

BRONZE OINOCHOAI FROM TRESTINA (UMBRIA):  
"RHODIAN", LACONIAN AND ITALIC.  
REFLECTIONS ON THEIR IMPORTANCE

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*A belated thank-you token to friends and colleagues  
who by their A Serendip of Messages from Friends  
had given special delight to my ninetieth birthday*

IT is for almost a century and a half that the finds from Trestina on the upper reaches of the Tiber had to wait for their full publication and it is to the great merit of Fulvia Lo Schiavo with Antonella Romualdi that they have now appeared in a worthy form as a large size *Lincei* volume. They have done so in company with the finds from the nearby necropolis at Fabbrecce. This latter site though has had a kinder fate of more continuous attention in previous scholarship, whereas Trestina had until relatively recently sunk practically into oblivion and this despite the fact that the intriguing variety of its material and the surprisingly far reaching connections give it a peculiar attraction. Of this material I would like here to look at some pieces which may seem less striking, namely fragments of bronze vessels used in the offering of libations, which nonetheless will turn out to be significant enough to merit particular attention.

Let us begin with some remarks on the so called "Rhodian" oinochoai, where Trestina has produced a wide, perhaps even a full range of their varieties (of which some samples are figured on PL. 1 a), apart that is from Type c pieces.<sup>1</sup> Type c in my classification embraces the mainly Etruscan derivative productions which while dependent on the tradition of the authentic versions, are for the most part later in date. Their absence at Trestina may therefore have some wider chronological implication for dating the presence of our oinochoai and related material on this site. When I say that Type c pieces are absent I must qualify this by pointing to the interesting piece *Trestina 5* (= c 17), here PL. 1 b, the upper section of a handle top of exceptional shaping with horse heads in place of the outer rotelles and with a cock perched on each of the

The 'Serendip' referred to in the dedication was edited by Alan W. Johnston in 2009.

Much of what follows develops my study and exposition of material in the recently published discoveries made in the late nineteenth century at Trestina in Umbria. These were embodied in *I complessi archeologici di Trestina e di Fabbrecce nel Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, edited by Fulvia Lo Schiavo and by Antonella Romualdi, in *MonAntLinc*, ser. misc. XII, 2009. In what follows I call this volume *Lincei* 2009. I should perhaps add that the second and third sections of that study (reconsideration of the "Rhodian" oinochoai, and an extensive catalogue of new material) appear there in preliminary versions only. The full and illustrated edition is to appear separately.

The final part of this study has benefited from the engaged collaboration of the Helms Museum in Hamburg-Harburg which at my request submitted the handle "from Hilleröde" to new technical examination and produced helpful photographs and reports. I am therefore particularly grateful to Dr Michael Merkel, Keeper of the Archaeological Collection and to Tjark Petrich, Conservator in the Museum, for their contributions. As so often I also owe much thanks to O.-H. Frey for discussion and help.

<sup>1</sup> In my references to individual "Rhodian" oinochoai I cite them by their type indication and the number assigned to them in SHEFTON 1979, pp. 62-89. Supplementary comments on many of these are now found in my study *Lincei* 2009, pp. 128-132. Subsequent material, new since 1979, is assembled *ibidem*, pp. 132-137. It is divided into two parts: pieces with known provenance (cited: Prov - plus their number) and those without provenance (cited: Unprov - plus their number). Those assigned to the Chiaromonte Group (cf. p. 76, note 2 below) are marked by being placed between asterisks.

The majority of the Trestina fragments of these oinochoai were already illustrated in SHEFTON 1979. It was there on pages 12-14 (with annotations pp. 40-45) that the all but forgotten Trestina material was brought to current attention again.

two central protrusions. This handle with the extreme simplification of its arms into rods and the elementary decoration of the handle shaft tempts one to put it into the Type c category, but we have to be cautious. The conception of the horse head and also the shaping of the cast handle element link the Trestina piece very closely to the well-known Cabinet des Médailles cast handle mounting in Paris (c 17 bis) with horse heads and male nudes evidently engaged in a dance. The two pieces are conveniently juxtaposed in Shefton 1979, pl. 10 which should in any case be consulted as the picture of *Trestina 5* provided there is superior to that in *Lincei* 2009, pl. xvi, 31. (Note that a useful picture and a careful description are also provided in the Cortona catalogue Heymann 2005, p. 211 with fig. to VI, 7). Now the sculpture placed on the Paris fragment pleads for an early date, contemporary probably with the main series of the "Rhodian" oinochoai, that is the late seventh century and the early decades of the sixth. In fact the superimposition of animal heads or indeed entire animals on handle tops is also documented on a fine Type a handle mounting in Vienna (Unprov 2). This is unusually broad having no fewer than five tubes crowded on the handle shaft and three quarter rotelles. These latter support a cock flanked by two hens, each perched on one of these quarter rotelles. The whole looks as though it belongs to the main period of these oinochoai. We should perhaps also recall the addition of the ram heads on the bronze oinochoe from the Faliscan territory, now in Civita Castellana (A 7), though there the superimposition of the ram's heads occurred as a secondary process, probably some time after its first manufacture. I am therefore tempted to separate the two closely related handles, ours from Trestina and the one in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris from the others cited in my commentary on *Trestina 5* in the *Lincei* volume and think of them as creations of a workshop contemporary with and aware of the "Rhodian" oinochoai but not following their more elaborate way of dealing with the handle decoration. Whether the connection of such pieces with Picenum, as had been suggested by me, can be maintained is at present a moot point in search of more evidence.<sup>1</sup> These considerations then suggest that the two handles, ours from Trestina and the one in the Cabinet des Médailles, are not late successor creations to the authentic Etruscan "Rhodian" oinochoai assembled as our Type c, but rather a contemporary special group standing on its own.<sup>2</sup> One should note perhaps that the addition of animal heads at this point of the handle structure can occasionally be found also on bucchero sottile oinochoai of the later seventh century (there though on top of the handle shaft itself) as indicated in the commentary on *Trestina 5* in *Lincei* 2009, p. 111.

We do not know for certain the nature of the Trestina find and opinions differ between a *ripostiglio* and the notion that we deal also with the remnant of a princely burial. In fact Fulvia Lo Schiavo and A. Romualdi in *Lincei* 2009, pp. 169-171 consider the possible existence of one princely tomb dating to the end of the seventh - beginning of sixth century with a content of wide ranging influences some from very far afield, and possibly another tomb in the second half

<sup>1</sup> For the Cabinet des Médailles fragment (c 17 bis) ADAM 1984, pp. 18f., No. 20 is also inclined to accept a Picene connection.

<sup>2</sup> Note that the 'cock and horse head' handle (*Trestina 5*) is ex Nicasi, whilst the other "Rhodian" handles are ex Pacini. It is difficult to assess the significance of this distinction as long as the relationship of these two sources of the material from Trestina and its immediate neighbourhood are unresolved. Do they come from one complex, or are they derived from at least two entirely distinct origins within the area? For the position of the Nicasi and the Pacini collections see my introduction to the catalogue in *Lincei* 2009, pp. 108f. More on this in the review of sources by Lo Schiavo, in *Lincei* 2009, pp. 19-34 with the documentation. This reveals that there is a conflict of evidence on this handle (*Trestina 5*). The Nicasi association is supported by Baldeschi's 1880 report listing it as No. 17 (reproduced in *Lincei* 2009, p. 28), also by its appearance in Magherini-Graziani's illustration of Nicasi material in 1890. This should be conclusive. Yet we find our handle 60656 listed in a Florence inventory as part of an «acquisto Pacini 1897-98» (*Lincei* 2009, p. 30)! This assignment will however in view of the other overwhelming evidence have to be discounted. I also note that the other constituents of Baldeschi's list are, where ascertainable, all ex Nicasi! In line with this correction I note that in *Lincei* 2009, p. 57 under No. 32 and No. 35 the pieces are not ex Nicasi, as stated there by Romualdi, but ex Pacini. They are listed as such in the acquisition list *Lincei* 2009, p. 32. The two items correspond to my *Trestina 9* and *Trestina 10* (*Lincei* 2009, pp. 118f.).

of the sixth century with a more local, Umbro- and mid Adriatic character; for other suggestions cf. Shefton, in *Lincei* 2009, pp. 108f. The wide range of "Rhodian" oinochoai types from the site could perhaps be held to argue against their derivation from just one princely grave as such a concentration of oinochoai in one grave is unparalleled elsewhere, except perhaps at Populonia, where a rather disparate group of them is put together in one *casone*. We shall come back to the Populonia grave.

The relative isolation of Trestina in the distribution panorama of "Rhodian" oinochoai is perhaps worth noting and one may in fact wonder why there should be such a concentration on this particular site at all. It is for the inland area the northernmost find of these prestige objects. For a grave their concentration would represent an unusually rich deposit, as we noted already. As a dedication in a sanctuary their cumulation would also be a remarkable occurrence.

I had in my first publication on the "Rhodian" oinochoai (Shefton 1979) considered the production of these pieces to have been in the Aegean Greek world and their wider distribution to have been carried out through Phocaeen trade activity. This attribution to a Greek workshop, though widely accepted, was criticized by a number of scholars, who argued for their manufacture within Etruria. I responded to them with a series of counterarguments (cited in *Lincei* 2009, p. 138); yet when I had more recently to reconsider the position in the wider setting of my treatment of the Trestina material in the *Lincei* volume I concluded that the factors which pointed to an Etruscan origin were irresistible. On the other hand the various indicators in favour of a Greek origin which had impelled my earlier views had not disappeared and it seemed to me that we ought to consider seriously whether these conflicting factors did not point to the likelihood that the "Rhodian" oinochoai were initially generated by a Greek migrant craftsman who had settled in an Etruscan centre and created there a new amalgam of Greek features side by side with local Etruscan elements and who in addition was also influenced by models from even further afield which had been current in his new surrounding. Once such a workshop had been established it presumably spawned others and the shape flourished taking its place as a favoured vessel in warrior and other elite graves of the late seventh and the earlier sixth century.

It is at this same period and in the same surroundings that precisely such an amalgam had in vase-painting been detected in the work of the Swallow Painter,<sup>1</sup> as he has been called. His work can only be understood as that by a migrant potter and vase painter from East Greece who had settled in Etruria, probably in Vulci, and set up a workshop there. Whereas his products seem to have been no more than an isolated episode, the arrival of the metalsmith, as we suggest it, had a long lasting effect. In both cases a study of the ingredients from their various sources is a worthwhile exercise.

For the "Rhodian" oinochoe its general shape is of Greek origin, but by this time it seems established in Etruscan production both in pottery and presumably in bronze too.<sup>2</sup> The conical tilt of the neck found in the majority (but not all) bronze oinochoai of our kind does seem, as Hiller was the first to point out, a characteristically Etruscan feature, and is in fact a highly

<sup>1</sup> Swallow Painter (Pittore delle Rondini). First identified by A. Giuliano in his 1963 paper *Un pittore a Vulci nella seconda metà del VII sec. a.C.*, «JdI», LXXVIII, pp. 183-199; cf. R. M. COOK (with P. Dupont), *East Greek Pottery*, London, 1997, pp. 68-70 (ample bibl. 200 note 83). Further contributions include MARTELLI CRISTOFANI 1978, p. 162, note 35 (with bibl.); M. TORRELLI, in R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI, *Etruria, Roma*, Torino, 1976, No. 26; cf. also comments by BOARDMAN 1998, p. 220 and by D. WILLIAMS, in 'Αειμνήστος. *Miscellanea di studi per Mauro Cristofani*, ed. B. Adembri, Firenze, 2005, p. 356. For other examples of migrant Greek artisans working in Etruria cf. references in V. IZZET, *The Archaeology of Etruscan Society*, Cambridge, 2007, p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> RASMUSSEN 1979, pp. 80-81 believed that the bucchero shape (his oinochoe Type 4a) may actually have copied the "Rhodian" bronze oinochoai, which he then accepted as being East Greek work. He also pointed to Late Protocorinthian and Transitional oinochoai of similar shape (PAYNE 1931, p. 33, fig. 10 a-c) «leading up to which there is a long and independent line of development». This is of particular interest in view of other Protocorinthianizing features on our oinochoai; cf. our note 1 on p. 68 below.

suggestive indicator of origin.<sup>1</sup> The decorative features embodied in these pieces are however Peloponnesian, both in case of the top 'napkin', where they are strongly Protocorinthian in character, and also on their bottom attachment. There the motives resemble those found on the Peloponnesian, 'Argive' shield band reliefs. There is another point to note, namely that on a number of examples the embossed foil which carries the ornament is of an alloy which makes this bronze foil appear to be of gold (cf. PL. II b).<sup>2</sup> Now we may well remember that the Phoenician silver oinochoai, which a couple of generations or so earlier were incorporated in the furnishings of high elite, princely burials such as the ones at Vetulonia, Caere, Praeneste, Cumae and at Pontecagnano, had the lower ends of their reed handles enveloped in foil which was of real gold. Below that was the attachment with the ornament, again embossed on real gold (PL. II c). Knowledge of such practices may well have survived in Etruscan workshops even a long time after that production and import had ceased and inspired this occasional reminiscence of a practice current in earlier princely contexts within Italy.<sup>3</sup>

