

CONTACTS BETWEEN PICENUM AND THE GREEK WORLD
TO THE END OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.
IMPORTS, INFLUENCES AND PERCEPTIONS

The links between Picenum and the world of mainland Greece and the Aegean are of course part of the larger panorama, namely that of Greek access to the upper reaches of the Adriatic.¹ They have been the object of much study and we might particularly remind ourselves of the pioneer work of R.L. Beaumont, in his brilliant article in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* of 1936.² The young Oxford scholar still at the beginning of his career lost his life shortly afterwards in the summer of 1938 at the age of twenty four in a climbing accident in the mountains of North Wales. He was but one of a number of brilliant Oxford scholars, Ancient Historians and Classical Archaeologists, who died before their time in the 1930s – we think of Humfry Payne, who had by that time moved to Athens, and Alan Blakeway in particular. They though scholars in the Greek component of our studies, devoted much of their efforts – and I think of all three of them – to the outreach of the archaic Greek world into the Italian peninsula, and that to a certain extent is meant to be my brief to-day. Since these days in the thirties many new perspectives have opened up to us. Chronologically we are beginning to get some solid evidence for Mycenaean contacts in the Northern tracts of the Adriatic.³ This after all is not so very surprising seeing the wealth of amber in the Mycenaean world, which is generally held to have come from the Baltic – and the caput Adriae was likely to have been then, as certainly it was later, one of the entry points of that raw material into the Mediterranean.

Going into the final stages of the Bronze Age there has more recently been made at Frattesina near the Po delta, the startling discovery of glass working with raw material which seems to have been generated locally but worked in techniques which strongly suggest contacts, if not expertise derived in the last resort from the eastern Mediterranean.⁴

It almost appears then as though it is the furthest extremities in the North of the Adriatic which provide the evidence for the earliest contacts with the more easterly parts of the Mediterranean basin.

All this is territory where I have little first hand knowledge and certainly no expertise. When we come to the Iron Age proper it is again the northernmost area which for long has been the centre of attention

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I. L. MALNATI - V. MANFREDI; *Gli Etruschi in Val Padana*, Milano 1991, and A. NASO, *I Piceni: Storia e Archeologia delle Marche in epoca preromana*, Milano 2000, (henceforward cited as: Naso, *Piceni*) give for their respective areas valuable conspectus and discussion, as well as illustrations and bibliography. They can with profit be consulted on many of the points touched upon in the following pages. For the literary tradition and much more the discussions in L. BRACCISI, *Grecità Adriatica*², Bologna 1977 are indispensable.

For a succinct overview of Greek export activity in the Adriatic note also G. SASSATELLI, *Il commercio Greco in età arcaica e classica: importazioni ceramiche nel Mediterraneo e in Etruria*, in M. DE MIN (ed.), *Documenti inediti dell'Italia antica* (Centro Studi Ricerche Ligabue), Venice 1998, pp. 33-39, esp. 36-37. (with useful bibl.). For a brief survey focussed on Picenum: M. LANDOLFI, *Il Piceno e il commercio Greco*, in E. PERCOSSI SERENELLI (ed.), *Museo Archeologico Nazionale delle Marche, Sezione Protostorica. I Piceni*, Falconara 1998, pp. 120-123.

I may refer at this stage to my paper *Adriatic links between Aegean Greece and Iron Age Europe during the archaic and early classical periods. Facts and some hypotheses (including observations concerning the import of bronze hydriai from the Peloponnese)*. This was given at an incontro di studio in the Fondazione Cini, Venice, Feb. 2000 and is published in *Anemos* 2, 2001, pp. 7-44, with numerous illustrations [also issued as *L'Adriatico, I Greci e l'Europa*, Atti dell'incontro di studio, Venezia-Adria 2000: L. BRACCISI, L. MALNATI, F. RAVIOLA (edd.), Padova 2001, pp. 7-44]. In range and treatment these two papers, the present one and that given in Venice, are meant to complement each other and I refer freely to the latter as *Anemos* 2 (without author's name) for details and bibl. not repeated here.

2. R.L. BEAUMONT, *Greek influence in the Adriatic Sea before the fourth century B.C.*, in *JHS* 56, 1936, pp. 159-204.

3. For Mycenaean finds cf. BETTELLI - VAGNETTI, as cited in note 4. For finds near Ancona cf. M. LUNI - M. SILVESTRINI LAVAGNOLI, in *Hesperia* 12, 2000, p. 58 nn. 28-29 (extensive bibl. on Mycenaean finds in Adriatic); *ibidem*, pp. 177-172; [= in part.: Atti del convegno *Dall'Adriatico Greco all'Adriatico veneziano. Archeologia e leggenda troiana*, Venice 1997]; for finds near Venice cf. L. BRACCISI, in *Hesperia* 13, 2001, p. 48 f. with bibl. [= *Hellenikòs Kolpos. Suppl. a BRACCISI, Grecità adriatica*].

4. For Frattesina cf. some bibl. in L. MALNATI-V. MANFREDI (note 1) p. 23 f., with 268 (bibl.) and NASO, *Piceni*, pp. 90-92 with 286 (bibl.). A.M. BIETTI SESTIERI, *L'abitato di Frattesina*, in *Atti Este - Padova*, pp. 23-37. Material is in Adria Museum. Important contributions in *Le Terramare*, exhib. cat. Modena 1997, pp. 602-609 (amber - G. Bergonzi); 610-613 (vitreous material - P. Bellintani - A. Biavati); 614-20 (links with the Mycenaean world - M. Battelli - L. Vagnetti).

not only through the literary evidence, which named Adria as a Greek polis, but also through actual finds of Greek, particularly Attic material of the sixth through to the fourth centuries B.C. At a very early stage of our studies, the finds made since the mid 1600s and more specially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by generations of the Bocchi family (and early in the nineteenth century for some years with the intervention of the Imperial Treasury of Vienna) were brought to wider attention by the publication of R. Schoene in 1878.⁵ Indeed a proportion of the pieces had already been illustrated in line drawings by G. Micali in his *Monumenti inediti* of 1844.⁶

It was not until the 1920s that the draining of the swamps brought to light the cemeteries of Spina and resulted in the spectacular finds of Attic pottery, particularly of the fifth century B.C. Here then was a powerful reinforcement and enlargement of what had hitherto only been divined from the Adria finds, namely the presence in this remote extremity of the mediterranean world of wonderful and readily interpretable Attic vase painting of very high quality indeed. Remember also that Adria had provided almost entirely fragmentary material, as the Bocchi finds were from habitation sites. Indeed the whereabouts of the cemeteries covering the archaic and classical periods have yet to be discovered.⁷ Spina on the other hand, when it became available, derived its material from tombs of fifth and fourth century date. These yielded a most surprising number of monumental sized vases, often entirely intact.⁸ Such concentrations had hardly ever been encountered previously, not even in this measure on Etruscan sites. As it happened the finds at Spina were made during the high tide of Beazley's activity and were therefore soon classified and attributed to their masters. For the study of mid-fifth century Attic vase painting and beyond these finds transformed our knowledge of these decades.

If we were to direct our attention to earlier centuries and to non-Attic material our yield would be much less copious. It is really only during the last decade or two that some effort has been made to gather such evidence as there is. The reason for such remissness is not only that the material of the two sites so far mentioned, namely Adria and Spina, was predominantly Attic, but also because both of them do not go back further than the second quarter of the sixth century in the case of Adria and perhaps the advanced third quarter in the case of Spina.⁹ Earlier material is therefore likely to be far more scattered, as there was no big established centre where it might be found in a concentrated precipitation. In brief it was not really until Colonna's work in the early 1970s,¹⁰ and Stefano Bruni's extensive and more recent survey of the dispersion of Corinthian¹¹ that the presence of early non-Attic material was becoming more evident. Here

5. R. SCHOENE, *Le antichità del Museo Bocchi di Adria*, Roma 1878, published with the support of the Academy of Padua and the Imperial German Archaeological Institute. The publication was and is remarkable for its assiduous publication of the graffiti under the vases (*ibidem*, pll. 19-22), which is still of primary value.

6. MICALI, *Monim* pp. 279-302; plate volume pll. 45-47.

7. Cf. however tomba 333 necropoli del Canal Bianco, Adria, M. DE MIN, in *Etruschi a nord del Po* (note 42) II, p. 63 ff.; cf. EAD. in *La Formazione della città* (note 9) I, p. 185.

8. For the material from Spina the most convenient and compendious survey with authority is still in N. ALFIERI, *Spina, Museo Archeologico*, Bologna 1979. More recently: F. BERTI and P.G. GUZZO (edd.), *Spina. Storia di una città tra Greci ed Etruschi*, exhib. cat. Ferrara 1993, with substantial introductory studies, catalogue and extensive bibliography.

9. For the earliest imported Greek pottery in Adria see S. BONOMI, *Ceramiche d'importazione nel Veneto prima del 550 a.C.*, in *Hesperia* 12, pp. 119-123 esp. 122 f.; G. BERMOND MONTANARI, *Ceramica attica* (as in note 41 below), p. 290. For the earliest Attic imports to Spina cf. G. BERMOND MONTANARI (ed.), *La Formazione della Città in Emilia Romagna*, exhib. cat. Bologna 1987, Bologna 1987, II, pp. 186-190; 190-204 "ceramiche attiche a figure nere"; "Le tombe più antiche" - G. Parmeggiani.

10. G. COLONNA, *I Greci di Adria*, in *RivStAnt* 4, 1974, pp. 1-21.

11. S. BRUNI, *Un problematico documento per la storia della frequentazione dell'area spinetica prima di Spina*, in F. REBBECCHI (ed.), *Spina e il delta Padano*, Atti del Convegno di Studi Spina: due civiltà a confronto, Ferrara 1994, Roma 1998, pp. 203-220, esp. 205 f., with fig. 3 - distribution of Corinthian pottery in the mid- and upper Adriatic - very little and all rather scattered and surely coming up the Adriatic. [Note however that the evidence for the occurrences on the coastal sites of Numana and Cupra Marittima (and also from Belmonte Piceno) is through war losses no longer extant and we depend on Marconi's and Beaumont's reports; cf. NASO, *Piceni*, p. 176 with 292]. If for these pieces an arrival up the Adriatic is entirely probable, there is also some incidence of Corinthian (not included in Bruni's map), deep inland in the Marche for which an Adriatic route is not quite so cogent. For these (from Pitino San Severino, Fabriano, Tolentino) see now LANDOLFI, *Greci e Piceni nelle Marche in età arcaica*, in *Hesperia* 12, 131; pp. 138-140 with pll. 1-2; also *Id.* in *Piceni*, exhib. cat. (note 12), Nos. 326-327 (aryballos and kotyle, Pitino gr. 17); SGBINI MORBETTI, *Pitino. Necropoli di Monte Penna: Tomba 31*, in *La Civiltà Picena nelle Marche. Studi in onore di Giovanni Annibaldi*, Ancona 1988, Ripatransone 1992, p. 186 fig. 6, bottom row (two late 7th cent. B.C. kotylai); cf. also NASO, *Piceni*, p. 176 (with 292; also *ibidem*, pp. 113-114). Both Landolfi and Naso not unreasonably (yet by no means conclusively) assume the Protocorinthian and Corinthian on those sites to have arrived as reexport from Etruria.

If there is then a dilemma for Corinthian, this can hardly be said to be the case for Laconian. Here its exiguous presence in the upper Adriatic also addressed by Bruni (*ibidem*, p. 209 with map. 4), can hardly support an arrival along the Adriatic. The little - and late - material in Adria and Spina should all be reexport from Etruria, a view supported, one would have thought, by the Sos (tratos) mark on one of the Laconian stirrup kraters from Spina (BRUNI, p. 209 with fig. 5); cf. for this note 47. On the other hand the interesting and still later presence of conventionalizing 5th century B.C. Corinthian in the upper Adriatic suggests arrival along the Adriatic; cf. the discussion by D. BALDONI, *Ceramica di importazione a Spina: un gruppo di vasi corinzi*, in *Bollettino annuale dei Musei Ferraresi* 12, 1982, pp. 27-58, esp. 46 ff., with consideration of the role of Corcyra. The situation here will perhaps be seen with

we are only at the beginning of investigations which will require much expertise to come to reliable results. Here too we may note that much of the scatter of Corinthian applies to a semicircle in the extreme north of the Adriatic, though the Dalmatian side opposite Picenum is also involved.

It will not have escaped notice that except for the presence of some early Corinthian import (mentioned in note 11) very little of what I have touched upon so far seems to have any direct bearing on Picenum and the medio-Adriatico, which after all is the subject of our studies in this Convegno. In fact we shall see that the contrast at some stages and the congruity at others in their contacts with the Greek world between these two distinct areas, the one of the mid- and the other of the north Adriatic, are a matter of some importance.

As it happens our solid evidence for direct contacts in the archaic period with the world of the Greek mainland and the Aegean goes back in Picenum at least as early as, perhaps even earlier than what we find at the caput Adriae. I have given a brief account of some of the salient factors in the section on Greek and Etruscan bronze imports in the catalogue of the recent Piceni exhibition,¹² but nonetheless some of the points brought out there will bear repeating and expanding here.

It is towards the last quarter of the seventh century and continuing into the early sixth that there seems evidence for noticeable links with East Greek centres. The evidence is still somewhat fragile for this period, consisting as it does of a substantial presence, appreciated only relatively recently, of the so-called Rhodian bronze oinochoai of the types which I consider to be of East Greek origin and whose dispersion may be due to the activity of Phokaian traders, as is suggested by a well known passage in Herodotus.¹³ I call the evidence fragile not so much in view of the widely held opinion that virtually all these oinochoai of whatever type are of Etruscan manufacture, but rather because it would be possible to explain their presence in Picenum as imports from the Etruscan area, where they are widely spread, rather than as imports direct from the Aegean coming up the Adriatic.¹⁴ We are faced here with a dilemma which we shall encounter on several occasions in the ensuing survey, and often it will not be possible to decide beyond doubt which of the alternatives is valid on a given occasion, particularly as import from both directions may well have taken place concurrently. It is perhaps more important to underline that so far there is no trace of these bronze oinochoai further north along the Adriatic, none in the area of the Po delta, as far as I am aware. Here then Picenum appears to be a target area.¹⁵

In this connection we have to consider how far the two silver phialai, from Numana/Sirolo and from Filottrano respectively (*tav. I, a-b*), can add anything to the consideration of the problem touched upon just now.¹⁶ These surely appear to have come up the Adriatic and their origin is certain to be in the eastern

greater certainty once M.K. Risser's forthcoming *Corinthian Conventionalizing Pottery* (Corinth VII, 5, Princeton N.J. 2001) becomes available. [The volume has now appeared. It is not however aware of Baldoni's work, though it quotes material from Spina, but does not refer to the position of Corcyra].

12. SHEFTON, *Greek and Etruscan bronzes in Picenum, in Piceni, popolo d'Europa*, exhib. cat. Frankfurt 1999 [German version: *Die Picener, ein Volk Europas*]. For the exhibition in Roma, Palazzo Barberini 2001 the Italian version, expanded by pp. 295-365, was reissued under the title *Eroi e Regine. Piceni, popolo d'Europa*.

13. HERODOTUS I, 163. Note however that BRACCESI, *In margine alla navigazione Adriatica dei Focci*, *BullArchHistDalmates* (= *Vjesnik ... Dalmatinski*) 68, 1966, pp. 127-131 reminds us of Ronconi's demonstration (*StudItFilClass* 9, 1931, p. 270 ff.) that 'Adria' in Herodotus's time signified the northern extremities of that Sea, round the Po delta and the caput Adriae. This may perhaps count against our interpretation of that passage in view of the fact, pointed out in our text, that these bronze vessels have not so far been found north of Picenum.

14. For the problem of contacts in this respect between Etruria and Picenum see still SHEFTON, *Die "rhodischen" Bronzekannen*, Mainz 1979 [= *Marburger Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 2], pp. 6-7 list of provenances; 10-15 discussion of the finds in Umbria, which would have an intermediate location en route. The position of the all but forgotten yet crucial deposit at Trestina is there broached for the first time [for subsequent discussion cf. bibl. in NASO, *Piceni*, p. 288] and the potential role of the pass at Colfiorito and Plestina considered 38 n. 41. For this now L. BONOMI PONZI, *La necropoli Plestina di Colfiorito di Foligno*, Perugia 1997 and her earlier illustrated summary in BALDELLI *et al.*, *La ceramica attica figurata* (note 58), pp. 150-151. So far however the graves have not yet provided conclusive evidence of its role as the prime point of passage for elite goods across the Apennines from West to East. However NASO, *Piceni*, p. 208 takes a more positive view of the situation, cf. also here note 58 *infra* for fifth century Attic pottery there which appears to have arrived via the Adriatic coast. In general E. PERCOSSI SERENELLI, *Le vie di penetrazione commerciale nel Piceno in età protostorica*, in *Picis* 1, 1981, pp. 135-144, esp. 138-140, who strongly advocates the role of Colfiorito for traffic in both directions. [The complex from Trestina, evidently the remains of a princely necropolis, is at last being restudied and prepared for detailed publication by E. Macnamara, F. Lo Schiavo and A. Romualdi].

