

Proceedings of the
Danish Institute at Athens · III

Edited by Signe Isager and Inge Nielsen



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The publication was sponsored by:
The Danish Research Council for the Humanities.
Consul General Gösta Enbom's Foundation.
Konsul Georg Jorck og hustru Emma Jorck's Fond.

Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens

General Editors: *Signe Isager and Inge Nielsen*
Graphic design and Production by: *Freddy Pedersen*

Printed in Denmark on permanent paper

ISBN 87 7288 723 0

Distributed by:
AARHUS UNIVERSITY PRESS
Langelandsgade 177
DK-8200 Århus N
Fax (+45) 8942 5380

73 Lime Walk
Headington, Oxford OX3 7AD
Fax (+44) 865 750 079

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The cover illustration depicts the theatre of Delphi.
Photo by R. Frederiksen, see p. 135, Fig. 1.

A Fragment of an Early Etruscan Bronze Throne in Olympia?

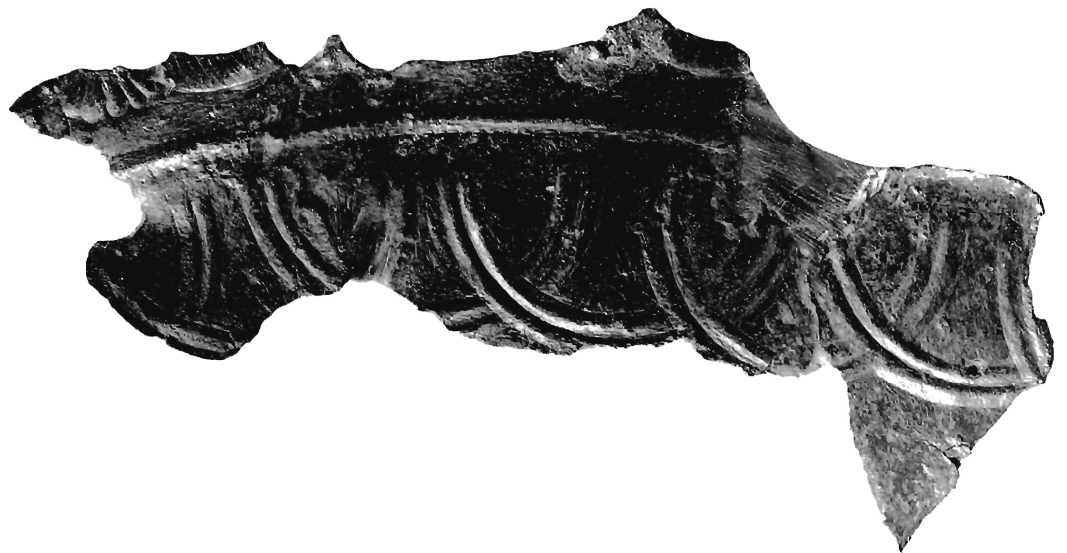
Ingrid Ström

Among the early Etruscan bronze objects in Olympia is a fragmentary relief plate with fine, green patina and Orientalizing ornamentation, *Ol. IV. 1007* (Fig. 1).¹ It is made up of three small, joining fragments and measures in all 19.6 cm in width, its height varying between 5.7 and 7.12 cm. It is decorated in two curving friezes, one of overlapping double arcs and one of connected palmettes, the exact type of which cannot be deduced because of the break – they may represent a series of linked Phoenician palmettes.² The two friezes are separated by a relief line, measuring ca. 42 cm in diameter, with small raised points on either side. Below the arcs is a plain, undecorated part.

Since the back of the plate is now covered in wax, its thickness cannot be determined nor details of its original form, although – even in its present state – it seems to show a curvature in horizontal as well as in vertical direction, the former a little more pronounced at the palmette frieze than

below. A small hole in the right-hand, triangular fragment with arcs does not penetrate the plate and there is no reason to believe that the plate was fastened to another material.

Further technical observations are possible from the front of the plate: The double arcs vary in outer width – between 5.96 and 6.56 cm – as well as in height which, although in no case fully preserved, varies around 3.5 cm; the space between the two parallel lines of the arcs differs at their ends; the small, raised points at the relief line are irregularly placed, now on the line, now at one or the other side of it. Since the ornaments are not identical in detail, they cannot have been set with identical stamps, but must have been punched free-hand from the back. Most details are engraved: The outlines of the arcs, of each palmette petal and of each connecting link between the palmettes as well as the inner oblique lines of these links. The curved tips of the palmette pet-



*Fig. 1. Ol. IV 1007.
Fragment of Bronze Relief.
Olympia.
Deutsches Archäologisches
Institut. Athen.
Neg. No. 77. 299.*



Fig. 2. Fragments of Etruscan shields with stamped decoration.
A. Oxford Ashmolean Museum. Inv. No. 1982. 222. Museum Photo.
B. Br. Mus. Inv. No. 55.10 - 4.1. Museum Photo.

als are slightly more raised than the rest of the ornament. Obviously a South Etruscan Orientalizing bronze relief of the 7th Century BC,³ neither its local workshop nor its exact chronology can be immediately given.

Interpretation

Several scholars have identified this fragmentary relief with part of a South Etruscan round bronze shield,⁴ the numbers of which are steadily increasing.⁵ For technical reasons alone such an interpretation is not possible, since all known South Etruscan Orientalizing bronze shields are decorated in stamped motives and not one is engraved.⁶ In my opinion, these observations are conclusive in themselves; but also in its ornamentation the fragment stands apart from early Etruscan bronze shields: Connected palmettes and arcs are characteristic of Late Orientalizing Etruscan shields of Group B II only (Geiger 3 a-b) (Fig. 2A);⁷ however, those of the Olympia fragment show different details. As I observed in 1971: "... the palmette decoration of its upper part differs in character from the palmettes of Etruscan shields, while the arcs below all lack the palmette or star terminals which apparently are never missing on Etruscan shields or other stamped bronze objects with this type of decoration".⁸ Other palmette types of B II are fuller and may remind more of the palmettes of the Olympia fragment, but they are always unconnected, either single or antithetically placed double ones (Fig. 2B).⁹ The plain part below the arcs is a sign of an undecorated zone, foreign to the Orientalizing shields, except for the few, ornamentally diverging shields of B III (Geiger Group 2d).¹⁰

Stylistically, the Olympia fragment corresponds with the Late Orientalizing B II stamped bronze reliefs as well as with metal reliefs in free-hand drawing found in the Bernardini and Barberini Tombs in Palestrina and the Regolini-Galassi Tomb in Cerveteri,¹¹ three tombs the Orientalizing shields of which all were of B I type

(Geiger 2a, b and c).¹² The production of B I started in the first quarter of the 7th Century BC¹³ and the two Palestrina tombs are dated to around 675 BC and the second quarter of the 7th Century BC, respectively,¹⁴ the Regolini-Galassi Tomb, in my opinion, to shortly after 650 BC.¹⁵

Although their absolute chronology is not certain, the B II stamped shields chiefly belong to the second half of the 7th Cent. BC, possibly continuing into the early 6th Cent. BC.¹⁶ However, three objects of stamped bronze relief, apparently representing a transitional phase with a combination of B I and B II stamped ornaments: a trapezoid standard,¹⁷ a rectangular box serving as urn (Fig. 3) and the mountings of a four-wheeled carriage, were found in Veji, Monte Michele, Tomb 5, dated to the second quarter of the 7th Century BC.¹⁸ The typically B I ornaments of small bosses and narrow cable pattern are used together with palmettes and rosettes, characteristic of B II reliefs only. Specific ornaments, such as the Phoenician palmettes of the standard, the leaf rosettes of the urn and the carriage, and the small single palmettes of the urn plates, are either unique or rare in the normal B II repertory and indicate a local Veji production. The stamped bronze reliefs of Monte Michele, Tomb 5, point to a date not much later than around 650 BC for the fully developed B II style. From the above comparisons, an absolute chronology of the Olympia fragment to around 650 BC or perhaps slightly earlier is probably not far out of date.¹⁹

Never having accepted the Olympia fragment as part of an Etruscan shield, I some years ago tentatively proposed to identify it with a fragment of the high back of a South Etruscan barrel-shaped bronze throne.²⁰ With its large inner diameter (42 cm), on the outside of which was at least one broad, ornamental frieze, it is part of an object of considerable size and the only other possibility that comes to my mind is a two-wheeled chariot, either its high,

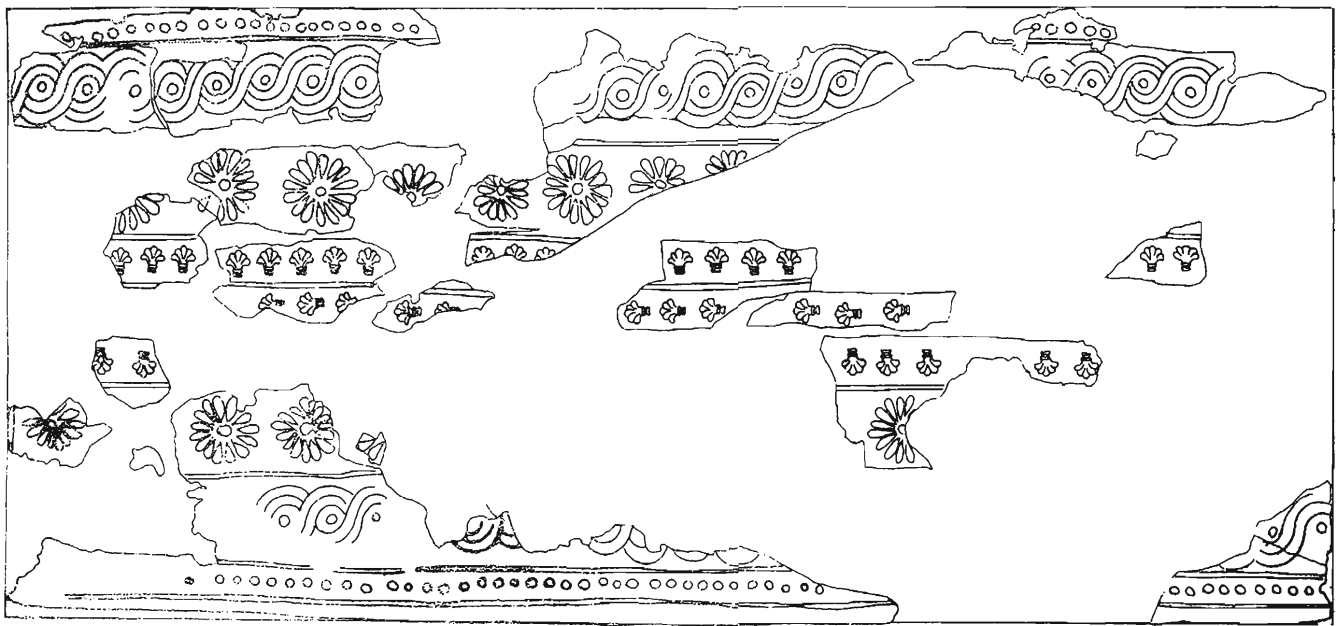


Fig. 3. Veji, Monte Michele, Tomb 5. Rectangular urn, bronze relief with stamped ornaments. *StEtr LI*, 552, fig. 5.

curved back or the semi-curved side of its foot-board.²¹ We have examples of bronze reliefs for thrones as well as for chariots coming from the same workshops as the shields and other objects with stamped ornamentation,²² which may account for the close stylistic correspondence between the Olympia fragment and Etruscan Late Orientalizing stamped bronze reliefs. However, there is no sign of Ol. IV 1007 having been fastened to another material as was the case for the chariot plates, and if my observations regarding the curvature of the Olympia relief are correct, they do not conform well with the straight back or the flat foot-board of a two-wheeled chariot.²³ On the other hand, the curvature of the relief would fit perfectly with the normal flaring back of Etruscan bronze thrones in free-hand relief decoration, as they are known from Chiusi (Fig. 4).²⁴ On this evidence alone, an identification with a two-wheeled chariot cannot be entirely rejected, but there are other reasons for ruling it out²⁵ and I find an identification of the Olympia fragment with part of a South Etruscan Early Orientalizing bronze throne the one most likely.

