



# ETRUSCAN ART

IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART







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Richard Daniel De Puma



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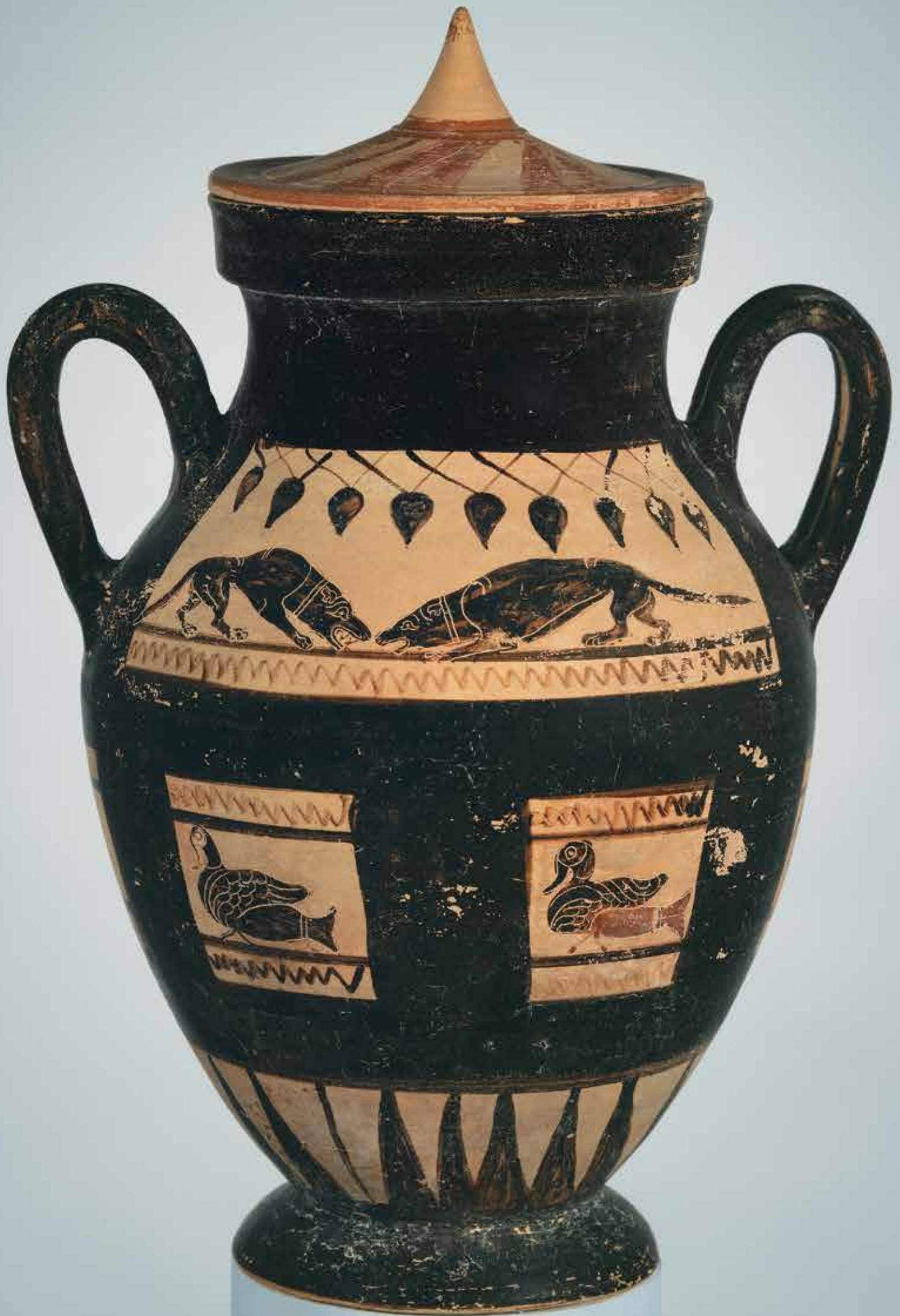
# Foreword

The Metropolitan Museum's outstanding collection of ancient Etruscan art includes over one thousand objects dating from about 900 B.C. to about 100 B.C. They have been acquired either in groups or individually since the first group of Etruscan vases was donated in 1875 by Luigi Palma di Cesnola, the Museum's first director from 1879 to 1904. In 2007, the Department of Greek and Roman Art updated and greatly enhanced the display of Etruscan art with the opening of a reinstalled permanent gallery devoted to more than 550 of the most important works from pre-Roman Italy, assembled on the mezzanine that overlooks the new Leon Levy and Shelby White Court. In addition, the adjacent Study Collection gallery that covers all aspects of the collection of the Museum's Department of Greek and Roman Art holds another 150 objects from ancient Etruria.

Now, the collection is thoroughly documented in print, combining the most up-to-date scholarship with brilliant digital photography. Many of the objects had never been published before or only many decades ago. In addition, visual and textual information on these works has been augmented digitally on the Museum's ever-expanding website.

The art of ancient Etruria retains its fascination even to the modern age. Artists and writers—notably Alberto Giacometti and D. H. Lawrence—have found inspiration in these intriguing objects. Contemporary artists, scholars, and the Metropolitan Museum's broad public will now benefit greatly from this informative volume on these extraordinary works of art. For making this book possible, we are grateful to The Adelaide Milton de Groot Fund, in memory of the de Groot and Hawley families.

Thomas P. Campbell  
Director  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art



# Preface

It has been over seventy years since The Metropolitan Museum of Art's collection of Etruscan art was last published. The *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection* by Gisela M. A. Richter, then curator in the Museum's Department of Greek and Roman Art, first appeared in print in December 1940. During the intervening years, both the collection and the field of Etruscan studies have expanded considerably. There has been a dramatic growth of interest and research in Etruscan art. Scholarship has advanced significantly, thanks to ongoing archaeological investigations that have yielded so many new discoveries.

In 1875, five years after the founding of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Luigi Palma di Cesnola, the Museum's first director, donated the first Etruscan objects to the Metropolitan. In 1903, we acquired the Monteleone tomb group, the most important Etruscan tomb group in any American collection, which includes the best-preserved extant Etruscan chariot. That year, the tomb group of forty-three objects from Bolsena also entered the collection, and a group from Civita Castellana was acquired in 1912. The remarkable collection that grew over the next century is a testament to the expertise and judgment of the curators in the Department of Greek and Roman Art who have contributed to the acquisition of such fine objects as the gold jewelry excavated at Vulci in 1832, the exquisite candelabrum statuette with two warriors documented as early as the seventeenth century, the rare pair of bronze krater handles with the Dioskouroi, and the pair of colorful amphorae by the Paris Painter. These and scores of additional objects demonstrate both the aesthetic and archaeological significance of this magnificent collection. The Etruscan collection now includes approximately one thousand diverse objects, among which are many high quality bronzes, intricately carved gems and ambers, and exceptional examples of gold jewelry. Each of these categories includes singular pieces not easily paralleled for stylistic, technical, or iconographical interest. The latest additions include the acquisition in 2012 of an unusual Archaic Etruscan terracotta amphora from about 550–525 B.C. (illustrated on the facing page and discussed in Chapter IV, 4.110).

The author of this volume, Richard Daniel De Puma, is one of the most prominent scholars in Etruscan studies, having published widely in many books and journals. He is Professor Emeritus in Art History, from the University of Iowa, where his teaching specialty was Etruscan art. De Puma was recently named F. Wendell Miller Distinguished Professor by the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences.

His study of the Museum's collection began in 1998, when I invited him to serve as consultant for Etruscan art for the final phase in the installation of the entire suite of galleries for Greek and Roman art, which was accomplished in the spring of 2007, after almost fifteen years of reinstallation. In the early 1930s, the Metropolitan had become the first American museum to devote an entire gallery to Etruscan and Italic antiquities. Sadly, this gallery was de-installed in 1949 and converted into the kitchen for the Museum restaurant that opened in the Roman Court in 1954. In 2007, however, the Mezzanine gallery immediately above the original Etruscan gallery became the new permanent gallery dedicated to Etruscan art, with some 560 diverse Etruscan objects, ranging from amazingly carved tiny gems to the famed Monteleone chariot. At the same time, the Department's new study center opened, with some 150 additional Etruscan objects on display, along with a vast number of Greek and Roman pieces.

During that time, I asked Professor De Puma to undertake the writing of this volume. The result is this handsomely illustrated publication that is both a comprehensive study of the Museum's preeminent collection of Etruscan art and an introduction to the art and culture of ancient Etruria. It is hoped that it will significantly further knowledge, study, and appreciation of the art of pre-Roman Italy, not only for scholars but also for a more general audience that wishes to learn more about the mysterious Etruscans.

Carlos A. Picón  
Curator in Charge  
Department of Greek and Roman Art  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art



# Acknowledgments

My foremost gratitude is to Carlos A. Picón, Curator in Charge of the Metropolitan Museum's Department of Greek and Roman Art, for inviting me to participate in the reinstallation of the Etruscan Gallery completed in 2007 and then appointing me to author this comprehensive collection catalogue. On my numerous visits to the Museum, he has been a hospitable and generous host and always helped facilitate my work. The Greek and Roman Department's curators Seán Hemingway, Christopher S. Lightfoot, and Joan R. Mertens have made me feel part of the team endeavor that resulted in both the 2007 gallery and this book. In particular, Joan Mertens worked closely with me on preparations for the Museum's new Etruscan gallery. Chris Lightfoot acted as the departmental liaison for this publication, contributing his expertise and exercising considerable effort throughout all aspects of its preparation. Both Chris Lightfoot and Carlos Picón read the edited manuscript and made many astute suggestions for improvement. Of course, any errors or omissions that still exist are my responsibility.

I also owe a great deal to other members of the Museum's Department of Greek and Roman Art. William M. Gagen, Collections Manager; Fred A. Caruso, Collections Specialist; John F. Morariu Jr., Supervising Departmental Technician; and Jennifer Slocum Soupios, Principal Departmental Technician, provided me with access to numerous objects in the collection, answered questions, and sent digital photographs of details about specific items to me in Iowa City. Mark C. Santangelo, formerly Librarian of The Onassis Library for Hellenic and Roman Art in the Department of Greek and Roman Art at the Metropolitan Museum, ably assisted me in finding some very obscure early publications and helped me use both The Onassis and Watson Libraries to great effect. Debbie T. Kuo, Administrator; Matthew A. Noiseux, Associate Administrator; and Michael J. Baran, Administrative Assistant, oversaw arrangements for my visits to New York professionally and generously. Adam M. Levine, Collections Management Assistant, assembled the concordance.

I want to single out my deep appreciation for the wonderful new photography so crucial to this volume; it is a

huge accomplishment that captures the unique qualities of the diverse objects in the Museum's Etruscan collection. With the capable supervision of Chris Lightfoot, John Morariu and Jennifer Soupios worked tirelessly and adroitly to help achieve that photography, handling the precious and often fragile works with great care and expertise. The resulting color photographs, so critically important in this volume, were skillfully and sensitively shot by Paul Lachenauer of the Museum's Photograph Studio. A grateful mention also goes to Elizabeth Wahle, who made the excellent drawings of the engraved mirrors, and to Theresa Huntsman, Russell Stockman, and Daniel Wentworth for proofreading the pages.

Various members of the Metropolitan's Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation, especially Richard E. Stone, Conservator Emeritus, and Dorothy H. Abramitis, Conservator, have welcomed me to their laboratories and allowed me to examine several objects under magnification. I am grateful for their willingness to share their expertise and time on several occasions. I also had generous support from the staff of the Museum's Archives Department when I examined official correspondence relevant to specific objects or collections, including Elisabeth R. Baldwin and James Moske. Eileen Sullivan of the Digital Media Department provided access to early photographs of gallery installations. Charles T. Little, Curator in the Department of Medieval Art, gave me access to the Museum's fine Etruscan gem that is set in a Longobardic ring.

Of course, it is the Museum's Editorial Department that is most directly responsible for this publication. I am indebted to the late John P. O'Neill, the former Editor in Chief and General Manager of Publications, for his encouragement during the initial stages of my work. I acknowledge Mark Polizzotti, Publisher and Editor in Chief; Gwen Roginsky, Associate Publisher and General Manager of Publications; Peter Antony, Chief Production Manager; and Michael Sittenfeld, Managing Editor. Miko McGinty and Rita Jules of Miko McGinty Inc. created an excellent design that wonderfully showcases the varied works of Etruscan art. To my bibliographer, Jayne Kuchna, I owe many thanks for her

professional and thorough checking and styling of sources, during which she uncovered numerous details to be corrected. I also thank Pamlyn Smith for her expert work in producing the three maps that accompany the text. Christopher Zichello, Production Manager, did an amazing job producing this volume, demonstrating an outstanding expertise in color-image reproduction and printing. Most of all, I am thankful for my accomplished editor, Barbara Cavaliere, who worked tirelessly and with incredible dedication to guide this volume to fruition. She improved and expanded my prose and content (both in this volume and for my labels and text panels in the Museum's Etruscan gallery) and expertly organized the many complex parts of this book.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the help, encouragement, and friendship of several colleagues outside the Metropolitan. They include Larissa Bonfante, New York University, whose fine publication of the Museum's mirrors is the basis for my abbreviated treatment of them here; Adriana Emiliozzi, Istituto di Studi sulle Civiltà Italiane e del Mediterraneo Antico, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Rome, for her significant contributions to our understanding of the Monteleone di Spoleto chariot; and Karen Slej, Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, for her assistance with several questions concerning bucchero pottery. The late Christina G. Huemer, former Head Librarian, American Academy in Rome, was an enormous help in my research on Gisela Richter's later years in Rome. In 2008, through her good offices, the Richter Archive, formerly conserved at the American Academy in Rome, was transferred to the Onassis Library, in the Department of Greek and Roman Art at the Metropolitan Museum.

In addition, I am grateful to Laura Ambrosini, Istituto di Studi sulle Civiltà Italiane e del Mediterraneo Antico, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Rome; Dominique Briquel,

CRNS, École normale supérieure, Paris; Ann Blair Brownlee and Jean MacIntosh Turfa, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia; Ingrid Edlund-Berry, University of Texas, Austin; Maria Donatella Gentili, University of Rome "Tor Vergata"; Joan Haldenstein, Princeton, New Jersey; Maurizio Harari, University of Pavia; Ariel Herrmann, New York; Christine Kondoleon, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Donna Kurtz and Graham Piddock, Beazley Archive and Sackler Library, Oxford University; Helen Nagy, University of Puget Sound; J. Michael Padgett, Princeton University Art Museum; Mark Pearce, University of Nottingham; the late Brian Shefton, Newcastle University; Jocelyn Penny Small, Rutgers University; Judith Swaddling, British Museum, London; Jennifer Udell, Curator of University Art, Fordham University; and Rex Wallace, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

In recent years, the field of Etruscology has lost two of its most prominent archaeologists. It is with profound respect and sense of loss that I acknowledge my friends and colleagues Francesca Romana Serra Ridgway, who died in 2008, and her husband, David Ridgway, who died in 2012. Their many years of excavating at Pithekoussai on the island of Ischia and at Tarquinia in southern Etruria expanded knowledge of the Etruscans, and their numerous publications and years of teaching at Edinburgh University and at the Institute of Classical Studies, University of London, helped introduce future generations to the world of the Etruscans.

Richard Daniel De Puma  
F. Wendell Miller Distinguished Professor Emeritus in  
Classical Art and Archaeology  
University of Iowa



# Note to the Reader

In order to avoid unnecessary repetition, some of the elements in the headings for individual objects have been omitted. Such recurrent information is included in the titles of the essays that introduce each group of objects, for example, if all the objects in that section are Etruscan or bronze.

All the most significant objects are illustrated. The remainder nearly all appear on the Museum's website ([metmuseum.org](http://metmuseum.org)) in the section "Collections" under their accession numbers.

References to the names of gods and other mythological figures vary for several reasons. Because the Etruscans took their alphabet from the Greeks and the gods' names are usually quite similar in the two languages, Greek names are used in most cases, followed by the Etruscan equivalents in parentheses. That is the standard for most scholarship, but not all deities are precisely parallel, and there are gods that

appear only in the Etruscan or Roman pantheon. In addition, the Roman name is sometimes more similar to the Etruscan, and when dealing with Latin-speaking Praeneste, the reference is to the Roman name. For a chart of the major deities in Greek, Etruscan, and Roman religion, see page 24.

Sources mentioned in the Literature sections of the entries are selected and are cited in a shortened form. The full publication information is given in the Selected Bibliography. Books, journal articles, exhibition catalogues, and other published sources mentioned in the Notes are cited in full form on the first mention in each chapter and in a shortened form in subsequent references. The Selected Bibliography contains the complete references for all the sources cited under Literature in the chapter texts and additional sources of special interest and importance.



# ETRUSCAN ART

IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART



# Histories

## Etruscan Studies and the Collection of Etruscan Art in The Metropolitan Museum of Art

It would almost seem as if the Etruscans had a presentiment that in distant times their name and race were destined to be rescued from oblivion by their tombs, for they have not only left subterranean traces of their existence for miles round the site of their principal cities, but have erected lofty monuments whose ruins now fill the beholder with wonder, differing as they do from all others in their architectural shape.

—Lady Elizabeth Caroline Hamilton Gray, *Tour to the Sepulchres of Etruria, in 1839*<sup>1</sup>

### BRIEF HISTORY OF ETRUSCAN STUDIES

Thanks to the vivid accounts of ancient Greek writers including Herodotus (ca. 484–ca. 425 B.C.) and Euripides (ca. 480–406 B.C.) and Latin writers including the Roman historian Livy (59 B.C.–17 A.D.), the Etruscans were never forgotten completely. However, it was not until the late fifteenth century that a strong interest in Etruscan art and culture arose in Tuscany, the same region occupied by the Etruscans in antiquity. The name Tuscany is in fact derived from *Tusci*, one of the Latin names for the Etruscans. (The Etruscans called themselves *Rasenna*; the Greeks called them *Tyrsenoi* or *Tyrrhenians*.)

The most important and colorful early figure connected with this revival is Giovanni Nanni, or as he is better known, Annio da Viterbo (1432 or 1437–1502), a Dominican priest who originally came from Viterbo. He was interested especially in Etruscan inscriptions and claimed to be able to understand the Etruscan language.<sup>2</sup> At that time, a number of inscribed Etruscan stone and terracotta monuments were in fact being unearthed, and Annio made careful sketches and translations of many of them. Based on his rather imaginative translations of these real inscriptions, Annio went on to create a series of fake ones, consisting of real Etruscan letters and words copied from authentic inscriptions combined with Greek letters and totally invented “Egyptian” hieroglyphs. Annio then buried the fake inscriptions at Viterbo and later, in the presence of Pope Alexander VI (Rodrigo Borgia), feigned their discovery and immediately launched into an impressive discourse on their significance. He published his translations of these forged inscriptions, which, he claimed,

demonstrated the central significance of Viterbo as the capital of an idealized Etruria.<sup>3</sup>

All this was done for fame, not profit, and, in Annio’s words, to “rouse the history of Viterbo from its slumbers.”<sup>4</sup> Perhaps such devotion to his hometown should not be criticized, and in any case, some benefits came out of Annio’s “research,” as the popularity of his published works encouraged others to collect and examine carefully the numerous authentic inscriptions on sarcophagi and vases as they were discovered. His deception was not fully exposed until after his death, as other early scholars gained a better understanding of the Etruscans and their language.