15. The number of pieces found in Picenum has increased since my *Bronzekannen* (note 14); thus the list in LUCENTINI, *Nuove tombe Picene a Montedimove*, in *La Civiltà Picena nelle Marche. Studi in onore di Giovanni Annibaldi*, Ancona 1988, Ripatransone 1992, p. 496 f., n. 29; cf. also M. LANDOLFI, *I traffici con la Grecia* (as in note 58 below), p. 191 with nn. 25-26; also Camporeale, in *ArchClass* 33, 1981, 401 f.

16. For the Filottrano phiale subsequent to my discussion *The Paradise Flower, a 'Court Style' Phoenician ornament; its history in Cyprus and the central and western Mediterranean*, in V. TATTON-BROWN (ed.), *Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean in the Iron Age*, British Museum Classical Colloquium 1988 (for V. Karageorghis), London 1989, pp. 97-117, esp. 110 with fig. 16, a-b, see now G. ROCCO, *Una phiale di argento da Filottrano*, in *Xenia Antiqua* 4, 1995, pp. 9-22 (refers *ibidem*, p. 18 to a similar one unpublished from Lavello, Basilicata, and notes the absence of such pieces on the Tyrrhenian side of the peninsula); cf. also NASO, *Piceni*, p. 254. For the one recently found in the chariot grave of Sirolo/Numana see M. LANDOLFI, *Sirolo, necropoli picena "I Pini". Tomba monumentale*

Mediterranean, Cypriot or even Rhodian manufacture has been claimed; for our purposes it makes perhaps little difference whether one or the other is the true place of origin. Their date may be quite early in the sixth century B.C., if not even the end of the seventh. Chronologically therefore their first appearance in Picenum is not far removed from that of the Rhodian bronze oinochoai of my types A and B, for which I claim East Greek production. It is interesting to note that both were consigned to chieftains' graves generations after their true date of production. The long known one from Filottrano comes from a late fourth century B.C. grave context, the newly found one, recently published by Maurizio Landolfi, is from a very rich chariot grave of the late sixth century. Here too though the gap is not as dramatic as in the case of Filottrano the phiale is at least three quarters of a century older than the date of its deposition in the tomb.

A general East Greek component is perhaps also underlined by the presence in Picenum of East Greek lekythoi and cups.¹⁷ Indeed there is even one such cup in silver from the rich princely grave of Pitino di San Severino at the end of the seventh century B.C. It must be admitted though that here as in the case of some of the clay cups of East Greek type, the genuine East Greek origin is not always assured.¹⁸

By this stage however and in the earlier sixth century a new phenomenon of great importance was making its first appearance, namely a considerable influence from the Peloponnese, not now so much through the diffused import of pottery, but by the particularised introduction of metal vessels of high prestige value. The vessels are, as far as we know, all hydriae of bronze, which can with a high degree of probability be assigned to Laconian workmanship.¹⁹ What is particularly noteworthy is that a peculiar and rare variant of the shape is imported into Picenum, of which only few examples are known altogether. Of these the most famous one is the hydria from Graechwil, a Hallstatt princely burial just northwest of Bern and known since the nineteenth century. The piece is kept in Bern. It was in the course of work at recovering the original shape of this vessel – it had during the nineteenth century been misleadingly reconstructed in the manner of a bronze stamnos after Etruscan models – that Hans Jucker was drawn to elements of a similar bronze vessel discovered during the eighteenth century in Treia (a site well inland along the Potenza valley and situated somewhat to the west of Macerata) and now in the Museo Oliveriano of Pesaro. These elements consisted of two vertical open-work handles which had already been compared to that on the Graechwil hydria.²⁰ Jucker could reattach one of these open work handles to its pertinent body (from which it had become detached and estranged) and thus reconstitute a Laconian hydria (minus its foot and the lower portion of the body), which was to serve as model for the correct shaping of the piece in Bern.²¹

a circolo con due carri (520-500 a.C.), in A. EMILIOZZI (ed.), *Carri da Guerra e Principi Etruschi*, exhib. cat. Viterbo, Roma and Ancona, Roma 1999, pp. 229-241 esp. 240 f. (s. 12) - drawing; also. ID., in *Hesperia* 12, p. 140 f., with pl. 6 - drawing; ID. in *Eroi e Regine* (note 12), p. 357, No. 125 (colour phot. of modern copy = Tav. I, a); cf. also NASO, *Piceni*, p. 201 f. Unlike the Filottrano phiale, where the separate embossed collar is of silver the Sirolo piece has the collar of gold foil. The omphalos too is gilded.

17. For East Greek pottery imports ranging over a period of time cf. LANDOLFI, in *Hesperia* 12, p. 131; 141 f. with pll. 4-5 (including "Samian" lekythoi from Numana). The faïence aryballos, with its impressed reticulate surface, also from Numana, *ibidem*, p. 142, cl = NS 1908, p. 170, fig. 5, seems to have a row of crescents across its belly, to judge by the illustration. G. Baldelli, to whom I am greatly indebted for a detailed report on the piece, points out that this pattern is caused by the removal (deliberate?) of the light-coloured vitreous top surface in these places and the consequent exposure of the darker clay core. Whether there was any infill of the recesses to emphasise the pattern is unclear.

18. For the silver cup in Ancona, from the rich princely grave San Severino Marche, Monte Penna di Pitino 14 see *Piceni*, exhib. cat. (note 12), entry No. 415 with bibl. (Landolfi); ID., in *Hesperia* 12, p. 141 with pl. 3, 1 - profile. The way the side handles are fixed by means of crude solder without any attachments hardly speaks for Greek work, though admittedly it may suggest a product for funerary use; on the cup also NASO, *Piceni*, p. 118; 314. For the princely grave 14: NASO, in *Piceni*, exhib. cat. (note 12), pp. 78-80; ID., *Piceni*, pp. 115-118; cf. also *Carri da Guerra*, exhib. cat. (note 16), p. 318, No. 74. For the common methods of fixing the handles on metal cups cf. the somewhat later material assembled in H.A.G. BRIJDER - C.M. STIBBE, *A bronze cup in the Allard Pierson Museum*, in *BABesch* 72, 1997, pp. 21-35, illustr.; also BRIJDER, *Stana Cups I and Komast Cups*, Amsterdam 1983, pp. 36-37; *ibidem* also on our silver cup. More now in P.G. GUZZO, *Coppe ioniche in argento in Studia Varia from the J. Paul Getty Museum* 2, 2001, pp. 1-6 (with n. 11 on our cup). The simple process of solder seems however to be the common mode of fixing the handles on these silver cups. Two more examples in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (skyphoi).

19. For the question of whether Tarantine, Laconian or even elsewhere cf. my brief survey in *Anemos* 2, p. 12, n. 9.

20. For the Graechwil hydria in Bern see *Anemos* 2, p. 10, n. 8. Add there reference to Kimmig's succinct account of the find in L. AIGNER FORESTI (ed.), *Etrusker nördlich von Etrurien*, Wien 1992, pp. 299-301. Now also the magnificent pictures in G. LÜSCHER - S. REBSAMEN (phot.), *Die Hydria von Grächwil. Ein griechisches Prunkgefäß aus Tarent*, Bern (Historisches Museum) 2002. For the Treia hydria in Pesaro, *ibidem*, p. 11 f., nn. 12-13 with reference to illustrations of the newly reconstituted piece [= *Piceni*, exhib. cat. (note 12), entry No. 411, with colour illustr. *ibidem*, p. 151, fig. 117]. It is quite likely too that we have the body going with the second, hitherto still isolated, open work handle from Treia [combat scene = *Piceni*, exhib. cat. (note 12), entry No. 412 with colour illustr. *ibidem*, p. 152, fig. 118]. It is the fragmentary body also in the Museo Oliveriano with one side handle (kouros!) preserved; JUCKER, *Figürlicher Horizontalgriff einer Bronzhydria in Pesaro*, in *AK* 19, 1976, pp. 88-91, pl. 23; also SHEFTON, *Recanati Group*, in *RM* 99, 1992, p. 154 n. 33 (written in unawareness of Jucker's previous suggestion; cf. also *Anemos* 2, p. 19 f., n. 29 at end).

21. This may not have been accomplished successfully. The shape, as presently restored, seems (judging by the illustrations) wrong for its date. It should be more globular in line with the other hydriae at this early stage. The forthcoming "century and a half" conference in Bern on this hydria (October 2007) should provide the opportunity for a reexamination. [I have now reconsidered the piece in some detail in *The Graechwil Hydria: The object and its milieu beyond Graechwil*, in *Die Grächwil Hydria. Zur Funktion und Rezeption mediterraner Importe im 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (= *Schriften des Bernischen Historischen Museums* 5), Bern 2003: This includes remarks on the shape as presently restored].

I must not here spend too much time on these pieces as they are dealt with in my section of the exhibition catalogue *I Piceni, popolo d'Europa* and in the more detailed discussion in *Anemos* 2, 2001, the publication of the Venice (Fondazione Cini)/Adria Incontro di Studio *L'Adriatico, I Greci e l'Europa* of February 2000. Let me at this point confine myself to two observations. The first one is hypothetical, but widely accepted nowadays, largely on the strength of the Treia finds, namely that the Graechwil hydria came to its destination in western Switzerland over the Adriatic, most probably via Picenum, even though it may be rather earlier than the Treia pieces just alluded to. [Recently however Conrad Stubbe has argued strongly that in fact both the Treia and the Graechwil pieces are all more or less contemporary, datable to the very beginning of the sixth century]. If that is so, then the arrival of prestige vessels from the Peloponnese did not merely meet the demands of a local chieftainry, but also served the further purpose of linking directly or indirectly that chieftainry with the Hallstatt world north of the Alps. That would be an unlooked for phenomenon, deserving further consideration. The more obvious presumption would have been that any such early contacts across the Alps using Greek prestige goods were likely to have been fostered by emporia or colonial settlements like Adria at the mouth of the Po – after all the Po valley stretches along the base line of almost all the potential routes leading to the passes across the Alps. Yet as far as I am aware, there is no evidence that the caput Adriae had at that time such active links across the Alps to the West Hallstatt world.²³ On the other hand Picenum does seem to have had them, at any rate to western Switzerland. More surprisingly still there appears to exist evidence suggesting that there were links going the other way too, from western Switzerland, perhaps via Picenum, to the Peloponnese, the ultimate source of the Graechwil hydria. To these we shall briefly turn now.

Some decades ago I drew attention in my “*Rhodische*” *Bronzekannen* (1979) to a decorative bronze disc found by Humfry Payne in the 1930s at the sanctuary of Perachora near Corinth.²³ This disc – and there can be no doubt about it – had come there from western Switzerland, in fact from the very region near Bern, and its date may well be close to that of the Graechwil hydria. Astonishing and exciting though this recognition is we must not exaggerate. There is no absolute proof that the Perachora piece came to Corinth via Picenum, though this is entirely possible.²⁴ But even if it did, it would not be easy to define what consequences should be drawn from that fact. Were there direct links between these extremities, or are we dealing with an isolated object of curiosity which through undefinable quirks of fortune was eventually deposited in the Greek sanctuary? Despite these uncertainties a plausible case can be made that there was some permeability of material between the mid-Adriatic and the Western Hallstatt world and that this material included Greek prestige goods.

This brings us to another observation, one that also concerns the Laconian bronze hydriai of the variant type, which had found their way up the Adriatic to Picenum with the presumed further penetration into western Switzerland. There is direct evidence for only two such hydriai in Picenum, namely the ones from Treia. But these Peloponnesian imports evidently generated a substantial body of local imitations, also in bronze, of almost certainly Picene workmanship. Of these, until the other day, the cast handles alone had survived in some quantity (about half a dozen sets, partial or complete) with a relatively dense scatter in Picenum, Umbria and only very few in Etruria and Campania. They too are open work cre-

22. There were indeed active links, emanating from the upper Adriatic during the first half of the sixth century across the Alps using epicorich, including Italic material, as the work of Pauli and von Hase (cf. bibl. in SHEFTON, *Leaven in the Dough* [note 57], p. 17, n. 1), has clearly shown, but these links do not seem to have involved Greek material. For these cf. the distribution maps (with rather wider chronological span) in F.-W. VON HASE, in *Etrusker nördlich von Etrurien* (note 20), pp. 235-266, with Bildband p. 59, fig. 3; 69, fig. 15; 73, fig. 20; 76, fig. 25. For contacts closer at hand cf. L. CAPUIS, *Rapporti tra il Veneto e la cerchia hallstattiana nella prima età di ferro*, in P. SCHAUER (ed.), *Archäologische Untersuchungen zu den Beziehungen zwischen Altitalien und der Zone nordwärts der Alpen während der frühen Eisenzeit Alteuropas*, Regensburg-Bonn 1998 [= *Regensburger Beiträge zur Prähistorischen Archäologie* 4], pp. 249-263; cf. also O.-H. FREY, *Il Veneto e il mondo di Hallstatt-La-Tène*, in *Atti Portogruaro - Quarto d'Altino - Este - Adria*, pp. 17-27; also contributions in: *Etrusker nördlich von Etrurien*, by Capuis, Frey, Pauli and, as already cited, by von Hase. I do not however follow Cl. Rolley in his view, expressed in various places, that the Vix krater (and the Hochdorf cauldron) reached their final destinations via the Adriatic and the Alpine passes; cf. some references in J.-P. Morel in *Anemos* 2, 2001, p. 70 f.

23. SHEFTON, *Die “rhodischen” Bronzekannen* (note 14), p. 39 with full references; also *Anemos* 2, p. 17 f. nn. 24-25, with fig. 5 (Perachora) compared to figg. 6a-b (Swiss site). There my Swiss comparandum was from Murzelen, near Bern. A closer, in fact perfect match (with the same dimensions) would have been the disc from Ins-Grossholz, also in Bern, now in F. MÜLLER, *Das keltische Schatzkästlein*, exhib. cat. Bern, Historisches Museum 1999, p. 14 f., cat. No. 1 («ca. 600 B.C.») - good commentary with bibl. («ornamental bronze disc suspended from a woman's belt. Its centre is formed by a hollow cage which enclosed a pebble to produce a rattling sound»). I shall revert to this in the Proceedings of the 2001 Bern Colloquium on the Graechwil Hydria, to be published by the Bernisches Historisches Museum (as in note 21 above).

24. The likelihood that the piece may well have come to Perachora via Picenum has increased somewhat since work by O.-H. Frey and others on west Hallstatt bronze fibulae (Vogelkopffibeln) in Northern Italy has revealed a potential continuum of contacts from Western Switzerland at one end and reaching Picenum (Sirolo/Numana) at the other. For all this see *Anemos* 2, p. 18 with n. 26. Add now LANDOLFI, in *Hesperia* 12, pp. 132-133, with reference to a recent find of another such fibula in the datable grave context Sirolo/Numana, Circolo delle Fibule t. VIII. It must be reiterated though that these fibulae date from the end of the century, and are therefore a good deal later than the Perachora disc. See also V. KRUTA, in *Anemos* 2, 2001, p. 46; 51 fig. 2.

ations which are applied to the sides of the vessel, quite in the manner of the Laconian hydriai from Graechwil and from Treia. I have elsewhere explored the relationship between the imported Greek model and the local imitations in greater detail.²⁵ Suffice it here to say that these local imitations may well imply that there were many more potential models for the local products than the two Laconian hydriai which have actually survived in the Treia find.²⁶ The shape too of the complete vessel adopted by the local imitations has at last been recovered through Soprintendente Sgubini Moretti's fortunate find in Vulci, to be published elsewhere in the present volume.²⁷ This discovery now confirms that the shape of the vessel as a whole and not only the handles depend directly on the Laconian model, though the vertical open work "handles" are contrary to Greek usage, duplicated on opposing sides of the neck, thus emphatically departing from the norms of a Greek hydria.

