172), must be singled out, as it reflects Greek prototypes that some scholars regard as "not appreciably later than 500", but others as works of the decade 490/80, e.g. the famous "Dying King" from the east pediment of the Aphaia temple in Aigina, our fig. 22, and the bearded bronze head from the Athenian Acropolis (173). Moreover, the drapery of the Satricum maenads with head type 15 F has Greek antecedents of c. 490/80 and are accordingly later (174).

Less is to be said on the later Latin material. The foundation of Ostia, from where our Ripe Classical types 19 F–G, was traditionally ascribed to Ancus Marcius, the direct predecessor of Tarquin the Elder, but the town was in fact the first colony of the Roman Republic, established before that at Antium, which was founded just after the Latin War (175). As 19 F–G are the earliest architectural terracottas from the site, they may have belonged to the colony's first temple, probably erected immediately after the laying-out of the town, *i.e.* before 338 B.C. (176).

We know from its inscription that the Late Classical bronze cist named after its first owner Ficoroni was made in Rome, and nowadays it is dated to the time of Alexander the Great; on account of the type of boxing-gloves rendered in the engraved frieze it cannot have been made earlier than 336, and the style shows that it is not much later

(177). Now, the heads of its figures have some affinity to our Latin terracottas. As to the face, the Dionysos of the handle recalls our type 21 F and Caere 21 B, as to the hair Caere 20 A; the satyrs resemble type 23 G, the youths of the foot-group type 22 H and the silenus in the frieze type 21 G. At least 23 F–G cannot date from the time before that of the cist, and perhaps the same holds good of 22 H and even 21 F–G.

One of the specimens from Cosa in Central Etruria mentioned in connection with type 23 G was discovered in the third layer under the Capitolium of Cosa. So, it must be earlier than this building, which is dated by certain objects found in a context from its construction, *viz.* a very well-preserved coin issued between 179 and 170 B.C.

- 170: In his review of the remains H. Riemann, *RM* 76 1969, 110–121 and *GGA* 222 1970, 56–61, 64–65, rightly rejecting some of the pieces, may after all occasionally be too hypercritical.
- 171: *Origines* 86.
- 172: *Andrén* 463, *Satricum II* 2 c pl. 142.493, *Sprenger* 50 No. 2 pl. 22.1.
- 173: V. Poulsen, *Griechische Bildwerke, Die blauen Bücher*, Königstein i.T. 1962, 11 and 33, E. Waldmann, *Griechische Originale*, Leipzig 1914, 48–49, cf. R. M. Cook, in *JHS* 94 1974, 171.
- 174: *Comp. e.g.* the lower part of the chiton of the maenad *Andrén* pl. 149.512 right with those in E. Buschor, *Griechische Vasen*, Munich 1940, 155 fig. 174.
- 175: *CIL* I² p. 257, *Fasti Silvii* on the 27th of January: "ludi Castorum Ostiis, quae prima facta colonia est"; cf. *Livy* VIII 14.8 on the year 338: "Et Antium nova colonia missa ...".
- 176: Caeretan red-figured pottery of the latter half of the 4th Century B.C. was also among the earliest finds at Ostia, *ArchCl* 27 1975, 50–51.
- 177: *Giglioli* 52–53 pls. 285–289 and 290.2, *Tyrrhenika* 34–35 pl. 5.2, *Riis*, *Introduction etc.*, 71–72, 88–89, 91 figs. 70 and 84, *Beazley EVP* 5, *JHS* 69 1949, 2, T. Dohrn, *Die ficoronische Ciste in der Villa Giulia in Rom*, Berlin 1972, 25–27, 45–47 pls. 2–3, 20, 24–25. According to Dohrn the handle figures should be dated c. 315/10–300 and ascribed to another workshop than the feet from c. 350, and the signature belongs to the engraved decoration, which reproduces works from c. 330/25. D. Rebuffat-Emmanuel, *RA* 1975/1, 74–75, 79, is inclined to attribute the entire cist to the workshop of the artist who signed it, and dates it c. 325/20–310.

according to the now prevailing chronology and hardly in circulation for a long time (178), another

- 178: MemAmAc 26 1960, 102 note 58 No. CA 519, E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Republican Coinage*, London 1952, 36 No. 321 g, M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage 1*, Cambridge 1974, 226 No. 162/6 b.
- 179: MemAmAc 26 1960, 102 note 57 No. CC 110, Sydenham, *op.cit.* 26 No. 231, Crawford, *op.cit.* 1, 158 No. 56/2 pls. 11–12.
- 180: MemAmAc 25 1957, 76 note 2, MemAmAc 26 1960, 102 note 59 No. CC 788.
- 181: MemAmAc 26 1960, 225, cf. 102 note 56.
- 182: MemAmAc 26 1960, 19 and 43.
- 183: Lavinium 2, Rome 1975, 175.

coin issued after 211 B.C. (179), and a stamped Rhodian amphora handle, which V. Grace tentatively placed to the second quarter of the 2nd Century B.C. (180). It is, therefore, no longer possible to date the Capitolium of Cosa c. 150 B.C. (181), but rather ca. 175 B.C., and the Lavinium-Cosa variety of our Latin type 23 G must certainly have been created before this date. It is supposed that the Cosa specimens were used for repair of the local Jupiter temple constructed c. 240–220 and at least after 273, the year of the colony's foundation (182). The Lavinium specimen is dated to the 3rd-1st Centuries B.C. (183).

V. The South-Etruscan Tradition: Veii

PLATE

- 1 J MonLinc 40 1945, 234–235 fig. 37, Andrén 8, Piazza d'Armi 2, FestschrVogt 541 fig. 14, RM 85 1978, 35 pl. 10.3, from *Veii*. Also represented in *Rome*, RendPontAcc 47 1974/5, 29.
- 2 J DissPontAcc 14 1920, 14–21 pl. 3.3–4, Tyrrhenika 44, FestschrVogt 541 fig. 12, finding-place unknown. From an ossuary of a type only occurring at *Veii*, ArchCl 17 1965, 6, 17–21 Nos. 34–36 pls. 1–2, 10.1–3, 11.3–4.
- 4 J DissPontAcc 14 1920, 14–21 pl. 2.3 and 3.1–2, Tyrrhenika 44, FestschrVogt 541 fig. 13, finding-place unknown. On an ossuary of *Veii* type, see *ad* 2 J.
- 5 J Andrén 413–414, Velletri I 9 pl. 129.453, Tyrrhenika 38 note 1, RM 85 1978, 38 pl. 15.3, from *Velitrae*, but belonging to a set of architectural terracotta friezes made from the same moulds as specimens from *Veii* and *Rome*, and stylistically deriving from types found in *Veii* together with 1 J. Andrén cxix–cxxi, cl–cli, Origines 78, cf. MonLinc 40 1945, 246 fig. 45. Also represented by a specimen found in *Rome* together with friezes of the same type as in *Velitrae*, PP 32 1977, 91, 94 fig. 19.
- 8 J BdA 37 1952, 156, 159 fig. 27, Origines 81 fig. 2, RM 85 1978, 40 pl. 16.1, from *Veii*.
- 10 K Art Market, finding-place unknown. The type seems to fit in between 8 J and 11 K.
- 11 K Andrén 6–7, Portonaccio 4 pl. 2.4, Tyrrhenika 47, A, ActaA 12 1941, 71, Origines 81 fig. 2, RM 85 1978, 41 pl. 19.3, from *Veii*. Female counterpart of 11 M. A variety of the same type has also been found at *Veii*, Emporium 107 1948, 26, 29 fig. 7, BdA 37 1952, 156, 158 fig. 26.
- 11 L AD 3 1926, 54–60 figs. 2–8 pls. 45–48 and 52–53, Giglioli 36 pl. 195.2, Tyrrhenika 45–46 pl. 6.4, from *Veii* (“The Apollo of *Veii*”).
- 11 M Andrén 6, Portonaccio 3 pl. 2.3, Tyrrhenika 48, B, ActaA 12 1941, 71, Origines 81 fig. 2, from *Veii*. Male counterpart of 11 K.
- 12 J G. A. Mansuelli, Art of the World, Etruria and Early Rome, London 1966, 98 pl. 25, from *Veii* (not, as stated in the text, the Minerva from Rome mentioned in our Latin series *ad* 14 F).
- 12 K Vagnetti 26–27 pl. 1.1–2, from *Veii*.
- 12 L Walters 342, D 217, Tyrrhenika 47 note 6, AA 1940, 20, 23, 25–26 figs. 21–22, E. Richardson, The Etruscans, Chicago 1964, 101, 281 pl. 22, Sprenger 17 note 24, finding-place unknown (ex-Braun 1852), but evidently the head is closely related to 11 L and 12 K, from *Veii*.
- 12 M Andrén 7–8, Portonaccio 6 pl. 3.5 right, Tyrrhenika 48, C, ActaA 12 1941, 71, Origines 81, from *Veii*. A variety of this type is represented among the finds from the same sanctuary at *Veii*, Andrén 7, Portonaccio 5 pl. 3.5 left.
- 13 J NSc 78 1953, 51–52 fig. 27 i, Origines 81, from *Veii*.
- 13 K Andrén 99, Vignale (larger) a pl. 32.111 (mould), 100–101, Vignale (smaller) I 1 pl. 33. 114, Tyrrhenika 53, Origines 82 fig. 2 (antefix cast from this mould), from *Falerii*, our fig. 29, below p. 46. Part of the same representation as 13 L. The clay of the mould is not unlike the Veientan, but different from the local clay used for the antefixes cast from the mould. Also represented by specimens whose finding-places are unknown, e.g. a silenus head and a maenad's bust from such an antefix in the Sala X of the Archaeological Museum at Siena, Studi e Materiali di Archeologia e Numismatica pubblicati per cura di L. A. Milani 1, Florence 1899, 145 No. 7, and a head in America (ex-Jandolo), R. S. Teitz, Master Pieces of Etruscan Art, Worcester, Mass. 1967, 26, 115 No. 10. Similar pieces, said to have come from *Veii*, are in the Art Market.
- 13 L Part of the same representation as 13 K (mould) from *Falerii*, our fig. 29, below p. 46, cf. also Andrén 111, Sassi Caduti I 4 b. A closely related head was found at *Veii*, Vagnetti 27–28 pl. 3.3.
- 14 J Vagnetti 38, A XVI b pl. 11, ArchCl 18 1966, 111 No. 1 pl. 45.1, from *Veii*. As far as the face is concerned, a specimen of our type 15 J, from *Falerii*, which has another later-looking style of hair, seems to derive from the same model as 14 J, cf. Andrén 110, Sassi Caduti I 3 g pl. 38. 128, ArchCl 18 1966, 111 No. 1 pl. 45.2.
- 14 K Andrén 95–96, Vignale (larger) I 4 pl. 29.103, 112, Sassi Caduti I 7, Tyrrhenika 51, A 1, ActaA 12 1941, 71, Origines 82 fig. 2, RM 85 1978, 42–43 pl. 20.3, from *Falerii*, but the clay is identical with that of the mould with types 13 K–L, contrasting with that of the antefixes cast from it, and not unlike the Veientan clay. Female counterpart of 14 L.
- 14 L Andrén 95, Vignale (larger) I 3 pl. 29.102, 101, Vignale (smaller) I 2, 112, Sassi Caduti I 6, Tyrrhenika 52, B 1, ActaA 12 1941, 71, Origines 82 fig. 2, from *Falerii*. Clay

- as 14 K. Male counterpart of 14 K. An arula found in Rome has an imitation of type 14 L, Gjerstad 3, 141, 144 fig. 93.3, 4.2, 488–489 fig. 152.3.
- 15 J Vagnetti 34–35, A VIII b pl. 7, from *Veii*. Also represented by an antefix from *Veii*, *ibid.* 28 No. 4 pl. 3.4, cf. Andrén 110, Sassi Caduti I 3 g and k pl. 38.128, ArchCl 18 1966, 111 No. 1 pl. 45.2, from *Falerii*, see above *ad* type 14 J. Closely related are some terracottas probably reproducing one and the same model: Vagnetti 36, A XII pl. 9, BdA 37 1952, 160 fig. 29 right, NSc 78 1953, 52 fig. 27 g–h, ArchCl 18 1966, 111–112 No. 2 pl. 44.1–2, RM 85 1978, 44, from *Veii*, Andrén 101, Vignale (smaller) I 3 pl. 35.120, Tyrrhenika 51, A 3, ActaA 12 1941, 71, ArchCl 18 1966, 111–112 No. 2 pl. 44.3, RM 85 1978, 44, from *Falerii*.
- 15 K Andrén 99, Vignale (larger) c pl. 32.113, Tyrrhenika 12, C, 53 note 1, ActaA 12 1941, 71, Origines 85 fig. 2 (mould), from *Falerii*. Also represented at *Antemnae*, L. Quilici & S. Quilici Gigli, *Antemnae*, Rome 1978, 25 pls. 12–14, Andrén 502–503, Uncertain Provenance I 19 pl. 156.524. Related to terracottas from *Veii* like 13–14 J, but evidently an imitation of the Latin type 13 F.
- 16 J Andrén 109, Sassi Caduti I 3 a pl. 38.127, Tyrrhenika 51, 53, *ad* A 3 pl. 7.2, Origines 82–83 fig. 2, from *Falerii*. The face was apparently made in the same mould as 16 K deriving from the same model as 14 J. Female counterpart of 16 L or M.
- 16 K Andrén 110, Sassi Caduti I 3 h pl. 38.128, Tyrrhenika 51, *ad* A 3, Origines 82–83 fig. 2, from *Falerii*. Face as 16 J. Female counterpart of 16 L or M. A related type is represented among the finds at *Veii*, Vagnetti 39, A XVIII pl. 12 (the head Tyrrhenika 72, *ad* No. 2 pl. 12.3, Breitenstein 81 No. 774 pl. 93 has now by Vagnetti rightly been defined as of the same type, already suggested in ArchCl 18 1966, 144 note 22), cf. also the more distant relatives *ibid.* 37, A XIV d pl. 10 and 50, C I a pl. 20, the latter male.
- 16 L Andrén 110, Sassi Caduti I 3 e pl. 38.127, Tyrrhenika 51, 53, *ad* A 3 pl. 7.3, Origines 82–83 fig. 2, Sprenger 44–45 No. 2, from *Falerii*. Male counterpart of 16 J or K.
- 16 M Andrén 110, Sassi Caduti I 3 f pl. 38.127, Tyrrhenika 51, 53, *ad* A 3, Origines 82–83 fig. 2, from *Falerii*. Male counterpart of 16 J or K. A related mould of local Faliscan clay for large antefixes is stated to have come from *Falerii*, perhaps shaped over an imported antefix, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire A 3087, our fig. 30, below p. 47.
- 17 J Tyrrhenika 54–55 pl. 8.1, Sprenger 32–33 No. 3, from *Falerii*. Also represented by specimens from *Veii*, Vagnetti 43–44, A XXIV pl. 16, ArchCl 18 1966, 112 No. 3 pl. 45.3–4.
- 17 L Tyrrhenika 54–55 pl. 8.2, RM 73/4 1966/7, 35 pl. 8.1, Sprenger 46 No. 4 pl. 18.1, from *Falerii*.
- 18 J Dragma Martino P. Nilsson *dedicatum*, Lund 1939, 1–19 fig. 1–4, StEtr 24 1955/6, 217–219 fig. 12, NCGEtr 39, H 216 a, Vagnetti 166 note 5, Sprenger 34–35 No. 5, from *Veii*.
- 18 K BdA 37 1952, 155, 158 fig. 24, Vagnetti 39–40, A XIX pl. 12, RM 72 1965, 46 pl. 14.4, Sprenger 33–34 No. 4 pl. 8.1–2, from *Veii*.
- 18 L Sprenger 31 No. 2 pl. 6.1–2, from *Veii*. On account of the dark complexion to the regarded as male.
- 18 M Vagnetti 55, D III pl. 23, RM 76 1969, 45–46 pls. 12.3–4 and 13.2, from *Veii*. A beardless variety and a related bearded type are also represented among the finds from *Veii*, Vagnetti 52, C IV pl. 21, 54, D I pl. 23, RM 76 1969, 44–45 pls. 12.1–2 and 13.1. Somehow related to Vagnetti's C IV is a retouched head from *Falerii*: Giglioli 77 pl. 420.1, Tyrrhenika 55 pl. 9.1, RM 73/4 1966/7, 36 pl. 18.2, Sprenger 45–46 No. 3; for the side locks, cp. 21 L.
- 19 J BdA 37 1952, 156, 160 fig. 29 left, NSc 78 1953, 51–52 pl. 27 l, RM 85 1978, 43 pl. 22.1, from *Veii*. Female counterpart of 19 M.
- 19 K Tyrrhenika 55 pl. 8.3, from *Falerii*, but clearly a derivative of 17 J, which is represented both at *Veii* and *Falerii*.
- 19 L Tyrrhenika 49 pl. 6.2, Sprenger 35–36 No. 6 pls. 10.1 and 11.1, from *Veii* (“The Malavolta Head”).
- 19 M BdA 37 1952, 156, 160 fig. 30, NSc 78 1953, 51–52 pl. 27 p, from *Veii*. Male counterpart of 19 J. A related head type was found at *Falerii*, RM 76 1969, 47–48 pl. 15.1, 2 and 4, Tyrrhenika 55.
- 20 J Vagnetti 41, A XXI pl. 15, from *Veii*. A related face is seen on a head, whose hair style recalls that of 18 K; it was found at *Falerii*, Tyrrhenika 55 pl. 9.2.
- 20 L Tyrrhenika 55 pl. 8.4, RM 73/4 1966/7, 33 pl. 7.1–2, Sprenger 47 No. 5 pl. 19.1–2, from *Falerii*, but clearly a derivative of 19 L, from *Veii*. A related type is represented among the finds from *Veii*, Vagnetti 53, C VI pl. 21.
- 20 M BdA 33 1948, 1–16 figs. 1–3 and pl. facing 4, Sprenger 47–48 No. 6 pl. 20.1, from *Falerii*.
- 21 J Vagnetti 45, A XXVII pl. 16, from *Veii*. A related male type, also a descendant of 16 J, is represented by a head of Mercury found at *Falerii*, Andrén 96–97, Vignale (larger) II 1 pl. 29.104–105, Tyrrhenika 53–54 note 5.
- 21 K Vagnetti 47, A XXX pl. 17, from *Veii*.
- 21 L Richardson, *op.cit.* 132, 283 pl. 38, Sprenger 38–39 No. 8 pls. 12–15, from *Veii*.
- 21 M Vagnetti 55–56, D IV pl. 23, from *Veii*.
- 22 J Modena, Museo Civico 40, from *Veii*, our fig. 31, below p. 47.
- 22 K Vagnetti 50, B IV pl. 19, NSc 98 1973, 230 No. ABI, 231 fig. 105, from *Veii*. An imitation of Caere 21 A and its relatives.
- 23 K Vagnetti 49–50, B III pl. 19, from *Veii*. According to Vagnetti, *loc.cit.*, also represented among the finds in Rome and at *Clusium*.



Fig. 29. Casts from antefix mould from Falerii, Veientan types 13 K-L. Rome, Villa Giulia. Photo Lennart Larsen.

That a separate Veientan artistic tradition existed is beyond doubt, as it is confirmed by literature and by the abundance and distinctive character of the works of art found at Veii (184); but to a certain measure Lucia Vagnetti was justified in pointing out (185) that if we except the decoration of the Portonaccio sanctuary, our knowledge of the production of Veii within the arts and handicrafts is very limited.