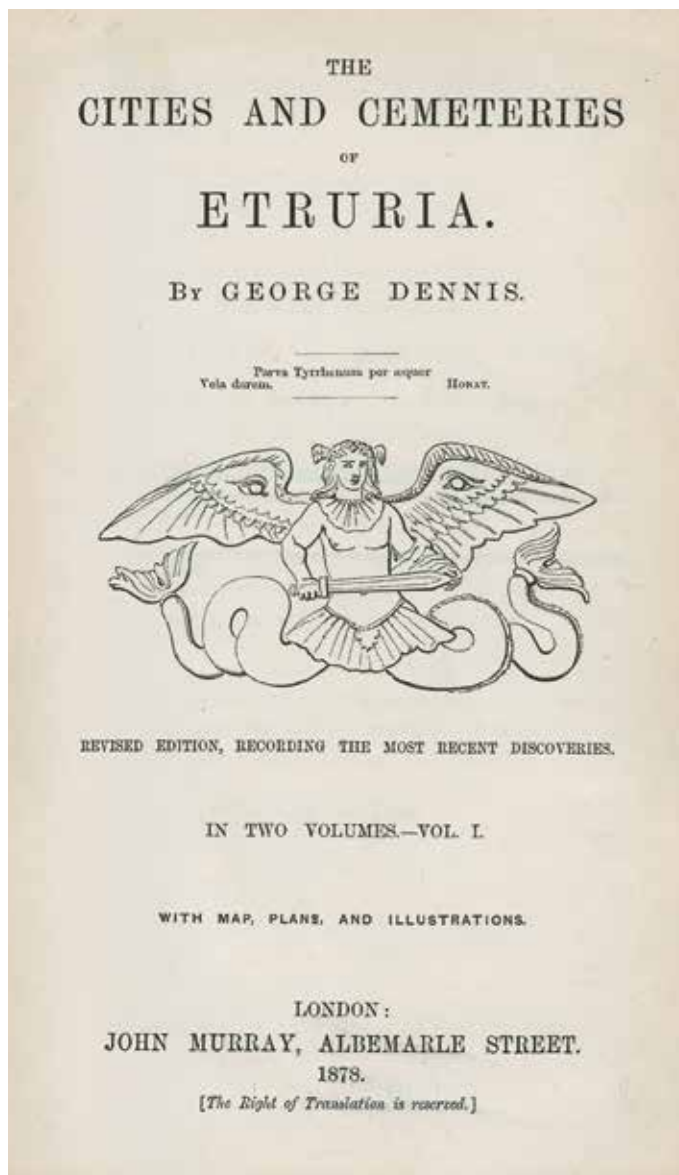
During the sixteenth century, legitimate excavations brought to light some of the most famous Etruscan masterpieces. They include such monumental bronze statues as the *Chimaera*<sup>5</sup> of Arezzo in 1553 and the *Orator* (“*L’Arringatore*”)<sup>6</sup> at Pila near Perugia in 1573. The incomparable technical skill demonstrated by these works inspired Renaissance artists to comment on their style and refinement, notably Benvenuto Cellini in his *Vita* and *Due Trattati* and Giorgio Vasari in his *Proemio delle Vitae, Origine delle Arti di Disegno: IV. Presso gli Etruschi*.<sup>7</sup>

In the seventeenth century, one figure stands out, Sir Thomas Dempster (1579–1625), who often is considered the founder of modern Etruscan studies. Dempster was born in Scotland and educated at Cambridge, Paris, Louvain, and Rome. He taught philology and history at numerous universities in France but was bedeviled by a difficult personality and inability to get along with colleagues. He ended up in

Italy, where he completed his monumental manuscript, *De Etruria Regali Libri Septem*, in 1618, although the work was not published until 1723, more than a century after his death. It is the first systematic attempt to collect all the ancient literary sources on the Etruscans and to connect archaeological material to various aspects of Etruscan culture. Dempster also demonstrated that many characteristic Roman features such as gladiatorial games, military triumphs, the fasces, and the toga, were derived from the Etruscans.<sup>8</sup> A scholarly institute, the Accademia Etrusca, was founded in Cortona in 1727 and soon had a fine library and a growing collection of antiquities.<sup>9</sup> Members met to exchange ideas and read letters from an international group of corresponding scholars. Antonio Gori (1691–1757), a brilliant Florentine priest, was a major force during this period. In 1735, he helped found the Società Colombaria, offering some competition to the rival scholarly group in Cortona. His three-volume *Museum Etruscum* (1736–43) illustrated hundreds of Etruscan artifacts, including monumental bronzes like the Orator and the Chimaera mentioned above and a bronze statuette now in the Metropolitan Museum (see 5.12).

In the early nineteenth century, major discoveries dramatically increased awareness of and interest in the Etruscans. Perhaps the most influential discoveries took place at Vulci, a major city of ancient Etruria. The territory was owned by one of Napoleon's brothers, Lucien Bonaparte (1775–1840), who had been made Prince of Canino by Pope Pius VII. In 1828, one of the prince's tenant farmers fell into a subterranean chamber tomb while plowing a field with oxen. Within days, a rich assortment of pottery and gold jewelry was recovered from several tombs. Soon, to the delight of the local nobility, the Princess of Canino appeared at receptions wearing authentic Etruscan gold jewelry. This find, like many others at that time, was not investigated in a scientific way but was more akin to treasure hunting than to archaeology. Few records of precise findspots were kept, contexts were lost, and, most regrettably, items that were considered inferior—for example, undecorated vases, mostly of the black pottery called bucchero—were discarded or purposely smashed on the spot. In 1848, George Dennis wrote:

Coarse pottery of unfigured, and even of unvarnished ware, and a variety of small articles in black clay, were [the tomb's] only produce; but our astonishment was equalled by our indignation when we saw the labourers dash them to the ground as they drew them forth, and crush them beneath their feet as things "cheaper than seaweed." In vain I pleaded to save some from destruction; for, though of no marketable worth, they were often of curious and elegant forms, and valuable as relics of the olden time, not to be replaced; but no, it was all *roba di sciocchezza*—"foolish stuff."<sup>10</sup>



Other major nineteenth-century discoveries include the Regolini-Galassi Tomb at Cerveteri in 1836. This accidental find brought to light an extraordinary cache of sensational gold jewelry, bronzes, and vases. Today, the tomb's contents are prized possessions of the Vatican Museums.<sup>11</sup> The year after this discovery, 1837, saw the very first public exhibition of Etruscan art. It took place in London, arranged by the Campanari brothers, who re-created a painted Etruscan chamber tomb in which to display various artifacts, many of which were offered for sale.<sup>12</sup> This early blockbuster exhibition encouraged people who had never heard of the Etruscans to go to Italy in order to see more Etruscan art. One such person was Lady Elizabeth Caroline Hamilton Gray (1801–1887), who wrote a marvelous account of her travels in 1839, the first eyewitness guide in English to Etruscan sites and collections in Italy.<sup>13</sup> The following passage illustrates that she was ahead of her time when it comes to conservation of ancient heritage:

I was sorry to leave this interesting monument of early civilisation [the Regolini-Galassi Tomb], so like what is called the treasury of Atreus, or the tomb of Agamemnon, at Mycene, yet older, and with such a mixture of Egyptian and Greek art in its idea and execution; but I was still more sorry to see the state of utter neglect in which it lay. The passage and chambers had been seven feet high, but they are now so blocked up, that we had often to stoop, and in some parts further progress is exceedingly difficult, and almost dangerous. The old stone door has been broken down, and not even a wooden one put in its place. Not the commonest lock secures it, and no respect for its solemn purpose lingers to hallow it more. The rain and the rubbish are constantly falling in, and unless public opinion be roused to protect it, the Regolini-Galassi tomb will soon be, like its neighbours, inaccessible. As I considered this wonderful remnant of the days that are gone, I could not help saying to myself, "Is this treasure really in Italy, or is it in the land of barbarians? has it really been excavated, and left in this state by scientific men, or has it been sacked by plundering banditti?"<sup>14</sup>

George Dennis (1814–1898) later undertook a far more extensive and ambitious tour of Italy to explore many almost inaccessible Etruscan sites. The result of his travels was his treatise *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, published in 1848 and including sketches by Dennis and Samuel James Ainsley (1820–1874). A second revised and updated edition came out in 1878. That book, which is still in print, remains one of the best guides to Etruscan sites in English. Earlier, a Scottish antiquarian, James Byres (1734–1817), had taken the lead in studying the many subterranean painted tombs that had come to light at Tarquinia. Byres was a well-known guide and art dealer in Rome who had numerous British lords as his clients. He had ambitious plans to publish a treatise on Etruscan frescoes and commissioned an artist, Christopher Norton, to engrave plates for this proposed book. Unfortunately, funding was limited, and eventually only the plates were published in 1842, twenty-five years after Byres's death.<sup>15</sup> Those illustrations preserve a record of much that is now lost and, in the mid-nineteenth century, did a great deal to popularize Etruscan painting. All three works significantly increased interest in the Etruscans among the English-speaking public.

The second half of the nineteenth century brought further spectacular discoveries, for example the Orientalizing Barberini and Bernardini tombs at Palestrina, discovered in 1855 and 1876 respectively.<sup>16</sup> It was also a time when previously formed private collections, such as those of Marchese Giovanni Campana (1808–1880) and the Castellani family, were acquired by or donated to public museums.<sup>17</sup> Great advances in scholarship also occurred during the second half

of the nineteenth century as a result of the growing interest in archaeology, and numerous journals and treatises were published on a wide variety of subjects relating to the history and culture of classical civilizations, including those of the Etruscans. It was a time of extensive organizing; meticulous cataloguing attempted to order the confusing plethora of material continually being excavated. Scores of valuable corpora were produced, many of which are still in use. In this regard, it is important to mention the work of Eduard Gerhard (1795–1867), a German archaeologist and editor who brought a new scientific rigor to the complex and diffused study of ancient objects. Gerhard was also one of the founding members of the *Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* in 1829, which evolved into the German Archaeological Institute, one of the most influential organizations in the field.

The history of American interest in Etruscan art, at least in the public arena, began with two magnificent sculpted sarcophagi that were brought to Boston by James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888) in 1883.<sup>18</sup> They had been discovered at Vulci in the winter of 1842–43 by the Princess of Canino, the widow of Lucien Bonaparte. Jarves and his Irish associate George Disney Maquay (1835–1893), both of whom had lived in Florence for many years, acquired the sarcophagi. They had hoped to sell them to The Metropolitan Museum of Art.<sup>19</sup> But instead, one was sold eventually to Mrs. Gardner Brewer of Boston, who donated it to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1886. The other sarcophagus was sold to the Boston Athenaeum in 1885, but from 1887, it was on loan to the Museum of Fine Arts. Finally, in 1975, the second sarcophagus was donated to the Museum of Fine Arts by Mr. and Mrs. Cornelius C. Vermeule III.<sup>20</sup> These monuments remain the most significant Etruscan stone sculptures in North America.

Jarves, like a few of his enlightened contemporaries, was a champion of the arts. He was convinced that the American public would benefit enormously if exposed to high-quality art from Europe and Asia.<sup>21</sup> For that reason, he was an outspoken supporter of public art museums and did much to encourage philanthropy in this direction. In one of several articles on the importance of museums, he wrote: "Museums stimulate the intellectual capital of a country to active reproduction in numberless ways that affect profoundly the character and welfare of the people."<sup>22</sup>

Our understanding of Etruscan art and culture advanced enormously during the twentieth century. Numerous excavations in Italy and elsewhere in the Mediterranean area brought to light sanctuaries, settlements, and cemeteries that demonstrated the vast extent of Etruscan trade and social contacts with their neighbors. A significant site is Veii. Although known and explored sporadically in the nineteenth century, scientific excavations only began in 1916, conducted by Giulio Quirino Giglioli (1886–1957). The terracotta Apollo

of Veii, now a prized possession of the Museo di Villa Giulia in Rome, was discovered in May of that year. Much later, from 1960 to 1975, a joint Italian and British team excavated the Quattro Fontanili necropolis at Veii to add vital information about the Villanovan period at this site. In addition, major work was accomplished during the twentieth century at Cerveteri, Tarquinia, Vulci, and Chiusi, and work continues today at these and dozens of smaller sites. Another important area of research has been the reconstruction and publication of material excavated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century but never published by the original archaeologists.<sup>23</sup> In addition, much progress was made on interpreting Etruscan texts, thanks in no small part to several important new finds, especially the bilingual gold plaques discovered in 1964 at Pyrgi, the port of Caere (Cerveteri).<sup>24</sup>

During the twentieth century, Florence became the preeminent international center for Etruscan studies. It is the home of the Istituto di Studi Etruschi ed Italici, and its scholarly journal, *Studi Etruschi*, whose publication began in 1927, treats all aspects of Etruscan art, archaeology, history, and language. The Institute also publishes two scholarly series, the *Biblioteca di Studi Etruschi* and the *Monumenti Etruschi*. The Primo Convegno Nazionale Etrusco, the first national conference of Etruscan studies, took place in 1926 in Florence, and the Primo Congresso Internazionale Etrusco, the first international congress of Etruscan studies, was held in 1928, also in Florence. In recent decades, the Institute has also sponsored and published numerous international colloquia on a wide variety of Etruscan and Italic topics. Many of these scholarly endeavors have inspired researchers in other countries, including the United States, which has held a number of regional and international colloquia at universities or at the annual meetings of the Archaeological Institute of America or the College Art Association. There is also the Etruscan Foundation and its scholarly journal, *Etruscan Studies*, published since 1994 by Wayne State University, Detroit.

When 1985 was designated the Year of the Etruscans in Italy, it was the occasion for an international congress and a series of nine major exhibitions treating various aspects of Etruscan civilization.<sup>25</sup> In fact, it marked the beginning of an ambitious number of excellent exhibitions of Etruscan art in Europe and North America that continues to this day.<sup>26</sup>

Significant Etruscan collections have been acquired by many public museums and university art museums in North America. They include the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, which has a large Etruscan collection that is particularly strong in stone sculpture and engraved mirrors; the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, which is rich in bronzes (especially engraved *cistae* and mirrors) and exquisite gold jewelry; the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, mostly acquired as a teaching

collection from Arthur Lincoln Frothingham Jr., who was also a major source in the 1890s for the Metropolitan as well as for the Field Museum, Chicago; and the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, whose collection is especially rich in pottery, amber, carved gems, and gold jewelry. In Canada, the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, possesses the largest collection of Etruscan antiquities, which was mostly acquired before 1920 and is especially rich in impasto and bucchero pottery, bronze vessels, and engraved mirrors. Since 1875, The Metropolitan Museum of Art has amassed one of the most comprehensive collections of Etruscan and Italic art in North America.

## HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION OF ETRUSCAN ART IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

In 1875, five years after the founding of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Luigi Palma di Cesnola (1832–1904) donated the first Etruscan objects in the collection of the Museum, twenty-one Etruscan vases, including 4.65, 4.67c, and 4.69. Cesnola served as the Metropolitan's first director from 1879 until his death in 1904.<sup>27</sup>

In 1881, a year after the Museum moved from the Douglas Mansion at 128 West 14th Street to its present location on Fifth Avenue, some of the earliest and most important Etruscan works entered the Museum's growing collection. John Taylor Johnston (1820–1893), the Museum's founding president, donated an engraved gem collection formed between 1845 and 1877 by the Reverend Charles William King (1818–1888) of Trinity College, Cambridge. That diverse assortment includes at least eighteen fine Etruscan and Italic gems. The Museum published King's manuscript of his collection posthumously as *Collections of Engraved Gems* in 1894.<sup>28</sup> In 1891, Edward C. Moore (1827–1891), the chief designer at Tiffany & Co. and an avid collector of Asian and Near Eastern pottery, silver, and glass, bequeathed his collection to the Metropolitan.<sup>29</sup> It included ten Etruscan vases (see 6.56, 3.22, 6.55) that range from Villanovan to Etrusco-Hellenistic.

In October 1895, the Museum acquired by purchase some nine hundred objects that had been collected by Samuel Thomas Baxter Sr., an American expatriate living in Florence. He had published much of his collection about a decade earlier, in *Catalogue of Etruscan Jewellery, with Some Roman and Longobardic Ornaments*.<sup>30</sup> Included were 163 "classical objects of gold and silver" (see Chapter VII), the group that provided the foundation for the Museum's excellent collection of Etruscan jewelry. In addition, Baxter's collection had more than two hundred vases, mostly bucchero (page 9 in Baxter's publication mentions a foculare "in which an egg was found entire after 3,000 years in the tomb" that is





View of the Classical Galleries (third room), with the Etruscan chariot in the foreground, 1917. Photograph ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art

perhaps a reference to either 4.79a or 4.79b). The Baxter cinerary urns (6.90a, b; 6.92; 6.93; 6.95) remained the only such objects in the Museum's collection until one important additional acquisition was added in 1957 (6.91b). Baxter also supplied the collection with three bronze mirrors (6.19, 6.23, 6.21) as well as many other bronzes and the beginning of the amber collection with amber, ivory, and bone objects (see 7.45 and 7.46) excavated by Cav. Marsili at a site near Verucchio. In a letter to Cesnola of October 22, 1895, preserved in the Museum Archives, in which Baxter accepted the Museum's offer to buy his collection, he noted: "Do not look down on the Bucchero vases unless you have similar ones, for many of them could not be had for love or money, and are only to be seen in Museums. I was fortunate enough to have the pick of a large collection before it was sold, which is not likely to happen again."<sup>31</sup>

Another important figure who contributed to the growth of the collection of Etruscan art at the Metropolitan Museum is Arthur Lincoln Frothingham Jr. (1859–1923), a Princeton professor and archaeologist, who near the end of the nineteenth century acted as a purchasing agent for

several American museums including the Metropolitan, which received material from him in 1896–97.<sup>32</sup> In addition to a good deal of Chiusine bucchero, Frothingham also sent the Museum some fourteen architectural terracottas from Cerveteri (4.117; 4.119a–d; 4.120; 4.121a, b; 4.122) and four engraved bronze mirrors (6.7, 6.10, 6.11, 6.22). Frothingham's handwritten list also mentions a relief mirror (8.1) and cites "only one other known in Italy, bought by the [Archaeological] Museum in Florence for 2,000 lire from [Bonifacio] Falcioni of Viterbo."<sup>33</sup> It is now known that both mirrors are forgeries (see Chapter VIII).

An important legacy came to the Museum in 1901, on the death of Jacob S. Rogers, president of Rogers Locomotive and Machine Works in Paterson, New Jersey.<sup>34</sup> His generous bequest of almost five million dollars dramatically increased the funds available for the purchase of new acquisitions and continues to be used today. Subsequently, slightly over 500 Villanovan, Etruscan, or Italic objects have been acquired by the Museum through the Rogers Fund, the first such acquisition, the Etruscan chariot from Monteleone di Spoleto (see Chapter IV) being the most important.



View of the Etruscan Gallery, Wing K (gallery K7, looking west), 1933. Photograph ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art

In the area of Etruscan acquisitions, Cesnola's finest year was 1903, the year before his death, when the Monteleone di Spoleto tomb group and its famous bronze chariot arrived at the Museum (see 4.1 for an account of its history). Another major tomb group, from Bolsena, was also acquired in 1903 (see Chapter VI). Representing the Hellenistic phase of Etruscan art, the group includes some extraordinary gold and silver objects and also a significant series of inscribed and punched inscriptions documenting an unusual Etruscan burial practice, the use of the word *śuthina* indicating that an object was "for the tomb" only.<sup>35</sup>

The third director of the Metropolitan Museum, Edward Robinson (1858–1931), had been appointed curator of the Department of Classical Art at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1885. Robinson rose to become director there in 1902, but in August 1905, he resigned from his post in Boston and by the end of that year had become The Metropolitan Museum of Art's assistant director, working under Sir Caspar Purdon Clarke (1846–1911). Clarke, formerly director of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, had been hired by J. Pierpont Morgan early in 1905. Robinson also assumed the curatorship of the Department of Classical Art. He was named director in 1910, after Clarke had taken a year's leave due to ill health in 1909, and had resigned in June 1910. As the second director of the Museum, Clarke's influence over the acquisition of classical antiquities rested primarily on his early decision to hire Robinson. During his more than twenty years at the Metropolitan, Robinson oversaw the

acquisition of many important Etruscan objects. In large part, this was due to a perfect alignment of talented experts and administrators with the new wealth of the Rogers Bequest. Thus, during the Robinson years (1906–1931), significant Etruscan acquisitions include fine bronze vessels (5.1, 5.2), a silver and bronze kyathos (5.3), and an elaborate bronze strainer (5.4), all part of the Civita Castellana tomb group; eleven bronze mirrors, especially the iconographically unusual ones depicting Peleus and Thetis (6.1) and Perseus with the Graiai (6.9); the pair of magnificent gold disk earrings (7.26); the bucchero Siren jug (4.85) and cockerel with inscribed alphabet (2.1); the stone cippus base with the Dioskouroi (4.24); the bronze roundel from the Barberini Collection (6.87); the unique pair of terracotta satyr stands (6.62); and the impressive terracotta votive statue of a young woman (6.75). Here, reference is made only to additions to the Etruscan collection, but Robinson's vision for the entire Greek and Roman Department is relevant and was stated early in his career at the Museum; it was "for developing the Museum's collection of classical art along systematic lines, strengthening it where it is weak, rounding it out as a whole, maintaining for its development a high standard of artistic excellence, and making it ultimately both a large and a choice collection."<sup>36</sup>

The early years of Robinson's tenure coincided with the period of the ascendancy of J. Pierpont Morgan, who was president of the Metropolitan from 1905 to 1912 and who worked closely with Robinson. A passionate collector and



View of the Striding Warrior (later determined a forgery; see 8.5) looking south into the present Roman Court, 1943. Photograph ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art

formidable personality, Morgan was able to afford the very best; among his many Etruscan donations to the Museum are the Morgan amber (7.48) and a fine bronze maiden (4.27).

The present departmental structure of the Metropolitan, with curators who are experts in specific areas of art history and responsible for vetting acquisitions, came into existence about 1905. Publication of the Museum's *Bulletin* also began in 1905, and the Classical Department was formally established in 1909; the name was changed to the Department of Greek and Roman Art in 1935.<sup>37</sup>

By 1909, the most important players were already positioned to effect dramatic changes in the Museum's collections. In 1906, shortly after his arrival, Edward Robinson had hired John Marshall (1862–1928) as the Museum's purchasing agent in Rome, and the same year, Gisela M. A. Richter (1882–1972) began her long career at the Metropolitan. Marshall, who came from Liverpool, where his father was a wine merchant, was not formally trained as an art historian or archaeologist, but he had studied classical languages at Oxford, in preparation for a career in the Anglican Church. Those plans changed in 1884, when he met Edward Perry Warren (1860–1928), the scion of a wealthy Boston family.<sup>38</sup> Warren and Marshall became a celebrated team of art connoisseurs and set up a fraternity of kindred brothers at Lewes House near Oxford.<sup>39</sup>

The happy situation of Lewes House, made possible almost entirely by Warren's independent means, continued for several years, but eventually, Marshall, who came from a family of relatively modest means that increasingly depended

on his generosity, needed financial security, and he accepted the opportunity to work as The Metropolitan Museum of Art's purchasing agent in Rome. Warren and Marshall had visited the major public and private antiquities collections in Europe, had studied extensively on their own, and knew all the important dealers and many of the leading archaeologists and scholars working in Europe and America. Marshall, who kept in touch with Robinson and Richter from Rome, continued to work for the Museum until his death on February 15, 1928. Robinson, Richter, and especially Marshall were instrumental in building on the foundation of Samuel Baxter's collection to create much of the Metropolitan's present-day Etruscan collection.

