

Carp's Tongue Swords in Spain, France and Italy

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PART I

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Professor Almagro in his article on the Huelva hoard ⁽¹⁾ has compared swords with carp's tongue points (Fig. 8) from that find to the well-known sword from Veii ⁽²⁾ (Fig. 14,B). In this connection some comment on carp's tongue points in Italy and their possible connection with the west may be of interest ⁽³⁾.

My list of carp's tongue points in Italy is based on my own studies in Italian museums and literature, neither of which pretend to be in any way complete.

The Italian swords belong to the Iron Age and are of bronze or iron. Though their

(1) *Ampurias*, II, 119.

(2) MONTELIUS, "Civilization primitive", 348, 4.

(3) In this connection it gives me much pleasure to express my warmest thanks to many colleagues for their invaluable assistance: the late Dr. Blas Taracena, Director of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid; Professor R. Bartoccini, Director of the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome, and Drs. Roberto Vighi and Goffredo Ricci also of the Villa Giulia; Professor P. Barocelli, formerly Director of the Museo Luigi Pigorini, Rome, and Dr. Renato Penna of the same museum; Dr. Giorgio Buchner of the Museo Nazionale, Naples; Professor Giacomo Caputo, Director of the Museo Archeologico, Florence and Drs. Guglielmo Maetzke, Mario Bizzarri and Anna Talocchini of the same museum; Professor Carlo Pietrangeli, Director of the Museo dei Conservatori, Rome; Dr. Italo Zicari, Director of the Biblioteca Oliveriana, Pèrsaro; Dr. Galiotti of the Museo Civico, Chiusi; the late Mr. T. J. Dunbabin and Professor C. F. C. Hawkes of Oxford; Mr. D. E. L. Haynes of the British Museum; Monsieur E. Coche de la Ferté, Musée du Louvre; Professor Etienne Patte, Dean of the Faculty of Sciences, Poitiers; Monsieur A. Dernier, Treasurer of the Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, Poitiers; Dr. Laurance P. Roberts, Director of the American Academy in Rome; Professor Frank E. Brown, then professor in charge of the School of Classical Studies at the Academy, Mr. Johannes Felbermeyer, the photographer at the Academy; and Miss Symme Burstein of the Peabody Museum of Harvard for the drawings.

points recall the Atlantic west, the swords themselves are clearly descended from the Late Minoan-Mycenaean type of similar shape. This was a long-lived kind of sword, and it even appears on 7th century Greek vases (4). Many of these Italian swords have a flat tang with a T-shaped hilt, and this is often flanged. Otherwise they have a slender hilt which was surrounded by a grip of some other material. All are short and proportioned like long daggers. As swords they represent a quite different type from the carp's tongue swords of Atlantic Europe, which are connected with the central European flange-hilted swords.

It is my purpose here to discuss briefly in Part I the development and chronology of the Italian group and to make a few suggestions about their possible connections with the carp's tongue swords of the west. These western swords are especially characteristic of northern and western France and to some extent of Spain, and they have lately been studied by Professor Almagro (5) and Dr. H. N. Savory (6). Also at the Madrid Congress in 1954 Mr. J. D. Cowen made a strong case for a French origin for the western carp's tongue swords.

Part II is devoted to a consideration of central Italian Iron Age chronology and Part III to a list of the Italian swords.

As for the Italian series, which represent only a minor variant of the usual swords of the Iron Age in Italy, one can distinguish four groups:

A. Rudimentary carp's tongue points (Figs. 12-17). I have listed six swords of this type, all of bronze. In them the sides of the point are only beginning to turn in. All have T-shaped hilts. In five of these the hilts are flanged to hold plates of perishable material, but in the sixth, that from Vetulonia (Fig. 17), the hilt is a solid casting.

The scabbards end in a roundish knob with one prominent moulding above it, and sometimes other mouldings. Only one scabbard reflects the form of the carp's tongue point. These swords come from three sites on the western side of central Italy, Conca, Veii and Vetulonia, and also from two sites further inland at Terni and Norcia (see map., Fig. 1). In date they go back at least to the 8th century if not the 9th, Fig. 1, and they probably last until the 7th.

B. Developed carp's tongue points. I have listed 20 swords and one scabbard. Only 12 of the swords are of bronze, while 8 are of iron. Eleven of the hilts are T-shaped and most of those are flanged (Figs 18-23), but 5 are of a new slender form (Figs. 20B, 21B, 23B). One has an antennae hilt (20A), and the others are indeterminate.

Most of the surviving scabbards reflect the carp's tongue form of point. As for the scabbard tips, the knobs on the ends tend to be lens-shaped rather than globular. The principal moulding above it is more developed, and it often takes the shape of a disc with other subsidiary mouldings which may also be discshaped.

These swords belong between the second half of the 8th and the 7th centuries with the doubtful exception of one from Cumae which is said perhaps to be older. It is also notable the two swords which could go back to the 8th century, Bisenzio

(4) E. BUSCHOR, "Griechische Vasen" (Munich, 1940), Figs. 51, 53, and 57.

(5) *Ampurias* II, 86-100.

(6) *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 1948, 155.

(Fig. 21,B) and Veii grave 815 (Fig. 22,A) have rounder knobs and plainer mouldings than the others.

As for the distribution of developed carp's tongue points (Fig. 2) it extends further

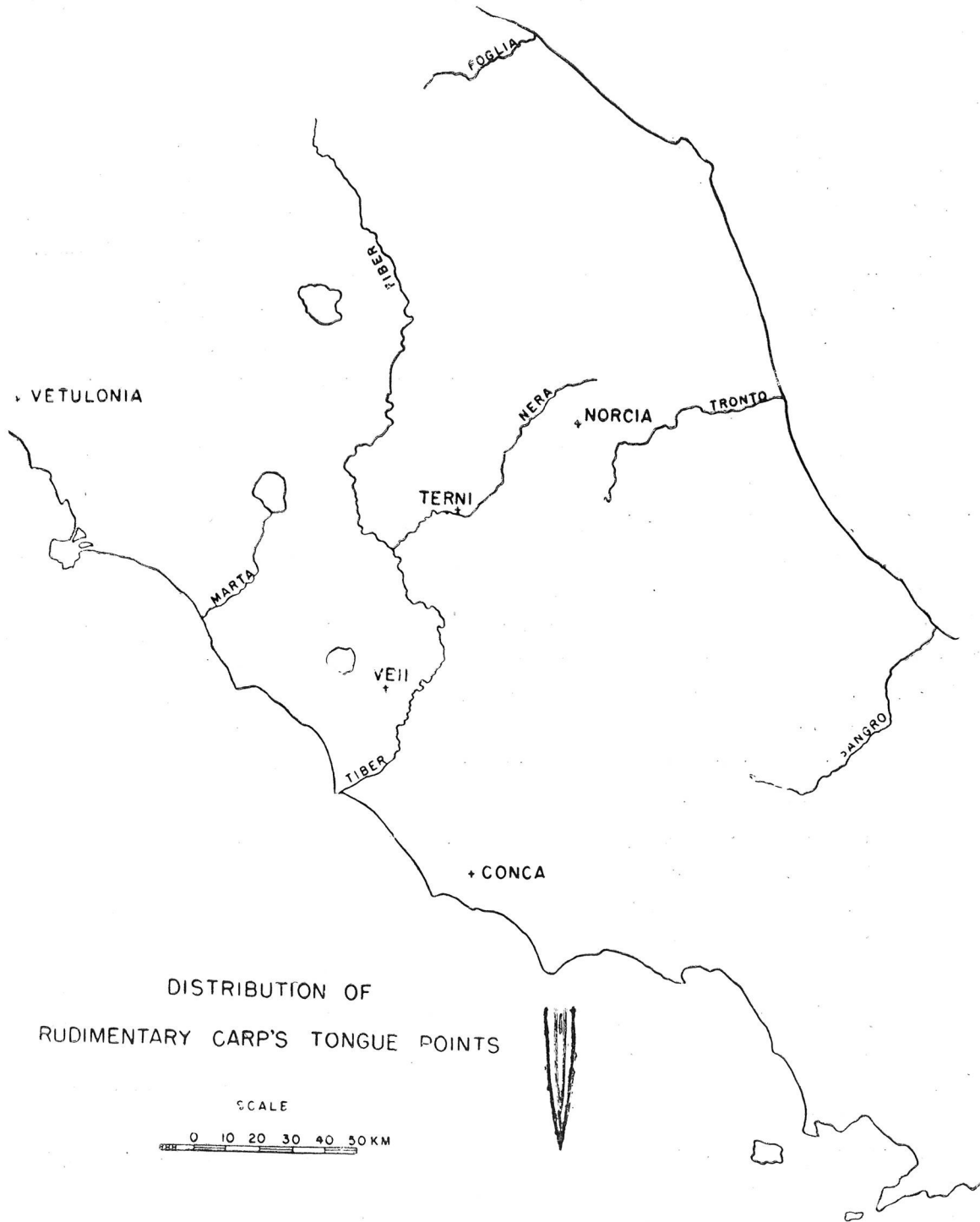


Fig. 1.—Map of Rudimentary Points.

from the west coast. Those on or near the west coast come from Cumae, Caracupa and its vicinity where several have been found, as well as from Bisenzio, Veii, Vulci, Santa Marinella, and Narce. Further from the west coast they have occurred at Chiusi, at Alfedena (Aquila) and Norcia in Umbria.

C. *Shouldered carp's tongue points* (Fgrs. 24-31).—In these the point is separated from the blade by a more or less distinct shoulder. I have listed ten of these swords mostly of iron, but one, the famous Bernardini dagger, is of silver and has a gold and amber hilt. Five of the hilts are of the old flanged T-shaped type, and five of the others are of the slender form. Wherever the scabbard is preserved, it conforms to the shape of the carp's tongue point. The tips of the scabbards are on the whole like those of the developed group.

Unlike the developed points, these are confined to sites in modern Lazio: Caracupa, Ardea, Palestrina, Rome, Veii and perhaps Tarquinia (Fig. 3). In date most belong to the 7th century, though two could go back to the second half of the 8th. In other words, they belong more to the 7th century than to the 8th, and evidence of a date before 700 for any of them is not as good as in a few swords of the developed class.

D. *Novilara carp's tongue swords* (Fig. 32). These form a small group of 6 short iron swords or daggers all found in the Servici cemetery at Novilara on the Adriatic side of Italy (Fig. 3). The points are greatly exaggerated examples of the shouldered point. The hilts are slender and are topped with round pommels like the shouldered example from Rome (Fig. 28,C). The scabbards, which are of iron, reflect the carp's tongue form, but the tips of the scabbards are much plainer than the bronze ones of preceding types. This group does not begin before the 7th century, and it continues in the 6th century and possibly later.

To sum up thus far, these four types are, with much overlapping, more or less successive. The rudimentary ones occur in the 8th and 9th centuries and perhaps even in the 10th. The most flourishing period of the developed swords was in the second half of the 8th century and in the 7th, while the shouldered type was characteristic of the 7th, and most exaggerated last into the 6th or later. One can also see iron replacing bronze, the old T-shaped flanged hilt giving way to a slender hilt, and also various changes in the form of the tip of the scabbard.

It is also notable that they are much more closely connected with the inhuming Trench Grave (Fossa) Culture than with the cremating Villanovan Culture.

We must now consider the possibilities of relationship between the western carp's tongue swords and the quite different Italian swords with similar points. The first question is that of the chronology of the western swords. A few bits of evidence can be found for dating the Atlantic carp's tongue swords in the same Mediterranean terms in which the Italian swords are dated. I know of three western hoards that contain carp's tongue swords and fibulae of Mediterranean origin; Notre-Dame-d'Or, Vénat and Huelva.

The part of the hoard of Notre-Dame-d'Or now at the Musée des Antiquaires de l'Ouest at Poitiers (7) contains a piece of a Sicilian elbow fibula (Fig. 4). Sicilian examples have been listed by Sundwall (8). Two from the hoard of Tre Canali (9) near Catania (Fig. 5,D) and another from Paternò (Museo Nazionale, Syracuse, Nos. 50582

(7) J. DÉCHELETTE, "Age du Bronze" (Paris, 1924), 328, Fig. 130.

(8) J. SUNDWALL, "Die älteren italischen Fibeln" (Berlin, 1943), 136.

(9) I. CAFICI, "Bronzi scoperti a Tre Canale nel Vizzinese", *Bulletino di Paletnologia Italiana*, 14, 1888, 167.

and 31996) have the same octagonal section as the one from Notre-Dame-d'Or. Neither of these has associations of value for chronology. But fibulae of this shape, but with a

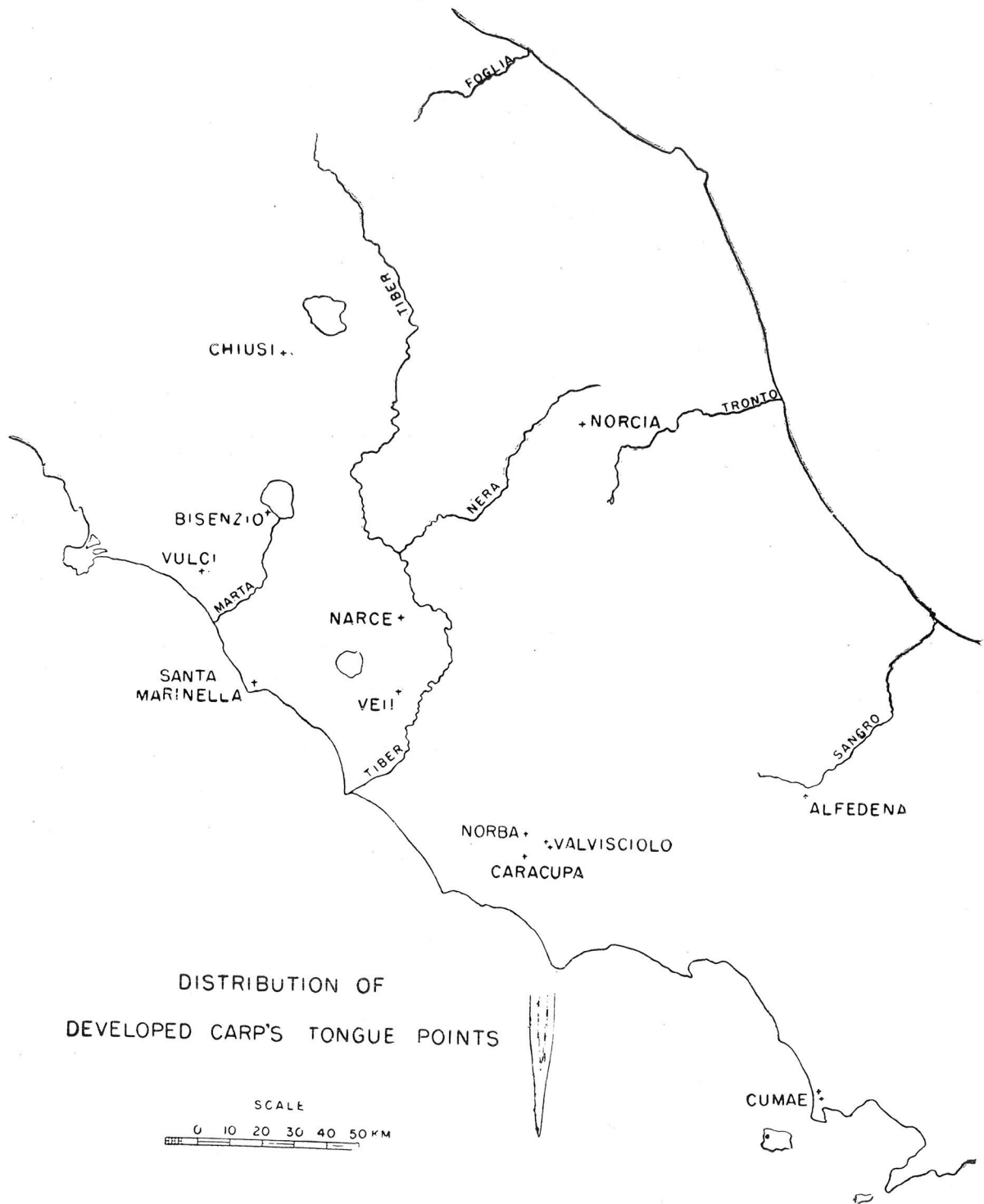


Fig. 2.—Map of Developed Points.

round section, are very common in Sicily. They are never found directly associated with Mycenaean vases, and they are rarely found even in the same cemeteries (10),

(10) For lists see J. SUNDWALL, "Die älteren italischen Fibeln" (Berlin, 1943), 136.

They belong rather to the post-Mycenaean period and before the renewed strengthening of contact with Greece that preceded the founding of the first Greek colonies in Sicily in the second half of the 8th century B. C. Dunbabin plausibly put this strengthening of contact at about 800 (11), since later geometric vases and other imports indicate the activities of Greek explorers and trades before the first colonists actually settled. For Dunbabin this was a renewal of contact rather than a strengthening, but the museum at Syracuse contains several bits of evidence that suggest a continuous if tenuous contact from Mycenaean times to the colonial period.

In the new scheme of Bernabò Brea (12) these Sicilian elbow fibulae would have been in use in the period before the strengthening of Greek contacts, that is in his period called Pantalica II, 1000-800, and especially in the latter part of it or about the 9th century.

What may be part of another such fibula came from Lapithos in Cyprus and may date from the end of Cypro-Geometric II or about 850 B. C. (13).

The ancestral forms of the Sicilian elbow fibulae may be seen in Late Mycenaean ones such as the stilted form of the violin bow fibula like one from Enkomi with pottery of Mycenaean III B (1300-1230 (14) or in the similar but lightly sway-backed example from Vrokastro in Crete (Fig. 5,B) (15) This was found with what Blinkenberg considered to be LMIII pottery, but nothing is said in the report about the stratification in this room, and the site contained a great deal of later material (16). Also it was dug in 50 centimeter layers, which does not suggest the greatest precision. A more immediate ancestor of the Sicilian fibulae is the Megiddo type (Fig. 5A) referred to below and which in the view of some dates from the 10th or 9th Centuries.

In any case these finds support the view of Bernabò Brea that the developed elbow fibula like that from Notre-Dame-d'Or belong to the 10th and 9th centuries in Sicily. Hence in France such a fibula should belong to about the same time.

As for the swords from Notre-Dame-d'Or (Fig. 4), they are so fragmentary that one can only say that some had carp's tongue points, but it is not possible to classify them further as normal points or elongated ones.

The next hoard is that of Vénat (17). Fragments of fibulae illustrated by George and Chauvet are uninformative or deceptive except for one of which I offer my own sketch (Fig. 6). This may well belong to another Italian or Sicilian type of fibula of which Sundwall has enumerated many examples (18). Such fibulae also begin in Bernabò Brea's Pantalica II (10th and 9th centuries), but most of them belong to his Pantalica III (800-730 B. C.). They also occur in the Early Iron Age graves of Italy, and some like

(11) T. J. DUNBABIN, "The Western Greeks" (Oxford, 1948), 2.

(12) L. BERNABÒ BREA, "La Sicilia preistorica", *Escuela Española de Roma, Serie arqueológica*, I, 1954, 191, 212.

(13) E. GJERSTAD, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, vol. I (Stockholm, 1934) 245. Intrusive in Tomb 422 from Tomb 426.

(14) A. FURUMARK, "The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery" (Stockholm, 1941), 92.

(15) E. H. DOHAN, "Vrokastro", *Anthropological Publications of the University of Pennsylvania Museum*, III, 1914, 179, Pl. XIX, B.

(16) DGHAN, "Vrokastro", 90.

(17) J. GEORGE and G. CHAUVET, "Cachette d'objets en bronze découverte à Vénat (Angoulême, 1895); M.-E. MARIEN, *Inventaria Archaeologica*, France, Fasc. I, 1954, F. 6.

(18) J. SUNDWALL, "Die älteren italischen Fibeln" (Berlin, 1943), 148.

that from Vénat have flat bows. One such ⁽¹⁹⁾ (Fig. 7,A) comes from a pozzo grave at Narce where it was associated with a late type of lunate razor more characteristic of

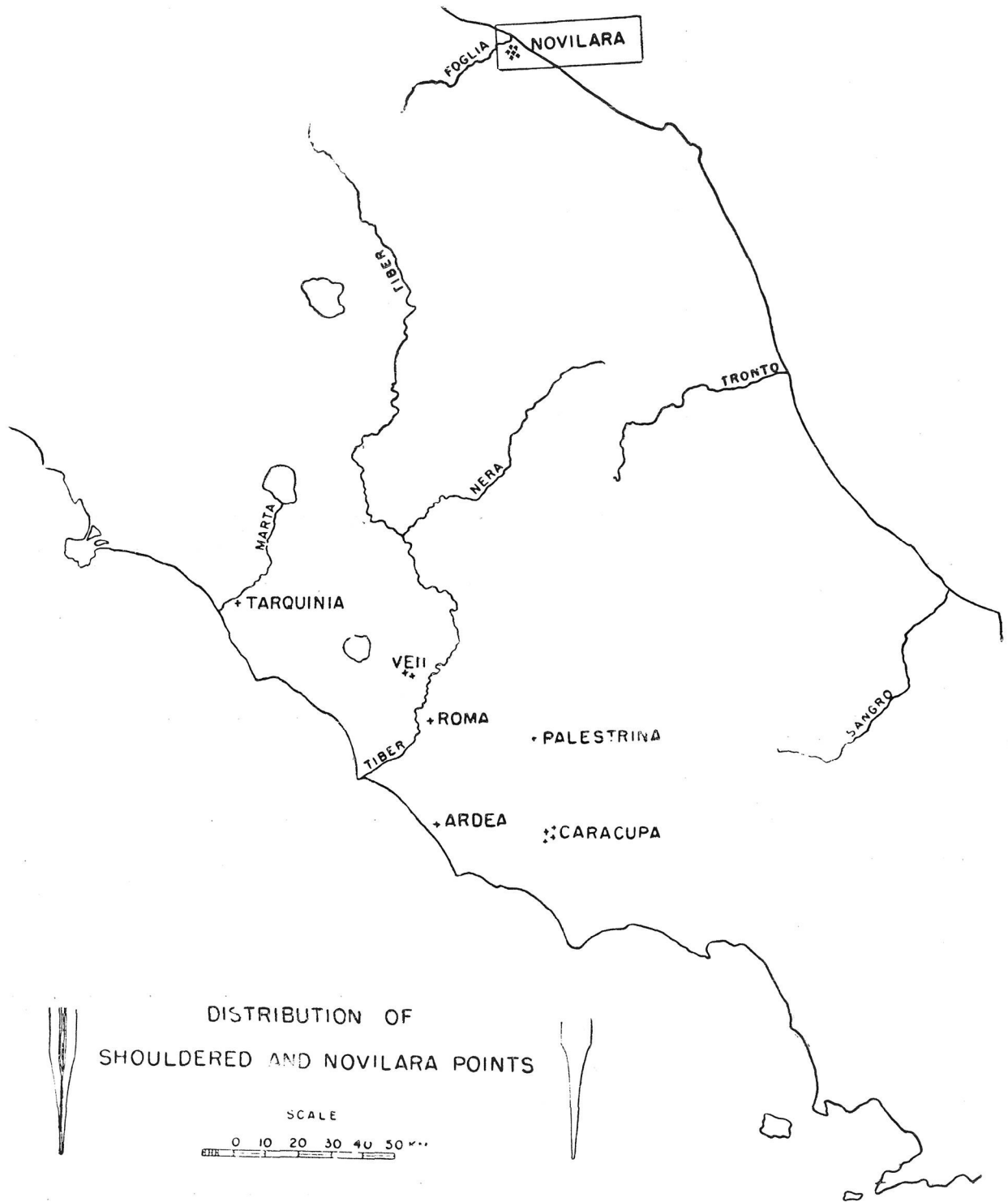


Fig. 3.—Map of Shouldered and Novilara Points.

Facies II in coastal Etruria for which I suggest below the date of about 750-675. But Pallottino thinks that at Falerii Facies II is partly contemporary with Facies III ⁽²⁰⁾

(19) N. ABERG, "Bronzezeitliche und Früheisenzeitliche Chronologie" I (Stockholm, 1930), 92, Fig. 183.
 (20) *Studi Etruschi*, XIII, 1939, 116.

which dates from about 675 to 600. Hence this fibula at Falerii could belong to the 7th century. Accordingly the fibula from Vénat cannot be dated very closely, but the 8th century seems the most probable time, though it might be somewhat before or after. In any case, it seems to be a stage later than that from Notre-Dame-d'Or.