The Veientan terracottas listed here are not so dissimilar as to prevent them from being regarded as a series. 1 J looks like a rather crude local imitation of the Caeretan type 1 A and, more distantly, of the Campanian 1–2 F. 2 J, 4 J, 5 J and 10 K appear to represent a further, local development of 1 J, still under Caeretan and later also Latin influence, as may be seen from a compari-

son of, for instance, 5 J with 5 B and D, of 8 J with 7 A, and of 10 K with 10 E. The twisted shoulder locks link 5 J, 8 J and 11 J together. The Portonaccio terracottas 11 K–M and 12 M were immediately after their discovery rightly regarded as local works, which we, by means of the above-mentioned links, can regard as belonging to an old Veientan koroplastic tradition. But there was also at this time a certain Campanian impact, as shown by the resemblance of 11 K and M to Capuan 6 E and, as far as the face is concerned, 6 G–J; 12 M, on the other hand, recalls to some degree both Capuan 6 K, 8 L and Caeretan 9 C. 21 A is a late case of imitation of a Caeretan model. 11 K is an obvious

184: Cf. *Tyrrhenika* 44–50, 58–59.

185: *Op.cit.* 166.



Fig. 30. Cast from antefix mould from Falerii, related to Veientan type 16 M. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire. Photo Archives Centrales Iconographiques d'Art National.

ancestor of the types in columns J and K, 11 L of 12 L, as are 11–12 M of 13 L, 14 L, 16 L–M, 19 M, 20 M and 21 M. The rosette frame or wreath of 14 K–L is related to the rosettes encircling the head of 13 J. The attribution of the later male series is based on the features which the types have in common with their female contemporaries, not to speak of the proveniences.

Most of the specimens were actually found at Veii; but some, which are known from other towns only, have been attributed for the following reasons: 5 J is represented at Rome and Velitrae, but belongs to a set of architectural terracottas, of which the friezes are represented at Veii and generally ascribed to a Veientan workshop. 13 K–L come from Falerii, but similar pieces are said to have been found at Veii, and a closely related



Fig. 31. Votive head from Veii, Veientan type 22 J. Modena, Museo Civico. Museum photo.

head is an indisputable Veientan find. 14 K–L, also from Falerii, are apparently of Veientan clay. 15 K, represented by a mould found at Falerii, and a specimen found at Antemnae, cast from it or from a corresponding mould, is stylistically related to Veientan finds. 16 J–K from Falerii have the faces made in a mould deriving from the same model as a specimen found at Veii; with them go 16 L–M belonging to the same find complex as 16 J–K. 17 L, which was excavated at Falerii, is a counterpart of 17 J, also represented at Veii and regarded as a Veientan product. 19 K, 20 L and 20 M are all of Faliscan provenience, but derive from types found at and stylistically belonging to Veii.

It is an established fact that Veientan terracottas were exported early, in itself astonishing when we consider the mediocre quality of the very first

products, 1 J. Throughout the periods here discussed Rome occasionally received pieces of Veientan origin, 1 J, 5 J and 23 K, and they were sometimes used for local production or imitation, 1 J and 14 L. Rarer Latin customers were Antemnae, 15 K, and Velitrae, 5 J, and it seems that in the times of Roman domination Veientan terracottas even reached Clusium, 23 K, which is probably due to the Roman expansion. The Faliscans apparently did not take any particular interest in the early koroplastic art of Veii; but from the Late Archaic period onwards nearly twenty types of presumed Veientan origin were represented at Falerii: 13 K–L, 14 J–L, 15 J–K, 16 K–M, 17 J and L, 18 M, 19 K and M, 20 J, L and M, 21 J. In two instances, 13 K–L and 15 K, we have to do with moulds of what seems to be Veientan style, found at Falerii, one of them apparently even of Veientan clay; in a third case, 16 M, the mould was a local product perhaps reproducing an importation, and five more cases betray the use of the same models or moulds in Veii and Falerii, 14 J, 15 J, 16 J–K and 17 J, all of them fitting into the Veientan series.

As to chronology, we have, fortunately, a firmer foundation to build on than that provided by the finds in the holy area mentioned. Let us begin with the earliest, the material from the Piazza d'Armi, which constituted probably the ancient Akropolis with its famous sanctuary of the goddess called Juno Regina by the Romans. The votive objects from a small temple excavated on this plateau, built on the top of the remains of an Iron Age village (186) comprised vessels of impasto and light-coloured ware as well as a little bucchero and some fragments of Caeretan red-ware braziers, the latest one with an Ionizing frieze, and finally two sherds of Attic black-figured pottery, one of them of an eye-cup and the other roughly contemporary, but no red-figure (187). From all this it seems reasonable to regard the temple, which was adorned with terracottas of our type 1 J and corresponding frieze slabs, as having been in use between c. 575 and c. 525 B.C.; a date of

construction about 575 or in the second quarter of the century will moreover be acceptable if we consider the plausible dependence of 1 J upon the Caeretan antefix type 1 A and the Capuan 1–2 F (188). A further confirmation is to be had from type 1 J's being employed in Rome, seemingly together with the Caeretan 1 A, on the 3rd Regia (189), which was destroyed in the third quarter of the 6th Century B.C. (see above p. 29 with note 110).

Although the two Veientan heads 2 J and 4 J evidently belonged to ossuaries of the type represented in the Campana Tomb at Veii, it seems certain that they have not been broken off from any of those found there (190). Nevertheless the extremely limited occurrence of such ossuaries favours a date of the same period as the contents of the tomb, which spanned from the late 7th Century to the third quarter of the 6th (191).

The antefix type 5 J was at Velitrae and at the Roman Forum Boarium associated with friezes similar to those of which fragments have been found on the Capitol of Rome. If the latter have been correctly ascribed to the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, they must have been put up before or about 508, the year of the temple's inauguration, as they are earlier than the other terracottas from the temple, and many of them must have adorned the architrave (192); but even so we would only get a very loose and approximate date for the head type. The second Forum Boarium temple, to which 5 J belonged, was

186: BSR 29 1961, 28.

187: MonLinc 40 1945, 261, 265–271 figs. 73–77.

188: There are repeated instances of what are surely Caeretan terracottas found at Veii, see e.g. Pyrgi 110 note 3, 116 note 1.

189: Made of local clay; personal communication by Professor Frank E. Brown in a letter dated December 17th 1979.

190: ArchCl 17 1965, 18 note 57.

191: Tyrrhenika 158–159, ArchCl 17 1965, 20–21, 33–35; see now also Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie 3 1973, 65–118.

192: Gjerstad 3, 202–203 fig. 127.5–7, 4.2, 393, 395 fig. 104, 397 fig. 105, Origines 86; still cf. GGA 222 1970, 65.

above p. 37 held to have been built before 450, at the earliest about 525. It has wrongly been maintained that type 5 J was “considerata dal Riis... databile nel V secolo” (193). In the lines referred to I actually stated that it is “evidently earlier than the Minerva and Ripe Archaic”; the Minerva is our Latin type 14 F, and it is one of the heads from Temple II B at Satricum which I dated to the 5th Century (cf. above p. 37–39).

The finds in the Portonaccio sanctuary, or as it has been called after its most renowned figure, “The Temple of Apollo” (194), incorporate our types 8 J, 11 K–M, 12 M, 13 J, 18 K, 19 J, 19 M and 21 L. The architectural complex is mostly dated about 500 B.C. (195); but 8 J and certain frieze fragments look earlier (196), and some scholars have lowered the date of the famous Apollo group to the beginning of the 5th Century (197). Details of the excavations have not yet been fully published so that here we are deprived of the ample information which we had at our disposal in the case of the temples at Pyrgi, above p. 29–31. Still, so much can be said for certain: that more than one building existed at that time in the sanctuary, that the finds ranged from 7th and 6th Century bucchero, Corinthian and Lakonian wares to Attic black- and red-figured pottery, and that there

was evidence of a destruction (198). A few Attic black-figured vases could be restored, among them a dinos related to the works of Exekias, and this together with the other early imported pottery and the earliest antefix, our type 8 J, which has been compared with the peplos kore on the Athenian Akropolis (199), may convey us a general idea of roughly when the first temple on the spot was erected, probably not too far from 530 B.C. A *terminus ante quem* for “The Temple of Apollo” is provided by the painted terracotta slabs which seem to have formed a frieze in the interior; the front view of a woman on one slab and the broad border stripes of a cloak on another show that they were not conceived before c. 480 B.C. (200). So, at least the architectural terracottas 11 K–M and 12 M may safely be dated to the years between 530 and 480, and most likely in the latter part of that period.

As to the Campetti sanctuary (201), the oldest terracotta, our type 12 K, is a harpy figure of architectural use and more or less of the same age as the just-mentioned, whereas the first votive heads, 14 J and 15 J, in my opinion look a little later. Unfortunately the digging was undertaken under conditions which cannot be compared with those of most modern excavations, and as moreover the excavation journal and other notes have disappeared (202), there is no warrant that all the pottery found (203) really belonged to the votive deposit and not to an earlier settlement on the site. The ex-votos were reported to have been discovered over a destruction layer, and the oldest fragments are actually of the 7th and early 6th Centuries B.C. (204). The scholar who published the material placed the origin of the votive deposit to the late 6th Century, which is approximately the time of the harpy, and the latest objects excavated under the overlying dwellings of the Imperial period (205) are pieces of pottery of the 3rd and 2nd Centuries B.C. (206) as well as a Greek coin struck between 88 and 50 B.C. (207). A more recent Campetti excavation produced two instances of type 22 K, in strata II–I; stratum II contain-

193: PP 32 1977, 94 with note 56.

194: BSR 29 1961, 28–31.

195: Vagnetti 167.

196: *E.g.* NSc 78 1953, 56–57 fig. 32 a.

197: *E.g.* A. Rumpf, Griechische und römische Kunst, Leipzig 1931, 80.

198: NSc 55 1930, 306 and 337, BdA 37 1952, 153 and 155.

199: *Op.cit.* 156 and 159.

200: NSc 78 1973, 70–72 No. 1, 74–75 No. 6 figs. 49 a–b and 52 bis, cf. 68–69 fig. 48, Origines 73.

201: BSR 29 1961, 31.

202: Vagnetti 16 note 4.

203: Vagnetti 105–152.

204: Vagnetti 105–106 Nos. 1 and 3 pl. 59.

205: Vagnetti 15.

206: Vagnetti 127–146.

207: Vagnetti 174.

ed pottery of the 5th/4th to 1st Centuries B.C. (208).

The late Portonaccio and Campetti finds invite us to reconsider the significance of the Roman conquest in – according to the better tradition – 393/2 B.C. Due to the intensified exploration in the Veientan town area of recent years and the publication of some more details on older excavations, it is now possible to state with certainty that, perhaps with the exception of the Akropolis, the sanctuaries and the town still had a life after the catastrophe, although for a long time on a rather reduced scale (209). So, the picture is today somewhat more complex than it seemed in 1939 when, without all this later available information, I tried to tackle the chronological problems (210); but, no doubt, there is a manifest cultural decline to be noticed in the material as a whole and also a considerable decrease of quality in the later part of our series, beginning with 22 J, if not earlier. *A priori* one would like to put such terracottas after 392, and 22 J is one of the earliest objects in another votive deposit, discovered on the slope of the Akropolis facing the town plateau; the latest are assigned to the 2nd and 1st Centuries B.C. (211). As may be taken from a comparison with Caeretan and Latin types like 20 A and E–F there is greater probability of 22 J's being Late Classical than Hellenistic.

Both at the outset and in its later days the Veientan series had a marked provincial character contrasting with the generally exquisite Late Archaic, Early and Ripe Classical products; but even these sometimes look rather non-Greek in spite of their otherwise Hellenized style. It should not be forgotten that viewed from Greece and Magna Graecia, Veii was a sort of backwater. Symptomatic is the striking scarcity of Greek pottery, both in the sanctuaries and in the cemeteries, particularly of the Attic black- and red-figured wares (212), and the occurrence of Caeretan terracottas at Veii may show through which port it had to be imported. The distribution of our Veientan terracottas, on the other hand, betray at

first some export to Latium, but later on an increasing cultural interest in the Faliscan District (213). If our latest type, 23 K, could turn up both in Rome and at Clusium, the reason was probably that Rome in the second half of the 4th Century B.C. was the unrivalled master of both Latium and Southern Etruria, and in 310 she moreover succeeded in forcing her army through the mountain passes into Central and North Etruria. The spread of such modest Veientan works is more likely a consequence of this expansion than evidence of a resuscitation of the Veientan artistic production (214).

The many above-mentioned instances of Faliscan finds of what seems to be Veientan types need a little more comment. The shortest way from Veii to Falerii was not following the Tiber (215) nor passing through the region of Capena (216). For, in the first place, Falerii could only be approached with some ease from the West (217); secondly, there seems to have been a road linking Veii with Nepes only 7 km Southwest of Falerii (218), and, thirdly, there must also have been a Pre-Roman Faliscan road between Falerii and Nepes (219). The above-mentioned Veientan terra-

208: NSc 98 1973, 230–231.

209: BdA 37 1952, 157–158, BSR 29 1961, 55–56, Vagnetti 166, 173–174, 184.

210: Tyrhenika 149–151; on the year of Veii's fall, see *ibid.* 149 note 6 and BdA 37 1952, 152 note 34.

211: NSc 6 1889, 30–31, 63–65, BSR 29 1961, 31, cf. 26 fig. 6, Vagnetti 18–20, M. B. Jovino, *Depositi votivi d'Etruria*, Milan 1976, 15–16; the initial date suggested by Lucia Vagnetti is the 3rd century, although she noticed two earlier pieces, *ibid.* 174 pls. 37 G XXVII a and 44 J V.

212: Vagnetti 22.

213: Cf. Vagnetti 170.

214: Cf. Vagnetti 172 on the relations with Campania during the period of Roman dominion.

215: BSR 25 1957, 130.

216: BSR 29 1961, 5 fig. 1: the road to Capena started from the East Gate of Veii.

217: Scullard 112.

218: BSR 25 1957, 188, JRS 47 1957, 142–143, Scullard 117–118 fig. 13.

219: BSR 25 1957, 185 fig. 29.

cottas come from three find complexes at Falerii, one a temple at Sassi Caduti (13 L, 14 J–L, 16 J–M), the others on the ancient Akropolis: the larger Vignale sanctuary (13 K, 14 K–L, 15 K, possibly also 19 K and 20 L) and the smaller one at Vignale (13 K, 15 L). At Sassi Caduti the material ranged from the 5th to the 2nd Century B.C. (220), and our earliest type from that site, 13 L, was in fact Late Archaic. The same was more or less the case

220: Della Seta 176.

221: Della Seta 184.

222: André n 106–109, Sassi Caduti I 1 pl. 36.124.

with the larger Vignale deposit (221). André n dated the earliest terracotta from the latter locality to the very beginning of the 5th Century (222); but it need certainly not be earlier than the corresponding figures on Temple II B at Satricum, p. 34, 37–39, 42, *ad* 16 H, rather a little later, its facial type being probably an imitation of the Latin one. The smaller Vignale sanctuary yielded less material, but nothing of an earlier date than that from Sassi Caduti. So, the Faliscan finds do not contradict any dating we arrived at in the foregoing discussion of the discoveries at Veii itself.

VI. The South-Etruscan Tradition: Falerii

PLATE II

- 18 O Andrén 98–99, Vignale (larger) II 8 pl. 30.107 centre, Tyrrhenika 52, A 6 pl. 7.4, ActaA 12 1941, 71, from *Falerii*. A mould for antefixes of this type was found in the same sanctuary at *Falerii*, Andrén 100, Vignale (larger) g. Female counterpart of 17 P.
- 18 P Andrén 98, Vignale (larger) II 7 pl. 30.107 left and right, Tyrrhenika 53, B 8 pl. 7.5, ActaA 12 1941, 71, from *Falerii*. Male counterpart of 17 O.
- 19 N Andrén 102, Vignale (smaller) II 3 pl. 34.117, Tyrrhenika 52, A 7, ActaA 12 1941, 71, RM 85 1978, 44, from *Falerii*. Re-used as a counterpart of the Caeretan type 23 C.
- 19 Q Andrén 90–91, Celle II 5 pl. 27.96, from *Falerii*.
- 20 O Andrén 98, Vignale (larger) II 6 pl. 30.106, Tyrrhenika 52, A 5, ActaA 12 1941, 71, from *Falerii*. A mould for antefixes of this type was found in the same sanctuary at *Falerii*, Andrén 100, Vignale (larger) e. Female counterpart of 20 P.
- 20 P Andrén 97, Vignale (larger) II 5 pl. 30.106, Tyrrhenika 52, B 7, ActaA 12 1941, 71, from *Falerii*. A mould for antefixes of this type was found in the same sanctuary at *Falerii*, Andrén 100, Vignale (larger) f. Male counterpart of 20 O.
- 21 O CVAPetitPalais 41 No. 355 pl. 42.3–5, Beazley EVP 156–157 No. 2, from *Vulci*, but according to Plaoutine and Beazley Late Faliscan like the related vases *ibid.* Nos. 1, 3–4, Catalogue of Antiquities from the Northwick Park Collection (E. G. Spencer-Churchill), Christie, London 1965, 70 No. 309, CVAPetitPalais 41–42 No. 391 pl. 42.6–7, DissPontAcc 14 1920, 231 fig. 10, finding-places unknown.
- 21 P Art of Ancient Italy, Exhibition in Cooperation with Münzen und Medaillen A. G., Basle, André Emmerich Gallery, New York 1970, 30–31 No. 43, now in Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 271 (73/129), our figs. 32–33, below p. 53. Handle attachment of an oinochoë in the shape of a negro's head, finding-place unknown (formerly in Florence). Similar vases: Beazley EVP 187, 305 pl. 40.4–6, finding-places mostly unknown, but one specimen was found at *Tarquini*, *ibid.* 305.
- 22 N Della Seta xiv No. 2769 pl. 64, DissPontAcc 14 1920, 224 fig. 2, 226 fig. 5, 231–232, Giglioli 51 pl. 281.4–6, Beazley EVP 117 No. D 1, from *Tuder*. Part of same vase as 22 Q. Vases with similar heads: Beazley EVP 117–118 Nos. D 2–7 and 9–10, finding-places mostly unknown, however D 2, DissPontAcc 14 1920, 222, from *Vulci*(?), D 5, P. Romanelli, *Tarquini*², Rome 1954, 46, 139 fig. 87 right, DissPontAcc 14 1920, 223 note 5, from *Tarquini*, and D 9, CVAPetitPalais 41 No. 356 pl. 42.1–2, DissPontAcc 14 1920, 223 note 2, from *Etruria* (ex-Castellani), and Studi in onore di Luisa Banti, Rome 1965, 299–300 pl. 65, finding-place unknown (formerly in the Milan Market). Related: Beazley EVP 118 No. D 8 pl. 28.4–5, P. Mingazzini, *Vasi della Collezione Augusto Castellani* 2, Rome 1971, 178–179 No. 742 pl. 194.1–2 and 196.1, from *Caere*.
- 22 O Andrén 103, Vignale (smaller) II 6 pl. 34.119, 118, Sassi Caduti II 6, 136, Scasato II 4, Tyrrhenika 52, A 9, ActaA 12 1941, 71, RM 85 1978, 44, from *Falerii*. Female counterpart of 22 P.
- 22 P Andrén 102, Vignale (smaller) II 4 pl. 34.118, 118, Sassi Caduti II 5 pl. 44.145, 136, Scasato II 3, Tyrrhenika 53, B 10, ActaA 12 1941, 71, from *Falerii*. A variant of the same type: Andrén 103, Vignale (smaller) II 5 pl. 35.121, also from *Falerii*. Male counterpart of 22 O.
- 22 Q Part of same vase from *Tuder* as 22 N, see above. Vases with similar heads, see *ad* 22 N.
- 23 N Andrén 128, Scasato I 5 pl. 48.152, Giglioli 60 pl. 319.2, from *Falerii*. Belonging to the same pediment as 23 Q.
- 23 O Andrén 92, Celle III 2 pl. 27.98, ActaA 12 1941, 70, from *Falerii*. Female counterpart of 23 P.
- 23 P Andrén 92, Celle III 1 pl. 27.97, ActaA 12 1941, 70, from *Falerii*. Male counterpart of 23 O.
- 23 Q Andrén 125–126, Scasato I 1 pl. 46.149, P.J. Riis, *An Introduction to Etruscan Art*, Copenhagen 1953, 105 fig. 99, M. Pallottino, H. & I. Jucker, *L'art des Étrusques*, Paris 1955, 26–27 pl. 110, from *Falerii*. Belonging to the same pediment as 23 N.