It is not however only the variant and rather eccentric type of Laconian bronze hydria, represented by the Graechwil and the Treia examples [and the impulse for whose rather limited production is as yet far from clear] which found its way to Picenum, but there is evidence that Laconian hydriai of the canonical type too had reached that part of the peninsula! This canonical type had as vertical handle not the open-work figured panel which adorned the eccentric type, but a stout shaft which could provide a serviceable grip. Many years ago, before the earthquake of 1972, the late Giovanni Annibaldi showed me such a canonical vertical handle of a hydria similar to examples found in Olympia and elsewhere in the western tracts of the Greek mainland.²⁸ It may be the handle briefly referred to by Delia Lollini in her *Civiltà Picena* as coming from Belmonte Piceno.²⁹ Most opportunely this handle, part of a complete set of three, has very recently in pursuance of enquiries on my part been found again through the efforts of Dr. Gabriele Baldelli who has now published the set in *Eroi e Regine*, the 2001 edition of the catalogue of the Piceni exhibition in its final display in Rome.³⁰ The set had come from Belmonte Piceno, t. 88 = 16a Curi, most of whose contents were destroyed during World War II. I have with the generous leave and help of Dr. Baldelli and the Soprintendenza in Ancona been able to illustrate and comment upon the find in *Anemos* 2, the Proceedings of the Venice / Adria convegno of February 2000, mentioned already,³¹ though I have as yet not had the opportunity of actually seeing the set since its rediscovery. This find, together with the even more recent identification by Gabriele Baldelli of another related, though dissimilar set of hydria handles from Tolentino, gives perhaps some encouragement to a suspicion that Picenum may have received a disproportionately high number of imported Laconian bronze vessels of this shape.³² The ones from Belmonte and from Tolentino, just referred to, are early examples and in a way quite primitive products of the workshops. The future will show whether this low level of quality is found generally at that time on exports of the canonical type of bronze hydriai sent up the Adriatic.

Perhaps some answer to this question is given by the splendid and also very early bronze hydria to which we shall turn now. When J.G. Szilágyi in the Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Classical Archaeology in Paris (1963) discussed the startling find of a Laconian hydria at Ártánd, part of a princely Scythian burial on the Hungaro-Romanian border near Oradea,³³ he hazarded the view that it

25. Most recently in *Anemos* 2, pp. 15-17, nn. 20-23. On nn. 22-23 there (concerning the adoption on those Picene handles of the hollow cast technique from their imported Laconian models) I am most grateful to Dr. F.W. Hamdorf of the Antikensammlung, Munich for kindly passing on to me his confirmatory observations on the material in Munich. Illustrations of some of these handles in Piceni, exhib. cat. (note 12), p. 153, fig. 119; *ibidem*, p. 246 figg. 10 cat. entries Nos. 408 and 410.

26. It should perhaps be admitted that strictly speaking the Picene imitations could all have been inspired by one model which actually survived, namely the Laconian hydria from Treia with the vertical 'Master of the horses' open work handle and the plain side handles with their horse head attachments (here note 20)!

27. For a preliminary publication of the handles: A.M. SGUBINI MORETTI, in M. MARTELLI (ed.), *Tyrrenhoi philotechnoi*, Roma 1994, p. 37 f., pl. A3. The find in Vulci has been incorporated in Landolfi's latest distribution map of these Picene productions, in *Hesperia* 12, p. 136, fig. 3 [he considers them to be predominantly of Tarantine workmanship, hence his entry (8) in the map]. However his entries there for Graechwil and Treia (7 and 2) should be eliminated as they apply to the imported Laconian vessels, true hydriai albeit of eccentric type.

28. For this *Anemos* 2, p. 20 n. 29 with fig. 8 - towards end. For Olympia: W. GAUER, *Olymp. Forsch.* [= OF] 20, p. 258 (Hy 10) and (Hy 9). Compare also handle set from Epirus, once in Berlin, K.A. NEUGEBAUER, in *AA* 1925, p. 179 f., fig. 3. [See *ibidem*, pp. 176-177, figg. 1 and 2 for convenient illustrations of the two Olympia handles just cited].

29. LOLLINI in *PCIA* V, Roma 1976, p. 163. My reference to this piece in *Piceni*, exhib. cat. (note 12), p. 153 was through an editorial mishap wrongly associated with *ibidem*, fig. 119.

30. *Eroi e Regine*. (note 12), pp. 344-345, Nos. 117-119 - «anse di idria laconica dalla necropoli di Belmonte Piceno» - Baldelli. There (p. 344) also a brief reference to the set from Tolentino. Both the Belmonte and Tolentino handles are illustrated in SHEFTON, *The Graechwil Hydria* (as in note 21 above).

31. *Anemos* 2, pp. 19-20, n. 29.

32. So already in *Anemos* 2, p. 20, n. 30.

33. *Anemos* 2, pp. 21-23 with n. 31 gives an extended discussion of the Ártánd hydria with bibl. and illustrations (*ibidem*, figg. 9 a-d). Szilágyi's Paris discussion is in *Le Rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine sur les cultures périphériques*, Paris 1965, pp. 386-390 (with pl. 91, 2). More in Shefton (as in note 21 above).

had come to that part of the world via the Adriatic. Hungarian research pointed to the fact that Scythian incursions and control had penetrated as far west as the *caput Adriae* during the crucial period of the first half of the sixth century B.C.; and that seemed a very plausible scenario for this contact. Other components of the tomb furnishings, as we shall note presently, argue in the same direction. The actual deposition was put by Párducz into the third quarter of the century.³⁴ The very fine Laconian hydria, virtually intact apart from the missing foot, dates however probably to the very beginning of the sixth century and thus had been in use for almost two generations before it was buried.³⁵ The piece is of the canonical type, for whose presence in Picenum I just quoted the testimony of the newly recovered handles in Ancona from Belmonte and from Tolentino respectively. Despite the huge difference in quality between these two handles and the hydria from Ártánd I am inclined to follow Szilágyi's view that this hydria, now in Budapest, had come up the Adriatic too and reached the contact zones with the Scythians at its northern extremities. In that case it seems not implausible to assume that the hydria's passage had been via Picenum. Such an Adriatic scenario would fit in well enough into the picture we envisage of links between the Peloponnese and Picenum in the early sixth century and would provide a very appropriate gloss on Szilágyi's suggestion. As to the permeability of the region to such an approach route from Picenum to the *caput Adriae* and then inland to the Hungarian plain the evidence of another constituent of the Ártánd grave can be cited. The cross-banded bronze cauldron from the grave is of a type (von Merhart C) which has a number of matches in the eastern hinterland of the *caput Adriae*, thus demonstrating that such connections between the upper Adriatic and eastern Hungary were entirely viable at the time.³⁶

Other links between Picenum and the Peloponnese during the first half of the sixth century can probably be found in the relative frequency of the Corinthian helmet as part of the warriors' equipment in graves and Stary in his study refers to this frequency as quite exceptional for these parts of Italy. Evidently the local chieftainry had adopted these helmets for their own purposes, not least, we may assume, as rather potent indicators of status. This presence in Picenum is matched to only a very small extent on the other side of the Adriatic in the Glasinac cemeteries.³⁷

There are other objects where the Greek element may be more indirect. This is likely to be the case with the Grottazzolina bronze strips in Ancona Museum, where I am reluctant to share the commonly made comparison with the Argive shieldband reliefs, though I have no positive suggestion to offer myself.³⁸ As to the bronze sandal reliefs from Campovalano in Chieti they still need close analysis.³⁹ All this material should still be well within the first half of the sixth century.

Long ago already I formed the impression that the import of Greek prestige objects in metal of the kind we have been discussing declines abruptly well before the middle of the sixth century for reasons which we do not quite understand yet, but which may be connected somehow with the function of Picenum as a transit location for destinations further north beyond the Italic peninsula. It looks as though much of this penetration of prestige goods into the continental hinterland was diverted now to the Balkan side, by way of an entry route through present day Albania and then through Kossovo.⁴⁰

34. M. PÁRDU CZ, *Early Scythian Age Grave at Ártánd*, Bonn 1971 [= *Inventaria Archaeologica*: Ungarn 3, U 19(20)]. For date of burial see *ibidem*, sheet 4 verso: "550-530".

35. For date of the hydria: *Anemos* 2, p. 22, n. 31, referring to the match in Capua grave 1505, on which C.M. STIBBE, in *AK* 43, 2000, p. 4 ff. with Neef's attributions and dating of the accompanying Corinthian pottery (*ibidem*, p. 6, n. 11). The hydria of relevance here is Stibbe's n. 1, dated by him «still within the seventh century». Unfortunately his remarks *ibidem*, p. 9 n. 17 on the find circumstances of the Ártánd hydria are entirely mistaken.

36. Bronze cauldron (von Merhart type C): see reference to its distribution in *Anemos* 2, p. 22 ff., with n. 31.

37. P.F. STARY, *Zur eisenzeitlichen Bewaffnung und Kampfeswesen in Mittelitalien*, Mainz 1981, I, p. 257 («none of the Corinthian helmets in Picenum later than the middle of the 6th cent. B.C.»). Their relatively dense distribution, quite untypical for this part of the peninsula, is mapped in a pan-Italic context *ibidem* II, Karte 9. The helmets are also mapped in a Picene context in *La Formazione della città in Emilia Romagna* I, Bologna 1987, p. 189 (with list on p. 190) - Landolfi; also in PERCOSSI SERENELLI (ed.), *Museo Archeologico Nazionale delle Marche* (note 1), p. 120 fig. 34 - Landolfi. For the Corinthian helmet in the Glasinac cemeteries: A. BENAC - B. COVIC, *Glasinac II* (Katalog der Vorgeschichtlichen Sammlung des Landesmuseum in Sarajevo, fasc. 2), Sarajevo 1957, p. 112; pl. 40, 1 from the Arareva gromila), which seems however to be later; phot. and details in *The Illyrians and Dacians*, exhib. cat. Belgrade (National Museum) 1971, p. 131, I 203. On the presence of archaic Corinthian helmets in Italic contexts cf. also B. D'AGOSTINO, *Le genti della Basilicata Antica*, in G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI (ed.), *Italia omnium terrarum parens*, Milano 1989, p. 220.

38. Grottazzolina strips: see SHEFTON in *Piceni*, exhib. cat. (note 12) p. 164, n. 78 for references to illustrations (drawings!). Useful photograph of a sphinx panel now in PERCOSSI SERENELLI (ed.), *Museo Archeologico Nazionale delle Marche* (note 1) p. 104 f. - fig. (t. XIX - scavi 1951) - Baldelli. For recent discussions: G. ROCCO, *Una laminetta di argento nei Musei Vaticani*, in *Xenia Antiqua* 4, 1995, pp. 5-8; esp. n. 18; E. LIPPOLIS, *La costa del mar Ionio, in Corinto e l'Occidente*, Atti 34^o Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia 1994 (Taranto 1995) p. 532, n. 62, *ibidem*, p. 604; cf. also G. BONIVENTO PUPINO, *ibidem*, p. 596, intervento; NASO, *Piceni*, p. 184. The widely advocated connection with the Argive shieldband reliefs is far from compelling, and in its narrow sense is actually precluded by the arrangement of the panels; cf. also F. JÜRGEIT, *Die etruskischen und italischen Bronzen ... im Badischen Landesmuseum Karlsruhe*, Pisa 1999, p. 225, on No. 365.

39. Campovalano relief strips on bronze sandals: for references to illustrations cf. *Piceni*, exhib. cat. (note 12), p. 164, n. 78.

40. SHEFTON, intervento in: *Magna Grecia. Epiro e Macedonia*, Atti del XXIV Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia Taranto 1984, Taranto 1985, pp. 424-427; cf. also *ibidem*, p. 491 f. - Lepore.

I do not however propose on this occasion to pursue these problems, but would rather revert to the area in Italy further North, to the Po delta, where interesting developments demand our attention even in connection with the medio-Adriatic. What is new here – and in a way quite startling – is the arrival of Attic material in Adria, vases going back into the second quarter of the sixth century.⁴¹ The increasing volume and variety in the third quarter of the century and beyond of Attic Black Figure of some quality⁴² raise a number of questions. We note first of all that there is no reflection of this stream further South on the Italic side of the Adriatic, neither in the Romagna nor in Picenum,⁴³ nor can it be discerned on the east coast of the Adriatic, in Dalmatia or Illyria either. There is indeed on Greek colonial sites further South on the Balkan side, such as Apollonia Illyrica even earlier Attic import, such as the very early sixth century oinochoe by the Gorgon Painter. But colonial sites at this latitude in the Adriatic are still touched by the passage of Greek trade to Southern Italy and further West, where material by the Gorgon Painter ranks amongst the prime witnesses of the beginning of Attic predominance in the supply of vases to the West.⁴⁴ There is, as far as I am aware, no similarly early Attic material to be found further North on either side of the Adriatic.

What we do however get in Adria as the sixth century progresses is a concentration of high quality Attic Black Figure which is really paralleled only on Etruscan sites. But this realization straightaway raises the question of whether all this high grade material after the middle of the sixth century in Adria is symptomatic not of import direct up the Adriatic but rather the result of a vigorous re-export of Attic pottery from Etruria. In other words we encounter once again the dilemma, which we first met when considering the presence at the end of the seventh century B.C. of the “Rhodian” bronze oinochoai in Picenum. Did they come up the Adriatic or were they re-exports from Etruria? Then we decided that both possibilities were at work concurrently. In this present case of Adria we are inclined to a similar conclusion. There is indeed evidence which would support the case for re-export from Etruria. Consider the presence in Adria of two amphorae by the Affecter, an Attic vase painter of the second half of the sixth century, whose work with few exceptions is confined to major sites in Etruria.⁴⁵ There are admittedly a few examples of his work in the East Aegean, such as Rhodes, and even further East. In the central sector of the

41. See note 9 above. It was G. Bermond Montanari who first drew attention to the presence of pre-mid 6th century Attic material on the site in her *Ceramica attica a figure nere del Museo Archeologico di Adria*, in *BA* 49, 1964, pp. 289-303, esp. 290.

42. The Black figure is now well represented in *CVA Adria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 2* (Italia 65), 1991 - S. Bonomi. For the Red figured material of the late archaic up to the earlier part of the classical period: *CVA Adria, Museo Civico 1* (Italia 28), 1957 - G. Riccioni; also *EAD., Ceramiche attiche del Museo di Adria*, in *RIASA*, n.s. 5-6, 1956-57, pp. 29-64 = L.M. SARACINO (ed.), *Scritti di Archeologia di Giuliana Riccioni* (Dip. di Archeologia, Università di Bologna, Studi e Scavi 13), Bologna 2000, pp. 47-68, fine selection of red figure with commentary. All these draw directly upon the Bocchi collection of fragments. Cf. also the survey S. BONOMI, *La ceramica greca di Adria*, in: R. DE MARINIS (ed.), *Gli Etruschi a Nord del Po*, exhib. cat. Mantova 1986, II, pp. 67-83. Some selection which includes fourth century material in: *Mostra dell'Etruria Padana e della città di Spina*, exhib. cat. Bologna 1960, pll. 125-126, r. Cf. for the early material the analytical treatment by L. HANNESSTAD, *The reception of Attic pottery by the indigenous peoples of Italy*, in: J.P. CRIELAARD, V. STISSI, G.J. VAN WIJNGAARDEN, *The complex past of pottery*, Amsterdam 1999, esp. pp. 310-313 (Veneto).

43. See note 59 below for some early import of Attic in Picenum, which cannot however stand up to that in Adria. The late 6th century Attic black figure of some quality from the island of Hvar (ancient Pharos) is likely to be a modest by-product of the vase exports to Adria or even of the early traffic with Picenum alluded to in this note. Whether they are to be regarded as reexports from those destinations or as deposits en route must remain uncertain; cf. *Pharos* exhib. cat. (note 92) p. 55 Nos. 5 and 8 (illustr.) – after B. MIGOTTI, *Vjesnik Arheol. Muz. Zagreb* 19, 1986, pp. 148-151.

44. For Apollonia Illyrica also A. EGGBRECHT (ed.), *Albanien. Schätze aus dem Land der Skipetaren*, exhib. cat. Hildesheim 1988, No. 104 (illustr.) - N. Ceka. For the Gorgon Painter's work in early Attic import to the West, including Etruria, cf. SHEFTON, *Massalia and Colonization in the north-western Mediterranean*, in G.R. TSETSKHLADZE - F. DE ANGELIS, *The Archaeology of Greek Colonization* (Essays dedicated to Sir John Boardman), Oxford 1994, p. 64 with nn. 24-25 («more than appears in Beazley's lists»; hence underrepresented in statistical comparisons). For the Adriatic and Southern Italy now also G. SEMERANO, *Ceramiche arcaiche di importazione Greca nel Salento. Prime note*, in *Salento Porta d'Italia*, Atti del Convegno Lecce 1986, Galatina 1989, pp. 93-99, esp. 96 f. with fig. 26. (amphora from Leuca, isolated as Attic import to Salento region for so early a period) with references to finds in Taranto and on Etruscan sites; *ibidem*, n. 23 (reflects on role of East Greek and then Aeginetan traders as carriers). *EAD.*, “en nausi.” [Greek characters !]. *Ceramica greca e società nel Salento arcaico*, Lecce-Bari 1997, p. 379; 387, n. 54 (with more relevant provenances, incl. Apollonia Illyrica); 408; and, more, but repetitively, elsewhere. For traffic across the southern sleeve of the Adriatic in a wider perspective cf. also F. D'ANDRIA, *Greek influence in the Adriatic. Fifty years after Beaumont*, in *Greek colonists and native populations*, J.-P. DESCOEUDRES (ed.), Oxford 1990 [Studies in honour of A.D. Trendall], pp. 281-290; also *Id.*, *La costa adriatica*, in *Corinto e l'Occidente* (as in note 38) pp. 457-508 - on the preceding periods between 9th to 7th centuries B.C.