There was thus here, as it was also in the case of the Swallow Painter, no direct transplant of a product that had already been developed at home but rather a new creation that was dependent upon features derived from areas of Greek inspiration as well as those from Etruscan and even Phoenician influence. It was presumably at this stage that there was devised the elegantly discreet junction of two disparate elements to form a new kind of handle. There was on the one hand the handle shaft which was made of light bronze sheet, reinforced with tubes, on the other hand there was the heavily cast recipient mounting which was fitted on top of the vessel. These two elements had to be combined to form the complete handle. This was done on this new type of oinochoe by bringing the upper end of the handle shaft into a neatly devised chamber prepared within the recipient mounting. The opening into this hollow was placed between the two matching quarter-rotelles and bordered below by a ribbed base strip. Within that chamber the strap was firmly soldered to the cast mounting and the process had the surely deliberate effect of keeping the junction hidden out of sight.<sup>4</sup> These features, which can be observed on any of the 'authentic' "Rhodian" oinochoai (of Types A and B), remained characteristic throughout the history of the shape and they seem to have had no predecessor; nor can we identify any generative stages through which this new creation evolved. One could well imagine that the concept was

<sup>1</sup> HILLER 1963, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> The example illustrated is the oinochoe from Capua, tomb 1505 (A 6), for which cf. B. B. SHEFTON, in *Lincei* 2009, p. 128 under A 6. The piece comes from a rich tomb dated by Early Corinthian pottery to about 595-590 B.C. (Neef). I am grateful to the Soprintendenza for Salerno, Avellino, Benevento and Caserta for permission to illustrate the view. The goldlike sheen in the central portion of the foil is apparent even on a black and white image despite the parlous state of its preservation. A profile view of the piece was published by Conrad Stibbe (2000, pl. 3, 6 with note 11, which also reports Neef's dating); republished in STIBBE 2006, p. 179, fig. 28 (with note 11).

<sup>3</sup> On these silver oinochoai cf. after the review discussion in D'AGOSTINO 1977, pp. 37-39 the valuable Cologne dissertation on the Phoenician metal oinochoai GRAU-ZIMMERMANN 1978, esp. pp. 167f.; 189f.; 202f. On the Phoenician (rather than Cypriot) component of their ornament SHEFTON 1979, pp. 25f. and especially SHEFTON 1989, *passim*. Good colour illustration in: D'AGOSTINO 1988a, p. 101, fig. 146 (Pontecagnano oinochoe in Pontecagnano); D'AGOSTINO 1988b, p. 548, fig. 563 (Pontecagnano oinochoe - different view); A. MAGAGNINI, *The Etruscans*, Vercelli, 2008, p. 62 left fig. (Regolini Galassi tomb, Caere, in Vatican). For a detail view of the gold attachment decoration here PL. II c (Bernardini Tomb, Praeneste, in Villa Giulia, Rome; cf. p. 70, note 2 below with further bibl.).

<sup>4</sup> The method is an interesting adaptation of what was perhaps developed in East Greece. The practice there was to insert a heavy, partly cast handle shaft into a specially prepared opening in the cast recipient mounting. The join was effected by either a heat process or very fine solder. For this see the references to ex Biliotti bronze oinochoe handles in the British Museum discussed in our treatment of the Trestina Group below (pp. 80ff.). The much lighter handle construction on the "Rhodian" oinochoai described here - hammered sheet surmounted by hollow semicircular half tubes - would not permit this process of joining to the cast mounting. What was devised is a rectangular chamber hollowed out in the middle of the cast mounting into which the shaft combination of sheet and semitubes was inserted and embedded with solder. The process extended to making special provision in the case of Type A oinochoai to accommodate the projecting arch of each tube in the shaping of the cast container.

that of one master craftsman whom we presume to have been a Greek immigrant. It was he also who modified a possibly already existing use of the transverse roll by integrating it more closely into the construction of the Type A handle. In fact in several cases this roll was not a separate cast accessory, but was rather fashioned as the upper extension of the bronze foil which covered the lower attachment plate of the handle with its characteristic ornament. Such for instance was the case with the earliest oinochoe so far known, the one in the Louvre from Tarquinia (A 1; visible on Shefton 1979, pl. 1, 1). The use of the transverse roll is not, as far as I am aware, found in early Etruscan work previous to our oinochoai. The only Italic instance of early date I know is the one found on our handle *Trestina 8* (to be treated below; cf. here PL. VI a) where its presence may possibly have been imitative of the newly developed "Rhodian" oinochoai. The transverse roll is however a feature on Greek products, even if only rarely.<sup>1</sup> We might finally add that the application of the ornament embossed in foil on the 'napkin', which was set strikingly at the top of the handle construction was also an innovation which in bronze ware seems to have had no predecessor. It reaches down into the interior of the throat, differing therefore in essence from what can for instance be seen on the East Greek clay oinochoe Lévy in Paris, often cited as a parallel, where a cable ornament is set on a display panel at a level *above* the neck.<sup>2</sup>

The great success of this shape and of its successors, amongst which I count the late and derivative Etruscan productions called Type C, is a remarkable phenomenon, not least for its astonishingly long life. The early stages of the shape's development are however still obscure and we cannot determine at which centre the initial production took place. The Tarquinia find in the Louvre (A 1), presumably the earliest context (though not of course, strictly speaking, archaeologically certified) is at present still something of an isolate. By the end of the seventh century and just beyond however pieces are found already incorporated outside the Etruscan home area in rich graves within Campania at Cales and Capua (A 5 and A 6; more in *Lincei* 2009, p. 128), perhaps also in the Abruzzi at Campovalano, and also at Metaponto (Prov 39). Soon thereafter the creation of Type B, a gave some variety to what was in danger of becoming despite its elaboration and decorative features a little monotonous. It is remarkable that this new Type B, a seems to have monopolized the export of the "Rhodian" oinochoai to the Far West, that is Tartessos (B, a 2; B, a 3; Prov 1), and it was also represented in the Celtic world at Vilsingen on the upper Danube (B, a 4).

Some of the innovative elements on the "Rhodian" oinochoai are at this point worth looking at a little more closely, particularly if we consider them to be part of a new creation by an immigrant Greek metalsmith.<sup>3</sup> Let us home in upon the newly invented structure of the handle shaft. At first sight it may look like a reeded handle of a common sort. But the situation is more intriguing. The handle consists basically of a sturdy bed of bronze sheeting, which at its lower termination ends in a palmette-shaped attachment directly affixed, usually by solder – surely so to avoid the risk of leakage caused by a rivet – to the body of the vessel. At its top termination the junction of handle shaft to the vessel's body is however considerably more complex. The bronze sheet there is securely embedded deep within a cast recipient mounting which in turn fixes it to the vessel's top (cf. p. 66, note 4 above together with the pertinent main text). This mounting is, as we said already, a rigidly cast and elaborately decorated construction to receive and anchor the handle shaft which itself by contrast is of the more pliable sheet metal. The cast

<sup>1</sup> For the transverse tubular roll in early Greek context cf. B. B. SHEFTON, in *Lincei* 2009, pp. 117 (on *Trestina 8*) and 135 (on Prov 39).

<sup>2</sup> For the oinochoe Lévy (Louvre E 658; CVA 1, II D c pll. 6, 1-4; 7) cf. MARTELLI CRISTOFANI 1978, p. 158 (bibl. there under No. 2). The vase is also in JACOBSTHAL 1929, p. 209, figg. 10-13 (special photographs of mouth and handle top); BOARDMAN 1998, fig. 287. Extensive coverage, also of shape in H. WALTER, *Samos v. Frühe Samische Gefässe*, Bonn 1986, pll. 116-117, No. 592.

<sup>3</sup> The most meticulous and detailed descriptions of the structure and decoration of "Rhodian" oinochoai can be found in ZANCO 1974, pp. 29ff., Nos. 1-5 of which 1 and 2 are Type A oinochoai.

mounting has decorated rotelles on its extreme side terminations, and quarter discs elevated in between to confine the opening by which the shaft enters its inwards. The context of the generation of this technique will engage us when we discuss the oinochoai of the Trestina Group further below in this paper.

Beneath this level there is an escutcheon- or napkin-shaped attachment – which descends across the horizontal beam of the cast recipient mounting into the interior throat of the vessel's mouth. This napkin is fixed to the vessel's neck by a rivet. Thus the junction is completed. No fear at this height that this rivet would cause a leakage of the fluid contained! More important still is the fact, pointed at several times already, that this napkin by dint of its prominent placing provides the setting for a striking design soldered onto its surface by means of a delicate bronze foil embossed with it. This is the foil which we mentioned already as occasionally being produced in an alloy which makes it shine like gold. It also is meant ideally to cover sight of the rivet underneath which contributes to fixing the handle to the vessel's neck. The ornament embossed on this foil is, as mentioned already, strongly Protocorinthianizing in character<sup>1</sup> and imposed itself as the commanding motive in the main production phase of these oinochoai.

This design on the top napkin is very telling and seems to have been a new development. It added to the top of the vessel the ornamental allure which had hitherto been confined to the lower attachment at the vessel's back. Such was the case on the Phoenician silver oinochoai to which we have alluded several times already. We also raised the likelihood that the makers of these new oinochoai were aware of these earlier Phoenician pieces, when we mentioned the gold effect produced on occasions by the alloy mixture used for the decorative foils on the "Rhodian" oinochoai. These Phoenician pieces had their special ornament at the lower back attachment only (PL. II c). Here the new Etruscan produced oinochoe surpassed them. Yet it is intriguing to find that the notion the top attachment of the handle should also have a strong decorative impact was already known in the Phoenicianizing eastern Mediterranean during the earlier stage of the *Orientalizzante antico*. Pontecagnano produced no fewer than four examples, two of which came from the princely tomb 928 which contained the silver jug. They were on the handles of bronze oinochoai, whose origin was assigned to Cyprus by their discoverer, Bruno d'Agostino.<sup>2</sup> They have a palmette design not only engraved on their bottom attachment, but also at the top junction where the handle shaft loops down to join the body's neck – on the *outside*, be it noted. The effect though of the decoration stays rather muted as it is placed under the arm pit, as it were, and largely obscured by the rising handle shaft. The comparison with these earlier oinochoai shows strikingly the effect of the newly developed cast mounting method on the "Rhodian" oinochoai through which the upper attachment was moved to the *inside* of the vessel's mouth and thus enabled its decorative device to be effectively visible. Here the "Rhodian" oinochoe evidently had broken new ground.

<sup>1</sup> The canonical ornament found embossed on the foils attached to the *upper* napkin (reproduced on the cover drawing of SHEFTON 1979 = A 7) does not really match Jacobsthal's comparanda in his classic 1929 study (pp. 208f.) and thus fails to support his East Greek argument. On the contrary it betrays a strong Protocorinthian flavour. The curls emanating on each side of the lotus bud with their incipient wreath of petals are often conceived as a continuation of the petals displayed within the calyx of the central flower. This compares closely with the entwined curling stalks found on the shoulder of so many of the finest aryballoi in the Protocorinthian. It could even be interpreted as a misunderstanding of the original motive! A glance at K. Friis Johansen's *Vases sicyoniens* (= JOHANSEN 1923) will provide plenty of examples of the original motive, especially perhaps pl. 28, 2 (Berlin); pl. 30, 1 (Berlin) and 2 (Boston); pl. 32 (Berlin); pl. 34, 1 (Syracuse); pl. 35, 1 (Paris, Louvre). To these add the Chigi olpe (Rome, Villa Giulia) *ibidem*, p. 126, fig. 102; pl. 39 – in white on the neck and above the hoplite frieze. See also the drawings collected on *ibidem*, p. 119. That pattern is quite alien to East Greek. The Corinthian influence on the decoration was also noted in HILLER 1983, p. 793 (his review of SHEFTON 1979).

<sup>2</sup> On these bronze oinochoai cf. D'AGOSTINO 1977, pp. 20-23. For the four pieces from Pontecagnano see *ibidem*, p. 11 (L 38 from tomb 926), fig. 8 and pl. 6; *ibidem*, p. 14 (L 66 from tomb 928), fig. 20 and pl. 19; *ibidem*, p. 14 (L 67 from tomb 928), fig. 21 and pl. 21; *ibidem*, p. 21 (from tomb 2465), fig. 28 and pl. 29.

The embossed metal foil used as carrier of the ornamentation was applied not only on the top and, as we shall see, the bottom attachments of the handle but also on the rotelles which terminated the two sides of the cast top mounting. We have alluded to these rotelles already, and here too their rosette decoration was embossed on foil soldered onto their surface. The vessel was thus, as it were, jewel studded in a way which is quite unique for Etruscan or for that matter Greek bronze vessels of their time, and this Phoenician inheritance stays with the *authentic* oinochoai of this kind throughout; in effect it helps to define them.