Fig. 32. Head-vase formerly in Florence. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum. Museum photo.

In the 6th Century B. C. Falerii had apparently no tradition of its own as far as architectural terracottas were concerned. The first certain instance of such a work comes from the Sassi Caduti sanctuary, our type 13 F, a piece of Latin origin, see above p. 33; but also other Latin types are registered as found at Falerii, *viz.* 12 E (?), 16 G–H and 18 F–G. 16 G was represented in the sanctuaries at Celle, Vignale and Sassi Caduti, at Vignale with a mould. Caeretan import is indicated by the types 8 A (?), 9 C (?), 16 D and 23 C, of whose finding-places within the area of Falerii only three have



Fig. 33. Head-shaped handle attachment of the vase fig. 32, Faliscan type 21 Q. Museum photo.

been definitely stated, *viz.* 16 B at Vignale and 23 C both at Vignale and at Scasato. As was mentioned in the preceding chapter already, the Contrada Vignale was the ancient Akropolis of Falerii, and among the finds from there we have the first obvious signs of a local production of architectural terracottas, the earliest being a mould probably of Veientan type and clay, 13 K–L, and the next a somewhat later mould of the same origin, 15 K. In the first case also antefixes cast locally from it, as shown by the clay, have been preserved. Besides, other antefixes of the same clay as this impor-

ted mould may have come directly from Veii, our types 14 K–L. Of course, it is to be expected that a new way of embellishing temples was particularly taken into use on the local Akropolis, introduced by means of technicians, tools and material from abroad, and *a priori* most reasonably from the nearest Etruscan city of importance, namely Veii. But also later structures were adorned with terracottas of Veientan types. The Sassi Caduti excavation has produced some which obviously derive from a Veientan model, our 15 J, 16 J and K, and, as is rendered plausible by the Faliscan provenience of a mould of Veientan type, but apparently of local clay, 16 M, secondary casting from imported antefixes was performed on the spot. Also other terracottas in a Veientan style occur, *viz.* 16 L, 17 J and L, 18 M, 19 K and M, 20 J, L and M, 21 J. Judging from the evidence provided by the terracotta finds at Veii and Falerii, particularly the types 14 J, 15 J, 16 J–K and 17 J, and accepting André’s idea of koroplasts travelling with moulds, Lucia Vagnetti concluded that we have to count with two factors, on one hand the “inventore del prototipo” or “creatore di modelli” or “bozzettista”, “vagando da una città ad un’altra con le matrici”, on the other the “riproduttore” or “decoratore dei templi”, but also that in some cases they might be one and the same person (223).

With the Post-Archaic terracottas of ranges 18–23 we have a material less closely attached to Veii, Caere and Latium. If we except the plastic vases 21 O–P, 22 N and Q, all the other specimens were excavated at Falerii. Some of the vases are said to have come from Vulci, 21 O and 22 N, one from Tarquinii, 22 N, another from Caere, 22 N, and a very fine janiform kantharos was found at Tuder, 22 N and Q; but the finding-places of the others are unknown. The vases listed as 21 P, 22 N and Q were by Albizzati and Beazley ascribed to workshops at Clusium; but the latter authority nevertheless regarded those of type 21 O as Faliscan. I myself have difficulty in finding features which definitely connect 21 P or 22 N and Q with Clusi-

ne vases and terracottas. On the contrary, the mask 21 P belongs to a jug in the shape of a negro’s head, whose spiral curls in front of the ears very much resemble those at the same place and in the beard of 22 P, and the vases of types 22 N and Q have closely related curls. Most of the vases are, furthermore, decorated with a sort of egg-and-dart, where the egg is rendered by a thin semi-elliptic outline and inside it a very bold U, whereas the dart has been supplanted by a dot; this type of cymatium is very common on Faliscan red-figured pottery. As to the clay there is nothing to prove that it cannot be Faliscan. For these reasons I have ventured to insert the said vases into my Faliscan series.

The terracottas of ranges 18–23 seem to be the result of an independent local production favoured, presumably, by the long period of war between Rome and Veii, which ended with the fall of this city. In other words, the Faliscan tradition proper must have come into existence in the period 483–392 B. C., and perhaps the most likely moment was the establishing of the Roman siege of Veii, the ten years’ length of which, however, is copied from that of the Trojan War (224). But already in 434 B.C. the Faliscans and the Veientans tried to mobilize the Etruscan League against Rome to prevent Veii from suffering the fate of the recently captured Fidenae (225), and this seems to show that the connection between Veii and Falerii then was really threatened. The silenus type 18 P, which is manifestly inspired from distant Greek prototypes of the mid-5th Century B.C., might easily be a work of the late 430’s B.C. The plastic vases 21 O–P, 22 N and Q all belong to

223: ArchCl 18 1966, 113–114.

224: Scullard 269.

225: Livy IV 23.4–5: “Trepidatum in Etruria est post Fidenas captas, non Veientibus solum exterritis metu similis excidii, sed etiam Faliscis memoria initi primo cum iis belli, quanquam rebellantibus non affuerant. Igitur quum duae civitates, legatis circa duodecim populos missis, impetrassent, ut ad Voltumnae fanum indiceretur omni Etruriae concilium..”

the 4th Century, 22 N and Q certainly to the time after 370 (226).

In 241 B.C. it was Falerii's turn to succumb to Rome, and, if the literary tradition is correct, the site with the exception of Juno's sanctuary had to be abandoned (227). It is generally held that this

226: *DissPontAcc* 14 1920, 232.

227: Zonaras, *Epitome Historiarum* VIII 18 (PI 399 C-D): Ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν ἐγένετο ὕστερον, τότε δὲ καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Φαλίσκους ἐπολέμησαν, καὶ Μάλλιος Τουρκυάτος τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐδήλωσε. ὕστερον δὲ ἡ μὲν ἀρχαία πόλις εἰς ὄρος ἔρυμνον ἰδρυμένη κατεσκάφη, ἑτέρα δὲ ὠκοδομήθη εὐέφοδος; Livy, *Periocha libri vigesimi*: "Falisci quum rebellassent, sexto die perdomiti in deditionem venerent"; *Inscriptiones Italiae* 13.1, Rome 1947, 76–77, 549 (*Fasti Triumphales* 22): "Q. Lutatius C.f. C.n. Cerco cos. an. MDCXII de Falisceis k.Mart. A. Manlius T.f.T.n. Torquatus ann. MDCXII Atticus cos. II de Falisceis IV non. Mar[t].", cf. *ibid.* 42–43, 117, 438–439 (*Fasti Consulares* 21 s); Andrén 80–81.

228: Scullard 114–115.

229: Andrén 86–88.

230: *ActaA* 12 1941, 70, Andrén 80–81, 119–120, Sassi Caduti III 3 pl. 45.146 with an ornamental motif which recalls the decoration on 2nd Century ossuaries.

231: Andrén 123–135, Scasato I 1–32 pls. 46–50.149–159, *Tyrrhenika* 152.

232: Andrén 137, Scasato III 2 a–b pl. 53.169–170, *Tyrrhenika* 152 note 3.

233: H. K. Süsserott, *Griechische Plastik des 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Frankfurt a.M. 1938, 68–69 pl. 11.1

234: *ActaA* 12 1941, 70; for the cork-screw curls of 23 P, cp. also M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York 1955, 89–90 figs. 328–333, early Alexandrian heads with "Libyan locks", of the period 331–275 B.C.

temple was the one whose remains have been excavated at Celle (228); but the identification is by no means certain, and we may rather look for Juno's sanctuary on the Vignale plateau, where a dedication to Juno seems to have been unearthed (229). Now, the discoveries at least at Sassi Caduti demonstrate the same fact as at Veii, namely that the sanctuary to some extent was maintained or renewed after the Roman conquest (230). The Scasato temple being situated within the very town is, in this connection, of special interest. It seems beyond doubt that the famous pedimental terracottas, e.g. our types 23 N and Q and the antefixes matching them (231) as well as the typologically earlier ones 22 O–P all antedate the catastrophe of 241 B.C., and we have above already dealt with another type of pre-conquest date represented in the same sanctuary, our Caeretan type 23 C. What remains as possibly of the later 3rd Century is a group of material comprising two types of whole-figure antefixes (232). I must admit that I can see no other reason for placing these terracottas after the capture of the city than the problematic forms of the numbering on some of the rain-tiles of the temple; according to Herbig they are of Roman rather than Etruscan character. At any rate the antefix figures, particularly the goddess, should be compared with Greek reliefs as the Attic stela of 295/4 B.C. (233). Even the two antefix types 23 O–P may be of the time before 241 B.C. (234).

VII. The Central-Etruscan Tradition: Vulci or Volsinii?

PLATE III

- 1 E CVATarquiniia 2,3 II D pl. 2.2, Giglioli 14 pl. 52.1, Tyrrhenika 111, *ad* No. 4, StEtr 33 1965, 312–313 note 31, StEtr 37 1969, 445 fig. 1 b–c, StEtr 44 1976, 34 note 3, 42, from *Tarquiniia*, cf. S. Gsell, Fouilles dans la nécropole de Vulci, Paris 1891, 146 No. 3 pl. 3.8–8 a, Tyrrhenika 111, *ad* No. 4, 158 No. 5, StEtr 35 1967, 623, from *Vulci*, and StEtr 11 1937, 389–390 pl. 48.2, Tyrrhenika 111 No. 4, StEtr 37 1969, 444 note 13, StEtr 44 1976, 34–35 note 4, 42, finding-place unknown.
- 1 F Walters 148, B 458, cf. B 459, I. Strøm, Problems concerning the Origin and Early Development of the Etruscan Orientalizing Style, Odense 1971, 190 fig. 100 a–b, Atti del X Convegno di Studi Etruschi e Italici, Florence 1977, 20–21 pl. 6 d, from *Vulci*, our figs. 34–35, below p. 62. Imitations of East Greek figure vases, cf. C. Blinkenberg, Lindos 1, Berlin 1931, 473 No. 1925 pl. 85, 513 No. 2118 pl. 95, 516–517 No. 2137 pl. 96, E. Buschor, Altsamische Standbilder 2, Berlin 1934, 39 fig. 137, R.A. Higgins, Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, London 1954, 49–50 No. 63 pl. 14.
- 2 D StEtr 40 1972, 34 No. 1, 53–54 pl. 2 b, from *Tarquiniia*.
- 2 E StEtr 33 1965, 313 pls. 66 c and 67 a, StEtr 35 1967, 622–623, StEtr 37 1969, 444 note 11, finding-place unknown (ex-Paolozzi, Chiusi, then probably from *Clusium*).
- 2 F A. Michaëlis, Strassburger Antiken, Strassburg 1901, 20 No. 1770 fig. 18, StEtr 5 1931, 114, Andrén 214, Vulci I 1, Tyrrhenika 72 No. 1, ActaA 12 1941, 71, RM 85 1978, 38 note 26, from *Vulci*.
- 3 C CVABritishMuseum 7, 15, IV B a pls. 18.2 and 20.8, Tyrrhenika 114, *ad* No. 4, StEtr 37 1969, 444 note 13, said to be from *Clusium* or *Volaterrae*, but belonging to the same category as 1 E and 2 D–E.
- 3 D StEtr 42 1974, 25–28, 34 pls. 2–3, said to have come from *Vulci*. A related face: NCGEtr 18, H 101, NCGBild pl. 38, Tyrrhenika 111 No. 5, StEtr 35 1967, 631 No. 58 pl. 131 i, StEtr 42 1974, 28 No. 1, 34, 36 pl. 4 b, finding-place unknown.
- 3 E C. E. Östenberg, Case etrusche di Acquarossa, Rome 1975, 23, 172–173, RM 85 1978, 39 note 27, 52, from the Etruscan predecessor of *Ferentium*.
- 3 F Östenberg, *op.cit.* 23, 170–171, RM 85 1978, 39 note 27, 52, from the Etruscan predecessor of *Ferentium*.
- 3 G Andrén 214–215, Vulci I 2 pl. 79.271, from *Vulci*.
- 4 C Andrén 171, Belvedere I 6 pl. 63.208 (mould), from *Volsinii* (see our note 235).
- 4 D StEtr 37 1969, 455, 457 No. 65 pls. 113 e and 117 d, from *Volsinii*. A related specimen has come from *Vulci*, StEtr 35 1967, 622, 630 No. 51 pls. 129 c and 131 f.
- 4 E Andrén 262, Perugia I 1 pl. 88.313, Tyrrhenika 126 note 2, RM 85 1978, 42 pl. 20.1, finding-place unknown; according to Andrén this head was found within the territory of *Perusia*, but the clay is not North-Etruscan and resembles that of Central Etruria. Related specimens have been found at *Telamon*, *Rusellae* and *Vetralla*, the latter place in the territory of *Tarquiniia*, A. Mazzolai, Grosseto, il Museo Archeologico della Maremma, Grosseto 1977, 75–76 pl. 12 above, RM 66 1959, 26 No. 7 pl. 11, StEtr 31 1963, 47, RM 85 1978, 40 pl. 17.1, BdA 50 1965, 130 fig. 122, RM 85 1978, 42, 51. A model or prototype (“patrix”) for related antefixes has been excavated at *San Giovenale* in the territory of *Tarquiniia*, OpRom 8 1974, 12–13 pl. 32.70–71.
- 4 F Andrén 501, Uncertain Provenance I 14 pl. 157.531, finding-place unknown, cf. *ibid.* I 15 pl. 157.530. Also represented by a specimen found at *Vulci*, Andrén 215, Vulci I 4, Tyrrhenika 64, A 1, ActaA 12 1941, 71, RM 85 1978, 43 note 40. Female counterpart of 4 G.
- 4 G Andrén 67–68, *Tarquiniia* I 5 pl. 23.80, Tyrrhenika 65, C, ActaA 12 1941, 71, from *Tarquiniia*. Also represented by specimens found at *Clusium*, Andrén 254, Chiusi I 1

235: Now that habitation remains spanning from the 8th to the 3rd Century B.C. have been found on the plateau of Orvieto as well as remains of city walls, there seems to me to be no reason to reject K. O. Müller's identification of this town with *Volsinii Veteres*, see PP 27 1972, 239–252, Atti dell' VIII Convegno Nazionale di Studi Etruschi ed Italici, Florence 1974, 207–215, cf. Sprenger 84–85 note 220, Riis, Introduction *etc.* 24, and R. Bloch, Recherches archéologiques en territoire volsinien, Paris 1972, 210–212.

- pl. 86.303, NCGEtr 33, H 187, NCGBild pl. 68, M. Cristofani, *Statue-cinerario chiusine di età classica*, Rome 1975, 80, and at *Populonia*, Andrén 246, *Populonia I* 1 pl. 85.298, *Tyrrhenika* 142 note 4. Male counterpart of 4 F and 5 D.
- 4 H Andrén 215, *Vulci I* 3 pl. 79.272, from *Vulci*.
- 5 D RM 85 1978, 43 pl. 20.4, cf. NSc 82 1957, 21 fig. 36 above left, 27 No. 3, from *Populonia*. Nearly the same type: Andrén 246–247, *Populonia I* 2 pl. 85.298, *Tyrrhenika* 142 note 4, NSc 82 1957, 20 fig. 35 right, 27 No. 2, RM 85 1978, 43 note 40 pl. 21.1, from *Populonia*. Female counterpart of 4 G.
- 5 E AJA 27 1923, 17 fig. 20, Andrén 68, *Tarquiniia I* 6, *Tyrrhenika* 64, A 2, ActaA 12 1941, 71, RM 85 1978, 42, from *Tarquiniü*. Also represented by a specimen from *Sarteano* in the territory of *Clusium*, Andrén 254–255, *Chiusi I* 2 pl. 86.302, NCGEtr 32, H 184, NCGBild pl. 67, *Tyrrhenika* 64, ad A 2, ActaA 12 1941, 71, RM 85 1978, 42 pl. 19.4, and another in the Museo Archeologico at Arezzo, ancient *Arretium*.
- 5 F Andrén 501–502, Uncertain Provenance I 16 pl. 156.527, *Tyrrhenika* 96, ad A 1 pl. 19.1, ActaA 12 1941, 71, finding-place unknown. The type is a precursor of 6 E–F, from *Volsinii* and *Vulci*.
- 5 G Andrén 195–196, *Sporadic Finds I* 3 pl. 73.246, *Tyrrhenika* 98, C 2, ActaA 12 1941, 71 from *Volsinii*.
- 5 M Andrén 158, 194–195 fig. 31 F 1, *San Giovanni* 2 pl. 58.191, *Tyrrhenika* 101 note 8, from *Volsinii*.
- 6 E Andrén 191, *Campo della Fiera I* 2 pl. 72.240, from *Volsinii*.
- 6 F Andrén 192, *Campo della Fiera I* 6 pl. 72.242, cf. 188–189, *Canicella I* 1 pl. 71.234, 194–195 fig. 31 F 2, *Sporadic Finds I* 1 pl. 73.248, *Tyrrhenika* 96, A 1, ActaA 12 1941, 71, StEtr 35 1967, 59 No. 10 pl. 22, RM 85 1978, 42 pl. 21.3, from *Volsinii*. Closely related, but apparently a little smaller and with a shell frame: Andrén 215–216, *Vulci I* 5, *Tyrrhenika* 72 No. 2 pl. 12.2, ActaA 12 1941, 71, RM 85 1978, 42 (mould), from *Vulci*.
- 6 G Andrén 170, *Belvedere I* 2 pl. 63.206, *Tyrrhenika* 97, B 1, ActaA 12 1941, 71, from *Volsinii*.
- 7 D Andrén 187, *Vigna Grande I* pl. 73.245, *Tyrrhenika* 100 note 5, Sprenger 54–55 No. 1 pl. 25.1–2, from *Volsinii*.
- 7 E Andrén 255–256, *Chiusi I* 4 pl. 86.304, *Tyrrhenika* 112, A 1, ActaA 12 1941, 71, RM 85 1978, 44, from *Seggiano* on the Monte Amiata in the territory of *Clusium*, cf. Scullard 233 fig. 26, or perhaps in that of *Rusellae*, cf. the watershed *Tyrrhenika* pl. 24. Also represented at *Clusium* itself, Andrén 255, *Chiusi I* 3 pl. 86.305, Sprenger 65–66 No. 1, Cristofani, *op.cit.* 80 pl. 42.1–2, RM 85 1978, 44.
- 7 G Andrén 196, *Sporadic Finds I* 4 pl. 73.250, from *Volsinii*.
- 7 M AJA 78 1974, 388 pl. 78.7 a, from *Ghiaccio Forte* in the region of *Saturnia*.
- 8 F Andrén 506, Uncertain Provenance II 1 pl. 158.536, ActaA 12 1941, 71, NCGEtr 34, H 192 a, from *Volsinii*. Also represented at *Clusium*, Cristofani, *op.cit.* 80 pl. 42.3–4.
- 8 G Andrén 68, *Tarquiniia II* 1 pl. 23.84, *Tyrrhenika* 64, B 1, ActaA 12 1941, 69, 71, from *Tarquiniü*. Apparently an imitation of Caere 18 C.
- 9 C AJA 78 1974, 388–389 pl. 78.7 d, from *Ghiaccio Forte* in the region of *Saturnia*.
- 9 D Breitenstein 81 No. 775 pl. 94, *Tyrrhenika* 64, A 3, ActaA 12 1941, 71, from *Tarquiniü*.
- 9 E Andrén 193, *Campo della Fiera II* 2 pl. 72.244, from *Volsinii*.
- 9 F Andrén 275, *Arezzo V* 2 pl. 92.331, *Tyrrhenika* 134, A 1, ActaA 12 1941, 71, Cristofani, *op.cit.* 80, RM 85 1978, 44, from *Arretium*. Female counterpart of 9 G. A related head was found at *Volsinii*: StEtr 35 1967, 64 No. 22 pl. 28 a–b.
- 9 G Andrén 256, *Chiusi I* 7 pl. 87.310, *Tyrrhenika* 112, B, ActaA 12 1941, 71, from *Clusium*. Possibly also represented at *Perusia*, Andrén 263, *Perugia II* 3, *Tyrrhenika* 112, ad B, ActaA 12 1941, 71. A closely related type has been found at *Arretium*, NSc 45 1920, 197–198, IV c 1 fig. 14, Andrén 275, *Arezzo V* 1, *Tyrrhenika* 134, B, ActaA 12 1941, 71. The latter type is a male counterpart of 9 F.
- 9 M AJA 78 1974, 388 pl. 78.7 b, from *Ghiaccio Forte* in the region of *Saturnia*.
- 10 D Andrén 190, *Canicella II* 6 pl. 71.238, cf. 181, *Belvedere II* 37 pl. 68.224, 195, *Sporadic Finds I* 2, *Tyrrhenika* 96–97, A 4–5, ActaA 12 1941, 71, Sprenger 56–57 No. 2 pl. 26.1–2, StEtr 35 1967, 62 No. 15 pl. 26, RM 85 1978, 44 note 47, from *Volsinii*.
- 10 E Andrén 506, Uncertain Provenance II 3 pl. 158.538, finding-place unknown. The type seems to be a descendant of 8 F and 9 E.
- 10 F Andrén 160–161, *San Leonardo I* 3 pl. 60.195–196, *Tyrrhenika* 100 pl. 19.3, ActaA 12 1941, 69, Sprenger 60 No. 5, from *Volsinii*. Female counterpart of 10 G.
- 10 G Andrén 160, *San Leonardo I* 2 pl. 61.197, Sprenger 59–60 No. 4 pls. 31.1 and 32.1–2, cf. Andrén 160, *San Leonardo I* 1, pl. 59.193–194, *Tyrrhenika* 100 note 1 pl. 19.4, ActaA 12 1941, 71, Sprenger 57–58 No. 3 pls. 28.1, 29.1–2 and 30.1, from *Volsinii*. Male counterpart of 10 F.
- 10 H Andrén 507, Uncertain Provenance II 5 pl. 158.540, finding-place unknown. The type is closely related to 10 E and 12 G–H.
- 10 M A. Mazzolai, Grosseto, il Museo Archeologico della Maremma, Grosseto 1977, 106 No. 3 pl. facing 64, from *Vulci*.
- 11 D Andrén 159, *San Giovanni* 4 pl. 58.192, from *Volsinii*.
- 11 E Andrén 201, *Sporadic Finds III* 2 pl. 76.279, cf. 180–