The Etruscan Thrones

The Orientalizing Chiusi thrones with free decoration form a long line of development throughout the second half of the 7th Century BC and into the early 6th Century BC.²⁶ In Chiusi, the local barrel-shaped throne functions as seat for the urn and forms part of grave furniture comprising also a bronze table. The context is presumably that of the dead person seated at his burial meal.²⁷ Throne and table alike may have the same free-hand relief decoration of animals and fabulous creatures, rosettes and linked palmettes on arcs (Fig. 4), in which last-mentioned features the Olympia fragment resembles them. Their decoration has close counterparts in South Etruscan Orientalizing art from which they must have been inspired.²⁸

The few South Etruscan Orientalizing bronze thrones known today do not have free-hand decoration, but the same stamped motives as the B I shields²⁹ and, in my opinion, in one case, also as B II.³⁰

The centres of production of the stamped Orientalizing South Etruscan bronze reliefs are still a matter of dispute. Definitely, Tarquinia had an important workshop of shields, Veji and Vulci at least of

Fig. 4. Chiusi bronze throne.
The British Museum. Cat.
Bronzes, No. 600.
Museum Photo.



other stamped metal reliefs and most likely Caere too, while there is evidence of workshops in other Etruscanized regions such as Latium and the Faliscan area.³¹ Presumably the stamped bronze reliefs, Geometric as well as Orientalizing, were produced locally in most major towns³² and an attempt at establishing different workshops will require detailed studies not only of shields, but of other stamped bronze reliefs (urns, flasks, tripods etc.) as well.³³

As regards the known South Etruscan Orientalizing bronze thrones with stamped motives, Jurgeit appears to waver between a Tarquinia and a Vulci workshop.³⁴ Other scholars point to Caere, mostly because of stone thrones having been carved out in several chamber tombs at Cerveteri – although neither in Tarquinia nor in Vulci.³⁵ On the other hand, the only secure provenance is that of the Barberini Tomb in Palestrina in Latium.³⁶

However, since the local Chiusi thrones are the only identified Etruscan bronze thrones with free-hand Orientalizing relief decoration, they should, in my opinion, be drawn into the discussion. Their style strongly suggests South Etruscan models (Fig. 4) and although I formerly saw the barrel-shaped stamped bronze thrones as their immediate predecessors,³⁷ they may just as well have been inspired by South Etruscan bronze thrones with large-scale, free-hand relief decoration in which arcs and palmettes played a corresponding role. We still do not have any examples from South Etruria, but our knowledge of Orientalizing metal workshops in Etruria and Etruscanized Italy is steadily increasing.³⁸

Looking at the funerary sphere of Chiusi upper classes in the 7th Century BC with their imports of South Etruscan objects of stamped bronze plates,³⁹ their local grave furniture of tables and thrones in bronze reliefs imitating South Etruscan style,⁴⁰ their types of chamber tombs and – not least – their tomb-paintings under obviously South Etruscan influence, I concluded in 1989 that “Tarquinia and Veji could just as easily as Cerveteri be the chief source of influence on Chiusi” and observed that: “The tomb-paintings point more specifically towards influence from Veji”.⁴¹ I also mentioned the fact that the Tiber formed an important inland route between Veji and Chiusi not open to Tarquinia.⁴² In general, our knowledge of the inland contacts of Veji to the Faliscan area and further north on the one hand⁴³ and, on the other, to Latium and further south, reaching Pithecusa and the Western Greek colonies, is well-established.⁴⁴

In contrast to the rather small Chiusi thrones, functioning as seat for the canopic urn, the South Etruscan bronze thrones are large⁴⁵ and the stone thrones were either empty or part of statues as apparent e.g. from the two tufa statues of the first half of the 7th Century BC in Caere, Tomba delle Statue, each representing a male person seated on a throne.⁴⁶ From

the placing of the empty thrones in the “-atrium” of the tomb, Prayon and Colonna interpret them as seats for the heads of the family, while Colonna sees the Caere statues placed at the entrance of the tomb, as re-presentations of the forefathers.⁴⁷ Although originally just household furniture, in 7th Century BC Etruria, the thrones were held in veneration.

Some years ago, a fragment of a similar tufa statue was found in the Piccazzano necropolis at Veji, the lower part of a person seated on a barrel-shaped throne.⁴⁸ Since Veji also had an important production of Orientalizing bronze reliefs (Fig. 3), this town should have the same claim to a possible production of bronze thrones as Caere.

In both the Veji and the Caere statues, the person's feet rest on a footstool, each side of which is formed as a volute. Whereas the thrones are of local origin, Colonna and v. Hase regard the footstools as Near Eastern imitations and one of many signs of North Syrian sculptors having worked in Caere.⁴⁹ Although the Veji statue is badly preserved, it seems reasonable to transfer these conclusions to Veji. A similar footstool is worked in relief in a chamber tomb in Vignanello in the Faliscan area and others are represented on the assembly frieze of the 6th Century BC Upper Building of Poggio Civitate (Murlo). Several volute footstools were found in tombs in Etruria and Latium, in both male and female burials: there are wooden examples in four Verucchio tombs, while foot-stools in bronze relief with Geometric stamped ornamentation are known from tombs in Trevignano Romano at Lago di Bracciano and in Castel di Decima and Laurentina in Latium⁵⁰ as well as – the earliest of all – in Veji, Casale del Fosso, Tomb 871,⁵¹ which is dated to around 720 BC.⁵² The other tombs are of the 7th Century BC. Apart from the two Caere statues, the known examples of this kind of footstool chiefly come from the inland areas of Etruria and Etruscanized Italy, in regions under influence from Veji.⁵³

Although the volute footstools might be used together with folding chairs,⁵⁴ such wooden footstools were found with wooden barrel-shaped thrones in three Verucchio tombs of the 7th Century BC⁵⁵ and presumably the two pieces of furniture should be viewed as an entity, even though the wooden seat has perished in tombs with bronze footstools.⁵⁶ The grave furniture accompanying the footstools always give evidence of both wealth – with e.g. gold or silver fibulae and other kinds of jewellery – and a high social status for the deceased person.⁵⁷ The tombs, whether with male or female burials, contained two-wheeled chariots; originally the chariots for men served for transporting the warrior to and from the battle field, but already before the end of the 8th Century BC the chariots were used for ceremonial purposes;⁵⁸ in the male tombs there are generally horse bits or harnesses;⁵⁹ there are banqueting implements such as drinking cups, amphorae, fire-dogs, meat spits and sometimes carving knives⁶⁰ as well as a two-wheeled bronze tray;⁶¹ in one of the tombs there is a fan, obviously a sign of rank and ceremonially connected with the throne;⁶² and in several others, a trapezoid or rounded standard. The former, specific to Etruria, the latter to Latium, apparently had a significance equal to that of the fan and a distribution almost identical with that of the volute footstool.⁶³ Again the earliest examples come from Veji, which Guldager regards as the mediator of social rituals between the elites of southern Etruria and northern Latium;⁶⁴ in some tombs there were *cistae*⁶⁵ and in the male burials, warriors' equipment.⁶⁶ Some of these objects, with the customs they represent, are normal to upper class Central Italic tombs of the 8th – 7th Centuries BC, while others as e.g. both the volute footstool, closely connected with the barrel-shaped throne, and the trapezoid or rounded standard seem concentrated to a specific area, covering the influential sphere of Veji. In both cases, Veji provides the earliest examples.

A *lituus* or scepter in Veji, Casale del Fosso, Tomb 871, signifies a high official position,⁶⁷ presumably also of religious character. E.g. the Tarquinia, Pian di Civita cult deposit at the entrance to cult house Beta contained three bronzes: an axe and a shield were placed together with a trumpet-*lituus*, one immediately above the other and the two last-mentioned objects ceremonially buckled. The whole area is sacral and the cult deposit was placed in two hollows, both containing fragments of the same impasto vases, the forms of which suggested a banqueting function. The three bronzes were in Deposit A. The excavators, taking into account also the sacral character of the whole area, interpret the find as a votive deposit made by a person of rank.⁶⁸ It is also worth noting that the two Cerveteri tufa statues of male persons seated on thrones were holding in their hands, one a sceptre, the other a *lituus*.⁶⁹ and that the woman seated on a bronze throne in the Murlo frieze, who obviously took part in an important ceremony, had in front of her another seated person, holding a *lituus*.⁷⁰ Undoubtedly, the barrel-shaped thrones signify a high and powerful official position in Etruscan society, partly of religious character.⁷¹

Early Etruscan bronzes in Greek Sanctuaries

On the other hand, one should not forget that the bronze fragment, Ol. IV 1007, was found in the Hera/Zeus Sanctuary of Olympia and must be viewed in relation also to other early Etruscan bronzes in Greek sanctuaries.⁷²

The early Italic/Etruscan bronze votives in Greek sanctuaries present a varied picture. Most widely distributed are the fibulae, known all over the Greek Mainland as well as on several islands. With one early exception, they are dated to the second half of the 8th Century and the 7th Century BC and to a great extent they are of South Italian or Sicilian origin. They comprise fibulae for the male as well as the female dress and are presumably most-

ly private donations, whether by Greeks or Italic/Etruscans will be difficult to decide in most cases.⁷³ All fibulae except one come from sanctuaries.⁷⁴

Among the dress articles are Sicilian hooks⁷⁵ and a Villanovan bronze belt which was acquired on Euboea in the early 19th century by the Danish archaeologist, P. O. Brøndsted; whether coming from a tomb or a sanctuary is not known. Such bronze belts were in Italy found in women's tombs of the 8th Century BC, mostly in the Bologna region, Latium and the Faliscan area as well as in Southern Etruria: Tarquinia, Vulci and, in particular, Veji.⁷⁶

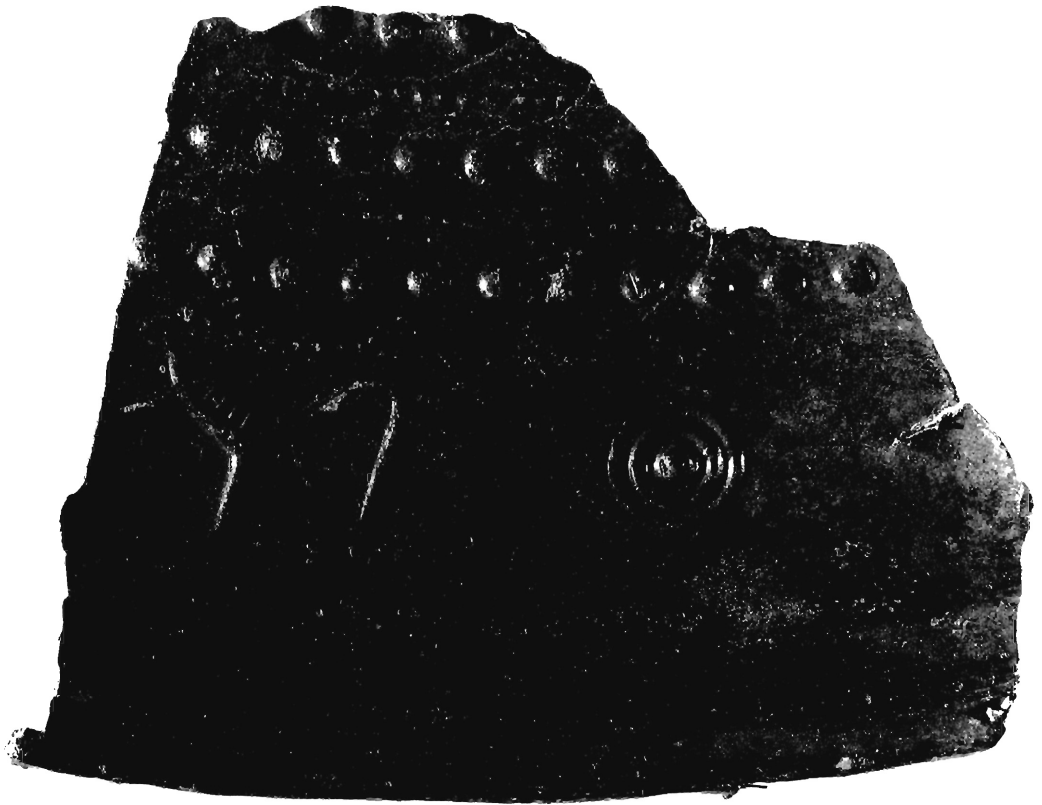
The early Italic/Etruscan bronze vases in Greece are dated from the 7th Century BC onwards and are known in particular from the sanctuaries of Olympia, Perachora and Samos as well as from the Argive Heraion and a tomb in Korkyra, and they include fragments of larger vessels, as e.g. North Etruscan lebetes with plastic decoration.⁷⁷ Of the utmost importance is the Italic wheeled tripod censer from Olympia, published by M. Söldner and dated to the second quarter of the 7th Century BC; its nearest parallel comes from Luceria in Apulia. M. Söldner concludes her investigations in stating that it must be an Italic dedication, definitely of religious and possibly of official character.⁷⁸ Söldner's publication opens for a renewed discussion of the identity of the dedicators of the more spectacular Italic/Etruscan early bronze finds in Greek sanctuaries, not only bronze vessels, but also armour and weapons.