For the Gorgon Painter in the eastern Mediterranean, esp. Naucratis, J. PERRAULT, in *BCH* 110, 1986, pp. 145-175, esp. 163; 172 top. For western Anatolia, V. TUNA-NÖRLING, *Die Ausgrabungen von Alt-Smyrna und Pitane. Die attische schwarzfigurige Keramik und der attische Keramikexport nach Kleinasien = IstForsch.* 41, Tübingen 1995, pp. 146-147 - with fig. 31 (distribution of his works by areas); also in Bakir's excavations at Daskyleion; cf. Y. TUNA-NÖRLING, *Die attische Keramik (= Daskyleion I)*, ed. H. Malay, Izmir 1999, pp. 13; 38, No. 155; pl. 6; cf. also *ibidem*, p. 14 (Akurgal's earlier excavations); also Phokaia, *eadem*, in *AA* 2002, p. 161, No. 102, and more.

45. Affecter: *CVA* 2, pl. 3, 1-2 (= H. MOMMSEN, *Der Affecter*, Mainz 1975, p. 87 No. 10); *ibidem*, pl. 5, 1-2 - pl. 6, 1-2 (= MommSEN 109 No. 104). These two pieces have been assigned to the two extremities of the painter's (and potter's) career. The first one right to the beginnings of his work, ca. 550 B.C., the second to his last stage, ca. 520 B.C. BEAZLEY, *Spina and Greek pottery* [in D. KURTZ (ed.), *Greek Vases: lectures by J.D. Beazley*, Oxford 1989], p. 60 had put both of them to about 530-520. Does the arrival on presumably two distinct occasions make reexport from Etruria the more likely alternative? On the two amphorae also Bermond Montanari (as in note 41 above), p. 295 ff., No. 5.

Mediterranean an example is now known from Cyrene too,⁴⁶ but these are few indeed when set against the bulk of the painter's (and potter's!) work found in Etruscan centres. Are the pieces from Adria then to be counted amongst the few non-Etruscan export destinations for his work or do they represent re-export from Etruria? We cannot say for certain, but it is likely enough that we do indeed in this case deal with re-export of Attic goods originally brought to Etruria. A similar case can be made even more conclusively concerning the exiguous presence of Laconian pottery in Adria and for that matter in Spina. Here the arguments for a re-export from Etruria appear to me overwhelming.⁴⁷ But this opens up an entire can of worms. Consider the early Red Figure of the later sixth century and the first decades of the fifth century, the archaic and late archaic periods in the terminology of Attic vase studies. The character of this material is of the very highest level, almost unparalleled except amongst the Athenian Acropolis dedications and on Etruscan sites. Is it not clear that all this high quality material did not come up the Adriatic, but rather that it was re-exported from Etruria⁴⁸?! Would this not furnish an adequate explanation for the absence of this sort of material on the Adriatic sites further South?

Such an argument leaves one breathless, if not enraged, but it is plausible. Yet it seems to be wrong, if taken as a balanced assessment. The arguments which can be used to combat the thesis just enunciated are largely derived from the graffiti, the trade markings on a proportion of the Attic imported pottery. These have in part been studied by Colonna in his classic article of 1974, and more extensively by Alan Johnston in his work of 1979.⁴⁹ It does indeed emerge from these studies that the bulk of the graffiti on the Adria red figured pieces are different to those found on archaic and late archaic Attic from Etruscan sites. Only occasionally, such as on the bilingual amphora by the Andokides Painter in Bologna – on the Adriatic side of the Apennine – do the graffiti indicate that the piece had most probably arrived there via Etruria.⁵⁰

46. List of provenances in MOMMSEN p. 83, n. 401. To these add Cyrene (amphora from the Sanctuary of Demeter), F. EL-RASHEDY, *Attic imported pottery in classical Cyrenaica*, in G. BARKER, J. LLOYD, J. REYNOLDS (edd.), *Cyrene in Antiquity*, Oxford 1985 (Society for Libyan Studies, Occasional Papers No. 1 = BAR International Series No. 236), pp. 205-217 esp. 206 with pl. 17,2. Republished with more fragments in M. MOORE, *Attic Black Figure and Black Gloss pottery*, in D. WHITE (ed.), *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya. Final Reports III*, Philadelphia 1987, p. 13, No. 45, pl. II, «ca. 550-540 B.C.». She seems unaware of its previous, if only partial publication!

47. This applies especially to the two black Laconian stirrup kraters from Spina, one of them with the "SO"-graffito which may be a Sostratos mark. Alan Johnston when publishing the mark in *Rhodian Readings*, (BSA 70, 1975, pp. 145-167, esp. 149 n. 7 with fig. 2 A) was silent on this point, but later, as in the Amasis conference (see this note, below) 30 n. 30, was more positive in connecting it with his presumed Aeginetan trader. S. Bruni (as cited in note II, p. 212 with fig. 5) more recently shows little hesitation here. If that identification can indeed be sustained, the case for a re-export from Etruria during this relatively early stage of the presence of Greek pottery in Spina, is powerfully reinforced, and what applies to Spina can surely also cast light on the situation at Adria! A glance at Bruni's distribution map of Laconian, including the black kraters (*ibidem*, fig. 4) would entirely support the case for reexport from Etruria.

For the Etruscan orientation of the "SO" marks, occurring as they do on the Affecter's and also on Nikosthenic amphorae as well as on others of this shape and on hydriae, all of Etruscan provenance, see A.W. JOHNSTON, *The rehabilitation of Sostratos*, in *ParPass* 27, 1972, pp. 416-423, esp. 421 («of these with known provenances there is not one from outside Etruria»); Id., *Trademarks* (1979), p. 80 f., (type 21A); 189, cf. also MOMMSEN, *Affecter* 83, n. 403. For Sostratos also F.D. HARVEY, *Sostratos of Aegina*, in *ParPass* 31, 1976, pp. 206-214. The appearance of the "SO" graffito on the Spina krater is unparalleled on other Laconian stirrup kraters, but is also found on the shoulder of a Laconian transport amphora in London from Vulci, Johnston in *Commercio etrusco arcaico*, p. 265 - profile drawing and graffito, «possibly by the same hand as some under the feet of contemporary Attic ware imported to Vulci»; also Id., *Amasis and the vase trade*, in *Papers on the Amasis Painter and his world*, Malibu 1987, p. 130, fig. 2 - photograph. On all this note the judicious discussion by DYFERI WILLIAMS, *Aegina, Aphaia Tempel XVII. The Laconian Pottery*, in *AA* 1993, p. 571 ff., esp. 593 and 595 f. Williams points out that the SO-graffiti on these two pieces are placed differently (i.e. on the shoulders) to those found on Attic pots. In structure they also resemble graffiti on the Laconian krater fragments at Aegina [these however are not SO-ones. Bruni's assertion to the contrary, *loc. cit.*, p. 212, appears to rest on a misapprehension]. This different manner of application may of course caution against a common identity of the presumed Sostratos on these two categories. If however they are indeed one and the same, then it is infinitely more likely that Laconian kraters handled by Sostratos of Aegina and destined for the Italic peninsula went to Etruria in the first instance rather than directly to the north Adriatic, and neither an appeal to possible Aeginetan activity in the north Adriatic (BRUNI, *loc. cit.*) nor speculation over Om[b]rikos (WILLIAMS, *loc. cit.*, p. 596) will really alter these odds. Similarly placed graffito from Cerveteri: G. BAGNASCO GIANNI (ed.), *Cerveteri. Importazioni e contesti*, Milan 2002, pp. 406 f, 423 fig. 2.

Of the two Laconian kraters from Spina the one with the graffito is in S. AURIGEMMA, *Scavi di Spina in Valle Trebba I*, Roma 1960, p. 181 No. 1, pl. 206,4 (T. 499); for both N. CAMERIN, *Due crateri laconici da Spina*, in *Padusa* 26-27, 1990-1991, pp. 207-218 [descriptions of both, but seems unaware of the graffito; the other, the "piccolo cratere" from Valle Trebba T. 1093, is illustrated in profile drawing].

48. J. BOARDMAN, *The Athenian pottery trade: the classical period in Expedition* (Philadelphia) 21(4), 1979, pp. 33-39, esp. 39 with fig. 7 (chart II) notes that the shape prevalences at Adria match that of Etruscan sites rather than those at Spina. However the disparity between these two sites in the source of their material – from habitations as against graves – makes evaluation of this difference problematic. For further strong links with the Tyrrhenian side of the peninsula during the second half of the sixth century B.C. note the remarkable complex of bronze vessels and symposium implements from near Adria and known only from drawings made at the beginning of the 19th century which are now kept in the Biblioteca Comunale of Adria, E. ZERBINATI, in B.M. SCARFI (ed.), *Studi di Archeologia della X Regio in ricordo di Michele Tombolani*, Roma 1994, pp. 147-155, figg. 1-3.

49. COLONNA (note 10), *passim*; A.W. JOHNSTON, *Trademarks on Greek Vases*, Warminster 1979, pp. 12-14. The evidence is however somewhat equivocal, in the sense that it is often impossible to determine securely whether the graffito is an ownership mark (and therefore not relevant to this enquiry) or a trader's mark.

50. JOHNSTON (note 49), p. 13; 131, 9E 22; fig. 8 e.

It seems then that a substantial part if not most of the high grade Attic material at Adria did indeed reach the site by proceeding north along the Adriatic⁵¹ – and this without leaving so far at any rate a noticeable trace en route further South – including Picenum. [It seems though that now at last such a trace, isolated at present, may be provided by the very recent finds on the island of Palagruza (see here note 51)]. What then was the purpose of the transport so far North, at Greek apparently rather than Etruscan initiative, of this high grade Attic material? We cannot be sure – was it intended to initiate and exploit some relationship across the Alps rather than the mere tapping of natural resources of local derivation?⁵² There is however little to show that such relationships across the Alps were initiated at this period or exploited in a measure justifying such an investment. We must not however forget that there has recently developed a view, exemplified by the work of Pauli, Sassatelli and most radically of Geneviève Lüscher (the latter being a Swiss prehistorian, who a few years ago published the mediterranean imported pottery at Châtillon-sur-Glâne, near Fribourg), which argues that the later-sixth century Attic black figure imports to the Hallstatt hillforts of Western Europe north of the Alps came not via Massalia, and the Rhone valley, but rather up the Adriatic through Adria, and to a lesser extent Spina.⁵³ Now let me say straightaway that there is no intrinsic reason why this view has to be rejected. Adria will have had all the black figured Attic material which had found its way to north of the Alps. Yet the view founders on the fact that by the later sixth century Adria, just as the Etruscan sites, was receiving an increasing proportion of Attic Red Figure. In this way Spina is entirely different from Massalia, which reveals an almost total absence of Red Figure until well into the fifth century. To my mind this factor weighs heavily in favour of Massalia rather than Adria as the supply source for Attic imports to the Hallstatt sites north of the Alps; for on those sites too we find an almost total absence of Red Figure at a time when it was strongly represented in Etruria and indeed in Adria.⁵⁴

At the somewhat later foundation of Spina, perhaps as much an Etruscan initiative as a Greek one,⁵⁵ the weight is on the fifth century Attic imports, early classical and classical, rather than archaic and late archaic as it was at Adria, though there too the full fifth century is represented by notable works in Red Figure. Moreover either or both settlements will have nourished the inland import of fine Attic Red Figure which is known to have been current at Mantua/Forcello.⁵⁶ This begins with the late archaic period. It is even arguable that the import of reasonably fine Attic Red Figure during much of the fifth century to Bourges in France came directly or indirectly from the same sources.⁵⁷

51. Note the rare presence in Adria of pieces like the late 6th century pyxis lid of the Swan Group, CVA 2, pl. 28, 3. (Bonomi). The Swan Group is found principally at home in Attica. Though exported occasionally to Sicily, and here to Adria, it is virtually unknown in Etruria. So reexport from there need hardly be considered. Direct from Attica along the Adriatic is therefore the most likely route of arrival. We may in this connection refer also to the isolated and perhaps unexpected presence of a Swan Group skyphos in Galera (Andalusia); cf. A. DOMINGUEZ - C. SANCHEZ, *Greek pottery from the Iberian peninsula*, Leyden 2001, p. 34, with ref.

In this question a new factor is coming into play as the Attic pottery fragments discovered through the very recent exploration of the Adriatic island of Palagruza (north east of the Gargano and midway between the Italic and Illyrian coastlines) become better known [cf. the preliminary studies quoted in *Anemos* 2, p. 8 f., nn. 4 and 6]. The current (March 2002) display in Oxford includes some very fine late archaic red-figured cup fragments which would be entirely at home in Adria (and Spina) but hardly anywhere else along the Adriatic. The same applies to a fine, but probably somewhat later fragment of a krater (calyx?) showing a folding stool and a cushion. There are also several krater fragments with elaborate drawing in the florid style of the latest 5th century. These too should go with the material in Spina and by this time Picenum too; cf. here note 58. As against these high grade finds Palagruza also produced its share of the more "common garden" Attic found widely along the Adriatic coast in Italy (cf. here notes 74-76); thus a fragment of a Haimonian cup skyphos of the Lancut Group, which tallies perfectly with the distribution pattern expected (cf. here note 74); also a Haimonian skyphos in black figure of the kind found near Foggia. The unexpected discovery of this high grade Attic Red Figure at Palagruza does of course support the case for the arrival of a proportion at any rate of such material in Adria and Spina up the Adriatic rather than as reexport from Etruria.

52. On these local resources there is a considerable and long standing literature conveniently summarized in L. MASSEI, *Gli askoi a figure rosse nei corredi funerari delle necropoli di Spina*, Milano 1978, pp. 353-363, esp. 361 ff. (primarily work by Beaumont, Braccesi, Vallet and Zuffa); cf. also here note 79. Less has been written on the resources of Picenum, but cf. NASO *Piceni*, p. 87 ff. (mainly on amber trade); 202 f. (recent studies by Torelli and Sassatelli). A useful recent overview relating to the upper Adriatic by J.-P. MOREL, in *Anemos* 2, 2001, pp. 68-70. For Picenum also Lollini (as in note 29 above) p. 168 ff. with p. 193. [On p. 169 an attempt to account for the flourishing Attic import during the early classical periods (to be discussed presently in this paper) by the hypothesis of an Adriatic link across the Apennines to Etruria].

53. LÜSCHER in B. DIETRICH-WEIBEL - G. LÜSCHER - T. KILKA, *Posieux/Châtillon-sur-Glâne. Keramik/Céramique (6-5. Jh. v. Chr./VI-V siècles av. J.C.)*, Fribourg/Freiburg 1998, pp. 137-138, with fig. 7; 180-186, with fig. 21.

54. SHEFTON in W. KIMMIG (ed.), *Importe und mediterrane Einflüsse auf der Heuneburg*, *Heuneburgstudien* XI, Mainz 2000, p. 40.

55. Cf. BRACCESI (note 1), p. 148 ff.; N. ALPIERI, *Spina 'Polis Hellenis'*, in *La Formazione della città* (note 9) III, pp. 283-88 [= *Id.*, *Spina e la ceramica attica*, S. PATITUCCI (ed.), Roma 1994, pp. 253-258].

56. Mantua /Forcello: good selection in S. MOSCATI, *Italia Ricomparsa II* (Etrusca-Italica), Milano 1984, pp. 50-53. Above all the treatment by E. Paribeni in R. DE MARINIS (ed.) *Etruschi a Nord del Po* (note 42) I, pp. 225-235. We note *ibidem*, p. 235, No. 318 a "dishie" decorated in silhouette (kantharos) of the kind characteristic in the third quarter of the 5th century for Adria, and Spina and practically nowhere else (cf. note 80). Pieces like that help to demonstrate the route by which the Attic imports reached the site. For the transport amphorae *ibidem*, pp. 211-224 (R. De Marinis and I.K. Whitebread). The high grade material is to a large extent of the earlier and mid-5th century, no doubt getting there from the Po delta establishments at Adria and Spina. This is certified by matching character and quality, and the occasional specific linkage, as noted here.