- 181, Belvedere II 36 pl. 68.221, and 190, Canicella II 4, Tyrrhenika 97, A 8 pl. 19.2, ActaA 12 1941, 71, StEtr 35 1967, 61 No. 13, RM 85 1978, 44, from *Volsinii* and possibly *Vulci*, see Appendix p. 83–84. Female counterpart of 11 J. Also represented at *Rusellae*, Grosseto, Museo Archeologico della Maremma inv. No. 3064, at *Perusia* and at *Selvasecca* in the territory of *Tarquini*. Andrén 263, Perugia II 2, Tyrrhenika 97, ad A 8, ActaA 12 1941, 71, OpRom 8 1974, 14–15 pl. 38.82. A related head-type was used as a central ornament between Tuscan columns and pelta on an ossuary with a figure of *Skylla* in the pediment, found in the Palazzone cemetery near *Perusia*, E. Galli, Perugia, il Museo Funerario del Palazzone, Florence 1921, 126 and 128 fig. 93.
- 11 F Andrén 162, San Leonardo I 7 pl. 62.202, Tyrrhenika 97, A 9, ActaA 12 1941, 71, cf. Andrén 190, Canicella II 5 pl. 71.237, StEtr 35 1967, 61–62 No. 14 pl. 25, from *Volsinii*. Female counterpart of 11 H. Also represented among the finds at *Telamon* and *Rusellae*, Andrén 236, Talamone 17, Tyrrhenika 106, ActaA 12 1941, 71, G. Maetzke, Roselle, gli scavi e la mostra, Pisa 1975, 68 No. 4 pl. 11 c.
- 11 G Andrén 174–175, Belvedere II 6 pl. 66.214, Tyrrhenika 99 note 10, Sprenger 62–63 No. 8 pls. 34.2 and 35.1–2, from *Volsinii*. Belonging to the same relief series as 11 K and M.
- 11 H Andrén 162, San Leonardo I 6 pl. 62.201, Tyrrhenika 98, B 4, ActaA 12 1941, 69, 71, from *Volsinii*. Male counterpart of 11 E. Also represented at *Telamon*, Andrén 236, Talamone 16, Tyrrhenika 106, NSc 86 1961, 257–258 No. 3 fig. 3, and perhaps at *Selvasecca* in the territory of *Tarquini*, AJA 70 1966, 353 pl. 83.3, NSc 94 1969, 63–64 No. 11 fig. 11, OpRom 8 1974, 14 and 16 pls. 32.72 and 39.85–86 (the latter specimen part of a mould), cf. our type 11 J.
- 11 J Andrén 179, Belvedere II 32 pl. 68.220, from *Volsinii*. Male counterpart of 11 E. Also represented at *Tarquini*, *Perusia* and perhaps *Selvasecca* in the territory of *Tarquini*, Andrén 69, Tarquinia II 2 pl. 23.81, 262, Perugia II 1, Tyrrhenika 65, B 2, 98, B 3, ActaA 12 1941, 69, 71, AJA 70 1966, 353 pl. 83.3, NSc 94 1969, 63–64 No. 11 fig. 11, OpRom 8 1974, 14 and 16 pls. 32.72 and 39.85–86 (the latter specimen part of a mould), cf. our type 11 H.
- 11 K Andrén 172, Belvedere II 1 pls. 64.209, 66.215 and C 2, cf. Tyrrhenika 98–100, from *Volsinii*. Belonging to the same relief series as 11 G and M. A related type has been found at *Arretium*, Andrén 274, Arezzo III 1 pl. 91.325, Tyrrhenika 134 note 3; its moustache recalls 9 G, cf. also 13 G.
- 11 L Andrén 158, San Giovanni I pl. 58.190, Tyrrhenika 100 note 6, Sprenger 61–62 No. 7 pl. 34.1, from *Volsinii*.
- 11 M Andrén 174, Belvedere II 5 pl. 66.216, from *Volsinii*. Belonging to the same relief series as 11 G and K.
- 12 C Andrén 181, Belvedere II 38 pl. 69.226, 190, Canicella II 7, and 194, Campo della Fiera II 6, Tyrrhenika 98, D 1, ActaA 12 1941, 71, from *Volsinii*. Also represented at *Falerii*, Andrén 143, Scasato IV 3, Tyrrhenika 53, C, ActaA 12 1941, 71 (Tyrrhenika 52, A 8 may be the same type). Female counterpart of 12 H and J. Related is the earliest female antefix type represented at *Cosa*, a *Minerva* head within a similar frame, but with palmettes more like those of 12 D, MemAmAc 26 1960, 151, 154–157 No. 2, 165 pl. 17.1, cf. also the *Minerva* type from *Telamon*, Andrén 236, Talamone 19 pl. 83.290.
- 12 D Andrén 217, Vulci III 3 pl. 79.275, Tyrrhenika 72 No. 3 pl. 12.4, ActaA 12 1941, 71, from *Vulci*.
- 12 E Andrén 258, Chiusi II 4 pl. 87.309, Tyrrhenika 112, A 4, ActaA 12 1941, 71, from *Clusium*. A related type has been found at *Volsinii*, Tyrrhenika 97, A 11.
- 12 F Andrén 263, Perugia II 4 pl. 88.314, Tyrrhenika 97, ad A 11, 126 note 3, ActaA 12 1941, 71, from *Perusia*. A closely related type has been found at *Volsinii*, Tyrrhenika 97, A 11.
- 12 G Andrén 180, Belvedere II 33 pl. 68.223, ActaA 12 1941, 71, from *Volsinii*.
- 12 H Andrén 180, Belvedere II 34 pl. 68.222, Tyrrhenika 98, B 6, ActaA 12 1941, 71, from *Volsinii*, cf. Andrén 507, Uncertain Provenance II 6 pl. 158.539–540. Male counterpart of the Faliscan type 21 O, which has actually also been found at *Volsinii*.
- 12 J Andrén 143, Scasato IV 2 pl. 51.164, Tyrrhenika 53, B 9, ActaA 12 1941, 71, from *Falerii*. Male counterpart of 12 C. Related is the earliest male antefix type represented at *Cosa*, a bearded *Hercules* head resembling 13 G within a frame recalling that of 12 C, MemAmAc 26 1960, 151, 154–157 No. 2, 165 pl. 17.2.
- 12 K Andrén 69, Tarquinia II 4 pl. 23.83, Tyrrhenika 65, B 3, ActaA 12 1941, 71, from *Tarquini*.
- 13 C Andrén 216, Vulci II 2 pl. 79.274, from *Vulci*.
- 13 D Andrén 69, Tarquinia II 3 pl. 23.79, Tyrrhenika 64, A 5, ActaA 12 1941, 71, RM 85 1978, 44, from *Tarquini*. Related: Andrén 236, Talamone 18 pl. 83.292, from *Telamon*.
- 13 E G. Maetzke, Roselle, gli scavi e la mostra, Pisa 1975, 17 No. 6 pl. 2 a, from *Rusellae*.
- 13 F Andrén 69–70, Tarquinia II 5 pl. 23.82, Tyrrhenika 64, A 4, ActaA 12 1941, 71 from *Tarquini*.
- 13 G Andrén 180, Belvedere II 35 pl. 69.225, Tyrrhenika 98, B 7, ActaA 12 1941, 71 from *Volsinii*.
- 14 C Andrén 216, Vulci II 1 pl. 79.273, from *Vulci*. A related specimen in Grosseto, Museo Archeologico della Maremma, comes from *Vetulonia*.
- 14 D Andrén 187–188, Vigna Grande 5 pl. 73.247, cf. 163,

- San Leonardo II 1, Tyrrhenika 98, D 2, ActaA 12, 1941 70–71, from *Volsinii*.
- 14 E. Andrén 206, Bolsena I 2 pl. 77.261, Tyrrhenika 101 note 2, from *Volsinii Novi*.
- 15 C. MemAmAc 26 1960, 187–188 No. 3 pl. 21.1, cf. pl. 23.2, from *Cosa*. Female counterpart of 15 L.
- 15 D. Andrén 203, Sporadic Finds IV 4 pl. 73.249, ActaA 12 1941, 70 (mould), from *Volsinii*.
- 15 E. OpArch 7 1952, 46–49 pl. 1, finding-place unknown. Represented at *Tarquinius*, NSc 73 1948, 234–235 No. 9 fig. 25 bis. Belonging to the same relief series as 15 G, from *Volsinii* and *Suana*. A related, but cruder variety was found at *Volsinii*, Andrén 202, Sporadic Finds IV 1 pl. 75.257, ActaA 12 1941, 71.
- 15 G. OpArch 7 1952, 46–49 pl. 2, finding-place unknown. Represented among the finds at *Suana* and *Volsinii*, Andrén 226, Sovana 26 pl. 81.284, OpArch 7 1952, 46–47 fig. 1, Andrén 190, Canicella II 9, OpArch 7 1952, 46–47, StEtr 35 1957, 63 No. 20 pl. 27 a. Belonging to the same relief series as 15 E.
- 15 L. MemAmAc 26 1960, 187–188 No. 3 fig. 12, from *Cosa*. Male counterpart of 15 C.
- 15 M. StEtr 35 1967, 68 No. 33 pl. 28 c, from *Volsinii*, cf. the Caeretan and Latin types 23 D and G.

In spite of the very different finding-places our series presents a rather high degree of stylistic consistency as particularly the columns E–J show. The plastic heads on vases, 1 E, 2 D–E, 3 C–D and 4 D, fit in well with the other terracottas of the same evolutionary stages, and there is a gradual and unbroken development from them to 15 C–E. Some types may at the first glance seem a little extraordinary, e.g. 4 E and 12 C, especially if we consider the proveniences of some of their representatives: Perugia, Telamon, Rusellae and Falerii; but the scalloped hair of 4 E is easily understood as derived from that of 2 F and 3 E–F, and as leading to 5 F, 6 F and 7 D, and the strange frame of 12 C, no doubt, is a contamination of those of 10 E and H with the lotus-and-palmette ornaments of 12 D–F, which, on the other hand, descend from those on types 4 F, 9 E and 11 E. The

ear-ornaments are usually round discs or rosettes; only one type, 14 E, has the “Hufeisenohrringe” so common on Classical South-Etruscan terracottas. The female and male columns are firmly interlocked through the counterparts 4F/5D and 4 G, 10 E and H, 11 E and 11 J/12 G, 12 C and J, 15 C and L, 15 E and G, and the types from 3 G to 15 G and their relatives in the H and J columns stick just as well together as the females. The beardless male types 5 M–11 M and 15 L–M have mostly features that connect them with specimens in the other columns, and all the youthful males were found in Central Etruria.

To the Central-Etruscan koroplast South Etruria was the nearest source of inspiration, and some dependence upon Caeretan types seems plausible, e.g. in the cases of 2 F, 3 E–F, 4 E, 7 M, 8 G, 9 C and M, 14 E and 15 D (236). But whereas the rich and varied material from South Etruria, including Latium and the Faliscan District, permitted a splitting-up of this region’s koroplastic tradition into four branches, probably with the Caeretan branch as the principal one, from which impulses emanated to Latium and Veii and from the latter town to Falerii, it is not yet possible to establish similar local traditions within Central Etruria, and not even, as in Campania, to indicate one town as a plausible home of all but the entire regional tradition (237). The situation recalls that of Latium; for the early types offer no unambiguous evidence showing where in Central Etruria to locate the origin. To distinguish with safety between the styles of the principal cities of Central Etruria is also in other art disciplines extremely difficult, if not impossible, at least with our present knowledge (238). Of course, a high position in our typological series does not necessarily always imply so high a date in years; in a provincial town features which are no longer in vogue in a capital may persist for a considerable time; but our earliest types, 1 E–F, were represented at Tarquinii and Vulci, both of which were important cities already in the period of Orientalizing art, and it is undeniable that 1 F and 2 F show some

236: Other cases have already been pointed out by M. A. Del Chiaro, *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 8 1975, 36.

237: On the export of moulds, see *OpRom* 8 1974, 16.

238: Cf. Tyrrhenika 69–71, 77, 103–104, 107.

resemblance to certain local sculptural works from Vulci, and facial types like those of 3 G, 4 G, 4 H, 5 G and 6 G recur among the bronzes which generally, but not unanimously have been accepted as products of Vulci (239). As a finding-place Vulci is recorded for specimens of thirteen of our types: 1 E–F, 2 F, 3 D and G, *ad* 4 D, 4 F and H, *ad* 6 F (mould), 10 M, 12 D, 13 C and 14 C; moreover other instances, *ad* 12 C, *ad* 12 J, 15 C and L, come from the Roman colony of Cosa placed on the Vulcian sea coast. Nor is it devoid of interest that probably also Telamon, Saturnia and Suana, from the regions of which there are other pieces, *ad* 4 E, 11 F, 11 H, *ad* 12 C and *ad* 13 D, 7 M, 9 C and 9 M, 15 E and G respectively, were satellite towns of the Vulcian state. On the other hand, Tarquinii is mentioned in our list quite a number of times, and the Tarquinian finds have nearly the same wide chronological range as those of Vulci, *viz.* 1 E, 2 D, 4 G, 5 E, 8 G, 9 D, 11 J, 12 K, 13 D and F, 15 E, several early vases with plastic heads including such as 1 E and 2 D–E have been attributed to workshops at Tarquinii, and places in Tarquinii's territory (240) have yielded specimens here listed under types 4 E–F, 11 E and 11 H or J, among the earliest even a model for antefixes related to one found at Vulci, and the later include a fragment of a mould for antefixes like specimens from Telamon and Volsinii (237); still, for some of the vases mentioned Vulci remains a possible place of origin (241), and I myself think that after all Vulci is a better candidate than Tarquinii for choice as the leading centre in the earlier stages of koroplastic development in Central Etruria.

Now, Volsinii (235) is the most frequent provenience of terracottas enumerated in this chapter, by far outnumbering both Vulci and Tarquinii, although not appearing before the fourth range, but then with a mould (237): 4 C (mould) and D, 5 G and M, 6 E–G, 7 D and G, 8 F, 9 E, *ad* 9 F, 10 D, 10 F–G, 11 D–J and L–M, 12 C, *ad* 12 E, *ad* 12 F, 12 G–H, 13 G, 14 D, 15 D (mould), E, G and M; to them we may add 14 E, from Volsinii Novi, and 3 E–F from Ferentium in the territory of Volsinii.

These facts argue in favour of the view that at least from the Late Archaic period onwards Volsinii, too, must have been a centre of terracotta production. If the Fanum Voltumnae, Etruria's federal sanctuary, be rightly searched for at Volsinii (242) and this city consequently a sort of capital of the whole of Etruria, there is one more explanation why our series is so well-represented in its territory. The distribution of the individual types, however, would easily be accounted for, both if Volsinii and if Vulci were the centre of diffusion. Volsinii was excellently situated for connections with not only Central-Etruscan city states like Vulci and Tarquinii, but also with Rusellae, where some specimens of our types were found, *ad* 4 E, 11 E–F and 13 E, with Vetulonia, *ad* 14 C, with Volaterrae, 3 C (?), with the region of Clusium, 2 E (?), 3 C (?), 4 G, 5 E, 7 E, 8 F, 9 G and 12 E, with Arretium, 5 E (?), *ad* 9 G, 10 D, *ad* 11 K (?), with Perugia, 4 E, 9 G (?), 11 E, *ad* 11 E, 11 J and 12 F, and with Falerii, 12 C and J. All these towns were capitals of city-states to the West, North, East and South. The proximity of Volsinii to the Tiber, which passed both Perugia and Falerii, will explain the occurrence of our types in these towns, and the river Clanis similarly linked Clusium and Arretium to Volsinii. On the other hand, Vulci and Tarquinii commanded the nearest Mediter-

239: Antike Plastik 4 1965, 15–19 pls. 6–8, Tyrrhenika 75 No. 3, 77–93, JdI 58 1943, 249 fig. 36, 248 fig. 35, 243 fig. 31.2 and 235 fig. 23, W. L. Brown, *The Etruscan Lion*, Oxford 1960, 95 note 1, cf. *Gnomon* 35 1963, 207. On the provenience of the so-called "Orvieto Find" in Copenhagen, see Appendix p. 83–84.

240: Cf. Tyrrhenika pl. 24.

241: StEtr 35 1967, 662–663, StEtr 37 1969, 444 note 11, StEtr 40 1972, 32–34, 53–55, StEtr 42 1974, 25, 34–36.

242: Scullard 131, 231, cf. PP 27 1972, 245, see above p. 56 note 235.

243: Evidence of Greeks in the Tarquinian territory as already obtained for that of Caere, has been produced during the recent excavations in the Tarquinian harbour town Graviscae, NSc 96 1971, 241 fig. 57, 277 note 2, PP 30 1975, 311–318, PP 31 1976, 206–214, PP 32 1977, 398–458, J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*³, London 1980, 206, 278–279 notes 158–160.

ranean sea ports (243). Populonia, whence came instances of types 4 G and 5 D, played a special rôle as providing raw material for the renowned Central-Etruscan, perhaps Vulcian bronze industry, and Telamon, where specimens similar to 9 H and 11 F and some related to 4 E, 12 C and 13 D were found, was an important port of call on the sea-route between Vulci and Populonia.