The warriors' equipment of Italic/Etruscan origin found in Greek sanctuaries comprises horse bits and parts of horses' harnesses of North Etruscan types (Olympia);⁷⁹ lance heads of types probably originating in Sicily or South Italy, but with a large distribution area in Italy (Delphi and Olympia);⁸⁰ axe heads, presumably South Italic (Olympia and Dodone);⁸¹ a South Etruscan antenna sword of the so-

called Tarquinia type, probably dated to the second half of the 8th Century BC (Samos);⁸² a fragment of a greave (Olympia), for which there are parallels in Veji of the second half of the 8th Century BC;⁸³ helmets of types which began in the first half of the 8th Century BC and continued into the second half of the century; their counterparts are almost exclusively found in South Etruria, especially in Tarquinia and Veji (Olympia and Delphi).⁸⁴ Although some of the above pieces of warriors' equipment are of types beginning earlier than 750 BC, they may all be dated to the second half of the 8th Century BC or the early 7th Century BC, and the South Etruscan types are for the greater part connected with either Tarquinia or Veji.⁸⁵

However, by far the largest group of warriors' equipment found in Greek sanctuaries consists of fragments of Etruscan round bronze shields with stamped Geometric ornamentation (Delphi, Dodone, Olympia and Samos). The identifiable shields of normal size⁸⁶ all belong to the same two classes of Geometric shields, A II and A IV (Geiger 1 a and 1 c).⁸⁷ The former group, with alternating stamps of concentric circles and animals, predominantly horses (Fig. 5), covers the second half of the 8th Century BC, lasting into the early 7th Century BC.⁸⁸ The A IV bronze reliefs, with Subgeometric ornamentation, begin in the last quarter of the 8th Century BC⁸⁹ and their production period covers the two quarter centuries on either side of 700 BC⁹⁰ and perhaps even the entire first half of the 7th Century BC.⁹¹ However, since not one example of the Early Orientalizing B I shields, the production of which started in the early 7th Century BC,⁹² was found in Greece, there seems no reason to date any Italic/Etruscan round bronze shield from the Greek sanctuaries later than the early 7th Century BC, their absolute chronology thus corresponding well with the rest of the warriors' equipment of the same provenances. Like the Etruscan Orientalizing shields, the Geometric ones seem to

Fig. 5. *The Archaeological Museum, Joannina. Inv. No. 1735. Fragment of Etruscan bronze shield. From Dodone. Museum Photo.*



have been produced in several localities, probably with an important centre in Tarquinia;⁹³ but there was definitely a major production of A II reliefs in Veji – as well as presumably in Vulci – while A IV reliefs seem to have a wider production area.⁹⁴

In general, the Etruscan warriors' equipment found in Greek sanctuaries presents a picture which closely resembles that of the upper class warriors' burials in Central Italy in the latter half of the 8th Century BC and the 7th Century BC, with weapons and defensive armour, horse bits and harnesses, and possibly an axe. The axe may be South Italic, while the other objects seem to be genuinely Etruscan. Not all can be securely located, but the horse's gear is North Etruscan, while several more spectacular finds such as the antenna sword, the greave, the helmets and shields are South Etruscan prestige objects, apparently predominantly of Tarquinian or Vejian origin.

Several scholars have interpreted the greater part of the early Italic/Etruscan bronzes in the Greek sanctuaries – and

definitely those of warriors' equipment – as spoils of war dedicated by Greeks, probably Greeks of the Western Greek colonies.⁹⁵ Some scholars regard the bronze vases as signs of trade or piracy.⁹⁶ On the other hand, the above-mentioned Olympia tripod censer can be taken as a sign of an official Italic dedication of religious character already in the second quarter of the 7th Century BC⁹⁷ and we have written evidence of official Etruscan dedications in the Archaic Period to both Delphi and Olympia.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, until recently, the two Etruscan archaeologists, M. Cristofani and G. Bartoloni, apparently were alone in seeing the early Etruscan prestigious bronzes, including the warriors' equipment, as dedications to the Greek sanctuaries by upper class Etruscans.⁹⁹

The Function of the Geometric Round Bronze Shields

Undoubtedly of significance for this discussion is the question of the possible military function of the Etruscan round

bronze shields with stamped Geometric ornamentation, as known from Greek sanctuaries.¹⁰⁰ Several scholars – and lately also Geiger¹⁰¹ – advocate their functional purpose. Also according to Geiger, the thin metal plate requires a backing of leather or wood to provide satisfactory protection.¹⁰² However, of such a backing there is no trace in any of these shields, neither, as often maintained, in the shield of the Tarquinia Warrior's Tomb,¹⁰³ nor in the more recent shield finds.¹⁰⁴ Although Geiger refers also to other circumstances speaking against their functional purpose,¹⁰⁵ she concludes that the Geometric bronze shields were made with a view to military use, partly because of their size and partly because of their faithful rendering of details in the handle and the attachment plates,¹⁰⁶ details which, in my opinion, may just as well indicate a close imitation of the battle shields, which presumably were of leather;¹⁰⁷ later on such details gradually become neglected.¹⁰⁸ At any rate, without an inner covering of leather or wood, the shields could not offer satisfactory protection in a military situation, and of such a reinforcement, we still have no evidence.¹⁰⁹

Other aspects may be of relevance for the discussion. In Etruria itself, such shields have now appeared in sacrificial contexts, the Geometric shields in Verucchio and the shield at cult building Beta in the sacrificial area of Tarquinia; although Early Orientalizing, this shield is contemporary with the latest Geometric shield finds in Greek sanctuaries and apparently was produced specifically for its cult purpose.¹¹⁰

In many 8th–7th Century BC tombs, there were two or three round bronze shields, although only one helmet and one greave (for either the left or the right leg), a plurality which weakens the conception of the shields as effectively used armour; they were placed in a position covering the whole body or in an essentially decorative fashion, along the walls of the tomb. There are even shields in women's tombs. As noted by Bartoloni and De Santis, the

shields are not so much a sign of a warrior as a symbol of rank and membership of the élite class.¹¹¹

Another type of Italic/Etruscan Geometric bronze shields with corresponding stamped ornamentation was recently studied by Colonna, the double shield or ancile shield. It is made up of two smaller round shields, ca. 30–40 cm in diameter, either fastened together in a fixed position or connected with an intermediate oval plate. One of the two certain finds of ancile shields had definitely been used, since it was heavily repaired. However, in the other find, the only one in its original context, Veji. Casale del Fosso, Tomb 1036 – a male burial of the third quarter of the 8th Century BC of a person of very high rank – two such shields covered the whole body, showing the same plurality as the round shields, possibly indicating a specific burial ritual.¹¹²

In Olympia, there may be one fragment of an ancile shield and possibly one small shield with counterparts in Etruria; their significance is still uncertain.¹¹³ They have Geometric ornamentation, but are often found in 7th Century BC tombs, in some cases together with shields of normal size, and they may have a ceremonial function.¹¹⁴ Perhaps they should be viewed in the light of the earlier tradition, of the 10th to 9th Centuries BC, of placing bronze miniature shields and miniature warriors' equipment in general in the more wealthy tombs, especially characteristic of Latium, but also seen in Bisenzio and Veji. The miniature shields are of both above-mentioned types, round shields as well as ancile or double shields.¹¹⁵ The miniature weapons thus give definite evidence that both shield types were used in military actions in Central Italy as far back as the 10th Century BC. Since no shields of normal size are known in Central Italy until the earliest bronze shields around the middle of the 8th Century BC were placed in tombs, the battle shields must have been made of perishable material. A strange disparity concerns the ancile

shields. Although they continued in use until Classical times and in connection with certain ceremonies far into the Roman period,¹¹⁶ the ancile shields of bronze apparently were only placed in Italic/Etruscan tombs during a very short period, already around 725 BC being superseded by the round bronze shields, and one of their few tomb contexts indicates ceremonial use.¹¹⁷ The military use of the metallic ancile or double shield, for which one of its shield finds appears to give evidence,¹¹⁸ apparently was abandoned almost immediately. The real battle shields continued to be made of a different material, presumably of leather on a wooden frame.¹¹⁹ And we have no evidence that they were placed in the tombs.

Not only miniature shields, but also miniature bronzes of other parts of the warriors' outfit, such as lances and swords, were found in the 10th – 9th Century BC Central Italic tombs, to be gradually replaced by the same metal objects in normal size only in the course of the 8th Century BC.¹²⁰ For the 8th–7th Century BC aristocratic tombs, Etruscan archaeologists more and more stress the symbolic value of the military equipment in bronze, not only shields, but also helmets of impressive size, unfit for military use, and lances, meant for parades only.¹²¹ The bronze arms and armour in Early Etruscan tombs seem to represent the last stage of a long tradition of placing not the actual arms and armour in the warriors' tombs, but symbolic objects which more and more acquire a prestigious character and become signs of the high rank of the deceased person, of his social status as a member of the ruling élite class.¹²² Thus, the prestigious parts of these Etruscan bronze arms and armour apparently were not intended for actual military use, but were designed for votive offerings, for burials of upper class Etruscans and perhaps for parades.¹²³

On this background, it is hardly possible to imagine that their counterparts in the Greek sanctuaries reached Greece as spoils

of war, nor can one easily imagine that Etruscan objects of such venerated character were subject to mercantile transactions.¹²⁴ As suggested by Bartoloni and Cristofani,¹²⁵ the early Etruscan bronze arms and armour of prestigious character in the Greek sanctuaries should most likely be considered dedications by upper-class Etruscans in the second half of the 8th Century and the early 7th Century BC.

Early Thrones in Greece

In Etruria and Etruscan Italy, chariots as well as thrones continue to form part of the burial contexts throughout the 7th Century BC,¹²⁶ still comprising the same kind of warriors' outfit. However, as noted above, in the Greek sanctuaries such donations were not continued after the early 7th Century BC and the South Etruscan bronze relief, Ol. IV 1007, dated to around 650 BC, cannot, therefore, be interpreted in this light, but must be viewed from a different angle, as representing a new tradition. In my opinion, this chronological discrepancy rules out its identification with part of a two-wheeled chariot, a vehicle which only at a much later date received a new role in Etruria and Latium, in being used for chariot races.¹²⁷

As regards thrones, on the other hand, we have evidence for a new tradition in the Greek sanctuaries, apparently starting shortly before 700 BC with the much valued offering of a throne to Apollo in Delphi by the Near Eastern ruler, King Midas of Phrygia. Presumably his throne was wooden and with inlaid decoration like the wooden furniture in contemporary Gordion tombs.¹²⁸

The tradition was taken up by the Etruscan King Arimnestos dedicating a throne to Zeus in Olympia, which later was seen by Pausanias in the pronaos of the Zeus Temple and by him described as the first foreign dedication in Olympia – by which one presumably must imply the earliest

foreign official dedication preserved to Pausanias' time.¹²⁹ Definitely Archaic, it is probably of 7th Century BC date.¹³⁰ Arimnestos' throne is unlikely to have been made of bronze, considering the fate of most Archaic Olympia bronzes.¹³¹ As suggested by Völling, the Arimnestos throne was presumably a wooden throne with intaglio decoration like the impressive Verucchio thrones, especially the one in Fondo Lippi, Tomb 89, dated to around 650 BC.¹³² One more piece of information favours this idea. From the root of Arimnestos' graecized name, mna/mne, his realm was by Colonna located to an inland Italian axis, reaching from Veji and Rome southwards to the Etruscanized regions of Campania and northwards to Perugia and Spina. Colonna observes that the name points more specifically to the Verucchio – Rimini area.¹³³

Conclusions

Definitely not a fragment of a shield and probably not of a chariot, the South Etruscan Orientalizing bronze relief, Ol. IV 1007, part of a very large object, is, in my opinion, most likely to be interpreted as part of the back of a barrel-shaped bronze throne which just like the Arimnestos throne was donated to Zeus in Olympia by an Etruscan king. The dedication most likely took place around or shortly before 650 BC, the period for at least one other official Italic bronze donation in Olympia.¹³⁴ Possibly wanting to continue the custom of his aristocratic forefathers who had donated to Greek sanctuaries examples of their prestige arms and armour, symbolizing their high rank, and acquainted with the new tradition established by the Near Eastern ruler, King Midas of Phrygia, he dedicated to a Greek sanctuary a token of his high official position of secular as well as religious character.

There can be no doubt that his realm should be sought in South Etruria. Judging from the origin of the prestigious bronzes of the warriors' equipment found

in Greek sanctuaries, Tarquinia or Veji seems the most likely home town of the ruler in question, and for both cities we have information of their close ties during the 8th–7th Centuries BC with the Greeks¹³⁵ as well as with the Near Eastern countries.¹³⁶ However, from the above comparisons with material in Etruria, Veji appears to be the most probable locality, since Tarquinia – unlike Veji – has not given evidence of the use of thrones,¹³⁷ nor did its geographical position to the same degree as Veji favour specific ties with Chiusi, with its local barrel-shaped, Orientalizing bronze thrones under strong South Etruscan influences.¹³⁸

There are several indications of Near Eastern ties influencing the life of upper class Vejians during the period in question. Not only the probable presence here of North Syrian sculptors in the early 7th Century BC¹³⁹ but also, in particular, evinced by the banquet custom where drinking vessels of Near Eastern types were used from the second half of the 8th Century BC onwards,¹⁴⁰ even comprising an Assyrian lion head rhyton of bronze, dated to shortly before 700 BC, the only one of its kind known from Italy.¹⁴¹ This rhyton may have reached Veji from Assyria by many routes, but it may be worth noting that among its few close counterparts outside Assyria are rhyta in Gordion at the time of King Midas as well as in the Heraeum of Samos,¹⁴² the island situated opposite the terminal of one of the land routes which leads westwards from Gordion.¹⁴³ One cannot exclude the possibility of aristocratic Vejians having some links with the city of Gordion during the reign of King Midas.

New excavations, publications and studies may confirm or disprove my theory, but on the material available today, I see it as the most probable explanation for the presence of the bronze relief, Ol. IV 1007, in Olympia: that it is a fragmentary back of an Etruscan barrel-shaped bronze throne dedicated in Olympia around or shortly before 650 BC by a South Etruscan king of the locality where it was produced, presumably the King of Veji.

Notes

I want to thank the following scholars and institutions for permission to publish the illustrations of my paper: Dr. H.R. Goette, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athen, for Fig. 1; Dr. Judith Swaddling and the Trustees of the British Museum, London, for Figs. 2 b and 4; and Dr. Michael Vickers and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, for Fig. 2 a. I also want to thank the Director of the Ephoria of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Joannina, Konstantinos L. Zachos, for the photograph of Fig. 5 and the permission to publish it, and the Director of the Museo di Villa Giulia, Dr. Francesca Boitani for permission to publish the drawing, Fig. 3, from her excavations at Monte Michele, Veji. Finally, my sincere thanks are due to Lisbeth Havreth for revising my English manuscript.