Another possibility, though a less strong one, is that the fibula from Vénat is a fragment of a type found in Spanish and southern French urnfields (Fig. 7,C). This would seem to be derived from the Italian type just discussed, but with each of the loops developed into a spiral spring. For Professor Maluquer de Motes, this type is characteristic of his Agullana II (650-500) (21). Hence the Vénat fibula could be that late. But I am inclined to doubt it, since its shape and proportions are more like the Italian fibulae than those from the Spanish and French urnfields.

The points of carp's tongue swords from Vénat (Fig. 6) are of the normal type.

The next find is the Huelva hoard. Here by contrast the carp's tongue points are very long (Fig. 8). The famous fibulae from there with moulded bows (Fig. 9,A) seem to me to have much less to do with Sicily than with Cyprus (22), where two similar kinds, Gjerstad's types 4a and 4b (Fig. 9,C,D,E) belong to Cypro-Achaic I and II (700-475). Dr. Porphyrios Dikaios very kindly informs me that there is no evidence to alter Gjerstad's dates. Indeed such moulded bows are unknown in Sicily, where the nearest approach is in the fibulae from Modica (23) (Fig. 5,C). While the mouldings on the bows of the Cypriot fibulae are more pronounced than on those from Huelva, the rather complex pattern is exactly the same in both. The Cypriot form together with the Cypriot system of mouldings is repeated even more clearly on the fibulae from the provinces of Palencia or Burgos published by Professor Almagro (24). A careful comparison of the mouldings on these fibulae shows that those on the fibula from Palencia or Burgos follow even more closely the Cypriot form. A part of another fibula of this type came from Alto de Yecla (Burgos) (25), and Professor Maluquer de Motes has kindly informed me that there are many more fibulae of this type in Spain.

These fibulae should be taken as evidence of early eastern Mediterranean connections with Spain along with the southern Spanish rock-carvings of Herzprung shields of the V type, which are found in Cyprus, Crete, Greece and Samos in the 8th and 7th centuries B. C. (26).

Another question regarding the Cyprus-Huelva type is where it originated. A clue is to be found in a fibula (Fig. 5,A) from the upper part of Stratum V at Megiddo. The excavators dated this stratum to 1050-1000 B. C. (27), but a variety of other opinion would place it in the 10th or 9th centuries (28). This fibula is surely the ancestor of

(21) J. MALUQUER DE MOTES, "Las Culturas Hallstáticas en Cataluña". *Ampurias*, VII-VIII, 1945-46, 168, 182.

(22) E. GJERSTAD, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, IV, 2 (Stockholm, 1948), Figs. 25, 31, pp. 216, 427; G. M. A. RICHTER, "Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes", (Metropolitan Museum, New York, 1915), Nos. 932-939; C. BLINKENBERG, "Fibules grecques et orientales" (Copenhagen, 1906), 243, Figs. 298-301.

(23) *Bullettino di Paleontologia italiana*, XXVI, 1900, 166.

(24) *Ampurias*, II, 1940, 140, Fig. 60.

(25) M. ALMAGRO in R. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, *Historia de España*, vol. I, 2, (Madrid 1952), 212, Fig. 181.

(26) H. HENCKEN, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 54, 1950, 295.

(27) GORDON LOUD, "Megiddo", II (Chicago, 1948), 5, 46, Pl. 223, 78.

(28) E. GJERSTAD, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, IV, 2 (Stockholm, 1947), 421.

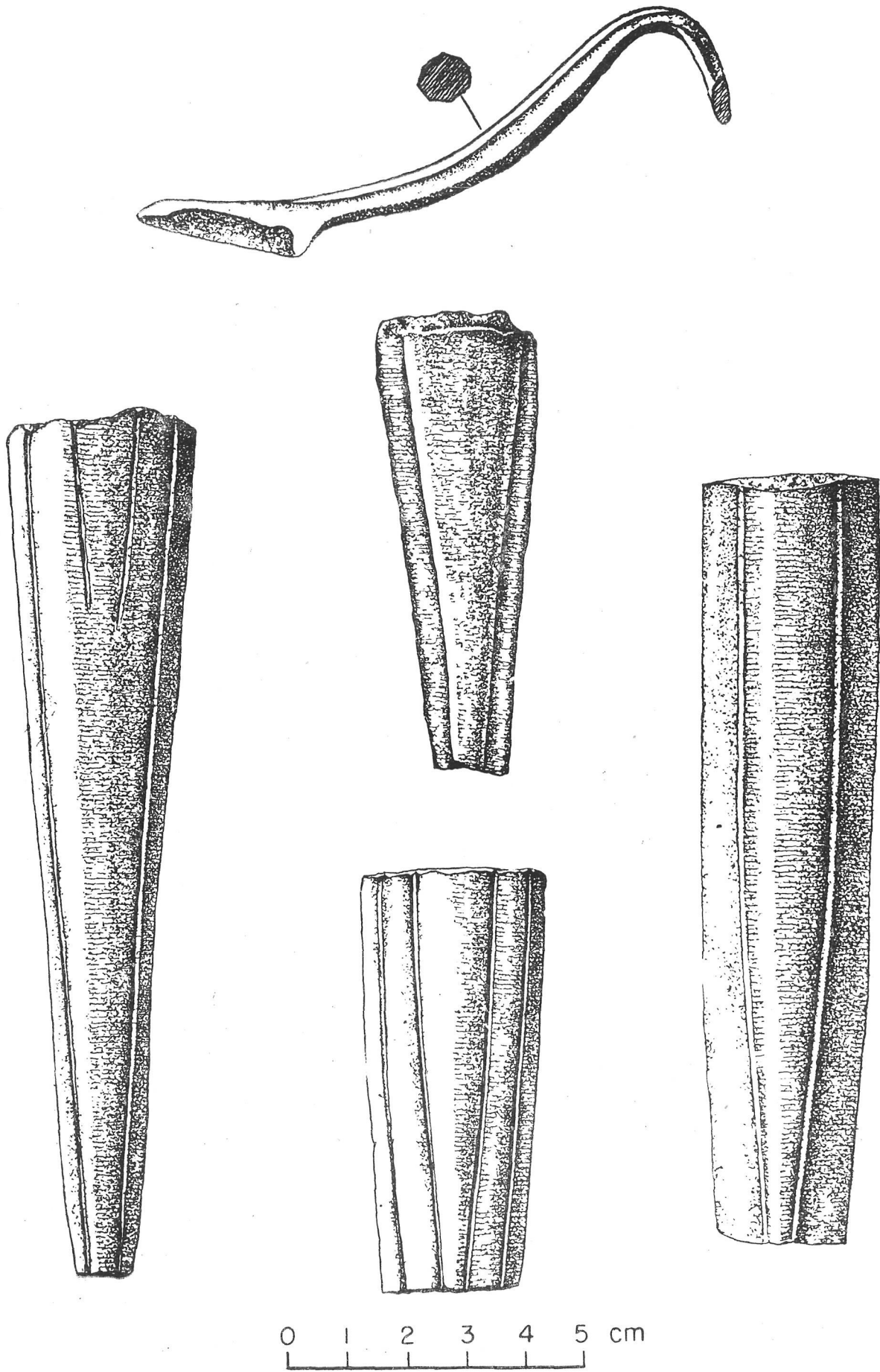


Fig. 4.—Objects from the hoard from Notre-Dame-d'Or.

Gjerstad's type 4 in Cyprus. It has the profile of his type 4a and the beginnings of the mouldings of type 4b (Fig. 9,C,D,E.), though not yet the developed mouldings of the Cyprus-Huelva type. This kind of fibula may therefore have originated in western Asia and spread westward.

Also a careful examination of these fibulae shows that the one from Megiddo has a loop at the top with a constricted neck. This constricted neck in Cyprus is caught by a ring. But in Spain, as is especially clear in the example from Palencia or Burgos, the remains of the ring are there, but the loop is now open again. This may be considered an irreversible typological sequence.

All of these elbow fibulae, whether from Megiddo, Cyprus, Sicily or Spain, are interconnected. But it seems to me important to distinguish the Cyprus-Huelva variety from the Sicilian ones. I figure for comparison the Sicilian fibula from Modica (Fig. 5,C), which is as close to the Huelva type as any in Sicily. It would seem probable to me that the Megiddo type is the ancestor and that the Sicilian and Cyprus-Huelva types are both descended from it. But I would not suppose that the Cyprus-Huelva type was itself descended from the Sicilian type.

As for the date of the Huelva hoard, it must have been lost in the Huelva estuary after 700, since the related fibulae of Cyprus are no earlier, but some of the Huelva material may be earlier.

For those who find the 7th century rather late for the Huelva hoard, some further evidence may be cited. First of all a mould for casting such swords with elongated carp's tongue points came from El Roquizal del Rullo (Zargoza), a site placed by Professor Almagro in about the 6th century (29).

Another indication of lateness is to be found in the double bronze rings from the Huelva hoard (30). El Roquizal also yielded a mould for casting double bronze rings such as were found at Huelva (31).

Another double ring came from the Catalan urnfield of Agullana, Grave 6 (32), with an urn of a type common in Agullana II which Professor Maluquer de Motes dates 650-500 (33).

Still another such double ring (Fig. 7,B) came from Phase I of the urnfield of Mailhaç near Narbonne, and this Kimmig thinks began hardly be before the end of the 8th century and probably at the beginning of the 7th (34). This is because the material, though partly reminiscent of Hallstatt B, can be shown to be more contemporary with Hallstatt C and D.

Hawkes also suggests 700-650 B. C. as the date of the Huelva hoard (35), and Savory places it in the 7th or even the 6th century (36).

(29) In R. Menéndez Pidal, *Historia de España*, vol. I, 2 (Madrid, 1952), 186, 193, Fig. 152.

(30) M. ALMAGRO, *Ampurias*, II, Pl. V.

(31) M. ALMAGRO in R. Menéndez Pidal, *Historia de España*, I, 2 (Madrid, 1952), 186, 193, Fig. 152.

(32) P. DE PALOL, *Ampurias*, V, 1943, 264, Pl. Ia.

(33) *Ampurias*, VII-VIII, 1945-46, 161, 182, Fig. 14, XXI b; H. N. SAVORY, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 1949, 140.

(34) W. KIMMIG, "Zur Urnenfelderkultur in Südwesteuropa", *Festschrift für Peter Goessler* (Stuttgart, 1954), 54, Fig. 2.

(35) *Ampurias*, XIV, 1952, 103.

(36) *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 1949, 140-41.

Hence, if the Huelva hoard was really lost in the 7th century, the very long, slender carp's tongue points were in existence in Spain at that time.

Indeed later still in Spain even longer carp's tongue points are found on iron

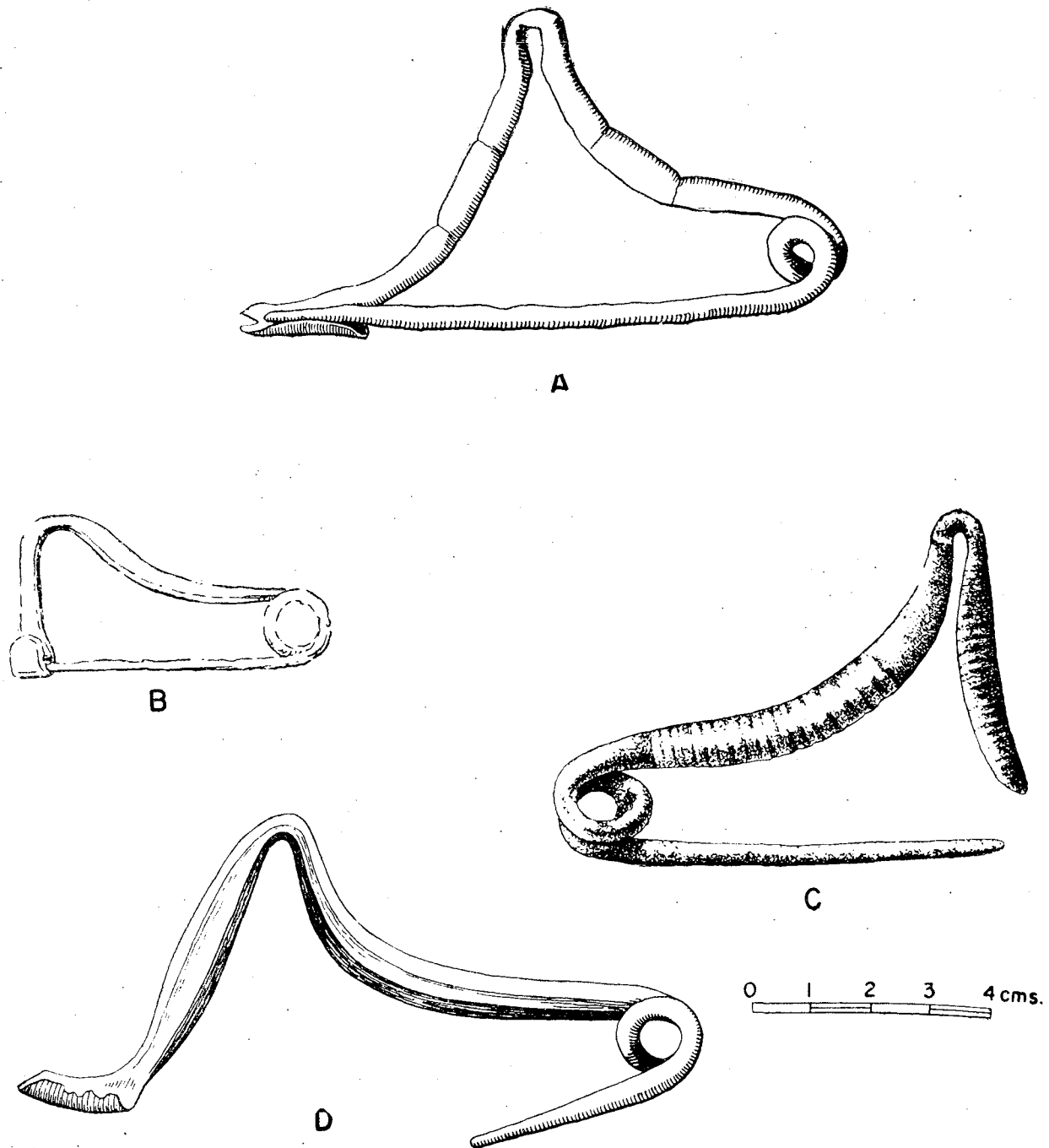


Fig. 5.—Fibulae. A, Meggido; B, Vrokastro; C, Modica; D, Tre Canale (After Loud, Dohan, Alfonsi and Cafici).

daggers, and these seem to last from the 4th century down to the Roman conquest. I figure as an example (Fig. 10) two of the well-known scabbards from Las Cogotas of

the 4th or 3rd century B. C. ⁽³⁷⁾. These parallel the exceedingly long points of the Novilara daggers in Italy, but are considerably later. One may wonder whether this parallelism in Spain and Italy is not due to independent tendencies to exaggeration at the end of the carp's tongue series in each country. At any rate it is not easy to imagine what connection there might have been at this time between Spain and the Adriatic coast of Italy.

Results thus far may be summed up as follows. The swords from Notre-Dame-d'Or could be as old as any of the Italian ones. If Mr. Cowen is right, the western carp's tongue swords originated on the Atlantic coast of France. The points of the western carp's tongue swords especially in Spain do seem to have undergone a progressive elongation. While the points with a 10th or 9th century fibula at Notre-Dame-d'Or were indeterminate, those with the slightly later fibula from Vénat were normal, but those with fibulae from Huelva not before the 7th century are definitely elongated. In Italy swords of a different type but more or less contemporary with the Atlantic ones

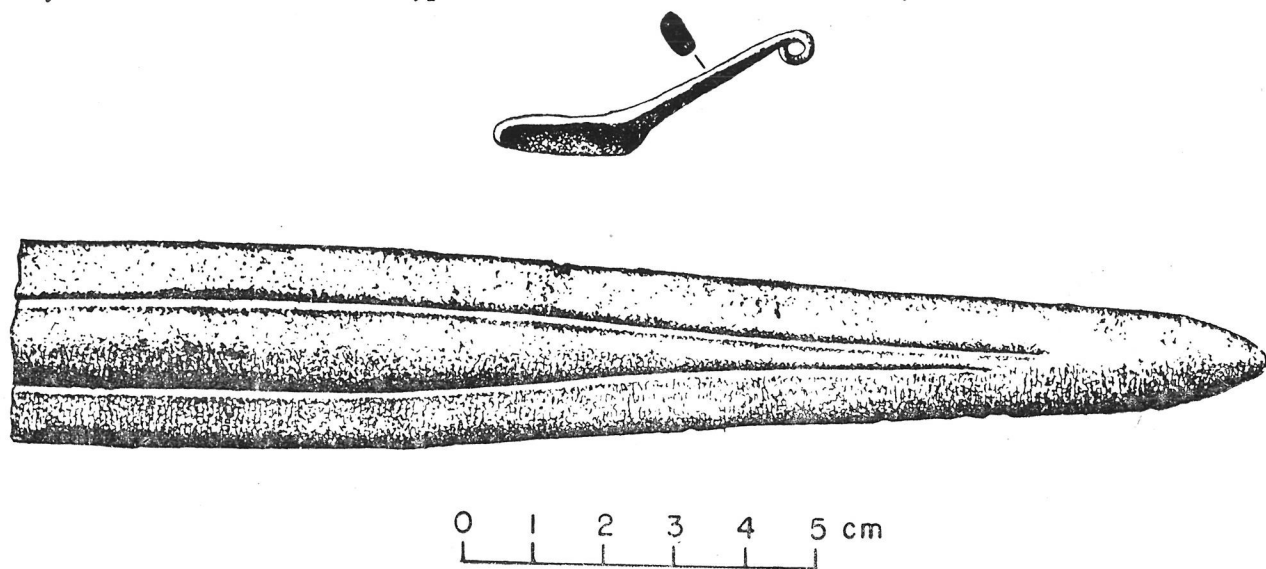


Fig. 6.—Objects from the Hoard of Vénat.

also had carp's tongue points which underwent a similar progressive elongation.

More specifically one may compare the proportions of one of the daggers from Huelva (Fig. 8) with that of the 7th century Bernardini dagger (Fig. 24).

Professor Almagro has discussed in detail western Mediterranean relations at this time ⁽³⁸⁾. Here I shall mention only a few bits of evidence indicating intercourse between Italy and Spain during the life of the bronze carp's tongue swords in Spain. First there is the Tortosa sword ⁽³⁹⁾. This is plainly an Italian import of the type with the T-shaped flanged hilt that might date anywhere from the 9th to the 7th centuries.

(37) J. MALUQUER DE MOTES and Blas Taracena in R. Menéndez Pidal, *Historia de España*, I, 3 (Madrid, 1954), 122, Fig. 56. For other examples see P. BOSCH GIMPERA, *Etnología de la Península Ibérica* (Barcelona, 1932), 479, Fig. 444; 110, Fig. 66; 481, Fig. 445. I am indebted to Professor Almagro for this information.

(38) *Ampurias*, II, 1940, 108-122.

(39) M. ALMAGRO, *Ampurias*, II, 1940, 119, Fig. 43.

Sardinia is a natural stepping stone between Spain and Italy, and from there comes the famous Monte Sa Idda hoard ⁽⁴⁰⁾ Here, though some of the objects may be older, there are broken fragments of western carp's tongue swords including hilts with greatly exaggerated ricassos and long pointed shoulders. These suggest a very late stage in the development of the western carp's tongue sword, and Professor Almagro considers them more evolved than the swords from Huelva ⁽⁴¹⁾. One of the carp's tongues from Monte Sa Idda (Fig. 11,A) approximates the Italian shouldered form of the 7th century (Fig. 24).

Further east still this same type of exaggerated sword hilt, but lacking the point,

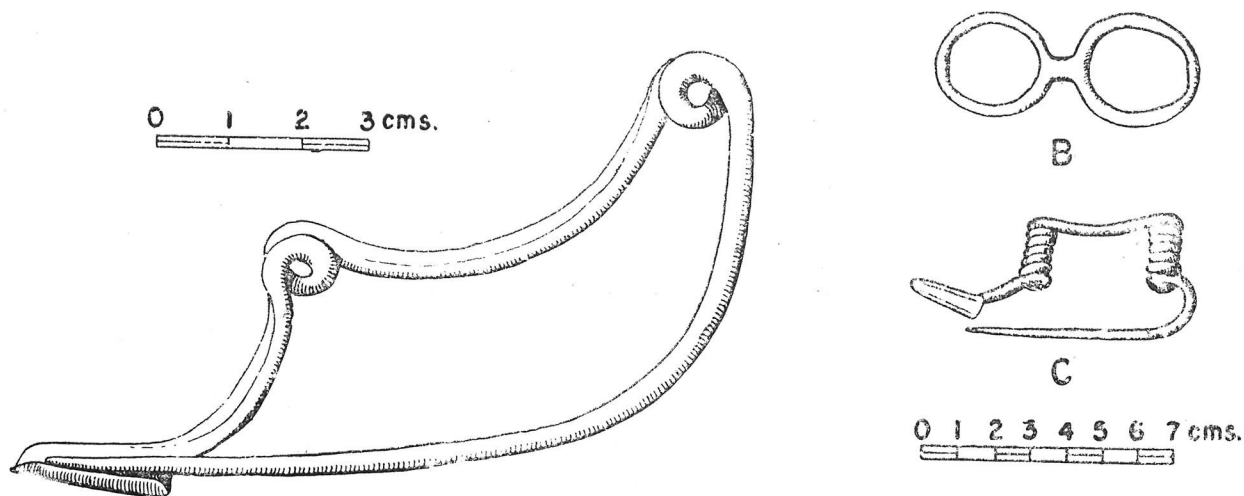


Fig. 7.—A, Fibula from Narce (after Aberg); B, C, Objects from Mailhac (After Kimmig).

recurs on the west coast of central Italy at Populonia in a hoard (Fig. 11,C) which also contains a bronze boat-shaped lamp with an animal figure-head ⁽⁴²⁾. (Fig. 11,D). These lamps are Sardinian ⁽⁴³⁾ and recur at Vetulonia in the Tombs of the Duce and the Tre Navicelle ⁽⁴⁴⁾. Blakeway ⁽⁴⁵⁾ has shown by Greek comparisons that the Tomba del Duce is after 700, probably a considerable time after. The Tomba delle Tre Navicelle contains a high aryballos ⁽⁴⁶⁾ of a shape that Payne places at 650-640 ⁽⁴⁷⁾, though this gives only a *terminus post quem*. In any case these two graves must be within the 7th century. Of course these boat-lamps may have been earlier, but they certainly existed this late.

This suggests a date in the 7th century for the deposition of the hoards of Monte Sa Idda and Populonia and for the elongated carp's tongue point in the Sardinian find.

The link from Sardinia to Spain is of course clearly evident also at Monte Sa Idda in the Iberian double-looped palstaves and double-looped socketed axes. Indeed occasional double-looped socketed axes of Iberian appearance occur in Italy. One came from the

(40) TARAMELLI, *Monumenti Antichi*, vol. XXVII, 1921-22, Figs. 46, 47.

(41) *Ampurias*, II, 109.

(42) A. MINTO, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1926, 374.

(43) TARAMELLI, *Studi Etruschi*, III, 1929, 45.

(44) MONTELIUS, "Civilization primitive", Pls. 188, 2 and 198, 16.

(45) *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1935, 140.

(46) DORO LEVI, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Italia VIII, Pl. 373, 16.

(47) H. PAYNE, "Necrocorinthia" (Oxford, 1931), 269, N.º 19.

same grave at Caracupa as the carp's tongue dagger mentioned below (Fig. 31), and another (48) formed part of the vast San Francesco hoard from Bologna.

A palstave with two loops like the Iberian ones has also been found in Sicily. Flat axes with two little projections on the sides are also found in Spain as well as at Monte Sa Idda (49).

Links from Italy and Sicily to western France are also evident in the fibulae from Notre-Dame-d'Or and Vénat.

In conclusion one may say that carp's tongue swords of the western type are largely contemporary with the Italian swords with carp's tongue points. There are also some indications that the western and Italian points may have followed the same general development, since the long Huelva points are late in the sequence. Finally it can be shown that contact by sea did exist at this period between Spain and Italy and that this contact extended also to the eastern Mediterranean.

One cannot say positively where the carp's tongue idea originated, for it developed on two quite different types of swords. Each type of swords has its own development, but the two were simultaneous, and it can be shown by other evidence that there was intercourse between the areas where the two types of swords are found. Hence one can suggest that the carp's tongue fashion in these different regions was not independent.