As to chronology, some evidence is to be had from find contexts. The two early Ionizing terracotta figures with heads of type 1 F were found in the so-called Isis or Polledrara Tomb at Vulci, the contents of which span in time from c. 650/20 to c. 550 B.C. (244). The kore statue of alabaster, which gave the tomb one of its modern names (245), to some extent matches the terracottas; all three objects were dated by I. Strøm to the first quarter of the 6th Century. In 1941 I pointed out that the statue presupposed Greek models of the first third of the 6th Century, and later L. Banti put it even between 560 and 540 (246); but S. Haynes with good reasons has stated that "selbst wenn wir... mindestens zehn Jahre Verspätung zwischen den griechischen Prototypen und ihrer Verwendung durch etruskische Künstler rechnen, ist es kaum möglich, unsere Statuette später als ins zweite Viertel des 6. Jh.v.Chr. zu datieren", which date she clearly preferred (247). One might add that although the mantle with a rounded flap

at the back and an angular one in front probably is to be understood as the special Etruscan garment from which the semi-elliptical Roman cloaks derived, it is represented under the influence of paintings like those by Sophilos (248). Drs. Haynes's and Strøm's scrutinizing of the tomb contents has deprived us of some material formerly used for dating; but it is still possible to base the chronology of the tomb on the so-called Polledrara hydria, which is one of the latest objects and obviously a reflection of Late Corinthian vases of the second quarter of the 6th Century B.C. The wheeled bronze censers may also be late, but probably no later than the middle of the century (249). The result of these comparisons will be that our type 1 F can hardly be earlier than the middle of the 6th Century.

Some vases with plastic heads are datable by other means than that of determining the style of the latter. The apparently already Ionizing type 1 E is used on bucheri whose general decoration points to the first half of the 6th Century (250). 2 D, dependent upon the heads of Middle Corinthian pyxides, adorn an Italo-Corinthian vessel decorated by the "Pittore senza Graffito", who is held to have worked c. 590–570/65 B.C. (251). 3 D is part of a buccero vase resembling pieces from Poggio Buco dated to the mid-6th Century (252); a closely related vessel belongs to a context, of which the bucheri as the latest objects should be placed after the middle of the 6th Century (253). Buccheri of the so-called Volsinian group, to which 4 D appertains, have been found together with Attic black-figured vases, especially Little Master cups of the third quarter of the 6th Century, and among the latest accompanying objects was an Attic red-figured kylix of the last third of the same century (254).

It is in harmony with this pottery chronology that the constructions embellished with antefixes of types 3 E–F ceased to exist in the late 6th Century, and their friezes and other finds indicate a date in its second half (255).

Otherwise, most of our enumerated types offer

244: Strøm, *op.cit.* 189–190, Atti del X Convegno di Studi Etruschi e Italici, Florence 1977, 27.

245: Antike Plastik 4 1965, 15–19 pls. 6–8.

246: StEtr 28 1960, 284.

247: Antike Plastik 4 1965, 18–19.

248: *Op.cit.* 18–19 note 51; cp. pl. 7 a with AM 62 1937 pl. 55.

249: Strøm, *op.cit.* 190 figs. 97–98, ActaA 10 1940, 3–4 fig. 2.

250: Tyrrhenika 111, *ad* No. 4, StEtr 11 1937, 389–390, StEtr 37 1969, 444–445, StEtr 44 1976, 42.

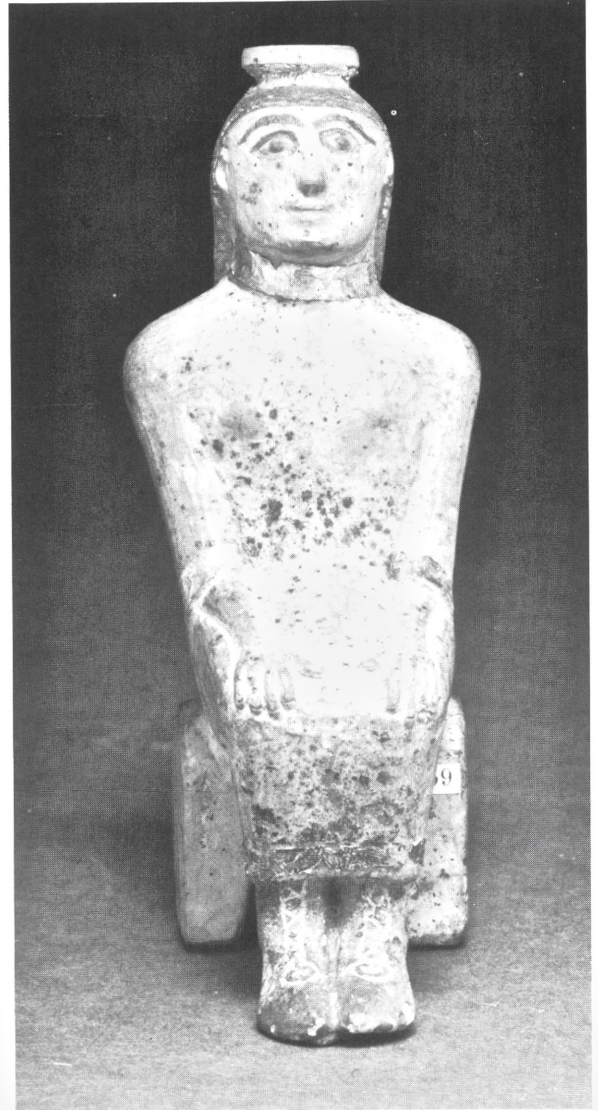
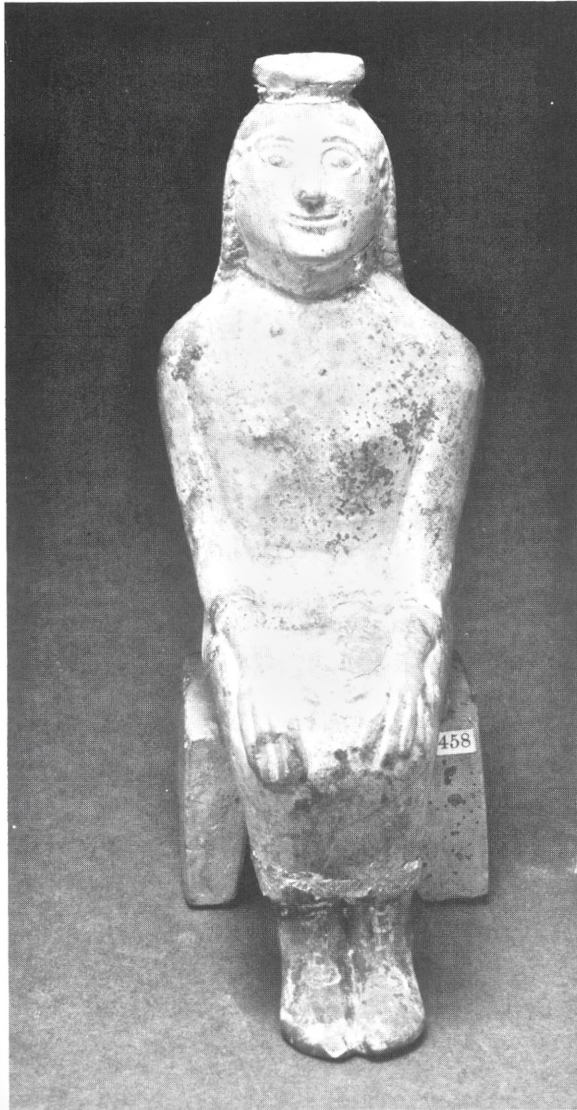
251: StEtr 40 1972, 53–54.

252: G. Bartoloni, Le tombe di Poggio Buco nel Museo Archeologico di Firenze, Florence 1972, 204 No. 12 pl. 140 c, StEtr 42 1974, 33.

253: NSc 21 1896, 276–278 figs. 14–15, Tyrrhenika 111, No. 5.

254: StEtr 35 1967, 622, StEtr 37 1969, 446–447.

255: Östenberg, *op.cit.* 17, 20, 23 and 35.



Figs. 34–35. Figure vases from Vulci, Vulcian/Volsinian type I F. London, British Museum. Museum photos. By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

little support for an exact dating. The antefixes from Rusellae mentioned under 4 E lay in a fill layer with contents spanning from the last decades of the 6th Century to the late 5th and should probably be regarded as contemporary with the earliest objects found in this context (256). The Populonia antefixes 4 G and 5 D, although exca-

vated in the necropolis of Podere San Cerbone, could only in general terms be ascribed to some temple or aedicula tomb, the contents of which class of sepulchres are dated to the middle and second half of the 5th Century B.C. (257). It is stated, however, that the aedicula tomb as a type

256: Cf. *StEtr* 31 1963, 47 and 45.

257: A. Minto, *Populonia*, Florence 1943, 164 and 168–169 pl. 43.1.

was introduced at the end of the 6th Century; so, this date will be the earliest possible one for the antefixes in question.

The plastic works from the Belvedere Sanctuary at Volsinii, among them our types 4 C, 6 G, 10 D, 11 E, G, J, K and M, 12 C, G–H, 13 G, are being reconsidered by A. Andrén, who, judging from the accompanying finds, holds that the temple was destroyed by a fire about 300 B.C. (258). At any rate the *terminus ante quem* for the most spectacular finds at Volsinii will be 264 B.C., the year of the city's capture by the Romans (259) – with due

allowance for exceptions as at Veii and Falerii (260). The Belvedere reliefs, with our types 11 G, K and M, which were formerly believed to be parts of pediments, are now by Andrén, following E. Richardson, convincingly distributed on the columina and mutuli; their Greek models all date from the period c. 425–365 (261). There are two sets of antefixes whose attribution to this very building is typologically feasible: 10 D and 11 J, 11 E and 12 G–H, although one would expect 11 E and J to form a couple and the missing 12 E–F to match 12 G–H; 13 G might result from a later repair.

The terracottas excavated in the Canicella cemetery at Volsinii, 6 F, 10 D, 11 E, *ad* 11 F and 15 G, originally embellished a small temple, which apparently had two building phases, one Late Archaic or rather Early Classical, as shown by our type 6 F, and one of the Ripe Classical period, 10 D and 11 E–F, more or less contemporary with the afore-mentioned Belvedere temple; a later type, 15 G, betrays a partial reconstruction. The burning of the Classical building seems to have taken place in the 3rd Century B.C., to judge from the coins found with the terracotta fragments around the altar (262). Even 15 G may be a work of the time before the catastrophe of 264 B.C.

R. Bloch's excavations at Volsinii Novi, the present Bolsena (263), have shown that this town existed for a long time before the population of Old Volsinii, now Orvieto, was transferred to it; so there is no cogent reason to date our 14 E after 264 B.C. On some plaques matching those with female heads of type 14 E there are masks of Charun (264), and the same devilish figure, which did not appear before the Late Classical times, is well documented on red-figured vases probably manufactured at Vulci in the later 4th Century B.C. (265).

Although very late, the finds at Cosa, the Roman colony founded 273 B.C. in the territory of Vulci (266), are of some importance for the dating of our series; but they are not quite unambiguous evidence. The excavators have documented that

- 258: Lecture given to the Society of Philology and History, Copenhagen, on May 14th 1975. The votive deposits in the sanctuary seemed to contain nothing later; NSc 59 1934, 67–88. Andrén's results are expected to be published in the StEtr.
- 259: Zonaras, Epitome Historiarum VIII 7 (PI 380 D and 381 C): 'Ἐπὶ δὲ Κυίντου Φαβίου καὶ Αἰμιλίου ὑπάτων πρὸς Οὐλσινίους ἐστράτευσαν .., .. τὴν πόλιν κατέσκαψε, τοὺς δὲ αὐθιγενεῖς .. ἐν ἑτέρῳ κατόκησε τόπων. Inscriptiones Italiae 13. 1, Rome 1947, 74–75, 547 (Fasti Triumphales 20): "M. Fulvius Q.f.M.n. Flaccus an. C̄DXXCIX cos. de Vulsiniensibus k.Nov.", cf. *ibid.* 40–41, 115, 432–433 (Fasti Consulares 19 s and 20 s); Andrén 153–155.
- 260: See above p. 50,55 and Tyrrhenika 151–152. Acta A 12 1941, 70, StEtr 35 1967, 78–79.
- 261: Tyrrhenika 99–100. However, the opinions of the different scholars vary considerably on this subject, see e.g. E. Richardson, The Etruscans, Chicago 1964, 131 and Mem AmAc 26 1960, 305–306.
- 262: StEtr 35 1967, 77–78, 82.
- 263: Scullard 127–128.
- 264: Andrén 205–206, Bolsena I 1 pl. 77.260.
- 265: Beazley EVP 8–9, 132 Nos. 1–2, 136 No. 1, 142 Nos. 8 and 10 pls. 30.1 and 31.1–2; the Torre San Severo sarcophagus should now be left out of consideration, as Professor Cagianò de Azevedo has plausibly argued for its being a forgery, RM 77 1970, 10–18.
- 266: Velleius Paterculus, Historia Romana I 14.7: "Et Cosam et Paestum abhinc annos ferme trecentos Fabio Dorstone et Claudio Canina consulibus .. coloni missi", Inscriptiones Italiae 13.1, Rome 1947, 40–41, 114, 430–431 (Fasti Consulares 19 s): "[C̄DXXC] C. Fabius M.f.M.n. Licinus, C. Claudius M.f.C.n.Canina II". In 280 Ti. Coruncianus had triumphed "de Vulsiniensibus et Vulcentibus", *ibid.* 72, 73, 545.

here, at least, we have to reckon with “the presence of terracotta revetments of two or more different periods and styles on one and the same roof at one and the same time”, and that it is “abundantly clear that the replacement of damaged or missing elements of terracotta decoration did not necessarily or normally involve a complete renovation of the entire roof but might proceed bit by bit as required, with the result that the decoration at any given time might include elements from every period in its history” (267). The coins on which the chronology of some of the buildings depends, are dated according to the system of E. A. Sydenham; but this must now after R. Thomsen’s profound studies be regarded as providing too low dates for certain series (268). Evidently the terracotta types mentioned *ad* 12 C and J as well as 15 C and L were *in use* after 273 B.C. The original antefixes of the Jupiter Temple at Cosa are closely related to our types 12 C, D and J and certainly earlier than 15 C and L, which were employed both when this temple was redecorated and on the occasion of the construction of Temple D. The latter building was placed by the excavators at c. 170–160 B.C. (269); but the coin “found in the top of the fill of the cella just inside the doorway, below the level of but not under the debris of the original floor” was not struck between 175 and 168 B.C., but in 209/8 B.C. (270). The temple was obviously in use when the well-preserved coin, probably not circulating for a long time, was dropped there, and so there is good reason for believing that the terracotta decoration was made before the end of the 3rd Century B.C., and that the earliest Cosa antefixes, the original ones of the Jupiter Temple mentioned *ad* 12 C and J were set up some time before those of Temple D, perhaps shortly after 273 B.C., and not so late as proposed by the excavators, *i.e.* c. 240–220 B.C. (271). As the original antefixes of the Jupiter Temple recall 12 C, D and J, of which 12 C and D were represented in Old Volsinii and Vulci respectively, as 15 C is much akin to the distinctly earlier 13 F from Tarquinii, and as 15 M

from Old Volsinii was probably not used after 264 B.C., I suggest that at least the *original models* reproduced by the first antefixes of the Jupiter Temple, *ad* 12 C and J, were created for buildings in Volsinii and Vulci before 264 and 273 B.C., and that those of types 15 C and L may have been conceived for the construction of temples at Cosa after 273 B.C.

In the Roman colony Luna, which was founded 177 B.C. in the northwesternmost angle of Etruria, none of our head types are represented; but some frieze plaques very near to pieces excavated at Cosa, *i.e.* after 273 B.C., and at Falerii, probably before 241 B.C., have been discovered (272).

In addition several chronological hints can be obtained through comparisons with more or less safely dated artistic products of other kinds than our terracottas. Years ago the mould *ad* 6 F was compared with the faces of some Etruscan red-figured vase-paintings in superimposed colour, presumably Vulcian and certainly not earlier than the 470’s, according to Dragendorff rather about 465–460 B.C. (273); the same holds good of 6 F. 6 F and E also recall the heads in the Tarquinian Tomba del Triclinio, which scholars unanimously place to the first half of the 5th Century B.C., and

267: Frank E. Brown, in *MemAmAc* 26 1960, 20, cf. 208.

268: E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Republican Coinage*, London 1952, R. Thomsen, *Early Roman Coinage* 1–3, Copenhagen 1957–61, M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* 1–2, Cambridge 1974.

269: *MemAmAc* 26 1960, 43, 174–175.

270: *Ibid.* 43 No. CC 781, Sydenham, *op.cit.* 24 No. 215, Crawford, *op.cit.* 1, 174 No. 80/2 pl. 15.

271: *MemAmAc* 26 1960, 21, 165.

272: Andrén 295–296, Luni 12–14 pls. 95–96.343 and 347–348, A. Frova a.o., *Scavi di Luni* 1, Rome 1973, 742–743 No. 1 pl. 200.2 (there placed about 150 B.C.); *MemAmAc* 26 1960, 178 fig. 9, 261 fig. 44 pls. 21.2 and 45.1 (by the excavators dated to the 1st Century B.C.; pl. 21.1 belongs to the same set as a variety of our Latin type 23 G, see above p. 35 and 43); Andrén 141, Scasato III 10 pl. 53.172 (according to Andrén 136 probably of the later 3rd Century B.C., but see above p. 55 with notes 232–234).

273: *Tyrrhenika* 94 note 4, *Origines* 69–72 fig. 1.

if more precisely, between 480 and 460 (see above, table fig. 12 on p. 8–9. 9 G is related to the sileni on a Vulcian red-figured cup in the Rodin Museum at Paris (274), which cannot be put before 450 (275), and there can be no doubt that 10 G is a work derived indirectly from the Zeus of Pheidias at Olympia, *i.e.* after 430 B.C. (276).

Two Vulcian sarcophagi in Boston, one of tufa and another of alabaster, offer several points of likeness to types in our series (277). The head of the beardless man on the lid of the tufa sarcophagus (278) was rightly by G. Hafner held to be Post-Polykleitan and obviously later than works like our 11 M (279). The beardless physiognomy might lead us to presuppose the portraits of Alexander the Great as models, and though the head of the female lid-figure resembles our types 12 D–E, the akroteria on the shorter sides of the sarcophagus are circular as is the frame of our type 14 C, and they have faces like our 15 E. The alabaster sarcophagus (280), which was made for the son and daughter-in-law of the woman buried in the other one, ought for this reason to be a later work, but whereas the son has a beard and resembles our types 12 G–J, his wife has the same head-type as her mother-in-law, cf. 15 E. Therefore, the

two sarcophagi must be roughly contemporary, and there is no need to follow E. H. Richardson, when she regards the alabaster sarcophagus as earlier than that of the mother in spite of the latter work's otherwise obvious dependance on Greek sculpture of the first half of the 4th Century; but she is right in not lowering the date of the tufa sarcophagus beyond 300 (281). The clean-shaven face would fit well with a placing of both monuments and our types 14 C and 15 E in the decades 330–300 B.C.

The designs on three Central Etruscan bronze mirrors offer good parallels to the hair-styles and necklaces of our types 10 F, 11 E–F and 12 E–F (282). The Skylla figure, which occurs on the same object as a head related to our type 11 E, does not necessarily bring the latter down into the 3rd Century, for it is also familiar in Etruscan red-figure painting of the time before 300 (283). The late Sir John Beazley, in his admirable paper on Etruscan mirrors, referred to in note 282, regarded the three instances here quoted as Ripe Classical, duly mentioning the Pheidian motif of the earliest engraving and putting all three of them before 350; again the Zeus of Olympia offers the *terminus post quem*, c. 430 B.C. As a mid-4th Century work Beazley regarded a mirror whose handle attachment was adorned with a frontal head akin to our types 15 C–E (284), and heads reminding of our 15 D are to be found on a fifth mirror datable about 320 (285). It was Beazley's intimate knowledge of Greek and Etruscan pottery, their figure styles and ornaments, which enabled him to assign such precise dates to these two-dimensional representations; certainly, the latter were more easily copied from the corresponding Greek models than was the local sculpture in the round.

The same may have been the case with the sepulchral paintings; but we feel that the directly reproduceable motifs of freshly imported Greek vases would appear earlier on mirrors of modest dimensions than in large-scale tomb pictures. In the cemeteries of Tarquinii and Volsinii, it is the

274: Beazley EVP 3, 25–27 pl. 4.1–3.

275: Origines 72–73.