NOTE 1

Ol.IV 1007. Geiger, 107-108, No. 111, (with earlier references) and pl. 91 and v. Hase 1997, 298, figs. 14, 12 and 321, note 48.

I thank Dr. Thomas Völling for his help during my studies of the fragment in Olympia in 1996.

NOTE 2

Linked Phoenician palmettes, cf. e.g. Boitani 1983, pl. XCV,c (Veji, Monte Michele Tomb 5, cf. below p. 69 and notes 17-18); De Santis 1997, 122-132, figs. 13, 15; 14, 17 and 22, 1, found together with pottery with ornamentation of overlapping arcs, such as fig. 14, 22 and fig. 22, 9 – all impasto pottery from Veji, Pantano di Grano, Tombs 1-3, dated to the second quarter of the 7th Cent. BC, op. cit. p. 113. Cf. also Delpino 1997, 21, fig. 2, below right. (Veji. Casalaccio, Tomb 3).

NOTE 3

There is general agreement as to its South Etruscan stylistic character, cf. v. Hase 1979, 68 and in general, Geiger's references, above note 1. For stylistic comparisons, cf. references notes 2 and 11.

NOTE 4

Cf. above note 1, almost all Geiger's references and, most recently, both Geiger and v. Hase.

For my own views, cf. below and references notes 8 and 20.

NOTE 5

With her catalogue of 135 shields, Geiger has considerably enlarged the numbers of early Etruscan bronze shields (Strøm 1971, 20-41 (84); Stary 1981, 430-433, W 16 (92); and Bedini 1990, 64 (112)). Geiger includes the small shields which I left out, since they are too small for any possibility of independent military use (Strøm 1971, 219-220, note 19). E.g. Geiger, 45, Nos. 8A-8C (Type 1a), and 75-77, Nos. 49-50 (Type 1g) (cf. below p. 76 and notes 112 and 114).

Even so, Geiger overlooked several shields known at the time of her publication. Of Geometric shields, e.g. Verucchio, Tomb 89 (Montanari 1987, 252, No. 128 and fig. 168 (A I = Geiger, Type 1b, cf. below note 7) and for the small shield, cf. below note 114); Laurentina – Acqua Ace-tosa, Tomb 70 (c. 650 BC, three shields) and Tomb 93 (late 8th Cent. BC, two shields), (Bedini 1990, 52-54, 64 and fig. 27 and Bedini 1992, 85 and fig. 6). Apparently all Geometric, stamped bronze reliefs from Laurentina are A 1 (= Geiger 1b), and the shields are always in numbers of two or three (cf. Bedini 1995, 301. For Tomb 121, cf. below note 12).

Since Geiger's publication at least two Geometric shields have been published, Osteria dell' Osa, Tomb 600 (late 8th Cent. BC, De Santis 1995, 367-368, 371 and 374, No. 7 and fig. 3); and one from Casale Marittimo, Tomb A (Emiliozzi 1997, 319 and Esposito 1999, 41 fig. 30).

For Orientalizing shields, cf. below notes 9 and 12.

There may still be more shields; I have not looked for them systematically.

NOTE 6

The most detailed technical analysis of the

shields and their decoration is given by Geiger, 8-27.

NOTE 7

Strøm 1971, 52-55 and 173-174 (BII) and Geiger, 101-108 (3a-b).

Here I use my own classification, giving Geiger's in parenthesis. In general, the two classifications do not differ very much, apart from Geiger 1c and 1d (Geiger 52-60) both combining shields of my groups A I and A IV (especially Geiger 1d appears very heterogeneous), and apart from Geiger 1g (cf. above note 5 and below and note 114). However, in particular as regards the Orientalizing shields, I find my own classification more useful, since it stresses the continuity of the Early Orientalizing B I shields, with narrow cable pattern and rows of small bosses as frieze separation (references below note 12), into the Late Orientalizing B II shields, with broad cable pattern and rows of stars as frieze separation (cf. Strøm 1971, 49, 54 and 56) – in contrast with Geiger's types, 2a-b-c (Geiger, 83-97) for the former group, and Geiger 3a-b, for the latter, inserting the quite different B III as Type 2d (references below note 10).

NOTE 8

Strøm 1971, 218, note 10.

For the star terminal of the arcs, not noted on shields, cf. the bronze fragments from Chiusi. Tomba della Pania, Mon. Ined. X, 1876, pl. XXXVIIIa, No. 2 and Strøm 1989, 22, fig. 27. For the identification of these fragments, cf. below note 30.

NOTE 9

B II, references above note 7.

Geiger overlooks several B II shields as e.g.: In the Faliscan area, Vignanello, Tomba dei Velminci: Museo del Forte di Civitacastellana, Inv. No. 26058. As stated, Baglione 1986, 141, its decoration is especially close to a group of B II shields in Karlsruhe, London and Oxford (Geiger 102-106, Nos. 102-106, pls. 96-106), and it has the same rather rare leaf rosettes as the Karlsruhe

shield (Geiger 103, No. 103, cf. fig. 51a). Only, around the boss are rows of small bosses as in B I – shields. Unfortunately, the Vignanello shield was found in a 4th/3rd Cent. BC. context. I thank Paola Baglione for providing me with information and photographs of the shield.

In the Siena region, Castelnuovo Berardenga, Tomba A del Poggione (dated to c. 600 BC, Mangani 1988-89, 49, No. 108 and fig. 42 (chronology, p. 81); for No. 107, cf. below note 114).

In Picenum, Pitino di San Severino, Tomb 14, Schichilone 1973, 516: Two shields with cable pattern along the rim. Because of the chronology of the tomb, c. 600 BC, and the find of a large disk with B II decoration, I regard them as presumably B II shields. (For bibliography of the tomb, cf. Emiliozzi 1997, 318, No. 74).

NOTE 10

B III, Strøm 1971, 55-57 and 173-174; Geiger, 97-100 (2d).

NOTE 11

Cf. e.g. Canciani & v. Hase 1979, 43, No. 35, pls. 23-24 (Tomba Bernardini (silver)); Curtis 1925, 36-37, No. 72 and pl. 18 (Tomba Barberini wheeled tray, bronze); and Pareti 1947, 290-291, No. 240 (RG, the handle of a wheeled tray of bronze); (for both trays, cf. Woyowitch 1978, pl. 21). Emiliozzi 1992, 106, fig. 23 (RG, foot-board of a two-wheeled chariot of bronze).

NOTE 12

B I: Strøm 1971, 48-52, Nos. B 1-9, in particular, and 173-174 and Geiger, 83-97 (2a-2c).

To Geiger's list add: Laurentina Acqua Acetosa, Tomb 121 (c. 650-625 BC, two shields) (Bedini 1990, 61 and 63-64, Cat. No. 28, (ill.)); Cerveteri, Il Tumulo di Montetosto, camera centrale (c. 675 BC, more than one shield) (Rizzo 1989, 155 and 157); and – extremely important – Tarquinia, Pian di Civita, a shield found as part of a cult deposit, at the entrance to cult building Beta, situated in a large sacrificial area; from its context, Deposit A, the shield is dated to the first quarter of the 7th Cent. BC (cf. Bonghi Jovino 1987, 63 and Chiaramonte Treré 1988, 584). Deposit A also contained two other bronzes, an axe and a trumpet-lituus. (Cf. Bonghi Jovino. 1986, 98-105; Bonghi Jovino 1987, 66-77, with the shield, pls. XXIV-XXVI; *StEtr* 58, 1992, 555-557; *AR* 1995-96, p. 52, Fig. 7; and Bonghi Jovino & Chiaramonte Treré 1997, 172-173 and pls. 125-126 and p. 165, and cf. below p. 73 and note 68). As noted by Bonghi

Jovino 1987, 69, the repertory of the shield decoration is close to the RG shield, Geiger No. 78 (cf. below), only its horses and small quadrupeds are more naturalistic. The shield is exceptional in not having a metal ring at the rim and it is de-finitely a local work (Bonghi Jovino 1987, 71 and 77).

Pitino di San Severino. Tomb 17, contained two shields (Geiger, 90, No. 75 and pls. 64-65, published one; cf. Schichilone 1973, 515 and Emiliozzi 1997, 318, No. 75).

Also to be classified as B I are five shields, unclassified by Geiger, the two identical Satricum shields (Geiger 109, Nos. 124-125, cf. Waarsenburg 1995, 261-262, Cat. No. 2.160, pl. 53) and the three shields from Colle del Forno, Tomb XI, now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen, Inv. Nos. H.I.N. 670-672 (Geiger, 109, Nos. 132-134). They are still unpublished, but according to information by the keeper, Jette Christiansen, they have been on exhibition since May 1983. H.I.N. 670 shows the same stamps as the Populonia, Tomba dei Flabelli shield (Geiger 86, No. 72, pl. 69 and fig. 43 A) as well as a single row of the stamps which make up the scale pattern of two RG shields (Geiger, 87 and 91, Nos. 74 and 78, pls. 62-63 and 68-69, respectively). H.I.N. 671 is very close to the last-mentioned shield, with the same stamps as Geiger, fig. 46a left (except for the middle figure); H.I.N. 672 is very similar to the earliest B II shield, from Narce Tomb 62 (Geiger 102, No. 101), except for its use of small bosses as frieze separation (cf. Strøm 1971, 28-29 and 52-54, Cat. No. 36 = B II 3, fig. 24 (not illustrated by Geiger)). For Colle del Forno XI, cf. also below note 38. I thank Jette Christiansen and the librarian, Claus Grønne, for detailed photographs of the three shields.

NOTE 13

My absolute chronology for the earliest Orientalizing B I shields, "shortly after 700 B.C." and "not later than ca. 675 B.C." (Strøm 1971, 173-174) seems to be confirmed by the absolute chronology of the Tarquinia Pian di Civita shield, cf. above note 12. Cf. also the corresponding chronology of the Vulci chariot with B I decoration (Colonna 1972, 567 and Emiliozzi 1997, 329, No. 195 and below note 22).

NOTE 14

Strøm 1971, 150-154, 157-160, and 171, and Geiger 93-97. For the Bernardini Tomb, cf. also Canciani & v. Hase 1979, 10: The beginning of the second quarter of the century, i.e. slightly later than the date proposed by me.

NOTE 15

The suggested absolute chronology of RG, to the third quarter of the 7th Cent. BC (Strøm 1971, 160-168 and 171) is generally regarded as too late, cf. e.g. Colonna 1972, 569, who stresses the suspicious provenance of the LPC/Transitional pottery fragments, and Geiger, 57 and 59. However, also the East Greek bird skyphos with rays (Pareti 1947, 342-343, No. 381 and pl. XLIX) is definitely later than 650 BC (cf. Strøm 1971, 112 and 168 with note 149 and – for the type – most recently Cook & Dupont 1998, 26).

Apart from in RG, B I shields were found in other tombs of the third quarter of the 7th Cent. BC or later, as e.g. Laurentina Acqua Acetosa, Tomb 121 and Colle del Forno, XI (cf. above note 12).

Colonna and di Paolo 1997, 154-168, have convincingly shown that the finds in the cella and the antechamber – separated only by a half-wall – belong to the same burial, the differences in their contexts relating to different ritual functions. My discussion in 1971 of the distribution of the material on three burials is therefore now out of date.

NOTE 16

Strøm 1971, 173-174, based, in particular, on the chronology of Narce Tomb 62 with three early B II shields (cf. Geiger 102, Nos. 99-101) and several finds in Chiusi tombs, (Strøm 1971, 195-196).

Neither Colonna 1972, 569, nor Geiger, 102 and 106, accept the suggested continuation of the type into the 6th Cent. BC. As regards the date of the beginning of the style, I now agree with Colonna, loc. cit. (Cf. below).

NOTE 17

Guldager 1994, 23, No. 15.

The best illustration of the trapezoid standard in Veji, Monte Michele Tomb 5, is *EAA*, Sec. Sup. V, 1997, opposite p. 969. The Phoenician palmettes are normally found on stamped gold and silver reliefs only (cf. Strøm 1971, 85 and Strøm 1990, 93).

The bronze plates of trapezoid or rounded form (the former type in Etruria, the latter in the Faliscan area and Latium) are generally interpreted as fans (cf. Moretti 1970, 23-26 and Guldager 1994). However, I fail to see how such a solid plate could be used as a fan, which as far as I know is made either of feathers or of some other kind of light perishable material, folded or put together in a way to provide flows of air. (Cf. also Magi 1969, 124-125: The Pre-Hellenistic fans were chiefly made of palm

laves). Nor do I in the trapezoid form observe any attempt at imitating a fan such as is the case e.g. with the bronze "fans" from Populonia. Tomba dei Flabelli (cf. below note 62). However, judging from their tomb contexts in general, such bronze standards definitely were equivalent with the fan as a sign of a high social status of the deceased person (Guldager 1994, 14 and 20). For the tomb context of Veji, Monte Michele, Tomb 5, cf. below note 18.

NOTE 18

Boitani 1982, Boitani 1983 and Boitani 1997 and Emiliozzi 1997, 325, No. 152.