In February 1916, the fragments of a large-scale terracotta, the so-called Old Warrior, had arrived in New York and were being studied and assembled (see 8.4). A second terracotta, a monumental head wearing a helmet (see 8.6), arrived at the Museum five months later, on July 25, 1916. A series of cables of early 1917 shows how anxious Robinson, Richter, and some of the trustees were to have these impressive statues displayed and published, but in a cable of January 30, 1917, Marshall insisted: "Publication must be delayed. Exhibition undesirable." Robinson cabled back "All right. Agree entirely."<sup>40</sup> By August 1917, Marshall was willing to reveal something about the origin of these statues. Apparently, they came from a newly discovered "temple of Mars" at Boccaporco, a hamlet near Bagnoregio in the province of Viterbo. Unfortunately, Marshall was unable to see the site



View of the Etruscan Gallery, 1950–51. Photograph ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art

for himself. As it turns out, this was an elaborate hoax to convince Marshall that the terracottas were recent authentic discoveries of enormous significance. At the time, experts had few original Etruscan monumental terracottas to compare with these forgeries. The famous Apollo now in the Villa Giulia, Rome<sup>41</sup> and its related companions from the Portonaccio Temple at Veii had been discovered on May 19, 1916, but they remained unpublished and in fragments until much later. As a result of a carefully orchestrated plot, Marshall was persuaded to acquire for the Museum a total of three impressive terracotta warriors made by a group of Italians in Orvieto. The third terracotta, an eight-foot tall striding warrior, was acquired in 1921 (see 8.5) and became the most admired and famous of the three warriors.

A new gallery (Wing K, gallery K7) of Etruscan art opened at the Metropolitan Museum in February 1933. In the early 1930s, spaces formerly used to display American sculpture were turned over to Etruscan art and a display of ancient glass. “It is interesting to note that this was the first time in an American museum that an entire gallery had been devoted exclusively to Etruscan and Italic antiquities.”<sup>42</sup> The occasion of the new Etruscan gallery was the first time

Marshall’s Etruscan warriors were exhibited to the public; Marshall had died five years earlier in 1928. Coinciding with the opening, Richter published a short account of the warriors in the Museum’s *Bulletin* for February, but her definitive treatment was not published until July 1937.<sup>43</sup> In 1961, an excellent study of the complex problem was published, in which the statues were shown definitively to be forgeries; a surviving forger was identified and confessed, and the terracotta warriors were removed from public display.<sup>44</sup>

The Museum did not replace Marshall with another European agent in Rome. Instead, Richter assumed the role of acquiring works of ancient art until her retirement. The pace of collecting, through both purchase and donation, was slow but steady during the twenty-year period between Marshall’s death in 1928 and Richter’s retirement in 1948.

Under Richter’s tenure, a significant addition to the Etruscan collection came to the Museum in 1940, a magnificent set of twelve pieces of gold jewelry that had been discovered more than a century earlier, in 1834, at Vulci (7.1–7.10). An important bronze cinerary urn (4.52a) was also acquired in 1940, the same year Richter authored the only publication before the present one devoted entirely to the Metropolitan

Museum's collection of Etruscan art, a *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*. In 1941, W. G. Beatty, a New York architect, donated a collection of more than five hundred engraved gems, thirty-eight of which are Etruscan. In general, the 1940s were good years for additional important acquisitions, including the fine bronze candelabrum statuette of two warriors discovered in the early seventeenth century (5.12; see ref above) and two exquisite carnelian scarabs (7.116, 7.117). Etruscan works of art were published principally in *Studi Etruschi* and the *American Journal of Archaeology*. As a result, there is an excellent record of the antiquities collected during Richter's tenure at the Museum and also an awareness of these objects in many scholarly and popular accounts by numerous other authors.<sup>45</sup>

Overall, the primary focus of the Department of Greek and Roman Art at the Museum has been Greek art rather than Etruscan or Roman art. Some of that emphasis comes through in the words of Christine Alexander (1893–1975), who was assistant to Gisela Richter from 1923 on and was department head from July 1948 until her retirement in June 1959. In the initial publication of the impressive Faliscan dinos and stand (4.91), she referred to Etruscan civilization as “huge and somewhat repellent.”<sup>46</sup> Such an attitude is completely typical of many classically-trained archaeologists and art historians of the early and middle twentieth century. Like the Romans, the Etruscans were usually seen, at best, as slavish imitators of Greek art. Whenever differences were observed, for instance in the depiction of mythical subjects, it was assumed that the Etruscans simply misunderstood or erroneously interpreted the “original” Greek sources. Anyone who has studied Greek mythology is immediately struck by its inconsistencies, but few were willing to imagine that the Etruscans might have had their own myths that varied from those of Greece in ways that could not be understood easily. Their art too suffered from an overly narrow viewpoint. If one felt generous, one might concede a certain naïve ineptitude, but Etruscan creations almost never attained the sophistication of the Greek classical ideal, and when they did come close, such works—especially bronzes and certain types of pottery—often were deemed the products of Greek craftsmen working in Italy. Another excellent example of this bias may be seen in the early publication of three bronze tripods that had been found in 1904 at San Valentino di Marsciano, south of Perugia. They were acquired in 1905 by James Loeb (1867–1933), the wealthy New York banker and philanthropist best known today for his endowment of the Loeb Classical Library. After their restoration, two of the three tripods were displayed in 1907 at the Metropolitan Museum beside the Monteleone Chariot (4.1). Despite the fact that they bear close stylistic and technical affinities with the chariot (which was recognized as Etruscan), the tripods, which are now in Munich, were thought to be Greek works

of late archaic date. “The differences between the reliefs of the chariot and the reliefs of the tripods are precisely those which we should expect to find between the work of a highly gifted people like the Greeks and a race of clever imitators like the Etruscans.”<sup>47</sup> For many years now all three tripods have been recognized as Etruscan works dating to about 530 B.C.

Even as interest grew in the acquisition of Greek vases and sculpture, Etruscan art continued to enter the Metropolitan Museum's collection. Among the significant Etruscan works acquired, by gift or purchase, during the tenure of Christine Alexander are the excellent black-figured amphorae by the Paris Painter (4.102, 4.103), the Villanovan bronze cauldron (8.9), a red-figure skyphos (6.50b) that forms a beautiful match with 6.50a, as well as several gems and scarabs, bronzes, and a terracotta cinerary urn (6.91b). All this was achieved against the background of a significant “modernization” under the directorship of Francis Henry Taylor (from 1940 to 1955). That renovation resulted in the reduction in the number of galleries available for the display of classical antiquities. Beginning in 1949, the former grand Roman Court was transformed into a restaurant, with the Etruscan Gallery as its kitchen. In fact, many objects were crated and shipped for safe storage to Colorado. This was the Cold War era, when there were fears of a nuclear attack on New York City.

Christine Alexander was succeeded by Dietrich von Bothmer (1918–2009), who had been at the Museum as Assistant and Associate Curator since 1946. He became department head in July 1959, and served until his retirement in 1990, when he became the department's first Distinguished Research Curator. Von Bothmer was succeeded by the present Curator-in-Charge, Carlos A. Picón. During the 1960s and into the 1970s, von Bothmer acquired several important Etruscan works: the nenfro winged lion (4.22), the bronze candelabrum with Herakles and Athena (5.18), the superb bronze volute krater handles with the Dioskouroi (5.21a, b), the bronze votary statuette (6.77), and the Marsyas incense burner (2.4). They also included some pieces that are no longer believed to be ancient. Chief among these is the spectacular gold pectoral (8.11). Another item that might be authentic but seems to have been enhanced with some modern incisions is the bucchero kantharos (8.10), donated in early 1964. On the other hand, a terracotta figure once considered modern was proven to be ancient in 1971 (6.75). The pectoral, the kantharos, and other problematic objects are reviewed in Chapter VIII.

In recent years, a number of generous donations have enhanced important areas of the Museum's Etruscan holdings. The amber collection, for example, has grown to include several types of jewelry not previously represented (see 7.49 and 7.58a, b). In addition, several fine bronzes have been added to the Museum's well-known items in this area. Especially significant are the bronzes that came to the

Museum as part of the Walter C. Baker Bequest in 1972 and as the Norbert Schimmel Gift in 1989 (4.33, 4.41).<sup>48</sup> An important group of vases, as well as a rare sculpted alabastron (4.25), are the most recent acquisitions and help to round out or enhance areas of Etruscan painted pottery not previously well represented (see 4.94, .105, .110).

It took more than fifty years for the Museum's Department of Greek and Roman Art to regain the gallery spaces it lost in 1949 with the new installation that opened to the public in April 2007. Included was a new gallery devoted to the display of some 560 Etruscan objects, assembled on the mezzanine that overlooks the Museum's new Roman Court. In addition, the adjacent Study Collection gallery that covers all aspects of the collection holds many other Etruscan and Italic objects.<sup>49</sup>

The Metropolitan Museum of Art's collection of Etruscan art is particularly strong in several areas of Etruscan and Italic culture. Foremost is the excellent array of bronzes, including the engraved mirrors and cistae. All the major periods are represented, and the overall quality is superb. Another prominent area is jewelry, especially the magnificent collection of finely crafted gold pieces and the carved ambers and gems. Still a third area of high quality is the pottery, especially the bucchero pesante from Vulci and Chiusi. Although the Museum's collection does not include a large number of painted Etruscan vases, those that are included are of high quality and iconographical interest. Finally, one must mention the three tomb groups, each representing a



View of the Etruscan Gallery, 2012



View of the Etruscan Gallery, with Monteleone chariot in foreground, 2012

different period of Etruscan art: Archaic (the Monteleone di Spoleto group), Classical (the Civita Castellana group) and Hellenistic (the Bolsena group). The Monteleone di Spoleto group, with its magnificent chariot, is of major significance. That group has been in the Museum's collection since 1903, when the chariot and related material were purchased by the Metropolitan's first director, Luigi Palma di Cesnola.

The Museum's collection demonstrates two basic approaches to the acquisition of Etruscan artifacts: an archaeological one, which emphasizes tomb groups where all the objects in a given tomb might be presented together, and an aesthetic one, whereby objects are selected primarily for their artistic quality, their iconographical or technical interest, and their good state of preservation. The Metropolitan's approach often has been a combination of these two trends, at least it was in the early years. For example, the Monteleone di Spoleto tomb group has impressive archaeological qualities, but, especially when the chariot is considered, it is also a major source of stylistic, iconographical, and technical interest.

The chariot from Monteleone di Spoleto is the best-preserved example of its kind from ancient Italy before the Roman period. Now excellently restored and published in great detail in 2011 in the Museum's *Journal*, this chariot stands as a unique monument of its period.<sup>50</sup> It is the centerpiece of the Museum's Etruscan gallery that opened in 2007. Coupled with the associated bronzes and pottery, this remarkable work provides a fascinating window on Etruscan culture of the sixth century B.C.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art's formidable Etruscan collection now includes approximately one thousand objects. The depth and breadth of this extraordinary representation of the art of pre-Roman Italy disclose the vibrant spirit of this ancient Mediterranean people and the sophistication of their vanished civilization.





# Introduction to Pre-Roman Italy

If you want uplift, go to the Greek and the Gothic. If you want mass, go to the Roman.  
But if you love the odd spontaneous forms that are never to be standardized, go to the Etruscans.

—D. H. Lawrence, *Etruscan Places*<sup>1</sup>

Long before Rome came to dominate and unify the Italian peninsula, Italy was populated by a number of diverse ethnic groups. Each had its own social structure, language, and religious practices, some more closely linked than others. Those populations are collectively designated Italic. They include many unfamiliar groups, such as the Capenates, Daunians, Peucetians, Faliscans, Messapians, Lucanians, Oenotrians, and Elymians, and a few, like the Sabines, Samnites, Latins, and Etruscans, that are much better known (Map 2). The Sabines are remembered today because of the famous legend concerning Rome's founding, which is recounted by Livy and Plutarch, among others.<sup>2</sup> The long and bitter Samnite Wars are recorded in Livy books 8–10. The warlike Samnites, who spoke Oscan, lived in loosely allied agricultural villages dotting the southern Apennines. Because the aggressive Samnites were intent on expansion, their neighbors sought Roman protection. This resulted in three major wars that ended in 290 B.C. with the subjugation of the Samnites. Of these Italic ethnic groups, the Latins, the group to which Rome belongs, are the best known, because their language and culture have had such a strong impact on later Western civilization and history. However, it was Etruscan culture that dominated pre-Roman Italy and had a profound influence on Roman art, religion, military practices, technology, and language—and therefore, on subsequent times, even to the present. For example, conventions as familiar as Roman numerals are really Etruscan in origin. This is why Roman numerals have been used for the chapter numbers in this publication. Additional examples of Etruscan influences on Roman culture are included in Chapter VI.

Etruscan civilization developed as early as the ninth century B.C., from indigenous peoples of Central and Northern Italy, who archaeologists call Villanovans (see Chapter III).

Evidence of that early culture was first discovered by Count Giovanni Gozzadini (1810–1887), in 1853 at Caselle, close to Villanova di Castenaso, his country estate near Bologna. The Italian nobleman excavated a cemetery with 193 graves and found that these Iron Age people cremated their dead, deposited the ashes in hand-built terracotta urns, and often buried the urns with various tomb gifts, mostly of pottery, bronze, or iron. There was no evidence of literacy. As similar cemeteries were discovered in the Bologna area, Gozzadini was convinced that he had identified the precursors of the Etruscans, but this idea was vigorously debated in the nineteenth century. Today, it is almost universally agreed that Gozzadini was correct, and evidence of Villanovan occupation has been found in many areas of Italy later inhabited by the Etruscans (Map 3). The ancient and modern theories and relevant DNA studies on Etruscan origins are discussed in more detail at the end of this chapter.

## SOCIAL STRUCTURE

There is growing archaeological evidence that urbanization occurred during the last phase of Villanovan culture in the final decades of the eighth century B.C.<sup>3</sup> Small groups of huts gradually became larger, and eventually, the beginnings of large structures made of stone are evidenced. It seems that the people of this period had more contact with other communities; trade routes were established, and a lively exchange of raw materials and finished goods existed. This shift toward greater material prosperity is seen most clearly by dramatic changes in burial practices. In this transitional period from Late Villanovan to Early Etruscan, about 725–675 B.C., some burials became much more elaborate. Although cremation was still practiced, inhumation became popular.



Map 2: Ancient Italy showing approximate locations of ethnic groups



Map 3: Ancient Italy showing burial practices



Tomb of the Reliefs, Cerveteri, 4th century B.C. Around the pillars and walls are plaster images of household items, helmets, swords, greaves, and shields, which may suggest that some of the deceased were warriors. Tools and other everyday items tell about the Etruscans' daily lives. On the central couch are the underworld characters Charon and Cerberus.

In addition, tomb gifts became more numerous and more elaborate. Often, imported luxury items such as ivory and amber have been found in these graves. Pottery changed too; clay was more refined, and vessel shapes were more varied and often decorated. Figural designs became more common with the importation of highly ornate models from Greece and the Near East.

As urbanization continued, the Etruscans exploited the considerable agrarian and mineral wealth of central Italy and expanded from their Tuscan homeland—the territory between the Arno River on the north and the Tiber on the east and south—into the Po River Valley, the islands of Elba and Corsica, and the Bay of Naples region. This expansion began in the seventh century but continued throughout the sixth century B.C. They traded agricultural commodities and metals, especially copper and iron, extensively with their Italic neighbors and also with the Greeks, Phoenicians, and Egyptians. The Etruscans established important emporia and the first vineyards in southern France, traded with the Celts, and sent goods as far north as Scandinavia.

## LIFESTYLE

No extensive documentary evidence in the form of written histories or inscriptions survives, making it difficult to develop a distinct idea about the daily lives and beliefs of the people of ancient Etruria. It is necessary to rely on the remains deposited in their cemeteries and a few relatively

well-preserved habitation and sanctuary sites. The wealth, cosmopolitanism, and love of luxury of this remarkable culture that flourished for roughly five hundred years are reflected in their elaborate subterranean chamber tombs filled with expensive and exotic goods. Etruscan objects, both works of art and artifacts found mainly in tomb deposits, now form a significant part of many collections of Classical antiquities in museums throughout the world. That of the Metropolitan Museum, as it is such a large and important collection, provides a major contribution to our understanding of Etruscan culture.

In addition to the abundant archaeological record harvested from their enormous cemeteries, some perceptions about the Etruscans appear in writings of ancient Greek and Latin authors. For example, in *Deipnosophistai* (The Learned Banquet), written in the late second century A.D. but paraphrasing Greek authors primarily of the fourth century B.C., Athenaeus recorded his impressions of Etruscan liberal sexual habits, open-minded social customs, and extravagant love of luxury (*truphe*). He also referenced the Etruscans' use of razors and patronage of a version of barber shop.<sup>4</sup>

The archaeological record provides an ample indication of the Etruscan interest in personal hygiene and appearance. The frequency of bronze razors in Villanovan and some later Etruscan tombs is mentioned below. They also used ointment and cosmetic containers, combs, perfume dipsticks and applicators, and mirrors (see Chapter VI). Strigils, which were used for scraping sweat and dirt from the skin after exercise, have been found in many tombs, including those of women

(see 6.28). In addition, the Etruscans had dentists and even bridgework.<sup>5</sup> A strong interest in health and medicine seems evident from the many deposits of accurate anatomical votives in healing springs and sanctuaries throughout Etruscan territory. If one can judge from the specific types of votives deposited in these sanctuaries, some appear to have “specialized” in treatments for specific ailments, for example terracotta votive eyes are abundant at Bolsena.<sup>6</sup>

The Etruscans’ interest in music is well attested in their art.<sup>7</sup> Double flutes (*auloi*) are depicted in many works and are specifically shown accompanying food preparations, banqueting, dancing, sporting events, and military activities.

From the evidence found in Villanovan burials, it is apparent that, in many cases, attention was paid to the role the deceased had in life. For example, men who were warriors are often buried with helmets, either of bronze (see 5.24) or terracotta. Clearly, a terracotta helmet was a symbol of the deceased’s status in society as a member of the warrior class. Sometimes weapons also are included in these cremation burials; they can be real or symbolic (for example, the later miniature armor and weapons, see 5.31, 5.32). Another item associated with men is the bronze razor (see 3.19), which is a Villanovan item not found in most later Etruscan burials. These razors certainly were used during the lifetimes of their owners, as many show signs of repair. They often might have been worn attached to or suspended from a bronze fibula and perhaps were an indication of status. These razors probably were not used to shave hair but only to trim it, and it is not clear if they were used only to trim beards or hair on the head. It is not known whether most Villanovan men were clean-shaven, because the relatively few figural sculptures they produced are too abstract to distinguish beards. There is ample evidence from depictions on vases and sculpture that Etruscan men wore beards by the second half of the seventh century B.C., a style that continued until the fifth century B.C., when it became fashionable for Etruscan men to cut their hair short and shave their beards. That new style continued through the Etrusco-Hellenistic period, when, if we can judge from fresco paintings, very few men wore beards.<sup>8</sup> In the Villanovan period, a small number of male burials also contain elaborate horse bits (see 3.18). It is likely that relatively few men owned horses, and they were certainly a status symbol in later times.

Women often were buried with simple weaving implements such as spindle whorls, bobbins, and distaffs. Weaving was a major responsibility of Villanovan women, as it also was for later Etruscan and Roman women. They might also be buried with various items of simple jewelry and small sets of pottery. Bronze fibulae or pins (see Chapter III) are the most frequent items found in Villanovan cremation burials of both sexes. In fact, the specific type of fibula is often an indicator of the sex of the deceased (see 3.8, a type for women).

## LANGUAGE

In popular culture, the Etruscan language is one of the great unsolved mysteries of the ancient world. Scholars cannot read Etruscan as easily as ancient Greek, Latin, or even Egyptian hieroglyphs. However, even over two hundred years ago, Italian scholars were able to read Etruscan quite well.<sup>9</sup> A major problem is the relative lack of primary sources. Although about 14,000 inscriptions have survived, they are almost exclusively single names of mythical characters (as engraved on mirrors, for example) or short funerary inscriptions that convey only basic information—the deceased’s name, family connections, and sometimes age at death (see the inscriptions painted on cinerary urns, Chapter VI).

Such information is valuable, but it does not constitute a full literary legacy with texts in verse and prose, describing their history, culture, and way of life. Yet Etruscan art has many examples of people holding scrolls, writing on tablets, or examining various texts. Additionally, Latin and Greek sources recount that there were Etruscan playwrights<sup>10</sup>—for example, Varro<sup>11</sup> mentioned one Volnius—as well as numerous religious texts, even though little of those works survives.<sup>12</sup> It is impossible to know just how literate Etruscan society was, but given the frequency of inscriptions on mirrors and various wool-working implements, it seems that Etruscan women, who were the likely sex to use these objects, were among the most literate women in antiquity. One of the earliest alphabets and syllabaries was found in the tomb of an Etruscan woman, the bucchero flask in the Regolini-Galassi tomb at Caere, from about 650–625 B.C.<sup>13</sup>

Etruscan is a non-Indo-European language. The only other language of ancient Europe that also appears to be non-Indo-European is Raetian, but it is even less well understood than Etruscan. (The Raetians lived in Northern Italy and were considered by some ancient historians to be early Etruscans.) In some structural ways, the only modern European languages that bear a resemblance to Etruscan are Hungarian and Basque. The earliest known Etruscan inscriptions (ca. 700–675 B.C.) are from Tarquinia, Caere, and Vulci, coastal cities in Southern Etruria that attest to the influence of Greek commerce on the development of literacy in Etruscan territory.