276: The Vulcian stone relief StEtr 46 1978, 73 pl. 14 d, somehow recalling 9 C and 11 H–J, must be Pre-Hellenistic.

277: R. Herbig, Die jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage, Berlin 1952, 13–14 No. 5 pl. 40 and 14–15 No. 6 pls. 37–38.

278: Herbig No. 5.

279: RM 73/4 1966/7, 37 pl. 8.4.

280: Herbig No. 6.

281: Richardson, *op.cit.*, 143–146 pls. 43–44.

282: JHS 69 1949, 6 and 8 fig. 7 pl. 6 a, from Vulci, 8–9 fig. 8 pl. 8 a, from Telamon, 9–10 fig. 9 pl. 8 b, finding-place unknown.

283: Beazley EVP 169, Vanth Group No. 2, cf. 303, Faliscan, and 204, Sundry Cups No. 8, Sokra Group?, cf. 280, Black Vases, Candelabra No. 1.

284: *Op.cit.* 9–10 fig. 10, from Arretium.

285: *Op.cit.* 12–13 fig. 15, finding-place unknown.



Fig. 36. Velia Seitithi, the wife of Larth Velchas. Painting in the Tomba degli Scudi at Tarquinii. Photo Brogi 17870.



Fig. 37. Velia, the wife of Arnth Velchas. Painting in the Tomba dell'Orco I at Tarquinii.

Tomba degli Scudi, the Tomba dell' Orco and Tomba Golini I which present the most striking counterparts to head types in our series. Ravnthu Aprthnai, the wife of Velthur Velcha in the Tomba degli Scudi (286), may be compared with 10 F, the fan-bearer in the Tomba degli Scudi (287) with 11 M, the woman in full profile in the same tomb, Velia Seitithi, the wife of Larth Velcha (287), and Velia, the wife of Arnth Velcha in the Tomba dell'Orco I (288), our figs. 36–37, rather with Caeretan types like 21 A, but also with late Vulcian bronzes (289). The Aita and the (...) memrun in the Tomba dell'Orco II (290) have something in common with 13 G, the Charun (291) corresponds to the masks on the slabs matching 14 E, and the Phersipnei (292) resembles 15 D. As will be remembered, the Tomba dell'Orco was originally two independent chambers, I and II, which a generation after the later chamber's construction were connected by means of a corridor. The Velia belonged to the earlier of the two chambers, the other figures quoted to the later one. The paintings of Tomba Golini I (293),

are more advanced than those of the Tomba degli Scudi and roughly contemporary with Tomba dell'Orco II; its Aita corresponds to 12 H and 13 G, its Phersipnai, our fig. 38, to 12 E–F (294), and in it was found a late Etruscan red-figured neck-amphora (295). To place the latter, which was the

286: Pallottino 105, 108–109.

287: Pallottino 106–107.

288: Pallottino 99–101.

289: Tyrrhenika 95 note 1.

290: Pallottino 111–112, P. Romanelli, Tarquinia², Rome 1954, 29.

291: Romanelli, *op.cit.* 77.

292: Pallottino 111–112.

293: G. Conestabile, Pitture murali a fresco e suppellettili etruschi in bronzo e in terra cotta scoperte in una necropoli presso Orvieto nel 1863, Florence 1865 pls. 4–11, Giglioli 44–45 pls. 244.1, 245, 247, 248.2, A. Solari, Vita pubblica e privata degli Etruschi, Florence 1931 pls. 49.97 and 50.99–100.

294: Conestabile, *op.cit.* pl. 11, Giglioli pl. 245, Solari, *op.cit.* pl. 50.99.

295: Conestabile, *op.cit.* pl. 18, Tyrrhenika 104 note 1, 105, 162 note 5, Beazley EVP 163.

only vase in the tomb, later than the second half of the 4th Century B.C. is an impossibility; but it may belong to the last third (296). Besides, M. Del Chiaro has pointed out that the ear ornament worn by the Phersipnai in the Golini I painting is a very rare type which otherwise only occurs on the antefix 12 E, on the Caeretan type 19 B in its retouched state, and on Caeretan red-figured vases of the Genucilia Group, which is assigned to the second half of the 4th Century B.C. (297), and the same expert on Late Etruscan vase-painting has also mentioned the resemblance between the heads on a contemporary Caeretan red-figured jug of the Populonia Torcop Painter and those in the frescoes of Tomba Golini I and Tomba dell'Orco (298). Finally, we must not forget that some of the women, both in the Tomba dell'Orco I and the Tomba degli Scudi, wear the so-called "Hufeisenohrring" as do *e.g.* the female mask 14 E and Caeretan terracottas of types 18 B, 19 A, 20 A, 21 A and the Alkestis on the already mentioned possibly Tarquinian skyphos in Boston (299).

Late Etruscan red-figured paintings may also be adduced for comparison with types 15 D and M. The first one of these recalls a head in the neck frieze on a vase of the later 4th Century presu-



Fig. 38. The goddess Phersiphnai. Painting in the Tomba Golini I at Volsinii. Photo Alinari 46169 after facsimile by E. Gatti in Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

296: Cf. Beazley EVP 116, B ii a No. 1 pl. 28.6–7.

297: See above p. 31 and UnivCalPublClArch 3.4 1957, 324, cf. 322–323 fig. 7–9.

298: AJA 74 1970, 293 pl. 73.1.

299: Above p. 31, UnivCalPublClArch 3.4 1957, 302–304 pl. 27 b, M.A. Del Chiaro, *The Etruscan Funnel Group*, Florence 1974, 23–24 No. 1 pl. 14.

300: Beazley EVP 124 No. 4 pl. 29.2–3, cf. *ibid.* 10, but also the terracotta head RM 72 1965, 54 pl. 21.4, held to be of the 3rd Century B.C.

301: Beazley EVP 6, 10, 114, A 9 pl. 27.1, cf. StEtr 26 1958, 257–258; the earliest vases of the group belong to the period 350–320, cf. *ibid.* 244–245. It should be noted that some red-figured vases which were formerly regarded as belonging to the Clusium-Volterrae group possibly are Central-Etruscan, see M. A. Del Chiaro, in *The Museum of Mediterranean and Near-Eastern Antiquities Bulletin* 12, Stockholm 1977, 69 note 13, RA 1978/1, 38.

mably made at Volaterrae (300). The second one is very similar to a satyr on a cup formerly attributed to Clusium, but according to later research also Volaterran (301).

From what has been written on these pages it would seem that 1 E–F and 2 D must be placed about the middle of the 6th Century, 3 D–F after c. 550, 4 E–G after c. 520, 6 E–F after c. 480/70, 10 D after c. 425, 10 F before c. 350, 12 E–F and G in the second half of the 4th Century, 14 C most likely after 330, but still of the 4th Century; 15 C and L were in use after 273 B.C., when Cosa was founded in Vulcian territory, and 15 G most reasonably before 264, the year of Volsinii's fall.

VIII. The North-Etruscan Tradition: Clusium?

PLATE IV

- 1 F MonLinc 30 1925, 367–368 fig. 50, Giglioli 15 pl. 60.1, Tyrrhenika 108 No. 4.2, 154, 195, Gempeler 49–50 No. 37, 191, 193, 206 pls. 1.5 and 12.2, from *Dolciano* in the territory of *Clusium*. Related types: CVABritishMuseum 7, 8, IV B a pl. 7.1 a–b, Tyrrhenika 108 No. 4.3, Gempeler 45–46 No. 33, 191, 193, 205–206 pl. 11.4, from *Clusium* (ex-Braun 1853), and MonLinc 9 1899, 168–169 figs. 31–32, Tyrrhenika 108 No. 4.1, Gempeler 50–51 No. 38, 170, 191, 193 pl. 12.3, from *Cetona* in the territory of *Clusium*.
- 1 G Gempeler 43–44 No. 31, 205, 231 pl. 10.1–2, from *Clusium*.
- 2 D AJA 73 1969, 338 pl. 83.22, Poggio Civitate (Murlo, Siena), il santuario arcaico, Florence 1970, 45 No. 89 pl. 32, ArchCl 29 1977, 19–20 No. 2 pls. 3.2 and 4.1, RM 85 1978, 31 pl. 8.1–2, from *Murlo* in the region between *Clusium*, *Cortona*, *Volaterrae* and *Rusellae*, probably belonging to the territory of *Clusium*, cf. Scullard 233 fig. 26. Slight variations occur: ArchCl 29 1977, 20–21, Nos. 3–6 pls. 4.2–3 and 5.1–2. Belonging to the same building as 4 D.
- 2 E CVABritishMuseum 7, 14, IV B a pl. 17.5, Jenkins, *De-dalica* 92 note 3, from *Clusium*. Part of same vase as 2 F. A closely related type: StEtr 36 1968, 331–332 fig. 2, 337 No. 87 pl. 76 b, finding-place unknown.
- 2 F CVABritishMuseum 7, 14, IV B a pl. 17.5, Jenkins, *op.cit.* 92–93 pl. 11.4, Tyrrhenika 110–111 No. 1, StEtr 36 1968, 338 No. 100, from *Clusium*. Part of same vase as 2 E. Nearly identical type: StEtr 36 1968, 342 No. 175 pl. 81 b (Chiusi, Museo Nazionale Etrusco 1572), finding-place unknown, probably from the region of *Clusium*. A closely related, but slightly more developed type: Jenkins, *op.cit.* 93 pl. 11.5, StEtr 36 1968, 344 No. 210, finding-place unknown; but the vase belongs to the same *Clusian* group as 2 E–F.
- 3 E CVACopenhagen, Musée National 5, 166, IV B pl. 214.5, StEtr 33 1965, 301 No. 125, StEtr 36 1968, 348 No. 246, from *Cortona*.
- 3 F StEtr 44 1976, 35–36 No. 2 pls. 16 and 17 a–b, finding-place unknown. Related types: StEtr 36 1968, 343 No. 198 pl. 81 c, finding-place unknown, and StEtr 44 1976, 36–38 No. 4 pl. 18 a–c, finding-place unknown.
- 3 G StEtr 36 1968, 328 No. 29 pl. 80 c, finding-place unknown (ex-Vagnonville).
- 4 B StEtr 36 1968, 352–353 No. 276 pl. 82 e–f, from *Cortona*.
- 4 C AJA 72 1968, 124 pls. 47.25 and 48.22, from *Murlo*. Slight variations resulting from different moulds occur, cf. *Archaeology* 21 1968, 257, 260, NSc 94 1969, 49 fig. 16, *Dialoghi di Archeologia* 6 1972, 170, 212–213, 218–219, *Poggio Civitate* 38 Nos. 50 and 56 pls. 23 and 25, ArchCl 29 1977, 17, 26–32 pls. 9.3, 10.1 and 3, 11.1 and 3, RM 85 1978, 34 note 13 pl. 10.1–2. Belonging to the same building as 4 H and 5 B.
- 4 D ArchCl 29 1977, 18–19 No. 1 pl. 3.1, from *Murlo*. Belonging to the same building as 2 D.
- 4 E StEtr 36 1968, 349 No. 253 pl. 81 g, from *Cortona*.
- 4 F StEtr 33 1965, 304 No. 169, 313 pl. 67 b, StEtr 36 1968, 352 No. 267 (Chiusi, Museo Nazionale Etrusco 1541), finding-place unknown, probably from the region of *Clusium*. A related type: ArchCl 25/6 1973/4, 119 No. 2, 121 pls. 31.2 and 32.3, possibly from *Clusium*.
- 4 G NCGEtr 22 No. H 126, NCGBild pl. 44, ArchCl 25/6 1973/4, 104, A 7 pl. 24.1–2, from *Sarteano* in the territory of *Clusium*.
- 4 H AJA 72 1968, 123 pl. 46.11–12, *Archaeology* 21 1968, 261, *Dialoghi di Archeologia* 6 1972, 171, 225–226 No. 5 fig. 11, AJA 77 1973, 320 pl. 54.4–5, AJA 78 1974, 266 pl. 55.11, from *Murlo*. Belonging to the same building as 4 C and 5 B.
- 5 B Poggio Civitate 31 No. 12 pls. 16–18, from *Murlo*. Belonging to the same building as 4 C and H.
- 5 C StEtr 36 1968, 330 No. 65 pl. 80 f (Chiusi, Museo Nazionale Etrusco 885), finding-place unknown, probably from the region of *Clusium*.
- 5 D MonLinc 30 1925, 363–366 fig. 48, Giglioli 15 pl. 62–63.1, Tyrrhenika 109 No. 6.4, Gempeler 88–89 No. 78, 221–222 pl. 25.1, from *Dolciano* in the territory of *Clusium*.
- 5 E MonLinc 9 1899, 175–177 figs. 41–42, Tyrrhenika 109 No. 6.1, Gempeler 79–80 No. 68, 215 pl. 21.1–2, from *Cetona* in the territory of *Clusium*.
- 5 F CVACopenhagen, Musée National 5, 163, IV B pl. 210.3 a–b, Tyrrhenika 109 No. 7.3, Gempeler 99 No. 89, 224 pl. 28.1, from *Solaia* near *Sarteano* in the territory of *Clusium*. Closely related: Giglioli 15 pl. 61.1 (pl. 61.1–2 have been interchanged), Tyrrhenika 109 No. 7.3, Gem-

- peler 95–96 No. 86, 223–224 pl. 27.1, finding-place unknown.
- 5 G Gempeler 114 No. 103, 226–227 pl. 32.1–2, finding-place unknown.
- 6 B StEtr 36 1968, 352 No. 273 pl. 82 b, finding-place unknown (ex-Vagnonville). Related: Tyrrhenika 111 No. 6 fig. 1 a (Chiusi, Museo Nazionale Etrusco), finding-place unknown, probably from the region of *Clusium*. Very similar: Tyrrhenika 111 No. 6 fig. 1 d, StEtr 36 1968, 351 No. 258 pl. 79 a (Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 543, ex-Guardabassi), possibly from *Perusia*, our fig. 39, below p. 70; part of same vase as 7 B.
- 6 C StEtr 36 1968, 353 No. 277 pl. 82 d, from *Chianciano* in the territory of *Clusium*. Related: Tyrrhenika 111 *ad* No. 4, StEtr 36 1968, 351 No. 263 pl. 82 a (Chiusi, Museo Nazionale Etrusco 1637), finding-place unknown, probably from the region of *Clusium*.
- 6 F ArchCl 25/6 1973/4, 104, A 9 pl. 25.2–3, stated to have been found in *Etruria* (ex-Campana).
- 6 H O.–W. von Vacano, *Italische Antiken aus dem Besitz des archäologischen Instituts der Universität Tübingen*, Tübingen 1971, 15 No. 14 pl. 4, ArchCl 25/6 1973/4 104, A 6 pl. 23.1–2, finding-place unknown. Closely related: RM 62 1955, 129–131 pl. 50, ArchCl 25/6 1973/4, 104, A 5 (Palermo, Museo Nazionale 116, ex-Casuccini), from the region of *Clusium*.
- 7 B Tyrrhenika 111 No. 6 fig. 1 b, cf. 1 c, StEtr 36 1968, 351 No. 258 pls. 79 a and 81 h (Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 543, ex-Guardabassi), possibly from *Perusia*, our figs. 40–41, below p. 70, Part of same vase as *ad* 6 B.
- 7 C CVACopenhagen, Musée National 5, 166 IV B pl. 214.7, ArchCl 25/6 1973/4, 119 No. 4, 121–122 pls. 31.3 and 32.2, from *Cortona*.
- 7 D MonLinc 1 1899, 300 pl. 9.7, André 317 No. 2, RM 85 1978, 43 and 53, from *Marzabotto* in the region between *Faesulae* and *Felsina*.
- 7 E MonLinc 1 1899, 300 pl. 9.31, from *Marzabotto*.
- 7 G Marzabotto, Museo Etrusco, from *Marzabotto*. Much damaged antefix with very indistinct features (summary sketch by the writer).
- 8 D Siena, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, mould for antefixes, from *Clusium* (ex-Bonci-Casuccini), our fig. 42, below p. 71.
- 9 E British Museum 1928.7–19.4, finding-place unknown. Juglet in the shape of a female head, our fig. 43, below p. 72.
- 9 F André 256, Chiusi I 6 pl. 86.306, Tyrrhenika 112, A 2, ActaA 12 1941, 71, Sprenger 66–67 No. 2, RM 85 1978, 44 note 47, from *Clusium*.
- 10 E Tyrrhenika 126–127 fig. 2 (Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 389), from *Perusia* (?).
- 11 F Chiusi, Museo Nazionale Etrusco, mould for antefixes, from *Clusium*, our fig. 44, below p. 72.
- 12 F NCGEtr 47, H 255, NCGBild pl. 113, AEsp 36 1963, 27 note 57, from *Clusium*.
- 12 G NSc 45 1920, 197, IV c 4, 199–200 fig. 16, André 275, Arezzo VI 2, StEtr 36 1968, 459–460 fig. 4, from *Arretium*.
- 12 H NSc 45 1920, 210, V b 38, 213 fig. 21, André 270, Arezzo I 3 pl. 90.321, from *Arretium*.

The relative chronology of the North-Etruscan series may be regarded as fairly clear. The development followed the same main line as elsewhere, from the Orientalizing stage through a Dedalic or rather “Dedalizing”, to an Ionizing Ripe Archaic and a subsequent Atticizing Late Archaic stage, and after that there are a few instances of the Early Classical or “Severe” style, one piece with Polykleitan front hair, as well as Late Classical and Early Hellenistic specimens. But unfortunately the later part of the North-Etruscan koroplastic tradition here dealt with is very sparingly documented – probably because very little excavation has been made in the town area of *Clusium* –, and this scarcity is in sheer contrast to the rich series of stone sculptures from the *Clusine District*. Apparently it was in *Clusium* that the tradition had its roots, to judge from the proveniences, from the consistent group of *Clusine bucheri*, 2 E–F, 3 E–G, 4 B, E–G, 5 C, 6 B–C, F–H and 7 B–C, and from the long series of canopic jars, of which only a few comparatively late ones are included in our list, *viz.* 1 F–G, 5 D–G.

The affinities of the *Murlo* finds, 2 D, 4 C–D and H, 5 B, to *Clusine* art have already been pointed out by others (302). The other non-*Clusine* proveniences occurring in our list are *Cortona*, 3 E, 4 B and E, *Perusia*, *ad* 6 B, 7 B and 10 E, *Marzabotto*, 7 D–E and G, and *Arretium*, 12 G. The head vase 9E is tentatively attributed to *Clusium* on account of its facial type, which separates it from other well-defined groups of Etruscan plastic vases.

302: Gempeler 218, ArchCl 29 1977, 22, 32, RM 85 1978, 31.



Fig. 40.



Fig. 39.



Fig. 41.

Fig. 39. Head on brazier, possibly from Perugia, Clusian type 6 B. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. Photo Soprintendenza alle Antichità dell'Umbria.

Figs. 40–41. Heads on same vase as fig. 39, Clusian type 7 B. Photo Soprintendenza alle Antichità dell'Umbria.

The Orientalizing tradition was stronger in North Etruria than in the regions whose terracottas we have been discussing in previous chapters; that is why I have preferred to open the series with two Late Orientalizing heads, 1 F–G (303). The pointed oval face-contour inherited from the style exemplified by these heads still survived in several later terracottas such as 2 D–E, and a division of the hair recalling Orientalizing heads is even to be seen on 4 B–C and 5 B; but the semi-elliptical facial type borrowed from “Dedalizing” circles in Greece soon turned up and prevailed for a while, as shown by the instances 2 F, 3 E–F, 4 E–F, 5 C–F and 6 F, and long strands of shoulder hair, sometimes beaded like the Dedalic, characterize heads of the types 2 F, 3 F–G, 4 B, E–F, 5 B and 6 B–C. Years ago, R.J.H. Jenkins made it likely that the heads of type 2 F were cast from moulds reproducing much older Corinthian (Early Dedalic Protocorinthian) faces of the

mid-7th Century; but the vases adorned with these casts can certainly not be so early.