It is also worth while to recall the view of Merhart (50). In referring to the rare central European swords with carp's tongue points, he suggests that this form came from the west and reached Italy by way of the Alps.

PART II

ITALIAN IRON AGE CHRONOLOGY

Before going further it may be well to give a very brief sketch of the relevant chronology in Italy so that it may be show how these swords may be dated by it. These problems are intricate and treatment here must necessarily be superficial. Also I shall make no attempt to discuss the total contents of these periods nor the ethnic questions involved. The system of chronology used here is essentially in accord with that of Pallottino (51) but with a few variations. But it must be said that Pallottino's scheme of cultural and chronological divisions is fundamental to the understanding of this period in Italy. In Pallottino's scheme there were at the beginning of the Iron Age in central Italy three cycles of culture (52):

A. A western cycle with cremation often called Villanovan.

B. An eastern cycle on the Adriatic side and in the middle of the peninsula, but with westward extensions. This had continuing Bronze Age features.

(48) MONTELIUS, "Civilization primitive", Pl. 67, 17.

(49) M. ALMAGRO, *Ampurias*, II, 113; L. BERNABÒ BREA, "La Sicilia prehistórica", *Escuela Española de Roma, Serie Arqueológica*, I, 1954, 212-13.

(50) "Donauländische Beziehungen", *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 1942, 16.

(51) *Studi Etruschi*, XIII (1939), 85 and *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana*, 1948, 31.

(52) PALLOTTINO, *Studi Etruschi*, XIII,, 1939, 117.



Fig. 8.—Swords and dagger from Huelva (After photos from Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid).

C. A southern cycle from Latium to Calabria, also sub-Bronze Age ⁽⁵³⁾ in character.

Of these, B and C correspond to Säflund's inhuming Fossa Culture ⁽⁵⁴⁾ except that in the vicinity of A there is a zone which has cremation bur features of B and C.

Information is not complete on all the swords listed here, but they are not a pronounced feature of the cremating cycle A, but belong rather to those of continuing Bronze Age tradition. While ethnic names are avoided here as a rule, no one can doubt that the rather late Bernardini sword is Etruscan.

Pallottino's system of chronology ⁽⁵⁵⁾ is based upon a zone which is the heart of his Cycle A. It is a small coastal area of west central Italy centering around Vulci, Tarquinia and Caere. These towns were especially affected by foreign influences and were the centers of innovation. Here Pallottino detects his Facies I, II, III and IV in a pure form. But these same four facies spread irregularly to other areas. In the more provincial places they sometimes lasted longer than in the main centers, and frequently elements of more than one facies are found there in the same grave. All this complicates the question of giving absolute dates. Also many of the swords discussed here are outside of Pallottino's scheme altogether. But the best approach to the chronology of other areas is a study of Pallottino's scheme and the reasons that underlie it.

Now let us turn to the question of how to attach dates derived in the last analysis from written historical records. This ultimately depends, of course, upon the dating of the protocorinthian pottery from the Greek colonies in Sicily in terms of the dates given for the founding of these colonies by Thucydides. According to Thucydides, Syracuse was founded about 733. Cumae, which by both literary and archaeological evidence is somewhat older, may thus have been founded about the middle of the 8th century ⁽⁵⁶⁾. Certainly the earliest vases from the Greek graves there are only a little earlier typologically than the earliest at Syracuse. What happened at Cumae is fairly clear from the archaeological and historical record ⁽⁵⁷⁾. The first Greek settlement was Pithecusa on the island of Ischia where the recent excavations of Dr. Giorgio Buchner have brought to light graves even a little older than Cumae, probably 775-750 ⁽⁵⁸⁾. Close to Pithecusa on the mainland and behind a long beach stood the small steep-sided plateau now called the Monte di Cuma with a village ⁽⁵⁹⁾ on its top and graves clustered near its foot ⁽⁶⁰⁾. The Greeks traded with these people as is shown by two little geometric cups found in their graves. Probably they also introduced the use of short iron swords (Graves V and XIV). Then came the Greek decision to move to the mainland.

The Monte di Cuma was captured and became the acropolis of the Greek Cumae.

(53) PALLOTTINO, *Studi Etruschi*, XIII., 1939, 98.

(54) *Studi Etruschi*, XII, 1938, 23.

(55) *Studi Etruschi*, XIII, 1939, p. 85 ff.

(56) T. J. DUNBABIN, "The Western Greeks". (Oxford, 1948), p. 5 ff.

(57) E. GABRICI, "Cumae", *Mon. Ant.* XXII, 1913. For other references see T. J. DUNBABIN, "The Western Greeks" (Oxford, 1948), p. 5 ff; T. J. DUNBABIN, *Papers of the British School in Rome*, XVI, p. 1 f.

(58) I am deeply indebted for this information from Dr. Buchner, partly direct and partly passed on through Professor C. F. C. Hawkes.

(59) Material in the Museo Nazionale, Naples. GABRICI, col. 48-49.

(60) But not on the acropolis as Blakeway and Dunbabin have said. The graves there were all very late (GABRICI, col. 21).

Also the earliest Greek graves were placed further from the acropolis and beyond those of the previous inhabitants. The later Greek wall traversed the old native cemetery, but the Greek graves were all outside the wall (61). It would thus seem clear then that the

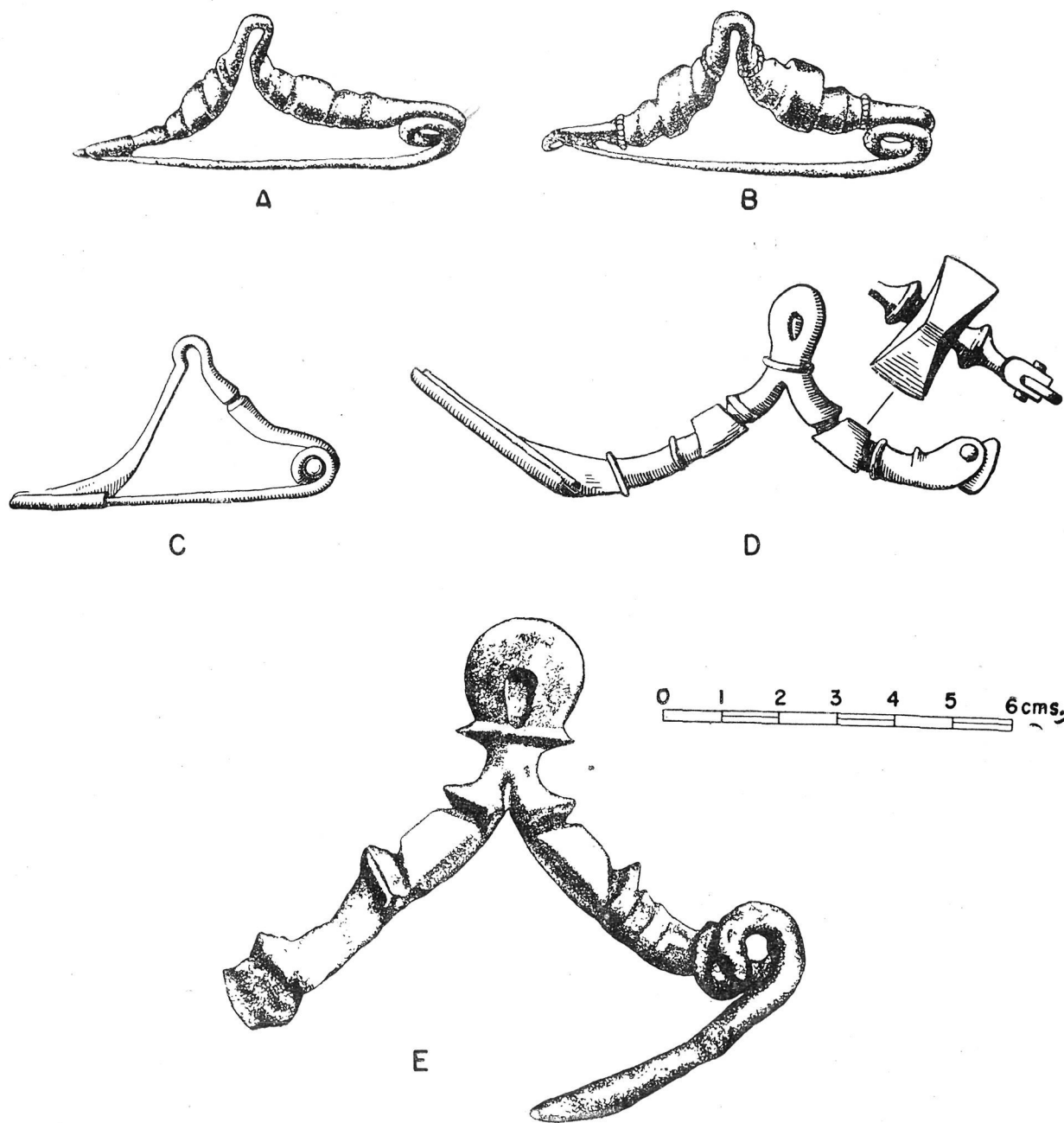


Fig.9.—Fibulae. A, Huelva (After photo from Museo Nacional, Madrid); B, Palencia or Burgos (After Almagro); C, Cyprus, Type 4 a (After Blinkenberg); D, Cyprus, Type 4 b (After Blinkenberg); E, Cyprus, Type 4 b (After Richter).

villagers had been evicted by the Greeks and their cemetery abandoned at the time of the Greek settlement.

The finds from these cementeries are in the Museo Nazionale in Naples and have been carefully studied by Gàbrici. The pre-Hellenic graves are characterized by disc fibulae and arc fibulae with thickened bows, and they also contain rectangular bronze

(61) GÀBRICI, col. 21.

razors. Also the material from the pre-Hellenic graves is quite uniform, and it is hard to tell how long a period it may represent. But this means that at Cumae these types were in use up to the first half of the 8th century. Since disc fibulae are also characteristic of Pallottino's Facies I at Tarquinia which has as well rectangular bronze razors, it would seem to be contemporary with pre-Hellenic Cumae. Other resemblances are in bowls with two large openings of about equal size in the handle.

To date the beginning of Facies I ones must look first to Bernabò Brea's Pantalica II in Sicily. I have already discussed in Part I the chronology of this period with reference to the elbow fibulae related to the Megiddo type of the 10th or 9th Centuries. But at Modica ⁽⁶²⁾ in Sicily there was found with elbow fibulae of Pantalica II a short T-hilted bronze sword of the same Aegean-derived type that characterizes Facies I in Etruria. Also Pantalica II shares with Facies I in Etruria the same arc fibulae with thickened bows as well as some other types. Hence one may be justified in saying that Facies I in Etruria goes back at least to the 9th Century. It seems to me that this evidence is a great deal more solid than that derived from the fragment of a rod tripod in the Piediluco hoard, since these rod tripods seem to have had a very long life ⁽⁶³⁾. Bernabò Brea's excavations in Lipari also show that the protovillanovan urnfields overlapped part of Pantalica II. Hence true Villanovan of Facies I may start in the 9th Century ^(63 A).

But there remain other avenues of approach, though not completely satisfactory ones. If one totals up the numbers of graves that Pallottino assigns to the first two periods of the Iron Age at Tarquinia ⁽⁶⁴⁾, one finds that he places about four times as many graves in Facies I as in Facies II. If I am right in allowing about 75 years for Facies II (750-675) this reasoning would bring us back to about 1050 B. C. for the beginning of Facies I. Such an argument cannot be taken seriously, of course, but it does suggest that Facies I may have been quite long and represented a rather static phase of culture, which later underwent a more rapid change in Facies II. Sundwall's work on Italian fibulae ⁽⁶⁵⁾ was published before some of the latest chronological theories became known, but he suggested the 9th century for some of the Tarquinian fibulae. The fossa graves at the Sorbo ⁽⁶⁶⁾ cemetery at Cerveteri contain disc fibulae and also twisted bow fibulae. The latter have protogeometric associations in Greece ⁽⁶⁷⁾, which also makes an early date possible.

Pallottino's Facies II in Etruria is characterized by Late Geometric vases. For the late T. J. Dunbabin, whose experience in this field with the material from Perachora should not be overlooked ⁽⁶⁸⁾, these belong to the period 750-700 and a bit later, though Professor Rodney Young of the University of Pennsylvania prefers 725 at least for

(62) *Bullettino di Paletnologia italiana* XXVI, 1900, n. 166.

(63) P. J. RIIS, "Rod Tripods", *Acta Archaeologica*, X, 1939, p. 1.

(63 A) L. BERNABÒ BREA and M. CAVALLIER, *Bullettino di Paletnologia italiana*, N.S. X, vol. 65, 1956, p. 68 f.

(64) *Monumenti Antichi*, XXXVI (1937).

(65) J. SUNDWALL, "Die älteren italischen Fibeln". (1943), 269-70.

(66) R. VIGHI, *Monumenti Antichi*, XLII, 1953, 26.

(67) V. R. D'A. DESBOROUGH, "Protogeometric Pottery", (Oxford, 1952), 308-309.

(68) H. PAYNE, *Perachora* (Oxford, 1940) completed by Dunbabin.

Attica (69). These vases are in any case tied chronologically to Protocorinthian so that they also depend in the last analysis on the chronology based on Thucydides. Pallottino,

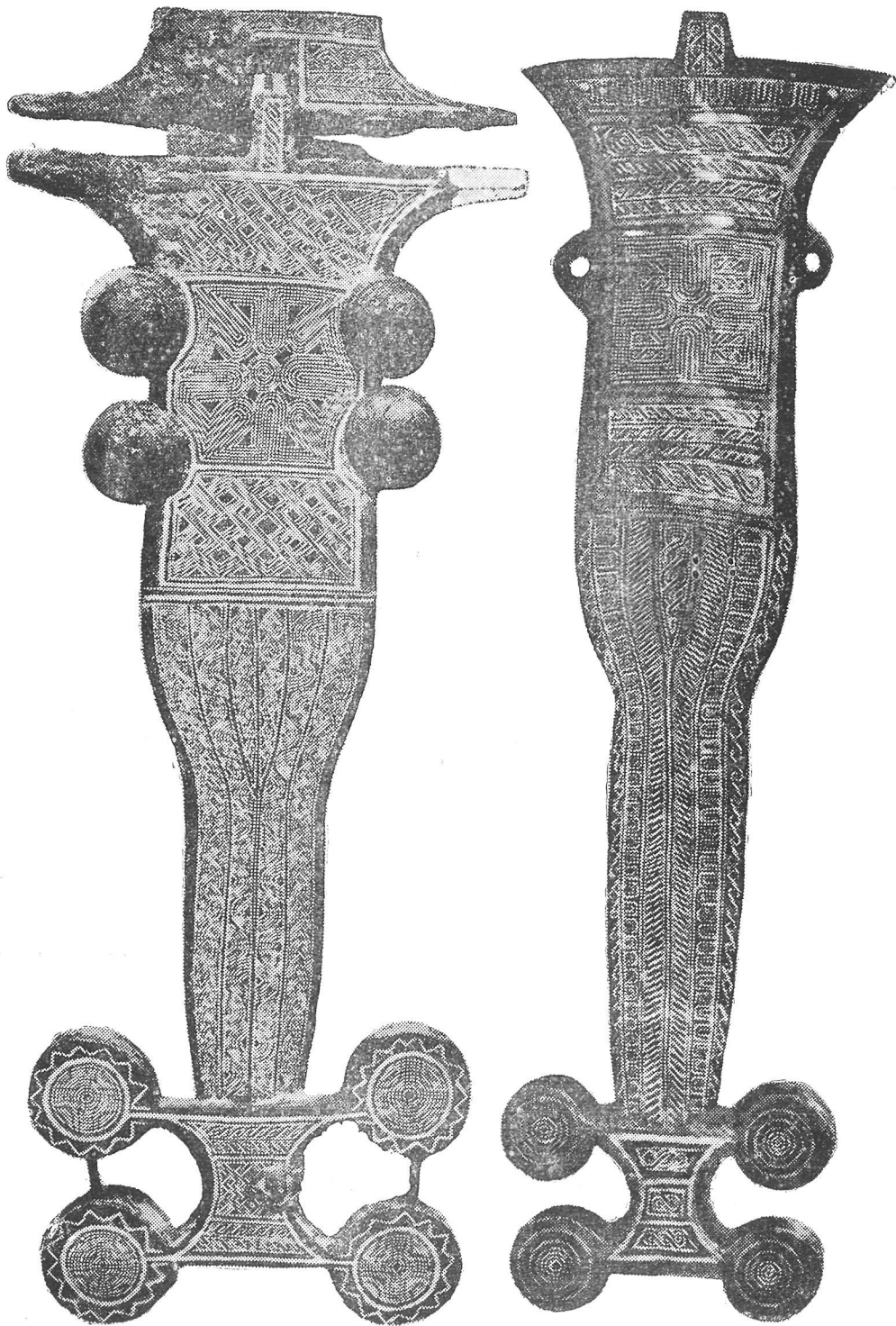


Fig. 10.—Swords from Las Cogotas (After Cabré).

However, thinks that Facies II only started in the last decades of the 8th century (70) or about 700 (71), and for him the graves at Bisenzio containing the most important

(69) RODNEY YOUNG, *Hesperia*, Supplement II, 1939, 6 and 194.

(70) *Studi Etruschi*, XIII, 1939, 127.

(71) *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana*, 1948, p. 40.

of these vases are later still ⁽⁷²⁾ since they also contain objects of his orientalizing Facies III. Akerström ⁽⁷³⁾ also places these graves after 700 because some objects, especially a bronze shield, belong to types that occur in orientalizing graves. Dunbabin ⁽⁷⁴⁾ and numerous other reviewers have shown the circular nature of Akerström's argument, and Dunbabin places these vases on Greek analogies in the period 750-700 or a little

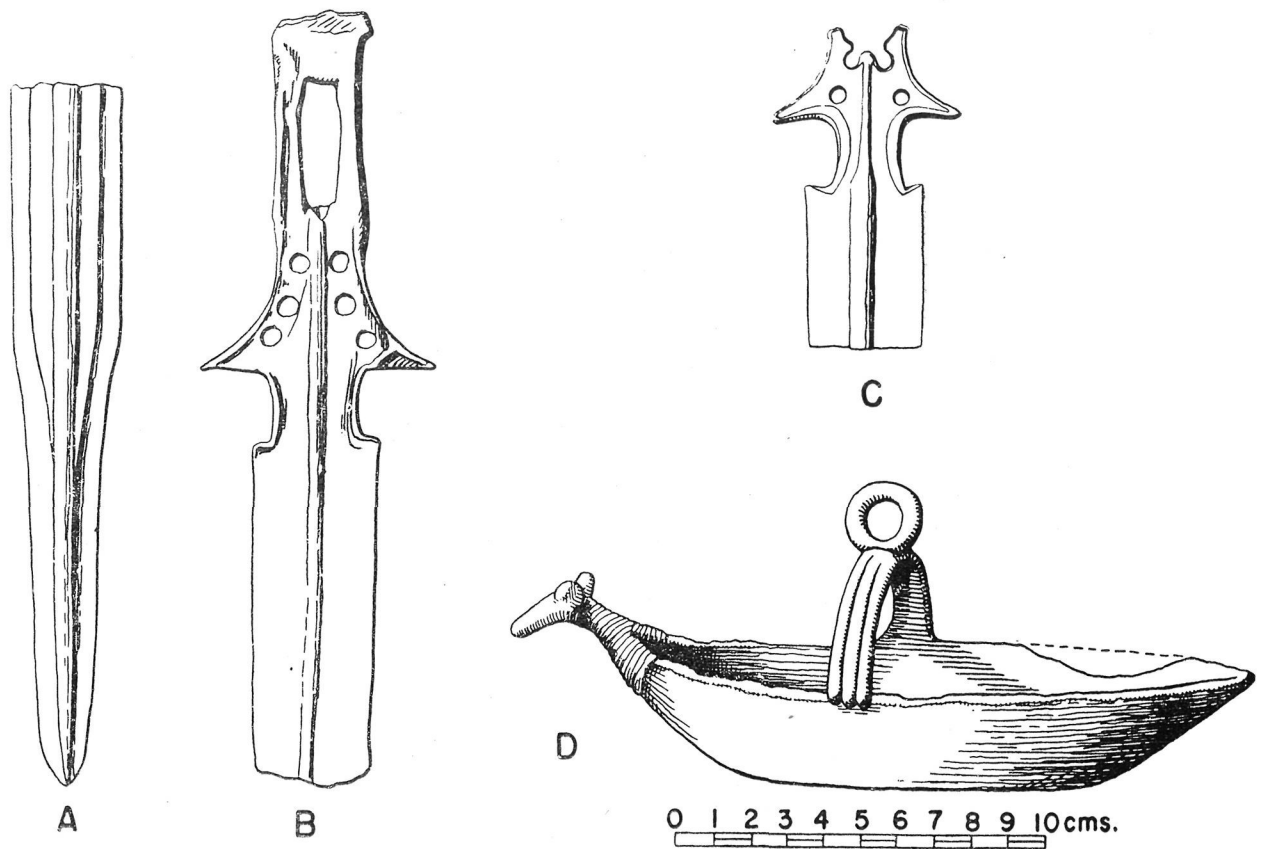


Fig. 11.—A, B, Monte Sa Idda (After Taramelli); C, D, Populonia (After Minto).

later. Akerström agrees that in Greece these vases would be 750-700. But, though he thinks that those from Bisenzio should be dated after 700, he thinks that some of these were made by Greek potters, an obvious contradiction ⁽⁷⁵⁾.

I think that the real point at issue with regard to Pallottino's Facies II is what is meant by "orientalizing". Facies III, as typified by the Bocchoris Tomb, the Tomb of the Duce, and especially by the Regolini-Galassi, Bernardini and Barberini Tombs, is characterized by an orientalizing type of art. These include such eastern features—to mention only a few—as the sphinxes on a gold plaque from the Bocchoris Tomb ⁽⁷⁶⁾, sphinxes and griffons on cups and on a chest from the Tomba del Duce ⁽⁷⁷⁾ and the

(72) *Studi Etruschi*, XIII, 1939, p. 120.

(73) *Der Geometrische Stil in Italien*, (Lund and Leipzig, 1943), p. 43.

(74) *The Western Greeks* (Oxford, 1948), p. 466, and in his review of Akerström in *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. XXXIX, 1949, p. 137.

(75) A. AKERSTRÖM, "Geometrische Stil", p. 62.

(76) MONTELIUS, "Civilization primitive", Pl. 295, 3.

(77) MONTELIUS, "Civilization primitive", Pl. 186, 10; 187, 10; 188, 1.

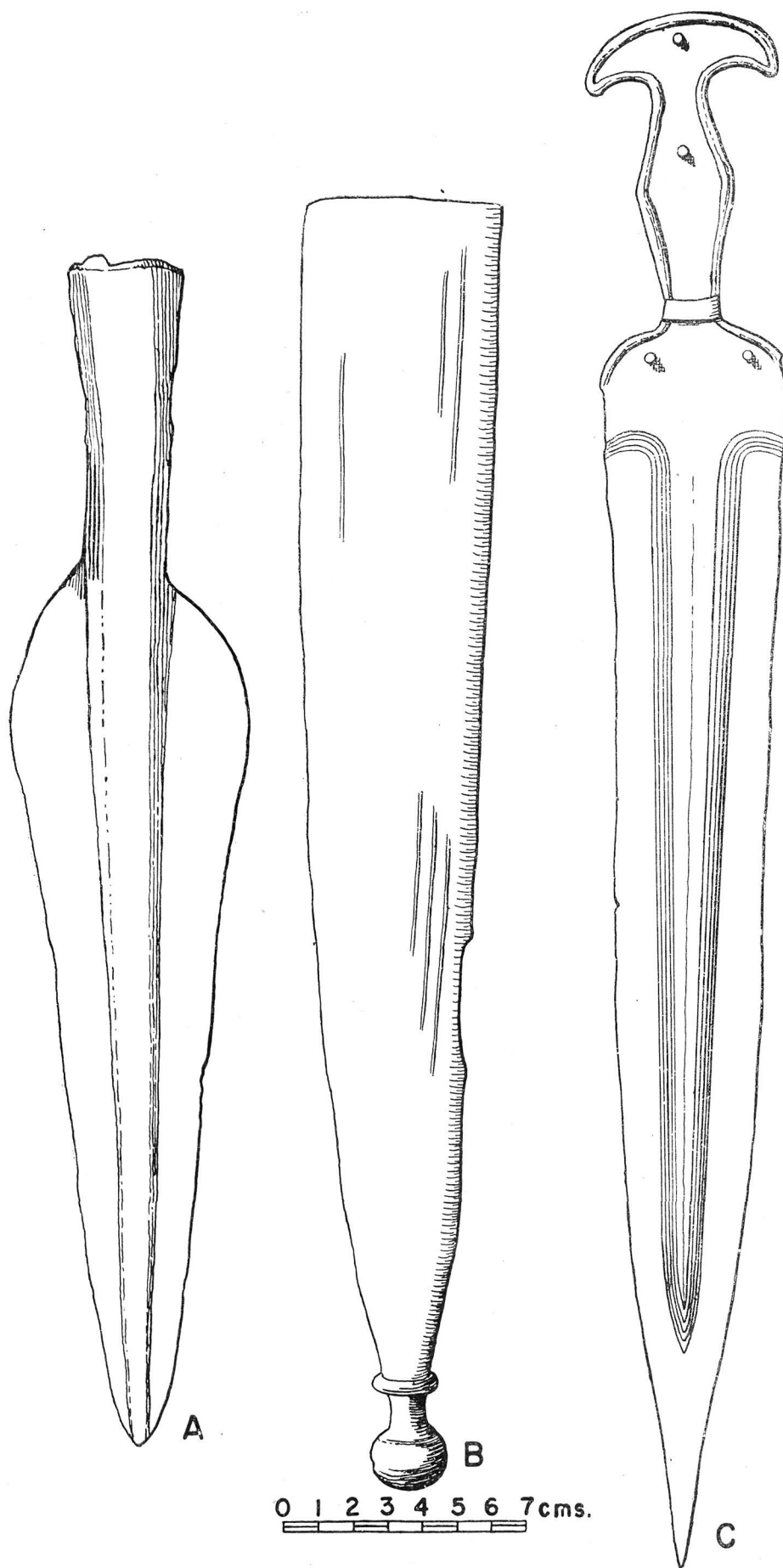


Fig. 12.—Conca, grave IX. Spear, Scabbard and Sword (After Musco di Villa Giulia photo).