The Etruscans adopted the alphabet, perhaps as early as about 725–700 B.C., from the Euboean Greeks who had colonized towns like Pithekoussai and Cumae in the Bay of Naples area (see Map 1). The twenty-six letters of the Etruscan alphabet are inscribed on a fascinating seventh-century B.C. Etruscan vase in the shape of a cockerel in the Museum’s collection, which is illustrated in this chapter (2.1). This small but important vase might have been a container for ink. (Near the end of the alphabet one notices that the letter S has been repeated twice; the second S should look



Detail of 2.1 showing the letters of the Etruscan alphabet



2.1

### 2.1 Vase in the shape of a cockerel

Etruscan, said to be from Viterbo, bucchero, ca. 630–620 B.C., height: 4 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (10.3 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1924 (24.97.21a, b)

LITERATURE: Alexander, "Classical Inscriptions," 1925, fig. 3; Neppi Modona, "Il nuovo monumento epigrafico protoetrusco," 1926, pp. 504ff, figs. 8a–c; Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca*, 1935, pl. 48, 5; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 13, figs. 46–48; Banti, *Etruscan Cities*, 1973, pp. 277–78, no. 93a, pl. 93; G. Bonfante and L. Bonfante, *Etruscan Language*, 1983, pp. 108–9, figs. 13a, b; Pandolfini and Prosdocimi, *Alfabetari e insegnamento della scrittura in Etruria*, 1990, pp. 22–23, no. 1.3, pl. IV; Jucker, *Italy of the Etruscans*, 1991, p. 200, under nos. 262, 263; *Les Étrusques e l'Europe*, 1992, p. 148, no. 204, ill. pp. 86, 87; Bagnasco Gianni, *Oggetti iscritti di epoca orientalizzante in Etruria*, 1996, pp. 198–99, no. 183; Sassatelli, "Il principe e la pratica," 2000, pp. 311–12, ill.; Christopher S. Lightfoot in Torelli, *Etruscans*, 2000, p. 616, no. 250, ill. p. 476; G. Bonfante and L. Bonfante, *Etruscan Language*, 2002, pp. 133–34, figs. 14a–c; Borrelli and Targia, *Etruscans*, 2004, p. 33, ill.; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 469, no. 318, ill. p. 275; Gran Aymerich, "Les Étrusques," 2008, pp. 105, 106, fig. 5a

### 2.2 Alabastron (perfume vase)

Etruscan, Etrusco-Corinthian, terracotta, ca. 600 B.C., height: 5 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (13.5 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1926 (26.60.94)

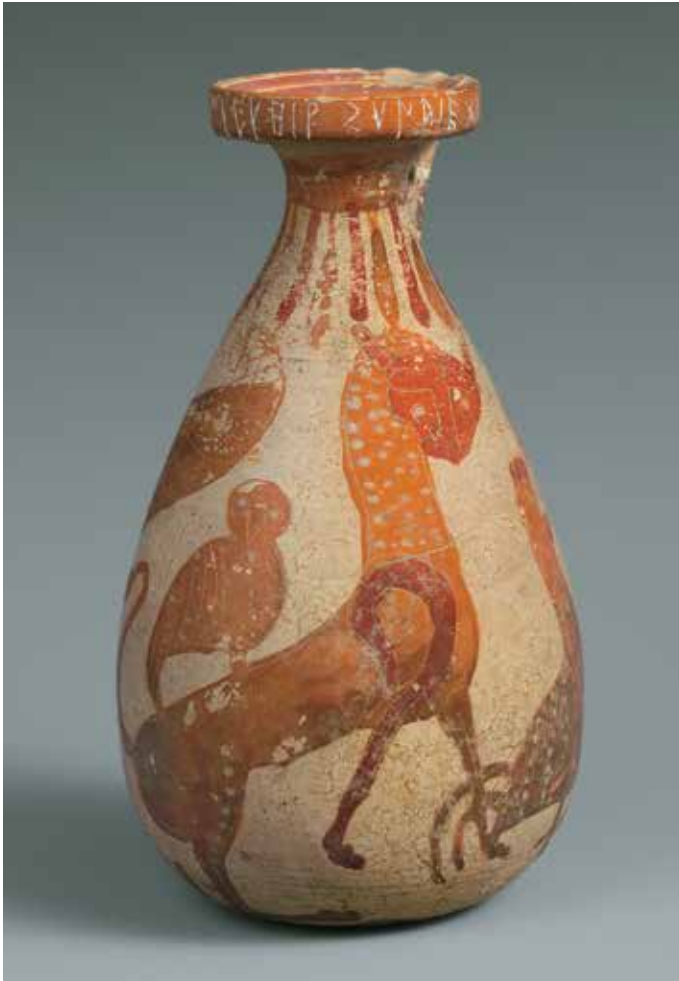
LITERATURE: Fiesel, "Zwei neue Vaseninschriften," 1936, pl. XXXII; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, pp. 12, 13–14, fig. 42; Szilágyi, *Ceramica etrusco-corinzia figurate*, 1998, p. 366, n. 231 (believes the vase is not Etrusco-Corinthian, but offers no explanation for this opinion)

The frieze shows a large sphinx, a lion, and two birds, one of whom perches on the lion's back.

### 2.3 Fragmentary shallow bowl

Etruscan black-gloss, said to come from Terriccio, west of Volterra, ca. 3rd century B.C. Purchase, 1896 (96.9.217)

LITERATURE: Gamurrini, *Corpus Inscriptionum Italicarum*, 1880, no. 52, pl. III; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, pp. 54, 58, n. 27; Rix, *Etruskische Texte*, 1991, p. 146, no. Vt 2.20



2.2



2.3

like an X.) The head acts as a stopper and could be attached to the bird's body by a cord. The missing tail no doubt curved downward to form a third foot.<sup>14</sup>

As time passed, various changes were made to the alphabet, changes that suited Etruscan needs. For example, the Etruscans used only four vowels (a, e, i, u) and, therefore, never used the letter *o*. Roman writers such as Pliny knew this when they stated that "some peoples of Italy have no letter *o*, and use the letter *u* instead, specifically the Etruscans and the Umbrians."<sup>15</sup> Other Greek letters were retained in Etruscan model alphabets but were not used in inscriptions.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, the Etruscans needed a letter for a sound the Greeks did not use, *f*. For that sound, they added a letter that looks like our figure 8 but is pronounced *f*. For an example, see the inscription on cinerary urn 6.90b. To summarize the basics of Etruscan grammar, like Latin, Etruscan is an inflected language, that is, the endings of nouns, pronouns, and verbs change to indicate singular or plural. There are also six cases that correspond to the nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, ablative, and locative in languages such as Latin and Greek.

Most of the Etruscan inscriptions on the Museum's objects are simply proper names of either real people or mythological characters, and these follow recognizable basic rules.<sup>17</sup> Numerous inscriptions on mirrors, vases, and gems record



only the names of characters represented. The painted or incised inscriptions that appear on many Etruscan vases in a variety of fabrics often consist of only a single letter, perhaps an indication of price or workshop (similar to a modern trademark). Other types of inscriptions record a gift to another person or to a divinity (a votive offering). For example, the dedicatory inscription incised on the rim of the alabastron illustrated here (2.2) reads: MI LICINESĪ MULU HIRSUNAIEŚĪ (I have been given by Licinie Hirsunaie). Further, some inscriptions indicate ownership. The group of three unpretentious fragments from the floor of a shallow black-gloss bowl seen here (2.3) is incised with a short Etruscan inscription made after the vase had been fired. In this case, the inscription records the name of the owner: TARXNTEŚ (of Tarchnte), a name connected with the city of Tarquinii. Tarchnte, or his family, originally might have been from that city and, at some point, migrated north to the Volterra area, according to the proposed provenance of this object. These last two kinds are often called *iscrizioni parlanti* (speaking inscriptions) because they address the reader directly, as if the object itself is speaking.

The Museum's collection includes a large group of objects inscribed *śuthina* (for the tomb). This is exemplified by the magnificent incense burner shown here (2.4), which features the figure of Marsyas, the ill-fated satyr who dared to challenge Apollo to a contest of music, inevitably lost, and was punished by the god for his hubris by being flayed alive. The shaft of this utensil indicates the tree to which Marsyas was bound in preparation for his fate. His right leg is inscribed with the Etruscan word *śuthina*, a funerary custom indicating that the object was dedicated as a tomb offering. For several other inscriptions of this type, see the Bolsena tomb group, Chapter VI.

#### 2.4 Bronze thymiaterion (incense burner) with Marsyas

Etruscan, ca. 325–290 B.C., height: 21 in. (53.3 cm). Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971 (1972.118.87)

LITERATURE: Ambrosini, *Thymiateria etrusci in bronzo*, 2002, p. 276, no. 319, pl. 85; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 475, no. 354, ill. p. 302

Thymiateria and candelabra most often have figural decoration as a finial. This example also includes three theater masks between the legs, which perhaps refer to the histrionic nature of the main subject; flutes, the musical instruments that caused Marsyas' demise, attached just above his head; and a snake coiling up the tree-trunk-like shaft toward a human head. The significance of the last two images is unknown. Below each of the four birds (doves?) on the incense container is a small attachment that originally might have held a chain, perhaps holding additional small bronze birds.



## BELIEF SYSTEM

According to a number of Greek and Roman authors, the Etruscans were the most devout religious and superstitious people of classical antiquity. In his influential history of Rome, Roman historian Livy (59/64 B.C.–17 A.D.) wrote: “The Etruscan communities, deeply learned as they were in sacred lore of all kinds, were more concerned than any other nation with religious matters.”<sup>18</sup> And Arnobius of Sicca (died ca. 330), an Early Christian apologist, wrote: “Etruria, the creator and mother of superstition.”<sup>19</sup> In this regard, the first-century Roman philosopher and politician Seneca (ca. 4 B.C.–65 A.D.) provided an insightful contrast between the Romans and the Etruscans: “We [Romans] believe that lightning is released as a result of the collision of clouds, but they [the Etruscans] believe that clouds collide so as to cause lightning. For since they attribute everything to the will of the gods, they believe not that things have a meaning insofar as they occur, but rather that they occur because they must have a meaning.”<sup>20</sup> This distinction is critical; it suggests that the gods communicate continually with humans through a wide variety of signs or omens. As a result, Etruscan priests developed a highly complex system to interpret these messages, whether they appeared as lightning bolts or distant thunder, the flight of birds, or the markings on a sacrificial animal’s liver. Prophecy and predestination were central features of Etruscan religion.

Using literary and archaeological evidence, modern scholars have made valiant attempts to reconstruct one of the most complex and arcane religions of the ancient world. We know, from various Latin authors as well as a number of relevant works of Etruscan art, that Etruscan religion was a revealed religion that derived from a founding prophet. The story, perhaps best reported by Cicero in *de Divinatione* (composed ca. 44 B.C.), goes that one day at Tarquinia, a farmer ploughed up an infant in his field, but this was no ordinary child for he had the head of an old man and spoke as an adult. He was the miraculous prophet Tages, who soon recited or sang a long text, fortunately recorded on the spot by the local king, which became the *Etrusca disciplina*—the basis for all Etruscan religious practice and belief, and a major part of their legacy to the Romans.<sup>21</sup> The belief in fate or predestination was another significant part of this religious system. For example, each year, the Etruscans drove a nail into the wooden doorjamb of a temple to signify the finality and irrevocability of the year just passed. The Romans, who inherited many of their religious ideas and practices from the Etruscans, continued this ritual. To summarize, based on the evidence provided by various Greek and Latin writers, we learn that the Etruscans believed everything had a pre-determined life span: individuals, towns and cities, even nations and peoples.<sup>22</sup>

## ETRUSCAN DIVINITIES

The Etruscans—and most of their Mediterranean neighbors, including the Greeks, Romans, Phoenicians, and Egyptians—believed that there were numerous divinities. The chart that appears on the next page compares the names of the most common deities in Greek, Etruscan, and Roman religion. It shows that a number of gods had similar names. For example, the name for Apollo is virtually identical in all three cultures, indicating that both the Etruscans and the Romans imported the concept of Apollo from the Greek world. In Etruria and Greece, this god’s attributes, and many of his functions, are identical. In other cases, for example Heracle, the Etruscan version of Herakles or Hercules, there are important differences, albeit a similarity of name and iconography. To the Etruscans, Heracle was considered always divine, not a hero who became divine only after his death. A popular figure, he was worshipped in numerous Etruscan sanctuaries, and he functioned as an oracular and healing god, qualities less important for the Greek Herakles. Representations of these and other gods are frequent on Etruscan objects and are well represented on the engraved bronze mirrors and statuettes, *cistae* (toiletries boxes), and carved gems in the Museum’s collection.

On many works of art, the depictions of gods are identified by inscriptions, for example, on engraved bronze mirrors and carved gemstones. But on most artistic works produced by the Etruscans, we rely on iconographical associations or attributes to identify these deities. For example, Heracle (Greek Herakles) is often depicted with the lion skin of the Nemean Lion, which he killed in his first labor, or with a club. Often, he is shown nude and beardless. Menrva (Latin Minerva) is depicted armed with spear and shield, wearing the gorgon breastplate and a helmet. She is never shown nude, but in Etruscan art (unlike Greek or Roman art), she often has wings. Of course, inscriptions and attributes also help to identify heroes and other characters from Etruscan myth and legend. Sometimes these attributes are omitted or changed from what we usually encounter, and this leads to a variety of interpretations and sometimes leaves us with no clear and certain identification.

Included here are two scarabs in the Museum’s collection that vividly exemplify the Etruscans’ use of inscriptions as identifiers of their mythological figures. The superb gem 2.5 shown on p. 25 on the left depicts the Greek hero Kapaneus, from the legend of the Seven Against Thebes, being struck by Zeus’ thunderbolt. Although the thunderbolt is not shown, Kapaneus is clearly identified by the Etruscan inscription whose five letters, CAPNE, follow the upper arc of the tondo. The hero has fallen to his knees but lifts his head to the sky. The large shield on his right arm helps support his weight. A broken lance falls from his left hand. This subject is popular

## Major Divinities in Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Religion

GREEK	ETRUSCAN	ROMAN
<b>Major (“Olympian”) Divinities</b>		
Zeus	Tin (or Tinia)	Jupiter
Zeus?	Veltune?	Voltumna (or Vertumnus)
Hera	Uni	Juno
Poseidon	Nethuns	Neptunus
Hephaistos	Sethlans	Vulcanus
Athena	Menrva (or Menerva)	Minerva
Demeter	Vei (?)	Ceres
Aphrodite	Turan	Venus
Eros	Turnu	Cupid
Ares?	Laran	Mars?
Hermes	Turms	Mercurius
Apollon	Aplu (or Apulu)	Apollo
Artemis	Artumes (or Aritimi)	Diana
—	Mariś	Genius?
Dionysos	Fufluns (or Pacha)	Bacchus
<b>Hero Divinities</b>		
Dioskouroi:	Tinias Cliniar:	Dioscuri:
Kastor/Polydeukes	Castur/Pultuce	Castor/Pollux
Herakles	Hercle	Hercules
<b>Cosmic Divinities</b>		
Helios	Usil	Sol
Selene	Tiur (or Tiv/Tivr)	Luna
—	Culśanś	Janus
Eos	Thesan	Aurora
Gaia	Cel	Tellus (or Terra Mater)
Nux?	Cilens	Nocturnus?
—	Selvans	Silvanus
<b>Underworld Divinities/Characters</b>		
Persephone (or Kore)	Phersipnei (or Calu)	Proserpina
Hades	Aita	Pluto
Rhadamanthys?	Rathmtr	Rhadamanthus?
Charon	Charu/Charun	Charon



### 2.5 Scarab

Etruscan, carnelian, Populonia, ca. 480–450 B.C., height:  $\frac{9}{16}$  in. (1.5 cm), width:  $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (2.3 cm). Rogers Fund, 1948 (48.11.1)

LITERATURE: Richter, “Etruscan Scarab,” 1948, ill.; Richter, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 164, no. 163, pl. XXVII (2006 ed., colorpl. 10); Zazoff, *Etruskische*

*Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 173, no. 833; Krauskopf, *Der Thebanische Sagenkreis*, 1974, pl. 18, 1; Ingrid Krauskopf in *LIMC*, vol. 5 (1990), “Kapaneus,” p. 957, no. 32, pl. 608; Rix, *Etruskische Texte*, 1991, p. 362, no. Po G.1



### 2.6 Scarab with Peleus

Etruscan, banded agate, ca. 500–450 B.C., height:  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (0.6 cm), length:  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (1.2 cm), width:  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (0.8 cm). Bequest

of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941 (41.160.507)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 170, no. 170, pl. XXVIII; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*,

1968, p. 171, no. 798; Rainer Vollkommer in *LIMC*, vol. 7 (1994), “Peleus,” p. 253, no. 8

on gems, and CAPNE is inscribed on at least three others. For another engraved gem of the subject in the Museum’s collection, see 7.78 in Chapter VII.<sup>23</sup>

The banded agate scarab 2.6 shown above right is an excellent example of how critical an inscription can be in determining the true intentions of the artist and correctly identifying the legendary character depicted. A nude youth, bending toward the left, holds a stick(?) in both hands, while a small dog-like creature jumps up to grasp it. Without the accompanying inscription, this simply would be interpreted as a playful genre scene. But the inscription, PELE, is the Etruscan name of the Greek hero Peleus, the father of Achilles. Therefore, the “dog” is really a lion from the story of the adventures of Peleus on Mount Pelion, where he defeated various beasts and monsters, an accomplishment that happened before his marriage to Thetis.

## FROM ETRURIA TO ROME

Diodorus Siculus, a Greek writer who composed a lengthy history in the mid-first century B.C., stated: “In general [the Etruscans] have abandoned the valiant steadfastness that they so prized in former days, and by their indulgence in banquets and effeminate delights they have lost the reputation which their ancestors won in war.”<sup>24</sup>

By the Etrusco-Hellenistic period (ca. 330–100 B.C.), the ostentatious display of wealth and luxurious lifestyle that characterized the contents of numerous Etruscan tombs of the seventh through mid-fourth centuries B.C. had become less common. The economic wealth and military strength of the Etruscans were in decline. That decline happened over a period of many years and is a complicated history of shifting fortunes. Sometimes, the Etruscans dominated the Romans, for example when they established a monarchy in Rome itself (traditionally dated from 616 to 509 B.C.). At times, they were allies (for instance, against the Gauls in 225 B.C.), but throughout most of the Etrusco-Hellenistic period, the

Etruscan cities were being absorbed slowly into the Roman state. By the early first century B.C., the Etruscans had lost all independence. But they had been awarded the rights of Roman citizenship.

## THE QUESTION OF THE ORIGIN OF THE ETRUSCANS

Although Etruscologists now have largely relegated the problem of Etruscan origins to an antiquarian footnote, to the general public it remains one of the most persistent questions about the Etruscans. Even in antiquity, this was a contentious topic. The first-century B.C. Greek historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus provided an excellent summary of ancient theories on the question of the origin of the Etruscans.<sup>25</sup> He explained that earlier authors, including Herodotus, developed, or perhaps simply repeated, elaborate stories that traced the Etruscans back to Lydia in Asia Minor, an area that roughly corresponds to modern western central Turkey. Herodotus wrote:

The story is that in the reign of Atys, the son of Manes, the whole of Lydia suffered from a severe famine . . . so the King divided the population into two groups and determined by drawing lots which should emigrate and which should remain at home. He appointed himself to rule the section whose lot determined that they should remain, and his son Tyrrhenus to command the emigrants. The lots were drawn, and one section went down to the coast at Smyrna, where they built vessels, put aboard all their household effects and sailed in search of a livelihood elsewhere. They passed many countries and finally reached Umbria in the north of Italy, where they settled and still live to this day. Here they changed their name from Lydians to Tyrrhenians, after the king’s son Tyrrhenus, who was their leader.<sup>26</sup>



Montepulciano. Series of Etrusco-Hellenistic cinerary urns incorporated into the façade of the Palazzo Bucelli on Via Roma. The cinerary urns were collected by Pietro Bucelli during the eighteenth century. All are made of travertine and represent stylistic types associated with nearby Chiusi, where they were probably made. Most have Etruscan inscriptions, but some with Latin inscriptions show the increased influence of Rome during this late period. Photograph by Richard De Puma

In this account, a natural calamity forced half the population to seek a better life abroad. There is no mention of resistance from any native inhabitants of Italy who might have been threatened by the arrival of foreign settlers. Instead, as a tribute to their leader, the immigrants adopted his name, the name that the Greeks had for the people we call Etruscan. One of the most appealing aspects of this theory is that a good deal of Archaic Etruscan art resembles art of ancient Asia Minor. But it has been argued that this simply might have been the result of cultural influence rather than evidence of a migration.