The effect of the earlier Phoenician oinochoai may well be apparent too on another feature of the handle construction to which we turn now. The bronze sheeting acting as a bedding for the handle shaft which we described above is actually almost entirely hidden from view along its whole length. It is covered by a set of semitubes, in fact hollow reeds cut u-shaped and turned upside down. This set ranges from three up to five reeds. They are soldered side by side onto this bed and at their lower end just above the attachment their run is stopped by a transverse roll, set at right angles to block. The two slightly rising sides of the bedding sheet are cut back to accommodate this roll within the profile of the handle shaft. The sheet continues downwards to spread out into a palmette shaped attachment plate. The surface of this plate too is hidden from view as it is covered by a thin foil of bronze soldered on to it, as we mentioned already (as already noted this foil on early pieces is at times continued at its upper end to turn into the characteristic transverse roll, thus an A 1, the Louvre oinochoe from Tarquinia). This foil has embossed on it an elaborate palmette design, which in most cases also conforms to an established pattern. What we said above about the occasional gold sheen produced for the foil on the top napkin (PL. II *b*) applies also here on the lower attachment.

The idea of reeds as strands for a handle shaft is of course common enough both in clay and in metal. Their transformation however into hollow tubes of metal is actually quite rare. In 1979 I only knew about the instances in Phrygian production and the Phoenician silver oinochoai, and the situation is no different to day, as far as I am aware. Then, when I took our oinochoai to be Greek work, I considered the Phrygian production seriously as models and played down the evidence of the Phoenician oinochoai in Italy, whilst admitting its potential weight. On my present view however that our oinochoai were produced in Etruscan centres the Phoenician precedence in the Italian regions becomes of course of primary importance and I believe it very likely that the practice of assembling the hollow semitubes on top of the bed of bronze sheeting is created under the influence of the much earlier Phoenician pieces. That the "Rhodian" oinochoai have an infinitely more stable construction than that produced for the Phoenician silver vessels, where a pair of tubes was soldered to each other unsupported by anything else, shows plainly the symbolic ritual function of the silver pieces.<sup>1</sup> They would never have survived serious use, whilst sturdy handling of the "Rhodian" oinochoai of bronze would have been entirely in order. It is very probable therefore that the "Rhodian" oinochoai were in ordinary use in addition to their more frequently encountered status as elite grave goods. It is likely enough though that the exceptionally light construction of their handles is a legacy derived from these Phoenician predecessors (cf. also p. 66, note 4 above).

With so much said already about the influence of these earlier Phoenician silver flasks it will not surprise if we go on to suggest that the very idea of using the embossed foil as the carriers of the ornament instead of applying it direct onto the metal of the attachment is derived from that same source.<sup>2</sup> In fact the Phoenician silver oinochoai (PL. II *c*) and the "Rhodian" oinochoai in

<sup>1</sup> A similar construction can be observed on the related bronze oinochoai of Near Eastern origin, of which examples have now come to light, such as the one from Vivaro, Rocca di Papa in Lazio; cf. COLONNA 1988, fig. 371 with p. 468. I am not sure however whether the reeds there are hollow or solid.

<sup>2</sup> Much of this is already elaborated in SHEFTON 1979, pp. 26f. with annotation on points of detail.

bronze (PL. II b) are the prime examples of this practice —<sup>1</sup> the Phoenicians using gold, the Etruscans foil of bronze. An intricate pattern or design is engraved into a hard model form into which the foil is pressed and worked to reproduce the ornament as a positive.<sup>2</sup> Such use of the foil, now of bronze, is integral to what we call *authentic* "Rhodian" oinochoai of Etruscan manufacture and we find it regularly not only on Type A, but also on both varieties of Type B. There can be little doubt that this gleam of preciousness inherent in the *authentic* oinochoai of our kind is an inheritance derived from the Phoenician elite imports of earlier generations and it is important in the use of the term "Rhodian" oinochoai to distinguish between the authentic and the imitative. With the eventual abandonment of the use of foil and the substitution of engraving on the actual attachment plate for the application of the ornament the *authentic* "Rhodian" oinochoai cease to exist, even if some other aspects of the shape persist.

This applies in particular to the rather exceptional handle construction of hollow semitubes, which though used occasionally in jewellery work was quite alien to normal practice both in Greece and for that matter in Etruria, but had an astonishingly long life on our oinochoai despite the development of more normal methods of construction to which we shall turn presently (Types B, a and B, b as well as Type C). There was evidently an awareness of a special status and a conservative regard for the traditional appearance of the shape which gave it this very long life. Despite the development of rival constructions Type A, which incorporates these exceptional features, goes on being produced even to have a presence in the Chiaromonte Group, an imitative offshoot in the more advanced sixth century current in the southern tip of the Italic peninsula. Of that however more further on.

We have paid so much attention to the handle construction of our oinochoai because they were an innovation. The state so far described is that of their Type A, which appears on the actually quite sparse evidence available, to be the earliest phase going back perhaps even into the third quarter of the seventh century to judge by the Louvre grave, reportedly from Tarquinia and published in the classic article by François Villard in 1956. In the very early sixth century modifications can be observed, the most important ones of these are embodied in what I called Type A, a. This type actually seems to represent a distinctly hellenizing development upon the shape and it has a cohesive and close identity amongst its members. The vessels' feet are now cast as separate units throughout and not as hammered out extensions of the master shape, as they are occasionally on the other types of our oinochoai, thus on the Louvre oinochoe from Tarquinia, just mentioned (A 1), and throughout on Type C pieces. Also the handle shafts have abandoned the cover of the semitubes. The reeds on the handle shaft have become solidly united with the shaft as part of the same metal. These solid reeds are actually set slightly but distinctly apart from each other, almost demonstrably to show their difference from the pristine Type A, where the hollow semitubes are crowded one close against the other. Also the conical tilt of the neck, so typical of Etruscan practice, is abandoned in this type. The necks are straight-sided and cylindrical, as they are on Greek shapes. Otherwise however in the ornament the regular tradi-

<sup>1</sup> D'AGOSTINO 1977, p. 21 suggests the use of foil as decorative cover also on some «etrusco-laziali» bronze oinochoai from Praeneste, such as CURTIS 1925, pl. 39 (Barberini Tomb); cf. also D'AGOSTINO 1977, fig. 30. There is however no evidence for this.

<sup>2</sup> The detail view (PL. II c) of the gold foil on the silver jug from the Bernardini Tomb, Praeneste in the Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 61575) will illustrate the effect of the technique. That the gold is actually applied as a foil is testified also in CANCIANI, VON HASE 1979, p. 42 under their item 32: «l'attacco [...] è coperto con una foglia d'oro». Similarly so D'AGOSTINO 1977, p. 15 (L 78) for the Pontecagnano silver piece. This presumably disposes of the contrary views found in several publications and is of special importance in our argument. Height of design ca. 4.7 cm (the reported height of its counterpart on the silver jug from the Barberini Tomb, Praeneste). On the uninvestigated padding substance under the foil SHEFTON 1979, p. 57, note 117. On the vessel as a whole HELBIG 1969 (= vol. III) No. 2914 (T. DOHRN), with earlier bibl., to which add CANCIANI, VON HASE 1979, p. 42, No. 32; pl. 20, 4-5. For the pre-conservation state of the attachment CURTIS 1919, pl. 29, 2-3. The attachments of the Bernardini and the Barberini tombs respectively are conveniently juxtaposed on MÜHLESTEIN 1929, figs. 92 and 94.



tion is strictly maintained, thereby demonstrating beyond doubt that Type B, a belongs to the same family as Type A. Interestingly enough also the transverse roll continues to be in use on this new type even though its function as a block to cover the end of the hollow tubes had been made unnecessary by the change into solid reeds on the handles of this new Type B, a.

One of the striking observations on Type B, a is that it enjoyed a surprising diffusion. We have mentioned already its apparent monopoly of presence in Tartessian Iberia and also its appearance at the upper reaches of the Danube in the grave at Vilsingen in what is considered to be Early Celtic domain. Perhaps the type was meant to be a superior version, fit for special export use.<sup>1</sup>

One would expect the dating evidence for Type B, a to be fairly compelling, seeing that we have contexts from intact graves at Populonia (B, a 1), Huelva (B, a 2) and at Cerveteri (B, a 3 bis; for which see now the entry *Lincei* 2009, p. 131). In fact the richest context, that of Cerveteri, is from a tomb which contains material of too wide a time span and the context from Populonia too has an unexpected range of types in its deposit to which we shall come back shortly. It should perhaps be added here that it has recently been claimed in central-European Iron Age research that the dendrochronological indications for the date of tombs like Vilsingen (B, a 4) support an early date, not excluding the late seventh century.<sup>2</sup>

Type B, b (as I call the examples which not only turn the semitubes of Type A into low solid ridges but also heighten the two outer strands to form a pronounced border to the shaft) also seems to be attested by the very early sixth century (B, b 2, from Armento; cf. now also the oinochoe from Campovalano, here p. 72, note 1, item c). It is perhaps a more commonplace type, though apparently relatively rare in production. The cast foot is often abandoned in favour of the more humble practice of shaping it all in hammered metal with its consequent lack of stability, which thereby requires often the deadweight of a deposit of lead within the vessel.

The fact that Trestina has produced examples of all the types of "Rhodian" oinochoai, even of Type B, a if we are prepared to admit the Munich handle (B, a 5) ex Pacini (incorporated into the *Lincei* publication as *Trestina 3 bis*), suggests that the deposit comes from the very early sixth century, though it would be hard to tie this down more closely on the strength of the oinochoe finds.

It is by no means easy to ascertain for how long the authentic – as I call them – "Rhodian" oinochoai, that is those of Type A and of the two divisions of Type B, were in active manufacture within Etruria. Even latish contexts are not necessarily evidence for production at a late date as veteran pieces can have been used in burials. At a certain date though their production evidently declines and it was supplanted by a wide diffusion of Type C production, an ill defined division which evidently drew on the earlier traditions of these vessels but produced them in a render-

<sup>1</sup> For an amplified list of Type B, a oinochoai cf. SHEFTON, *Lincei* 2009, p. 121, note 360. We might perhaps at this point draw attention to the startling suggestion that remnants of a series of locally made clay vessels found in an apsidal construction at Vix (Mont Lassois), recently excavated by the Prehistoric Institute of Kiel University, exhibit features derived from the "Rhodian" bronze oinochoai, in fact imitating them. It is the indications of rotelles and of the dorsal reed which are claimed as evidence. As such the presence of "Rhodian" oinochoai in an early context at Vix would in view of their occurrence in Southern Germany not be unthinkable, but the evidence so far adduced needs reinforcing. Of relevance is that a few fragments of clay reproductions of beaked flagons were identified nearby as well. These, however early in their series they might be, would surely have to be much later than anything inspired by "Rhodian" oinochoai! The special and perhaps cultic find context is of importance; cf. MÖTSCHE 2008, pp. 204–208. I am grateful to O.-H. Frey for drawing my attention to the find and discussing it with me.

<sup>2</sup> Trachsel's recent ambitious attempt to bring mediterranean chronology into closer unison with that derived from the dendrochronological investigations north of the Alps also reviews our "Rhodian" oinochoai in bronze; see TRACHSEL 2004 (his Zurich dissertation of 2001), pp. 299f.; also 318. He puts the Vilsingen and the Kappel graves at differing dates within the time span of 630 to 590 BC, basing this on the revised Magdalenenberg dendrochronology and his classification of the wagon graves. (Note however that the date of deposition of the Kappel grave is generally nowadays put considerably later than the date assigned to the oinochoe fragments themselves which were recovered from it [A 20 with commentary in the forthcoming full version referred to in the introductory note here]).

ing of detail which was clearly of reduced quality. The intricate (and hidden) method of joining the handle shaft to the cast mounting at the top of the handle was abandoned, even where the outward appearance of the mounting was maintained. Some of these Type c creations appear already in relatively early contexts, though in those cases they tend to be still of rather careful workmanship, emulating the erstwhile model. In technique however, as we indicated, differences can be observed. Also the ornament on Type c is incised on the solid metal and not embossed on foil.