57. For likely links to central France (Bourges) see SHEFTON, *On the material in its northern setting*, in W. KIMMIG (ed.), *Importe und*

It is only at the later stages of this process, during the second quarter of the fifth century onwards, that Picenum becomes seriously involved in the import of high grade Attic, now of course entirely in Red Figure (fig. 1),⁵⁸ though, be it noted, there had been previous import of run-of-the-mill Attic pottery.⁵⁹ As Enrico Paribeni and Maurizio Landolfi stress the concentration of this high grade Attic red figured material (as against the scatter of average quality Attic in Picenum) is found in but few sites, above all in Numana (Sirolo) on the coast, Pianello di Castelbellino and Pitino di San Severino,⁶⁰ the latter two well inland along river valleys. They all yielded monumental-sized volute kraters. None of these sites are Etruscan type urban centres, nor is Numana⁶¹ another Adria or Spina. I take the inland sites to be centres of native power controlled by a chieftain society, if you like the equivalent in Italy of the chieftain society of the sixth century B.C. Celtic hill forts north of the Alps. Such a view gains support from observing the surprising inland distribution of prestige vessels in bronze during the early archaic period, to which we had turned our attention earlier in this paper, and also the curiously parallel phenomenon during the fourth century of the quite untypical inland spread of the red figured 'alto-Adriatico' fabric in the same region.⁶² Small

mediterrane Einflüsse auf der Heuneburg, Heuneburgstudien XI, Mainz 2000, p. 35 with n. 70; 37 with nn. 80-81; cf. also ID., *Leaven in the dough: Greek and Etruscan imports North of the Alps - The Classical Period*, in J. SWADDLING - S. WALKER - P. ROBERTS (edd.), *Italy in Europe: Economic relations 700 B.C. - A.D. 50*, British Museum Occasional Paper 97, London 1995, p. 24, n. 69; cf. already ID., *Zum Import und Einfluss mediterraner Güter in Alteuropa*, *KölnJbVFG* 22, 1989, p. 217, n. 47. Finds of fine red figured kraters in Switzerland, near Lake Neuchâtel (Yverdon and especially Sévaz), may indicate the route from the upper Adriatic, cf. *Archäologie der Schweiz* 21, 1998 (4) titlepage, p. 145, 152 fig. 18.

58. On Picenum Attic high grade red figure imports: E. PARIBENI, *Importazioni di ceramiche antiche nelle Marche*, in *La Civiltà Picena nelle Marche. Studi in onore di Giovanni Annibaldi*, Ancona 1988, Ripartansone 1992, pp. 285-301 (valuable and full exposition); ID., *Capolavori della ceramica attica nelle Marche*, in G. BALDELLI - M. LANDOLFI - D.G. LOLLINI, (edd.), *La ceramica attica figurata nelle Marche*. Mostra didattica. Exhib. cat. Ancona 1982, Castelferretti 1991, pp. 17-19; (brief summary); 20-61 (selection with commentary). Both contributions concentrate on the outside and/or exceptionally splendid pieces which engage our attention here; cf. on these also NASO, *Piceni*, pp. 209-210. For the full range of the Attic pottery imports see the authoritative surveys by M. LANDOLFI, *I traffici con la Grecia e la ceramica attica come elemento del processo di maturazione urbana della civiltà picena*, in *La Formazione* (note 9), I, pp. 187-199; ID., in *Piceni*, exhib. cat. (note 12), pp. 147-150; 176-178 (updated, with new material; cf. also ID. in *Hesperia* 12, p. 129 f.). Material of the ordinary kind is also included in BALDELLI et al., *La ceramica attica figurata*, as cited earlier in this note, and in M.G. FABRINI, *Numana, Vasi attici da collezioni*, Roma 1984 (good 'catalogo ragionato', for a commentary on the material see her interesting and thoughtful essay, *La ceramica attica figurata nelle Marche. Annotazioni in margine alla mostra anconetana*, in *Picis* 2, 1982, pp. 103-117). Similar material also in M. LUNI, *Ceramica attica nelle Marche settentrionali e direttici commerciali*, in *La Civiltà Picena* (as cited in this note) pp. 331-363, with the inclusion of some high grade material from S. Marina di Focara (Pesaro), *ibidem*, pp. 332-333, figg. 1-2, bottom left - fine krater fragments. More can be expected in F. GIUDICE, *La ceramica attica dell'Adriatico e la rotta di distribuzione verso gli empori padani*, in *I Greci in Adriatico*, Atti del convegno, Urbino 1999, forthcoming (quoted in NASO, *Piceni*, p. 295). Material of the "ordinary" kind can be traced inland at least as far as the pass at Colfiorito, as is pointed out by L. BONOMI PONZI, as cited in note 14 here.

Helpful distribution map of Attic imports in the Marche with some differentiation of material in BALDELLI et al., *La ceramica attica figurata*, p. 65 [= here fig. 1]. Undifferentiating indications for the whole of the upper and mid-Adriatic on the map, *ibidem*, pp. 12-13. Add to the sites there: APIRO (well inland, west of Cingoli), the reported provenance of the fine and tall white-ground squat lekythos by the Eretria Painter in Kansas City (BEAZLEY, *ARV*² 1248, 8). For the provenance see I. JUCKER in H.P. ISLER - G. SCITERLE, *Zur Griechischen Kunst. Hansjörg Bloesch zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, Bern 1973 (= *AK Beih.* 9), p. 63 with n. 2. The at first sight unlikely provenance gains in credibility through the factors brought out in our account at this point. For the piece now A. Lezzi-Hafter, *Der Eretria-Maler*, Mainz 1988, p. 233 f.; 344.

59. For Attic import of some substance before the irruption of the early classical elite material note two black figured column kraters and a large-sized black figured cup near the Lysipides Painter, all from the recently discovered grave circle "I Pini" in Sirolo of the last decade or so of the 6th century B.C. (cf. note 16). Of these one of the kraters, attributed by Landolfi to the Painter of Louvre F 6, is rather earlier, by a decade or so, than the rest of the Attic imported pottery and is still in the thirties of the century, so LANDOLFI in *Carri da Guerra* (note 16), p. 238, s. 5; also ID., *Hesperia* 12, pp. 129-130 with n. 11; cf. ID., in *Piceni*, exhib. cat. (note 12), p. 148 (amphora Group E from Numana - Herakles and Symphalian birds). All these are amongst the earliest Attic imports in Picenum. There is however no hint here of the richness of the material or the presence of high grade early Red figure as seen at the time in Adria. Note in this context that the fine hydria by Lydos (BEAZLEY, *ABV*, p. 108, No. 16, «Ancona from Numana») is according to Annibaldi not from Numana or anywhere else in Picenum, but from Gabii (Lazio); cf. E. PARIBENI in *Civiltà Picena* (note 58) p. 288; ID. in BALDELLI et al., *Ceramica attica figurata* (note 58), p. 17. Fine illustration of this piece in *Civiltà Picena*, p. 286 pl. 1 b = *Ceramica attica figurata*, p. 16, pl. 1, which should both be added in BEAZLEY *Addenda*.

60. PARIBENI in *La civiltà Picena* (note 58), p. 288.

61. Numana is likely to have been the entry point. We know little enough about its urban character; if there was any; cf. NASO, *Piceni*, p. 173 f. with fig. 16 (topographic sketch map); M. LUNI, *Greci nell'Italia medio-Adriatico*, in *Hesperia* 12, pp. 131-186, esp. 160-163 (evidence from necropoleis; long time and progressive erosion of its habitation and port sites); BALDELLI et al., *La ceramica attica figurata* (note 58), pp. 98-108 (important survey and chronicle of past work - Baldelli). For bibl. of selected finds at Numana cf. NASO, *Piceni*, p. 312. For a general survey of landing possibilities on the western side of the upper and mid-Adriatic, N. ALFIERI, *I porti e gli approdi*, in *Vie del commercio in Emilia Romagna, Marche*, 1990, pp. 51-62, = N. ALFIERI, *Scritti di topografia antica sulle Marche* (*Picis*, Suppl. 7), 2000, pp. 289-325.

62. This inland penetration of high grade Attic not to urban centres, but to chieftains' seats of power seems to be special to Picenum, indeed a similar phenomenon can be observed in the fourth century in the distribution there of the 'Alto-adriatico' red figured pottery, which again has a dense distribution in inland settlements. Outside Picenum this type of pottery is found predominantly on sites along the coast on both sides of the mid and northern Adriatic, including of course Spina and Adria; cf. F. BERTINI - S. BONOMI - M. LANDOLFI (edd.), *Classico - Anticlassico, Vasi alto-adriatici tra Piceno, Spina e Adria*, exhib. cat. Ancona 1997, p. 10, fig. 1 - distribution map. On the non urban chieftains' society cf. also NASO, *Piceni*, p. 214.

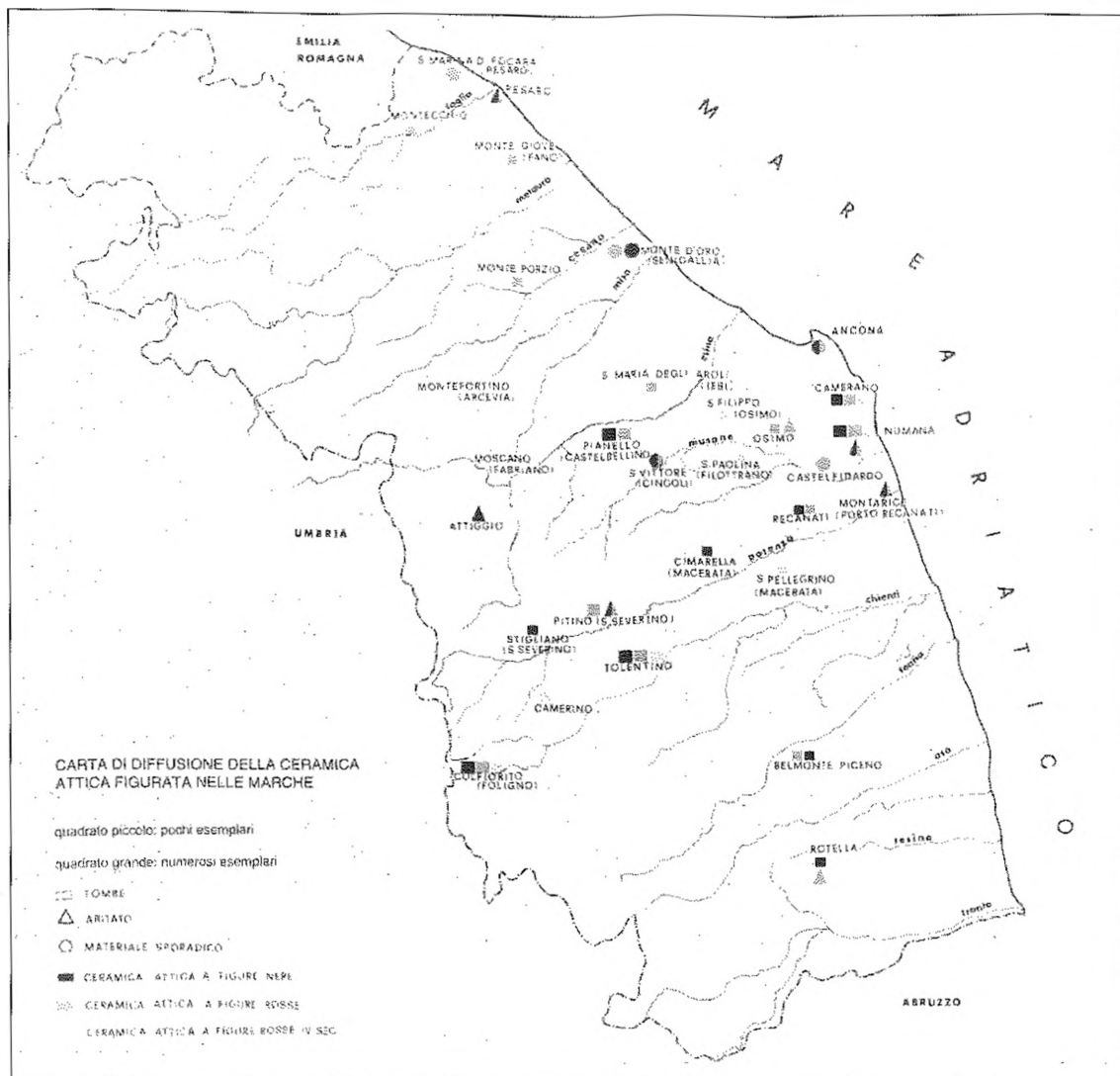


fig. 1. Distribution map of Attic imported pottery in Picenum, 6th to 4th cent. B.C.; cf. note 58 (after BALDELLI *et al.*, *Ceramica Attica* [note 58], p. 65).

wonder then that when in the early fourth century the Celtic incursions became overpowering, the new tribes from the North established their prime area of settlement in this same area of the Marche in a to them perhaps rather congenial ambience!

Does this characterisation of the recipient society of Picenum help to explain the monumentality of some of the imported vases on these sites?⁶³ Just as in the sixth century some of the Attic kraters imported to the Hallstatt sites north of the Alps are of exceptional size,⁶⁴ just as in the fifth century some of the

63. The huge volute krater Ancona 3122 from Numana by the Painter of Bologna 228 (BEAZLEY, *ARV*² 511, n. 1) with a height of 0.88 m may serve as example. This is considerably higher than the average volute krater at the time including those from Spina, which is more in the 0.60-0.70 m range. For this piece cf. *Piceni*, exhib. cat. (note 12), No. 332 with colour fig. II 6 (p. 149) = BALDELLI *et al.*, *Ceramica attica figurata* (note 58), pp. 26-27 (colour). For another example cf. the volute krater from Pitino di San Severino attributed to the Boreas Painter by E. PARIBENI, *ibidem*, pp. 28-29 (colour) at 0.88 m. [I take these dimensions to be the body height, ignoring the handles, but have not been able to check this in every case].

64. Only the Heuneburg has produced sufficient evidence for the height of the imported kraters, all in black figure. Of the three volute kraters of which fragments have been identified, two were about 0.50-0.51 m to rim level, and a total height of 0.57-0.58 m,

Etruscan beaked flagons of bronze ('Schnabelkannen') in the La Tène graves of the mid-Rhine and the Nahe regions are of exceptional size, so here in the Adriatic we have in the fifth century these outside kraters in Picenum. Interestingly the phenomenon can be observed, but occasionally only, even in the hellenic or hellenised settlements of Adria and Spina. Thus in Adria there is a lékythos in Black Figure, placed near the Antimenes Painter, of quite enormous size.⁶⁵ Let us in this connection also recall that Spina has given us the largest extant Attic cup, the Theseid cup by the Penthesilea Painter of about 460-50 B.C.,⁶⁶ and also one of the hugest of volute kraters.⁶⁷ Examples of such outside production occasionally got inland as far as Bologna.⁶⁸ All in all it appears that the Adriatic side of the peninsula can show more of these exceptional-sized Attic products than the Tyrrhenian side.

As a coda we should perhaps reinforce this impression by pointing to the fact that of the three well-known and extremely distinguished mid-fifth century kraters from Numana in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (BEAZLEY, *ARV*² 613, No. 1; *ibidem*, 616, No. 3; *ibidem*, 632, No. 3) only the volute krater is of average size (cf. note 63). The calyx krater with a rim diameter of 58.3 cm is amongst the largest of its kind (cf. note 68), whilst the bell krater too is amongst the biggest of its contemporaries «probably the largest of this shape known» – so wrote Gisela Richter in 1936. One has to go to the end of the century and beyond to encounter even larger pieces amongst the gigantic productions destined for the northern Pontic, amongst which the Bakys krater in the Hermitage is perhaps the most splendid. This Picene tally here brought to notice is most impressive, yet its significance has hardly been commented on.

Now it is a pity that so far we cannot be absolutely sure whether the presence of high grade Attic material in Picenum indicates a new destination in its own right for this import, as I am inclined to believe, or whether it is the result of secondary distribution of material which had in the first instance gone to Spina and subsequently been brought southwards to the Picene sites of the kind we have singled out just now. Certainly we can, and presently shall, document clear instances of precisely such secondary distribution from Spina to its hinterland, and to Picenum as well, for certain Attic products which seem specially destined for the upper Adriatic market, particularly during the second half of the fifth century.⁶⁹ As yet, however, we know too little of the interrelationship during the first half of the fifth century between Picene seats of power and the urban settlement of Spina. To make progress in this question a prime requisite would be a careful comparison between the commercial graffiti on the vase imports, Attic in particular, to Adria and Spina on the one hand and to Picenum and the mid-Adriatic on the other. Here almost everything has still to be done.

Nonetheless even now in support of the assumption that the spectacular deposits of Red Figure in Picenum came direct from Athens rather than via Spina one might point to the fact that there are, admittedly in the second half of the fifth century, a number of Attic products which are found in Spina only and not in Picenum. Thus we might point to a concentration in Spina of fine works by the Kleophon Painter, who is not represented in Picenum at all.⁷⁰ Similarly there is a quite exceptional precipitation of Attic duck

but one (volute krater II) had a total height approaching 0.80 m. This equals the maximum known height as achieved by the Boston volute krater 90.153. Krater II was thus a piece of quite exceptional size, whereas the other two were nearer the average for these krater; E. BOHR, in W. KIMMIG (ed.), *Importe und mediterrane Einflüsse auf der Heuneburg* (note 57), pp. 2-7, Nos. 1-3. On the status of the volute krater cf. SHAFER, *ibidem*, p. 29 with n. 24.