Veji, Monte Michele, Tomb 5, is a family tomb with four, almost contemporary burials, the most important of which is the urn burial of a male person in the main chamber; the urn (Fig. 3) was placed on a four-wheeled carriage; there were weapons of iron, banqueting implements which included drinking vessels, fire-dogs and spits, as well as several prestigious objects (cf. above note 17, and below notes 58, 61, 62 and 67). For the grave furniture as found, cf. Boitani 1982, fig. 5, and for absolute chronology, most recently Boitani 1997, 33.

Concerning the ornaments of the bronze plates, the single palmettes are smaller than normal on B II reliefs, while leaf rosettes are comparatively rare (cf. above note 9, the Vignanello shield).

NOTE 19

Cf. also above note 2 for references to stylistically close ornamentation of Veji impasto pottery in contexts of the second quarter of the 7th Cent. BC.

NOTE 20

Strøm 1989, 26, note 41, cf. Strøm 1971, 218, note 10. Cf. Steingraber 1979, 23-24, Type I a.

Jurgeit, 1990, 23, note 87, suggests the same identification for another Olympia rim fragment, Br 1321, (Geiger, 81, No. 61, pl. 59 and v. Hase 1997, 298 and fig. 14, 13). Jurgeit's suggestion will be difficult to prove. This fragment as well as the rim fragment, Geiger, 81-82, No. 69 and pl. 59, are also listed among the Greek shield fragments from Olympia (Bol 1989, 1-2 and 105, Cat. Nos. A 5 and A 7 and pl. 1). The former is definitely Etruscan, the latter, without an inner ring of bronze or iron, probably not.

Jurgeit 1990 refers to Strøm 1989, 25, note 41, for the suggestion that the Arimnestos throne is a bronze throne, a theory which I no longer uphold, cf. below pp. 77-78 and note 131.

NOTE 21

Cf. e.g. the Monteleone, Castro and San Mariano chariots, Emiliozzi 1997, 179-190 and 203-225 and pls. XII-XIII and XX-XXII for the chariot back and Emiliozzi 1992, 106, fig. 23 for the footboard of the RG chariot.

NOTE 22

For thrones, cf. references below notes 29-30; for two-wheeled chariots, cf. the Vulci chariot (B I) (Emiliozzi 1997, 139-153 and pls. III-IV) and for four-wheeled carriages, the Veji, Monte Michele, Tomb 5 chariot (cf. above note 18) and the Castellina in Chianti carriage (B II) (Woywowitch 1978, 144-145, No. 62, pl. 11 and Emiliozzi 1997, 320, No. 98).

NOTE 23

The metal plates of the chariots were fastened onto another material, wood or leather (Emiliozzi 1997, 96 and 148, the Vulci chariot). However, there need not be traces of fastening in such a small inner fragment as Ol. IV. 1007. For the straight metal plates for back and footboard of the two-wheeled chariots, cf. references above, notes 21-22.

NOTE 24

For technical details of the best known Chiusi bronze thrones, cf. Vlad Borelli 1973, 211-220; Strøm 1986; Hockey 1987 and Strøm 1989.

For Chiusi thrones with flaring back, here Fig. 4 and Strøm 1989, 7 and notes 2-3.

Of the South Etruscan bronze thrones, at least the Louvre throne has a flaring back (references below note 29).

NOTE 25

Cf. below p. 77.

NOTE 26

Strøm 1986 and 1989.

Taking into account my acceptance of the earlier chronology of the B II reliefs, cf. above p. 69, with which the Chiusi thrones are stylistically related (cf. Strøm 1989, 20), I am now inclined to date the Orientalizing Chiusi thrones from shortly after 650 BC onwards, having earlier found close stylistic correspondence with the metal reliefs of the Barberini Tomb and RG (cf. Strøm 1986, 56, note 8, and for the chronology of these tombs, above p. 69 and notes 14-15).

NOTE 27

Cf. Strøm 1989, 16.

NOTE 28

Strøm 1986, 56, note 8 and Strøm 1989, 10 and 20-21; cf. also the detail of raised points at the ends of the palmette petals of the Olympia fragment which is a characteristic feature of the Chiusi bronzes in question (cf. e.g. Strøm 1989, figs. 9 and 11).

NOTE 29

Cf. Strøm 1986, 55, note 5, thrones No. 1 (the Barberini throne) and No. 2 (the throne in the Louvre Museum, Inv. No. Br. 4408, cf. Etrusques, 128, No. 95) and most comprehensively, Jurgeit 1990, with the publication of fragments of a third throne of the Barberini type in Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe (Jurgeit 1990, fig. 1 and pls. 3-5). After having later had the opportunity to study the Louvre throne on exhibition, I withdraw my former scepticism about its genuineness (Strøm 1986, cf. Jurgeit 1990, 4, note 15).

NOTE 30

Jurgeit 1990, 4-5, disputes my interpretation of the published B II fragments from Tomba della Pania, Chiusi, as fragments of the throne described by Helbig, 1874, 206 (cf. Strøm 1986, 55, note 5, Throne No. 3, and Strøm 1989, 20 and fig. 27) and follows Bianchi Bandinelli and other scholars in identifying the seat mentioned by Helbig as a support for a local canopic urn and the stamped bronze fragments as coming from the so-called "pavimento" (Helbig 1874, 205). However, Helbig mentions human skeletal remains found close to the bed in the plundered tomb and thus also an inhumation burial. I do not find Helbig's words "Incrustazione del pavimento" in his draft for the text to the illustration, Mon. Ined. X, pl. XXXVIII a, conclusive (Jurgeit 1990), since he apparently changed his mind and in the published text (Helbig 1877, 405) just wrote "posto sul suolo". At any rate, as stated, Strøm 1971, 222, note 48, the ornamentation of one or two of the fragments illustrated by Helbig is placed in curved friezes and cannot possibly come from the rectangularly divided bronze plates which Helbig describes as the "pavimento"; the same applies, if Steingraber is correct in his interpretation of the fragments as parts of a kline or a table, which are also rectangular (Steingraber 1979, 194, No. 8 and Steingraber, 1993, 172).

NOTE 31

Although I still regard Tarquinia as an important centre of production, my former views of this site as the centre for all

Orientalizing B I-B II shields – as well as some of the Geometric groups – (Strøm 1971, 56) have changed (cf. Strøm 1989, 20 and Strøm 1990, 94). Here I refer also to Caere, Veji and Vulci as well as (for B III = Geiger 2 d) to the Faliscan area, which last-mentioned attribution is accepted by Geiger (cf. Strøm 1971, 57, and Geiger, 118). For Veji, cf. above p. 69 and notes 17–18, for Vulci, above note 22, and for Caere, the shield above note 12 and cf. also below note 35. Bedini 1990, 64, convincingly argues for Geometric workshops in Latium, and since the Orientalizing shields from Laurentina, Tomb 121 (cf. above note 12), differ in details from other known B I shields, such a conclusion is extremely likely also for the Orientalizing period.

In her discussion of the problem, Geiger, 115–118, does not consider the Orientalizing stamped metal reliefs from Veji, nor at all mentions the Tarquinia, Pian di Civita shield, presumably made specifically for the occasion and definitely a local work (cf. above p. 69 and notes 17–18 and 12, respectively). I do not find her conclusions about a major centre at Marsigliana exporting Orientalizing shields to other Etruscan towns, sufficiently studied or well founded.

NOTE 32

For the Geometric stamped bronze reliefs, cf. below pp. 74–75 and note 93.

NOTE 33

Colonna 1972, 567, quite correctly criticised my book, Strøm 1971, on this point, in which Geiger, 115–118, follows the same lines as I did. On the other hand, today the material for such comparative studies is overwhelmingly large and should be examined by more than one scholar, each collecting various kinds of stamped bronze plates from a specific town or region.

NOTE 34

Cf. Jurgeit 1990, 28–30.

NOTE 35

Cf. Helbig 1969, 753–754 (Dohrn) and Steingraber 1979, 199, Cat. No. 28.

I adopt Jurgeit's term of Type Ia/Ib for the stone thrones (Jurgeit 1990, 22, note 85), because of the very slight difference between the two types (cf. Steingraber 1979, 24–25 and 149–151). For the stone thrones in general, cf. Steingraber 1979, 313–352. For the Caere thrones, chiefly of Type Ia/Ib, cf. in particular, Colonna & v. Hase 1984, 55–56, Nos. 1–15 and for other localities (not comprising Tarquinia or Vulci), Nos. 16–23.

NOTE 36

Cf. above note 29 and for the Barberini Tomb in general, references above note 14.

NOTE 37

Strøm 1989, 19–20. For their South Etruscan stylistic elements in general, cf. references above note 28.

NOTE 38

Cf. e.g. the comparatively recent acknowledgement of a specific Sabine bronze relief production of Orientalizing style as exemplified by the bronze reliefs in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen, Johansen 1971 and 1979, including the reliefs of the two chariots from Colle del Forno, Tomb XI. Cf. for the chariots, Emiliozzi 1997, 291–300, with absolute chronology (c. 600 BC) 293–294 (Emiliozzi and Santoro) and p. 319, No. 88. For the excavations of the tomb, cf. in particular Santoro 1977, 259–270, and Santoro 1986, 114–118.

NOTE 39

Cf. Strøm 1971, 35–37, Nos. 62–65, and 222, note 48.

NOTE 40

Strøm 1989, 19–20.

NOTE 41

Cf. Strøm 1989, 21–23.

NOTE 42

Cf. Strøm 1989, 22–23 and fig. 28.

NOTE 43

Cf. Baglione 1986, 131–134 and 142, Baglione & De Lucia Brolli 1990, 89–96 and 102 and Baglione & De Lucia Brolli 1997, for the Faliscan area and e.g. Colonna 1986, 95, for influences reaching further north. Cf. also Bartoloni 1986a, 52, in particular regarding Vejian influences on Verucchio and the Bologna area. According to Bartoloni and Colonna, the Tiber route was fading out in the second half of the 8th Cent. BC, but from the above references, one gets the impression of a revival in the late 8th and the 7th Centuries BC.

NOTE 44

Cf. e.g. Bartoloni 1986 a, 52–53; Bartoloni 1986b, 105–107; Bartoloni 1989a, 186; Bartoloni 1989b; Ridgway 1992, 129–137; De Santis 1995, 365–366 (in general), and 372–373 (Osteria dell'Osa, Tomb 600); Hoffmann 1996; Martelli 1997 and Toms 1997.

NOTE 45

The Barberini and Louvre thrones measure

92–93 cm in height, while the estimated height of the Karlsruhe throne is c. 90 cm (Jurgeit 1990, 10).

NOTE 46

For stone thrones, cf. above note 35. The Caere tufa statues (actually in high relief and the thrones of Steingraber type Ia/I b), Colonna & v. Hase, 1984. For absolute chronology, either the first or the second quarter of the 7th Cent. BC. cf. op. cit. pp. 29 and 47; Damgaard Andersen 1993, 45–46, No. 43, with other references.

NOTE 47

Colonna in Colonna & v. Hase 1984, 35–41, with reference to Prayon 1975, 109–112 for the former conclusion. Cf. also Steingraber 1997, 108–109.

NOTE 48

Strøm 1989, 21 and Strøm 1997, 246–247, fig. 1.

The throne is of Steingraber, Type Ia/I b (barrel-shaped, but with a straight front, cf. above note 35).

For a small votive terracotta from the Portonaccio sanctuary at Veji with the same motive of a person seated on a throne, cf. Colonna – v. Hase 1984, 48, note 96 and pl. XVIc.

NOTE 49

The volute footstool, Steingraber 1979, 46 and 187, pl. 14, Type S.

Colonna & v. Hase 1984, 46 and 57 for North Syrian models of the footstool (cf. also Gubel 1987, 235–236, Type VIIa) and pp. 47–48 and 52–53 for North Syrian sculptors working in Caere.

NOTE 50

Colonna & v. Hase 1984, 45–46, fig. 17 (Vignanello Chamber Tomb XI) and 57–59, the list, Appendix II.

No. 2, Castel di Decima. Tomb 153, is still unpublished.

For No. 3, Laurentina Acqua Acetosa, Tomb 70, see now also Bedini 1990, 54–55, Cat. No. 19 ill., and Bedini 1992, 85 and 92–93, Cat. No. 114 ill. and p. 85, fig. 6, and for such footstools also in Tombs 73–74 and 93, cf. Bedini 1990, 154 and Bedini 1992, 83. For the Verucchio footstools (of which Colonna lists only one), see the Moroni Necropolis, Tomb 24 (Gentili 1985, 76 and 80, No. 35 and pl. XXXVII) and below note 55.

For the footstools on the Murlo frieze, cf. below note 54.

NOTE 51

According to Colonna, Colonna & v. Hase 1984, 57, No. 1, the footstool in Veji, Casale del Fosso 871, is almost identical with the two in Trevignano Romano, Tomba dei Flabelli, Nos. 4-5, pl. XX c. (A IV stamped bronze reliefs).

For Veji, Casale del Fosso Tomb 871, cf. Bartoloni et. al. 1994, 25 and fig. 8 and for its tomb context in general, cf. Strøm 1971, 140-141; Müller-Karpe 1974, with pls. 22-25; Buranelli 1981, 39 (which I have not seen); Geiger, 49; and Buranelli, Drago & Paolini 1997, 69-73 with notes 30-31 and 42 and figs. 8-14.