The account just sketched out of the rise of Type c still has much to recommend it, but the recent fuller publication of the Campovalano cemetery in the Abruzzi (Chiaramonte Treré 2003 and 2010) has injected complications, which have to be faced up to. It appears that several oinochoai, which I had in Shefton 1979, assigned to Type c are in fact datable through grave contexts to very early sixth century if not in some cases to the latest seventh century (Shefton 1979, pp. 83 [c 12-c 13] and 85 [c 20], referring to Zanco 1974, Nos. 3-5; pl. 6-9). The problems were already apparent from Zanco's account (1974), but with the presentation of the grave contents they have become more urgent. Particularly disturbing is the assignation of the oinochoe 7515 from tomb 84 (c 13) to the last quarter of the seventh century, but there are at least two other oinochoai with similar problems. It seems from these graves that there were imitations already current from the end of the seventh century onwards. These imitations seem deliberately to have avoided the Phoenicianizing elements found on the authentic oinochoai. There was no use of the hollow reeds for the handle shaft nor of the embossed foil, but only the application of direct incision on the metal, both on the handle attachments and on the side rotelles. Their ornament was not in any way alluding to the Protocorinthianizing design on the upper napkin, nor was there any close resemblance to the bottom decoration of the authentic pieces. It is not clear from the drawings nor from the actually insufficiently descriptive catalogue entries whether the junction of the handle strap to the cast mounting at the top of the vessel reproduced the process of insertion found on the authentic pieces or whether it was just the outer appearance which was reproduced. Here more work will have to be done. If we can trust the newly published drawings the design on the three oinochoai in question was stately and assertive enough, in contrast to what we tend to find on the later regular Type c oinochoai, as I defined them. It is therefore still uncertain whether the Campovalano imitative oinochoai are early stages of what became Type c, or whether there was an independent early rival surge which soon expired and was quite separate from the later Type c.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Some remarks on the material from Campovalano recently published in their grave contexts:

a. "Rhodian" oinochoe Type A, Campli inv. 5144 from tomb 2. CHIARAMONTE TRERÉ 2003, p. 18; pl. 21, 1 (drawings); SHEFTON 1979, p. 64 - A 10 (with extensive references). Correct there the details given for the foot construction. The foot is part of the body, but a separate disc is affixed by solder to act as bottom (Zanco). Decorated foil on top attachment (omitted in the drawing of 2003!), on bottom attachment and on side rotelles. For description the text and illustrations of ZANCO 1974, pp. 29f. No. 1 are the only authoritative and meticulous account. This applies to all the Campovalano material, apart from our item (c), which had not yet been available to her. On the exceptional height (over 40 cm) of the vessel cf. pp. 79-80, note 4 below. There also reference to the very large dimension of the tumulus of tomb 2, a chariot grave. Date: first half sixth cent. B.C. (CHIARAMONTE TRERÉ 2003, p. 146).

b. "Rhodian" oinochoe Type A, Campli inv. 7514 from Tomb 97, CHIARAMONTE TRERÉ 2010, p. 25, No. 42; pl. 31, 1 (drawings); SHEFTON 1979, p. 65 - A 11 (with references). Foot is part of body structure. Both attachments are decorated on bronze foil. The side rotelles have lost their foil rosettes. The design on the foil of the top attachment looks slightly unusual, never entirely finished perhaps?; cf. ZANCO 1974, pl. 3. More illustrations and description *ibidem*. Date: end of seventh century to first quarter sixth century (CHIARAMONTE TRERÉ 2010, pp. 259f.).

c. "Rhodian" oinochoe Type B, b, Campli inv. 40868 from tomb 415. Cited in SHEFTON, *Lincei* 2009, p. 133, PROV 17. CHIARAMONTE TRERÉ 2010, p. 114, 17; pl. 129, 5 (drawings); *ibidem*, CD images 19-20 (photos front and back). Foot is part of body structure. Decorated foil on lower attachment, but lost on top attachment; also lost on side rotelles. On the elite character of the tomb *ibidem*, p. 261. It was a female grave, in contrast to the others in this list which were male. The piece should be incorporated as B, b 6 into the catalogue SHEFTON 1979, p. 79. Date: end of seventh century to first quarter sixth century (CHIARAMONTE TRERÉ 2010, p. 261).

Reverting now to the early stages of what I termed Type c oinochoai let us look at c 4 in Florence as a particularly interesting example. It was found at Populonia in the right side *cassone* within the Tomba dei Flabelli, a placement which also contained A 2 and B a 1, two authentic examples of the shape, which we would therefore be inclined to place appreciably earlier in date than the Type c oinochoe,<sup>1</sup> even if we allowed that c 4 belongs to a group which in the design

All these three pieces can be counted amongst the authentic oinochoai of our kind. The following three however fall outside and because of the early date assigned to their grave contexts pose problems.

d. "Rhodian" oinochoe, Campli inv. 7515 from tomb 84. CHIARAMONTE TRERÉ 2003, p. 60, 7; pl. 68, 2 (drawings); SHEFTON 1979, p. 83 - c 13. Description in ZANCO 1974, pp. 34f., No. 5 with pl. 8-9. Foot is part of body structure. Incision for decoration on both attachments and for side rotelles. The upper section of the lower attachment has planted on it a solid cast head which also covers the lower end of the handle shaft. To establish safe balance and anchorage for the consequently unusually heavy handle two cast arms stretch from the back of the attachment across the shoulder to the neck of the vessel. For these details ZANCO 1974, pl. 8-9. For this and other features of the grave cf. also B. GRASSI, in CHIARAMONTE TRERÉ 2010, pp. 189f. Date: last quarter seventh century (CHIARAMONTE TRERÉ 2003, p. 141). The oinochoe with its accompanying metalware from the grave in GRASSI 2003, p. 518, pl. 4 c. Note also VON HASE 2000, p. 184 with fig. 6 (back view).

e. "Rhodian" oinochoe, Campli inv. 5807 from tomb 69. CHIARAMONTE TRERÉ 2010, pp. 12, 20; pl. 8, 3 (drawings, which however misrepresent the ribbing pattern of the handle shaft, for which see the photograph in ZANCO 1974, No. 4; pl. 7); SHEFTON 1979, p. 83 - c 12. Foot part of the body structure. Incised decoration on both attachments and on side rotelles. Date: end of seventh century to first quarter sixth century (CHIARAMONTE TRERÉ 2010, p. 259).

f. "Rhodian" oinochoe, Campli inv. 5808 from tomb 69. CHIARAMONTE TRERÉ 2010, pl. 8, 4; SHEFTON 1979, pp. 85f. - c 20. Foot is part of body structure. Incised decoration on both attachments. The side rotelles are left plain. From the photograph in ZANCO 1974, pl. 6 it seems a transverse roll was attached at the lower end of the shaft. Though the shape of the vessel looks very uncouth (cf. especially ZANCO 1974, pl. 6), the incised decoration as represented in the 2010 publication looks carefully done. The lower attachment resembles that on the lost ex-Campanari handle, SHEFTON 1979, pl. 8, 3 (B, B 4, from Vulci?). Date: cf. under item (e). Tomb 69 is a very rare example of a grave having more than one oinochoe of our kind. It must be noted though that this grave duplicates a number of the funeral gifts for reasons not quite evident; cf. CHIARAMONTE TRERÉ 2010, p. 259. The tomb was a chariot grave. Both oinochoai from the grave (e and f) are shown with their accompanying metalware on GRASSI 2003, p. 518, pl. 4, b (e and f in that order from left to right).

The dating for these tombs by the main editor of the latest publication volumes, as cited against each of the Campovalano pieces, is perhaps on the high side, but is by no means unacceptable. ZANCO 1974, p. 84 had put all the graves into the first half of the sixth century, and for the two chariot graves in our list (tomb 2 = item a; tomb 69 = items e-f) a wider report on the range of dates previously proposed can be seen in Emiliozzi (ed.) 1997, p. 315, complex. 42 and 43 respectively. It is clear that if we maintain the position of items d, e and f amongst our Type c oinochoai our view of that Type as imitative work produced during and after the concluding stages of the authentic oinochoai becomes untenable. Imitations are at Campovalano shown to have been contemporary already with the early production of the authentic oinochoai. Do these imitations continue throughout and in due course survive the decay of the authentic production and take over? We do not at present know. We know these few pieces so far only from Campovalano and we do not even know how reliable the drawings of the decorative motives on the attachments are, as the scale of their reproduction is not always adequate. What is surprising is that these decorations on the three Campovalano oinochoai in question, though engraved with some confidence, show so little resemblance to the well established conventions on the embossed foils found on the authentic oinochoai, which we have noted repeatedly earlier in this study. We do find such resemblance on the early examples of our Type c oinochoai, as will be set out in the main text presently, and we would have expected the same on the considerably earlier Campovalano pieces. It may turn out that these three examples belong to an isolated small group which has no direct links with the later Type c production, which we had taken to have developed at the time when the authentic oinochoai declined. Further finds may bring more evidence on these questions and they may indeed show that a continuous series of imitations had after all started earlier than we believed. However until such evidence materializes I prefer to separate the three Campovalano oinochoai (d, e, and f) from my Type c and regard them as isolates. It is interesting that already at this very early stage the use of foil as carrier of the attachment decoration is abandoned by these imitators and the link with the Phoenician tradition cut. The decoration is now incised directly on the attachments.

CHIARAMONTE TRERÉ 2010, it should be noted, also contains a very helpful chapter by Barbara Grassi on the bronze vessels, including our "Rhodian" oinochoai (*ibidem*, pp. 189f.). On her section concerning the stamnoi I may perhaps add that the references to SHEFTON 1988 are not intelligible to the reader, as that reference is omitted in the bibliography *ibidem*, p. xxii. It should read there: SHEFTON 1988 = B. B. SHEFTON, *Der etruskische Stamnos*, in W. KIMMIG, *Das Kleinaspergle. Studien zu einem Fürstengrabhügel der frühen Latènezeit bei Stuttgart*, Stuttgart, 1988, pp. 104-152.

<sup>1</sup> For the Tomba dei Flabelli the deposits of the four interments have relatively recently been discussed from different points of view by Marina Cristofani Martelli (1973, p. 105, note 27) and before that by John Boardman (1967, p. 9, note 31). Martelli deals primarily with the left *cassone*, which contains much of the earliest material in the grave both in bronze and in pottery going back to the second quarter of the seventh century. The final use of the *cassone* on the right is placed by Boardman (who was primarily interested in fixing more precisely the chronology of the ring worn by its latest occupant) to about the mid sixth century largely on the strength of pottery and an East Greek figure vase. This same right *cassone* contained all

decoration assimilates very closely to the authentic manner; cf. Shefton 1979, p. 80 with remarks on c 3-c 8. It is also worth noting that the construction of the cast recipient mounting on c 4 conforms to what I call Category 1 (for this see below), a disposition that was the norm for the authentic Etruscan production of these oinochoai. The ornament in this disposition was displayed up high on the cast recipient mounting. Only its lower part descends to reach beneath the horizontal bar. This in contrast to the later Category 2, where the ornament was placed entirely below that horizontal bar on a separate pendant.

That c 4 appears to be an early example of its type is apparent from the pictures in Shefton 1979, pl. 9, 1-3.<sup>1</sup> Though the shape of the vessel is elongated and incision rather than the embossed foil is used for the ornament there is nonetheless an attempt to produce reasonably faithfully the traditional formulas both for the top and the lower ornamentation on the attachments. We may therefore assume c 4 to have been amongst the earliest productions of Type c oinochoai. We should however be cautious about putting it on the strength of the common find place too close in date with the Type B, a oinochoe, which I take to be distinctly earlier.

Another example of what is claimed to be a still early production is c 1 from Cerveteri, now in Florence, from one of the graves excavated by the Boccanera brothers at the beginning of the 1880s in the domain of the Ruspoli family. The reconstituted grave was however properly published only recently by Mauro Cristofani 1980, pp. 1-30. Here, it must be said, we can detect much more serious divergencies from the traditional formulas. Not only is the ornament on the top attachment incised, but the attachment is a roundel, decorated with a large rosette, rather than the escutcheonlike lotus and palmette decorated attachment which is *de rigueur* on the authentic oinochoai, as I call them. The lower attachment is rounded as well without, it appears, any decoration remaining. More significant even is the fact that the top ornament is no longer set up in the Category 1 construction, as we just specified in the discussion of c 4, but in that of the later Category 2, that is on a napkin placed low, suspended beneath the horizontal bar rather than crossing it. In all thus the piece differs very notably from what had been the traditional convention.<sup>2</sup>

This piece, the oinochoe c 1, was dated by Cristofani implicitly to about 570 B.C., perhaps the latest date permissible by the chronology of a number of East Greek and Etruscan figure vases contained in the tomba del Figulo in Vetulonia, which produced an oinochoe (inv. 8332) similar to c 1 (see Shefton 1979, p. 80, c 2 with detailed references).<sup>3</sup> However the similarities may be deceptive. It rather looks from the descriptions in Frey 1963,<sup>4</sup> that the Vetulonia oinochoe belongs to our Category 1, whereas Cristofani's publication shows clearly on his p. 18 fig. 16 top left that the Cerveteri piece has the suspended appendage of Category 2, suggesting a later dating for that piece (note however the caution about this particular argument expressed in note 2 below). It is possible therefore in view of the divergencies noted just now to place the Cerveteri oinochoe somewhat later than the date proposed by Cristofani. Certainly contextwise it was sur-

the three "Rhodian" oinochoai found at Populonia, the two 'authentic' ones of Types A and B, a 1, as well as c 4. This conjunction of a Type c oinochoe with pieces of authentic production is surprising. I cannot recall another instance. It seems *in fact* likely that the dating of the last deposition cannot say anything compelling about the date or even conjunction of dates for our several oinochoai.

<sup>1</sup> For other helpful illustration of c 4 cf. Cygielman (ed.) 1988, pp. 231-233, No. 41 (Exhibition Catalogue, Frankfurt; in the preceding year shown in Hamburg) with careful description and commentary (S. BRUNI).

<sup>2</sup> It should however be noted that the use of Category 2 construction for the upper cast mounting of the handle is very rare amongst the Etruscan produced Type c oinochoai. They usually display rather shoddy versions of Category 1. The use of Category 2 is however universal amongst the oinochoai of the Chiaromonte Group, on which more below.