“Phoenician” silver bowls with frankly orientalizing scenes from the Regolini-Galassi, Bernardini and Barberini Tombs (78). The style of the tombs at Bisenzio is something quite different (79). There are, to be sure, types that occur in the truly orientalizing tombs like the fire dogs and the shield. But does this evidence outweigh that of the Greek vases? Is it not equally justifiable to say that the association with these Greek

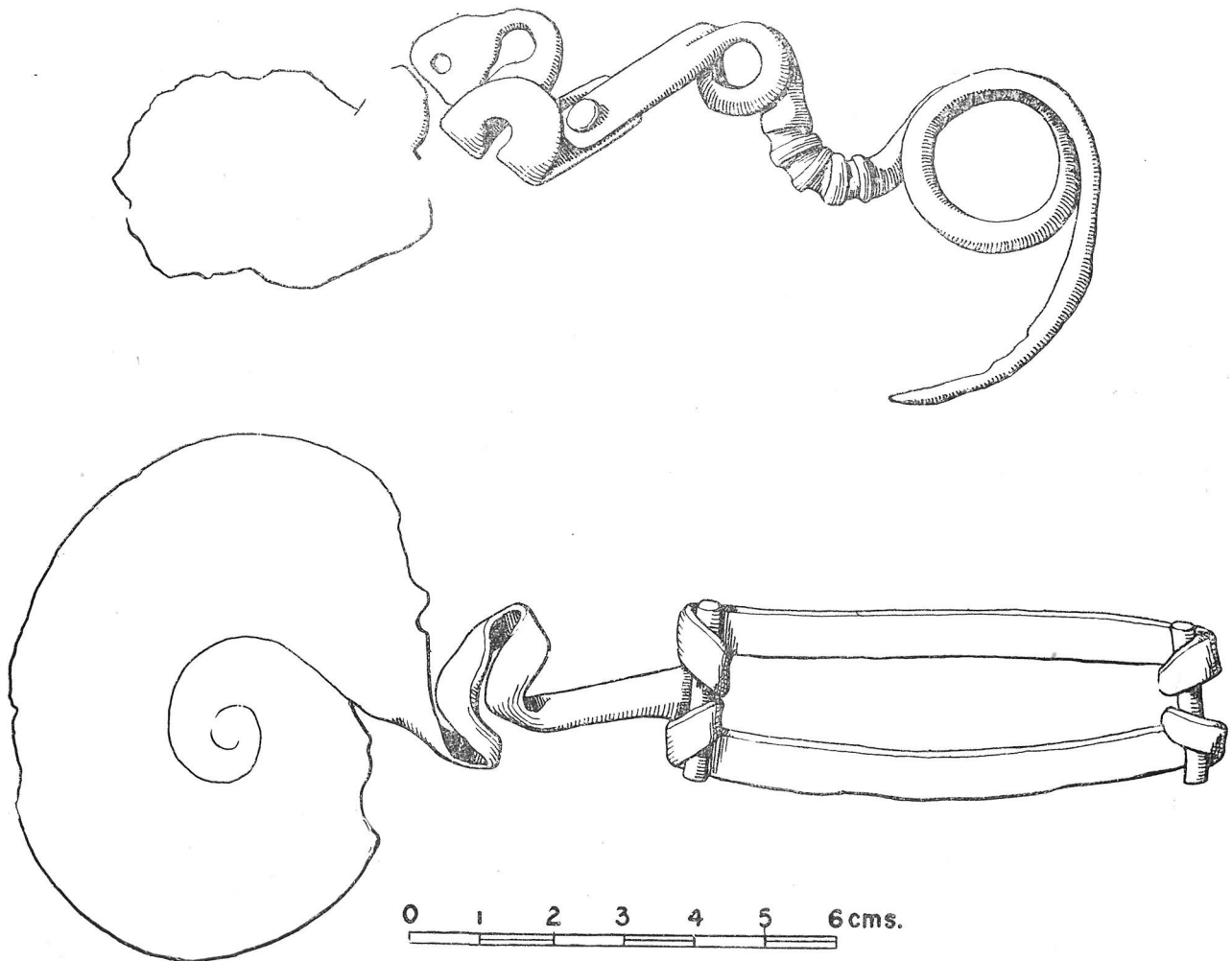


Fig. 13.—Conca, grave IX. Fibulae (After Museo di Villa Giulia photo).

vases places these tombs in the period 750-700 or a little later and that this shows that such shields and fire dogs were in use in Facies II? As for the shield, it need not in itself be orientalizing. Round shields with concentric ornament go back in Central Europe to the beginning of the urnfield period (80) and the central motive is connected with the decoration on bronze belt boxes of Bronze Age III and IV in northern Germany and Denmark (81). The wheeled stand for a cauldron is ultimately an oriental

(78) D. RANDALL MACIVER, "Villanovans and Early Etruscans" (Oxford, 1924), p. 210 and Plates 38 and 39.

(79) R. PARIBENI, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1928, 434 f.

(80) For the Pilsen shield see E. SPROCKHOFF, "Nordische Bronzezeit und frühes Griechentum", *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentral-museums Mainz*, vol. I, 1953, 74.

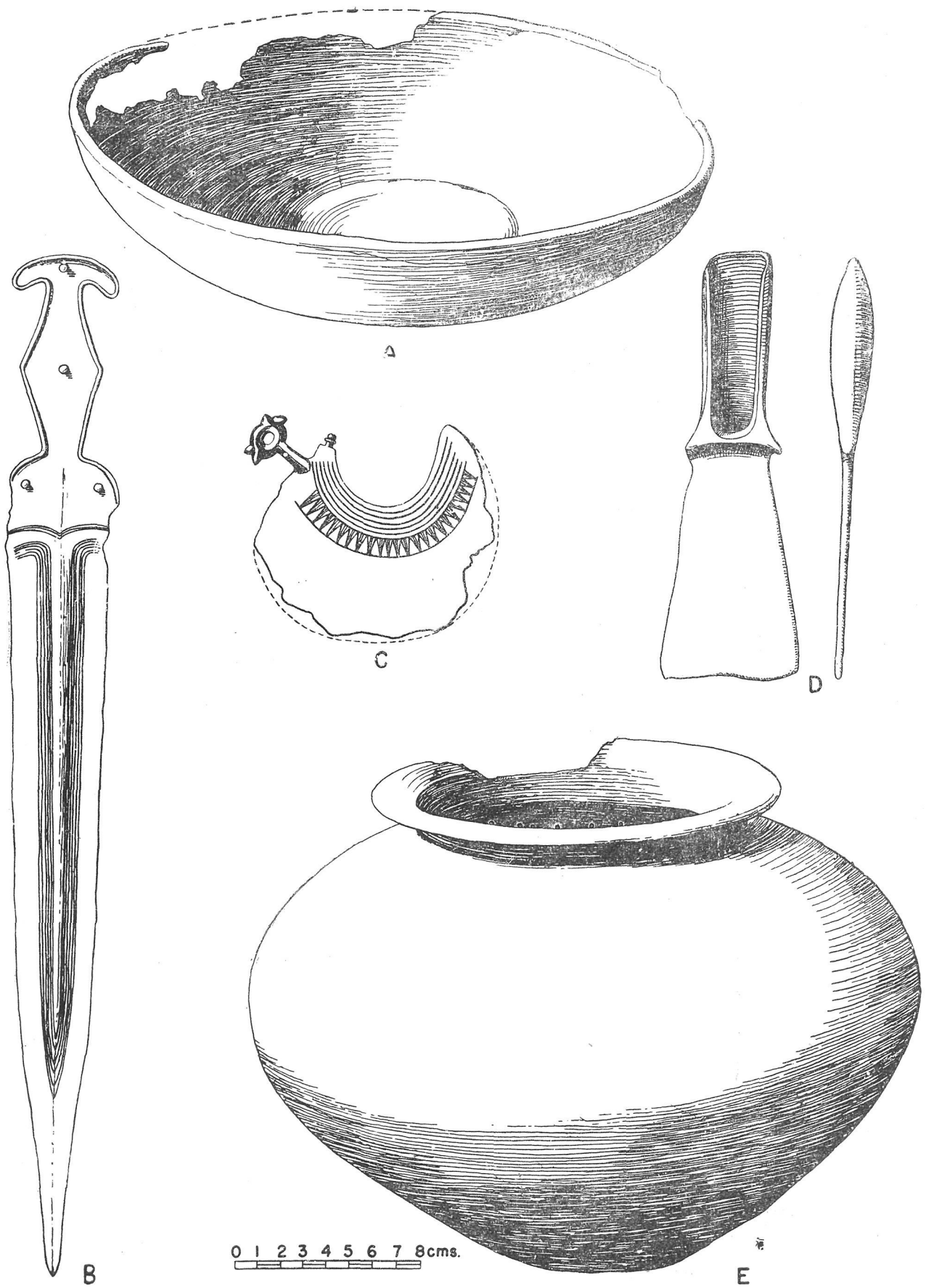


Fig. 14.—Veii, Vaccarella, Tomb XVIII (After Montelius and photos by J. Felbermeyer).

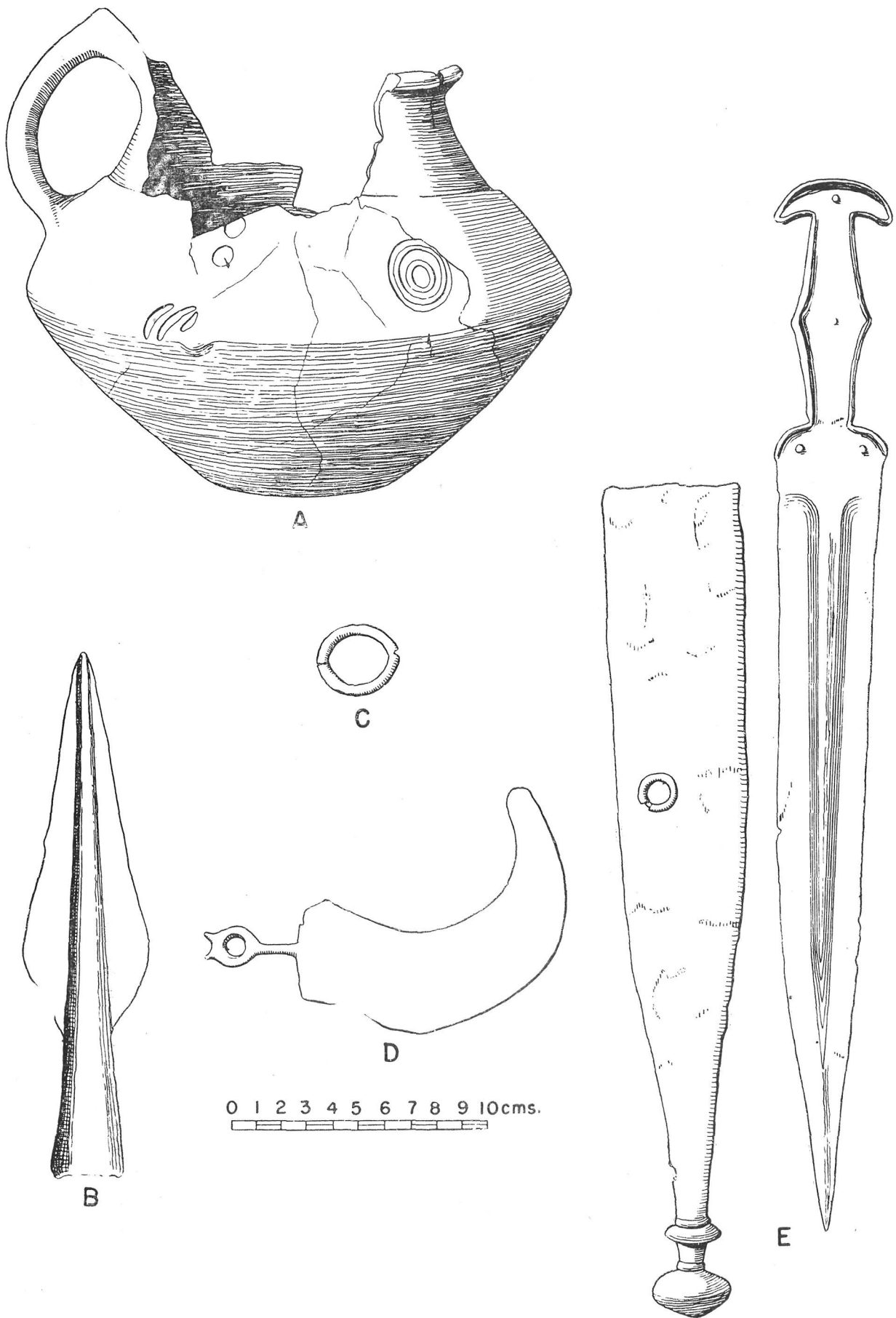


Fig. 15.—Terni, Tomb 94. (After Museo di Villa Giulia photos).

type (82). The form and the scenes recall Cyprus (83), though such wheeled vessels were in use in Central and Northern Europe (84) much earlier than this example from Bisenzio. But because this wheeled stand can be called "orientalizing", it need not be associated with Facies III whose orientalizing style was entirely different. Even in Pallottino's Facies I at Tarquinia there were "orientalizing" types such a ring askos (85), a bull askos (86) and Egyptianizing figurines (87). Hence it would seem to me that a case can be made out for supposing that these graves really belong to the second half of the 8th century and perhaps a little later and should be reckoned as part of Facies II. If they contain objects that also occur in Facies III, it is because these types came into use before III.

Another point is that the chronology proposed here is based fundamentally on Greek evidence. If one is going to be completely logical, one must accept the dates given by it to date Italian material and not alter the Greek dates to fit Italy (88). Since both Dunbabin (89) and Akerström (90) agree that the numerous vases from Bisenzio are among the earliest Greek vases on the mainland of Italy and that their Greek date is the second half of the 8th century, they show clear contact with the outside world in this period. Pallottino would reserve such contact to the towns nearer the sea. In short, the chief difficulty with reconciling Pallottino's scheme is met if we consider Bisenzio part of the primary zone in his Facies II in which some features already appeared that were to continue into Facies III. Indeed only a very slight extension of the area of Pallottino's Facies II would be needed to include Bisenzio (91).

Another sort of evidence for the date of Facies II comes from fibulae. One of the types of Pallottino's Facies II (92) consists of fibulae with enlarged bows (navicella or sanguisuga) with little projections on the sides of the bow and somewhat elongated feet. Such fibulae had a fairly long life, but some occur at Cumae (Gabrici's Greek tombs XVI, XXIII, LII, and Pellegrini's first inhumation tomb) (93). All these graves contain globular aryballoi on the whole of an earlier form than those from Syracuse founded in 733. Another type of fibula of Facies II is the serpentine type with little knobs on the sides. Such fibulae are found in Greek tombs at Syracuse with early ovoid

(81) R. BELTZ, "Bronzezeitliche Dosen und Becken aus Mecklenburg", *Præhistorische Zeitschrift*, vol. XIII-XIV, 1921-22, Figs. 6, 13, 14. H. C. BROHOLM, "Danmarks Bronzealder", vol. II (Copenhagen, 1944), 162, Pl. 32, 1.

(82) I "Kings", VII, 27-33.

(83) G. HANFMANN, "Altetruskische Plastik" (Wurzburg, 1936), p. 106.

(84) C. F. C. HAWKES, "From Bronze Age to Iron Age", *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 1948, p. 204.

(85) L. PERNIER, "Corneto-Tarquinia", *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1907, p. 245.

(86) L. PERNIER, "Corneto-Tarquinia", *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1907, p. 258.

(87) G. GHIRARDINI, "Corneto-Tarquinia", *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1882, p. 186.

(88) An exception from a 7th century tomb must be noted here, the geometric vase from Narce (Villa Giulia 4815; Monte Cerreto Tomb LII (73), *Monumenti Antichi*, IV 1894, 511) which Dunbabin places before 750 ("The Western Greeks", 139). This is however an isolated occurrence and hardly to be compared with the large number of Late Geometric vases from Bisenzio and other sites of Phase II.

(89) "The Western Greeks", 468.

(90) "Der Geometrische Stil Italiens", (Lund, 1943), p. 88.

(91) *Studi Etruschi*, XIII (1939), Fig. 9.

(92) Such as Poggio Gallinaro, Tomb 9. *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1907, 342 and Fig. 70.

(93) G. PELLEGRINI, "Tombe greche arcaiche", *Mon. Ant.* XIII, 1902, 263.

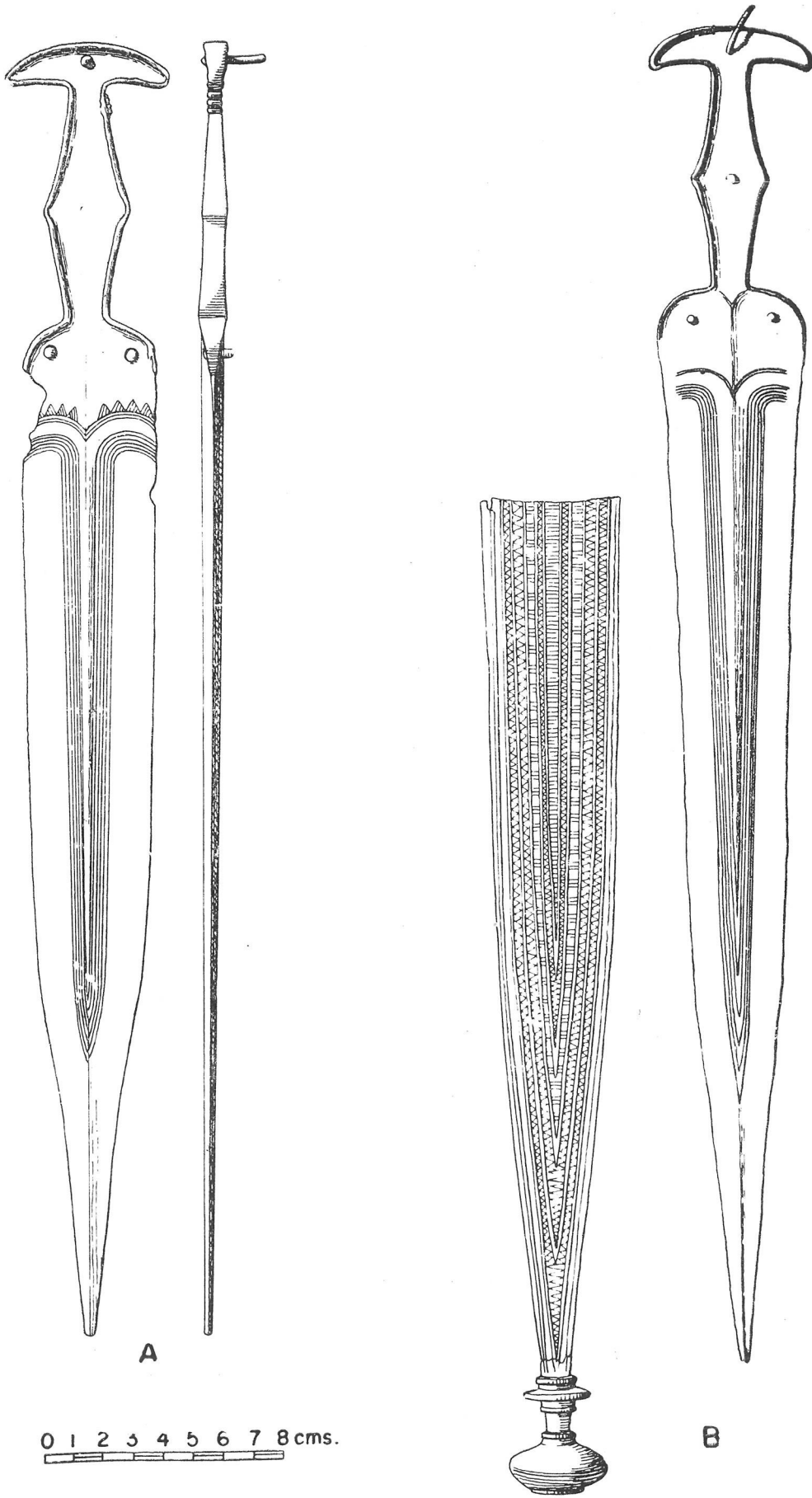


Fig. 16.—A, No locaty; B, Norcia (After photo by J. Felbermeyer).

aryballoi in tombs 308 and 326 (94). The latter also contains a navicella fibula with little projections on the bow. These tombs may now be placed in the first half of the 7th Century. But at Pithecusa Buchner has now found such fibulae with Greek vases of pre-Cumaean types that are believed to date from 775-750, and Miss Sylvia Benton reports that they are widely scattered in Greece (95). Clearly they are Greek types that came in with the Greek colonists. But it is notable that at Cumae they are found in the Greek graves, but not in the pre-Greek graves. Hence their appearance further away in Etruria is not likely to have antedated 750.

Again at Finocchito (97), a Sikel site in southeastern Sicily, some tombs contain the same two types of fibulae. This site is dated by imported geometric pottery which belongs mostly to the second half of the 8th century and ends in the first quarter of the 7th. The latest vase is a protocorinthian one of 700-675 (98).

Also in Calabria (99), the Iron Age cemetery at Torre Galli contained disc and other fibulae and pottery like pre-Hellenic Cumae, while the graves at Canale with Late Geometric pottery dating between about 750 and 700 or at least before the founding of Greek Lokroi about 673 (100) contain material analogous to those found at other sites of this period including Facies II in Etruria.

It would then seem that of the first two phases of the Early Iron Age in Italy, the first was before about 750 and the second after 750. In the first phase there were only rare imports of Greek vases (two at Cumae and one at Narce). But in the second there was a much greater use by the Iron Age peoples of Late Geometric pottery of Greek type. Whether one follows Young or Dunbabin, this pottery begins in the second half of the 8th century. Hence Facies II in coastal Etruria would have begun about 750-725. One need not assume that it began everywhere at the moment that the Greeks extinguished Iron Age Cumae, but it must have begun soon after.

Phase III, characterized by rich orientaling material, can be best dated by Protocorinthian associations, though these are not numerous. The accompanying subgeometric vases do not in themselves seem to be of specific chronological assistance. According to Pallottino, it begins with the Bocchoris Tomb from Tarquinia which he places in the earlier part of the 7th century (101). It is worth adding that the late Mrs. E. H. Dohan (102) gives very detailed reasons for arriving at the same estimate of the age of the Bocchoris Tomb at Tarquinia. She shows that the Bocchoris vase itself is an imitation of an Egyptian form, and hence the reign of Bocchoris in the late 8th century is only a *terminus post quem*. T. J. Dunbabin (103) is also in agreement

(94) P. ORSI, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1895, 146 and 149.