There are drinking cups and amphorae, and several objects of stamped bronze relief: An A I shield (Strøm 1971, 27 and 42-44, Cat. No. 28 and Geiger, 49 (1b), No. 9 and Buranelli, Drago & Paolini 1997, 69 and fig. 8); a flask (Marzoli 1989, 35-36, Cat. No. 13, pl. 16); and in A IV relief (Geiger 1c) apart from the footstool, also a wheeled tray (Müller-Karpe 1974, pl. 23, 1) and a trapezoid standard (Guldager, 1994, 8-9 and 21, Cat. No. 7, fig. 3 and Buranelli, Drago & Paolini 1997, 71, fig. 11). Apart from the shield, its warriors' equipment comprises a crested helmet of such exaggerated height that it is not considered functional (cf. v. Hase 1988, 203 and Buranelli, Drago & Paolini 1997, 69 and fig. 14), a sword, lances, horse bits and remains of a two-wheeled chariot (Emiliozzi 1997, 324, No. 148); and among its more precious objects is a belt-clasp of two stamped gold plaques (Strøm 1971, 65-66 and 77-80, Cat. No. S 28 = S 1 2), a wooden lituus in gold foil, Müller-Karpe 1974, pl. 25, 2, and a deep silver foil cup of Near Eastern type (Buranelli, Drago & Paolini, 71, fig. 12, cf. below note 139).

NOTE 52

From its local pottery, Veji, Casale del Fosso, 871 can be placed in the transition period, Veji II/Veji III A, around or shortly after 720 (cf. below note 88).

Important for its absolute chronology is the local imitation of a Corinthian Geometric skyphos, the original of which is dated to the third quarter of the 8th Cent. BC (cf. Strøm 1971, 141, and Buranelli, Drago & Paolini 1997, 73, note 42 and fig. 12). Colonna 1972, 568, excludes the Assyrian lion rhyton of bronze from the tomb context, which I – following Brown – used as a chronological fixed point (Strøm 1971, 129 and 140-141; it is still listed by Geiger, 49, No. 9 and, p. 51, used for her chronology). Colonna's absolute chronology for Veji, Casale del Fosso 871 to

ca. 720 B.C. (Colonna 1984, 57) seems now the most reasonable. However, since the lion rhyton was exhibited in Museo di Villa Giulia together with material from Veji 871 (Brown 1960, 12-13, pl. VI and a better illustration in Rathje 1979, fig. 1), it presumably was found in Veji.

The grave furniture of Veji, Tomb 871, is closely related with and only slightly earlier than that of the Tarquinia Warrior's Tomb in Berlin, which Geiger, 50-52, dates to shortly before 700 BC. Following Kilian 1977, 40-52, Geiger bases her chronology of the Tarquinia tomb on the alleged local pottery finds. However, apart from the Italo-Geometric bird askos, the pottery cannot with certainty be attributed to this tomb, cf. Strøm 1971, 142-143, where I stressed the considerable increase in pottery from Helbig's first publication in 1869 to his second in 1874. Today I agree with Kilian 1977, 52, that the Marzi brothers are not to blame in this case. (For other revelations of Helbig's transactions with unreliable results, cf. e.g. Guarducci 1980 and Moltesen 1981 and 1987). As I stated in 1971 – e.g. loc. cit. as regards this tomb – if such an old excavation is to be of any chronological value, "the evaluation of its furniture must be confined solely to the absolutely reliable objects." The alleged pottery finds of the Tarquinia Warrior's Tomb does not allow of a lowering of the date of Veji, Casale del Fosso, 871.

NOTE 53

Cf. above notes 43-44.

NOTE 54

E.g. the assembly scene of the 6th Cent. B.C. terracotta frieze of the Upper Building, second building phase, in Poggio Civitate (Murlo), shows two seated persons using different kinds of volute footstools, a man seated on a folding chair and behind him a woman on a barrel-shaped throne, obviously made of bronze (illustrated in almost all works on this building, cf. e.g. Poggio Civitate, pl. XXXVII and Phillips 1993, 44, figs. 52-53).

For a summary of the discussion regarding the interpretation of the scene, whether gods, officials, members of the local aristocratic family etc., cf. Phillips 1993, 42-43. The subjects of the Murlo friezes are now being studied by Annette Rathje (cf. Rathje 1993 and Rathje 1994, 95), who believes that all four frieze-subjects together represent an ideological programme. The assembly scene covered 50 frieze plates (cf. v. Mehren 1993).

NOTE 55

Verucchio, Necropoli Fondo Lippi, Tombs 85 and 89. Montanari 1987, 239-241 (Gentili), No. 77 and fig. 160 (throne) and No. 78 and fig. 161 (footstool) (Tomb 85) and pp. 243-247, Nos. 93a-b and fig. 162 (throne) and No. 94, fig. 163 (footstool) (Tomb 89). (Cf. for Tomb 89 also Elles 1995, figs. 51-53 and Kossack 1992). Necropoli Moroni, Tomb 26, Gentili 1985, 25-26 and 88-89, Nos. 53 and 61, pl. 43-44. Tomb B /1971, Montanari 1987, 218 (Gentili), cf. Martelli 1995, 19, note 20. All four wooden thrones have intaglio decoration.

NOTE 56

Cf. e.g. Bedini 1992, 85 referring to Laurentina Acqua Acetosa, Tomb 70, for a perished wooden throne.

NOTE 57

Bedini 1992, 83-84, and Bedini 1995, 301, lists the groups of grave furniture specific to the aristocratic tombs of Laurentina Acqua Acetosa, but also to other upper class tombs in Etruria and Etruscanized Italy. Cf. also e.g. Bartoloni et. al. 1982 and the tombs above notes 14-15 and 18.

NOTE 58

For the significance of the two-wheeled chariot in Central Italy, cf. most recently Emiliozzi 1997, 1-2 (Emiliozzi) and 15-23 (Colonna) and for the list of two-wheeled chariots, op. cit. pp. 311-335: No. 148, Veji, Casale del Fosso, 871 (cf. above note 51); Nos. 142-143, Trevignano Romano, Tomba dei Flabelli; Nos. 227-228, Verucchio, Fondo Lippi, Tomb 89 (two chariots); No. 233, Verucchio, Necropoli Moroni, Tomb 26; and Nos. 29-32, Laurentina Acqua Acetosa, Tombs 70, 73-74 and 93.

The two-wheeled chariots are generally found in aristocratic tombs of the 7th Cent. BC, e.g. also in Palestrina, the Bernardini and Barberini Tombs (cf. above note 14); Cerveteri, R.G. (cf. above note 15); and Veji, Monte Michele Tomb 5 (cf. above note 18 and cf. Emiliozzi 1997, 311-335, Nos. 24-25, 103 and 153, respectively). The two last-mentioned tombs also had a four-wheeled carriage, used for the *ekphora* of the body which in Veji, Monte Michele Tomb 5, was then cremated (Emiliozzi 1997, 311-335, Nos. 102 and 152, respectively, and p. 15 and cf. for Veji, Monte Michele 5, also here Fig. 3).

Galeotti 1986-88, 82, observed a constructional difference in the two-wheeled chariots for men and women, indicating different forms of chariots, and since horse bits are lacking in most female tombs (cf.

note 59) their chariots presumably were drawn not by horses, but by mules (Bedini 1992, 85 and Emiliozzi 1997, 15). However, Casale Marittimo. Tomb A, had remains of two two-wheeled chariots, one of each type (Esposito 1999, 44 - 47).

NOTE 59

Horse bits or harnesses, cf. Veji, Casale del Fosso, Tomb 871 (above note 51); Laurentina Acqua Acetosa, Tombs 73 and 93 (Emiliozzi 1997, 314, Nos. 30 and 32); Trevignano Romano, Tomba dei Flabelli (Emiliozzi 1997, 324, Nos. 142-143) and Verucchio, Fondo Lippi, Tombs 85 and 89 (Montanari 1987, 235, Nos. 61-62 and fig. 157 and p. 256, Nos. 154-155 and fig. 169). The Verucchio tombs do not appear to follow the burial customs as strictly as the Latium tombs, having horse bits in the above woman's grave, Tomb 85, and a cista with the male burial, Tomb 89 (cf. above note 58 and below note 65).

NOTE 60

Veji, Casale del Fosso, Tomb 871 (above note 51); Laurentina Acqua Acetosa, in general (Bedini 1992, 83 and Bedini 1995, 301), and for Tomb 70 (Bedini 1990, 58-59, Nos. 23-24; Bedini 1992, 87-93, Cat. Nos. 76-109 and 111-112, Nos. 124-125, ill.); Verucchio, Fondo Lippi, Tomb 89 (Montanari 1988, 254, No. 135, (knife)); Verucchio, Necropoli Moroni, Tombs 24 and 26 (Gentili 1985, 76-78 (Nos. 2-15) 85-86 (Nos. 3-27); Trevignano Romano, Tomba dei Flabelli (Moretti 1970, 26-31, Nos. 11-18, pls. VI and VIII); and Castel di Decima, Tomb 153 (Zevi 1977, 272-273 and Naissance, Cat. Nos. 427-496).

Also the above-mentioned tombs, notes 14-15 and 18 had banqueting equipment.

NOTE 61

Veji, Tomb 871 (above note 51) (and for Veji, the Garucci Tomb (with A I decoration), cf. Woywowitsch 1978, 54, No. 121 and pl. 25); Laurentina Acqua Acetosa, Tomb 93 (Bedini 1990, 54), Tomb 70 (Bedini 1990, 57-58, Cat. No. 22, ill. and Bedini 1992, 92-93, Cat. No. 114, cf. p. 885, fig. 6 (the whole tomb context)) and Tomb 121 (Bedini 1990, 62, No. 26); and for Latium tombs in general (cf. Bedini 1990, 58).

Cf. also Woywowitsch 1978, 121, pl. 21, for Tomba Bernardini, Tomba Barberini (also with a bronze throne, cf. above note 29) and RG (cf. above notes 11 and 14-15). Possibly also Veji, Monte Michele, Tomb 5 (above note 18), cf. Boitani 1983, 547, pl. CI.

NOTE 62

Verucchio, Fondo Lippi, Tomba 89 (Montanari 1987, 248-249, No. 109, fig. 164 and Elles 1995, 69 and fig. 56, a wooden handle for a fan, cf. Guldager 1994, 23, No. 15). The appearance of the fan can best be deduced from the bronze imitations of fans in Populonia. Tomba dei Flabelli, Guldager 1994, 23-24, Nos. 19-21.

For the significance of the fan, cf. Guldager 1994, 13-18. Behind the woman seated on the bronze throne on the assembly scene of the Murlo frieze is a standing female attendant fanning her. For other real fans in early Etruscan tombs, cf. Guldager 1994, 21-24, Nos. 10 and 12-13, Castel di Decima, Tomb 50 and Marsigliana d'Albegna, Banditella, Circolo degi Avori, respectively.

I wonder whether the ivory finial in Veji, Monte Michele, Tomb 5 (Boitani 1983, pl. CI and Boitani 1997, 34-35, fig. 6) may come from a fan; it appears rather close to the Marsigliana fan finials, of which two are mentioned above, while four others are listed in Etrusker, 156-157, Cat. Nos. 209-212, as possibly parts of fans.

NOTE 63

Veji, Casale del Fosso, Tomb 871 (Guldager 1994, 21, No. 7, cf. above note 52); Laurentina Acqua Acetosa, Tombs 70, 73-74 and 93 (Guldager 1994, 21-23, Nos. 3, 11 and 17-18). Trevignano Romano, Tomba dei Flabelli (Guldager 1994, 24, No. 22 (two examples)). Martelli 1995, 19-20, note 20, adds several examples to Guldager's list, referring also to Osteria dell'Osa, Tomb 600, with the only published trapezoid standard from Latium; in its decoration it is close to the earliest trapezoid standard, Veji, QF, Tomb Z 15 A, Guldager 1994, 21, Cat. No. 1, (cf. De Santis 1995, 369 and fig. 2. 13).

For the type, cf. in general, Guldager 1994, and cf. above note 17 for discussion of the interpretation of this object.

NOTE 64

Guldager 1994, Cat. Nos. 1 and 2 are the earliest examples, both from Veji II B tombs. For the social role of Veji, cf. Guldager 1994, 20.

NOTE 65

Cf. Montanari 1987, 249 and fig. 163 (Verucchio Tomb 89, cf. above note 59) and Gentili 1985, 79 (No. 16) and 89, No. 58 (Verucchio, Necropoli Moroni, Tombs 24 and 26) and cf. Bedini 1992, 84, for the general occurrence of cistai in women's tombs in Latium, and cf. Bedini 1990, 56-

57, Cat. No. 21, ill. (Laurentina. Acqua Acetosa Tomb 70) and Zevi 1977, 277 (Castel di Decima 153).

NOTE 66

Veji, Casale del Fosso, Tomb 871 (above note 51): Verucchio, Fondo Lippi, Tomb 89 (Montanari 1987, 252-253, Nos. 126-127 (helmets) and No. 128 (shield), figs. 167-168; for the small shield, No. 129, cf. below note 114) and Verucchio, Necropoli Moroni, Tomb 26 (cf. Emiliozzi 1997, 332-333); Laurentina Acqua Acetosa, Tombs 73 and 93 (cf. Emiliozzi 1997, 314, No. 30 and 32); Trevignano Romano. Tomba dei Flabelli (cf. Emiliozzi 1997, 324, Nos. 142-143).

Again the above-mentioned tombs, notes 14-15 and 18, have the same equipment.