<sup>3</sup> The Vetulonia tomb is usefully republished with good illustrations in Camporeale (ed.) 1985, pp. 95-99 (entry by A. Parrini).

<sup>4</sup> Frey's report that there are vestiges of decorated foil on the upper attachment (cf. also SHEFTON 1979, p. 80 under c 2) suggests a Category 1 arrangement. Unfortunately none of the available pictures show the critical part of the vessel.

rounded in the tomb by pieces well down the second quarter of the sixth century, which would readily allow this somewhat lower time for our piece (Cristofani 1980, pp. 2-5, No. 22 in that list being our Type c bronze oinochoe from Cerveteri, whilst nearby stood two Attic Tyrrhenian amphorae as Nos. 14 and 15).

More work could be done still on organizing the oinochoai of Type c. This may also enable us to see more clearly how far into the advancing sixth century the Type c oinochoai carry on being produced.<sup>1</sup> A look at the catalogue of these oinochoai in Shefton 1979, pp. 80-86 shows that they are still derived from graves of some status, but they are likely to have lost much of their previous prestige.

The wide distribution of Type c oinochoai within Etruria and in Picenum is already shown on the map in Shefton 1979, p. 9. It can be amplified by more recent identifications.<sup>2</sup> There is also the interesting distribution of oinochoai in Campania which has been assembled largely by Werner Johannowsky after the appearance of my 1979 study. Most of these are however not yet known in detail, but the impression given is that they are mainly of Type c.<sup>3</sup> This is of course not to forget the important presence of early Type A examples in Caes and Capua, which have been referred to already.<sup>4</sup> All this must be considered as important evidence for a long lasting Etruscan influence in that region.

Another rather interesting concentration of Type c imports has been revealed further inland, slightly to the South East of Campania, an area which was in part still Campanian but settled further east by the Hirpini,<sup>5</sup> to the north of what would later be called Lucania. It is already evident on the map in Shefton 1979, p. 9 - Map 1. This embraces significant sites like Oliveto Citra (c 5), Cairano (c 6; cf. also Shefton, *Lincei* 2009, 132 under c 6) and Ruvo del Monte (c 7 bis in Shefton 1979, p. 89; for at least one other from a warrior grave see Shefton in *Lincei* 2009, p. 134, as Prov 35) as well as Morra Irpina – west of Cairano (Shefton, *Lincei* 2009, p. 133, Prov 23).

Whether these are just an extension of Etruscan products coming from Campania or whether they represent a distinct strand such as staging points along an established route from the interior or rather the Adriatic to the Tyrrhenian coast (as Bailo Modesti argued years ago; cf. note 5 below), is not yet clear. Whatever the answer this last group appears to mark the southern limit for the appearance of these Type c oinochoai. What happens further South is another story, one which has been emerging only in recent decades. Here new finds have added an unexpected chapter of revival and renewal of high status in a different environment.

There was one region of Italy where “Rhodian” oinochoai of authentic types seemingly survived into the more advanced decades of the sixth century, a time when we would no longer expect to find them. A few of these pieces have been known for some time, such as the one in

<sup>1</sup> Note in this respect c 7 bis, the oinochoe handle from Ruvo del Monte, which BOTTINI 1980, p. 332, note 29 (with pl. 4) reports as having been found in t. 36 with an Attic Cassel cup; cf. also SHEFTON, *Lincei* 2009, p. 132 with more references. A date so late within the second half of the sixth century would however need to be reinforced by other finds for full validity.

<sup>2</sup> See *Lincei* 2009, pp. 132-136, detailing provenanced pieces identified after the appearance of SHEFTON 1979.

<sup>3</sup> *Lincei* 2009, pp. 133f. Prov 25-26; Prov 31-32.

<sup>4</sup> Another Type A oinochoe handle without provenance is reported in Capua, SHEFTON, *Lincei* 2009, p. 133, Prov 27. Cf. also B, b 1 from Montesarchio (= Caudium); but that one needs further examination. The absence of these Etruscan imports from one of the important tombs in Capua where we might have expected them (tomba dei Quattordici Ponti) is commented on in the recent study by V. Bellelli (2006, p. 125).

<sup>5</sup> In some Hirpinian sites with our oinochoai cf. JOHANNOWSKY 2000, pp. 27f. On Cairano cf. G. BAILO MODESTI, *Cairano nell'età arcaica*, Napoli, 1980; ID., *Oliveto-Cairano: l'emergere di un potere politico*, in G. Gnoli and J.-P. Vernant (edd.), *La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes*, Cambridge-Paris, 1982, pp. 241-256. Note also IDEM, in *Seconda mostra della preistoria e della protostoria nel Salernitano*, Exhibition Catalogue (Pontecagnano, 1974), edd. G. Bailo Modesti, B. d'Agostino and P. Gastaldi, Salerno, 1974, p. 118; also 120. He suggested that these finds of oinochoai represented staging points along a route from the interior, or rather the Adriatic to the Tyrrhenian coast through the Melfi region and up the Ofanto valley to that of the Sele. This is attractive but leaves open why just these later-day oinochoai, presumably emanating from Etruscan production, should come from that direction. Other possibilities are considered in his 1980 Cairano volume, p. 20.

Policoro Museum from Chiaromonte, Sotto la Croce t. 26, here Pl. II a (= Shefton \*A 16\*, now with my detailed discussion, also of the chronology, in *Lincei* 2009, pp. 129f.). Pieces like this are so close in technique and appearance to the authentic Etruscan ones, especially of Type A, that they were and are confounded with them. Yet they have to be separated, not only because they are in later contexts but also because they have characteristics which distinguish them from the Etruscan models they emulate so closely. For one thing the decoration on the attachment plates and on the napkins differ. There is no bronze foil carrying the embossed ornament of the characteristic design, but the pattern is incised directly onto the metal of the attachment plate or of the napkin, as the case may be. The design too is totally changed from what it used to be on the authentic oinochoai. Now an *archaic* looking palmette, often of a special type, is substituted for the elaborate preceding *Protocorinthianizing* motive so scrupulously maintained on the Etruscan oinochoai. Similarly the design on the lower attachment is changed. There is now engraved on the plate a large-leaved palmette. There is another change too which must be defined more closely. We have already alluded to Category 1 in the construction of the cast recipient mounting on top of the vessel which brought to prominent view the elaborate Protocorinthianizing ornament on the top napkin like handle attachment on the authentic Etruscan production. This prominence is now no longer accorded on the later oinochoai we are concerned with. The ornament, as we said, is simplified into that of a plain archaic palmette, usually designed with some care. What is more, this new ornament is degraded in status by being placed not at the prominent top but as a lower appendage *underneath* the horizontal bar of the cast recipient mounting. This becomes standard practice throughout this new kind of oinochoe. As we stated already we classify this arrangement as Category 2, in contrast to the earlier Category 1 where the elaborate earlier ornament of the Etruscan production had been positioned to start much higher up in a more striking display.

This descending appendage is now incised with the archaic palmette. Also the etruscanizing conical tilt of the neck is no longer encountered. The neck is now straight and cylindrical. These changes are not, it seems increasingly clear, mere evolutionary alterations due to evolving taste, but they denote a definite alteration of previous norms. Interestingly enough this new type of "Rhodian" oinochoe has so far to my knowledge not been found on any site within Etruria, where in fact the Category 2 construction of the upper ornament is encountered only very rarely on Type c oinochoai and not at all on the authentic Types A and B.<sup>1</sup> It is however, as we said, very much encountered in Basilicata and elsewhere in the southern extremities of the peninsula.<sup>2</sup> It is therefore inadvisable to use, as has been done, these oinochoai as indicators of direct Etruscan influence in the extreme South of the peninsula, as their origin is unlikely to have been in Etruria.<sup>3</sup>

If we are right in this separation of the newly discovered adaptation of the authentic Etruscan progenitors of preceding decades, we have to consider the place of its production. Here a centre in the South seems highly probable. Would it be Capua? Probably not, as so far these adaptations have not been found there, though, as we said, the material gathered by Johannowsky is still mostly unpublished and unavailable. It seems to me likely that it is in a centre on the southern shores, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Siris, Metaponto or Sybaris that we have to look for

<sup>1</sup> The only exception known to me is the oinochoe B, b 2 (Policoro from Armento), which has a construction like Category 2. It is a puzzling case, even on account of its early date. The lost oinochoe, once in Berlin "from Sidon" (A 23) could perhaps be cited too, but that remarkable piece is so eccentric that it is difficult to evaluate its implications.

<sup>2</sup> My preliminary list of oinochoai belonging to or associable with the new kind of oinochoe, which we call the Chiaromonte Group (after the prime necropolis yielding them; see below) can be found in *Lincei* 2009, p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> This is not however to deny the presence of occasional Etruscan imports at Chiaromonte such as bucchero kantharoi, for which TAGLIENB 1985, p. 182.

the place of its manufacture.<sup>1</sup> The occurrence of so deliberate a transplant of an earlier Etruscan production so far afield and with maintenance of so many of its traditional mannerisms is quite extraordinary. It is difficult to think of a parallel to such a development. After all even the transverse roll at the bottom of the Type A handles is present. It is also used beyond that type on oinochoai with handles that have solid reeds and therefore had no need for this kind of 'antefix'.<sup>2</sup>

I call these recently discovered oinochoai "Chiaromonte Group" after the necropolis in the Oenotrian hinterland of Siris and Metaponto, which has produced in recent years a number of these pieces. Here they are very much part of the status assertion in the warrior elite graves which display in an impressive manner the possession of Greek battle equipment comprising highly elaborate Corinthian helmets and other items of Greek type arms and armour. These hellenizing features of fighting gear are matched by the presence of Greek type symposium furniture. All this has generated a lively discussion concerning the nature and impulse of Greek influences and of the genesis of the warrior elite which adopted them so eagerly.<sup>3</sup>

In the most prominent of these graves the presence of one of our Chiaromonte Group oinochoai became practically *de rigueur*. Here in this context the old type of oinochoe in its new guise maintained, or perhaps even regained a high elite status and seems to have maintained it well into the second half of the sixth century.<sup>4</sup> It may in fact turn out that most of the "Rhodian" oinochoai found south beyond Campania and its neighbouring area, partly Hirpinian, just to its South East, belong to this Chiaromonte Group or are at any rate related to it.<sup>5</sup>

We may even go further and suggest that amongst the relatively small number of "Rhodian" oinochoai found in the Aegean a proportion may belong to the Chiaromonte Group. I have assigned \*Prov 43\*, a handle in the British Museum from Biliotti's excavations in Kameiros, Rhodes to this group.<sup>6</sup> I have also included \*A z\*, an oinochoe in a New York private collection, which may also have come from Biliotti's work at Kameiros (cf. Shefton 1979, p. 70 with

<sup>1</sup> On these Greek colonial centres and their relationship with the Oenotrian hinterland note the treatment by Mario Lombardo (1996).

<sup>2</sup> We should note that in the Chiaromonte Group the transverse roll is not integrated as closely in the profile outline of the handle as it was the case with the earlier authentic oinochoai, where there was a special accommodation for it on the handle shaft. The roll now tends to be (almost mindlessly) superimposed and juts out sharply in profile view. This is clearly visible on the illustration of the oinochoe \*Prov 36\* (Chiaromonte, Sotto la Croce t. 170) in BOTTINI 1993, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> A. BOTTINI, in *Siris-Policion*, Incontro di studi (Policoro, 1984), ed. A. De Siena and M. Tagliente, Galatina, 1986, pp. 164ff. For fuller bibliography SHEFTON, *Lincei* 2009, pp. 123f., note 366, with references also to the Chiaromonte excavations. On the warrior graves with Greek armour note Bottini (ed.) 1993, esp. pp. 47-84 (including "Rhodian" oinochoe of the Chiaromonte Group). A. BOTTINI, *Principi e re dell'Italia meridionale arcaica*, in *Les princes de la protohistoire et l'émergence de l'état*, Table ronde (Naples, 1994), ed. P. Ruby, Naples-Rome, 1999, pp. 89-95. There also the Greek type symposium furniture, on which more in M. TAGLIENTE, *Elementi del banchetto in un centro arcaico della Basilicata (Chiaromonte)*, «MEFRA», xcvii, 1985, pp. 159-191. Relevant comments also in the more general accounts, such as A. BOTTINI, *Greci e indigeni nel sud della penisola*, in *Popoli e Civiltà dell'Italia Antica*, 8, Roma, 1986, pp. 175-195 (Oenotrians); B. D'AGOSTINO, *Le genti della Basilicata antica*, in *Italia omnium terrarum parens*, ed. G. Pugliese Carratelli, Milan, 1989, esp. p. 222; cf. also D'AGOSTINO 1988a, pp. 103-106. More on the archaeological evidence in the valuable chapters in *Storia della Basilicata* 1, ed. D. Adamesteanu, Rome-Bari, 1999. Of particular relevance here: S. BIANCO, *Gli Enotri delle vallate dell'Agri e del Sinni tra VII e V sec. a.C.* (*ibidem*, pp. 359-390).