The artistic level of the works produced in the region of Clusium may appropriately be described in the same words as used by L. Donati concerning the Clusine bucheri: “un po' rustico, provinciale, conservatore. In quest' aria i motivi arrivano con un certo ritardo e furono sottoposti a un ulteriore ristagno” (304). In such a milieu the continuation of earlier styles side by side with new ones is quite natural.

Another interesting phenomenon should be pointed out: the frequent dependence upon Central Etruria. A number of Central-Etruscan types are represented among the finds from Northern Etruria, the proveniences being Rusellae, *ad* 4 E, 11 E–F and 13 E, Vetulonia, *ad* 14 C, Populonia, 4 G, 5 D, Volaterrae, 3 C (?), the region of Clusium, 2 E (?), 3 C (?), 4 G, 5 E, 7 E, 8 F, 9 G and 12 E, Arretium, 5 E (?), 9 F, *ad* 9 G, *ad* 11 K, and Perugia, 4 E, 9 G (?), 11 E and J, 12 F. Several Clusine bucheri, *e.g.* 4 B and 5 C are closely related to the

303: Cf. *Tyrrhenika* 109, *ad* No. 4, 189 and 195.

304: *StEtr* 36 1968, 320.

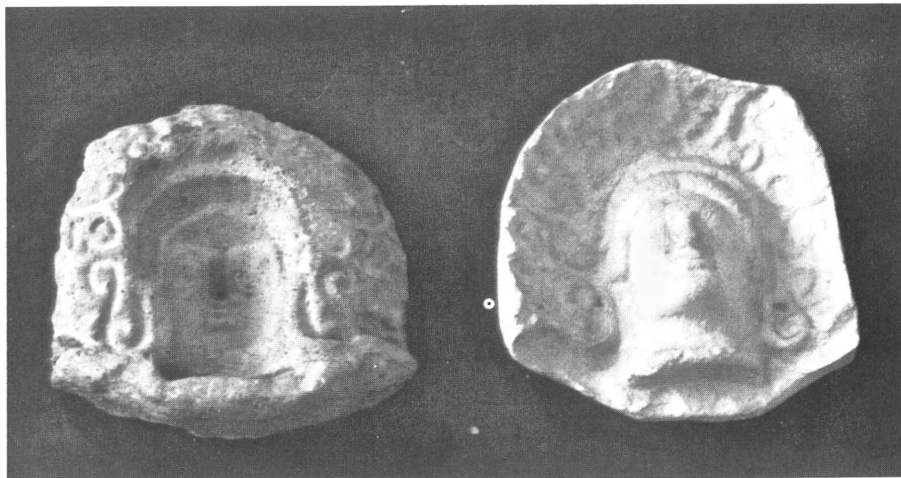


Fig. 42. Antefix mould and cast from it, from Clusium, Clusian type 8 D. Siena, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. Author's photo.

products ascribed to Vulci and Volsinii, *e.g.* 1 E, 2 E and 4 D of our Central-Etruscan series (305). The very provincial Marzabotto terracottas 7 D–E and G distantly recall Central-Etruscan like 5 E, 6 E, 4 G–H and 5 G, the faces of the Clusine antefix mould 8 D and the head vase 9 E are free reflections of heads similar to the Central-Etruscan 5 E and 6 E, and Clusine 9 E is clearly related to Volsinian 6 F. In spite of all differences 10 E in the Clusine and 11 M in the Central-Etruscan series have also something in common, as have the late North-Etruscan 11 F and 12 G and the Central-Etruscan 15 C and L. For the Classical period Cristofani has rightly observed that the koroplasts of Clusium possibly were influenced by those of Volsinii; but to me the works upon which he based this opinion seem to be imports or casts of imports

from Central Etruria, *e.g.* 4 G, 7 E and 8 F (306).

As direct historical evidence providing absolute dates for the terracotta types enumerated here is lacking, we have to turn immediately to the indirect evidence to be had from stratigraphy and find combinations. Unfortunately, even so we get few results. It is true that some of the canopic jars with plastic heads may be comparatively well-dated from their contexts: 1 F is a near relative of a specimen from a find which R. D. Gempeler placed to the beginning of the 6th Century B.C. (307), for similar reasons 5 E seems to belong to the early second quarter of the same century (308) and 5 F to the third quarter (309). But these dates have been contested, particularly that of 1 F, as it is pointed out that the original grave contents may have been mixed with later deposits (310). This is, of course, possible; but at any rate 1 F and its counterparts on other canopic jars are hardly earlier than the late 7th Century (311).

Five of the types in our list, 2 D, 4 C–D, 4 H and 5 B, have been brought to light by the American excavations at Murlo in the region south of Siena. The specimens come from two different architectural settings, 2 D and 4 D from an earlier, “Orientalizing” rectangular building, which according to the discoverers was in use c. 650–600 B.C. (312), the others from an “Archaic” square com-

305: StEtr 36 1968, 320, 354, StEtr 37 1969, 460.

306: M. Cristofani, *Statue-cinerario chiusine di età classica*, Rome 1975, 80–81.

307: Gempeler 238 Nos. 37–38, 170, find complex XIII.

308: *Op.cit.* 238 No. 68, 175–176, find complex XVII.

309: *Op.cit.* 238 Nos. 89 and 101, 176–177, find complex XVIII; the Volsinian bucheri providing the advanced date are by others regarded as not later than c. 550, StEtr 44 1976, 477.

310: StEtr 44 1976, 477–478, ArchCl 29 1977, 22–23.

311: *Tyrrhenika* 108–109, group 4, 195: 625/00?–600/575?

312: AJA 81 1977, 99–100, ArchCl 29 1977, 17 note 1.



Fig. 43. Head-vase, finding-place unknown, Clusine type 9 E. London, British Museum. Museum photo. By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 44. Cast from antefix mould from Clusium, Clusine type 11 F. Chiusi, Museo Nazionale Etrusco. Photo Soprintendenza alle Antichità dell'Etruria.

plex with a central courtyard held to have been built c. 600/590 and destroyed c. 525 B.C. (313).

The "Archaic" complex must evidently be later than those fragments of so-called Ionian cups which have been found in or under it's walls (314). The sherds, however, need not be dated so early as c. 620–600 B.C. as suggested by the excavators, who rightly refer to G. Ploug's Sūkās Group 5 (315); for, in fact, the latter does not belong to the late 7th Century, but to the first half of the 6th, and at least one of the compared sherds should be placed in the second quarter of the 6th Century (316). Moreover, two pieces of Lakonian II pottery of c. 620–580 B.C. were discovered under a doorway of the "Archaic" complex (317), and some fragments of Etrusco-Corinthian plates datable to c. 590–570 B.C. were lying on the floor of the lower building (318), which, accordingly, must have been in use still for some time between c. 590

and c. 570. It would, therefore, be more reasonable to place the destruction of the "Orientalizing" structure to the second quarter of the 6th Century, perhaps even as late as c. 570 B.C. A secure date for its construction is more difficult to obtain. Some of the sherds from this building may be of the 7th Century (319); but quite a number of vessels could have had a long life, and old sherds were often employed in the fill. A carbon-14 analysis of some charcoal found in a pithos embed-

313: AJA 75 1971, 258, AJA 78 1974, 268 and 275, ArchCl 29 1977, 17 note 2.

314: AJA 78 1974, 269–270 figs. 3–6 pls. 55.6–7 and 56.4–5.

315: AJA 78 1974, 270 note 22.

316: Sūkās 2, Copenhagen 1973, 29–30, see particularly the cups *ibid.* 37 fig. b, Nos. 107–108.

317: AJA 81 1977, 97 figs. 32–34.

318: AJA 78 1974, 271 pl. 56.8–9.

319: Cf. AJA 78 1974, 276–277.

ded in the floor of the structure gave the conventional date "525±100 B.C.", *i.e.* calibrated 649±103 (320); this, however, can be differently interpreted.

Of the antefixes attributed to the early building, our 2 D and 4 D, only one fragmentary specimen, 4 D, which is very close to the bucchero head 4 E, was found in the original context, in a distinct burnt layer (321), *i.e.* presumably that of the destruction in the second quarter of the 6th Century. 2 D has certainly an earlier look; but I do not feel convinced by the excavators' comparisons with more primitive, 7th Century objects (322), as it, in fact, comes very near to the buccheri of type 2 E and looks more advanced than the canopic head 1 F. Even if the latter really should be of the late 7th Century, I must regard 2 D, being more developed, as of the early 6th. 4 D may be the result of a later repair of the same building.

In spite of a deplorable lack of evidence from excavations, the chronology of the Clusine buccheri is not dubious. They clearly belong to the time after 600, some of them perhaps to the early

5th. A piece with a head like 2 F was found together with Corinthian pottery; but the vase shapes and decorative motifs of the great mass of the Clusine buccheri tend to date them to the second half of the 6th Century (323). 2 E was by F. N. Pryce and R. J. H. Jenkins assigned to the middle or third quarter of the century (324); I myself put it earlier (325).

The destruction of the "Orientalizing" building at Murlo, which perhaps took place about 570, is the *terminus post quem* for the "Archaic" complex, which, to judge from the latest sherds discovered there, was destroyed c. 525 (326). Its architectural terracottas included our types 4 C, 4 H and 5 B; the latter one being an akroterion seems to be among the latest decorative members of the structure. 7 E is reported to have been found in a well in Regio V Insula 2 (new numbering) at Marzabotto and must accordingly be later than c. 500 (327).

If we now proceed to comparisons with securely-dated stone sculptures and paintings, we shall unfortunately be disappointed. The Clusine tomb statues and statuary groups offer very few obvious parallels, and they mostly belong to later periods, from which we possess so few terracottas to be attributed to workshops at Clusium. The head 4 E, however, has an Early Archaic counterpart among the Clusine sculptures in Palermo (328), 5 G recalls the head of a Ripe Archaic, Ionizing male statue in London (329). 9 F has a hair arrangement resembling that of an Early Classical figure on a house urn, also in London (330), and 10 E has the same combination of Polykleitan front hair and Epi-Archaic side-curls as the recumbant man in the Chianciano group at Florence (331) and as the baby held by the fine, seated kourotrophos likewise from Chianciano and at Florence, recently cleaned and restored (332). The sphinxes supporting the woman's chair have the bulky divided hair, thick over the temples, which is so characteristic of many Greek female figures in the third quarter of the 5th Century B.C. An earlier date for 10 E is impos-

320: AJA 81 1977, 99.

321: ArchCl 29 1977, 18–19 No. 1, 21 pl. 3.1.

322: ArchCl 29 1977, 22, RM 85 1978, 31.

323: Tyrrhenika 158 No. 6, NSc 51 1926, 195 fig. 5, StEtr 36 1968, 354–355.

324: CVABritishMuseum 7, 11, 14, Jenkins, *op.cit.* 92–93: c. 560–525 B.C.

325: Tyrrhenika 110–111, 195: 625/00?–600/575? B.C.

326: StEtr 39 1971, 421.

327: MonLinc 1 1899 pl. 5 n', StEtr 33 1965, 387 and 390 note 3, Scullard 205.

328: Tyrrhenika 113, A 10: Palermo, Museo Nazionale 2014.

329: Tyrrhenika 115, B 2, F.N. Pryce, Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum I 2, London 1931, 162–164, D 9 fig. 8.

330: Tyrrhenika 116, B 15, Pryce, *op.cit.* 166, 180, 183, D 19 fig. 35, Giglioli 30 pl. 158.4, Cristofani, *op.cit.* 40 No. 8 pl. 21.

331: Tyrrhenika 116, B 14, Giglioli 43 pl. 235, Cristofani, *op.cit.* 42 No. 12 pl. 31.1–4, cf. pls. 29–30, 32 and 33.2–3.

332: Tyrrhenika 116, B 12, Giglioli 42 pl. 231, Cristofani, *op.cit.* 39–40 No. 7 pl. 25.3, cf. pls. 18–20 and 33.1.

sible; the curly locks of the said works of art are nevertheless to be distinguished from the short curls covering the head of a youthful Hercules on a red-figured cup of the Volaterran group, probably of the third quarter of the 4th Century B.C. (333).

For 12 F and G we may compare with Latin and related products of Early Hellenistic times, *e.g.* type 23 E and the Veii variety of 23 G, as well as contemporary Caeretan heads, among them 23 D (334). 12 H, finally, belongs to the same stage of development as certain plastic and painted heads of the first quarter of the 3rd Century B.C. (335).

To sum up: From all appearances 1 F must date from the time after c. 625, perhaps even after c. 600. 2 D is to be placed before c. 570, and it draws

2 E with it. 2 F probably belongs to the period before c. 550, 4 D seems to date from the beginning of the second quarter of the 6th Century, whereas 4 C and H embellished a building constructed about 570 or a little later. 4 E cannot be of a lower date than the mid-6th Century, and 5 B was placed on a roof destroyed c. 525. 5 G is of the second half of the same century, 5 E–F are usually dated before 550, but may be of the third quarter. 7 E comes from a context after c. 500, 9 E cannot be earlier than 475/50, and 10 E is clearly later, but before 350, and with 12 F–H we descend to the late 4th and early 3rd Centuries B.C.

333: RM 85 1978, 65 pl. 53.2, cf. Beazley EVP 10.

334: RM 72 1965, 52 pl. 19.2 and 4.

335: RM 73/4 1966/7, 44 and 48 pls. 14.1–2 and 16.2.

IX. Conclusion

We must now reconsider the general development of the Etruscan art during the Archaic and Classical periods in the light of the evidence presented and discussed in the preceding chapters.

In spite of divergent opinions on many points, most modern scholars agree that there was a succession of Hellenizing styles in Etruria. The Early Archaic Etruscan style is here defined as that dominated by Mainland Greek, Epi-Dedalic or "Dedalizing", and particularly Corinthian influences. The Middle or Ripe Archaic Etruscan style, on the other hand, depended on the art of Eastern Greece, and in the Late Archaic style of Etruria Attic art was the essential factor. The Early Classical Etruscan style is the reflection of the so-called Severe Style in Greece, the Middle or Ripe Classical Etruscan style that which had its inspiration from the art of Pheidias, Polykleitos and their immediate followers, the Late Classical was mainly influenced by the Praxitelan school, whereas Early Hellenistic art in Etruria somehow reflects the works of Lysippos and the production in the more important East-Mediterranean centres of the late 4th and early 3rd Centuries B.C. The beginning of each style phase in Etruria is determined through the incipient domination of those features which characterize the Greek style in question.

In the present book I have attempted to ascribe sequences of head types to the principal art centres of Etruscan Italy. The enumerated 352 main types have been distributed over seven style phases and seven local traditions, as illustrated in

the table fig. 45 and the maps of distributions figs. 48–54, to be compared with the plates I–IV. As will be remembered, each type was marked with a figure and a letter according to its place on the plates, the former indicating the "sequence date" in the typology; but in no case has the exact, absolute chronological placing of a type been aimed at by this marking. In the table fig. 45 the sequence numbers in a section of a column, *e.g.* Capua, Ripe Archaic 3–5, should only be taken as indicating that the types with these numbers, *viz.* 3, 4 and 5, were created somewhere within the time span of the section, and they are certainly not to be understood as representing a subdivision of the style phase into stages of equal length, *in casu*: first, second and last third of the period; but, of course, a type with, for instance sequence number 5, is considered as having appeared later than those with sequence number 4 in the same column. Moreover, the placing has regard only to the presumed original creation of a type, not to its use (336). It is to be hoped that the finding of more types in new excavations and the publication of unpublished old finds will amplify and rectify the picture drawn in this book, by giving us more sequence dates, a larger range within each sequence date, and more chronologically fixed points. At the present moment our material has too many lacunae and provides too little unambiguous evidence. The following chronological table fig. 46 should, therefore, only be regarded as a preliminary result. The dates assigned to the individual style phases are those gathered from the material dealt with in chapters II–VIII, and as the conclusive evidence is often rather meagre, they should be taken "grosso modo". All chronological

336: See above p. 16; cf. the remarks by Andrén in *OpRom* 8 1974, 16.

	<i>CAPUA</i>	<i>CAERE</i>	<i>LATIUM</i>	<i>VEII</i>	<i>FALERII</i>	<i>VULCI-VOLSINI</i>	<i>CLUSIUM</i>
EA	1-2	1		1			2-3
RA	3-5	2-6	3-9	2-5		1-3	4-6
LA	6-7	7-12	10-13	8-13		4-5	7
EC	8-10	13-16	14-17	14-17		6-8	8-9
RC	11	17-19	18-19	18-21	18-21	9-12	10
LC	12-14	20-22	20-22	22	22	13-14	11
EH	15	23	23	23	23	15	12

Fig. 45. Style phases and different local head-types ascribed to them.

figures are approximate, and in most cases an exact definition of the beginning and the end of a style phase is impossible. We can then do no more than stating that the transition took place somewhere between the two years connected by an oblique line.

These reservations made, we may look a little closer at the maps and the chronological table. It is evident that the first production of terracottas in a Hellenizing style, the Early Archaic, took place at least in four separate regions, in Campania, in the territories of Caere and of Veii, and in the interior of Northern Etruria. Latium and the Faliscan District apparently did not yet take part in the new development, but it is more astonishing that we have no indication of a corresponding activity in Central Etruria. It is hard to believe that an incipient intrusion of Hellenic elements into the Orientalizing style of the very provincial and conservative city of Clusium could happen without the intermediary of Central Etruria, and that the Ripe Archaic style of such an important region had no local Hellenizing koroplastic antecedents. So, this is probably one of those unfortu-

nate cases where our material is too lacunary to permit a safe conclusion. It seems beyond doubt, however, that the first Hellenizing style, as far as the terracottas are concerned, during the first third of the 6th Century B.C. spread from Etruscan Campania to Southern Etruria, where artists at Caere, and most likely a little later and with less success at Veii, began to use this new mode of expression and even to provide the Latins with such works. In the Ripe Archaic period, which also set in earlier in Campania than in Southern Etruria, this exportation continued, but Campanian products, too, came to Latium and even Caere, and a Latin manufacture was started in the third or early fourth quarter of the same century in imitation of the Campanian and South Etruscan pieces. The map of distribution shows that the alleged isolated instance of Latin expansion to Central Etruria must be an error; but a Central-Etruscan production was at that time a fact, and there may have been some export to North Etruria. If the material available does not deceive us, Vulci, and through it Clusium, were in advance of Caere and Veii with regard to borrowing from

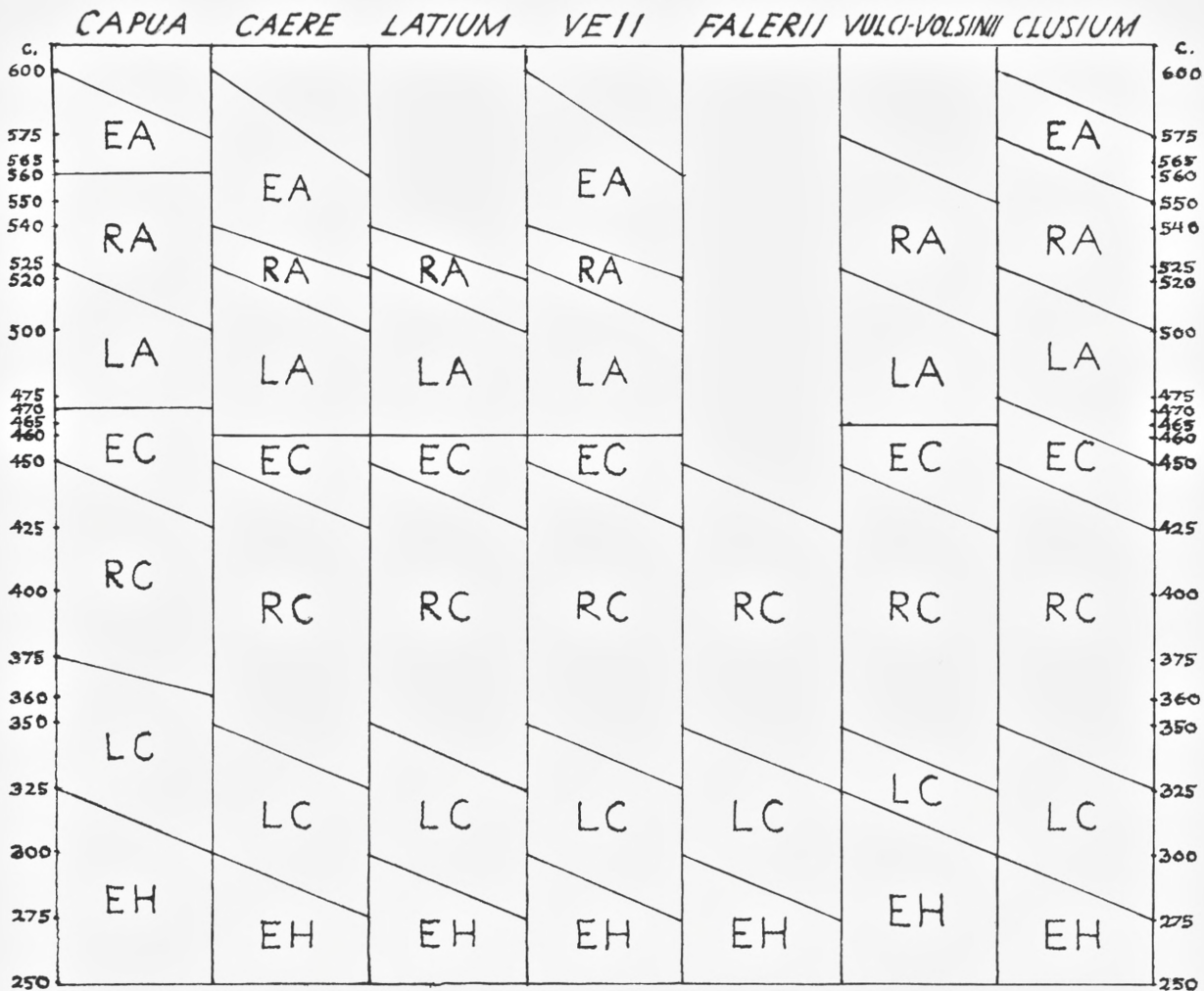


Fig. 46. Chronological table.