65. Adria large size b.f. lékythos CVA 2, pl. 18, 1-2; pl. 19, 1-2 («ca. 530 B.C.»); cf. Bermond Montanari (as in note 41 above), p. 298 ff., No. 8.

66. Penthesilea Painter's cup conveniently in ALFIERI, *Spina* (note 6), figg. 120-124; at a diameter of 56.6 cm it is «the largest cup known», (so BEAZLEY, *Spina and Greek pottery* [note 45], p. 65) For the Penthesilea Painter's work in Spina by his own hand L. PAOLI, *Il pittore di Penthesilea nella necropoli di Spina*, in *Studi sulla necropoli di Spina in Valle Trebba*, Atti del Convegno Ferrara 1992, Ferrara 1993 (*Atti Accademia delle Scienze di Ferrara Suppl.* 69, 1991-92), pp. 91-110. The Theseid cup, *ibidem*, pp. 94-96. (Tomba 18 C Valle Pega); figg. 7-9. As to Picenum G.M. FABRINI, in *Picus* 2, 1982 (note 58), p. 114 f. rightly points to a notable presence at Numana of average quality cups by followers of the Penthesilea Painter. It must however be remembered that this workshop was a particularly productive establishment and that a good proportion of extant cups from that period emanate from there.

67. The Chicago Painter's volute krater from Spina, Ferrara 42685 (BEAZLEY, *ARV*², p. 628, No. 1) has a height of 0.80 m up to the rim; 0.915 m to include the volutes.

68. For Bologna we may cite the huge, but little known fragmentary calyx krater, Pellegrini No. 691 (BEAZLEY, *ARV*², p. 608, No. 5 - manner of Niobid Painter, now conveniently in LIMCI, pl. 110, 511, s.v. *Achilles* - Kossatz-Deissmann). With a diameter of 56 cm at the rim (so Pellegrini) it is the largest calyx krater from Bologna. The size might well be taken as argument for its arrival on the Adriatic side of the peninsula, rather than from Etruria. Note that the rim diameter of the huge Polygnotan Gigantomachy calyx krater from Spina (ALFIERI, *Spina* [note 8] pp. 67-68, figg. 152-156) is 54.8 cm. The earlier one though by the Niobid Painter (ALFIERI, pp. 35-36, figg. 81-83) has a rim diameter of 60 cm, whilst the eponymous calyx krater by the Niobid Painter in the Louvre, from Orvieto, has a rim diameter of 55 cm. Against this the calyx krater by the Painter of the Berlin Hydria from Numana in New York (BEAZLEY, *ARV*², p. 616, No. 3 - Follower of Niobid Painter) has a rim diameter of cm 58.3.

69. For these see notes 80-81.

70. G. GUALANDI, *Le ceramiche del Pittore di Kleophon rinvenute a Spina*, in *Arte Antica e Moderna* 19, 1962, pp. 227-260 = M.C. GENITO GUALANDI (ed.), *Grecia e Etruria negli scritti di Giorgio Gualandi*, (Studi e Scavi 12), Bologna 2000, pp. 35-61 (volute krater, dinos and more). For Picenum note however the dinos from Numana attributed to the Dinon Painter by Landolfi; in BALDELLI et al., *La ceramica attica figurata* (note 58), pp. 38-39. However though from a related workshop the piece is a good deal later.

askoi in Spina, which does not find any reflection elsewhere in the upper- or mid Adriatic, nor in its hinterland.⁷¹ Does this mean that the supply to Spina was kept separate from that which reached Numana? It is difficult to be confident here, but we have already pointed to the particularly monumental character of some of the special imports to Picenum and tried to explain it by its special aptness for the recipient society in Picenum. If there is any substance at all in such reflections they might well illuminate a differentiation in the type of Attic import as between say Spina on the one hand and Numana on the other, and argue for a distinct supply.⁷²

The area in between these two agglomerations of prestige material at Spina and in Picenum, namely the Romagna, is quite devoid of them, as the survey edited by Patrizia von Eles has demonstrated.⁷³ We shall see presently that the same absence of high grade Attic is also characteristic of the area immediately to the south of Picenum.

All this underlines the special and isolated status of the Picene distribution of the Attic prestige vessels in its part of Italy and raises more than ever the question of why there arose so suddenly in the advancing second quarter of the fifth century this flourishing "island" hemmed in both to the South and the North by territories which could boast of none of these exceptional goods.

What then do these observations amount to? Do they in fact give some clue to the puzzle why the mid Adriatic in the fifth century B.C. should provide such a rich treasure of Attic monumental-sized masterpieces? They do, I believe, provide some clues to the answers but the basic question is still open: what provided the impulse to the startling development just before the middle of the fifth century which in several respects assimilated Picenum to the longer standing Attic relationship with Spina.

What makes questions such as these even more urgent is that it is apparent that this new prestige import is superimposed upon a quite different and dramatically more modest evaluation on the part of Attic exporters of the significance and importance of the mid-Adriatic coast of Italy. This is strikingly illustrated by a study of the panmediterranean distribution of certain types of Attic material which is regularly directed to marginal areas of the Mediterranean basin, often away from urban concentrations. We refer here to the spread during the second quarter of the fifth century of categories of Attic late Black Figure, more particularly cup-skyphoi of a certain shape and decorated in silhouette technique. They are known as the Haimonian Lancut Group (*tav. II, a*).⁷⁴ We find that these tend to be concentrated beyond the confines of urbanised regions and are largely absent elsewhere (*fig. 2*). Such concentrations seem to

71. G. GUALANDI, *Askoi in forma di anitra*, in *Arte Antica e Moderna* 6, 1959, pp. 149-163 = *Scritti Gualandi* (note 70), pp. 9-21. This is the largest known collection of Attic duck askoi anywhere, no fewer than fifteen of them, distributed in two groups which span the second half of the 5th century. They are also found elsewhere in the Mediterranean, thus in South Italy and also the Far West on Iberian sites [SHEFTON, *REA* 89, 1987 (3-4), p. 136; add now the new find, C. ARANEGUI et al., *La necrópolis ibérica de Cabezo Lucero (Guadamar del Segura, Alicante)*, Madrid 1993, p. 229, A7; pl. 73]. It is remarkable that so far no secondary distribution from Spina to other sites in the upper and mid-Adriatic can be observed.

72. For comparative studies between Attic import to Spina and to Picenum a potentially still useful register was compiled by M. Rivoldini for the *Mostra dell'Etruria padana e della città di Spina*, exhib. cat. Bologna 1960, pp. 153-207. Though this study appeared before the second edition of Beazley, *ARV* (1963), it had access to Beazley's latest attributions for the Spina material (cf. cat. *Mostra II*, 34, last item), not however for the other sites in question, i.e. Bologna, Adria and Numana. Rivoldini's work was also used by G. BERGONZI, in *La Romagna tra VI e IV sec. a.C. nel quadro della protostoria dell'Italia centrale*. Atti Convegno Bologna 1982, Bologna 1985, p. 73, fig. 4 - histogr. (with testimonia in n. 28).

73. P. VON ELES MASI (ed.), *La Romagna tra VI e IV secolo a.C.*, exhib. cat. Bologna 1982, *passim*; cf. also from a different point of view, G. GUALANDI, *La presenza della ceramica attica in Romagna*, 1985 convegno *Romagna Protostorica*, now most accessibly in *Scritti Gualandi* (note 70), pp. 315-316.

74. SHEFTON, *The Lancut Group, silhouette technique and Coral Red. Some Attic Vth century export material in pan-mediterranean sight*, in *Céramique et Peinture Grecques. Modes d'emploi*, Actes colloque international. École du Louvre 1995, Paris 1999, pp. 463-479, esp. 463-466, figg. 3-4, with distribution map fig. 1; also *Id.*, *Some special features of Attic import on Phoenician sites in Israel*, in *Actas del IV Congreso Internacional de Estudios Fenicios y Púnicos*, Cadiz 1995, Cadiz 2000, pp. 1121-1133 (summary, without detailed documentation) with updated distribution map fig. 5. Add to the sites there the cup skyphos BOLOGNA, Pellegrini No. 108 (satyr and maenad) from Bologna, Giardini Margherita. In view of the concentration of these cup skyphoi in the Marche it is likely enough that the piece came via the Adriatic coast. PALAGRUZA (island in the Adriatic) fragment: sphinx [and Oedipus]; cf. here note 51. PALERMO: *Palermo punica*, exhib. cat. Palermo 1995-96, p. 202 (VG 15); 230 - illustr. = *SicilArch* 14, 1981, p. 49 fig. 13 (Camerata Scovazzo-Castellana). Contents of this chamber tomb 63 (with two sarcophagi) are listed in the Palermo exhib. cat. (*ibidem*, pp. 200-206) and a selection is illustrated in *I Fenici*, exhib. cat., Venice 1988, pp. 660-662 (cf. also *ibidem*, p. 197). Ours there is No. 451. [*ibidem*, No. 452 is a Castulo cup (VG 2), not noted in my earlier considerations of the shape]. It is interesting to note that this for Sicily very rare specimen comes from the Punic part of the island. Carthage and Sardinia had more of them. Two more of the type, but with use of incision, are in the Fondazione Mormino collection of the Banco di Sicilia in Palermo, from Selinus, which of Greek cities was particularly Carthage-orientated. Further East in the Mediterranean insert OLYMPIA, *Archaische Keramik aus Olympia* (= OF 28), Berlin 2000, p. 228, No. 102, pl. 72 (J. Burrow); two examples from SAMOTHRAE, E.B. DUSENBERT, *Samothrace 11, The Nekropoleis*, Princeton N.J. 1998, 1, p. 439; 2, 581-582, figg. Further East still on the Black Sea coast of Colchis add fragments from CYENOS (between Dioscurias and Phasis), G.R. TSETSKHLADZE, *Die Griechen in der Kolchis*, Amsterdam 1998, pl. 11, top r. In Anatolia add a substantial lot from DASKYLEION, TUNA-NÖRLING (note 44, at end) 35f, Nos. 115-129, 153; (perhaps more, not determinables), pll. 4-6; cf. *ibidem*, 9; 11. Fragments of one from EPHESES, *ÖJh* 68, 1999, Beibl. 206-219, figg. 2 (profile drawing), 4; with commentary by E. Trinkl. More from PERGE (Istanbul/ Giessen joint excavations), information kindly communicated by M. Recke, Giessen.

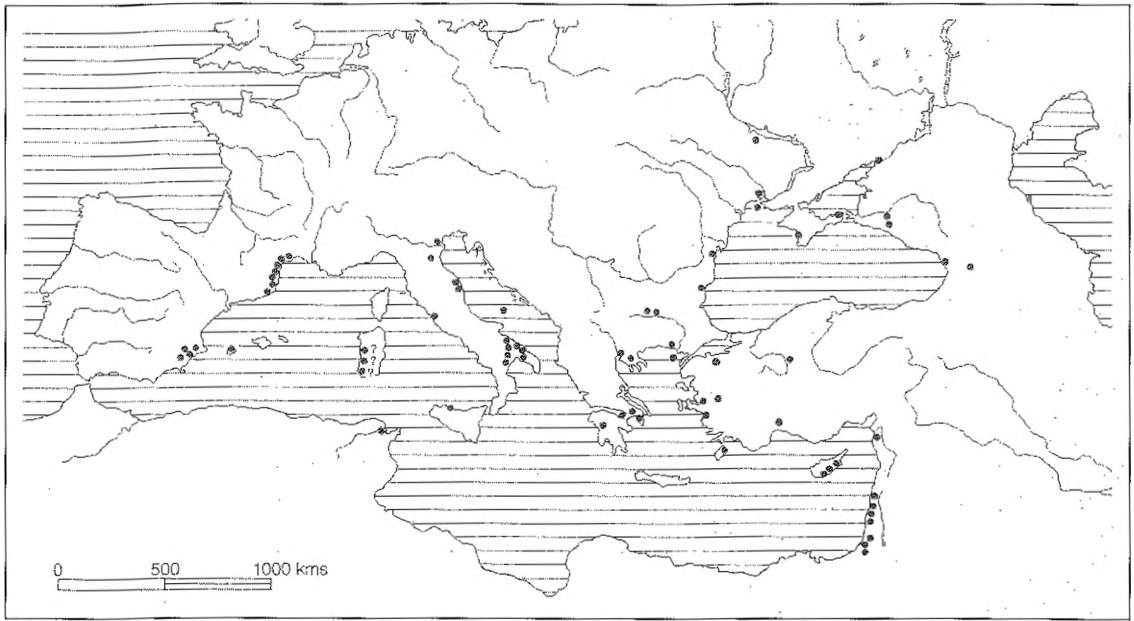


fig. 2. Panmediterranean distribution of Lancut Group cup-skyphoi; cf. note 74 (after *Actas IV Congreso Estudios Fenicios* [note 74], p. 1131, with amendments).

characterise the recipient areas as marginal, even primitive non-polis societies.⁷⁵ Now the Adriatic side of Italy is well supplied with precisely these late Black Figure varieties, both in the heel of Italy in Messapia, and in mid-Adriatic Picenum; nor are they absent in the northern sections. In their way they are the archaeological equivalent of the picture projected in Aeschylus's *Prometheus Vincitus* (lines 836-841) of the Adriatic as a remote region at the extremities of the world where Io is doomed to traverse her path. By contrast material of the Lancut Group is found only very rarely, if at all, on the urbanised Tyrrhenian side of the peninsula including the Etruscan sites.

The time span encompassed in the distribution of these cup-skyphoi distinctly overlaps the beginning of the rich import of high grade Attic Red Figure to Picenum we have spoken of, and this fact draws attention to the necessity of being alert to the contrasting messages conveyed by these strikingly differing layers of import material from Attica. One might well consider the Lancut Group cup-skyphoi in silhouette technique more representative of the basic character of imports along the Adriatic, against which the sudden influx of the high grade Attic has to be judged as a surprising intrusion, confined as far as the mid-Adriatic is concerned to Picenum alone.

Looking further South along the coast at the level of the Abruzzi the high quality Attic is entirely absent, and what we find is more in conformity with what we called just now the basic character of Attic imports along the Adriatic, as we had already noted for the Romagna. Gianluca Tagliamonte has assembled material in the Chieti Museum and its dependencies to demonstrate this run-of-the mill character of Attic imports in that region.⁷⁶ There is, to stress it once again, a total absence of the high grade Attic which had made its appearance in Picenum just to the North.

The mid-Adriatic area is thus in an ambivalent perception in Athens semi-barbarous yes, but also, as far as the well defined region of Picenum is concerned, in the hands of powerful chieftains who are in control of goods and can provide them, hence the gigantic, attaining a measure beyond the moderate 'mean' (*to meson*) of the Greek polis community.

It is worth pointing out that all these new locations readily fit the distribution rationale suggested in *Modes d'emploi*, as cited. Finds in places such as Smyrna and Ephesos may signpost material on its way inland to Sardis and similar destinations. The distribution map fig. 2, reproduced here from my previous publications, has been amended to incorporate these new additions.

⁷⁵ Curiously enough this description does not apply to the Phoenician urban settlements, neither on the eastern border of the Mediterranean nor in the Punic tracts in the West. In both parts they are found in urban contexts, as they are in Sardis, Gordion, Daskyleion.

⁷⁶ G. TAGLIAMONTE, *Ceramica attica in area 'medio-adriatica' abruzzese*, in *Prospettiva* 51, 1987, pp. 37-45.

It is also worth noting that the run-of-the mill Attic material, that is to say the underlying basic strand of the import material throughout the mid- and northern Adriatic coast, may well have been the immediate source of the small amount of Attic pottery import into the La Tène world north of the Alps, especially in the Bohemian region. This includes the Castulo cup in Dürrenberg (near Salzburg) of the second quarter of fifth century, and a little before that already the simple Attic palmette frieze cups both at the Heuneburg and at Kadan (Bohemia), just possibly also the even earlier but similar cup in Bourges.⁷⁷ All these are likely to have come from the Italian side of the northern Adriatic. Similarly in the later part of the fifth century that same Adriatic region, including Picenum may well have provided the pool from which both Attic pottery and Etruscan bronze work went North of the Alps to destinations within Southern Germany.⁷⁸

Perhaps we should at this point consider briefly the development in the Athenian Kerameikos of productions specially destined for export to the mid- and upper Adriatic, and really found nowhere else. We have referred to them already. They were of several kinds, such as stemmed plates and stemless "dishies". They are slight products but they testify to specific attention paid in Athens to this export area. A little while ago Juliette de La Genière suggested that there was in the years after the Egyptian disaster of 454 B.C. an increasing need to cultivate and secure the Adriatic corn supply of the Po valley more than ever and that this encouraged rationalization of production in the pottery trade destined for the upper Adriatic.⁷⁹ Most of these products are found in Spina and any occurrence beyond can readily be explained as secondary distributions from there. These pieces can therefore assume for us an importance as markers of re-export to neighbouring destinations and may potentially even illuminate the relationship between Spina and Picenum. The relevant material is deployed here in the pertinent footnotes 80 and 81. Though one cannot be absolutely certain it looks to judge by the evidence that during this period Spina had the primacy and that any similar material found in Picenum came in fact via Spina. Let us specifically consider two classes of material from this category. First the so-called "dishies" which often have on their inside a device such as a 4-spoked wheel, and outside underfoot the representation in silhouette of an amphora of sorts, Panathenaic or transport⁸⁰ (Tav. II, b-d). Apart from Spina and Adria, where they are plentiful, they are also found, but in small quantities only, in Mantua/Forcello and in Bologna. They are present too but rare in Picenum. Likely enough they all represent redistribution from Spina.