<sup>4</sup> The chronology here is not without problems. The 'official' chronology in the established accounts (e.g. Bianco, Tagliente) tends to put the crucial graves at Chiaromonte and related sites into the first quarter of the sixth century, that is roughly speaking contemporary with the 'authentic' production in Etruscan centres, to which they would also assign the Chiaromonte pieces. There are though dissident voices amongst other Italian scholars who date later, and I suspect they are right. I have discussed these points in *Lincei* 2009, pp. 129f. under \*A16\*, and also under \*A37\* in the full version (yet to be published). Meanwhile cf. the remarks in the somewhat outdated version of Section B published in *Lincei* 2009, p. 124.

<sup>5</sup> Some indications are given in the list in SHEFTON, *Lincei* 2009, p. 126.

<sup>6</sup> This assignation to the Chiaromonte Group seems attractive. Nonetheless caution is advisable. For one thing the provision for the transverse roll resembles that used on the authentic oinochoai rather than the superimposition common in the Chiaromonte Group (cf. note 2 above). In addition a very recent x ray investigation at the British Museum revealed that the two outer strands are not hollow but filled with metal in a way yet to be investigated. The special construction of the two outer strands had been noted already in *Lincei* 2009, p. 135 \*Prov 43\*.

additions in *Lincei* 2009, p. 130). There is then the interesting possibility that some at any rate of our oinochoai reaching the Greek world were not of Etruscan origin, but rather came from the extreme south of Italy, which of course included Greek establishments. These pieces were substantially later than the authentic Etruscan production and may, as we said, well have gone on into the second half of the sixth century.

I would like to turn now to what is perhaps the most important individual piece amongst the smaller sized bronze vessels from Trestina, namely the fragments of the Laconian oinochoe from there. We are lucky to have all the cast elements of the vessel, namely the handle and the foot. The latter had not been identified until I saw it on my visit to the Cortona Museum in December 2008. Both handle and foot had been kept by the Nicasi family at Città di Castello and were not acquired by Florence Museum until 1910; cf. *Lincei* 2009, p. 31 where they are mentioned in the Nicasi list as No. 12 (84503) handle, and as No. 15 (84506) foot. The piece is now published with extended commentary in Shefton, *Lincei* 2009, pp. 111-116.

This vessel from Trestina must rank amongst the earliest as well as the finest Laconian oinochoai of the kind so far known. It belongs to a group, which was first put together by Thomas Weber (1983, pp. 23ff.; 46f.; 89; 210-214), who rightly identified the unprovenanced bronze oinochoe in Mainz as a nodal example of a number of oinochoai embracing pieces from Attica, from Galaxidi as well as vessels of unknown, but presumably South Italian provenance, thus the ones in the museums of Naples and of Lecce.<sup>1</sup>

These vessels can be dated to the beginning of the sixth century and may reach back even a little further. Amongst these the Trestina oinochoe is the only one of this early date in Etruria or in Umbria to have a provenance. In fact it is, as far as I am aware, the only piece so early known from this region altogether whether with or without a provenance.

Now it is part of the strange story of the Etruscan production of bronze oinochoai that the so called 'lion oinochoai', produced in considerable numbers in Etruscan centres can be seen clearly as inspired by and imitating Laconian, presumably imported, models. The motive of the lion head and mane as the commanding top feature of the handle and the placing of the monkey head as the terminating feature on both arms were typical of the Laconian design and of this the Trestina handle is a very early example. Both these characteristics became the norm for the Etruscan vessels of that shape and there can be no doubt about this connection. Yet hardly any early Laconian bronze oinochoai can be unambiguously tied down to an Etruscan or Umbrian provenance, as their find places are unknown, even where such an origin is highly likely by virtue of the nature of the collection or even location of the pertinent museum. Here the opportune identification of this long known but hitherto misinterpreted piece does make a difference.<sup>2</sup> Not only is it one of the all too scarce presences of these very early Laconian pieces in Italy whose place of discovery can be archaeologically documented, but more specifically it shows that the early group of these oinochoai, which as we saw was rather associated with South Italy, was also present in the Etrusco-Umbrian region. The Trestina piece must be typical of a good few others which introduced the type and its special features to Etruria and contiguous regions. But there is more to it than that. The Trestina piece also shows, perhaps for the first time, that most probably the import of these Laconian models began a considerable time before the local Etruscan imitations ever started. These imitations can be traced back

<sup>1</sup> To these early pieces in South Italy may be added now the recent find in Avella (north of Nola). It is somewhat later though than the bulk of the Mainz group; cf. SHEFTON, *Lincei* 2009, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> The handle was illustrated in the 1890 publication of Graziani (conveniently accessible in *Kunst Sardiniens* 1980, p. 131, fig. 95 b and in *Lincei* 2009, pl. III, fig. 2), and again in a different photograph in TARCHI 1936, pl. 100 (reproduced in *Lincei* 2009, pl. III, fig. 4). It was commented on by BROWN 1960, p. 126 No. 14. and was placed by WEBER 1983, p. 229 (1AEtr.b.2) amongst Etruscan imitation of Laconian. This was a mistake and Weber may never have seen the original.



into the second quarter of the sixth century.<sup>1</sup> It does in fact appear that a number of decades elapsed before these early Laconian oinochoe imports brought about the generation of a local imitative production.<sup>2</sup>

Examples like the Trestina oinochoe will have introduced into Etruria the motive of the monkey head as the side finials on the upper arms of these handles. This motive became, once the Etruscan imitation oinochoai began, as common on the Etruscan vessels as it was on the Laconian models.

There is perhaps an additional point to be registered with the Trestina handle. We have already noted that qualitywise it is an outstanding piece. This may not be just a matter of chance. It has been observed that often enough at the beginning of newly developing contacts of trade or similar relationships the early goods of import delivered either as gifts or trade objects tend to be of exceptionally high level of quality in a measure not perhaps observable in succeeding periods of that contact. I would like to cite in this context Bondi's formulation concerning early contacts of Italic societies with Phoenician traders: «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». I have on several occasions drawn attention to this phenomenon which appears to have been common in early contacts between sophisticated importers establishing links with local stratified societies in a good number of areas.<sup>3</sup>

Our Laconian oinochoe may be another instance of such a situation being amongst the earliest of these pieces to have reached the Etrusco-Umbrian region, a place where the shape was destined in due course to make so influential an impact.

To underline the quality of the piece I add some detail pictures which I was able to take through the courtesy of the curators in Cortona Museum in the winter of 2008 (here PL. III a-e). They supplement the illustrations in *Lincei* 2009, pl. XVIII, 34 (4 images); pl. XIX b, as well as those in «Ostraka», XIII, 2004, p. 66, fig. 11 (A. J. Heymann) and in Bruschetti, Giulierini 2008, p. 237.

That not all Laconian oinochoai of the group are of this exceptional quality can perhaps be shown by the handle of the complete oinochoe in the British Museum 1882.10-9.22, which is reported to have been found at Galaxidi ex collection Charles Merlin, British consul at the Piraeus. This piece found along the Gulf of Corinth, within reach of Delphi, belongs to the same grouping of Laconian oinochoai as the Trestina piece, but it is of considerably lower quality. This differential may perhaps underline the points made just now (here PL. IV a-c). Further remarks on the London oinochoe are incorporated in Shefton *Lincei* 2009, pp. 112-114.

I want to conclude this report by pointing to two kindred handles from Trestina namely Nos. 7 and 8 in the Shefton enumeration in *Lincei* 2009, pp. 116-118 (here figures on PLL. V and VI). They raise some interesting questions, not unrelated to the problem of the origins of the "Rhodian" oinochoai. They also provide at last a setting for a rather puzzling handle in the Helms Museum in Hamburg-Harburg, which is reported to have been found at Hilleröde in

<sup>1</sup> I adopt this dating from SANNIBALE 2008, p. 70 (on his No. 36). I cannot however follow him in his use of the Pontecagnano find as dating evidence for an Etruscan production reaching as far back as the beginning of the sixth century (*ibidem*, pp. 69-70) but regard that find as an isolated development (in locally produced bucchero) in Campania which seems to have had no ongoing influence; cf. *Lincei* 2009, p. 115; also *ibidem*, p. 114. However in the later sixth century Laconian oinochoai were again imitated in local bucchero, also found in Pontecagnano, but the immediate models then could have been the bronze imitations brought in from Etruria. Note D'AGOSTINO 1988b, p. 557, fig. 563.

<sup>2</sup> On these Etruscan imitations some bibliography in SHEFTON, *Lincei* 2009, p. 114. For their distribution see the summary indications for the Italic peninsula on the map in WEBER 1983, p. 18. Their concentration was in Etruria and to some extent in Picenum, but they are also found in small numbers quite far afield, as shown in Weber's list.

<sup>3</sup> Thus in *Lincei* 2009, p. 109, note 352.

<sup>4</sup> Inv. MfV 1891: 38. The provenance in the museum inventory of the time, on its p. 80, is given as: Hilleröde (with the addition in lighter ink "in Schleswig", an indication which was misleading even for 1891). The piece No. 38 is part of a donation

the Danish island of Zealand, situated some distance south of Copenhagen (PL. VII *a-d*).<sup>4</sup> The precise shape of the complete vessel is uncertain.

I do not know any other handles of this kind, which I call the “Trestina Group”. There are however, one would think, bound to be more surviving examples and it would be well worth gathering them, as their study may turn out to raise significant questions.<sup>1</sup>

These oinochoai, as will be shown presently, are roughly contemporary with the authentic “Rhodian” oinochoai, that is the late seventh and the early decades of the sixth century. One of them, our *Trestina 8*, also has the transverse roll at the bottom of the handle (PL. VI *a*), a feature which seems to have been introduced in Italy with the creation of the “Rhodian oinochoai”; cf. my remarks in *Lincei* 2009, pp. 117 and 135 (on Prov 39). The adoption here on *Trestina 8* may well be imitative.

The body of the vessel is not preserved for any of our three handles apart from a small part of the neck on *Trestina 7*, best visible in the drawing *Lincei* 2009, p. 58, fig. 16.

The way our handles were constructed shows that it had to deal with problems similar to those encountered on the “Rhodian” oinochoai, namely the novel and more complex method of combining a flexible shaft with a rigid and heavily cast recipient mounting, which in turn connected the joint whole to the vessel’s body. The cast mounting, which sat on the neck of the vessel, could be and was elaborated into a decorative element. It had rotelles on its side ends and further enhancement along its horizontal bar. All this was strictly regulated on the “Rhodian” oinochoai, but more variety was allowed on the Trestina Group, such as the presence or absence of spools applied to the horizontal bar and the location of an engraved ornamental panel.

This new system added stature to the vessel’s appearance, but it also taxed the ingenuity of the craftsman to devise an elegant junction of the shaft, which had been shaped by hammering and annealing, to the cast mounting. The normal way of fitting the handle had been to make

(?) of three apparently unrelated items by a Mr S. Fink. I am grateful to Dr Merkel for photographs of the inventory pages. It is *not easy* to give credit to the provenance despite P. Stary’s inclination to accept it (STARY 1991, pp. 20f.); cf. my note in *Lincei* 2009, p. 117, note 356. I owe my initial knowledge of this handle to O.-H. Frey, who drew my attention to it many decades ago. It assumed special significance once I worked on the Trestina material and recognized its relevance.

The Hamburg piece is compared to the examples from Trestina of exceptionally large size. For a time it was exhibited mounted on a modern specially constructed copy of a “Rhodian” type of oinochoe with a body some 33 cm high, which approaches the exceptional height of the Ugento oinochoe (\*A 17\*). The handle itself measures from the bottom of the lower attachment to its peak (where it curves downwards) 28.3 cm, whereas the two handles from Trestina measure 18 cm and 17 cm respectively. Its weight is 750 grammes. Such large scale examples finely elaborated, as the Hamburg handle and the Ugento oinochoe are, look like ‘presentation pieces’ for special usage or occasion. The elaborate New York oinochoe (\*Prov 41\*) with a height of 32.5 cm is surely another such example. It is not irrelevant to note that both the Ugento and the New York “Rhodian” oinochoai have, to judge by the illustrations, separately cast feet, whereas the norm at that time for the Chiaromonte Group were feet hammered integral with the body of the shape. The cast foot represents of course a more assertive feature. As another example, this time of almost gigantic height, one of the Campovalano oinochoai (A 10) from t. 2, a chariot grave, at 41.5 cm must be cited. Here the foot pretends to be cast, is in fact an extension of the hammered body, but fitted with a separate bottom which makes the outer appearance look like a cast foot. The entry on the vessel in SHEFTON 1979, pp. 64f. can now be supplemented by the three drawings in CHIARAMONTE TRERÉ 2003, pl. 21, 1. Her description though (*ibidem*, p. 18, No. 41) is deficient and one has still to go to ZANCO 1974, p. 29, No. 1. (For the identification of Campovalano t. 2 as a two horse, two wheeled chariot grave cf. ZANCO 1974, pp. 20f. It was exceptionally large [*ibidem*, p. 18] – «il più grande tumulo d’Abruzzo» – so V. d’Ercole [2003, p. 22] – with a diameter of 25 m).