(95) K. FRIIS JOHANSEN, "Les vases sicyoniens", (Copenhagen, 1923), 18, 73, 74, 181, 183; J. BÉRARD, "Colonization grecque" (Paris, 1941), 294-95.

(96) *Annual of British School at Athens*, Vol. XLVIII (1953), p. 350.

(97) P. ORSI, *BPI*, XX, 26f and XXIII, 1897, 157f.

(98) DUNBABIN, "The Western Greeks", 97. He says that the latest vase dates from 700-675.

(99) P. ORSI, *Monumenti antichi*, XXXI, 1926.

(100) This is Dunbabin's opinion expressed to me in conversation. J. BÉRARD, "Colonization grecque" (Paris, 1941), p. 297, is in substantial agreement.

(101) *Monumenti antichi*, XXXVI, 1937, 133; *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di archeologia* XXII, 1948, 40.

(102) *Italic Tomb Groups* (Philadelphia, 1942), v. 108.

(103) T. J. DUNBABIN, "The Western Greeks" (Oxford, 1948), 462.

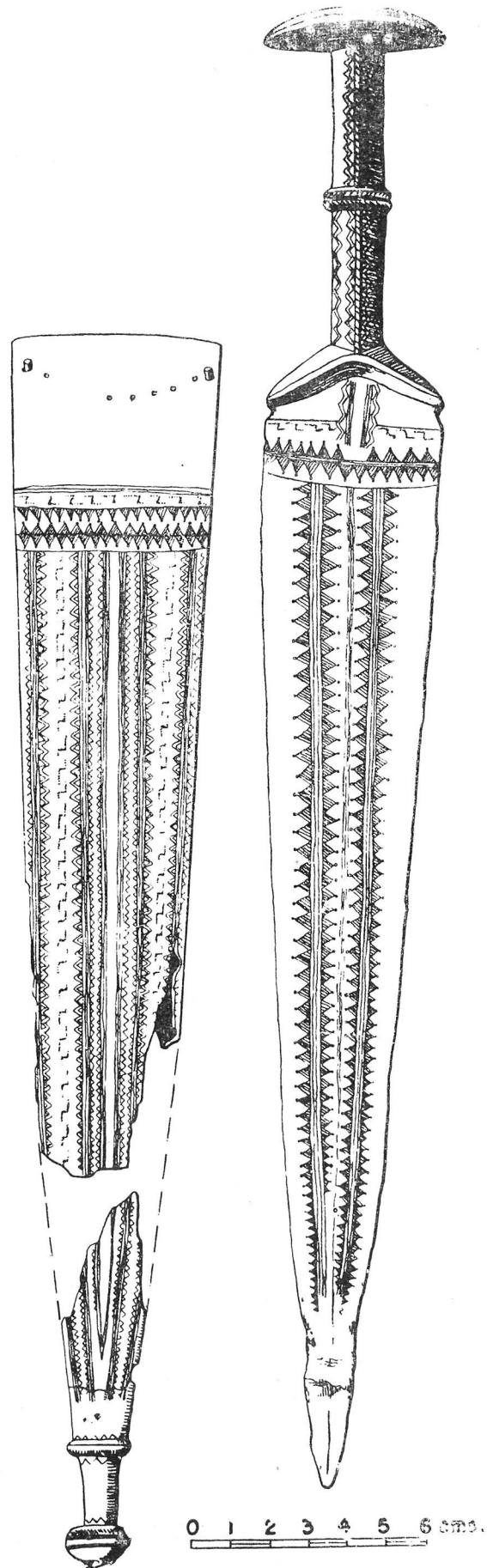


Fig. 17.—Vetulonia (After Milani).

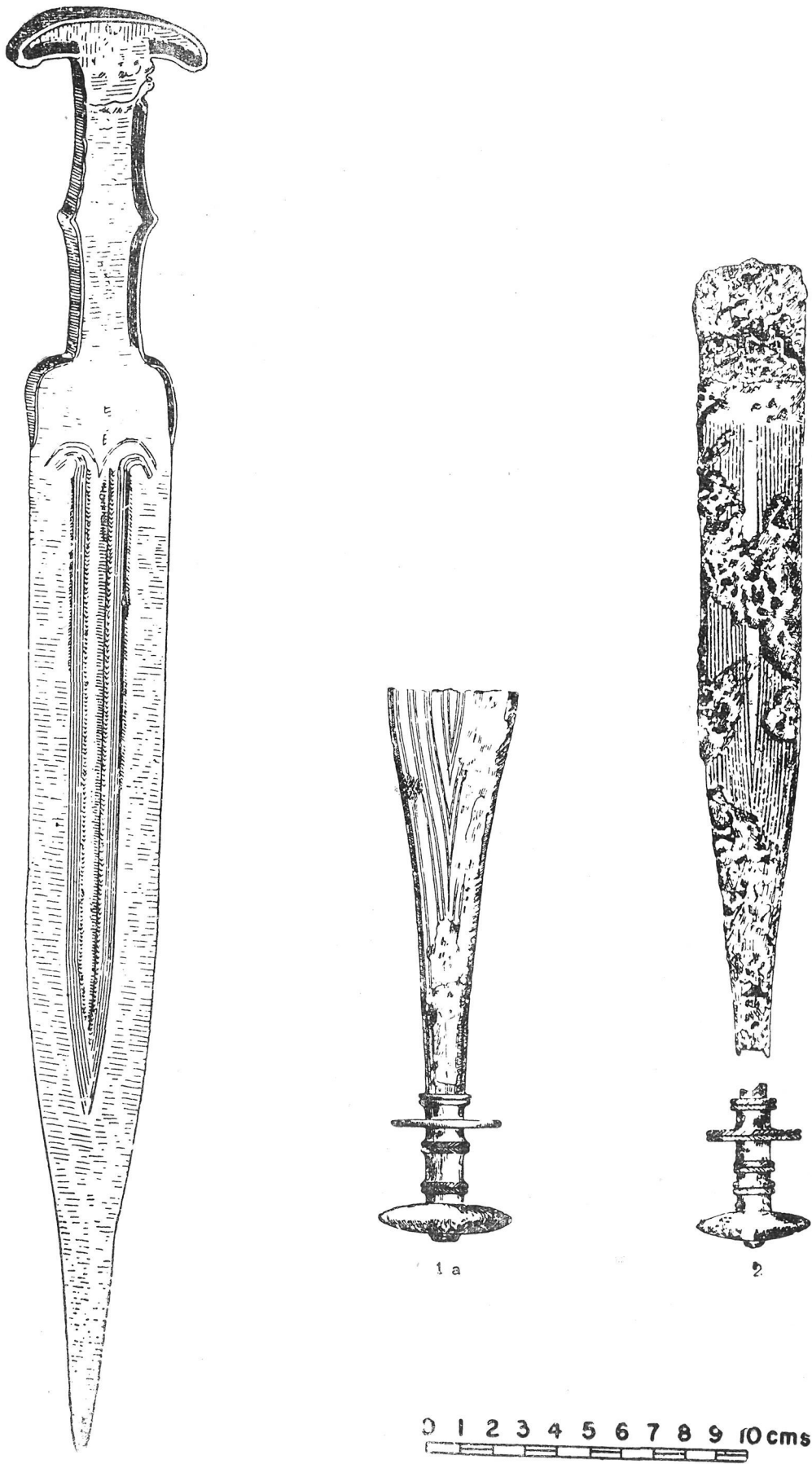


Fig. 18.—Cumae. 1, 1 a, No association; 2, Steven's Grave 4 (?). (After Gabrici).

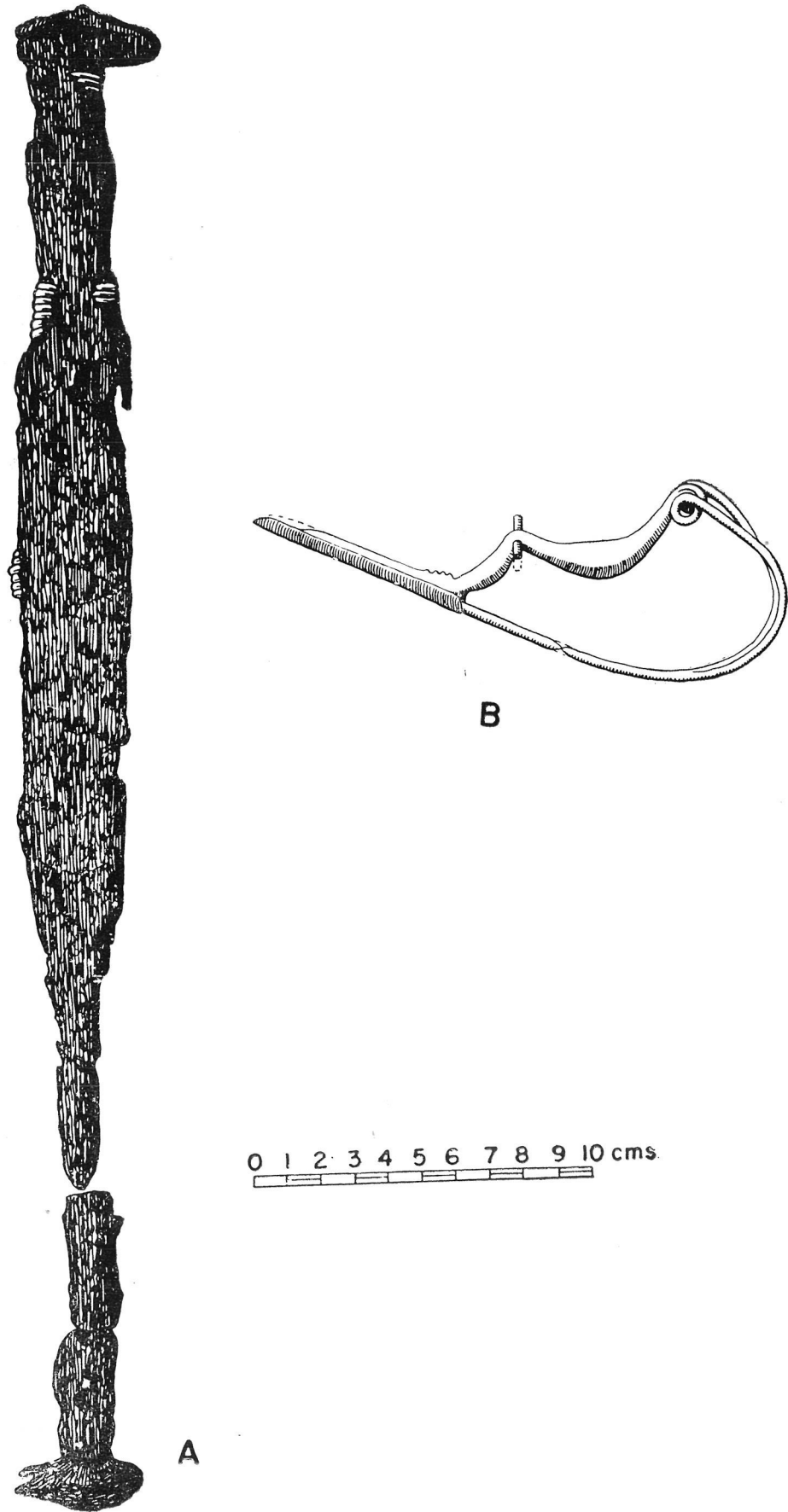


Fig. 19.—Caracupa, Grave 25 (After photo by J. Felbermeyer).

when he says that the Italian imitations of Protocorinthian vases in this tomb cannot be before the 7th century or even at its very beginning. Blakeway (104) arrives at the same general period for the Tomb of the Duce at Vetulonia by protocorinthian comparisons. Also the Tombe delle Tre Navicelle at Vetulonia contained a high aryballos (105), already alluded to, not before 650-640. But at Vetulonia the Tumulus of Val di Campo contained a round aryballos of Corinthian form (106). This marks the final stage of Facies III. According to Payne this means a *terminus post quem* of 625. Also Pareti (107) gives as extreme limits for the Regolini-Galassi and Bernardini Tombs 675-610. In other words Facies III lasts until the end of the 7th century. Further confirmation for the date of Facies III comes from the Bernardini and Barberini Tombs whose tripods are for Riis (108) imitations of Greek tripods of the first half of the 7th century. On one of the engraved bowls from the Bernardini Tomb is a Phoenician inscription in characters that W. F. Albright puts in the 7th century, probably in the second half (109).

Facies IV is characterized for dating purposes by numerous vases of Protocorinthian and Corinthian type often found together. These include both Greek imports and Etruscan imitations. Since on Payne's reckoning, Corinthian begins about 625, this means that IV began toward the end of the 7th century (110).

We thus get these approximate dates for Pallottino's periods in coastal Etruria:

Facies I - ninth century to 750.

Facies II - 750 to 675.

Facies III - 675 to 600.

Facies IV - after 600.

Along with these coastal "Facies" must be taken their geographical distribution, for Pallottino has shown that they by no means succeeded one another everywhere at the same time. The outline of chronology given above gives only the "typical" succession, but each find must be judged not only by its position in the sequence of facies, but by Pallottino's geographical distribution of them.

(104) *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1935, 140.

(105) DORO LEVI, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Italia VIII, Pl. 373, 16; HUMPHRY PAYNE, "Necrocorinthia" (Oxford, 1931), 269, No. 9.

(106) MONTELIUS, "Civilization primitive", 183, 13 and DORO LEVI, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Italia VIII, Pl. 373, 6.

(107) L. PARETI, "La Tomba Regolini Galassi", *Pont. Accademia Romana di archeologia*, 1947, 339, 511.

(108) P. J. RIIS, "Rod Tripods", *Acta Archaeologica*, X, 1939, 1 f.

(109) *Studies in the History of Culture* (American Council of Learned Societies, 1945), p. 48.

(110) *Studi Etruschi*, XIII, 1939, 113.

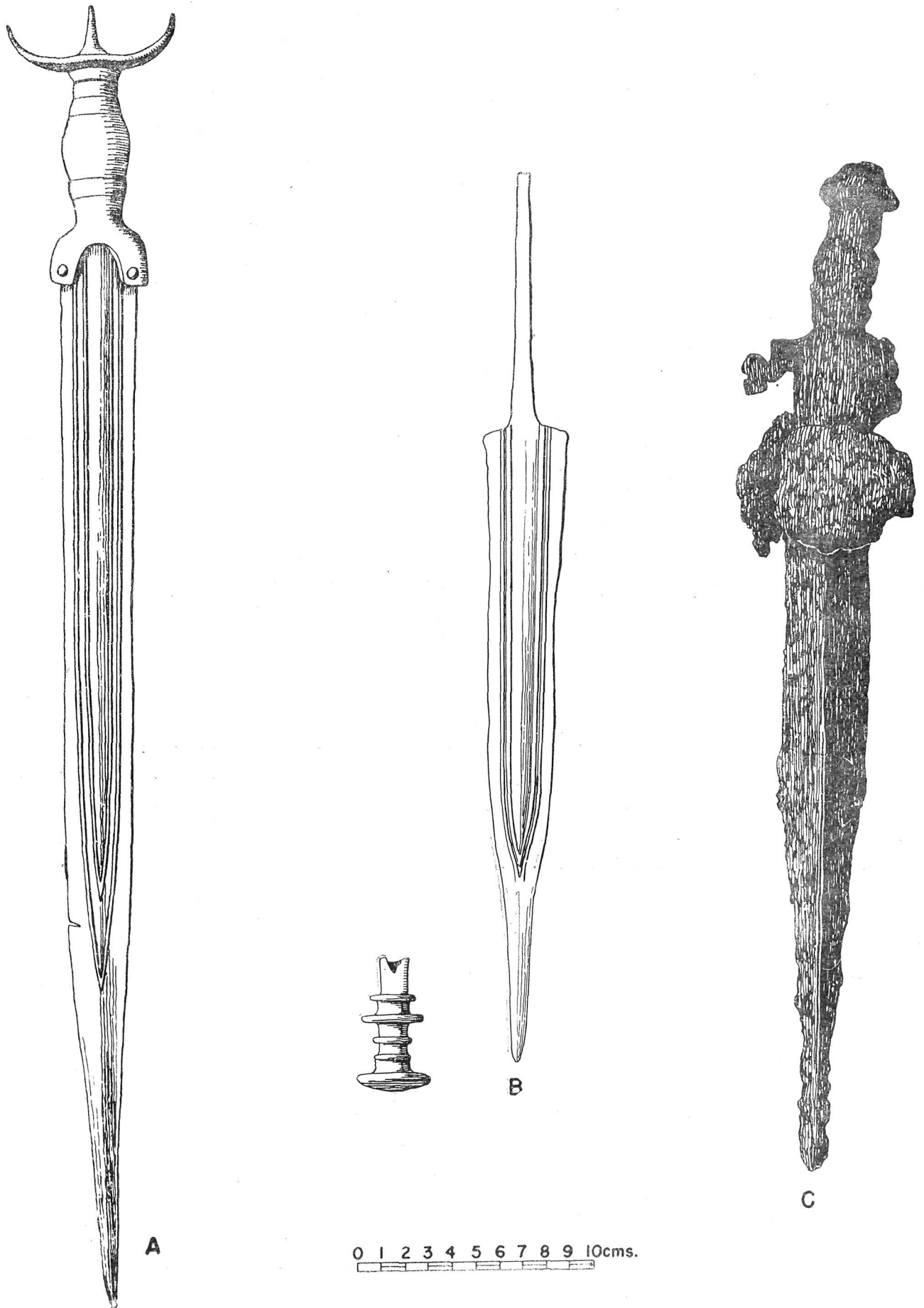


Fig. 20.—A, No provenance. (After British Museum photo); B, Valvisciolo; C, Alfedena. (After photos by J. Felbermeyer).

PART III

THE ITALIAN SWORDS

I have divided these into the following groups:

- A. Rudimentary carp's tongue points.
- B. Developed carp's tongue points.
- C. Shouldered points.
- D. Novilara points.

These divisions are of course arbitrary, and the types shade one into another. Another difficulty is that many swords are rusted into their sheaths so that their points cannot be seen. In the cases of the developed carp's tongue and the shouldered carp's tongue, the scabbards assume the form of the point, but with the rudimentary carp's tongue, this is not necessarily so, as the examples from Conca and Vetulonia show (Figs. 12, and 17).

A. *Rudimentary Carp's Tongue Points*

1. Conca in Lazio ⁽¹¹¹⁾ north-east of Anzio. Grave IX (Fig. 12), (in the inventory of the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome, Grave XVI, nos. 12153-9) contains a bronze sword with a flanged, T-shaped hilt 45 cms. long. Its bronze scabbard, with no hint of a carp's tongue point, ends in a round knob with one moulding above it. The grave also contained, beside a bronze spear with a polygonal socket, two bronze disc fibulae (Figure 13) like those from the pre-Hellenic cemetery at Cumae some way to the south. The fibulae show that it cannot be far in time from the similar graves at Cumae older than about 750. It lies outside of Pallottino's geographical scheme, but since later Iron Age phases are represented at Conca, it would seem that we are not likely to be dealing here with a greatly belated survival of early material.

2. Vei, Lazio. Vaccareccia, Tomb XVIII ⁽¹¹²⁾ (Fig. 14), (Museo Preistorico, Rome, nos. 68308-68315). This tomb contained the well-known bronze sword alluded to by Professor Almagro in his account of the Huelva hoard. It was accompanied by remains of a bronze scabbard, a bronze razor of a type characteristic of Facies II and a bronze spear with a polygonal socket and a blade shaped like that of the spear from the Tomb 1036 which must belong to Facies III after 675 (see Fig. 25).

According to Montelius, *Civilization primitive*, there were two axes in this grave (Pl. 348, 1 and 3) but according to Montelius, *Chronologie* ⁽¹¹³⁾, the axe of later type with the wide blade (*Civilization primitive*, Pl. 348, 1) came from Grave XVII at the same site. According to the records of the Museo Preistorico in Rome this latter is correct. Only one axe is illustrated here (Fig. 14,D). This grave also contained a large reddish globular pot without handles, 21 cms. high (Fig. 14E), covered by an almost hemispherical bronze bowl (Fig. 14A). This suggests Facies II or III of the Iron Age. Such

(111) I use throughout the modern names of the Italian regions.

(112) MONTELIUS, "Civilization primitive", 348; "Die Vorklassische Chronologie Italiens", 48, no. 212,

(113) 48, nr. 211.

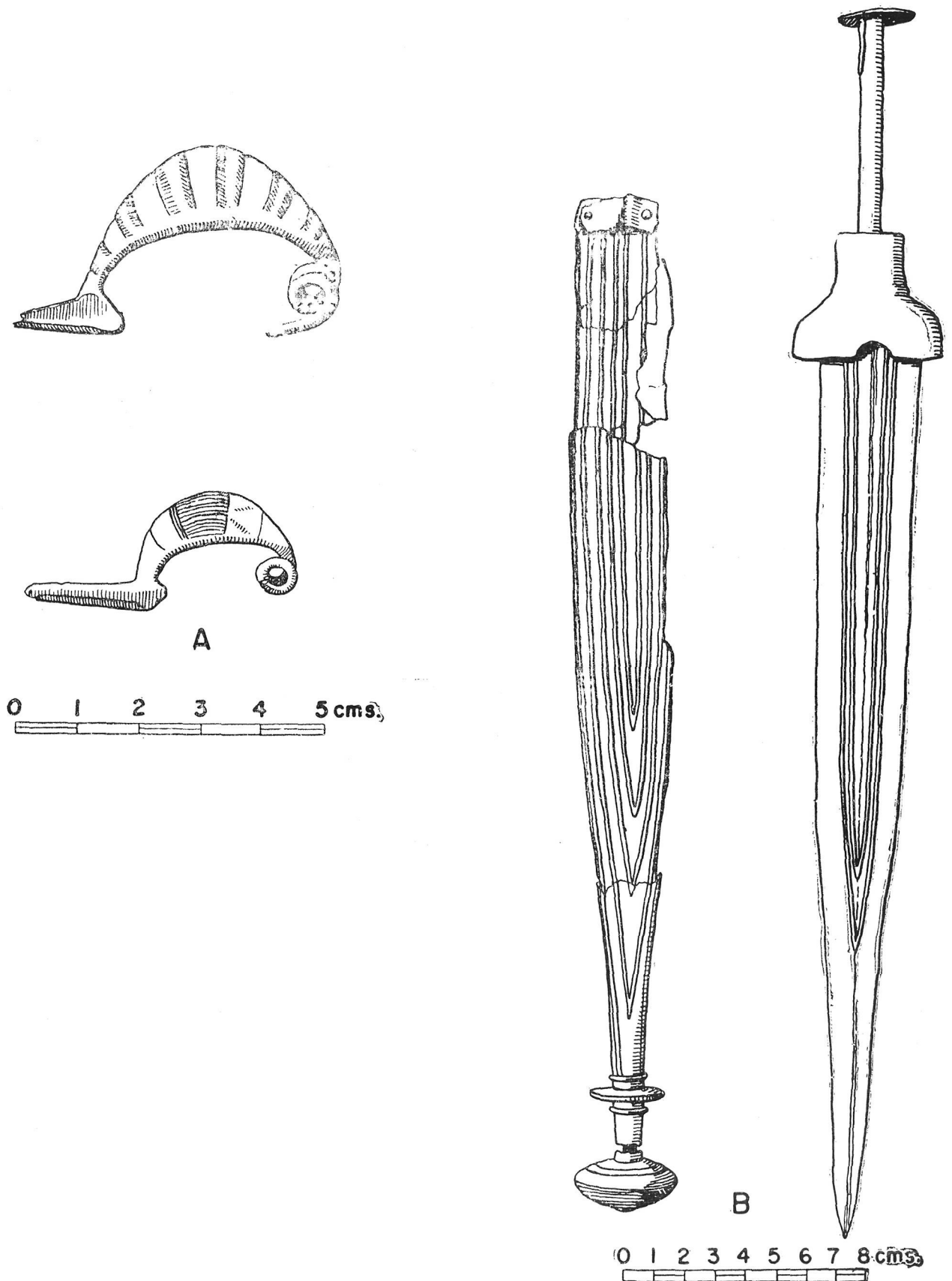


Fig. 21.—Bisenzio. Capodimonte, Grave LXXXIX (After photos by J. Feldermeyer).

pots at Tarquinia are II or III, and others found at Narce only a short distance from Veii were dated to 680-650 by Mrs. Dohan (114). This grave might well represent the overlapping of Phase II by Phase III at Veii which Pallottino (115)) has indicated. Hence it could belong to the first half of the 7th century.