Another shape evidently destined for the Po region is the stemmed plate, normally with a roundel decoration of a head in Red Figure.⁸¹ It is plentiful in Spina but also has a distinct presence in Picenum.

77. SHEFTON in *Heuneburgstudien* XI (note 57), p. 35 n. 68 (Castulo cup); nn. 66-67 (cups incl. Bourges, for which also note 57); nn. 68-70 Bohemia). Dr. P. Sankot (Prague) tells me that there is much fragmentary Attic material of the fifth century scattered on habitation sites in Bohemia, which is yet to be published.

78. SHEFTON, *Leaven in the Dough* (note 57), p. 16 with n. 75. Note though in connection with the Picene orientation of the Borsdorf type of Etruscan bronze basins (*ibidem*, p. 23 n. 62; also n. 75) that the ex-Palagi handle in Bologna, which had so far been "without provenance", has now been recognized to be from Chiusi, the only vouched for Etruscan provenance of any of these basins; cf. *Pelagio Palagi: artista e collezionista*, exhib. cat. Bologna 1976, p. 300, No. 266, *ibidem*, p. 309 (illustr.). This new fact does not however seriously affect the argument, as the Picene distribution of several of these is well established, most notably that from Filottrano cf. *Piceni*, exhib. cat. (note 12) No. 618 with fig. 131 (Landolfi); also SHEFTON, *ibidem*, p. 156, with n. 92.

79. J. DE LA GENIÈRE, *Nota sui traffici di vasi attici in Puglia nel V secolo a.C.*, in *Salento, Porta d'Italia*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Lecce 1986, Galatina 1989, p. 161. For the role and importance of the grain supply from the plain of the Po: BRACCESI (note 1), pp. 152-159.

80. Small bowl on ring foot ("dishie"). Newcastle upon Tyne University, Shefton Museum, inv. No. 645. H: 5.2 cm; Diam: 15.8 cm. Here *tav. II, b-d*. Black with an inside roundel showing devices, here a 4-spoked wheel in red figure, and underfoot a Panathenaic shape (rather than a transport amphora in black silhouette (cf. ALPIERI, *Spina* [note 8] figg. 333-334 - «third quarter 5th cent.»), where the shape seems that of a transport amphora). They are common enough in Spina and are also found in Adria [cf. BEAZLEY in *CVA Oxford 2*, p. 117, text to pl. 64, 9-10]. From there they occasionally get inland as far as Mantua/Forcello (note 56) and Bologna too, thus certifying the arrival ports of much of this inland Attic material. [For "dishies" in Bologna now E. GOVI, *Le ceramiche attiche a vernice nera di Bologna*, (Studi e Scavi 10), Bologna 1999, pp. 140-142, No. 128 - with list predominantly from Spina, by R. Macellari]. Bearing in mind the coastal position of the Marche they are surprisingly rare in Picenum. The only ones I know are three from grave 407 in Sirolo/Numana, M. LANDOLFI, *Numana e le necropoli Picene: Le tombe 225 e 407 dell'area Davanzali di Sirolo*, in *La Civiltà Picena nelle Marche* (note 58), p. 316 with figg. 10, 2 and 12, 1-2. LANDOLFI, *ibidem*, does not cite any others from the region. There are some though with underfoot devices (kantharos) in red figure or white overpaint in Ancona, (presumed from Numana) which are evidently connected (FABRINI, *Numana* [note 58], Nos. 79-81). One might therefore think that they reached Picenum not direct from Athens en route to the Po settlements of Spina and Adria, but rather as reexports from these northern destinations. We observe that the motive of the 4-spoked wheel is not uncommon in pebble mosaics of roughly contemporary date, thus at Corinth and Olynthus; cf. K.M.D. DUNBABIN, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*, Cambridge 1999, p. 5 f., figg. 1-2; cf. also *ibidem*, p. 8, n. 12.

For these "dishies" in general cf. B.A. SPARKES - L. TALCOTT, *Black and Plain Pottery. The Athenian Agora XII*, Princeton, N.J. 1970, p. 128 with n. 2, - «figured bowls are very rare and the few examples known appear to be unrelated to the black series» - further now E. GOVI, as cited in this note, 140, who stresses the targeted diffusion of these in the Etrusco-padana side of the Adriatic. Evidently then a special 'market orientated' production which seems to be found there and nowhere else.

81. For these stemmed plates cf. the selection in ALPIERI, *Spina* (note 8), pp. 94-96; also F. BERTI - C. GASPARRI (edd.), *Dionysos. Mito e mistero*, exhib. cat. Comacchio, Bologna 1989, pp. 30-32, Nos. 3-4 (from Spina) - G. Parmeggiani. For their occurrence in Picenum (Sirolo/Numana) too, see PARIBENI in *Civiltà Picena* (note 58), p. 296, pl. VII.c. (head of Herakles) = ID. in BAUDELLE *et al.*,

These plates, of which some may go back into the third quarter of the fifth century, tell a similar story to that of the "dishie". The primary arrival seems to have been in Spina, from where they were re-exported to Picenum, though in this case it would be unwise to be too dogmatic.

It is time now to turn to a different aspect of our enquiry, one however which may, unexpectedly perhaps, shed some light on the problems which have been exercising us just now. It is the temporary but startling reappearance in Picenum of Greek, Peloponnesian prestige vessels of bronze in the early fifth century which has to engage our attention. We have noted earlier that by the middle of the sixth century Greek bronze vessels had wholly disappeared from Picenum and the mid-Adriatic. The apparently vigorous stream of imported bronze vessels in the first half of the century which had even spawned a local imitative production had come to a halt and its successors were, so it would seem, diverted to the eastern, the Illyrian side of the Adriatic. Prestige vessels of bronze imported into Picenum (as well as those for more mundane use) came now wholly from Etruria. These included such splendid pieces as the Ancona/Karlsruhe bronze oinochoe from San Ginesio with its hammered relief frieze and the later Amandola dinos, already of the fifth century, which had once been considered to be a top product of Corinthian workmanship.⁸² Both of these pieces, be it noted, come from the non-urban inland sites, the chieftains' seats of power, which, as we had occasion to observe on several occasions already, were the repositories of elite goods, be they Laconian bronze hydriai, Etruscan metal vessels and implements or outsize Attic red figured volute kraters.

The earlier of the two Greek bronze hydriai, both of them belonging to the first half of the fifth century B.C., is a relatively recent find from Sirolo/Numana (*tav. III a-e*). It comes from tomb 64 Quagliotti with furnishings covering a wide time span from the Early Classical period down to the end of the fifth century.⁸³ At its early end it contains a fine red figured amphora attributed by Paribeni to the Oinante Painter and dated by him to 480-470 B.C.⁸⁴

It is worth noticing that the piece, the only stately amphora type B from Numana, is amongst the first harbingers of the wave of high grade Attic imports of which we have spoken of so much in the preceding pages. Now it is not easy to date the bronze hydria from Numana/Sirolo. It surely has strong archaizing features which link it to sixth century tradition. Yet it also has some characteristics which argue that it can hardly be earlier than the Early Classical period.⁸⁵ It is thus not at all unlikely that its arrival is pretty well contemporary with the beginnings of the new current of high grade Attic import which marks so distinct a change in the character of the pottery brought from Athens. If that is so, then I am tempted to operate here too with the notion of "introductory gifts", which I have used in a number of studies to explain the presence of outstanding imported objects in peripheral regions of the Mediterranean world and in the Hallstatt continent at crucial moments which mark the beginning of sustained relationship of Greek en-

Ceramica attica figurata (note 58), pp. 58-59 (illustr.); also *ibidem*, p. 18 («a number in Picenum, but most in Spina; only one from Bologna»; but note FABRINI, *Numana* (note 58), p. 83, on No. 88 - Sasso Marconi). More: (plain black or with device) in BALDELLI *et al.*, as cited, p. 71, 3-4 (Montecchio, Pesaro); 140, 13-14 (Pitino di San Severino); more in FABRINI, *Numana*, pp. 84-95 (Ancona Museum, presumed «from Numana»). From Numana also *La Civiltà Picena* (note 58), p. 317 fig. II, 2 - same grave 407 from Sirolo/Davanzali as the one with the "dishies", (note 80) - Landolfi.

Interestingly it is just this type of plate which had a strong afterlife in the region through locally produced alto-Adriatico imitations in the following century. For these see LANDOLFI, *Vasi alto-Adriatici del Piceno*, in M. LANDOLFI (ed.), *Adriatico tra IV e III sec. a.C. - Vasi alto-Adriatici tra Piceno, Spina e Adria*. Atti del Convegno, Ancona 1997, Roma 2000, pp. 111-129, esp. 121-123, pl. 1-2.

82. For these two pieces see SHEFTON in *Anemos* 2, p. 27 f. n. 39 (San Ginesio oinochoe); n. 40 (Amandola dinos).

83. The grave is briefly described in D.G. LOLLINI, *Museo Archeologico Nazionale delle Marche, Sezione Protostorica*, Roma 1989, p. 33 ff. - Landolfi, with phot. of amphora (fig. 28) and of the bronze hydria (fig. 27) = Ancona inv. arch. 25020. More detailed account in PERCOSSI SIRENELLI (ed.), *Museo Archeologico Nazionale delle Marche* (note 1), p. 141 - Landolfi. I am most grateful to Soprintendente G. de Marinis and to Dr. Baldelli for their generous permission to publish the photographs.

84. For illustr. cf. LOLLINI (note 83), p. 35 fig. 28 (Zeus and Hera; Artemis mounting chariot and Apollo; the latter panel is still unpublished). More in BALDELLI *et al.*, *La ceramica attica figurata* (note 58) - its text goes back to 1982, pp. 24-25: (illustr. - colour), «480-470 B.C. - near Syleus Painter; but remains of Mannerists» - Paribeni. *Civiltà Picena* (note 58), p. 292 ("Oinante Painter" - a mannerist artist working in the advancing second quarter of the century) with 295 pl. VI - Paribeni. Landolfi attributes the piece to the Syleus Painter.

85. For these factors see *Anemos* 2, p. 29 with n. 43 (fusion of palmette motive onto attachment pads of side handles). I adapt here from the footnote in *Anemos* 2. The hydria is somehow related to the Castelbellino one, but is rather earlier. The vertical handle has the lionscap in front, and its side handles have their palmette "fused" onto the attachment pad, as is the norm for the Castelbellino hydria and its kin (see *Anemos* 2, p. 28, n. 42). This should provide a dating criterion. The lower attachment of the vertical handle is not the expected siren but rather a gorgoneion. This is not in itself unusual for Corinthian work, especially on oinochoai, but here it is of a kind which is deliberately archaizing, harping back to the volute kraters of an earlier generation. For the rising snakes on either side of the vertical handle compare also the New York bronze amphora "from Northern Greece" (v. BOTHMER, *Newly Acquired Bronzes, Greek, Etruscan and Roman*, in *BullMetMus* 19, 1961, p. 140 ff., figg. II-12; best picture in I. VOKOTOPOULOU, *Argyra kai khalkina erga* (in Greek), Athens 1997, p. 124, fig. 114) and of course the Vix krater (especially for the way the hair is arranged horizontally above the curls); note also the amulet suspended from the necklace in the fashion of Laconian maidens; cf. RM 99, 1992, p. 161 n. 36 - Shefton. The Naples hydria "from Locri" (E. DIEHL, *Die Hydria*, Mainz 1964, p. 217 [B 94]), with a similar archaizing gorgoneion I take to be a Roman early imperial artefact, an example of the rage for "necrocorinthia".

terprise with barbarian chieftainry.⁸⁶ It is not in this connection irrelevant to observe that the Numana/Sirolo hydria must rank amongst the finest Greek bronze vessels of its shape to have survived. It is an outstanding piece.

The second bronze hydria, the one from the inland site of Castelbellino, along the Esino valley, is an old find and has long been known (*tav. IV, a-b*). It has also since Neugebauer's study in the early 1920s been securely integrated in its workshop affiliation, which straddles the second and third quarters of the fifth century.⁸⁷ What has perhaps not been stressed before – has even been denied – is that amongst its peers it is early, perhaps amongst the earliest of its kind.⁸⁸ Here too then a date at the beginning of the Early Classical period seems tenable. In other words, though differing widely from each other in style and character,⁸⁹ the two hydriai are unlikely to be far apart from each other in date. Such a conclusion is of course entirely welcome if the presence of these two hydriai is to be explained in terms of "introductory gifts".

If observations such as these buttress the case for a new development in the relationship between the mid-Adriatic on the one hand and the Greek core lands on the other, they do not by themselves shed light on the cause or causes behind this new development. They do however lend support to the view that the import to Picenum now, even if increasingly assimilated to that of Spina, was yet considered to be special in the sense we suggested earlier in this paper, that it was kept distinct from what went to Spina.

It would be important and interesting to pursue these enquiries into the fourth century. Here in fact much has been done recently. For the Attic imports in the region the Arles Colloque of 1995 on Fourth Century Attic in the Western Mediterranean has included several valuable contributions on the Adriatic, and the recent exhibition and convegno on the alto-Adriatico fabric held in Ancona has provided the impetus for a new examination also of many of the non Attic influences which contributed to the generation of these workshops and their stylistic character.⁹⁰ Whilst there can be observed a continuing ho-

86. For the notion of "introductory gifts" cf. SHEFTON in H.G. NIEMEYER (ed.), *Phönizier im Westen*, Mainz 1982, p. 352; cf. also *ibidem*, p. 351 with n. 37 quoting *Iliad* XXIII, 743 ff. (to illuminate some early Greek imports to Southern Spain); *Id.*, in *Zum Import und Einfluss mediterraner Güter in Alteuropa, KölnJbVwFrgesch* 22, 1989, p. 218, n. 50; 220 (addenda to n. 50), with Bondi's observation on early Phoenician activity: «I primi contatti sistematici fra Fenici ed élites locali furono caratterizzati... dall'offerta di prodotti artigianali di pregio, il cui possesso divenne verosimilmente uno status symbol per i partners indigeni del commercio fenicio». That note gives additional references, to which add SHEFTON, *Leaven in the dough* (note 57), p. 12, with n. 39 (on special prestige imports at the very beginnings of Early La Tène Europe; also on Vix and Hochdorf in the preceding period); now also *Id.* in W. KIMMIG (ed.), *Heuneburgstudien* XI (note 57), p. 35 with n. 71; 37 (on Vix); cf. also VON HASS in *Etrusker nördlich von Etrurien* (note 20), p. 264 f., n. 109.

In *Anemos* 2, p. 30 f. whilst stressing the "exceptional status" of these two Greek imports, I was not then quite so conscious of the change in character of the Attic import at this crucial period and the potential helpfulness of thinking of these two hydriai as special gifts in the sense I have defined them here. I was then rather drawing attention to the fact that of these two hydriai the one from Castelbellino (note 87) had a close, if rather later workshop relative in the Historical Museum in Cluj, Romania, from Tiszabene, a location not all that far north of Ártánd, where the much earlier Laconian hydria (note 33) had been found, and speculated whether this later hydria might not also have come into Transylvania via the Adriatic. However pending further finds such speculation is bound to be sterile.

I draw attentions at this point to M. LANDOLFI (ed.), *Adriatico tra IV e III sec. a.C. Vasi alto-Adriatici tra Piceno, Spina e Adria* (as note 87). There in his contribution *I Galli e L'Adriatico* (pp. 19-46), he considers on pp. 28-32 the two hydriai in question, but puts them into a rather different and generalized context of Greek bronze vessels on the Adriatic side of Southern Italy. I cannot in this case follow him in his interpretation of the evidence; cf. also *Id.*, *Hesperia* 12, p. 138 with n. 29.