Eastern Greek art. The Late Archaic period brought about a flourishing both in Campania, Latium, Caere, Veii and Central Etruria. The Caeretans exported to Latium, Veii and Falerii, the artists at Veii to Falerii, and the works of Central Etruria similarly spread to Northern Etruria. Moreover, in a remote valley on the other side of the Appennines, a Central-Etruscan impact was felt through the mediation of North Etruria. As time went on, Veii became the equal of Caere, but although the same general tendencies prevailed in the Early Classical period as before, the output

appeared to be smaller. By the second half of the 5th Century Falerii had learned from Veii how to make terracottas in a similar Ripe Classical style; the old principal centres in the Southern regions seem to have suffered some decline, whereas Falerii and Central Etruria prospered. In Late Classical times there was a certain revival of earlier relations. Caere, Falerii and Central Etruria were leading in this development, but Veii now definitely played a minimal rôle. The most significant information supplied by the Early Hellenistic material is that of a Latin artistic expansion, both



Fig. 47. Map of Etruscan Campania and Central Italy with finding-places of Archaic and Classical Etruscan terracottas.

directly and indirectly through Veii annexed by the Romans. As in the Ripe Archaic period, Campania and Central Etruria were early in accepting the new style.

So much may perhaps be deduced from our tables and maps; but again I beg to stress that on some points the evidence is not reliable, and new material can easily change the picture.

An evaluation of the much-discussed time lag between the creation of the Greek models and the corresponding Etrusco-Italian works inspired from them, especially in the 5th and 4th Centuries B.C., may nevertheless now be within reach. To judge from the chronological table the transition from the Archaic style to the Classical, as compared with Greece, must have taken place roughly about ten years later at Capua, in Southern Etruria about twenty years, in Vulci or Volsinii rather a little less, and at Clusium somewhat more. The Early Classical style prevailed in most centres well into the third quarter of the 5th Century, and Ripe Classical works were in Etruria proper still made in the second quarter of the 4th, and perhaps even in the third quarter. The Late Classical stage was of considerably shorter duration, and the appearance of the Hellenistic style was not much delayed.

Up to a certain limit, then, we may accept the old ideas of a retardation in the Classical period and of a Hellenistic revival, and a profound conservatism is really a characteristic feature of the Classical Etruscan styles. Not only were the stylistic innovations of Classical Greece admitted later in Etruscan Italy; besides there was – as in certain regions of the Greek world – a strong tendency to retain antiquated style elements side by side with the new. There are many instances of this Epi-

Archaic trend which has given rise to the erroneous generalisation that Archaism was prolonged throughout the 5th into the 4th Century, *e.g.* Capua 8 F, K–L, 9 E and 10 K–L, Caere 13 C–D, 16 C–D and 18 B, Latium 14 G–H, 15 G, 16 G and 18 G–H, Veii 14 J, 15 K and 18 K, Vulci/Volsinii 6 F–G and 7 E, Clusium 9 F; but the consciously Archaistic mannerism of the 4th century, exemplified by Capua 13 D, Caere 19 A, 20 A, 21 A and 23 C, Latium 22 G, Veii 22 J, Falerii 22 N, P and Q, 23 P, Vulci/Volsinii 13 E–F, 14 E, 15 G, and Clusium 10 E is something quite different, corresponding to similar phenomena in Greece (337).

Used with some discretion our plates and tables may help to solve dilemmas of dating like that of the paintings in the Tarquinian tombs listed in the table above p. 8–9 fig. 12. On p. 64–67 several likenesses between them and our terracottas were pointed out, and comparing our plates with the tables p. 76–77 figs. 45 and 46 we may now confirm that the Tomba del Triclinio was decorated c. 465–450 and suggest for the Tomba degli Scudi and the Tomba dell'Orco I a date early in the last quarter of the 4th Century, whereas the series in the Tomba Golini I and the slightly later one in the Tomba dell'Orco II probably both belong to the end of the same century.

The Roman classicism of the Imperial period occasionally drew on the available stock of South-Etruscan and Latin works of the late 5th and early 4th Centuries B.C. The head of the so-called Numa statue from the Atrium Vestae was by G. Hafner rightly compared with both Tarentine terracottas and a specimen of our Caeretan type 18 C (338), and evidently the forehead hair is the same as on our Caeretan types 19 A–D and the beard certainly recalls that of 18 C; but even more the head resembles our Latin type 19 G from Ostia. No doubt, the model was a Latin statue of the first half of the 4th Century (and neither of the 5th nor of the second half of the 4th as suggested by others), and it is not to be precluded that it was one of the Roman kings standing on the Capitol (339). To roughly the same epoch, as de-

337: Cf. E. Schmidt, *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom*, Munich 1922.

338: RM 76 1969, 35 note 146 pl. 11.1, cf. pl. 11.2–5; RM 85 1978, 332.

339: O. Vessberg, *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republik*, Lund 1941, 10, 84, RM 85 1978, 328–332.



Fig. 48.



Fig. 49.

Fig. 50.



Fig. 51.



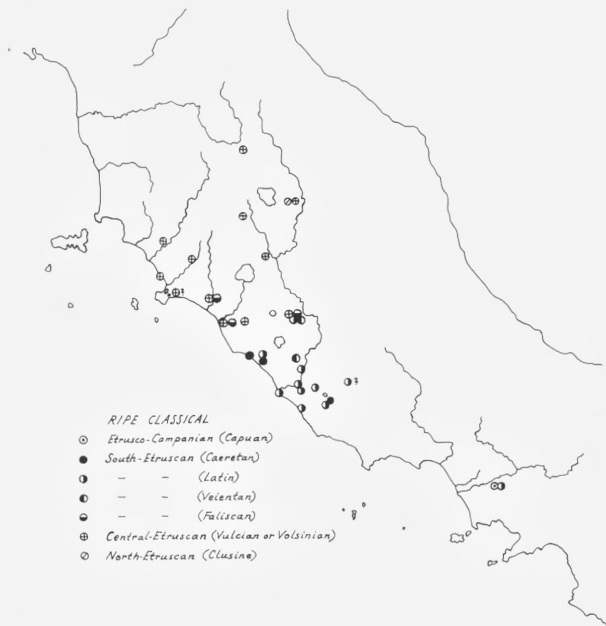


Fig. 52.



Fig. 53.

Fig. 54.



Fig. 48. Distribution of Early Archaic head-types in Etruscan Campania and Central Italy.

Fig. 49. Distribution of Ripe Archaic head-types in Etruscan Campania and Central Italy.

Fig. 50. Distribution of Late Archaic head-types in Etruscan Campania and Central Italy.

Fig. 51. Distribution of Early Classical head-types in Etruscan Campania and Central Italy.

Fig. 52. Distribution of Ripe Classical head-types in Etruscan Campania and Central Italy.

Fig. 53. Distribution of Late Classical head-types in Etruscan Campania and Central Italy.

Fig. 54. Distribution of Early Hellenistic head-types in Etruscan Campania and Central Italy.

monstrated by the affinity to our Latin types 18 H and 19 G, we may place the prototypes of the Augustan representations of Aeneas (340). Even the portrait of Augustus himself seems to have been somehow inspired by Epi-Polykleitan Etruscan heads like Caere 19 D and 22 D, works of the time c. 375–275 B.C. (341). Why was it Etruscan and Latin statues of the 4th Century that the Augustan classicists imitated? The Archaic style must have been rather sparingly represented in Rome and did not appeal to them, and from the later 5th Century there was probably even less to

be seen (342). This may partly be due to poverty, partly to the Gaulish sack in 387. On the other hand the new friendship with Caere and the Roman military and economic advances in the following years may well have created the basis of an artistic revival in Rome, which in a later period could be regarded as Classic.

340: Essays in Archaeology and the Humanities in Memoriam Otto J. Brendel, Mainz 1976, 165–171 pl. 41.

341: Cf. Vessberg, *op.cit.* 167, V. Poulsen, *Römische Bildwerke*, Königstein i.T. 1964, 29, 30, 34, 35.

342: Cf. Scullard 270–271 and Vessberg, *op.cit.* 89–91.

Appendix

On the Provenience of the So-Called “Orvieto Find” in Copenhagen

The ancient Greek and Etruscan objects dealt with by Frederik Poulsen, *Aus einer alten Etruskerstadt* (*HistFilolMeddDanVidSelsk* 12, 3), Copenhagen 1927, were there presented as “gefunden in einer der alten ruhmreichen Etruskerstädte” (*ibid.* 3); but in the same author’s simultaneously issued catalogue of the Etruscan Department of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, the same Etruscan antiquities were indicated as having come from Orvieto, among them two specimens of our Central Etruscan type 11 E: F. Poulsen, *Katalog des etruskischen Museums* (Helbig Museum) der Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen 1927, 91–92, H 193–194, NCGEtr 34, H 193–194, NCGBild pl. 70, Tyrrhenika 97, A 8 pl. 19.2, Andrén 201, *Sporadic Finds III* 2 pl. 76.259, above p. 57–58.

The antiquities published in “Aus einer alten Etruskerstadt” were part of a larger collection acquired by the Ny Carlsberg Foundation in 1924 and often referred to as the so-called “Orvieto Find”; the other objects were given to the Danish National Museum, where they are kept in the Department of Near Eastern and Classical Antiquities, Inv. Nos. 8295–8355.

Sir John Beazley had helped Frederik Poulsen in identifying the painters of some of the Greek vases allotted to the Glyptotek (*Etruskerstadt* 3), and when, in the autumn of 1950, he was lecturing in Denmark, he took the opportunity to re-study the “Orvieto Find”. On this occasion he mentioned to the present writer that the provenience of the collection was not Orvieto, but Vulci. Later, in a letter dated January 8th, 1951, he stated this in more detail:

“Please excuse me for not answering your letter before. There are two matters here, which must be kept quite separate.

(1) Not long before your visit to Oxford in 1936 I was told by a dealer that the objects published in *Aus einer alten Etruskerstadt* were found at Vulci not Orvieto. Who told me? I am almost sure that it was either Amedeo Riccardi or someone in touch with him (I think Ugo Bonessi), and of the two I strongly favour Riccardi. (It is possible that both were present). Of course I always remember the saying of Edward Warren about a bronze: “The dealer said it was found at Sorrento: all you could gather from that was that, wherever it was found, it was not found at Sorrento”. But one must judge each occurrence singly; and from the tone in which the man spoke I thought that what he said was worth considering, and this is why I asked you about it.

The Riccardi are an Orvietan family, and it would not be unnatural that objects acquired by them elsewhere should be brought to Orvieto and seen there. Of course I do not know if it was *apud Ricardos* that Prof. Friis Johansen saw the things in 1927.

(2) The other matter as I have said is quite separate. The Guglielmi collection of antiquities found at Vulci in the family property, mainly a hundred years ago and more, was divided in 1900 between the brothers Marchese Giulio and Marchese Giacinto Guglielmi (see Nogara in *RG.p.* vi). Giulio’s part passed to his son Benedetto, who kept it in the Palazzo Guglielmi at Civitavecchia, and presented it to the Vatican in 1934. Giacinto’s part, according to Nogara, passed to his son Marchese Giorgio, who kept it in his house in Rome.

Nogara, then, speaks of two Guglielmi collections, Benedetto’s and Giorgio’s; but I saw three:

- (1) Benedetto’s at Civitavecchia;
- (2) Giorgio’s, Rome;
- (3) the collection of the Marchesa Isabella Guglielmi, Rome.

The Marchesa was the sister either of Benedetto or of Giorgio. I don’t know if I ever asked myself which, but my wife is almost sure that she was Giorgio’s sister. This would agree with the nature of the two collections, Giorgio’s and Isabella’s. Put together, they would make a collection not equivalent to Benedetto’s, but not far from it: a collection that might well be the moiety left to the younger of two brothers, in fact Giacinto. Giorgio’s collection consisted of a few rather choice, well-

preserved pieces, Isabella's was much larger and more miscellaneous as if Giorgio had selected what he wanted to furnish his sumptuous house, and left the rest in the care of his sister.

It must have been in the early thirties that my wife and I worked at the three collections. My wife photographed in all three, and I don't know if I gave you a print of a bronze candelabrum-statuettes of a satyr in Marchesa Isabella's apartment.

Some years afterwards, shortly before the war, I think, Filippo Magi informed me, without my enquiring, that Marchesa Isabella's collection was no longer in her possession but had been sold to Copenhagen. I expressed some surprise, but he was quite positive; and this is all I can say".

To this letter I may add the following comments:

The vendor of the "Orvieto Find" was Amedeo Ariodante Riccardi, who styled himself "speciale raccoglitore duggetti (*sic!*) di scavo". He belonged to a family of restorers and dealers of antiquities (and forgeries) established in Orvieto since 1911 (Metropolitan Museum of Art Papers 11 1961, 10–19, ActaA 35 1964, 85–86).

Ugo Bonessi was the dealer who sold the tripod and dinos from S. Vincenzo near Campiglia Marittima, now in the Danish National Museum (ActaA 10 1939, 1–5 pls. 1–2).

Edward Warren was the agent of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston residing in England (Metropolitan Museum of Art Papers 11 1961, 7).

On October 26th, 1924 an agent of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York wrote from Italy to the Museum's director that "a large collection of vases, bronzes, and terracottas" had been sold behind his back to the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (*op.cit.* 10). It was not in 1927, but in the spring of 1924 that K. Friis Johansen, then Keeper of Near Eastern and Classical Antiquities in the Da-









































































nish National Museum, had seen it in Orvieto, and it was in October 1924 that part of the collection acquired by the Carlsberg Foundation was given to the National Museum.

The collection of the Marchesi Guglielmi di Vulci at Civitavecchia consisted of finds made (1) at S. Agostino Vecchio on the Orbetello road near and west of Montalto di Castro, *i.e.* within the ancient Vulcian territory, (2) in the necropolis at Camposcala immediately north of the ancient city of Vulci, and (3) in the region of Civitavecchia, the latter finds being of inferior quality and importance (BdI 1830, 243, BdI 1832, 3, BdI 1850, 124–126, BdI 1869, 166–167, B. Nogara, in J. D. Beazley & F. Magi, *La raccolta Benedetto Guglielmi nel Museo Gregoriano Etrusco I, Città del Vaticano* 1939, v–vi).

Sir John Beazley already knew Marchese Benedetto's share when it was kept at Civitavecchia, *i.e.* before it was given to the Pope in June 1934 and he was asked to publish its vases (Nogara, *loc. cit.* 3). If Sir John and Lady Beazley really worked at all three Guglielmi collections in the early thirties and not in the twenties, that of Marchesa Isabella cannot then have comprised the "Orvieto Find". If it actually had belonged to her, she must have sold it in 1924 or even earlier. At any rate, her bronze candelabrum-statuettes of a satyr or rather a silenus, of which Lady Beazley's photo still exists in the Beazley Archive of the Ashmolean Museum, is *not* identical with the figure F. Poulsen, *Katalog* 1927, 121, H 247, NCGBild pl. 109, NCGEtr 45, H 247, which is variably called a Pan, a dancing Pygmy, or a dwarf, but might be taken for a "satyr".

Indleveret til Selskabet marts 1981.
Færdig fra trykkeriet november 1981.

The Etrusco-Campanian Tradition:
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The South-Etruscan Tradition: CAERE

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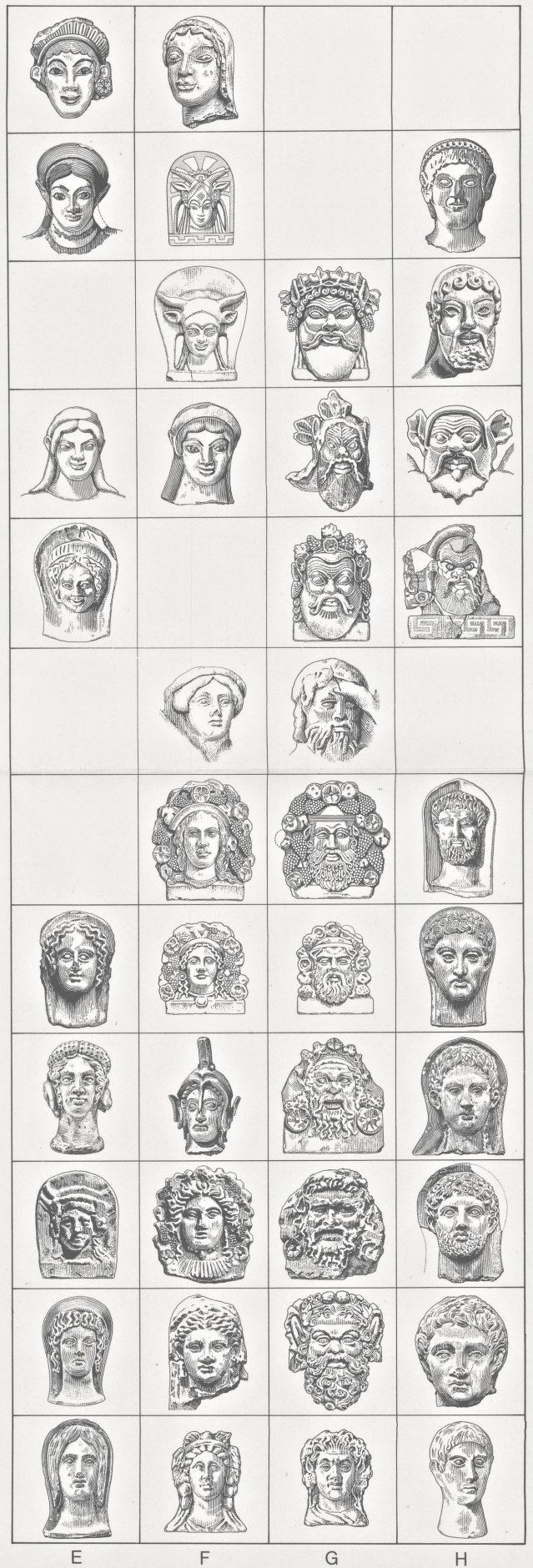
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The Central-Etruscan Tradition:
VULCI or VOLSINI?

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The North-Etruscan Tradition:
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