NOTE 67

For the lituus or scepter in Veji, Tomb 871, cf. above note 51. (Cf. also Monte Michele, Tomb 5, a wooden scepter with silver foil and, as finial, a bronze knob with intarsia decoration in iron. Boitani 1983, 545 and 553-554 and pl. XCVIII a-b, and Boitani 1997, 34-35, fig. 5).

Boitani 1983, note 48, refers to other sceptres in early tombs. For a possible lituus as well as a sceptre in Veji, Casale del Fosso, Tomb 1036, cf. Colonna 1991, 70, note 22, and 69, respectively, and De Santis 1995, 372. For this tomb, cf. below pp. 74 and 76 and notes 83 and 112.

Also the fragmentary ivory object in Casale Marittimo. Tomb A, is presumably a lituus (Esposito 1999, 54).

NOTE 68

Tarquini, Pian di Civita, for the cult deposit in general and the shield, cf. above note 12. (According to Carancini 1984, 240-245, in Central Italy this type of axe was never found in tombs and axes did not form part of the military equipment. The fine decoration of the Tarquinia axe signifies its representative character, symbolic of the rank of its dedicator); for the pottery, cf. in particular Chiamonte Treré 1988; and for the interpretation, see the conclusions, Bonghi Jovino 1987, 75-76; Chiamonte Treré 1988, 585 and Bonghi Jovino, 1991, 700; and Chiamonte Treré 1997, 175. For the sacrificial area in general, cf. also Chiamonte Treré 1987.

In Casale Marittimo. Tomb A, a ceremonial axe was found together with two other axes (Esposito 1999, 53 - 54, fig. 46).

NOTE 69

Colonna - v. Hase 1984, 30-34, fig. 11 and pl. VI b.

NOTE 70

Cf. above note 54.

NOTE 71

Cf. also above p. 72 and note 47 for the interpretation of the thrones and statues in the Cerveteri tombs and cf. e.g. Rasenna, 38–39, where M. Torelli points to throne, scepter, double axe, and chariot as signs of power.

NOTE 72

Since Furtwängler's publication of the bronzes in *Ol. IV*, the early Etruscan bronzes in Greek sanctuaries have been studied by many scholars, cf. in particular, Karo 1937; Kilian 1973 and 1977 a, b and c; Herrmann 1983; Gras 1985, 651–675; Kyrieleis 1986 and v. Hase 1979, 1981, 1995 and – most recently – 1997, where most earlier references are given.

NOTE 73

Cf. in particular, Kilian 1973, 4 (with notes 21–26), 27–28 and maps 1–2; v. Hase 1979, 69–72; Gras 1985, 655–662 and v. Hase 1997, 297, here also for absolute chronology; the early Olympia fibula, fig. 4, 1. Cf. also Strøm 1998, 38–39, for the Argive Heraion fibulae, and 92, notes 10–11 and note 14, for my views on the problem of the dedicators.

NOTE 74

The Exochi fibula was found in Tomb Z, Friis Johansen 1957, 73–74 (Z 27), 184 and fig. 16.

NOTE 75

Kilian 1977 a, 436, note 42 and fig. 3 a–d, cf. v. Hase 1997, 297, fig. 6, 1–4.

NOTE 76

The Euboea belt, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, Babelon – Blanchet 1895, 662–663, No. 2029. Brøndsted 1837, 19, note 19, pl. VII; Close-Brooks 1967b; Gras 1985, 671–672 and fig. 91 a. According to v. Hase 1997, 294, Brøndsted acquired it in Greece with the provenance of Euboea, but actually Brøndsted bought it himself on Euboea, cf. Brøndsted, loc. cit. and Close-Brooks 1976b, 22.

According to Close-Brooks 1967b, 23, such belts were most numerous in Veji II A (for chronology, cf. below note 88). For their distribution, cf. Kossack 1949/50, 132 (fig. 1) and 145–147; Lazio pl. IX and pl. XXXVI and note, p. 197 (both with references to Tarquinia), and cf. also for Veji, loc. cit. as well as Close-Brooks 1967b; Not. 1976, 181 and fig. 27 (QF Tomb I 17, 17);

Tomb 973 and 1032 in Casale del Fosso (Buranelli, Drago & Paolino 1997, 69–70 and figs. 19 and 20) and Tombs 732 and 780 in Grotta di Camicia (Berardetti – Drago 1997, 52 and figs. 19 and 22). For Vulci, cf. Hall Dohan 1942, 95, No. 25 and pl. L and Falconi Amorelli 1966, 10–11, No. 24, fig. 4.

NOTE 77

Cf. Herrmann 1983; Gras 1985, 672–675, Kyrieleis 1986; and v. Hase 1997, 309–317 and figs. 21–22 (The North Etruscan bronze vases). For the basin with raised points on the rim in the Argive Heraion, cf. also Strøm 1998, 39.

NOTE 78

Söldner, 1994, with conclusions, 225–226.

NOTE 79

v. Hase 1997, 299 and 313–314, figs 18–19, with reference to Kilian 1977 c, 121–122, fig. 1.

Horse bits do not presuppose the presence of chariots; separate horse bits have a symbolic value as “pars pro toto”, cf. v. Hase 1969 and Bartoloni et al. 1982, 264 and Stary 1981, 94.

NOTE 80

Kilian 1977a, 437–438 and fig. 4; Herrmann 1983, 281–283, figs. 15–17 and v. Hase 1997, 298 and fig. 13. One of the lance heads, of exceptional size, has incised ornamentation, cf. Herrmann 1983, 282, fig. 15.

NOTE 81

Ol. Forsch. I, pl. 73k, cf. Kilian 1977a, 438 and Carapanos 1878, pl. 54, 6, cf. Gras 1985, 671.

NOTE 82

Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 127–128, 161 and 168, No. 445, pl. 58 and v. Hase 1997, 298 and fig. 11.

NOTE 83

Herrmann 1983, 279–282 and fig. 14, with reference to Veji, Casale del Fosso, Tomb 1036. Cf. v. Merhart 1956–57, 92–93, figs. 4.4 and 8.5. For the tomb, cf. also below note 112 and for its chronology, cf. Colonna 1991, 69, note 14.

NOTE 84

Kilian 1977a, ill. figs. 1–2; Gras 1985, 667–668; v. Hase 1988, 197–199, Nos. 17–18, and 202 and fig. 2 and v. Hase 1997, 298 and figs. 8–10. The Delphi fragment is definitely of “Variante III”, chiefly dated to the second half of the 8th Cent. BC, the Olympia fragment possibly so.

NOTE 85

Apart from one early Sicilian/South Italic fibula (cf. above note 73) and the Villanoan II belt (cf. above note 76), v. Hase dates most Italic/Etruscan bronzes in Greek sanctuaries later than 750 BC (cf. v. Hase, 1979, 64–66 and 72–77, revising Kilian's chronology, and v. Hase 1997, 297–299).

NOTE 86

As regards the Olympia fragments, Geiger Nos 61 and 69 (cf. above note 20) the latter should probably be excluded from the list as well as of course, Geiger No. 111 = *Ol. 1007*. Some of the fragments are so small that an identification with a shield cannot be certain e.g. Geiger, 81, Nos. 60 and 65, pl. 69, and most other fragments on pl. 69 cannot be classified with certainty, nor can the attachment plates from Olympia and Delphi, Geiger, 74, Nos. 47–48.

Geiger 109, No. 127, pl. 91, may belong to Geiger Type 1g, since its decoration is very close to that of Geiger No. 50, cf. above note 5 and below p. 76 and note 112, while Geiger, 81, No. 62, pl. 59 seems to be a rim fragment (although the actual rim is not preserved) with a diameter of only 26 cm, cf. Herrmann 1983, 293, No. 13; if so, it possibly belongs with the small shields, below p. 76 and note 114.

NOTE 87

Geiger, 44–45, Nos. 6–8 (Olympia) and p. 81, No. 59 (Dodone), all A II (= Geiger 1a) and Geiger, 56–59, Nos. 28–31 (Olympia) and p. 57, No. 21 (Samos), all A IV (= Geiger 1c). (For photos, see Herrmann 1983 and v. Hase 1997, 298–299 and figs. 14–15).

Geiger, 81, No. 59 lists the Dodone fragment among her not securely classified Geometric shields. It is definitely a rim fragment of an A II (Geiger 1a) shield (here Fig. 5).

NOTE 88

The Veji tomb, QF 1-66-AA 1, has the earliest example of an A II shield (Geiger 43–46, Type 1 a, No. 1). Since its grave furniture combines elements of the phases Veji II A and II B, it should be dated within the third quarter of the 8th Cent. BC. Geiger, however, dates the tomb to around 760 or 750 BC, following the absolute Veji chronology of Close-Brooks 1967a. Close-Brooks' relative chronology has since been verified, although divided into more phases (Toms 1986), but her absolute Veji chronology was revised by Descoedres – Kearsley 1983, 52: Veji II A, ca. 780–730, and Veji II B, ca. 750–720. (Cf. also Gierow 1977, 24–30). The revised chronology, to which Gei-

ger does not refer in her diagram, Geiger, 6, seems in the main accepted (cf. e.g. Ridgway et. al. 1985, 140-141; Bartoloni 1989a, 98-102 and Bartoloni 1989b, 125 (Veji II, 780/770-730/720); Ridgway 1991, 159-160) although not by Guidi 1993, 99-100, who bases his chronology not on imported Greek pottery, but on correlations with Latium, Pontecagnano and the Bologna area. However, also Guidi dates Veji QF 1-66-AA 1 to the third quarter of the 8th Cent. BC, Guidi 1993, 116-120.

(In general one cannot help wondering that Geiger's bibliography, in a book published in 1994, does not list a single publication later than 1983).

The latest datable A II shield comes from Palestrina. The Castellani Tomb, Strøm 1971, 23 and 44-45, Cat. No. 10 and A II 1; for the chronology of the tomb, cf. pp. 155-156 and 170, first quarter of the 7th Cent. BC. Geiger, 43-44, No. 2, accepts this chronology.

NOTE 89

A shield, transitional AI/AIV was found in Tomba Artiaco. Cumae (Strøm 1971, 21 and 46-47, Cat. Nr. 5 = A I 2, fig. 5). Because of the few scattered concentric circle ornaments I placed it in my group A I, while Geiger, 57-58, No. 22, classifies it as 1 c. Tomba Artiaco is dated to ca. 700 BC, (-Strøm 1971, 146-148, cf. Strøm 1990, 90-91, and Geiger, 58-60). However, Veji, Casale del Fosso, Tomb 871, dated to ca. 720 BC, contains several stamped bronze reliefs with A IV ornamentation, cf. above note 51 and for chronology of the tomb, note 52.

NOTE 90

Cf. Strøm 1971, 23-24 (Cat. No. 12 = A IV 4), 46-47 and 154-156 (the Castellani Tomb, cf. above note 88). Geiger, 46, places the shield in her group 1 d (cf. above note 7).

NOTE 91

The latest A IV shields were found in RG, Geiger, 56-57, Nos. 15-19, pls. 22-29; for the absolute chronology of the tomb, cf. above note 15.

NOTE 92

Cf. above notes 12-13.

NOTE 93

Both Kilian 1977, 73, and Bartoloni 1989a, 197, suggested the existence of several local workshops, which now seems to be accepted by most scholars, cf. Montanari 1987, 259 (Gentili) and references above note 31 to Bedini for Geometric Latium

workshops, and cf. v. Hase 1979, 66, for a possible Geometric workshop in Cerveteri. For Veji and Vulci, cf. note 94.

In general, I am sceptical about the importance which Geiger, 115-118, ascribes to Marsigliana (cf. above note 31). She bases her views almost exclusively on the types of pendants, even attributing to Marsigliana a specific pendant type found only in Tarquinia, Verucchio and Vetulonia, Geiger 116-117. Although sharing the now almost general view of many local workshops, I still see Tarquinia as an important centre (cf. above note 31, and cf. Bartoloni 1989a, 197).

NOTE 94

For a possible A II production in both Veji and Vulci, cf. Strøm 1971, 57 and Marzoli 1989, 44-45, while Geiger, 116 and 118, refers the whole production to Veji.

A IV reliefs were also found in Veji, e.g. in Casale del Fosso, Tomb 871 (cf. above note 51), as well as in Tarquinia, cf. e.g. Hencken 1968 I, fig. 179.

NOTE 95

Cf. e.g. Kilian 1977c, 124 and Kilian 1983; v. Hase 1979, 74; Herrmann 1983, 288 and 358; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 161 and v. Hase 1997, 307-309; (v. Hase 1997, 322, note 57, refers to Strøm 1971, 56, for my then views of Etruscan shields possibly having reached Greece via the Western Greek colonies; however, I did not consider them spoils of war).

NOTE 96

E.g. Kyrieleis 1986, 134, cf. the discussion Gras 1985, 699-700, and v. Hase 1997, 317.

NOTE 97

Cf. above p. 74 and note 78.

NOTE 98

The Arimnestos throne, cf. below pp. 77 - 78 and note 128-132, and the two Etruscan treasuries in Delphi, dedicated by Spina and Agylla (Caere), cf. Bommelaer & Laroche 1991, 231-232, No. 342 and cf. the general discussion, Gras 1985, 681-689.

NOTE 99

Cristofani 1978, 41 and in the discussion, Herrmann 1983, 357; Bartoloni 1989a, 197.