For his part, Dionysius of Halicarnassus rejected this theory of Lydian origins as well as one associated with another fifth-century B.C. historian, Hellanicus, equating the Etruscans with the Pelasgians, a legendary group of sailors.<sup>27</sup> Dionysius believed that the Etruscans were indigenous to Italy. He based that idea on the fact that their language and many of their customs seemed so different from the other cultures he knew, writing: “Indeed, those probably come nearest to the truth who declare that the [Tyrrhenian] nation migrated from nowhere else, but was native to the country, since it is found to be a very ancient nation and to agree with no other either in its language or in its manner of living.”<sup>28</sup>

Dionysius of Halicarnassus was not the only ancient scholar who believed that the Etruscans were indigenous. He stated: “As regards these Tyrrhenians, some declare them to be natives of Italy, but others call them foreigners.”<sup>29</sup> Unfortunately, he did not cite any of these other authorities, but he did later speak of a fifth-century B.C. historian, Xanthus of

Lydia, who was “as well acquainted with ancient history as any man and who may be regarded as an authority second to none on the history of his own country, [and yet he] neither names Tyrrhenus in any part of his history as a ruler of the Lydians nor knows anything of the landing of a colony of Maeonians [i.e., an earlier name for Lydians] in Italy.”<sup>30</sup>

It is unfortunate that we do not have more ancient accounts treating this question of Etruscan origins. For example, we learn from citations in other ancient writers that both Aristotle and Theophrastus wrote treatises on the Etruscans, but they do not survive.<sup>31</sup> We know that the Roman emperor Claudius (reigned A.D. 41–54) had written, in Greek, scholarly histories of both the Carthaginians and the Etruscans: “The city of Alexandria acknowledged these works by adding a new wing to the Museum called ‘The Claudian’ in his honour; and having the [twenty-volume] Etruscan history read aloud, in the manner of public recitations, from beginning to end once a year by relays of readers in the old wing; and the [eight volume] Carthaginian history, likewise, in the new.”<sup>32</sup>

What details of Etruscan history and legend might such a treatise, written at a time when many people still could read Etruscan, reveal? In any case, we must keep in mind that, despite appearances, the treatise of Dionysius of Halicarnassus is not an unbiased scientific study. Rather, as Dominique Briquel and others have demonstrated, Dionysius wrote his history for Greeks who had been conquered by Rome. He was attempting to make the Romans a more sympathetic group and therefore stressed their cultural

connections to Greece. In fact, his work is very much along the same lines as Virgil's *Aeneid*, a poem that traces the lineage of Rome through Aeneas to the Greek world. Dionysius, then, always tried to buttress Rome's connection to Greece and show that the Etruscans are definitely not Greeks nor could they have come from the Greek world. Thus, he rejected any earlier theories that claim Etruscan connections to the Lydians or the Pelasgians. For him, they are autochthonous and "barbarian," not (like the Romans) Greek.

The two basic theories of Etruscan origins, that they migrated from Asia Minor or that they were autochthonous, remained popular in modern times. With the growing awareness of Etruscan art brought about through increased archaeological exploration, many scholars noted cultural affinities with Anatolian or "Orientalizing" art. Thus, Herodotus's interpretation was championed by scholars such as Edoardo Brizio (1846–1907), who saw a vital difference between the relatively unsophisticated Villanovans and the culturally advanced Etruscans.<sup>33</sup> Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the idea that the Etruscans migrated from the Eastern Mediterranean was popular with both archaeologists and linguists. The 1885 discovery of an Etruscan-like inscription on Lemnos, an island in the north Aegean, strengthened that argument.

However, the indigenous theory of Dionysius of Halicarnassus also had its champions. Both Eduard Meyer (1855–1930) and Giacomo Devoto (1887–1974) used their considerable linguistic skills to demonstrate that the Etruscan language represents "a relic of older pre-Indo-European populations."<sup>34</sup> The fact that Dionysius claimed that the Etruscans called themselves Rasenna after one of their early leaders<sup>35</sup> led some eighteenth-century scholars to connect that name with the Alpine Raetians. This suggested a third theory, that originally, the Etruscans might have entered Italy from the north by crossing the Alps. Indeed, later archaeological discoveries in central Europe showed some strong affinities with Villanovan artifacts and cremation rituals found in Italy. They were, in fact, both Urnfield cultures.

There have been many attempts to resolve the thorny question of Etruscan origins. Massimo Pallottino (1909–1995), the most important Etruscologist of the twentieth century, offered this comment:

Each of the [three] theories . . . seeks a satisfactory explanation for the evidence of [ancient literary] tradition, of linguistic research and of archaeology in order to reconstruct the sequence of events that led to the establishment and development of the Etruscan people. They are in fact ingenious combinations of the various known elements, but they only partially satisfy the demands that a full, critical evaluation of these elements makes. Each of

the three systems and their variants leaves something unexplained or comes up against well-established facts, without however helping in any way the other possible reconstructions. Had this not been the case, the discussion would have ended long ago with a working agreement among scholars, and the debate would not have arrived at a dead end.<sup>36</sup>

DNA analysis offers some hope of resolving the question of Etruscan origins. The fundamental problem is that the basic materials required for analysis, excavated Etruscan skeletal remains, are in short supply. Through much of their history, especially in the formative Villanovan period, cremation was practiced widely (see Map 3). When inhumations are discovered, the bones are usually fragmentary, and the DNA can be incomplete and contaminated. Much of the skeletal material was recovered long before anyone knew about DNA and therefore, proper procedures for isolating material from modern DNA were not followed. (Some early excavators simply discarded the human remains as unwanted, and some still do.) Another problem is that by the Archaic Period, it is probable that there was already considerable intermarriage and intermixing of genetic pools.

Attempts to answer the question of Etruscan origins require the skills of several disciplines—genetics, anthropological genetics, statistics, and archaeology. The opinion of this author is summarized in the next sentences and, like almost all Etruscologists today, agrees with that of Pallottino stated above. Archaeologically, Etruscan culture shows no sign of having been transplanted to Italy. Rather it grows organically from the foundations that evolved from Villanovan times. The process was gradual and probably has more to do with new trade contacts that brought increased wealth to the Villanovans than with immigration.

Suffice it to direct the reader to a selection of literature on the subject.<sup>37</sup> My summary here is a response to one of the most frequently asked questions about the Etruscans, but, to quote T. J. Cornell, it can be considered a "footnote" in the following sense:

The archaeological evidence now available shows no sign of any invasion, migration, or colonization in the eighth century and the artistic trend we call "orientalizing" . . . is more satisfactorily explained by trade and exchange . . . the formation of Etruscan civilization occurred in Italy by a gradual process, the final stages of which can be documented in the archaeological record from the ninth to the seventh centuries B.C. . . . For this reason the problem of Etruscan origins is nowadays (rightly) relegated to a footnote in scholarly accounts.<sup>38</sup>



# Proto-Etruscan (Villanovan) and Italic Art

(ca. 900–600 B.C.)

Who wants object-lessons about vanished races? What one wants is a contact.  
The Etruscans are not a theory or a thesis. If they are anything, they are an *experience*.

—D. H. Lawrence, *Etruscan Places*<sup>t</sup>

Archaeological discoveries have added much to our understanding of the complex amalgam of different ethnic groups that constitute pre-Roman Italy. Perhaps the most significant impetus happened in 1853, when an accidental discovery led to the completely unexpected recovery of a proto-Etruscan culture. This early material was named Villanovan by Italian archaeologist Count Giovanni Gozzadini (1810–1887). As mentioned in Chapter II, Gozzadini believed he had stumbled on the remains of the earliest Etruscan culture, a belief that was debated energetically during much of the second half of the nineteenth century. Today, most scholars, including the present author, believe that Gozzadini was correct. In fact, numerous Villanovan sites have been excavated, and the culture is documented throughout modern Tuscany and also at sites along the Adriatic, in Campania, and even in northeastern Sicily. Notably, the period of transition from Bronze Age to Iron Age (tenth to ninth century B.C.) roughly corresponds to the time when, according to ancient writers, including Varro and Servius, the Etruscans believed their nation came into existence. This was the beginning of the *nomen etruscum*, what might be called an Etruscan cultural identity.

Villanovan culture is revealed most clearly by the rich contents found in their cemeteries. Additionally, a number of settlements have provided important evidence. Archaeologists have noted a gradual change from inhumation to cremation during the so-called Recent or Late Bronze Age (twelfth century B.C.). This change in burial customs seems to have spread from the foothills of the Alps south to all the sites later occupied by the Etruscans in Central and Southern Italy. The map of Italy illustrated in Chapter II on page 17 (Map 3) shows the areas of the peninsula where cremation and inhumation predominated. They roughly correspond to the areas of Etruscan and non-Etruscan occupation (Italic, including

Latin and Sabine). Of course, that does not mean that everyone in a given area during that period practiced one type of burial. There were always exceptions, but most people in Etruria, for example, cremated their dead and buried the ashes in urns. In contrast, most people occupying Eastern and Southern Italy inhumed their dead in rectangular trenches, the so-called *fossa* (Italian for hole or pit) burials.

The characteristics of Villanovan culture are evident in their burials. An individual, whether male or female, was cremated, the ashes and bone fragments deposited in a terracotta, or more rarely bronze, urn. The terracotta urns were hand-built of unrefined clay and fired at a relatively low temperature. They are almost always of biconical shape, which resembles two truncated cones placed base to base. They often have two horizontal handles, but one is usually broken off, perhaps as part of a funerary ritual. The urns may be decorated with incised or stamped abstract geometric motifs. In many cases, a small inverted bowl or dish acts as a lid, but some examples, presumably those for adult males, are topped with clay or bronze helmets (see 5.24). The urn and its lid were finally deposited in a cylindrical hole similar to a shallow well (Italian *tomba a pozzo*). In some cases, the bottom of the hole might be paved with stones or pebbles, and occasionally, slabs of stone provide a box-like container for the vessel. At several burials in Tarquinia and Cerveteri, the urns are placed in large lidded containers made of tuff, a type of rock composed of compacted volcanic ash. The earliest cremations, roughly from the twelfth century B.C., have relatively few tomb gifts, but gradually we find that more objects were deposited with the basic cremation urn. These gifts might include small clay vases, bronze fibulae, spinning and weaving tools, razors, and some weapons (for example, see fibulae 3.2, 3.3, 3.5; razor 3.19; and vases 3.24, 3.28. The Museum does not have any spinning or weaving tools, or

weapons from the Villanovan period). Because several of these types of objects are appropriate for a specific gender, they provide information about the relative numbers of males and females in a given cemetery.

Almost all cremated remains were deposited in biconical urns, but approximately one percent were placed in so-called hut urns, which are almost always made of terracotta and replicate the actual houses of the living in small scale. Like the biconical urns, hut urns are often decorated with incised or stamped geometric ornament, and a few were painted. They could be used by both males and females, but because they are relatively rare, they probably were reserved for special members of society. It is not clear whether the special status of those individuals was a function of wealth, lineage, priestly appointment, or some other factor. Outlines of these ovoid or rectangular structures have been discovered in the archaeological record at several sites in Villanovan territory, but the hut urns remain the best evidence for reconstructing the original appearance of these early dwellings.

The Museum's collection does not include any terracotta biconical or hut urns. (For a bronze hut urn, now recognized as a modern pastiche, see 8.8.) This is perhaps unexpected, since they were easily obtained in the late nineteenth century, and a major supplier of Villanovan material, the Princeton archaeologist Arthur Lincoln Frothingham Jr., was well known at the Metropolitan and sold the Museum several other antiquities (see Chapter I).<sup>2</sup> Although today, the Villanovan objects from these tombs are often of significant archaeological value, they are of rather mediocre artistic merit. The Museum concentrated on individual Villanovan or Italic objects of high aesthetic value, usually of well-executed bronze or precious amber. Much of this early material was not properly appreciated or studied in American museums until many years after it had been acquired. At the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, almost fifty years passed before Edith Hall Dohan (1877–1943), a contemporary of Metropolitan curator Gisela Richter, published *Italic Tomb-Groups in the University Museum* (1942). The collections in Chicago were not systematically catalogued until 1972 and 1986.<sup>3</sup> Only small portions of the material in the museum in Berkeley, also collected in the 1890s, have been published.<sup>4</sup>

## VILLANOVAN (PROTO-ETRUSCAN), ETRUSCAN, AND ITALIC FIBULAE (SAFETY PINS) (Bronze Unless Otherwise Indicated)

Throughout their long history, the peoples of ancient Italy used fibulae to fasten their garments and display wealth or status. Most garments were made of homespun wool and consisted of simple untailed cloaks worn over the shoulders and fastened in place by a fibula. The fibula's size, complexity, and composition reflected its relative cost and therefore could express the status of the wearer. Metal fibulae, consisting of a pin, a spring and bow, and a clasp, are the ancestors of our modern safety pins. As is demonstrated by the works in the Museum's collection dating from the tenth to the early sixth century B.C. that are addressed in this chapter, most were made of bronze. As will be demonstrated later by additional fibulae in the Metropolitan from the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., examples were also produced in gold (for example, 7.9, 7.10, 7.38a), silver (7.39, 7.40b), and iron, and some might be embellished with other materials, especially amber (7.47a, b), bone (3.7a), ivory, or more rarely, glass (3.10a, b). Fibulae also support other decorative jewelry such as rings, chains, pendants, and disks.

These metal pins were often deposited with the deceased either as part of the cremated remains or, in the case of inhumation burials, with the clothed corpse. They evolved into a wide variety of types, and archaeologists have developed classifications that can help date them or determine regional workshops.

Fibulae also come in a wide range of sizes, from miniature examples, sometimes found with child burials, to very large and heavy varieties that were more symbolic than functional and were probably made only for use in the tomb (see 7.47a, b). Many cremation burials, for both adult males and females, have a pair of large fibulae accompanied by a smaller one.

Following are fibulae from the Villanovan and Early Etruscan periods that are of the several basic types represented in the Museum's collection. All are bronze, unless otherwise indicated. They are classified as Villanovan (Proto-Etruscan), Etruscan, or Italic. Several examples provide references to types categorized by Johannes Sundwall (1877–1966), the Scandinavian archaeologist whose magisterial study of Italic fibulae (*Die älteren italischen Fibeln*, 1943) is an important source for their typology, evolution, and chronology. Also included are references to types identified in a study by Anna Maria Bietti Sestieri in *La Necropoli laziale di Osteria dell'Osa* (1992). The fibulae that are listed herein but not illustrated can be viewed on the Museum's website ([www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org)), accessible by using the accession number of the object.





3.1

### DISK FIBULAE

Disk fibulae, in which the clasp is enlarged into an ovoid disk, have been found in both male and female burials throughout Central and Southern Italy.

#### 3.1 Disk-type fibula

Italic, 10th century B.C., length: 7½ in. (19 cm). Gift of Mrs. Grafton D. Dorsey, 1927 (27.142)

LITERATURE: Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 467, no. 306, ill. p. 268

The disk-type fibula is often associated with Terni, a site in southern Umbria. The distinctive “figure eight” repeated by the twisted bow is found on some fibulae of Late Mycenaean date, Late Helladic III C, ca. 1200 B.C.<sup>5</sup> An example was discovered at Pianello, just north of Gubbio in the Marche. There is a good deal of evidence to show that the Mycenaean traded with the Italic peoples, and the Museum’s fibula that, unlike the Greek examples, has a large disk may reflect a vestige of that early interaction.<sup>6</sup>

### SERPENTINE-TYPE FIBULAE

Serpentine fibulae, with their distinctive coiled bows, are found mostly with male burials and are common throughout Italy especially in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C.

#### 3.2 Serpentine-type fibula with spiral disk foot

Italic, 9th–8th century B.C., length: 4⅝ in. (11.7 cm). Rogers Fund, 1922 (22.139.85)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 5, fig. 22; Brendel, *Etruscan Art*, 1978, p. 31, fig. 11; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 467, no. 308, ill. p. 268

The perimeter of this disk is finely incised with delicate geometric ornaments in parallel bands (including tiny zigzags and chevrons). In the center are two swastikas, an early symbol often connected with the sun or fertility, and two smaller concentric squares with diagonal lines connecting their corners. The Museum has a similar disk-type fibula from the tenth century B.C. (Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan P. Rosen, 1991, 1991.171.22).<sup>7</sup>

The Museum’s collection includes five other bronze examples: Serpentine-type fibula with two rings. Villanovan, 9th century B.C. Length: 3<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (9.4 cm). Purchase, 1896 (96.9.325) Three serpentine-type disk fibulae. Villanovan, 9th century B.C. 96.9.362: length: 4<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (11.3 cm). Purchase, 1896. 1991.171.21: length: 4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (12 cm); 1991.171.23: length: 4<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (12.5 cm). Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan P. Rosen, 1991 (1991.171.21, .23). The disk of the second piece is engraved with very fine geometric lines.

Serpentine-type fibula. Etruscan, 8th century B.C. Length: 3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (8.6 cm). Purchase, 1896 (96.9.336).



3.2



3.3

### DRAGON-TYPE FIBULAE

Dragon fibulae are a later variant of the serpentine type and were also popular with men.

#### 3.3 Dragon-type fibula

Late Villanovan or Early Etruscan, ca. 700–650 B.C., length: 6<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (16.3 cm). Purchase, 1896 (96.9.356)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 325, no. 1028, ill.

The pronounced elongation of pin and clasp indicates a relatively late date for this type of fibula, which was popular with men.<sup>8</sup> Similar but less elongated versions were found in the so-called Tomb of the Warrior at Tarquinia, of about 700 B.C. That tomb, discovered in 1869, contained the skeleton of a man of about seventy years, equipped with elaborate armor, weapons, jewelry, and a large assemblage of pottery.<sup>9</sup>

#### 3.4a, b, c Three dragon-type fibulae

Italic, 7th–early 6th century B.C., lengths: A: 1991.171.17: 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (13.3 cm); B: 1991.171.16: 4<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (11.2 cm); C: 1991.171.18: 5<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (13.5 cm).

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan P. Rosen, 1991

The three fibulae shown here are excellent examples of a type of dragon fibula with elongated clasp and bow embellished by pairs of bronze bud-like knobs separately made and attached to the bow by a central spike. Parallel rows of five punch marks decorate the flat portion of the arch. Normally, only three or four pairs of knobs are used, but on two of our examples there are eight, no doubt a reflection of the original owner's status. The type<sup>10</sup> appears to have been confined to the ancient regions of Campania and Samnium in south-central Italy.

The Museum's collection also includes two bronze eighth-century B.C. Villanovan dragon-type fibulae: 1991.171.19, length: 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. [19 cm]; 1991.171.20, length: 4 in. [10.2 cm]; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan P. Rosen, 1991 (1991.171.19, .20).<sup>11</sup>

Note also two additional bronze dragon-type fibulae: Etruscan, ca. 700–650 B.C., 96.9.334: length: 4<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (11.3 cm); 96.9.345: length: 5<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (13.7 cm). Purchase, 1896

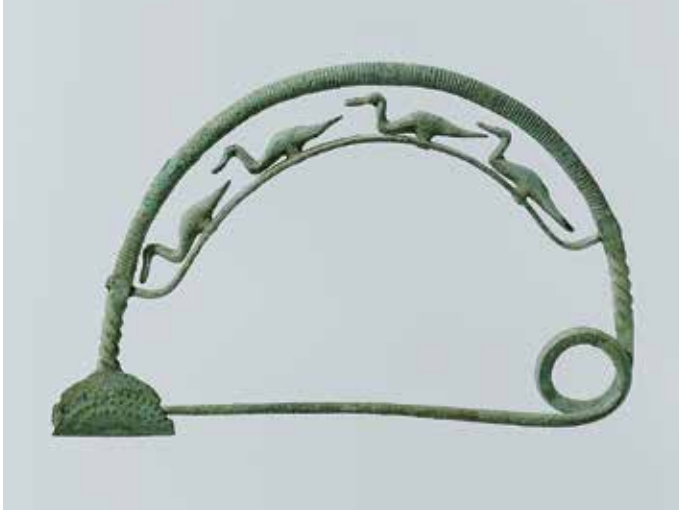
LITERATURE: 96.9.345: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 5, fig. 21

### BOW FIBULAE

Bow fibulae are distinguished by a simple solid metal arc and short pin. The bow is often undecorated but sometimes may be thickened and have striated geometric ornament. Bow fibulae seem to have been used by both men and women, although fibulae with striated bows are found more frequently in female burials.



3.4a, b, c



3.5

### 3.5 Bow fibula with four ducks

Villanovan, ca. 900 B.C., length: 5 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (13.7 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1926 (26.60.87)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 5, fig. 14; David Gordon Mitten in Kozloff, *Animals in Ancient Art*, 1981, p. 104, under no. 85; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 467, no. 307, ill. p. 268; Seán Hemingway in *Earth, Sea, and Sky*, 2012, pp. 107, 228–29, no. 7, ill.

This unusual fibula combines the typical bow fibula shape with delightful ornamental ducks swimming along the underside of the bow. David Gordon Mitten thought that this might be a modern pastiche, although he did not explain his reason for this opinion.<sup>12</sup> It is true that similar ducks appear frequently on other kinds of bronze objects in this period, but a close inspection of this fibula did not reveal any indication of modern tampering at the joins. In fact, a very similar fibula, originally with six birds rather than four, was discovered at Monte Primo (Macerata, south of Ancona) in the nineteenth century.<sup>13</sup> Both fibulae are constructed in the same distinctive manner, with perforations in the bow to support the wire on which the ducks swim. They both have a catch plate embossed with two concentric rows of dots and similar scoring on the bow.<sup>14</sup>

### 3.6 Bow Fibula with four rings

Italic, 9th century B.C., length: 5 $\frac{15}{16}$  in. (15.1 cm). Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan P. Rosen, 1991 (1991.171.29)

The arc of the bow is banded with deep parallel grooves on this fibula, and the clasp has an unusual extension that is bent back toward the bow to form a smaller arc above the clasp. A precise parallel for this example has not been located.