3. Terni, Umbria, Tomb 94 (Fig. 15), Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome, nos 41128-34. This grave contained a bronze sword 41 cms. long, with a T-shaped flanged hilt and a bronze scabbard with a roundish knob and a large moulding above it and rather faint smaller mouldings. Here the scabbard curves inward slightly toward the point to correspond to the carp's tongue point of the sword. The grave also contained a razor commoner in Facies II, a spear head and a small ring. There is also a small one-handed pot 19 cms. high. As for the date of this grave, Terni was culturally a mixed area (116), and it is a long way from Pallottino's typical area on the coast. One may then say that this grave can be contemporary with Phase II. Hence a date in the later 8th or earlier 7th century is possible.

4. Norcia, Umbria (Fig. 16,B), Museo Preistorico, Rome (63775). This bronze sword (117), 44.5 cms., is decorated with incised lines. It has a T-shaped tang with flanges. It came, according to information kindly provided by Dr. R. Penna of the Museum, from graves at Norcia which were not kept separate and was accompanied by a bronze scabbard (63776) ending in a flattened knob with a disc-shaped moulding above it and three subsidiary mouldings. The scabbard does not reflect the carp's tongue shape of the point.

5. Vetulonia (Colle Baroncio) (118), (Fig. 17). Museo Archeologico, Florence, number 81480. A bronze dagger 36.5 cms. long with no associations. Here the T-shaped hilt has been cast in one piece with the blade. The scabbard ends in a roundish knob with a single moulding above it. Both the scabbard and blade have rich geometric ornament, but the scabbard does not have the carp's tongue form.

6. Unknown provenance (Fig. 16,A), A, Peabody Museum of Harvard University. No. 39-62-40. 5224. This is of bronze and is 44 cms. long.

Also at Torre Galli in Calabria there were found swords with scabbards that might indicate some kind of carp's tongue point (119), but since the swords themselves are rusted into the scabbards, it is not possible to be sure. At any rate they were accompanied by disc fibulae and other objects characteristic of pre-Hellenic Cumae and hence would belong to the 8th century or before.

(114) E. H. DOHAN, "Italic Tomb Groups", Philadelphia, 1942, p. 108, Pls. IX, 1, 2 and XXVII, 3.

(115) *Studi Etruschi*, XIII, 1939, 110-11, 120.

(116) PALLOTTINO, *Studi Etruschi*, XIII, 98.

(117) *Monumenti Antichi*, XXII, 152, Fig. 64.

(118) L. PERNIER, "Le armi di Vetulonia", in L. MILAN, *Studi e materiale*, III, Florence, 1905, p. 240, Plate III. A. TALOCCHINI, "Le armi di Vetulonia e di Populonia", *Studi Etruschi*, XVI, 1942, p. 21, Figs. I and 3.

(119) *Monumenti Antichi*, vol. 31, 1926-27.

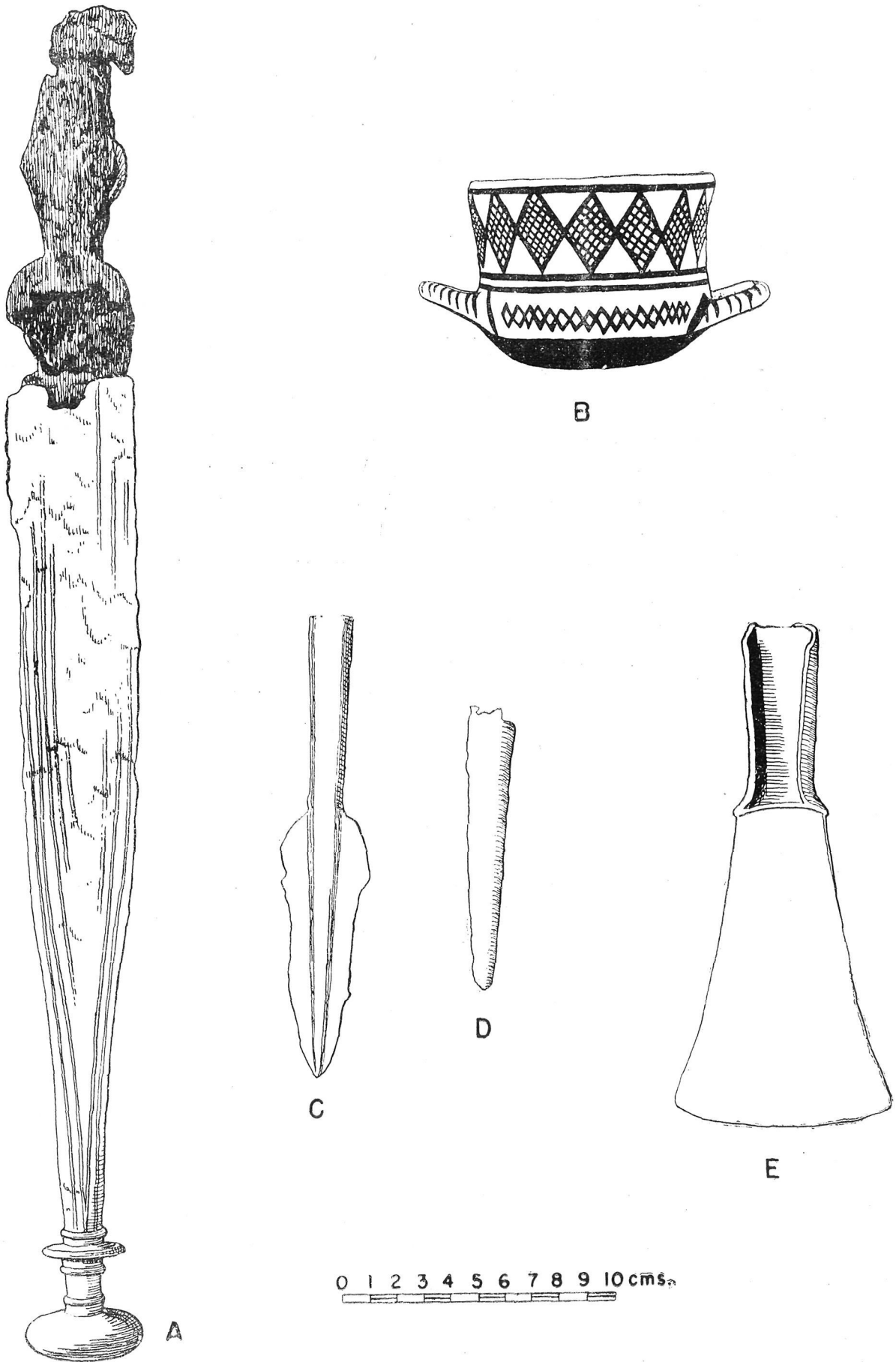


Fig. 22.—Veii, Grave 815. (After Museo di Villa Giulia photos).

B. *Developed Carp's Tongue Points*

1. Cumae, Campania, Museo Nazionale, Naples (Fig. 18,2). This is an iron sword, 41 cms. long, rusted into a bronze sheath (the tang is missing). The sheath has a more

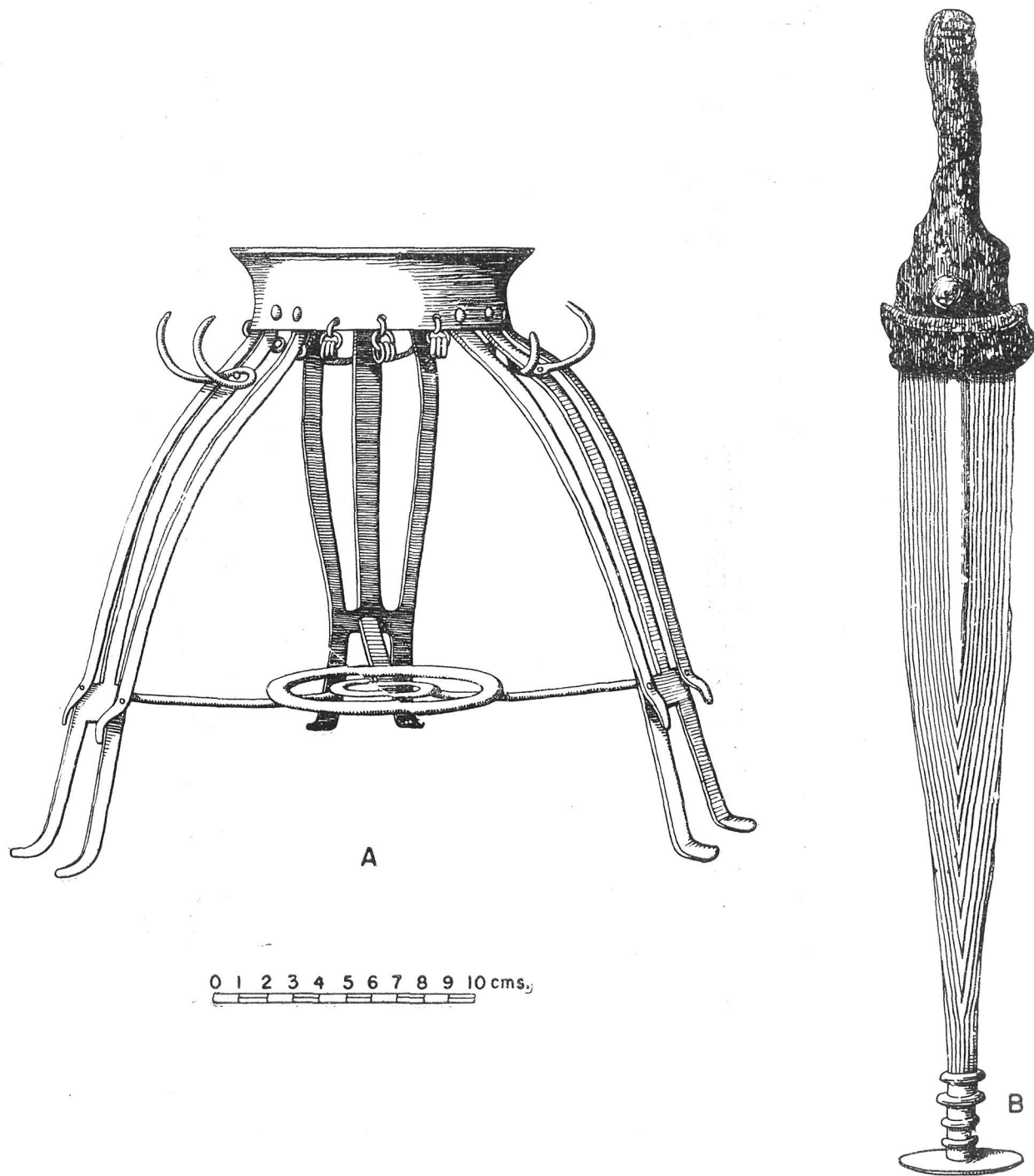


Fig. 23.—Narce, Tomb XIX (After Montelius).

developed terminal than those with rudimentary tongues. Its tip is a lens-shaped knob with one large disc-shaped moulding and other subsidiary ones. According to Gàbrici (120), it probably belonged to Steven's pre-Hellenic grave 4. But according to

(120) GÀBRICI, "Cuma", *Monumenti Antichi*, Vol. 22, 1913-14, cols. 64 and 71, Pl. XXVII, 2.

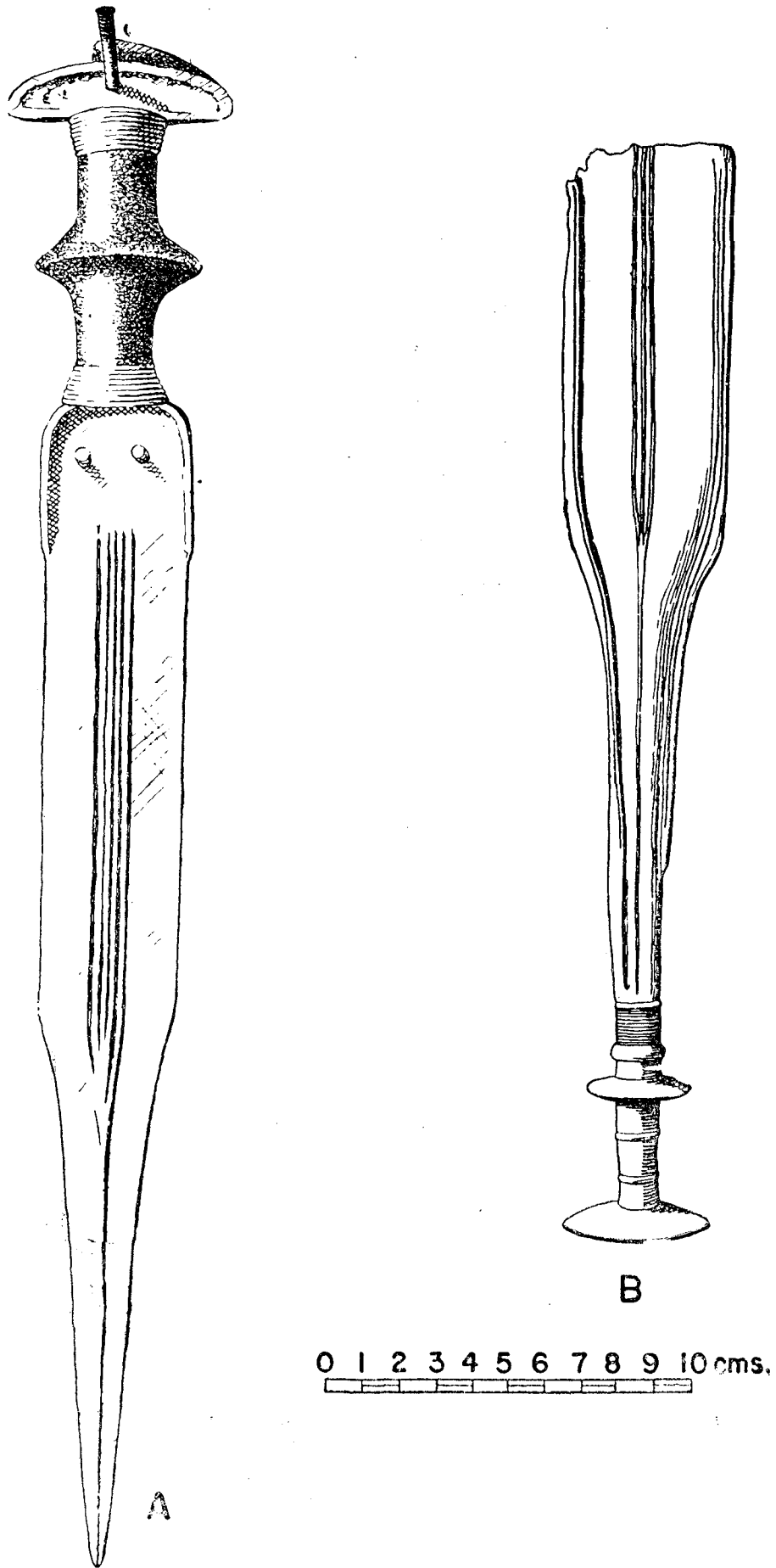


Fig. 24.—Bernardini Tomb. Sword and Scabbard (After Curtis).

Dr. Giorgio Buchner of the Naples Museum, the Stevens collection had fallen into great confusion before it was received by the Museum and consequently not too much reliance is to be placed upon this statement. If it were true, this would be the earliest sword with a developed point.

2. Cumae. Museo Nazionale, Naples (121). (Fig. 18, 1, 1.^a). This fine bronze sword with a flanged T-shaped tang has no associations, and consequently there is no way of showing whether it is Greek or pre-Greek. Its bronze scabbard is like that of the preceding.

2. Cumae. Museo Nazionale, Naples (121). (Fig. 18, 1, 1.^a). This fine bronze sword Preistorico, Rome (122). This contained an iron sword (69766) but with a T-shaped flanged hilt fitted with a bone grip held on by bronze wire (Fig. 19A). The sheath was of wood with an iron lens-shaped button for a tip. There was also a fibula (69767) (Fig. 19B). For this Sundwall (123) cites some datable examples. One is from Narce, Grave 7 (124). This might be assignable to Facies II, but Pallottino warns that II has a wide overlap with III in this area (125). Others come from fossa grave 38 at Petrina in the vicinity of Narce (126). This tomb may be dated about 680-650 (see under No. 9). Two other fibulae classed as similar by Sundwall came from the Artiarco tomb at Cumae. This contained orientaling material appropriate to Facies III (127), and also a fibula like that from the Tomba del Duce at Vetulonia which is probably about the second quarter of the 7th century or later on its Greek analogies (128). Sundwall dates the Artiarco tomb 675-650. Hence grave 25 from Caracupa might well be within the 7th century.

4. Valvisciolo near Caracupa. Bronze sword with slender tang (Fig. 20,B) (129). Museo Preistorico, Rome (66107). 38 cms. long. It came from graves unofficially opened before the site was excavated, and its only association is a bronze scabbard tip (66106) consisting of a flattened knob, a large disc-like moulding and subsidiary disc-like mouldings.

5. Valvisciolo. Grave group now preserved at the Museo Preistorico, Rome. This includes an iron sword 34.5 cms. long (74030) with a flat T-shaped tang. It was accompanied by the thickened bows of two fibulae (74013-14) which are scarcely datable.

6. Norba, near Sermoneta, Lazio. Iron dagger from the ancient oppidum (130). It is said to be like that from Caracupa, grave 25.

7. Bisenzio, Lazio. Capodimonte, Grave LXXXIX. Museo Preistorico, Rome. This grave (Fig. 21), contained a bronze sword 44.5 cms. long with a hilt attached by a slender tang. It was accompanied by a bronze scabbard with a very thick lens-shaped knob.

(121) GABRICI, "Cuma", *Monumenti Antichi*, vol. 22, 1913-14, col. 70, Pl. XXVII, 1 and 1a.

(122) *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1903, 314, Figs. 28 and 29.

(123) J. SUNDWALL, "Die älteren italischen Fibeln" (Berlin, 1943), 238.

(124) N. ABERG, "Bronzezeitliche und früheisenzeitliche Chronologie", Teil I, *Italien*, Stockholm, 1930, p. 29, Abb. 186.

(125) *Studi Struschi*, XIII, 1939, 122.

(126) *Monumenti Antichi*, IV, 1894, 423, Pl. X, 11.

(127) G. PELLEGRINI, "Tombe greche arcaiche di Cuma", *Monumenti Antichi*, XIII, 1903, 204.

(128) A. A. BLAKEWAY, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1935, p. 140.

(129) L. SAVIGNONI and R. MENGARELLI, "Norba", *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1901, p. 555 and Fig. 31, e and f.

(130) L. SALVIGNONI and R. MENGARELLI, "Norba", *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1904, 410.

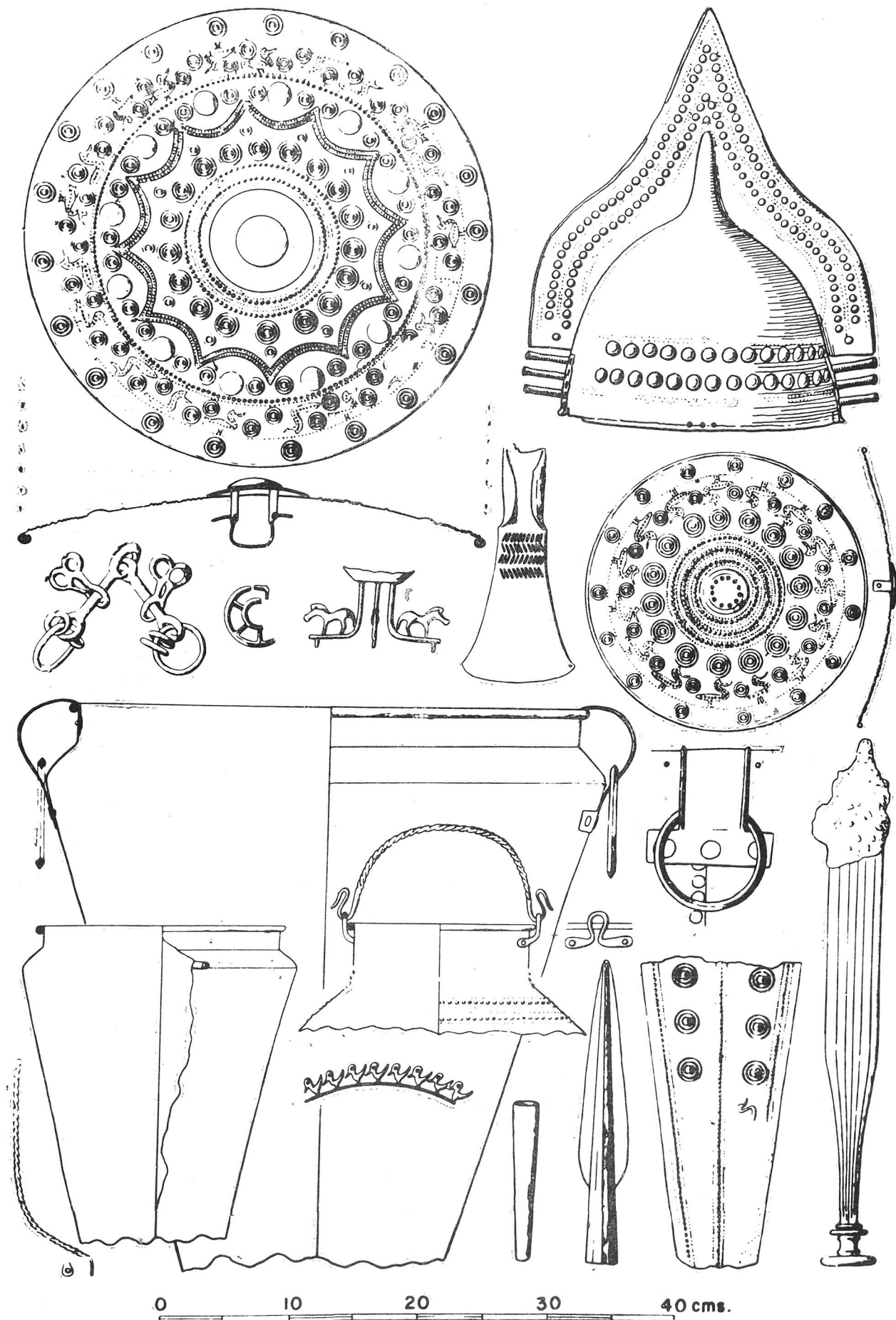


Fig. 25.--Veii, Tomb 1036. (After H. Müller-Karpe).

Above this knob is the upper moulding developed into a disc and accompanied by two smaller mouldings. There were also two bronze bracelets, a small bronze pendant, a piece of iron, some glass beads, an arc fibula with a flat bow and two fibulae with enlarged bows, one with a somewhat elongated foot and the other with a quite long foot. These last two are the best criteria for dates, and they would indicate Facies II

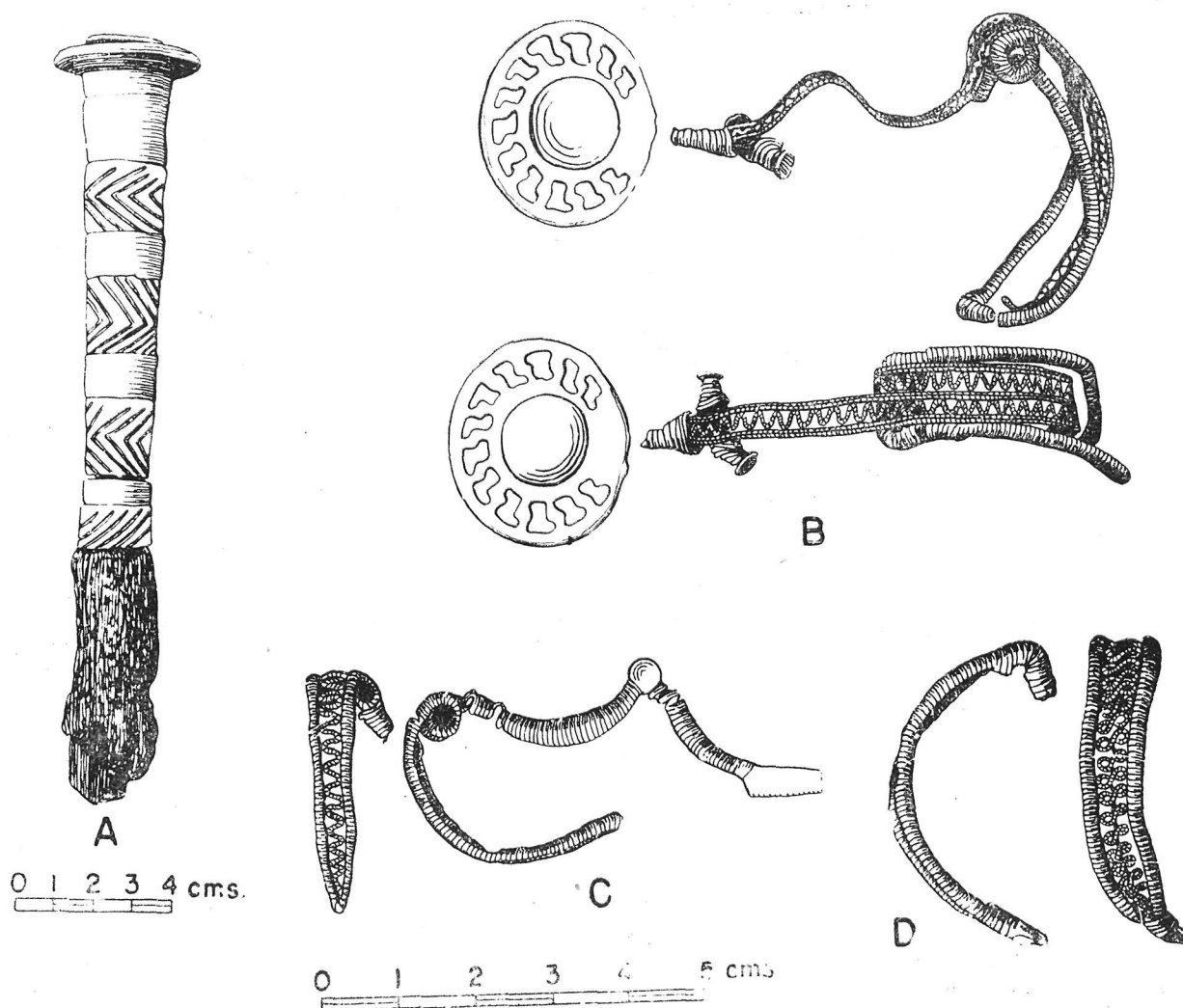


Fig. 26.—Veii, Tomb 1036. A, Gold and Amber Handle of an Iron Object; B, C, D, Iron Fibulae wrapped with gold wire. (After photos by J. Feldermeyer).

of the Iron Age. Pallottino's scheme allows very little unmixed II before Facies III, but as has already been noted in discussing chronology, II may be more substantial here than Pallottino has allowed for and may begin about 750.