The large size might be argued to support despite our initial reservations the claimed status of the Hamburg handle as an ‘export piece’ to far away destinations, perhaps even as introductory gift in the way we touched upon earlier. For the appeal of outsize vessels to ‘barbarian’ grandees cf. SHEFTON 2000, p. 30, note 29 at end; SHEFTON 2003, pp. 325-327.

<sup>1</sup> Is there some relationship between the rather despicable oinochoe in Marseilles in the former collection of the Musée Borély (JACOBSTHAL 1929, pp. 218f., figg. 24-25) and our Trestina Group? If so it is very remote.

As to our two handles from Trestina their close linkage to each other was apparent already to Baldeschi, the first reporter of the find in «NS», 1880, who listed the two together under No. 12 of his account; cf. now *Lincei* 2009, p. 28. I myself had mistakenly in 1979 included one of them (*Trestina 7*) as c 14 in my list of “Rhodian” oinochoai. This error was rectified in *Lincei* 2009, p. 132.

the shaft go all the way from the top join at the vessel's neck to its lower junction at its lower back – and this system continued to be used widely. With the newly devised method however the “Rhodian” oinochoai had created a very elegant and discreet solution to the problem. The junction of the shaft, which on these vessels was exceptionally lightweight, to the cast mounting at the top took place hidden out of sight within the interior of the mounting, as we saw (cf. p. 66, note 4 and pertaining text above). By contrast the method adopted by the makers of our Trestina Group is rather different. Here a technique is used which we also know from East Greek practice, as is witnessed by a number of bronze handles from Kameiros in Rhodes. They are ex Biliotti excavations and are kept in the British Museum. It is difficult to date these handles closely as their context is lost, but they are of early archaic date and are relevant to our enquiry. On these handles a thick shaft is inserted into a cleft or opening in the cast recipient mounting and is anchored securely in it presumably through skillful soldering technique.<sup>1</sup>

A very similar practice can be observed on the Trestina Group. It is least obvious perhaps on *Trestina 8*, where the entry of the substantially built shaft into the cast mounting is hard to discern, as the spill of solder obscures any traces of an opening on the cast element. Yet an insertion may be presumed (PL. VI c). The difficulty of assessing the real state is compounded by what is happening on the front side of the junction (PL. VI d, as seen in side view). Here the shaft closely abuts on the back of the ledge which rises from the horizontal bar of the mounting and carries the upright rectangular decorative panel (PL. VI b). It looks as though shaft and the back of the ledge are linked by solder. In that case, it could be argued, this join would be sufficient to make up the handle function and no insertion into the mounting would be required. What is visible on PL. VI d would then show no more than the abutting of the shaft termination onto the surface of the mounting. I find this however hard to believe and accept the first option, namely that the shaft is inserted into the mounting.<sup>2</sup>

The method used on *Trestina 7* and also on the Hamburg handle is somewhat easier to recognize. Here the handle shaft is planted onto the top platform of a rising post which forms part of the cast mounting and which is surrounded by an emphatically profiled protrusion (PL. v a-b and PL. VII a-b respectively). The junction is carried out with great skill, so that it is not clear on first sight how the two, the cast mounting and the shaft, were united. An attentive examination of the Hamburg handle shows however signs of solder at the place of implantation, making it clear that the post had an accurately measured gap possibly reaching down from top as far as its bottom (PL. VII b). Into this hollow the handle shaft was inserted and fixed with solder. It is even possible that it was pulled through to emerge below in the shape of a broad tongue, though this tongue could have been inserted separately from below. A test is planned by the Museum to resolve that question.

The tongue had been prepared to be riveted onto the *outside* of the vessel's back. We shall see presently how further planning on the Hamburg vessel provided that a corresponding clasp was to be riveted on the matching place on the *inside* of the vessel's neck. The whole arrangement was quite a sophisticated exercise. The handle *Trestina 7* did not go to such extremes. There the hole was sunk into the rising post just sufficiently deep to accommodate and anchor the shaft (PL. v b).

As we said earlier this practice of insertion or implantation is also known from handles which we may assume to have been manufactured in East Greece, as they are predominantly known from Kameiros in Rhodes. It is therefore possible to speculate that there may have been East Greek influence which affected the technical processes used in the workshop which produced

<sup>1</sup> The handles BM 1901.6-9.8; 1901.6-9.10 (Prov 44); 1901.6-9, all ex Biliotti, employ this technique.

<sup>2</sup> I am therefore inclined to amend the account I gave in *Lincei* 2009, p. 117, where I had opted for the second choice.

the Trestina Group.<sup>1</sup> More evidence may emerge which will further nourish a debate. We may also recall that we can speculate that the very special and peculiar fashioning of the concealed junction on the “Rhodian” oinochoai was at least partly motivated by the impracticability of using the implantation method just described for the slenderly constructed shaft of those “Rhodian” vessels which, as we saw, consisted merely of a bed of thin and hammered bronze sheet surmounted by hollow tubes (cf. p. 66, note 4 and pertaining main text above).

Returning to the description of these handles we note that the lower attachments destined for the vessel are broad and rounded. Each of them however shows some differences from the others. The handle of *Trestina 8*, the one with the transverse roll, has engraved a rather nondescript rosette of narrow leaves radiating from the centre, whose role is emphasized with a conspicuous broad stud (PL. VI *b* and *d*). *Trestina 7* has an enveloped palmette, as drawn out in *Lincei 2009*, p. 38, fig. 16, right. A much more intricate palmette is incised with considerable refinement on the Hamburg handle (PL. VII *c*) a piece of exceptional size which is the masterpiece of the group, and is likely to remain so, even after further identifications are made. The palmette on that handle also strongly suggests the Italic origin of the group, having been devised under Greek influence. Its style and character help to determine the date we have assigned to the Group.

Further practice characteristics of this workshop are indicated in the *Lincei* study. Of these I select one which is quite unusual and may well serve as a defining trait of the group. The handle shaft regularly has a strongly raised central ridge in addition to any others there might be. This central ridge alone is matched on the back of the shaft by a deeply engraved furrow/canal. The rest of the back is flat. All this is clearly shown on the pertinent illustrations. It will be interesting to see whether any other potential members of this group share this characteristic. It was a devised mannerism, almost a trade mark.

A word still on the engraved decoration on the cast recipient mounting which envelops the back of the vessel's mouth. Here the ambitions on each piece differ in a rather surprising way. The Hamburg piece, the pride of the group, has nothing more than a rectangle which contains a St. Andrews cross marked with small circles, whilst its remaining area is covered with dense punch marks and closely packed short-lined striation (PL. VII *a*). *Trestina 8*, the handle which has the transverse roll, uses the same rectangle, this time its long sides standing up, but disdains to put any ornament inside the rectangle, which is bare but for its frame (PL. VI *b*). When we turn however to *Trestina 7* we have a surprise. No rectangle here, but a decided effort is made to devise a decorative scheme on the available surface consisting of circles, scrolls and floral allusions almost in an East Greek manner.<sup>2</sup>

The cast mounting overlooking the mouth of the vessel invites further ornamentation. On the “Rhodian” oinochoe this was elaborated in formidable detail and with a good deal of uniformity. On the Trestina Group however the opposite is the case. The ornamentation consisted of almost haphazard enhancements as they occurred to the craftsman. Special attention was paid to the side rotelles, which are unusually elaborate and enhanced with prominently assertive knobs in the centre, thus (PL. VI *b* and *c*). This ornamentation was cast separately on a disc which was soldered on. Unfortunately these discs are lost on the Hamburg piece (cf. PL. VII *a* and *d*, where the hole in the centre of the rotelle indicates where the knob had been inserted).

There are however parallelisms between the two productions, that of the “Rhodian” oinochoai and that of the Trestina Group, and mutual influences cannot be excluded. One would think

<sup>1</sup> The technique was not unknown in Etruria, but this may also have been due to East Greek influence. Thus CAMPOREALE 1969, pl. 40, 3 (Florence, from Vetulonia); pl. 41, 4-5 (Grosseto, from Vetulonia). These handles though have a napkin reaching down to below the level of the horizontal bar, a feature not encountered on the East Greek ex Biliotti handles just cited.

<sup>2</sup> The drawing in *Lincei 2009*, p. 58, fig. 16 left reveals more of the worn design than I could make out during the very short opportunity I had to see the piece in Cortona. The reconstruction appears to be on the right lines and is of real help.

that the "Rhodian" oinochoe was the giving agent and we may conclude our observations by pointing to an instance of this parallelism, where there may well have been such a direct influence between the two, the "Rhodian" oinochoai and the Trestina group.

Both *Trestina 7* and *Trestina 8* have under the middle of the horizontal bar of the cast mounting a narrow and descending tongue (PL. v a for *Trestina 7*; PL. vi b for *Trestina 8*). It is set back from the front plane and its function is to act as an unobtrusive extension for securing the rivets which fasten the handle construction to the vessel.<sup>1</sup> When we turn to the Hamburg handle the same elements are present but they are changed in significant ways. The narrow tongue found on the two pieces from Trestina is changed into what I called the napkin on the "Rhodian" oinochoai. The tongue has moved to the front plane and is now fully part of the cast mounting (PL. vii a). It still acts as means for joining the handle to the vessel, but it now does so in the manner found on the "Rhodian" oinochoai. It forms part of the area which on the authentic oinochoai is covered by the embossed foil ornament.<sup>2</sup> That was also meant to cover the sight of any rivet that might have been placed on that spot. On the Hamburg piece there is the rivet on that spot but no ornament apart from the engraved St. Andrews cross placed higher up. The transformation from the pendant tongue into the napkin on the Hamburg oinochoe may well have been due to assimilation to the "Rhodian" oinochoai.

The further question of where the Trestina Group was produced is still unanswerable. New additional assignments to the group may help further. The relationship with the "Rhodian" oinochoai suggested here does not necessarily render them Etruscan. I prefer to call them at present Italic.

It is probably of significance that the three kinds of bronze vessels we had the occasion to review, that is the "Rhodian" oinochoai, the Laconian oinochoe and the members of the Trestina Group, are all roughly contemporary with each other, that is at the end of the seventh century to the early decade or so of the sixth. There are some later vessels from Trestina, but this is evidently the principal period of depositions, which have provided such a variety of material of major importance hailing from so far afield. The three productions treated here in their way bear further witness to this status.<sup>3</sup> The site has provided material which has substantially furthered our understanding.

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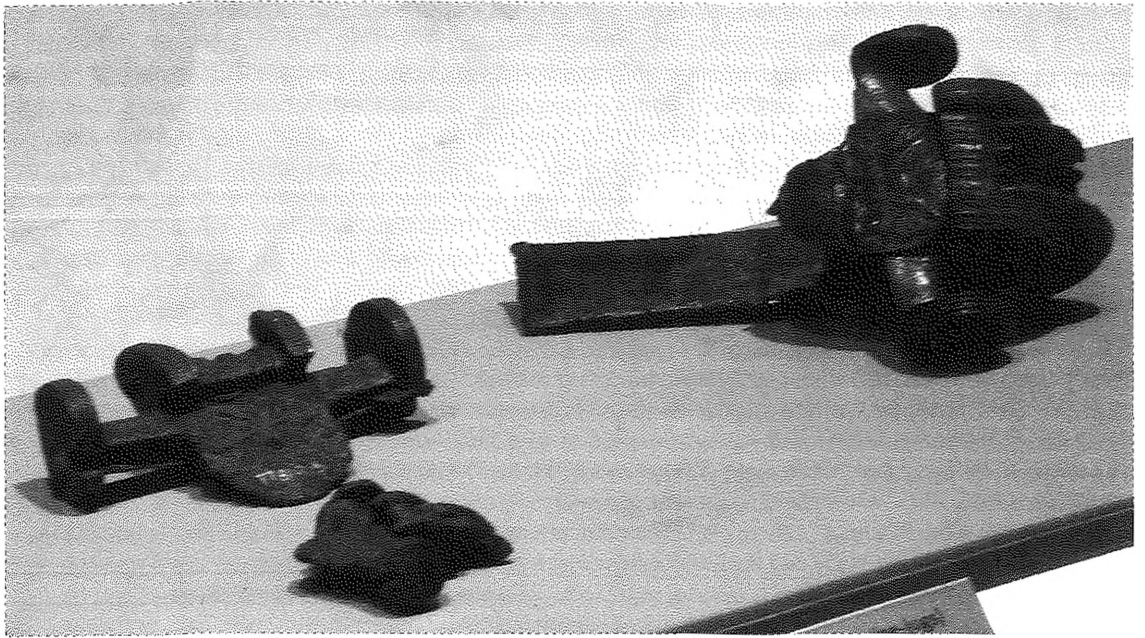
<sup>1</sup> We may note here another example of the relaxed practice in the Trestina group. On *Trestina 7* this tongue is fixed so that it will secure the vessel on its inside; see *Lincei* 2009, p. 58, fig. 16. On *Trestina 8* however this tongue is cast as part of the back of the bar and would therefore have been placed on the outside of the vessel's rear. On the Hamburg oinochoe the securing of the vessel was done both from the inside and from the outside by the elaborate method described in what follows!