The Museum also has a bronze bow-type fibula with inverted clasp, Etruscan, 7th century B.C., length: 2 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (7 cm). Purchase, 1896 (96.9.330), and two additional bronze bow-type fibulae, Etruscan, early 7th century B.C., 96.9.349: length: 4 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (11.1 cm); 96.9.355: length: 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (8.9 cm). Purchase, 1896 (96.9.349, .355).



3.6

### NAVICELLA-TYPE FIBULAE

Navicella (Italian “little boat”) fibulae have arched bows with open undersides. They were used almost exclusively by females and date from the end of the ninth century B.C. onward. Both the navicella and sanguisuga (see below) fibula evolved from the simpler bow fibula, and both types were cast using the lost-wax process.

### 3.7a, b, c Three navicella-type fibulae

A: 96.9.364: Italic, 8th century B.C., bronze and bone, length: 3 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (8.7 cm). Purchase, 1896; B: 20.260: Etruscan, 7th century B.C., bronze, length: 6 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (15.6 cm). Rogers Fund, 1920; C: 1991.171.8: Villanovan, 8th century B.C., bronze, length: 2 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (6.7 cm). Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan P. Rosen, 1991

LITERATURE: 96.9.364: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 320, no. 992, ill.

A wide bone cylinder is fixed to the long clasp of the Museum’s pin 3.7a. On the exposed bronze portion of the clasp are incised zigzags and a swastika.

The deeply striated arc of the bow of the navicella fibula 3.7b is embellished with three small bosses on each side.<sup>15</sup> In addition, the Museum’s fibula 3.7c is similar to the previous example but without striations on the arc and with only two bosses.



3.7a



3.8

The following are additional bronze navicella-type fibulae in the Museum's collection that can be viewed on the Museum's website ([www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org)):

Navicella-type fibula. Villanovan, 9th–8th century B.C., length:  $2\frac{1}{16}$  in. (6.8 cm). Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan P. Rosen, 1991 (1991.171.28)

Two navicella-type fibulae. Etruscan, 8th century B.C. length:  $6\frac{5}{8}$  in. (16.8 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1925 (25.78.115a, b). Etruscan, 8th century B.C., length:  $3\frac{3}{4}$  in. (9.5 cm). Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan P. Rosen, 1991 (1991.171.6)

Navicella-type fibula with engraved bow. Etruscan, ca. 710–675 B.C., length:  $3\frac{15}{16}$  in. (10 cm). Purchase, 1896 (96.9.352).

### SANGUISUGA-TYPE FIBULAE

Sanguisuga ("leech") fibulae have arched bows with closed undersides. They were used almost exclusively by females from the end of the ninth century B.C. This is probably the most common type of fibula in the late Villanovan and Etruscan periods.

#### 3.8 Sanguisuga-type fibula

Italic, 8th–early 7th century B.C., length:  $3\frac{3}{8}$  in. (8.5 cm). Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan P. Rosen, 1991 (1991.171.3)

This example is close to a relatively common type used primarily by females.<sup>16</sup> The pin is missing.

#### 3.9a, b Two sanguisuga-type fibulae

Etruscan, 7th century B.C., A: 1991.171.4; length:  $4\frac{3}{4}$  in. (12 cm). Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan P. Rosen, 1991; B: 25.78.114; length:  $5\frac{13}{16}$  in. (14.8 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1925

Fibulae with long catchplates were first thought to reflect an influence from Greek models, especially Chalcidian designs at Cumae. More recently, however, evidence from Veii and Ischia demonstrates that the type originated and evolved in Etruria. Both these examples are decorated with finely engraved geometric ornaments; the smaller one (3.9b) is also ornamented with rows of small punch marks.



3.9a, b

#### 3.10a, b Two sanguisuga-type fibulae with glass paste bows

Etruscan, late 8th or early 7th century B.C., gold, length:  $3\frac{9}{16}$  in. (9 cm). A: 17.230.120; B: 17.230.121. Rogers Fund, 1917

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 5, fig. 15 (17.230.120); Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 469, no. 316, ill. p. 273



3.10a, b

Glass was a rare and expensive commodity in archaic Italy. A number of fibulae with bows made of glass paste have been excavated at Etruscan sites from Bologna to Veii, but all have bronze pins and catch-plates.<sup>17</sup> These unique examples are the only ones known to employ gold. Such fibulae must have enhanced their owner's status significantly.<sup>18</sup>

See also two bronze sanguisuga-type fibulae with long clasps: Etruscan, 7th century B.C., 96.9.322: length:  $4\frac{1}{16}$  in. (11.6 cm); 96.9.338: length:  $4\frac{1}{16}$  in. (10.3 cm). Purchase, 1896 (96.9.322, .338)

### SPIRAL-TYPE FIBULAE

Spiral fibulae are so-called because of their most characteristic feature, the twisted solid-cast bow. This type is almost always associated with female graves.

#### 3.11a, b Two spiral-type fibulae

Villanovan, 9th century B.C., A: 25.78.116: length:  $3\frac{3}{8}$  in. (8.6 cm); B: 25.78.117: length:  $3\frac{3}{8}$  in. (8.6 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1925

These two examples are almost identical. Both show the characteristic spirals of the twisted bow ending on either side in parallel striations.



3.11a, b

### ADDITIONAL BRONZE JEWELRY

#### 3.12a, b, c Three bracelets

A: 1991.171.51: Italic, 9th–8th century B.C., diameter:  $7\frac{1}{8}$  in. (18.1 cm). Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan P. Rosen, 1991; B: 1991.171.52: Italic, 9th–8th century B.C., twisted wire, diameter:  $4\frac{1}{16}$  in. (10.3 cm). Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan P. Rosen, 1991; C: 65.11.2: Italic, possibly Daunian, 8th century B.C., diameter:  $3\frac{3}{8}$  in. (9.8 cm). Rogers Fund, 1965

Shown here is the bronze bracelet 3.12a. It is composed of a flat undecorated spiral band that terminates in sharp points. The five rings are in graduated sizes. On 3.12b, a tightly coiled flat wire forms an attractive bracelet with five rings. A third bronze bracelet (3.12c) is decorated with a series of grouped vertical and diagonal engraved lines. Related examples have appeared at Tarquinia<sup>19</sup> and Vulci.<sup>20</sup>



3.12a



3.14a

### 3.13 Pendants in the form of paired human couples

Villanovan, 8th century B.C.,  
 1991.171.53: height: 1 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (3 cm);  
 1991.171.54: height: 1 $\frac{1}{8}$  in.  
 (4.2 cm); 1991.171.55: height:  
 1 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (2.9 cm). Gift of Mr. and  
 Mrs. Jonathan P. Rosen, 1991

The solid-cast bronze figures are depicted nude. They may represent a human couple or perhaps a divine pair such as Tinia and Uni, the later Etruscan versions of the Greek gods Zeus and Hera, who are often depicted as immortal lovers. Such small-scale sculptures show the influence of Greek Geometric art in their simple abstraction of the human form.<sup>21</sup>



3.13

### ADDITIONAL EARLY BRONZES

#### 3.14a, b Two shield bosses

Italic, 7th century B.C.; A: 1972.118.52: diameter: 8 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (22.1 cm); B: 1972.118.51: diameter: 9 $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (24 cm); Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971  
 Convex bronze disks, often with punched or incised ornament, were frequently attached to wooden, leather, or bronze shields. Many of the shields found in seventh-century B.C. Italic and Etruscan chamber tombs were probably made for ceremonial or funerary purposes; they are too fragile to have had any practical use in combat. Shown here is 3.14a, one of two similar Italic bronze examples in the Museum's collection (the other is 3.14b). It is perforated with four pairs of holes, perhaps for suspension or more likely for attachment to a wooden shield.<sup>22</sup>



3.15a

### 3.15a, b, c, d Four shield bosses

Etruscan, 7th century B.C., A: 12.163.3: diameter:  $3\frac{5}{16}$  in. (8.4 cm); B: 12.163.2: diameter:  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. (8.9 cm); C: 12.163.1: diameter:  $8\frac{3}{16}$  in. (20.8 cm). Rogers Fund, 1912; D: 18.145.23: diameter  $9\frac{1}{8}$  in. (23.2 cm). Rogers Fund, 1918

LITERATURE: 12.163.3: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 410, no. 1525, ill. p. 409. 12.163.2: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 410, no. 1524, ill. p. 409. 12.163.1: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 408–10, no. 1523, ill. 18.145.23: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 2, fig. 2

The shield boss seen here (3.15a) is one of two disks of similar size (with 3.15b) meticulously decorated with incised herringbone patterns and punched notches or raised dots, and with a single perforation at the center. Originally, they probably were attached to larger shields. Two larger pieces in the Museum's collection are included here.



3.16

### 3.16 Shield boss with fantastic animal frieze

Etruscan, ca. 650 B.C., diameter:  $4\frac{5}{16}$  in. (11 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.25)

LITERATURE: Hôtel Drouot, *Collection d'antiquités*, 1903, lot 340, ill. (drawing); Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 199, no. 531, ill.; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 9, fig. 23 A procession of fantastic hybrid animals, executed in shallow repoussé, moves from left to right around the central raised boss. There are four winged lions, three sphinxes, and one griffin. Although such creatures often symbolize authority or royal power in the ancient Near East, we cannot be certain that they had the same meaning for the Etruscans. At this early period, they simply might have been copied from Greek versions for their decorative and exotic appeal. Although clearly an Orientalizing object, this piece is included here with the other shield bosses.

### 3.17 Perforated disk

Italic, early 7th century B.C., diameter:  $5\frac{15}{16}$  in. (15.1 cm). Purchase, 1896 (96.9.438)

Decorative disks of this sort were often attached to shields or sewn onto leather breastplates for added protection. In this case, concentric double rows of roughly circular perforations enclose a double row of S-shaped perforations. These continue for five smaller concentric circles. At the center (and irregularly spaced throughout), there are perfectly circular holes, each surrounded by embossed concentric circles.<sup>23</sup>



3.17



3.18

### 3.18 Horse bit

Late Villanovan, ca. 725–700 B.C., width:  $8\frac{3}{16}$  in. (20.8 cm). Bequest of Alice K. Bache, 1977 (1977.187.6)

This fine horse bit consists of a solid-cast, flexible, twisted mouthpiece whose outer ends terminate in heavy rings that originally held the guide reins. Each of the flanking, open-work cheek pieces depicts a stylized horse with a smaller horse standing on its croup and two small birds, perhaps ducks, below. The base of each cheek piece has two fixed eyes for the attachment of cheek reins. Reins are indicated by single struts of bronze for each of the four sculpted horses. For similar stylized animals, see 8.9.

The discovery in 1996 of an almost identical horse bit in the Tomb of the Warrior of Poggio alle Croci at Volterra allows a later date than previously postulated for this object. Several examples of this type are associated with Volterra, a likely place of their manufacture.

### 3.19 Lunate razor of sharply curved form

Italic, 9th–8th century B.C., length:  $4\frac{7}{16}$  in. (11.2 cm). Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan P. Rosen, 1991 (1991.171.2)

Bronze razors are common in male burials throughout Italy, but examples with this lunate shape are frequently found in the graves at sites in coastal Etruria. Their shapes slowly



3.19



evolved from elongated to intermediate and, finally, to the sharply curved form of this example, the latest of the three in the typology proposed for Tarquinia by Hugh Hencken.<sup>24</sup> All these razors perhaps were used to trim hair rather than to shave beards. The small perforated appendage, a common feature on these objects, allowed them to be suspended from a fibula. They sometimes appear in female burials, where they may have been worn as pendants.

## BRONZE VESSELS

The superb technical ability of Villanovan metalsmiths is clearly apparent in the following works. As is demonstrated by the Metropolitan Museum's collection, it is that craftsmanship that established a foundation for the later bronze work that so strongly characterizes the Etruscan artists, who depended on the abundant supplies of copper and tin ores that were exploited by the inhabitants of Italy from early times. This, no doubt, fostered the development of a sophisticated knowledge of bronze metallurgy and encouraged trade in bronze products with the Mediterranean neighbors of the Etruscans (see also 8.9).

### 3.20 Engraved pyxis (small cosmetics container)

Etruscan, 675–625 B.C., height: 1<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (4.6 cm), diameter: 2 in. (5.1 cm). Rogers Fund, 1911 (11.212.3)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 204, no. 541, ill.; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 9, fig. 24  
The engraved decoration, consisting of heraldic animals (probably horses) alternating with stylized plants on tall triangular trunks, is similar to Orientalizing friezes incised on contemporaneous bucchero pottery (see 4.72b). Both figures and plants are enlivened with punch marks.



3.20



3.21

### 3.21 Situla (bucket-like vessel)

Villanovan, 8th century B.C., height: 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (16.2 cm), diameter of bottom: 7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (19.7 cm). Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.2128)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 2, fig. 1  
Decoration on this elegant situla is divided into two zones. The upper half shows three horizontal bands of double rows of punch marks, each band separated by a wide torus. The lower half shows a frieze of squares separated by vertical rows of six large bosses, each enclosed within a circle. The squares contain similar large bosses at each corner with a much larger central boss surrounded by four concentric circles. Rows of punch marks frame each square while a continuous horizontal row marks the base of the frieze. The handle is delicately coiled and originally terminated on each side with stylized swan-like birds.

The precise function of vessels like this one during this early period is unknown. However, by the sixth century B.C., similar objects are shown on works as banqueting vessels with wine or some other drink being ladled from them. Interestingly, the decorative patterns on the lower portion of this example are closely paralleled by those on contemporaneous bronze shields.<sup>25</sup>



3.22

## TERRACOTTA VASES

Most of the vases produced in the Villanovan period are hand-built terracottas of impasto, a rough unrefined clay. As time progressed, however, potters used more carefully levigated (reduced to a smooth paste) clay and developed an early form of bucchero (see Chapter IV) that archaeologists call buccheroid impasto. Most of the vases in the Museum's collection treated in this chapter are from the last phases of the Villanovan period or from the Early Etruscan (ca. 750–650 B.C.).

### 3.22 Beak-spouted jug

Late Villanovan, impasto, ca. 750–690 B.C., height: 12½ in. (31.8 cm).  
Edward C. Moore Collection, Bequest of Edward C. Moore, 1891  
(91.1.454)

The distinctive beak-spout on this jug indicates that it is a local imitation of a type imported to Italy from the Eastern Mediterranean. This particular type, with split handle and modeled ribs, was especially popular at Bisenzio during the transition between Villanovan and Early Etruscan culture. Bisenzio is the medieval and modern name of an Etruscan site on the southwest shore of Lake Bolsena that was called Visentium after it was conquered by the Romans in 280 B.C.

### 3.23a, b Two kyathoi (single-handed cups)

Late Villanovan, buccheroid impasto, A: 26.60.44: 7th century B.C., height without handle: 4⅞ in. (11.6 cm), height with handle: 8⅞ in. (22.1 cm), diameter of mouth: 11 in. (28 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1926;  
B: 96.18.83: early 7th century B.C., height without handle: 2⅝ in. (5.9 cm), height with handle: 3⅓ in. (9.7 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1896

LITERATURE: 96.18.83: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 3, fig. 7

The terracotta vessel shown on the next page left (3.23a), which is much too large for practical drinking, may have been made for dedication in a tomb. The belly is enhanced by a series of protruding gadroons; the handle is flat and wide but with inturned flanges at the top.<sup>26</sup>

The small cup shown on the next page right (3.23b) has a single crested handle with strut, tall neck, sharp carination, and low foot. Three rows of tiny incised diagonals decorate the handle's inner base, and there is a single row on the carination. The type is frequently found at Veii.<sup>27</sup> For information on buccheroid impasto, see Chapter IV.



3.23a



3.23b

### 3.24 Kantharos (two-handled cup)

Etruscan, buccheroid impasto, ca. 700–675 B.C., height without handles: 2 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (6 cm), diameter 3 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (8.1 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1896 (96.18.84)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 3, fig. 8  
 Here is a two-handled drinking cup. Relatively thin walls, perforated handles, and a sharp carination give this small vessel a decidedly metallic appearance.



3.24

### 3.25 Footed chalice

Etruscan, buccheroid impasto, ca. 700–675 B.C., height 3 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (9.9 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1896 (96.18.91)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 3, fig. 5  
 Both shape and minimal decoration, consisting of rouletted horizontal bands on the neck and bowl, demonstrate the growing refinement of this fabric, now close to true bucchero.



3.25



3.26a, b

### 3.26a, b Two spiral amphorae (jars with two handles)

Etruscan, bucchero, ca. 675–650 B.C., A: 96.18.80: height: 2 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (6.7 cm); B: 96.18.88: height: 4 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (10.8 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1896  
 LITERATURE: 96.18.88: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 3, fig. 4

The distinctive shape of both these jars, which frequently are incised with double spirals, is indigenous to Italy. The thin flat handles and sharp curves imply that the shape derives from metallic prototypes, and indeed, a silver example with gold handles was found in the Regolini-Galassi Tomb at Cerveteri.<sup>28</sup> This shape has a long life and was especially popular during the seventh century B.C. The squat bulbous type represented by these two amphorae eventually

evolved into a taller version with trumpet-shaped foot, the “Nikosthenic” amphora (see 4.61a and 4.61b), named after the Greek potter Nikosthenes, who imitated the shape for export to the Etruscan market about 530 B.C. The shape continued in Italy into the fifth century B.C.

### 3.27 Kantharos (two-handled cup)

Villanovan, 7th century B.C., height with handles: 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (14 cm), height without handles: 4 $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (11.3 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1896 (96.18.60)

This simple vase is decorated with incised vertical striations on the belly. It has a wide plain neck, very small foot, and large handles.



3.27



3.28

**3.28 Holmos (stand) and dinos (deep round-bottomed bowl)**

Etruscan, impasto, late 8th-early 7th century B.C., holmos height: 10<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (27.6 cm), diameter of mouth 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (17.2 cm); dinos height: 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (13.4 cm), diameter of mouth 4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (12.1 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1896 (96.18.125; 96.18.139)

This is a small version of a popular type of banquet vessel used to mix wine and water and then serve guests (see 4.91). The holmos has two rows of perforations on the base. Ovoid perforations alternate with large bosses on the spherical mid-section. The plain flaring top supports an undecorated dinos.



# The Orientalizing and Archaic Periods

(ca. 750–480 B.C.)

They are surprisingly big and handsome, these homes of the dead. Cut out of the living rock, they are just like houses. The roof has a beam cut to imitate the roof-beam of the house. It is a house, a home.

—D. H. Lawrence, *Etruscan Places*<sup>1</sup>

Etruscan civilization reached its zenith during the period from about 750 to 480 B.C. Etruscan art of that time can be divided into the so-called Orientalizing (ca. 750/725–580 B.C.) period of intense influence from the Eastern Mediterranean and the Archaic (ca. 600/575–480 B.C.) period of close contact with mainland Greece and her western colonies.

The gradual coalescence of hamlets and villages into larger and larger urban areas had already begun in the Late Villanovan period (ca. 9th–early 8th century B.C.). The Orientalizing and Archaic periods brought fully developed cities, with elaborate public buildings, complex hydraulic works, and sophisticated engineering projects. It was a time of increased trade contacts with both nearby Italic groups and more distant neighbors such as the Greeks and Phoenicians. These contacts led not only to a more prosperous society and the consequent growth of an elite class but also to significant cultural advances, including writing (see Chapter II). Two natural resources, excellent farmland and abundant minerals, helped make those developments possible.

Major changes also occurred in funerary practices. Cremation remained the dominant form of burial only in a few isolated areas, for example, at Chiusi. Inhumations became more common, and graves generally grew more elaborate. Now,

instead of depositions in simple trenches or pits, the Etruscans often buried their deceased in complex subterranean chambers hollowed out of the living rock, which in many cases imitate domestic architecture made of wood and terracotta. At some sites, notably Tarquinia, the chambers are decorated with colorful frescoes that provide many insights into Etruscan religious beliefs. More than six thousand tombs have been discovered so far at Tarquinian cemeteries. However, only about 180 have frescoes, which would seem to indicate that such elaborately painted tombs were expensive and could only be afforded by the wealthiest families. Since the Etruscans took many items used in everyday life with them to their graves, we know a great deal more about Etruscan culture than we would otherwise. Tombs of the elite members of a city could contain a wealth of bronze and terracotta vessels, gold and silver jewelry, and sometimes chariots. Often these chamber tombs are covered by a large circular mound of earth called a *tumulus*, which might be surrounded by a stone retaining wall and topped with stone sculptures. The Museum's collection includes the major important objects from a tomb discovered at Monteleone di Spoleto that dates from the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. The modern story of that tomb begins in 1902.