As regards the antenna sword from Samos, Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 160-161, mentions the same possibility, but concludes spoils of war to be the most plausible explanation for its presence in the Greek sanctuary. Cf. v. Hase 1997, 307.

NOTE 100

For the ancile or double shields, not with certainty known from Greek sanctuaries, cf. below p. 76 and note 112.

NOTE 101

Cf. references above note 95, regarding war spoils. According to Geiger, 110-114, the Geometric shields, in contrast to the Orientalizing ones, were real battle shields.

NOTE 102

Geiger, 110-113, with reference to the tests by J. Coles.

Only one of the small shields, Geiger, 76, No. 50, may have had a wooden backing, cf. above note 5 and below note 112.

NOTE 103

E.g. Kilian 1977, 26, Cat. No. 1, and Kilian 1983, in both cases he refers to Helbig, 1869, 259, for a leather backing of the shield. However, apparently Helbig did not actually observe such remains. There is a notable difference to his statement about the shoulder plate in the same tomb: "il cui fodero di tela è ancora benissimo conservato", and that regarding the shield, where in more general words, he says: "Lo scudo anche esso di bronzo stampato e foderato di cuojo era appoggiato sul petto". Helbig 1869, 258-259. For the Tarquinia Warrior's Tomb, cf. also above note 53.

NOTE 104

Geiger, 113, refutes the apparent evidence of the Verucchio shields (cf. Gentili 1969, 307) and when in the 1970's I was allowed by Professor Gentili to study the Verucchio shield fragments, I observed remnants of organic material on both the inside and the outside of the fragments, in which case they cannot derive from an inner leather coating.

NOTE 105

As e.g. that they do not show traces of battle or wear and that the fastenings of the handle and the attachment plates do not leave room for a leather covering, which according to Coles' tests should have a thickness of at least half a centimetre (Geiger, 110-113, cf. Strøm 1971, 19). Geiger's reference to Kilian's suggestion that the fastening of the handle and attachment plates pressed the leather so thin as not to leave any space in between appears to me an academic construction, Geiger, 113 with note 10.

NOTE 106

Esp. Geiger, 112-113.

NOTE 107

Cf. Colonna 1991, 101-102, regarding the ancile or double shields, cf. below p. 76 and note 112.

NOTE 108

I. e. the same explanation as is given by Geiger, 113, for the absence or decline of such details on the Orientalizing shields.

NOTE 109

Cf. Rieth 1964, for a later Etruscan shield with inner leather and wooden backing.

NOTE 110

The Verucchio shields, Geiger, 49 (No. 10) and 57-58 (Nos. 20 and 25). Although the shields were not found in a secure cult context, Gentili 1969, 298-299, considers them a votive or ritual offering, because they were found outside the actual habitation area and placed one inside the other in a normal votive deposit fashion. For the cult deposit of the Tarquinia shield, cf. above p. 73 and notes 12 and 68.

NOTE 111

For Geometric shields in numbers of two or three in single tombs, cf. e.g. above note 5, Laurentina Acqua Acetosa and Osteria dell'Osa, Tomb 600, and references, above note 88, to Palestrina. Tomba Castellani; cf. Veji, the Garrucci Tomb (Ström 1971, 26-27, Nos. 26-27 (A II) and Geiger, 44, Nos. 4-5 (1a)) and Castel di Decima. Tomb 21 (cf. Bartoloni et al. 1982, 263. Cf. in general, Colonna 1991 79-81 and Bartoloni & De Santis 1995, 279 (here the observation about the changing significance of the shields) and cf. below and note 114 for the possibility of a specific burial rite).

For shields placed along the wall of the tomb, cf. Laurentina Acqua Acetosa, Tombs 70, 93 and 121 (cf. above notes 5 and 12) and cf. Bedini 1992, 83 and 85, and Bedini 1995, 301) in the same ways they were said to be found in RG (Pareti 1947, 292) and in several tombs with Orientalizing shields.

Bedini 1990, 64, refers to shields in women's tombs in Laurentina Acqua Acetosa, Tomb 70 and in Pitino S. Severino, Tomb 17 (Early Orientalizing = Geiger, 90, No. 75 and cf. above note 12) and to Albore Livadhi 1975, 53-54, note 5, Cumae, Tombs 11 and 56, with Etruscan Geometric shields used as cover for urns in women's burials (A IV shields, cf. Ström, 20-21).

NOTE 112

Colonna 1991. For the repaired Norchia shield, cf. in particular, pp. 55-63, and for Veji, Casale del Fosso, Tomb 1036, pp. 69-81 with earlier references as well as absolute chronology, note 14; for the shields as found, cf. figs. 12 and 14-16 and for their fastening, fig. 17. For the tomb context, cf. also above notes 67 and 83.

Possibly the small shields, Geiger, Nos. 49-50, Type 1g, cf. above note 5, are parts of ancile shields, one of which, No. 50, from Tuscania, may have had a wooden backing; the tomb of No. 49, Bisenzio, Olmo Bello, Tomb 8, is dated to the third quarter of the 8th Cent. BC like Veji, Casale del Fosso, Tomb 1036. The Bisenzio shield has holes for fastening along the rim and the inside of the buckle of the Tuscania shield shows a construction identical with that of the Veji ancile shields.

For suggestion of a specific burial ritual connected with the plurality of shields, cf. Bartoloni - De Santis 1995, 280-281.

NOTE 113

Cf. above note 86, Geiger, Nos. 127 and 62, and cf. notes 112 and 114, respectively.

NOTE 114

Colonna 1991, 81-82, interprets the two extra, small shields of Veji, Tomb 1036, as cuirass-disks, but such an interpretation is not possible for the small shields in Tombs 70 and 340 of the Villanovan necropolis of Benacci (Bologna), Morigi Govi & Tovoli 1993, 1-5, who suggest a ceremonial role and refer also to the extra, small shield in Verucchio. Fondo Lippi, Tomb 89 (Montanari 1987, 252, Cat. 129 and fig. 168). Another was found in Castelnuovo Berardenga (Mangani 1988-89, No. 107, figs. 40-41): For the shields of normal size in the same two tombs, cf. above notes 5 and 9. Morigi Govi & Tovoli 1993, 9, notes 16-17 also refer to small shields in Bisenzio and Narce tombs.

NOTE 115

Colonna 1991, 63-68 and Bartoloni & De Santis 1995, 278-279.

NOTE 116

Cf. Colonna 1991, 84-97 and for the time when the Etruscans abandoned the ancile shield, in particular pp. 89-90.

NOTE 117

Veji Tomb 1036, cf. references above notes 67 and 112. Its context signifies a person of extremely high rank, probably also of religious character and the plurality of its

shields indicates their function in a burial ritual. For the chronology of Bisenzio, Olmo Bello, Tomb 8, cf. also note 112.

NOTE 118

The Norchia shield, above note 112.

NOTE 119

Cf. above p. 76 and note 107.

NOTE 120

Cf. Colonna 1991, figs. 9 and 40, and Bartoloni & De Santis 1995, 279 with references.

NOTE 121

For an extra lance of bronze meant for parades, besides the iron lances of the Latium tombs, cf. e.g. Bartoloni et al. 1982, 263-264, and Bedini 1992, 83-84, and for the same interpretation of the very large iron lance heads in Veji, Monte Michele, Tomb 5 (above note 18), cf. Boitani 1983, 551-553. And cf. above note 51 for the same significance of the extremely high helmet in Veji Tomb 871. This interpretation should apply also e.g. to the correspondingly high helmet in Verucchio, Fondo Lippi Tomb 89 (cf. Montanari 1987, 252, No. 126 (Gentili)).

NOTE 122

Bartoloni & De Santis 1995, 279-281.

Although there seems a contradiction in the summary, p. 281, where the functionality of the same objects is stressed as regards a short period in the 8th Cent. BC. As stated above, the only certain example is the Norchia ancile shield, whereas the two ancile shields in Veji, Tomb 1036, complied with the custom of non-functional plurality of the round bronze shields, cf. above p. 76 and notes 111 and 112.

NOTE 123

Cf. Ström 1971, 19, for the shields.

NOTE 124

This conclusion concerns at least the shields, the antenna sword (above note 82), and the decorated, disproportionately large lance head in Olympia (above note 80), but presumably also the helmets (above notes 84 and 121) and probably also other parts of the warriors' equipment in Greek sanctuaries.

NOTE 125

Cf. above note 99.

NOTE 126

Cf. above pp. 70 and 72-73 and notes 26, 29-30, 50-51 and 55 (for thrones and volute footstools) and note 58 (for two-wheeled chariots, which were found in several more tombs than here listed, cf. Emiliozzi 1997, 310-335, Catalogue).

NOTE 127

Cf. Emiliozzi 1997, 18 (Colonna). Apart from the fact that the Etruscans as barbarians did not have access to the Olympic Games and therefore had no reason for dedicating racing chariots.

NOTE 128

Cf. Herodotus 1.14 and most thoroughly Muscarella 1989, 334-335.

NOTE 129

The Arimnestos throne, Pausanias 5.12.5, cf. in particular, Karo 1937, 316; Eckstein 1969, 67-69; Steingraber 1979, 148-149; Jurgeit 1990, 22; Kossack 1992, 234; Colonna 1993, 44-56; and Völling 1998, 243.

NOTE 130

Colonna 1993, 50-53, definitely before 490 BC. Colonna suggests a Late Archaic date; however, in my opinion, not with convincing arguments. I agree with Steingraber, Jurgeit and Völling (cf. preceding note) that a 7th Cent. BC date is more likely. Colonna's chronology for Arimnestos' throne seems connected with the identification that (following Eckstein 1969, 67-69, cf. Colonna 1993, 46-48) he gives of the very large stone foundation in the pronaos of the Zeus Temple as the basis for Arimnestos' throne. Colonna compares it with Etruscan stone thrones. In my opinion, a throne of a light material which had no need for such a weighty basis is much more likely, see below. Nor do I find it possible from Pausanias' words to determine the exact position of Arimnestos' throne in the pronaos of the temple.

NOTE 131

This in contrast to my former views, cf. above note 20.

NOTE 132

The Verucchio thrones, cf. above note 55. Although both Jurgeit 1990, 22, and Kossack, 1992, 234, refer to the Verucchio throne from Tomb 89 for comparisons with Arimnestos' throne, Völling 1998, 243, seems the first to actually suggest that it is a throne of this type.

NOTE 133

Colonna 1993, 53-56.

Colonna's conclusions that the throne was a donation by a king in Etruscan Campania, from either Nola or Capua, is closely connected with his late chronology of the Arimnestos throne (cf. above note 130), since the Campanian towns were prosperous in the late 6th Cent. BC, Verucchio on the other hand on the decline. Against the location to a Campanian town speaks, in my opinion, also the lack of such throne finds in Campania, whereas the suggested 7th Cent. BC date for the Arimnestos throne above (cf. above note 130) fits in well with the chronology of the aristocratic Verucchio tombs, Tomb 89 being dated c. 650 BC (Montanari 1987, 243 (Gentili)).

NOTE 134

Cf. Söldner 1994, 225-226.

NOTE 135

Cf. Bartoloni 1989a, 183-186. Delpino 1989, and Ridgway 1992, 128.

For Veji, cf. also Bartoloni 1986; Ridgway 1992, 129-136; Hoffmann 1996; Martelli 1997 and Toms 1997.

NOTE 136

Apart from Near Eastern imports and close imitations, especially in pottery, both towns give evidence of Near Eastern links of a different kind. For Tarquinia, cf. e.g. indications of immigrant North Syrian gold- and silver smiths having worked in South Etruria around 700 BC, Tarquinia apparently being one important centre for this work (Strøm 1971, 212, and Strøm 1990, 93-94) and cf. the Near Eastern technical details (pilaster construction) in the architecture of cult house Beta on the Acropolis of Tarquinia, suggesting co-operation of a Near Eastern architect (Bonghi Jovino 1991,

178-181, Bonghi Jovino 1992 and Bonghi Jovino & Chiaramonte Treré 1997, 170-171 and Prayon 1998, 38-39).

The first to suggest that Near Eastern craftsmen settled in Etruscan Italy around 700 BC, was Brown 1960, 1-3, who observed signs of a co-operation of North Syrian ivory workers and local craftsmen in Etruria and Latium, seeing this immigration as a result of Sargon II's conquests in the late 8th Cent. BC. Such immigrations must have comprised also other persons than craftsmen (cf. Strøm 1984, 356) and had also non-material influence on the Etruscan society.

For Veji, cf. notes 139-141.

NOTE 137

Cf. above p. 71 and note 35 for stone thrones not having been found in Tarquinia tombs and notes 48 and 51 for thrones and volute footstools in Veji.

NOTE 138

Cf. above p. 72.

NOTE 139

Cf. the Veji statue above p. 72 and note 48.

NOTE 140

Cf. Rathje 1997, esp. p. 204.

NOTE 141

The lion head rhyton, formerly attributed to Casale del Fosso, Tomb 871, was at any rate found in Veji, cf. above note 51. For the function of these rhyta as drinking vessels, cf. Reade 1995, 44-47, figs. 9 and 11-13.

NOTE 142

For Gordion, cf. Young 1981, 121-123, MM 45-46, pls. 62-63, and for Samos, Jantzen 1972, 71 and 74, Nos. B 275 and pl. 73 and Kyrieleis 1986b, 189 and Colour Plate II c.

NOTE 143

Cf. references Strøm 1998, 101, note 130.

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