87. On the Castelbellino hydria [here *Tav. IV, a-b*], *Anemos* 2, p. 28 f. n. 42. For shape best in LOLLINI in *PCIA* (note 29) pl. 120; cf. also DIEHL, *Die Hydria*, p. 216 f. (B 91). For classification K.A. NEUGEBAUER, *Reifarchaische Bronzevasen mit Zungenmuster*, in *RM* 38-39, 1923-24, p. 78 («closely linked to a set of hydria handles in Berlin, from Greece, and to the hydria in Cluj»; they have the characteristic of the palmette on their side handles cast integral onto the attachment pads, as here *Tav. IV, a*; cf. also *Tav. III c* Sirolo/Numana); For the grave Castelbellino, tomb I (Area Campanelli) - scavo 1912, see PERCOSSI SRENELLI (ed.), *Museo Archeologico Nazionale delle Marche* (note 1), p. 143 - Landolfi.

88. For the relative chronology of the related pieces see SHEFTON, *Anemos* 2, p. 28 f., n. 42 (Castelbellino and Cluj); 30, n. 45 (hydria from Pastoucha, near Plovdiv). More relevant, but perhaps peripheral material in *Anemos* 2, p. 30, n. 44 (from "Aegina"; Samothrace).

89. As to the place of production the Castelbellino hydria is usually considered to be Corinthian. The Sirolo/Numana hydria may be assigned to the Peloponnese, but I hesitate to define it more closely.

90. Arles colloque: B. SABATTINI (ed.), *La céramique attique du IV^e siècle en méditerranée occidentale*. Actes colloque international organisé par le Centre Camille Julian, Arles 1995, Naples 2000 (with pertinent studies by F. Curti, B. Sabattini, M. Landolfi and S. Bonomi). Ancona exhibition and convegno: F. BERTI - S. BONOMI - M. LANDOLFI (edd.), *Classico - Anticlassico. Vasi alto-adriatici tra Piceno, Spina e Adria*, exhib. Cat. Museo Archeologico, Ancona 1997. M. LANDOLFI (ed.), *Adriatico tra IV e III sec. a.C. Vasi alto-adriatici tra Piceno, Spina e Adria*. Atti del Convegno di studi, Ancona 1997, Roma 2000. For fourth century Attic pottery in Spina cf. the material and tomb groups assembled in L. MASSEI, *Gli askoi* (note 52), and in F. BERTI - P.G. GUZZO (edd.), *Spina* (note 8), pp. 292-324 - relevant sections by F. Curti and P. Desantis. For Attic imports also F. CURTI, *Contributo allo studio dei contatti commerciali tra Spina ed Atene nel IV secolo a.C.: La ceramica figurata attica*, in *Studi sulla necropoli di Spina in Valle Trebbia* (note 66), pp. 135-154.

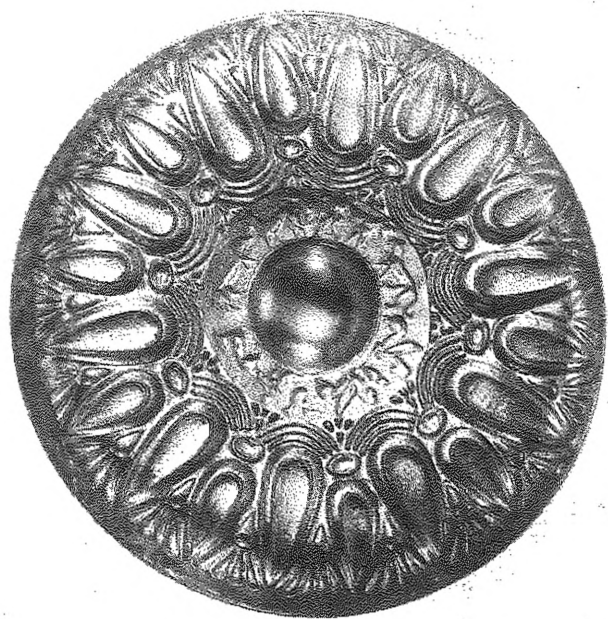
For Attic and Italiote vase import to Picenum in the fourth century, see esp. LANDOLFI, *I vasi alto-adriatici da Numana a dal Piceno*, in F. BERTI et al., *Classico - Anticlassico*, pp. 11-34, esp. 15-19; also the report in NASO, *Piceni*, p. 263 f. with 299 (concentration of Attic in the Celtic [Senoni] chieftains' graves, whilst the older inland centres receive more modest goods; cf. also MOREL in *Anemos* 2, 2001, p. 75 f.); L. MERCANDO, *L'ellenismo nel Piceno*, in: P. ZANKER (ed.), *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien*, Kolloquium Göttingen 1974, [= Abh. Göttingen Phil-Hist Klasse 3, Nr. 97], Göttingen 1976, p. 160 ff.

mogenisation of the Attic material found in Picenum and in Spina, there appears to be, as Landolfi points out, at present at any rate an interesting difference between these two centres. Picenum from the late fifth century onwards receives a notable volume of red figured pottery from Southern Italy, both Apulian and Campanian, but above all Lucanian, where in fact Picenum for a time becomes a major recipient. This import stream from Southern Italy is not matched to any extent in Spina nor elsewhere in the upper Adriatic.⁹¹ It remains to be seen how far such differences are caused primarily by political factors. There seems also to be a noticeable difference between the two sides of the Adriatic in the reception of Attic imports. The eastern coast and the Dalmatian islands show much Red Figure of the fourth century, but little of it is Attic.⁹² The bulk of the material is imitative, the products of local workshops whose whereabouts have yet to be firmly established, interestingly this kind of material is much rarer on the Italic side of the Adriatic.

Here and elsewhere in this field there are no doubt many worthwhile new results still to be harvested.

91. So LANDOLFI in *Piceni*, exhib. cat (note 12), p. 150; cf also NASO, *Piceni*, p. 212. But there is some Italiote in Spina, thus ALFIERI, *Spina* (note 8), pp. 126-129, rare though it is there.

92. Cf. B. KIRIGIN, *Alto-Adriatico vases from Dalmatia*, in M. LANDOLFI (ed.), *Adriatico tra IV e III sec. a.C.* (note 81), pp. 131-137, esp. 137. Thus amongst the material exhibited in the Archaeological Museum in Stari Grad, Hvar I could identify only one fragment, that of an early 4th cent. bell krater (grypomachy): *Pharos - anticki Stari Grad*, exhib. cat., J. JBILIC RADONIC - B. RAUTER PLANCIC (edd.), Zagreb 1995, p. 101, No. 62, illustr. - should be by the Painter of the Oxford Grypomachy. Some references to Attic Red Figure on Dalmatian sites also in G. BERGONZI (as note 72), p. 72, fig. 313, with 90 - bibl. I have not examined these pieces. I owe knowledge of and access to the important *Pharos* exhibition catalogue to the generous help of Branko Kirigin (Split) and of Ana Lebel (Belgrade and Split).



a

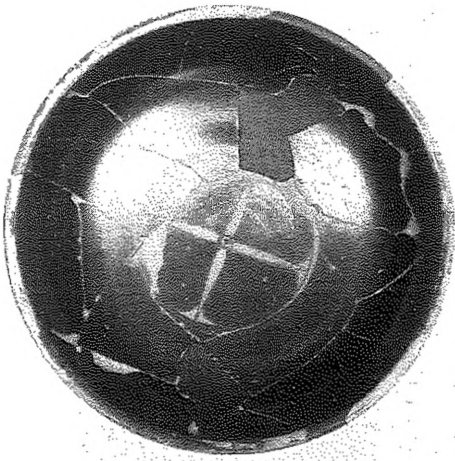
b



a) silver phiale. Ancona from Sirolo/Numana; cf. note 16 (after *Eroi e Regine* [note 12], p. 357) - modern replica; b) silver phiale. Ancona from Filottrano; cf. note 16 (phot. Shefton).



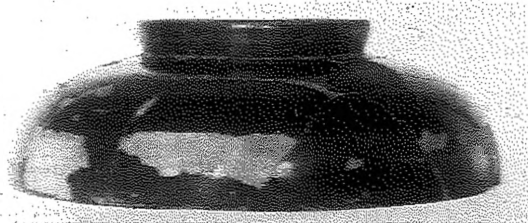
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c



d

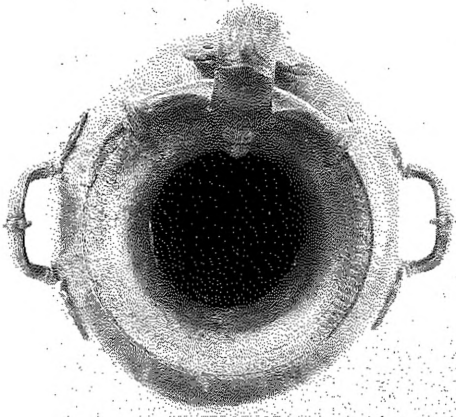
a) Lancut Group cup-skyphos; cf. note 74 (after *Actas IV Congreso Estudios Fenicios* [note 74], p. 1126); b-d) "dishie". Newcastle upon Tyne University, Shefton Museum; cf. note 80 (phot. Shefton).



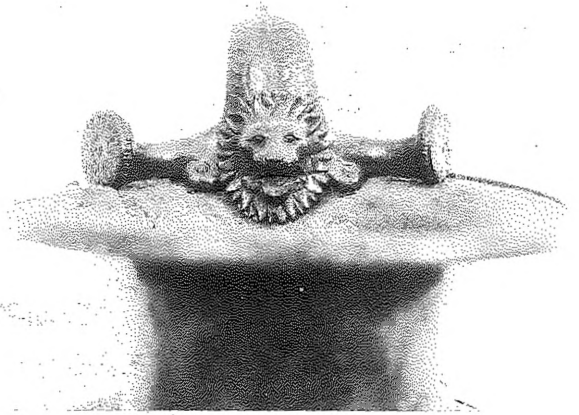
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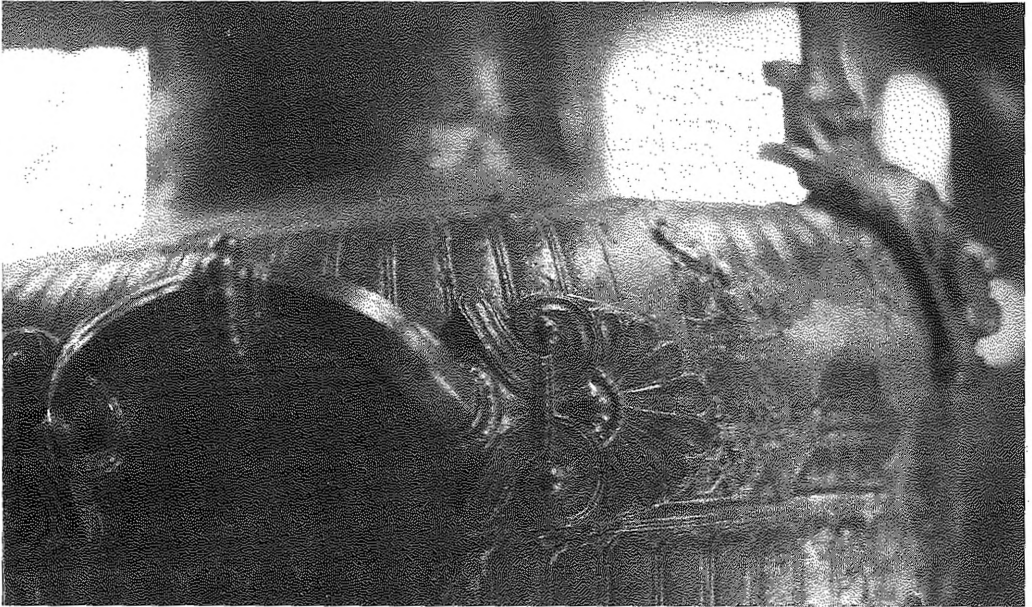
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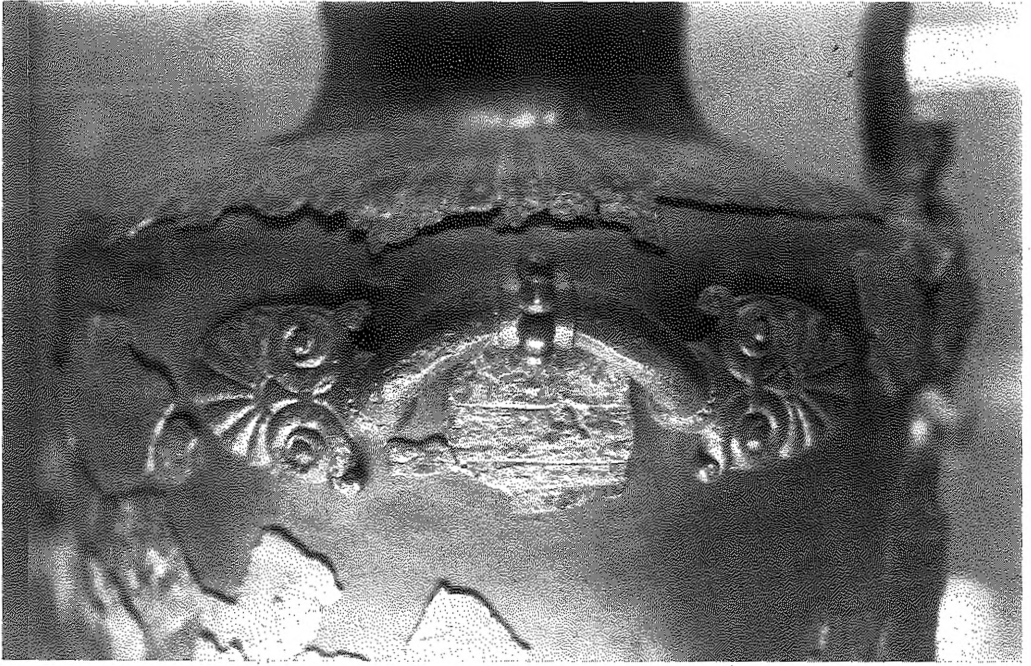


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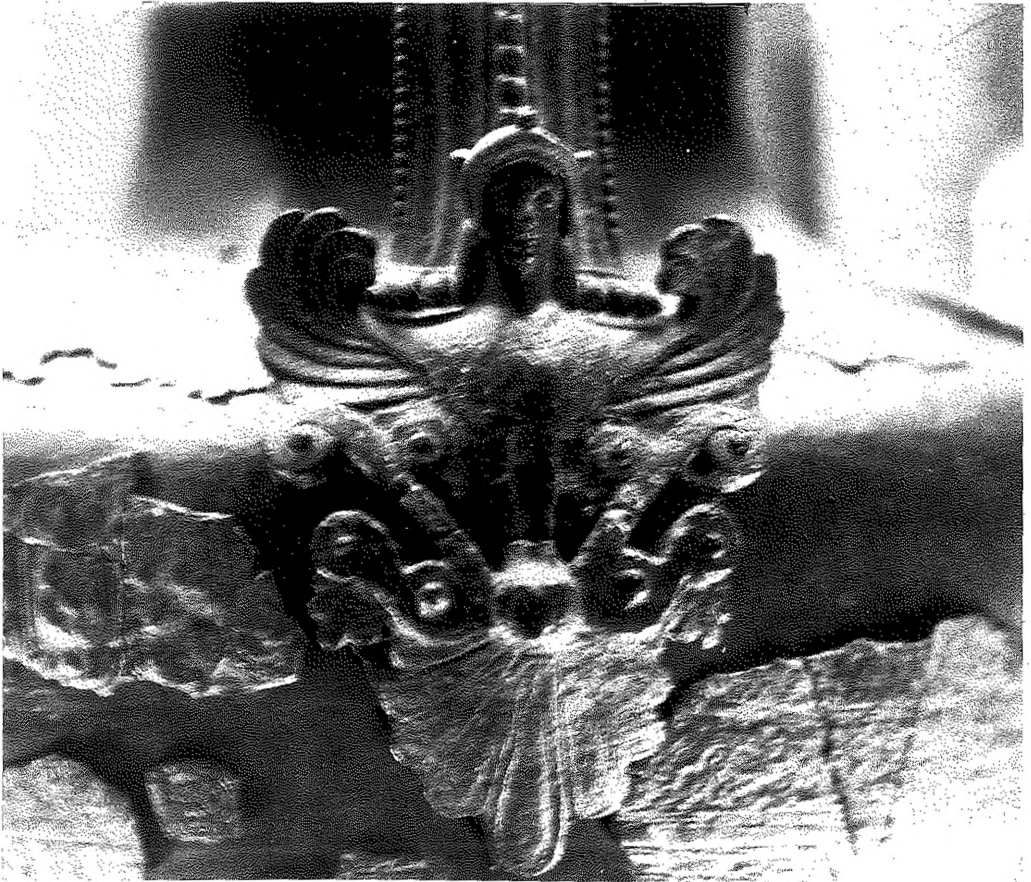


e

a-e) bronze hydria. Ancona, from Sirolo/Numana. Peloponnesian work; cf. notes 83, 85 (phot. a, c, d: courtesy Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Marche [negg. 15201, 232706, 232708]; b,e: phot. Shefton).



a



b

a-b) bronze hydria. Ancona, from Castelbellino. Prob. Corinthian work; cf. notes 87, 88 (phot. Shefton).