8. Veii, grave 815. Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (Fig. 22). This contained an iron sword in a bronze sheath, the sword and sheath together being 50 cms. long. The corrosion of the hilt of the sword makes it difficult to be sure of details. The tip of the scabbard is a flattened form of the old round tip, though above it is the disc-like moulding with some subsidiary ones. The grave also included a bronze axe, a poorly preserved bronze spear and spear butt, a small dark cup with one handle and a little

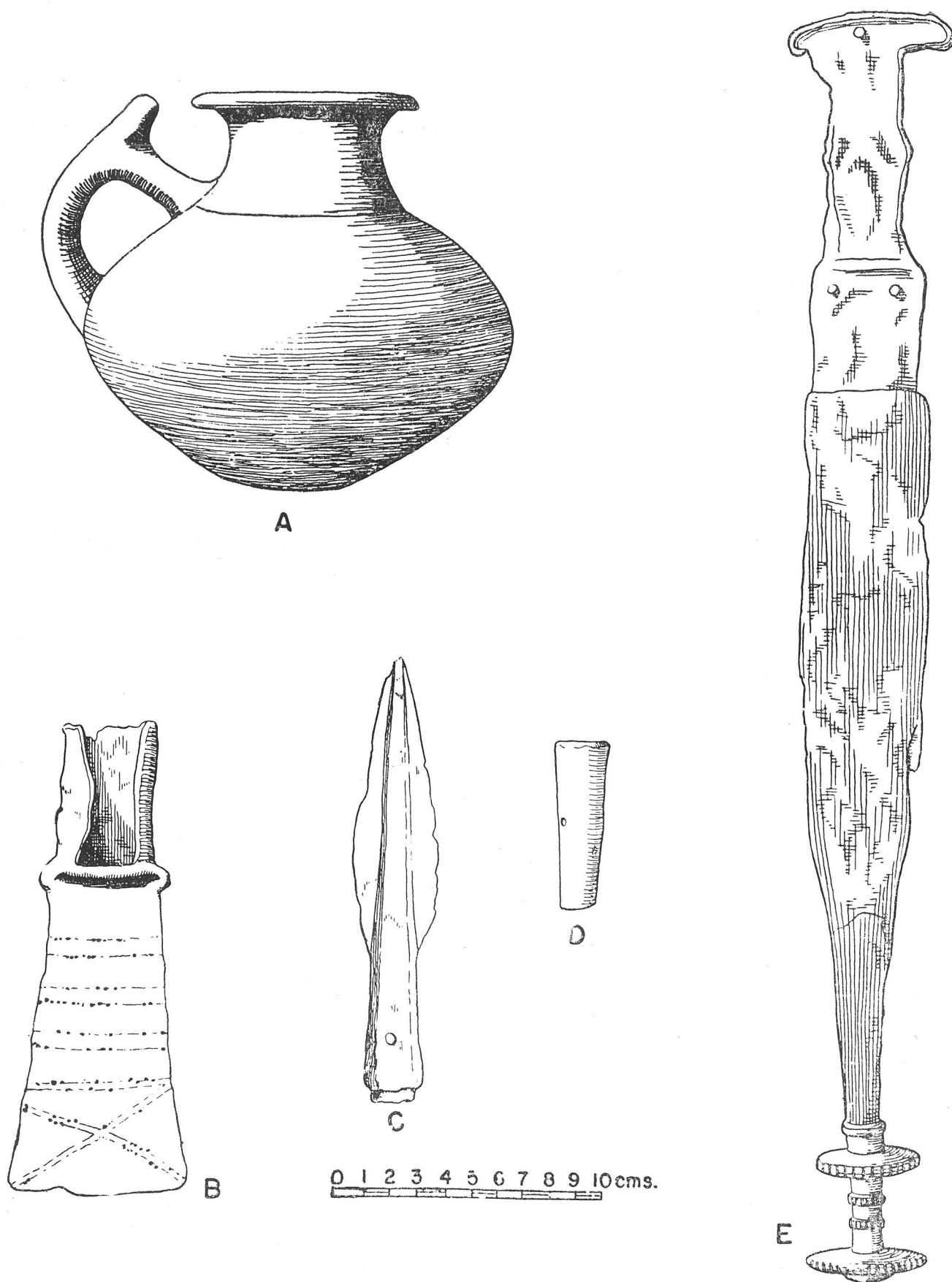


Fig. 27.—Veii, Tomb 517. (After Museo di Villa Giulia photo).

geometric vase (Fig. 22,B). The latter is accepted by J. B. Cook ⁽¹³¹⁾ and T. J. Dunbabin ⁽¹³²⁾ as a late geometric import from Greece, and hence in Dunbabin's scheme later than the founding of Cumae about 750. Kübler ⁽¹³³⁾ publishes three vases of similar form from the Kerameikos, one of which he dates about 775 and the other two about 750. These are all more elaborately decorated than the example from Veii. This grave thus may be placed in Facies II. The dating of geometric vases is, despite attempts at great precision by Kübler and others, not an exact science. I have taken the date of 750 as the beginning of Archaic II, but clearly no such change was ever abrupt, and a date like 750 is symbolical rather than precise.

9. Narce. Tomb XXIX (or 38) ⁽¹³⁴⁾. Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (Fig. 23). Here the iron sword (4118) had a slender tang and is still in its bronze sheath. The tip of the sheath is disc-shaped, and there are other subsidiary mouldings. It was accompanied by a fibula with many 7th century analogies ⁽¹³⁵⁾.

There was also a bronze razor of the type commonest in Facies II and a bronze spear head with an octagonal socket and an angular blade. This form also goes back back in Tarquinia to Pallottino's Phase I ⁽¹³⁶⁾. But of the other objects the most telling from the point of view of chronology is a bronze tripod (Fig. 23 A) much like another from the same area which on Mrs. E. H. Dohan's dating scheme, in line with recent views on classical chronology, would date from 680-650 ⁽¹³⁷⁾. In Pallottino's scheme of contained orientaling material appropriate to Facies III ⁽¹²⁷⁾ and also a fibula like cultural zones, the real flowering of Falerii was in the 7th century and consisted of a culture of Facies II with elements of III. The contents of this grave fit well with Pallottino's observation, and this grave may be contemporary with Facies III, 675-600.

10. Vulci, Lazio. Cavalupo. Collection of Vittorio Massimo, Rome. A bronze sword with a T-shaped flanged hilt with its scabbard was found there in 1954. Shown in 1956 in the Etruscan Exhibition.

11. Norcia, Umbria. Castello delle Preci. Bronze swords ⁽¹³⁸⁾ found with three bronze axes. It has a flat tang with a T-shaped end and is 44.5 cms. long.

12. Chiusi, Toscana. Museo Civico. Iron sword with slender tang which is broken. It is enclosed in remains of a bronze sheath. This ends in a flattened knob above which is a large disc-like moulding and three subsidiary disc-like mouldings.

13. Alfedena, Abruzzi. Museo Preistorico, Rome (61844). Iron sword with a corroded hilt (Fig. 20,C), It is an iron sheath of carp's tongue shape, but the sheath has lost any tip that it might have had.

14. Unknown provenance (Fig. 20,A). British Museum (73.8-20.229). A bronze antennae sword 55 cms. long of Italian type from Castellani collection ⁽¹³⁹⁾. Other

(131) *British School at Athens*, XXXV (1934-35), 204, n. 5.

(132) *Journal of Roman Studies* XXXIX (1949), 140.

(133) K. KÜBLER, "Kerameikos", V. 1 (Berlin, 1954), pp. 167, 266, 267; pl. 98.

(134) *Monumenti Antichi*, Vol. 4, 1894, 432; MONTELIUS, "Civilization primitive", 317, 10-14.

(135) J. SUNDWALL, "Die älteren italischen Fibeln" (Berlin 143), p. 237, Fig. 386.

(136) MONTELIUS, "Civilization primitive", pl. 277, 7.

(137) "Italic Tomb Groups", University Museum, Philadelphia, 1942, Pl. XVIII.

(138) *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1880, 19, Pl. II, 20; MONTELIUS, "Civilization primitive", 252, 12.

(139) H. B. WALTERS, "Catalogue of Bronzes in the British Museum". 1899, p. 343, no. 2744.

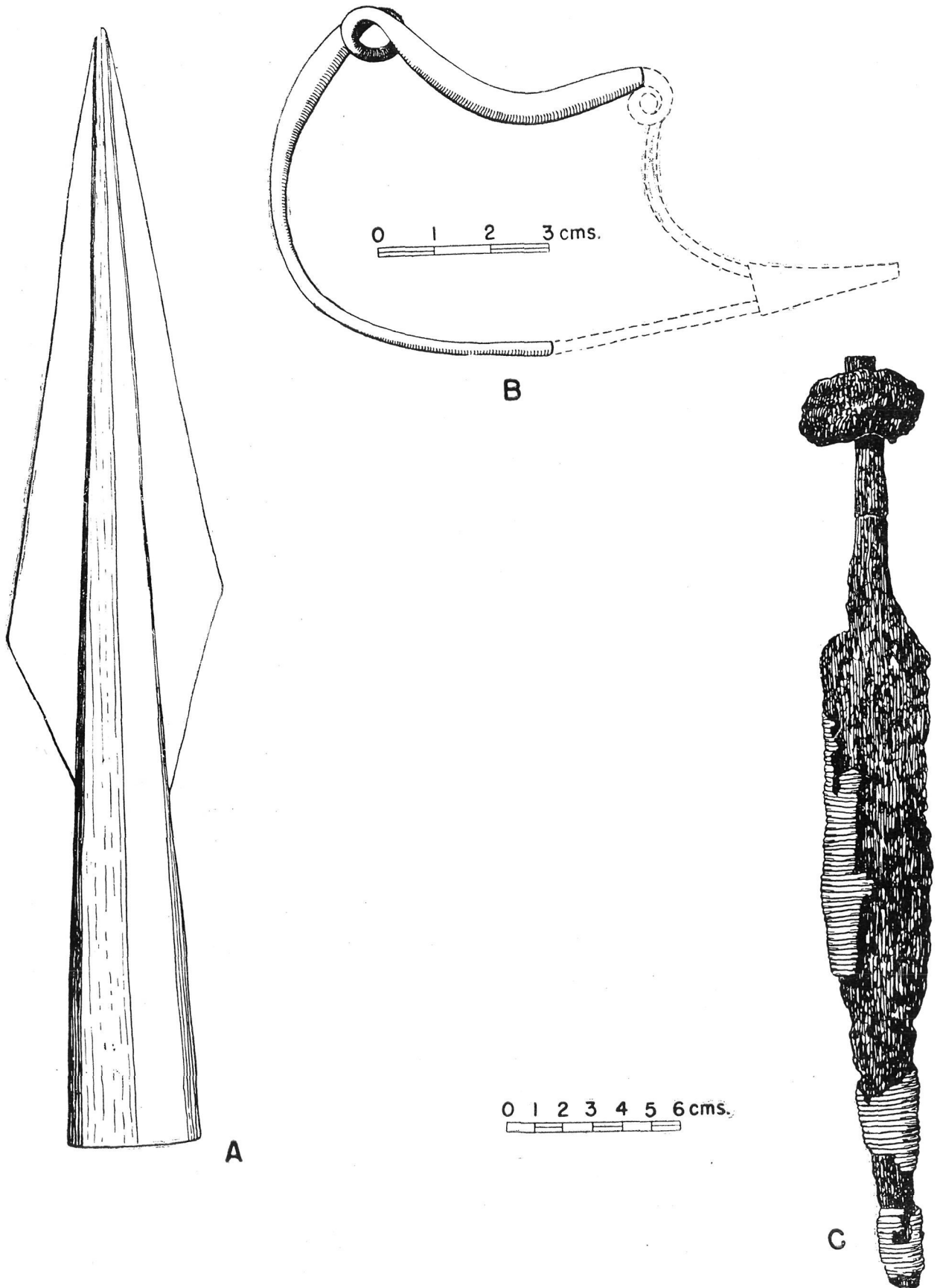


Fig. 28.—Rome, Giardino Brancaccio, Tomb XII. (After Pinza).

antennae swords belong to Facies I at Tarquinia (140) (before about 750) and to the 7th century at Vetulonia where one was found in the second Sagrona circle grave (141).

(Merhart draws (142) the antennae swords from Colle Cardeto near Ancona with a carp's tongue point. But to judge from a photo kindly supplied by the Museo Nazionale, Ancona, this seems to be a mistake.)

15. No provenance. British Museum (2709), Short bronze sword (143) with flanged T-shaped hilt. Its scabbard ends in a tip consisting of a flattened knob, a large disc moulding and several subsidiary mouldings.

16. No provenance. British Museum. No number. Bronze sword with flat T-shaped hilt and no flanges.

17-18. "Italy". Louvre. Two bronze swords with T-shaped flanged hilts (1470, 1471) from the Campana collection (144). They have flanged T-shaped hilts.

19. No provenance. Zschille collection, Grossenhain, Saxony. A bronze sword with a T-shaped flanged hilt (362) and a scabbard of the type that goes with swords with developed carp's tongues (363). These do not necessarily belong together (145). The scabbard ends in a rounded knob with a heavy moulding above it and two subsidiary mouldings.

20. No provenance. Zschille collection. No. 367 (146). Bronze sword with a slender tang. The scabbard is of bronze and resembles the foregoing.

21. Santa Marinella. Villa Giulia, No. 41076. Bronze scabbard with rounded knob, disc-shaped moulding and other subsidiary mouldings.

C. Shouldered Points

1. Palestrina. Bernardini Tomb. Museo Preistorico, Rome. The finest of all these swords is the well-known one of silver with a gold and amber hilt from this famous tomb (Fig. 24.) (147). It should be noted that this really has a flanged T-shaped hilt. The knob at the tip of the scabbard is flat and disc-like, the upper moulding is also disc-like. There are also subsidiary mouldings. The protocorinthian pottery allegedly from this tomb is now dated at about 675 (148), which would presumably be a *terminus post quem*. Even though the pottery did not really belong to this tomb, it is still clear that the Bernardini Tomb belongs to the full orientalizing period of the advanced 7th century and is far removed from the primitive Iron Age of the 8th and earlier 7th centuries. On the other hand it is before Pallottino's Facies IV beginning toward the end of the 7th century which is characterized by a flood of later protocorinthian and Corinthian vases.

(140) MONTELIUS, "Civilization primitive", 277, 9.

(141) MONTELIUS, "Civilization primitive", 190, 19.

(142) "Donauländische Beziehungen", *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 147, 1942, Fig. 1.

(143) H. B. WALTERS, *Ibid.* p. 341.

(144) A. DE RIDDER, "Les bronzes antiques du Louvre" (Paris, 1915), vol. 2, p. 23.

(145) R. FORRER, "Die Waffensammlung Zschille", Berlin (no date), p. 16, and Pl. 145.

(146) R. FORRER, "Die Waffensammlung Zschille", p. 16 and Pl. 145.

(147) CURTIS, *Memoires of the American Academy in Rome*, vol. III, 1919, Pl. 24. Recent cleaning has revealed that the blade and scabbard are of silver.

(148) PARETI, "La Tomba Regolini-Galassi". *Pont, Acad. Rom. di Archeologia*, 1947, 339, 511.

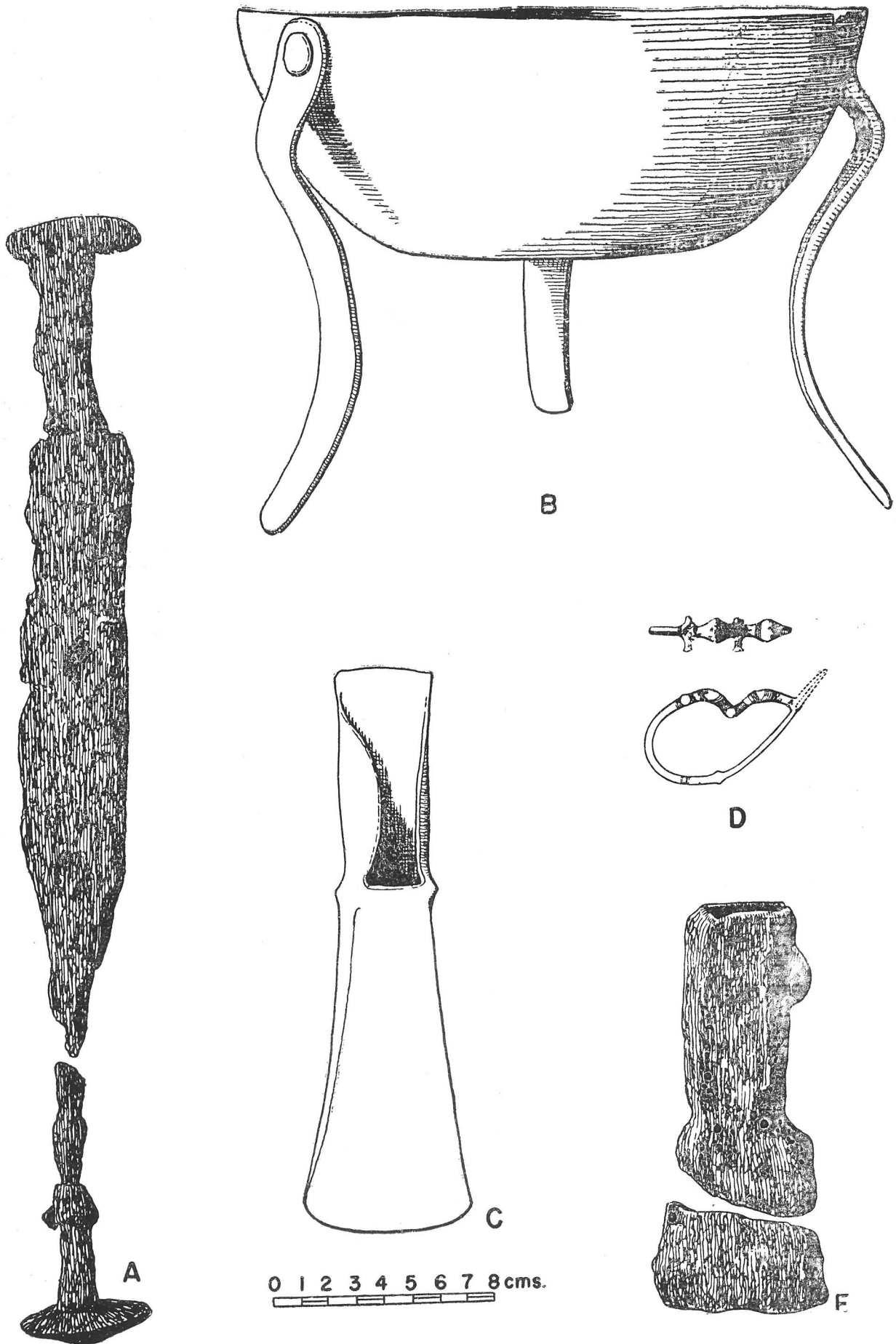


Fig. 29.—Caracupa, Grave 1. (After photos by J. Felbermeyer).

2. Veii. Tomb 1036 (149). Museo di Villa Giulia. I am privileged to illustrate some of the objects from this tomb with the excellent drawings very kindly supplied by Dr. H. Müller-Karpe of Munich (Fig. 25). The furniture included an iron sword with a slender tang in a bronze sheath, the whole being 45 cms. long. The sheath ends in a flattened knob, and the principal moulding above it is disc-shaped. The subsidiary mouldings are not much developed and are more like those of the scabbards of the developed carp's tongue swords.

This tomb contains material of more than one of Pallottino's facies, thus bearing out his contention that Veian culture was mixed (150). Dr. Müller-Karpe's drawing shows two of the six shields, all of which are small. A group of tombs at Bisenzio, those excavated by Paribeni at Capodimonte (151), contained Late Geometric vases dating on Dunbabin's system from 750 and later. In this group, Tomb VIII contained a small bronze shield very like the larger one in Fig. 25. Also a bronze vase in Tomb II had handles with little birds resembling a strip of bronze with birds attached from this Veian tomb. Furthermore the gold and amber handle (Fig. 26,A) resembles in its technique gold and amber fibulae from Tomb II at Capodimonte (see Paribeni's Fig. 2). This object has an iron core mounted with pieces of amber separated by areas of gold with chevron ornament. The bronze tripod with horses on the feet (Fig. 25) is also paralleled from a Tarquinian tomb of late Facies II at Monterozzi (152), but other more similar 7th century ones come from the circle graves at Vetulonia (Tumulus of Val di Campo (153) and the circle of Bes (154), etc).

Additional evidence of lateness comes from the helmet which does not have the round cap of the crested Villanovan helmets of Facies I and II, but rather a slightly more conical form recalling somewhat a pottery helmet (155) from a Tarquinian grave which also included a sub-Cumaeian oenochoe with horses exactly like those on the skyphos from the Bocchoris Tomb at Tarquinia (156). According to Dunbabin (157) this last was based on a protocorinthian form after the beginning of the 7th century.

Still further evidence of a late date comes from three iron fibulae wrapped with gold wire and decorated with the kind of gold filigree (Fig. 26, B,C,D,) that was a specialty of Vetulonia in the 7th century. Sundwall (158) mentions two such fibulae of which only one has associations. It comes from the circle grave of Perazzeta at Marsiliana d'Albegna (159) which contained a skeleton on an iron bed accompanied by two chariots and a great wealth of material characteristic of Facies III. Among these I shall only mention a small lekythus of 7th century protocorinthian type (160).

(149) G. A. COLINI, "Veio-scavi nell'area delle città e della necropoli". *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1919, 11-12.

(150) *Studi Etruschi* XIII, 107, 111.

(151) R. PARIBENI, "Capodimonte", *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1928, 434 f.

(152) MONTELIUS, "Civilization primitive", Pl. 291, 15 and M. PALLOTTINO, "Tarquinia" *Monumenti Antichi*, 1938, 158 (Tomb 39).

(153) MONTELIUS, "Civilization primitive", Pl. 183, 19.

(154) MONTELIUS, "Civilization primitive", Pl. 181, 14.

(155) P. ROMANELLI, "Notizie degli Scavi", 1943, p. 214, Figs. 1 and 2.

(156) C. MONTELIUS, "Civilization primitive, en Italie", Pl. 295, 12.

(157) "The Western Greeks" (Oxford, 1948), p. 462.

(158) "Die älteren italischen Fibeln" (Berlin, 1943), p. 248.