<sup>2</sup> The situation is even more complex, in so far as the Hamburg handle has in addition to the napkin in front also a second tongue set a little further back. This should be the extremity of the handle shaft which has been slipped through an opening in the cast element and protrudes to form the rear tongue. The neck of the vessel would thus be sandwiched between the two tongues.

<sup>3</sup> A selection of these early Trestina finds can be found on well produced illustrations in the recent Cortona Museum guidebook BRUSCHETTI, GIULIERINI 2008, pp. 232-239. The commentary there predates however the appearance of the *Lincei* 2009 publication and in some places has to be amended accordingly.

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a



b

PL. I. "Rhodian" bronze oinochoai. a) Handle fragments from Trestina. Cortona, Museo della Città Etrusca e Romana; b) 'Cock and horse head' handle from Trestina (cf. here p. 64, note 2). Cortona, Museo della Città Etrusca e Romana, inv. 60656.





a



b

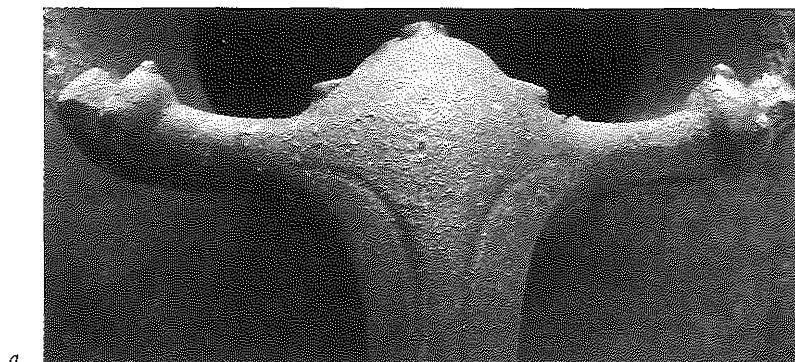
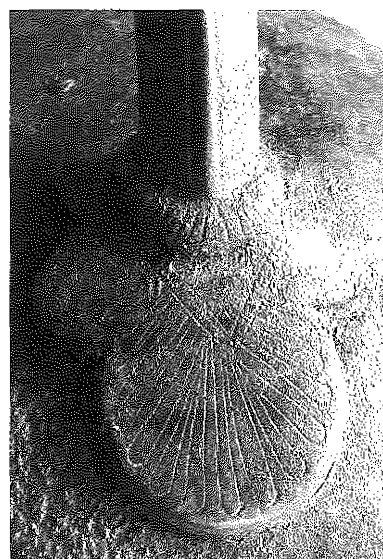


c

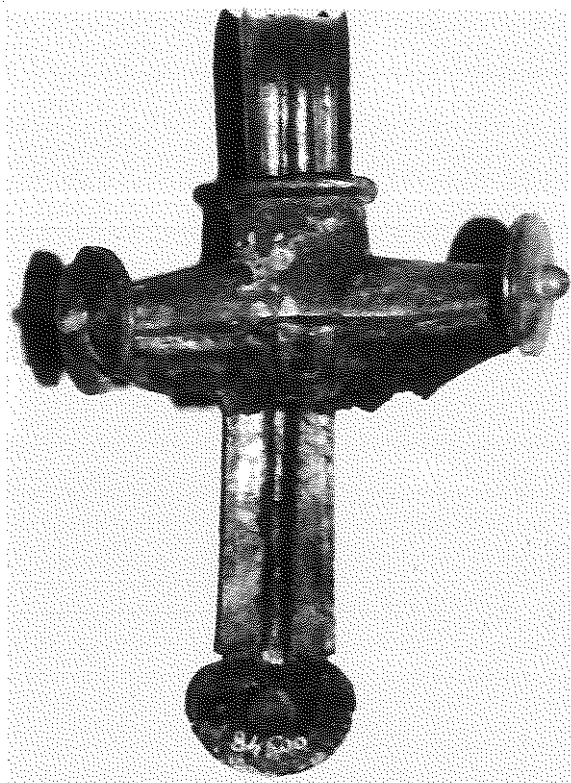
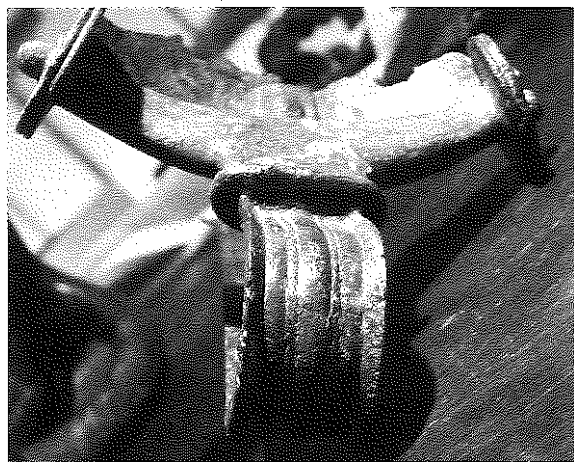
PL. II. a) "Rhodian" bronze oinochoe from Chiaromonte, Sotto la Croce t. 26. "Chiaromonte Group". Policoro, Museo Nazionale della Siritide, inv. 42984 (after D'Agostino 1988b, fig. 156); b) "Rhodian" bronze oinochoe (top) from Capua, tomb 1505. Santa Maria Capua Vetere, Museo dell'Antica Capua, inv. 264131; c) Phoenician silver jug from Bernardini Tomb, Praeneste. Attachment ornament on gold foil. Villa Giulia, Rome, inv. 61575.

*a**b**c**d**e*

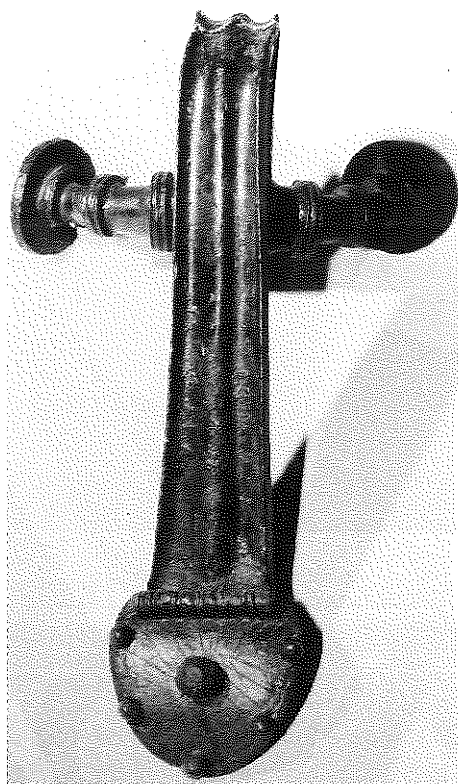
PL. III. Laconian bronze oinochoe. Handle from Trestina. Cortona, Museo della Città Etrusca e Romana, inv. 84503. *a*) Top view: lion mane and monkey head finials; *b-d*) Lion head, frontal – detail views; *e*) Lower attachment.

*a**b**c*

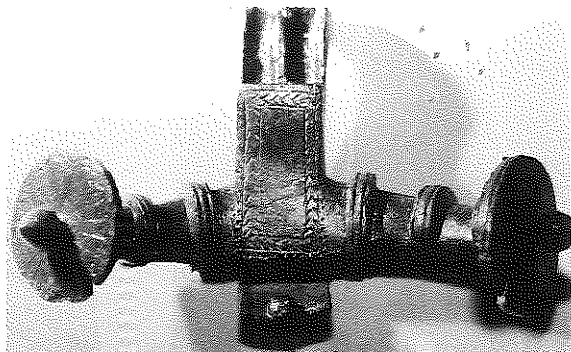
PL. IV. Laconian bronze oinochoe from Galaxidi. London, British Museum, inv. 82.10-9.22. *a*) Top view of handle: lion mane and monkey head finials; *b*) Front view of handle in position: lion head and monkey head finials; *c*) Lower attachment.

*a**b*

PL. v. Oinochoe handle from Trestina (*Trestina 7*) belonging to the "Trestina Group". Cortona, Museo della Città Etrusca e Roman, inv. 84500; *a*) General view (picture by courtesy of Soprintendenza); *b*) Junction of shaft to cast mounting; top view.



a



b



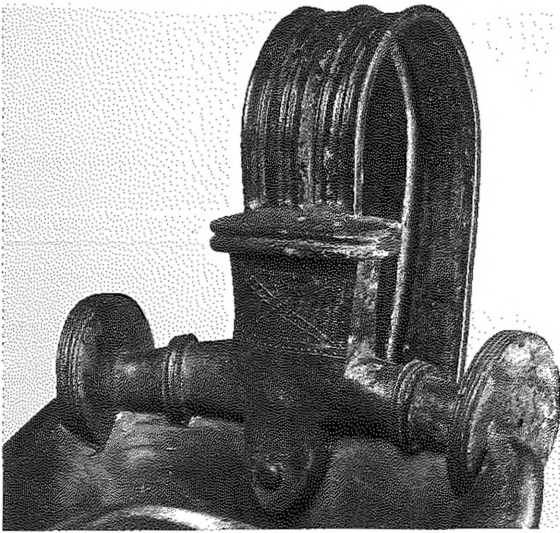
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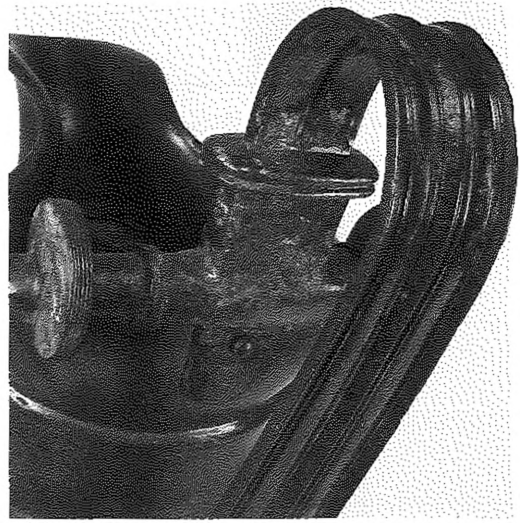
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PL. VI. Oinochoe handle from Trestina (*Trestina 8*) belonging to the "Trestina Group". Cortona, Museo della Città Etrusca e Romana, inv. 84502. a) General view (picture by courtesy of Soprintendenza); b) Cast mounting; front view; c) Junction of shaft to cast mounting; rear view; d) Junction of shaft to cast mounting; side view.

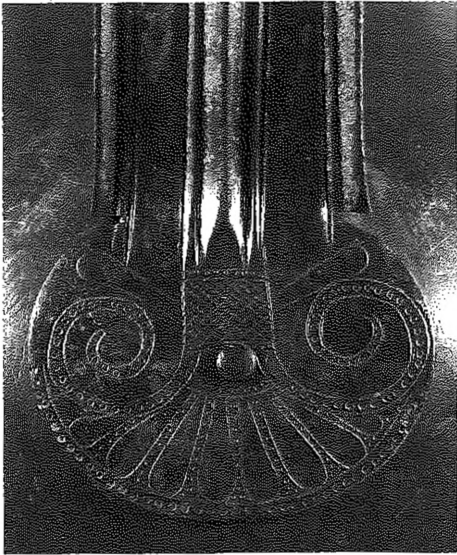




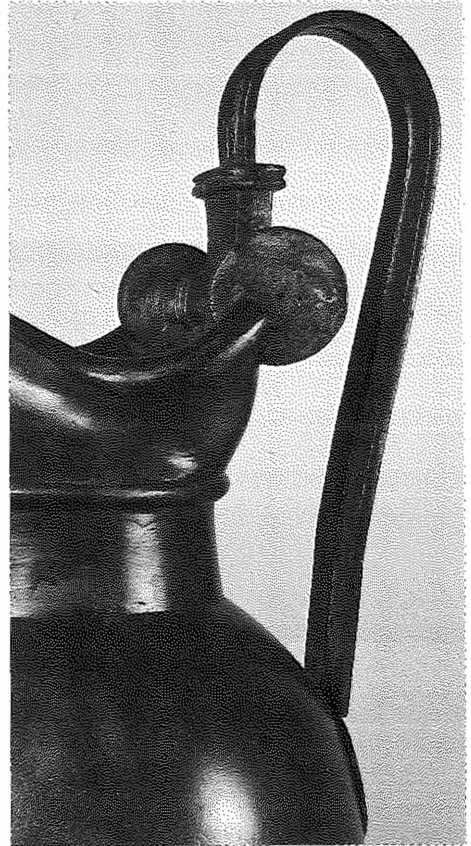
a



b



c



d

PL. VII. Oinochoe handle "from Hilleröde"; "Trestina Group". Hamburg-Harburg, Helms Museum, inv. MfV 1891: 38 (Illustrations by courtesy of the Museum. The handle is fitted on a modern construction). *a*) Front view; *b*) Junction of shaft to cast mounting; rear view; *c*) Lower attachment; *d*) General side view.