(159) A. MINTO, "Marsiliana d'Albegna" (Florence, 1921), 161, 195 f, Pl. XIII, 4; Fig. 8.

(160) A. MINTO, "Marsiliana", Pl. LIII, 3.

It should also be added that one of the fibulae from Tomb 1036 appears to be a disc fibula (Fig. 26,B), and according to the *inventario* of the Museo di Villa Giulia,

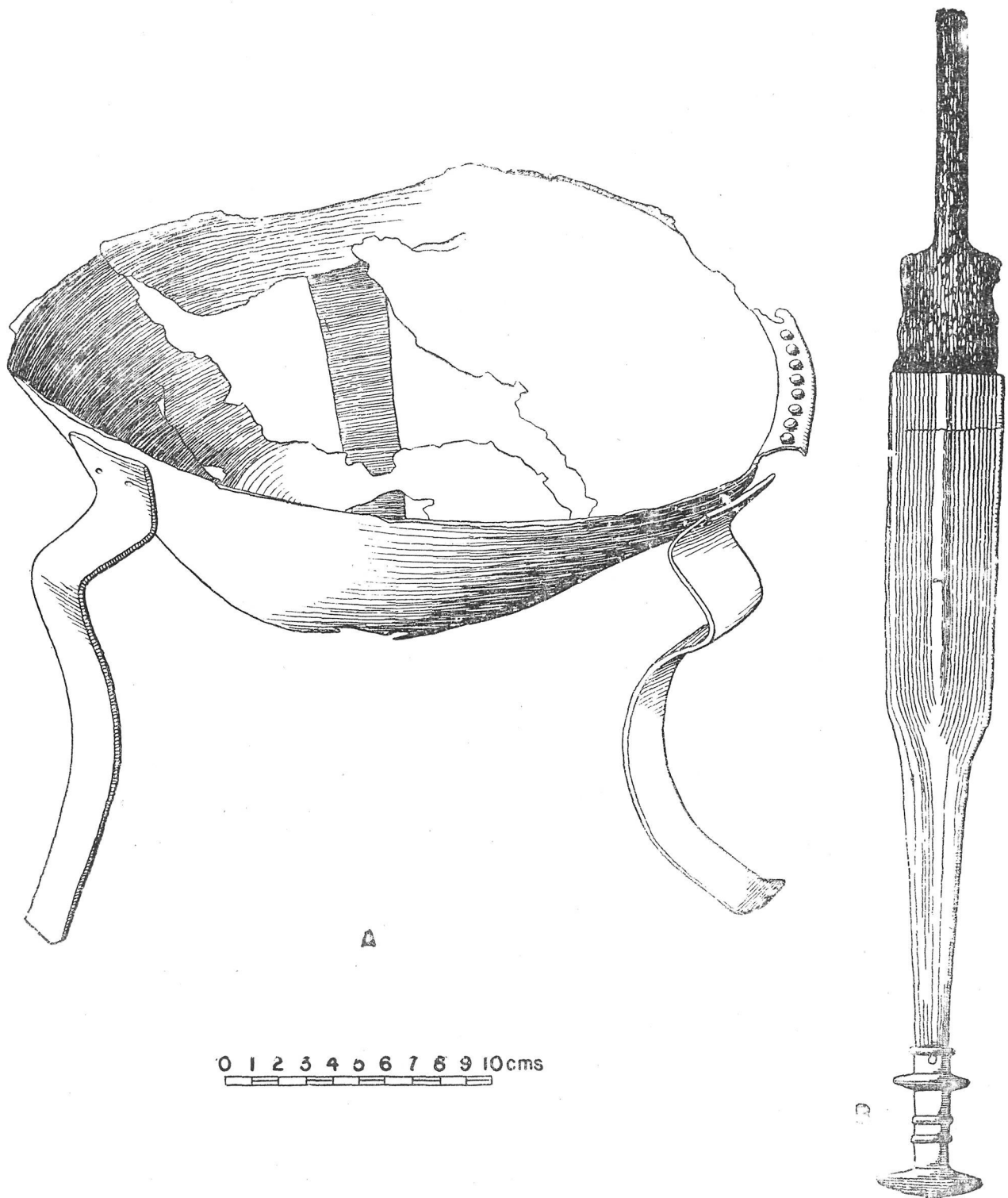


Fig. 30.—Caracupa, Grave Found in Agricultural Operations. (After photos by J. Felbermeyer).

the disc was found in the right position. The disc is of gold with an openwork pattern and an amber center. This might be taken as a sign of an early date. But rare and even more elaborate disc fibulae belong to Facies III like the famous examples from the

Regolini-Galassi Tomb and Vulci (161). Perhaps on the whole this tomb at Veii might best be placed at the transition from Facies II to Facies III.

3. Veii. Grave 517. Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome (Fig. 27). This contained a sword with a T-shaped flanged hilt in a bronze scabbard the whole being 48 cms. long. The part of the sword not in the scabbard is covered with organic remains of the upper part of the scabbard and the hilt. The scabbard ends with a flattened lens-shaped terminal, above which is a disc-shaped moulding. The subsidiary moulding are well developed. The grave also contained a pot which would be at home in Facies II (162) at Tarquinia, a bronze axe of a relatively early type with the blade only slightly expanded. But a rather similar axe from Veii (Vaccareccia, Tomb XVIII, see p. 157) belongs to Facies III. The precise date of this grave is hard to determine, but it is probably later than Facies I.

4. Rome, Giardino Brancaccio on the Esquiline, Tomb XII (163). Museo dei Conservatori, Rome (Nos. 12377-12391). (Fig. 28.) This contained an iron sword (12381) 33 cms. long with a slender tang and a round pommel. The sheath had evidently been of wood and had been wrapped around with bronze wire. It was accompanied by a fragment of a fibula restored in fig. 28,B, from a complete one from Grave XXVII in the same cemetery. It is clearly related to the well-known Sicilian ones, Bernabò Brea's Pantalica III (800-730) (164) which also occurs at pre-Hellenic Cumae, and sporadically at Tarquinia in Facies I (Impiccato Grave 16) and II (Selciatello Sopra, Grave 138 = 34) (165). The grave also contained another fibula evidently similar, three bronze rings and one iron ring, two small iron discs, several bronze buttons and a bronze spear with an octagonal socket and an angular blade. This type of spear also occurs in Facies I at Tarquinia (166). On this evidence one might assign this grave to the second stage of Pallottino's Sub-Bronze Age that was in contact with Facies I. But according to Pallottino's maps (167), this rather backward culture continued at Rome through Facies II and was only penetrated by new influences in Facies III. Indeed Grave XXXIX at the Giardino Brancaccio contained a bronze spear and an iron fibula of the same type as Grave XII along with a cup with a binocular handle with a large loop above and a small loop below as in the 7th century grave M in the Roman forum (168). Hence one cannot say for sure whether this sword belongs to the 8th century or the 7th.

5. Caracupa. Grave I (169) (69639-50) is shown in Fig. 29. It contained an iron sword 41 cms. long with its iron scabbard. The scabbard is poorly preserved but ends in a lens-shaped knob. The hilt is T-shaped, but is too poorly preserved to indicate whether it was flanged or not.

(161) O. MONTELIUS, "Civilization primitive", vol. 3, Pls. 261, 340.

(162) As in Permier's graves 25 and 158 at Selciatello Sopra, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1907, 240, 255. Museo Archeologico, Florence.

(163) G. PINZA, "Monumenti primitivi di Roma". *Monumenti Antichi*, vol. XV, 1905, p. 67.

(164) L. BERNABÒ BREA, "La Sicilia prehistórica", *Escuela Española de Roma. Serie Arqueológica*, I (1954), 197.

(165) L. PERNIER, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1907, 73, 253; N. ABERG, "Bronzezeitliche und Früheisenzeitliche Chronologie", I, 89.

(166) Grave of Feb. 24, 1882. MONTELIUS, "Civilization primitive", 277, 7.

(167) *Studi Etruschi*, vol. XIII, 1939, 99, Figs. 5, 9 and 12.

(168) *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1905, 150. Antiquario Forense, Rome.

(169) L. SAVIGNONI and R. MENGARELLI, "Caracupa", *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1903, p. 300.

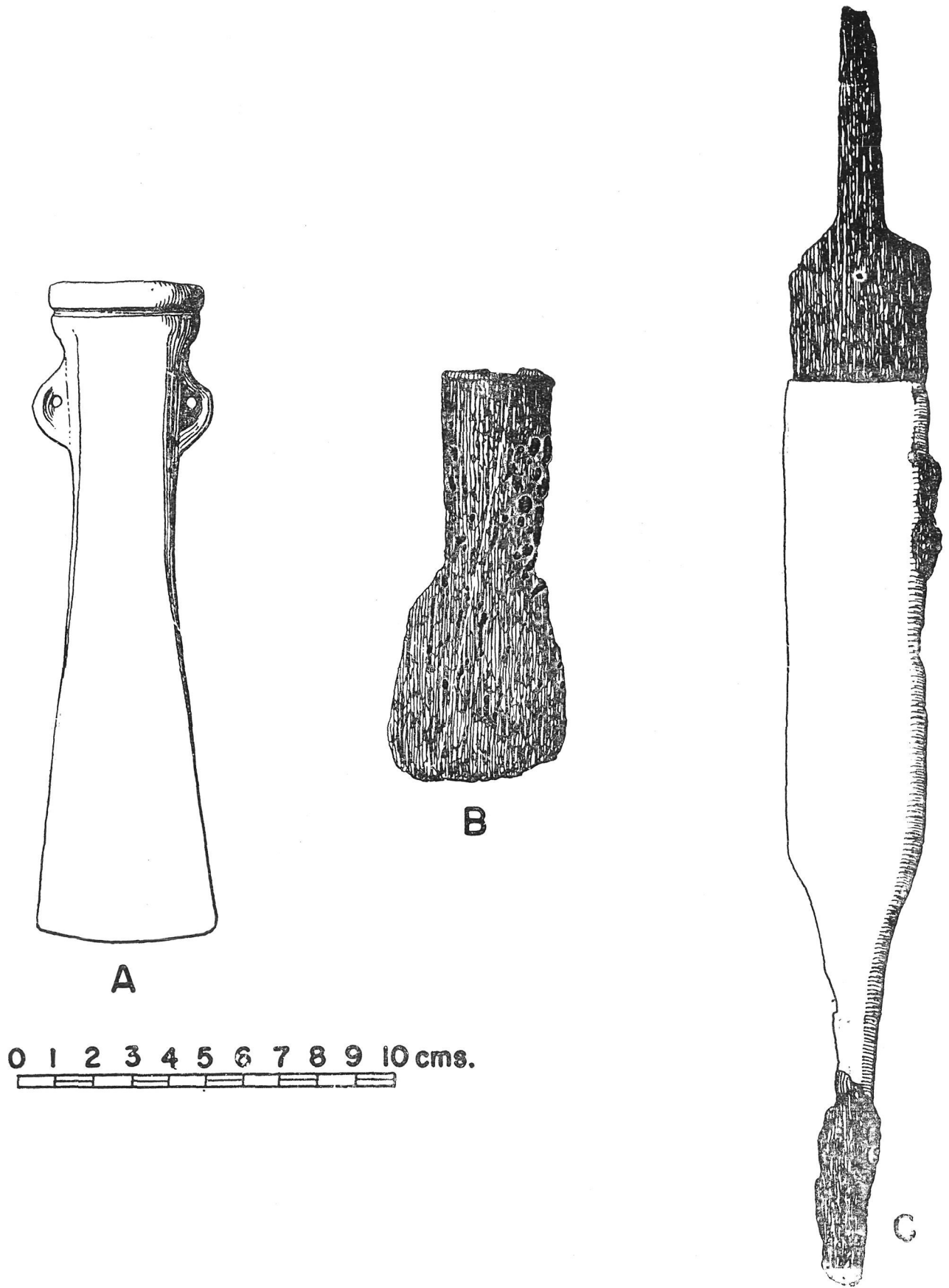


Fig. 31.—Caracupa, Grave 89. (After photo by J. Felbermeyer).

This grave also contained a bronze tripod (Fig. 29,B). Somewhat similar low tripods with bowed legs are characteristic of Cyprus. They begin in the Late Bronze Age and have a long life there into the Iron Age (170). Another such tripod occurs in Narce Grave 38 at the Villa Giulia. This tomb (171) belongs to Facies III after 675.

Grave I at Caracupa also contained a bronze fibula of advanced form (Fig. 29,D). Somewhat similar ones occur at Tarquinia at Poggio Gallinaro, grave 9 (172) and in chamber tomb 57 at the Villa Tarantola (173), both of the end of Facies II. The grave at the Villa Tarantola is according to Pallottino (174) probably late in Facies II, since chamber tombs there were much more a feature of Facies III than of II. I have already referred to similar fibulae from Syracuse and earlier ones from Ischia that help to date Facies II (p. 163). But Grave I at Caracupa also contained a square-mouthed socketed axe (Fig. 29,E) (175). A similar axe came from the Tomba del Duce at Vetulonia (176) which on the basis of the Greek analogies of some of its contents belong well after the beginning of the 7th century (177). Another such axe came from the Ulivastri Tomb at Vetulonia, that has other resemblances to the Duce (178). Two more axes of this type were found in the Tomba delle Tre Navicelle at Vetulonia. This tomb also contained an aryballos of the late protocorinthian shape that Payne dates 650-640 (179), but since this vase may be an Etruscan imitation-it has lost all painted ornament-it gives only a *terminus post quem*. Hence this type of axe is contemporary with Facies III, 675-600. Therefore this tomb from Caracupa may be probably contemporary with late Facies II or with Facies III in Etruria.

6. Caracupa. Grave 20 (180) contained an iron sword (67948) also 41 cms. long and similar to that from Grave I, except that the scabbard was missing. It was associated with an iron spear, bronze ring and an iron ring. These objects do not give any precise evidence of date.

7. Caracupa. Grave found agricultural operations. Museo Preistorico, Rome. (Fig. 30.) Here an iron sword (69875) with a slender tang was found in a bronze sheath. The sheath ends in a lens-shaped knob. The principal moulding is also lens-shaped and there are three subsidiary mouldings. It was found with an iron spear and tripod with short bowed legs.

Such tripods have already been discussed in connection with Caracupa, Grave I, and have been attributed to Facies III or its equivalent elsewhere or about 675-600 (p. 155).

8. Caracupa. Grave 87 (181). (Fig. 31.) This also contained a short iron sword with a slender tang 31.5 cms. long (Fig. 31,C). It was accompanied by a square-mouthed

(170) E. GJERSTAD, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, vol. IV, 2, Stockholm, 1948, p. 404 and Fig. 27, 26.

(171) ABERG, "Chronologie", I, Figs. 331-34; *Monumenti Antichi*, IV, 472.

(172) *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1907, 342.

(173) MONTELIUS, "Chronologie", 75, 405; *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1888, 181.

(174) *Monumenti Antichi*, 36, 1937, 158.

(175) *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1903, p. 300, Fig. 9.

(176) MONTELIUS, "Civilization primitive", 187, 5.

(177) BLAKEWAY, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1935, 140.

(178) MONTELIUS, "Civilization primitive", Pl. 195, 11.

(179) PAYNE, *Necrocorinthia*, Oxford, 1931, p. 269.

(180) *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1903, 312.

(181) H. HENCKEN, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, N. S. XVIII, 1952, 121.

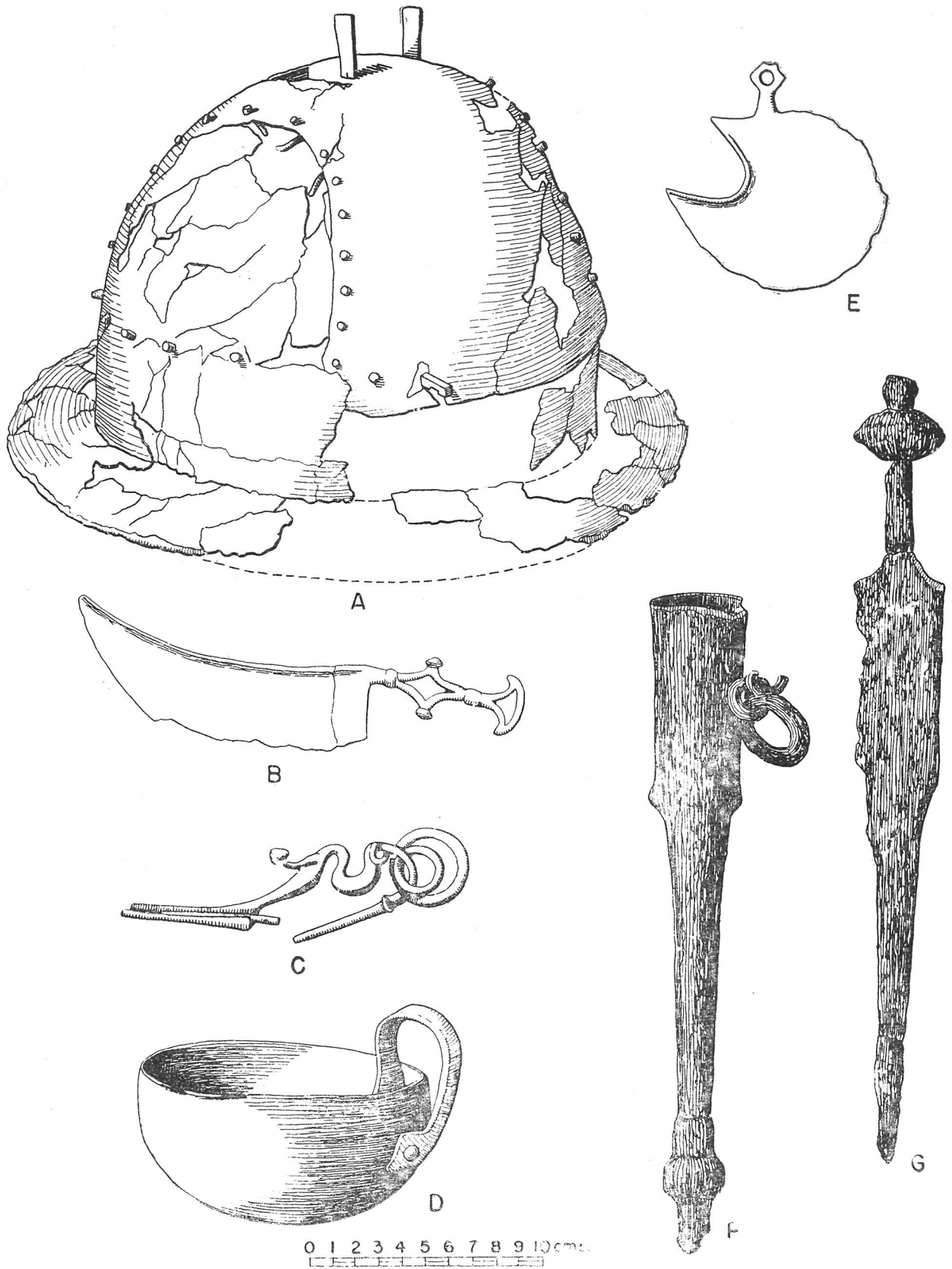


Fig. 32.—Novilara. Objects from the Servici Cemetery. (After Brizio).

socketed axe of iron and a double-looped socketed axe of bronze recalling Iberian types. The iron axe is of the type already shown (p. 163) to be contemporary with Facies III (675-600).

9. Tarquinia. Monterozzi (?). Montelius (182) figures an iron dragger evidently originally with a slender tang. It is in an iron sheath ending in two large bulbous knobs perhaps distorted from their original shape by rust, but the dagger is not mentioned in the original account of the grave (183).

10. Ardea, at a locality called Casalazzaro (184). Chance find. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome. (Nos. 1256245.) The sword is of bronze 39.5 cms. long and has a T-shaped flanged hilt. The hilt evidently had an iron element attached by iron rivets. The central rib of the blade is flanked by fine parallel lines. The bronze covering of the scabbard has the same shape as the sword but has lost its tip. It is decorated with fine lines that follow the form of the edges. The inside of the scabbard was evidently made of wood.

Fragments of sanguisuga fibulae, etc. reported to have been found at the same place were not certainly associated, and there was no sign of a burial.

D. *Novilara Points*

These are all of iron and were all found in the Servici cemetery at Novilara, on the eastern side of Italy a little south of Rimini (185). They occur in tombs 3,6,11 and 59. They are at the Biblioteca Oliveriana at Pèsaro. Only the principal objects are figured here (Fig. 32). The swords have on the whole very long shouldered carp's tongue points, slender tangs and round pommels. The sheaths are also iron, and their tips are much simpler than those of the foregoing varieties. They are associated with the following types that can be dated elsewhere.

a. Horned serpentine fibulae (Fig. 32,C). This type is found at Vetulonia in the 7th century Circolo degli Ulivastri (186) which also contains a helmet of the same shape as that in the Duce's tomb (187). This form of fibula, though with a wider and longer catch, also occurs in the Tomba delle Tre Navicelle at Vetulonia (188) with a type of aryballos (189) which Payne dated 650-640 (190), but since this aryballos has lost all its painted ornament it may be an Etruscan imitation and later still. This same type of fibula also occurs in the Arnoaldi cemetery at Bologna that continued down to the Etruscan conquest about 525 and in Este III which is dated by Greek vases of the 5th and first half of the 4th centuries (191).

(182) "Civilization primitive", Pl. 291, 9.

(183) GHIRARDINI, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1885, p. 467.

(184) CATIA CAPRINI, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1950, p. 102, Fig. 2.

(185) BRIZIO, *Monumenti Antichi*, V, 1895, 85 f.

(186) MONTELIUS, "Civilization primitive", 195, 6.

(187) MONTELIUS, "Civilization primitive", 195, 3.

(188) MONTELIUS, "Civilization primitive", 198, 17.

(189) LEVI, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Italia, VIII, Pl. 373, 16.

(190) "Necrocorinthia", 269, no. 18.

(191) J. SUNDWALL, "Die älteren italischen Fibeln" (Berlin, 1943), p. 241. I am grateful to the autho-

b. A type of bronze razor (Fig. 32,E) derived from those characteristic of Facies II in coastal Etruria, about 750-675.

c. A type of bronze knife (Fig. 32,B) which is found at Vetulonia in the 7th century Circolo del Monile d'Argento (192). Another such knife more like those from Novilara was found at Populonia in the Tomb of the Flabelli di Bronzo, which contained four burials and pottery of protocorinthian and Corinthian type of the 7th and 6th centuries (193). In Pallottino's scheme this tomb belongs to Facies IV which does not begin until the end of the 7th century. Still another was found at Este in a tomb belonging to the transition from Este II to Este III or close to 500 B. C. (194).

d. Helmets (Fig. 32,A) of the type known from Illyrian graves in Slovenia which according to Starè belong to his Vaçe II a, 600 to just after 500 (195). A similar helmet was also found at Sesto Calende (196) with a situla which is a barbaric imitation of the type of the Certosa situla from Bologna found with an Attic lekythos of about 490 (197).

e. A cup (198). (Fig. 32,D) of a kind that also occurs as late as Este III (199). This period at Este contains vases of the 5th and 4th centuries. But the type may be much older since one is said to have formed part of the alleged "Tomba del Guerriero" at Tarquinia (200). This in Pallottino's system belongs to Facies II, and on the chronology employed here would not be after about 675. There are also other resemblances to Benacci II and Arnoaldi at Bologna, such as a cist with ribs far apart found with the bronze cup mentioned above (201). But I omit further reference to these because they also depend for their dates on Central Italy. On the whole, we seem to be dealing at Novilara with material which is not before the 7th century, and which continues in the 6th.

rities of the Este Museum photos of the Greek vases of Este III and to Dr. Paul Jacobsthal for dating them. See also *Monumenti Antichi*, 1901, Pl. V.

(192) N. ABERG, "Bronzezeitliche und Eisenzeitlich Chronologie - Italien", Fig. 316.

(193) BUONAMICI, *Monumenti Antichi*, 34, 1931-32, 19 f.

(194) *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1935, 11.

(195) F. STARÈ, "Prazgodovinke Vace" (Ljubljana, 1954), pp. 125 and 146.

(196) MONTELIUS, "Civilization primitive", Pl. 62, 2.

(197) PAUL JACOBSTHAL, "Early Celtic Art" (Oxford, 1944), 1.

(198) *Monumenti Antichi*, V, 1895, 355, Pl. XIII, 22.

(199) *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1896, 312, Fig. 6.

(200) MONTELIUS, "Civilization primitive", 289, 2.

(201) MONTELIUS, "Civilization primitive", 81, 8; 86, 13.