## THE MONTELEONE DI SPOLETO TOMB GROUP, COLLE DEL CAPITANO (THE CAPTAIN'S HILL)

On February 8, 1902, an Italian landowner, Isidoro Vannozi, was clearing some of his property to make way for a new farmhouse when he discovered an ancient subterranean tomb. The area retained for many centuries the name Colle del Capitano (the Captain's Hill), a hint that someone important was connected to it. Vannozi was able to recover numerous antiquities and eventually sold most of them as a group in Norcia to a local scrap dealer, Benedetto Petrangeli, who in turn sold them to dealers in Cascia and eventually Rome (Figure 1). Vannozi also kept a few small items for himself, but these were soon confiscated by the authorities and ended up in the Museo Nazionale dell'Umbria at Perugia.<sup>2</sup> By 1903, the major contents of the tomb were on the Paris antiquities market and were acquired there by Luigi Palma di Cesnola on behalf of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, of which he was then director. In 1907, the Italian archaeologist Angiolo Pasqui reopened the tomb to take measurements and produce an architectural plan (Figure 2). He also discovered a few fragmentary items overlooked by Vannozi.<sup>3</sup>

The best-known and most significant object from the Monteleone tomb is the elaborately decorated bronze chariot (4.1). Soon after its arrival in New York, Charles Balliard began the restoration and reconstruction of the chariot.<sup>4</sup> The tomb also contained a rich supply of smaller bronze, iron, and terracotta objects. Almost all represent types of goods found regularly in the princely tombs of central Italy. Some of the objects, such as the Attic Little Master Cups (4.19a, b), are valuable imports that probably made their way to Monteleone from Athens via Etruscan Vulci, where many similar examples have been found. These cups are the only objects in the tomb that can be dated precisely to about



Figure 1. Pieces of the chariot and additional grave goods from the Monteleone di Spoleto tomb before they left Italy, possibly 1902

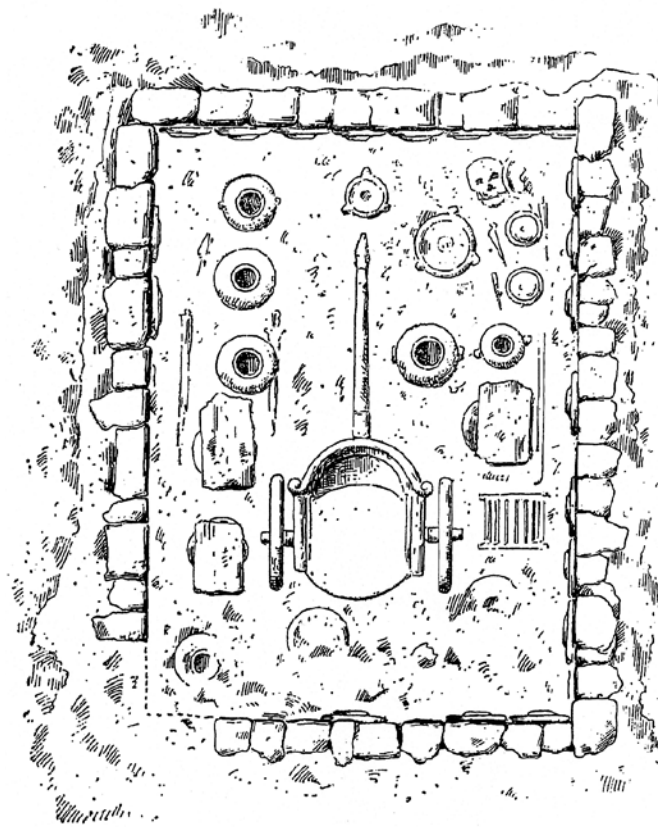


Figure 2. Floorplan of the Monteleone di Spoleto tomb. The architecture is the result of direct archaeological finds, while the arrangement of objects is based on indirect evidence. Drawing by Angiolo Pasqui, 1907 (from Minto, "La tomba della celebre biga," 1924)

565–550 B.C. Other terracotta vases, such as the bucceroid impasto chalice with lid (4.20), are local products that generally are much more difficult to date. The iron tripod (4.17),<sup>5</sup> which was heavily restored at the Museum shortly after 1903, is at least a century older than anything else in the tomb. It might be an heirloom, a valuable "antique" perhaps inherited from the deceased's family. Most of the objects are connected with the Etruscan banquet ritual, a characteristic feature of almost all tombs of the wealthy from this period.

The few additional items from this tomb that are now in the Museo Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia, and the Museo Archeologico, Florence, include various small fragments of bronze and ivory as well as another bundle of iron spits and a few pottery shards. Most contemporary Etruscan tombs of this quality usually contain more examples of imported Greek pottery and locally made bucchero. Three unpretentious iron and bronze fibulae are the only pieces of jewelry found in this tomb group. Pasqui's examination of the tomb, admittedly done about five years after the tomb had been opened and emptied, suggested that it had been occupied by only one burial, that of a man. In 1921, John Marshall was able to obtain for the Museum several additional items from this tomb group. They are: 4.3, 4.7, 4.13, in the order in which they appear in this text.<sup>6</sup>





4.1a

## The Monteleone di Spoleto Chariot

### 4.1a-e Chariot with scenes of the Greek hero Achilles

Etruscan, Archaic, 2nd quarter of the 6th century B.C., bronze inlaid with ivory, total height: 51 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (130.9 cm); length of pole: 82 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (208.9 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.23.1)

LITERATURE: Furtwängler, "Bronzewagen von Monteleone," 1905; Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 17–29, no. 40, ill.; Hampe and Simon, *Griechische Sagen*, 1964, pp. 53–67, figs. 11, 12, pls. 22–25; Emiliozzi, "Monteleone Chariot," 1991; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, pp. 470–71, no. 323, ill. pp. 278–81; Emiliozzi, "Etruscan Chariot," 2011 (see p. 121 for complete publication history); Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Guide*, 2012, p. 66, ill.

The remains of approximately 250 Etruscan chariots have been recovered to date, but the Monteleone Chariot is still the most elaborate and best-preserved example. At the time of its discovery in 1902, relatively few other Etruscan chariots were known and, since they were extremely fragmentary, they had been reconstructed incorrectly. The Monteleone Chariot also was reconstructed with some inaccuracies, but with the careful excavation of a nearly contemporary chariot at Ischia di Castro in 1967<sup>7</sup> and with astute observation, it has been possible to correct a number of details. In addition, some of the ivory elements, a few with traces of paint, have been added. Thus, the appearance of the chariot today

represents knowledge gained from recent excavations plus several years of research, conservation, and meticulous restoration (4.1a).

A fair number of chariot remains, with the skeletons of their horses, have been found in Mycenaean and Cypriot tombs and in the Etruscan tomb at Ischia di Castro (north-east of Vulci). Thus far, the earliest extant evidence of a chariot in Etruria is from paired horse bits discovered in 2003 at the Poggio dell'Impiccato cemetery, Tarquinia, and dating to about 850 B.C. The current distribution of chariot finds, as can be plotted on a map of peninsular Italy, shows that most are concentrated in central Italy, with significant numbers also in the Po Valley and in Campania, not surprisingly, the areas of major Etruscan settlement.

Although it shows evidence of ancient repairs, the Monteleone chariot is far too elaborate to have been used frequently for hunting or military expeditions. Rather, it is a ceremonial or parade chariot probably employed on special occasions, perhaps religious or celebratory. It was not made expressly for the tomb but was used, albeit infrequently, in life.<sup>8</sup> The chariot may have been a gift to a local chieftain.<sup>9</sup>

Such parade chariots have two wheels and were drawn by two small horses standing about four feet apart at the point where the yoke rests on their necks. They would carry two people, a driver and an honored passenger. Except in one





4.1c (proper right panel)



4.1d (proper left panel)

Opposite: 4.1b  
(central panel)

wheel, the original wooden substructure of the Monteleone chariot has disappeared. It can be reconstructed on the basis of other chariots, both those recovered from excavation and those in artistic representations. In fact, a similar chariot is depicted on the proper left panel (4.1d) of the Monteleone example.<sup>10</sup> The various bronze panels, with depictions in relief, were mounted on this wooden substructure with small bronze nails.<sup>11</sup> It is assumed by several scholars including Emiliozzi that several artisans, at least three or four, worked on the Monteleone Chariot: a carpenter skilled in the basic construction of the wooden elements, probably two craftsmen adept at creating complicated bronze reliefs with elaborate incisions, someone familiar with the use of leather elements and attachments, and an ivory worker who could add decorative elements made of elephant and hippopotamus ivory, both of which types are attested in the fragments (see 4.1e). Based on the style of the figural reliefs, it has been suggested that one of these artisans may have been of Ionian-Greek background, but that is very difficult to establish. Thus, like many works of ancient art, this was a collaborative effort requiring highly specialized skills.<sup>12</sup>

The decorative program of the chariot is the result of careful planning. Scholars generally agree that the three major relief panels show related scenes from the life of Achilles, the major Greek hero of the Trojan War, who was known to the Etruscans as Achle (Figure 3).<sup>13</sup>

The large central panel portrays Thetis, Achilles' mother, presenting her son with the magnificent armor created by the blacksmith god, Hephaistos (4.1b).<sup>14</sup> The figures reach out to hold a large crested Corinthian helmet, with ram's head finial, and a Boeotian-type ovoid shield decorated with a frontal gorgoneion above and feline head below. The garments worn by the figures are meticulously incised or traced with various designs. Flanking the helmet are two birds plunging downward; below the shield is a dead fawn, its legs pointing upward. This fawn appears to be supported by the large boar's head with hippopotamus ivory tusks from which the central pole extends (4.1e).

The smaller proper right panel shows two fully armed warriors, almost certainly Memnon and Achilles in combat (described in the *Aithiopsis*, a five-book sequel to the *Iliad*, probably composed in the seventh century B.C.) (4.1c).<sup>15</sup> The warrior on the left carries a round shield, typical of Memnon, while his opponent holds a shield that looks exactly like the one on the central panel, but with the gorgoneion and feline head reversed. In addition, the body of a dying warrior, Achilles' comrade Antilochos,<sup>16</sup> occupies the space below. A single bird flies in the space between the fighting warriors' heads.

On the pendant proper left panel is the apotheosis of Achilles, who rides a chariot, similar in type to the actual chariot it decorates and originally with a movable outer

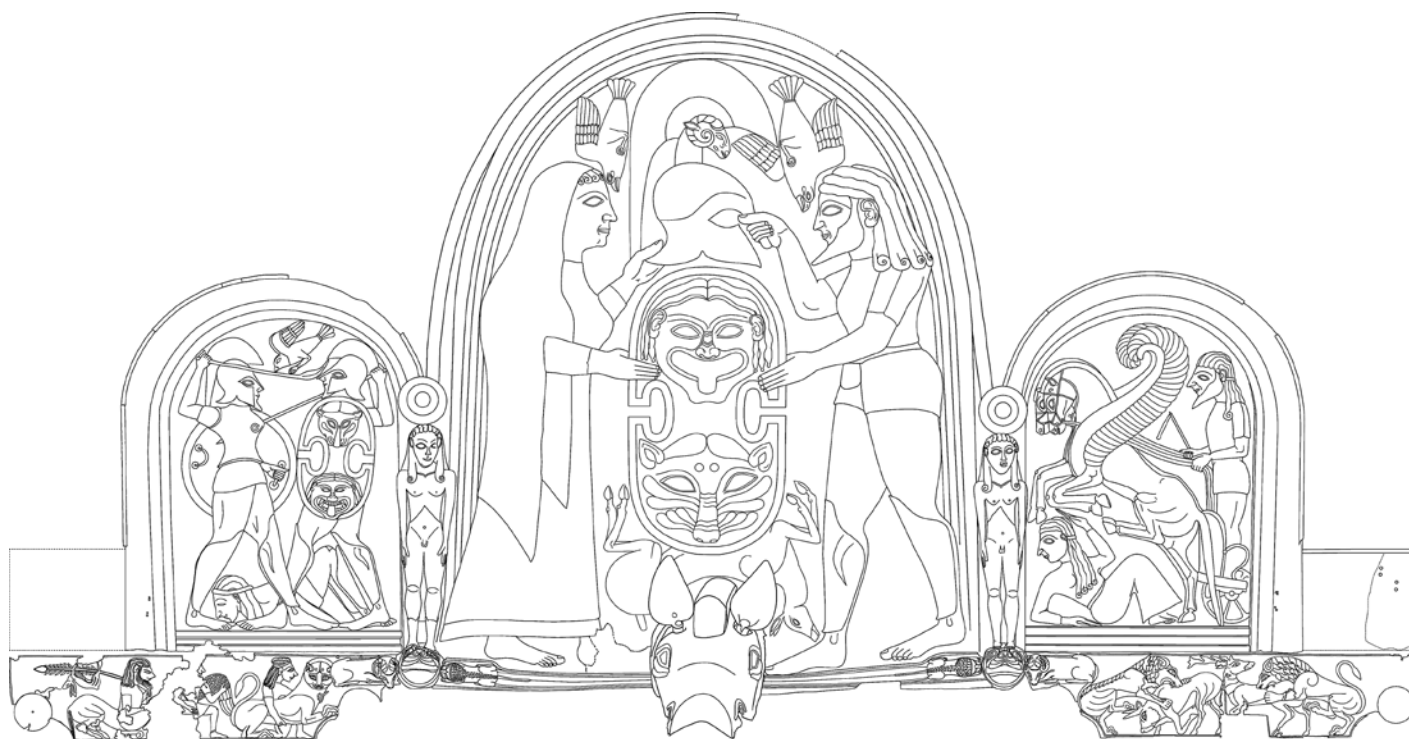


Figure 3. The box of the Monteleone chariot with all the revetments. This drawing outlines the repoussé work only. The traced detail is included only where it is essential for accurate interpretation of the scenes. Drawing by Dalia Lamura under the direction of Adriana Emiliozzi (from Emiliozzi, "Etruscan Chariot," 2011, pp. 42–43)



4.1e (boar protome)

wheel (now missing), drawn by two winged horses (4.1d). In the space beneath the horses is a female figure. She has been interpreted as Polyxena, the beautiful daughter of Priam, King of Troy, and sister of Cassandra and Hector. The ghost of Achilles demanded her as his share of the spoils, and she was sacrificed at his grave.<sup>17</sup> Separating the smaller side panels from the larger central panel are two nude male figures, sculpted almost in the round. These *kouroi* are almost identical, but the one on the left wears boots (an ancient repair added later), while his twin is barefoot. They stand on lion's heads, which in turn are flanked by reclining rams and felines.<sup>18</sup>

In addition to the major relief panels just described, there are narrow bands of figural decoration at the base of the car, below the smaller side panels (Figure 3). The one on the left has three figures: a centaur holding a branch that supports a dead rabbit; a striding winged figure; and a figure wrestling with a large lion. Portions of this area are missing, and the interpretation of the scene is therefore problematic. If we look for a subject related to Achilles, the centaur Chiron, his teacher, comes to mind. Some scholars have suggested that the winged figure is Iris, the female counterpart of the messenger god Hermes.<sup>19</sup> The figure wrestling with the lion remains unidentified.

On the opposite side of the chariot is a small pendant panel with two lions attacking a bull on the left and a stag on the right. Similar heraldic groups of fighting animals are common in Near Eastern, Greek, and Etruscan art. The significance of the motif here is uncertain. No humans are present, but lions generally symbolize victorious heroes.

It is clear from this brief description of the subject matter on the Monteleone Chariot that the artist was quite familiar with Greek legend. He combined episodes from the life of Achilles found in the Homeric epics as well as some of their later sequels. This does not necessarily mean he had to be Greek or of Greek descent. The Etruscans were very familiar with most Greek myths and legends and recognized many of the same deities (see Chapter II). Stylistically and technically, the relief panels resemble bronze works created at Vulci, a major maritime center with strong Greek connections.

Whatever its origin and purpose, one thing is beyond doubt. This is a magnificent work of art, and when fitted out with its numerous ivory inlays and brightly polished bronze reliefs, it must have made a spectacular impression on all who saw it. After more than 2,500 years, it remains an impressive monument to Etruscan skill and ingenuity.

## Bronze Vessels from the Monteleone di Spoleto Tomb Group

Etruscan, Monteleone di Spoleto, ca. 550 B.C.

Publications for the Monteleone Tomb Group, excluding the Chariot: Morini, *La scoperta di una tomba*, 1904; Furtwängler, "Bronzewagen von Monteleone," 1905; Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 177, 180; Minto, "Sepolcreto primitivo," 1924; Minto, "La tomba della celebre biga," 1924; Leach, "La 'Tomba del Carro,'" 1991

Many of the bronze vessels in this and other contemporary tombs are connected with the Etruscan banquet. The famous painted frescoes in the subterranean chamber tombs at Tarquinia, Chiusi, and Orvieto, as well as numerous painted vases (see, for example, 4.102) clearly demonstrate that the Etruscans enjoyed elaborate banquets with food and wine and accompanied by musicians, dancers, and other entertainers. Thus, several types of vessels were required for a proper banquet: amphorae (jars with two handles) to carry wine to the banquet area; hydriai (jars) for the water; large kraters (deep bowls) in which to mix wine and water; kyathoi (single-handled cups) to ladle the wine into jugs from which it can be served; strainers to purify the wine; and cups of various types from which to drink. In addition, there must be "cup holders" (elaborate bronze stands with multiple arms on which the cups could hang), candelabra, and incense burners to light and scent the banquet; various basins for washing before beginning the banquet; large cauldrons for cooking food; spits and andirons for roasting meat, and so on. All these items, used in life, were thought necessary in the afterlife as well and so were buried with the deceased Etruscans who had the wealth to acquire them.



4.2

## 4.2 Cauldron

Height: 12½ in. (31.8 cm), diameter: 16⅝ in. (41.5 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.23.2)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 226, no. 622, ill. p. 225; Leach, "La 'Tomba del Carro,'" 1991, pp. 398–400, no. 2, ill.

This large vessel might have been used for cooking or heating food. Similar examples come from sites in Southern Etruria, but isolated Etruscan examples occur as far afield as Sicily and Sweden. Sometimes, large cauldrons are used to hold smaller utensils in the tomb (for example, Tomba del Duce, Vetulonia).

## 4.3 Cauldron and lid

Cauldron: 21.88.58: height: 11⅝ in. (28.7 cm), diameter: 15⅝ in. (39.7 cm). Rogers Fund, 1921. Lid: 03.23.23: diameter: 9⅝ in. (24.5 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903

LITERATURE: 21.88.58: Richter, "Classical Bronzes," 1923, p. 76; Leach, "La 'Tomba del Carro,'" 1991, pp. 411–14, no. 26, ill. 03.23.23: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 229, no. 632, ill.; Leach, "La 'Tomba del Carro,'" 1991, pp. 405–6, no. 12, ill.

Although acquired by the Metropolitan at different times, these two items belong together and represent a well-known type of large vessel found especially at Orvieto, dating from the sixth century B.C. but continuing into the fourth. The cauldron is made of two large hemispherical bronze sheets carefully riveted together at the belly's midpoint. Heavy circular attachments, perhaps originally for a swinging handle or chains as are preserved on other examples, flank the mouth. The lid has a distinctive flat horizontal handle common on the type.<sup>20</sup>



4.3



4.4

#### 4.4 Cauldron with fitted lid and swinging handle

Height: 11 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (28.3 cm), diameter: 6 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (15.9 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.23.7)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 224, 226, no. 621, ill. p. 225; Leach, "La 'Tomba del Carro,'" 1991, p. 401, no. 6, ill. p. 400

The decorative knob on the lid of this cauldron has a small chain that secures it to the handle attachment. The long pin (03.23.48a), whose end terminates in a small snakehead, has been added to the vessel.<sup>21</sup>

#### 4.5 Cauldron with swinging iron handle

Height: 8 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (21.3 cm), diameter: 14 $\frac{15}{16}$  in. (37.9 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.23.6)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 226, no. 623, ill. p. 225; Leach, "La 'Tomba del Carro,'" 1991, p. 401, no. 5, ill. p. 400

Similar cauldrons are frequent in the tombs of Etruria, Umbria, and Abruzzo. It is therefore difficult to localize a workshop that produced them.



4.5



4.6

#### 4.6 Handled basin with three feet

Height: 10½ in. (26.7 cm), diameter: 23 in. (58.4 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.23.3)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 226–27, no. 624, ill.; Leach, “La ‘Tomba del Carro,’” 1991, pp. 400–401, no. 3, ill. p. 399

Footed basins are not especially common in Etruscan tombs. This one is interesting because the feet are sculpted to portray winged demons. Each of the three demons is presented frontally with wings symmetrically displayed. They surmount legs in the form of superimposed lion’s paws, which



Figure 4. Footbath with its stand, Greek, Classical, late 5th–early 4th century B.C. Bronze, total height: 8⅞ in. (21.5 cm). Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1938 (38.11.5a, b)





in turn balance on small pads. A precise parallel for these unusual supports has not been located, but a bronze basin with Gorgons from Chiusi is close. Another related example comes from Vulci and is now in The Field Museum, Chicago.<sup>22</sup> The handles are quite similar to those on a large bronze basin from Castel San Mariano, Perugia.<sup>23</sup> It is possible that this type of large bronze vessel was inspired by Greek prototypes and indeed, related Greek bronze footbaths have been found in Etruscan tombs. A good example of this type is in the Museum's collection of Greek bronzes (Figure 4).<sup>24</sup>

#### 4.7 Group of paterae (shallow bowls) with decorated rims

03.23.4: height: 2 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (6 cm), diameter: 18 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (46.8 cm);  
 03.23.5: height: 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (6.4 cm), diameter: 18 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (48 cm);  
 03.23.8: height: 2 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (5.9 cm), diameter: 18 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (46.8 cm);  
 03.23.9: height: 3 in. (7.6 cm), diameter: 18 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (47.6 cm);  
 03.23.10: height: 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (6.4 cm), diameter: 19 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (49.1 cm);  
 03.23.11: height: 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (6.4 cm), diameter: 18 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (47 cm);  
 03.23.12: height: 2 $\frac{13}{16}$  in. (7.1 cm), diameter: 18 $\frac{9}{16}$  in. (47.2 cm);  
 03.23.13: height: 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (6.4 cm), diameter: 19 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (49.1 cm);  
 03.23.15: height: 3 $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (8.7 cm), diameter: 18 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (47.6 cm);  
 03.23.16: height: 2 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (7 cm), diameter: 17 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (43.7 cm);  
 03.23.17: height: 2 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (5.9 cm), diameter: 18 $\frac{15}{16}$  in. (48.1 cm);  
 03.23.18: height: 3 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (8.3 cm), diameter: 19 $\frac{9}{16}$  in. (49.7 cm);  
 03.23.29: height: 2 $\frac{9}{16}$  in. (6.5 cm), diameter: 19 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (48.4 cm);

03.23.30: height: 2 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (7.3 cm), diameter: 19 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (48.8 cm);  
 03.23.31: height: 3 in. (7.6 cm), diameter: 18 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (45.9 cm);  
 03.23.32: height: 2 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (6.2 cm), diameter: 19 in. (48.3 cm);  
 03.23.33: height: 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (6.4 cm), diameter: 18 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (48 cm);  
 03.23.34: height: 2 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (6.7 cm), diameter: 18 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (46.2 cm);  
 03.23.35: height: 2 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (5.3 cm), diameter: 19 in. (48.3 cm);  
 03.23.36: height: 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (6.4 cm), diameter: 19 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (49.5 cm);  
 03.23.37: height: 3 in. (7.6 cm), diameter: 19 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (48.6 cm).

Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.23.4, .5, .8–13, .15–18, .29–37)

21.88.53: height: 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (6.4 cm), diameter: 1 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (4 cm);

21.88.54: height: 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (6.4 cm), diameter: 18 $\frac{9}{16}$  in. (47.1 cm);

21.88.55: height: 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (6.4 cm), diameter: 18 $\frac{11}{16}$  in. (47.5 cm);

21.88.56: height: 2 in. (5.1 cm), diameter: 18 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (46.4 cm);

21.88.61: diameter: 14.6 cm. Rogers Fund, 1921 (21.88.53–.56, .61)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 205, nos. 542–62, ill.

The large number of almost identical bronze bowls shown here demonstrates the extravagant richness of the Monteleone Tomb.<sup>25</sup> Each bowl has a wide horizontal rim that is perforated with two small holes, perhaps for suspension, and punched with a single or double row of guilloche ornament. A rim fragment in the Museum's collection (21.88.61) has the same decoration and belongs to the same series. The precise function of such paterae is not known.<sup>26</sup> Very similar bowls have been found at Orvieto and Campovalano (Abruzzo), tomb 69.





4.8

#### 4.8 Omphalos-bowl with four drop handles

Height:  $2\frac{13}{16}$  in. (7.1 cm), diameter:  $14\frac{9}{16}$  in. (37 cm), width including handles:  $19\frac{7}{16}$  in. (49.3 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.23.14)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 205, no. 563, ill.; Cook, "Etruscan Bronze Omphalos-Bowls," 1968, pl. 109, figs. 1, 2

This distinctive type of large bowl with a central boss or mesomphalos is often called a phiale (libation bowl) because of its resemblance to smaller versions of the shape, which were used as drinking and libation cups. However, it has four handles (one is now missing) and is much too large to have functioned as a phiale. Instead, it may have been used for washing the hands or feet before a banquet. Another possibility is that it was made for tomb use only.

According to Brian Cook, who produced a major study of this kind of vessel in 1968, the type originated in ancient Phrygia during the eighth century B.C., then traveled to Greece.<sup>27</sup> The earliest Etruscan versions appeared about 600 B.C. Most examples have small figures of recumbent lions on the rim. Traces for eight statuettes of that type are still visible on this example, and a small recumbent lion in bronze came into the Museum in 1903, when the majority of items from the Monteleone tomb were acquired. That lion<sup>28</sup> may have been one of the original eight decorating the rim of this large vessel.

Additionally, the vessel has several ancient repairs in the form of small bronze staples, indicating that the piece was

damaged but was considered valuable enough to be mended before its eventual burial in the tomb. The staples, carefully driven from the outside of the bowl, are almost invisible. Examples of such vessels come from a variety of sites, including Vulci and Orvieto, but they seem to have gone out of favor by about 500 B.C. A workshop in central Italy, probably Orvieto, is likely. Because they were solid-cast, the handles of omphalos bowls often survive long after their sheet-bronze bowls have disintegrated. The Museum's collection also includes three drop handles, which almost certainly once were attached to large bowls, perhaps with omphaloi.<sup>29</sup> Numerous related examples exist.<sup>30</sup>

#### 4.9 Ribbed situla (bucket) with two handles

Height  $7\frac{5}{8}$  in. (19.4 cm), diameter  $8\frac{13}{16}$  in. (22.4 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.23.20)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 227–28, no. 630, ill.; Stjernquist, *Cista a cordoni*, 1967, vol. 2, pp. 70–71, no. 128, pl. LVII, 3

Archaeologists call this type of situla, with distinctive horizontal ribs, a *cista a cordone* (corded or ribbed container). Berta Stjernquist, who published the definitive study of the type in 1967, classified the almost three hundred extant examples into three basic types.<sup>31</sup> The Museum's example belongs to her "Standard Series II," which is characterized by swing handles, a base decorated with concentric circles, and



4.9



4.10

cylindrical diameters between 20 and 23 centimeters and a volume between 7 and 8.5 liters. (Our example holds 7.64 liters; the average for the group is 7.73 liters.) Stjernquist's catalogue includes sixteen examples of this specific type.<sup>32</sup>

*Ciste a cordoni* have been excavated at sites throughout Italy, but especially in the northeast, central east, and Adriatic coastal areas. We cannot be certain where these containers were manufactured, or indeed, if there was only one production site. Since they also occur frequently in central Europe and as far north as Scandinavia, central Europe seems a possibility, but perhaps future finds will change that impression. At least, it is clear that they were popular enough to be traded widely.

#### 4.10 Situla (bucket)

Height 9<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (25.3 cm), diameter 11<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (30.2 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.23.22)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 228–29, no. 631, ill.; Leach, "La 'Tomba del Carro,'" 1991, p. 405, no. 11, ill. p. 406

Perforations on the rim indicate that originally this situla would have had handles perhaps similar to those on 4.9. Raised concentric circles ornament the base.<sup>33</sup> The type began in the second half of the seventh century B.C. and is widely distributed over Central and Northern Italy.<sup>34</sup>

#### 4.11 Oinochoe (jug)

Height 9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (24.8 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.23.21)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 186, no. 483, ill.; Weber, *Bronzekannen*, 1983, p. 27; Leach, "La 'Tomba del Carro,'" 1991, pp. 404–5, no. 10, ill.

Several scholars have proposed that this type of jug, with a plump body and wide neck, is the antecedent for the most popular metal jugs produced by the Etruscans, the so-called *Schnabelkanne* or beak-spouted jug (see Chapter V, Civita Castellana Tomb Group, 5.1). In this particular case, the handle attachment terminates in stylized animal heads, perhaps dogs, with an elegant palmette at the base.<sup>35</sup>



4.11



#### 4.12 Candelabrum

Height: 47½ in. (120.6 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.23.19)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 371, no. 1297, ill.; Leach, "La 'Tomba del Carro,'" 1991, p. 403, no. 8

This is a highly unusual candelabrum. Most Etruscan candelabra, admittedly later ones, are shorter and less complex (see 6.33). This example is atypical because it has two shafts that are different in section; the lower is round, while the upper (above the rosette) is octagonal. Additionally, the superposed elements at the top find their closest parallels in Cypriot lamp holders.<sup>36</sup>

This object is problematic for another reason. In 1985, the archaeological notebooks of Riccardo Mancini, who excavated at Orvieto between 1876 and 1885, were published.<sup>37</sup> One page shows a careful sketch of a candelabrum that looks very much like the one in New York.<sup>38</sup> Mancini recorded that it came from Tomb 89 in the Cannicella Necropolis at Orvieto in the autumn of 1884. The object was damaged, and his measurements therefore reflect the candelabrum as it was restored. He provided several measurements against which I have checked the Museum's candelabrum. The two sets of measurements are very close; their minor differences are accounted for easily by the restorations. This fact, plus the relative rarity of the type, suggests that perhaps the Orvieto candelabrum was added erroneously to the objects that make up the Monteleone Tomb Group. Adolfo Morini's description of the object is too vague to settle the matter.<sup>39</sup> Still another problem is that a similar but different candelabrum appears behind the right panel (with the apotheosis of Achilles) of the Monteleone Chariot in the early photograph of the group, possibly taken in 1902 (see Figure 1). Could this be the candelabrum that Morini saw but that was later lost or mistakenly substituted with the one from Riccardo Mancini's excavations at Orvieto?

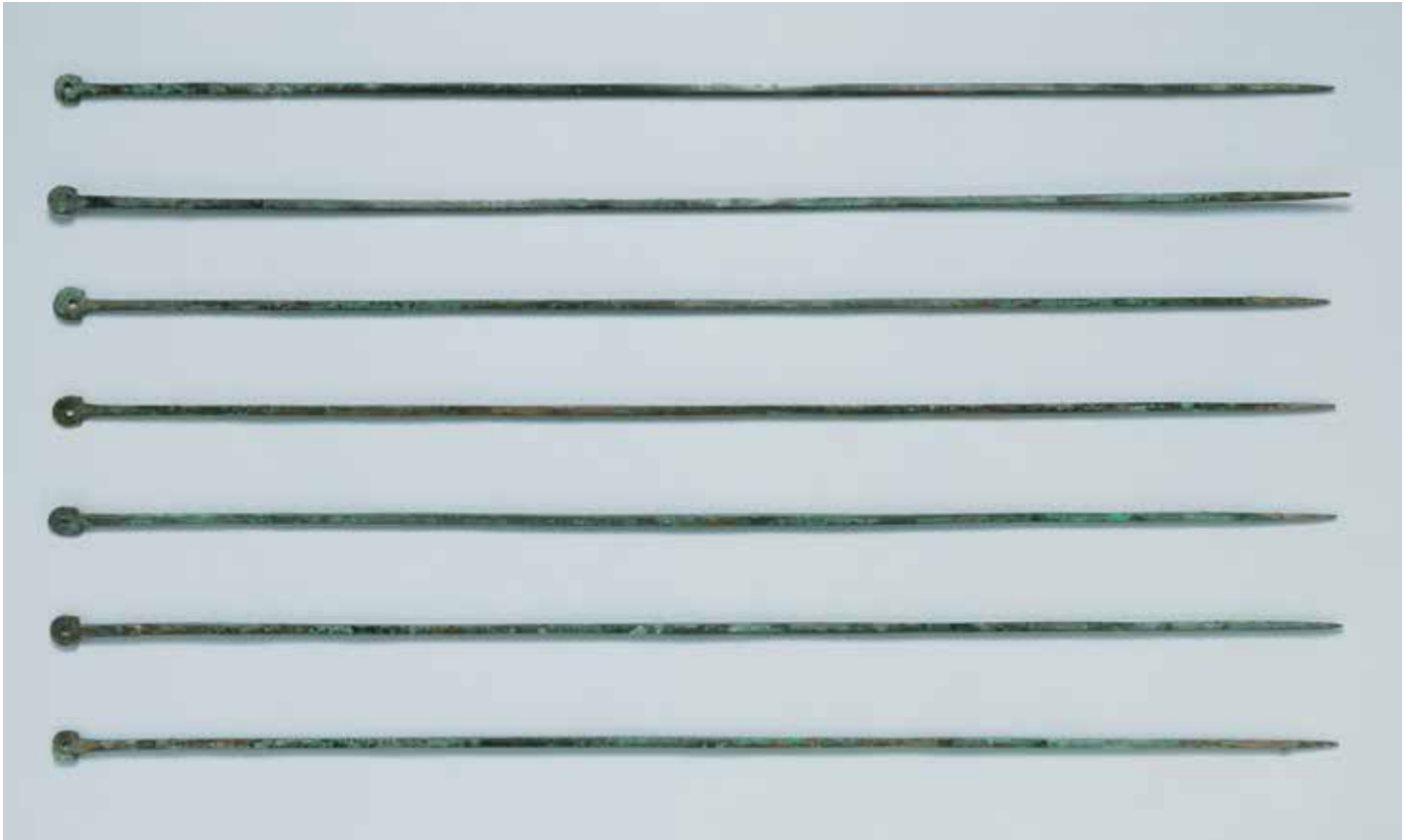
#### 4.13 Set of seven spits

Lengths: 03.23.24: 40<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (104 cm); 03.23.25: 39<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (99.9 cm); 03.23.26: 42<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (107 cm); 03.23.27: 39<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (101 cm); 03.23.28: 39<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (99.9 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903; 21.88.59, .60: 40 in. (101.6 cm). Rogers Fund, 1921

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 240, nos. 677–81, ill.; Sarah Leach in *Gens Antiquissima Italiae*, 1991, pp. 184–85, nos. 3.17–3.19, ill.; Leach, "La 'Tomba del Carro,'" 1991, pp. 410–11, no. 21, ill.

These spits are square in section and terminate in a perforated disk at one end. Although of shorter length, an identical design was used for the iron spit from this tomb (03.23.55).

Spits are found in many Etruscan tombs from as early as about 775–750 B.C. Both bronze and iron examples are common (see Chapter VI, the Bolsena Tomb Group, 6.36).



4.13

The idea of furnishing a tomb with the equipment needed to roast meat (for example, fire grates, andirons, spits, tongs) seems to come from the Eastern Mediterranean, especially Cyprus, where tombs are often so equipped about fifty to seventy-five years earlier than the appearance of the first extant Etruscan examples. Although usually associated with male burials, this kind of banquet equipment occasionally can be found in female graves as well. In Greek literature, it often occurs in the context of male hospitality rituals, for example, Achilles roasts meat for his guests.<sup>40</sup> This tradition also may have been part of Etruscan hospitality rituals.

The Museum's iron spit from this tomb (03.23.55, length: 29¾ in. [75.6 cm]. Rogers Fund, 1903), which is somewhat shorter than the tomb's bronze examples, is one of a set of twenty-four iron spits that were originally disposed in two equal bundles on either side of the chariot. Fragments of some of them are in the Museo Archeologico, Florence.

#### 4.14 Frog figurine

Height 1 in. (2.5 cm), length 2⅝ in. (6 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.23.54)  
This small figurine of a frog has a hole in its back. According to Museum records, it is associated with the Museum's iron tripod 4.17, but it is uncertain how it would attach to that

object, and normally, the Etruscans did not attach bronze elements to iron utensils. Some Etruscan tripods, for example, 4.38, have lion's-paw feet that press on frogs. This figurine is not mentioned in any of the early accounts of the Monteleone Tomb Group, although Morini mistakenly could have identified it when he listed small bronze dogs and rams.<sup>41</sup> However, the measurements he supplied are too big for the frog. It may be that the frog belonged to a different bronze object, now missing. One good possibility is a common type of Vulcian incense burner that is supported by three feet that terminate on frogs' backs, thus explaining the hole.



4.14



4.15a, b

### Iron Objects from the Monteleone di Spoleto Tomb Group

The iron objects from the Monteleone di Spoleto tomb (all are Etruscan, ca. 550 B.C.) are heavily corroded and delicate, a condition that is usual for such pieces. Most are concerned with the preparation of roasted meat. In addition to the basic elements (for example, fire grates, andirons, spits), some tombs also contain small knives for cutting meat (see 6.35), tongs (see 6.36), and fire rakes (see 6.34).

#### 4.15a, b Pair of andirons

A: 03.23.38: length: 39¼ in. (99.7 cm); B: 03.23.39: length: 37⅞ in. (96.2 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 238, nos. 667, 668, ill.

To form this pair, a long rod, square in section, is attached to a double U-shaped stand at each end. Andirons are relatively common in the Etruscan tombs of Central Italy, but the particular design represented by this pair is unusual. Most have an element projecting from the upper stand that is parallel with the long central rod.

The Museum's collection of iron objects from the Monteleone di Spoleto tomb group also includes a rectangular fire grate that consists of a rectangular stand on four feet that hold six parallel rods (height: 3¼ in. [8.3 cm], width: 11¾ in. [29.9 cm]; length: 14⅞ in. [36.4 cm]. Rogers Fund, 1903 [03.23.40]).



4.16a, b, c, d



4.17

#### 4.17 Tripod

Height: 22<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (56.7 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.23.53)

LITERATURE: Leach, "La 'Tomba del Carro,'" 1991, pp. 409–10, no. 19, ill.; Sciacca and Di Blasi, *La Tomba Calabresi*, 2003, p. 224

This is an iron version of the Museum's much better preserved and later bronze examples (4.38, 4.39). At the top is a large horizontal ring that would have supported a vessel. The three legs, each consisting of splayed U-shaped rods, terminate in lion's-paw feet. A central rod for each leg ends in an extended duck's head. Inverted floral elements decorate the curve at the top of each leg. Approximately at midpoint is a smaller ring supported by three shorter bent rods. This ring is decorated with upright floral elements.

The type is very similar to an example from the Tomb of the Tripod (Tumulus C) at Cerveteri, dated about 700–650 B.C.<sup>43</sup> Thus, the Museum's tripod appears to be one of the earliest objects in the Monteleone Tomb Group and is possibly an heirloom.

The Museum's collection of Etruscan art also includes a bronze lebes or deep bowl (height: 5<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. [13.5 cm]. Rogers Fund, 1921 [21.88.57]) that is approximately a century later in date but may have been used with the tripod in this tomb. The vessel has an elegant profile with wide flaring lip and squat rounded belly.



4.18a, b

#### 4.16a, b, c, d Four spearheads

Lengths: A: 03.23.41: 18<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (47.9 cm); B: 03.23.43: 19<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (50.5 cm); C: 03.23.42: 18<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (47.8 cm); D: 03.23.44: 8<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (22.5 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 397–98, nos. 1442–45, ill.

During the Orientalizing period (ca. 750/725–580 B.C.), iron spearheads gradually replaced bronze ones of basically the same design, comprising long blades shaped like a laurel leaf with a central ridge that extends to form a conical socket. Such objects continued the long tradition of burying adult males with weapons. Although they may have existed originally, no other weapons or armor are now associated with this tomb.<sup>42</sup>

#### 4.18a, b Pair of horse bits

Ca. 550 B.C. with modern restorations, lengths: A: 03.23.52: 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (19.1 cm); B: 03.23.51: 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (15.7 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903

These are the horse bits associated with the animals that pulled the Museum's Etruscan chariot (4.1). Each consists of two U-shaped side elements whose ends are perforated for the attachment of the leather harness. The mouthpiece is in two sections joined at the center.



4.19a, b

## Terracotta Vases from the Monteleone di Spoleto Tomb Group

### 4.19a, b Little Master Cups

Greek, Attic black-figure, ca. 565–550 B.C., A: 03.24.32: height:  $3\frac{1}{16}$  in. (7.8 cm), diameter:  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. (11.4 cm); B: 03.24.31: height:  $6\frac{5}{8}$  in. (16.8 cm), diameter:  $9\frac{7}{8}$  in. (25.1 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903

LITERATURE: 03.24.32: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 27; Richter, *CVA, U.S.A.*, vol. 11, *Metropolitan Museum*, fasc. 2, 1953, pl. XIII, no. 17; Emiliozzi, “Etruscan Chariot,” 2011, pp. 61, 60, fig. III.44. 03.24.31: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 27, figs. 65, 66; Richter, *CVA, U.S.A.*, vol. 11, *Metropolitan Museum*, fasc. 2, 1953, pl. XII, no. 16; Emiliozzi, “Etruscan Chariot,” 2011, pp. 61, 60, fig. III.44

As they are unquestionably from the Monteleone tomb, these two Attic black-figure cups are included here. Such Greek Little Master cups can be dated more precisely than most Etruscan vases, and so these vessels are important indicators of the date of the Monteleone tomb.

Little Master cups represent a highly refined and delicate miniaturist style of vase painting popular in Athens during the first half of the sixth century B.C. The cup shown on the left (4.19a) is without figural decoration. The cup shown on the right (4.19b), which is approximately twice the diameter of the smaller one, demonstrates the basic decorative format of this high-stemmed cup shape. On the exterior obverse and reverse is a sphinx standing over a nude man,

and to either side of the sphinx and in the handle zone are nonsense inscriptions.

Many examples of such cups were imported from Attic workshops by the Etruscans at Vulci. The inscriptions here are meaningless strings of letters framing the figural composition, but on several examples, they accurately record the artist’s name, label characters depicted, or offer greetings.

### 4.20 Chalice with lid

Etruscan, bucceroid impasto, ca. 550–525 B.C., height with cover:  $14\frac{9}{16}$  in. (36.9 cm); height without cover:  $8\frac{1}{4}$  in. (21 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.24.33a, b)

LITERATURE: Martelli, “Sabina,” 1977, pp. 25–30; Leach, “La ‘Tomba del Carro,’” 1991, p. 411, no. 24, ill. p. 412

This impressive vase consists of a lower bowl supported by a flaring foot and openwork cage of eight radiating struts, and a lid whose knob is a reversed flaring foot. If removed and turned upside down, this lid can become another bowl. The lower bowl’s rim is crowded with irregularly sized rams’ heads and handle-like arches. On the lid is a procession of quadrupeds (perhaps felines?) moving to the right. They are rendered in high relief, with their necks and heads sculpted in the round. The shape, often called a *calice a corolla* by Italian archaeologists, can also be thought of as a pyxis, thanks to the lid.

Although this fabric, bucceroid impasto, is found at many Etruscan sites, the shape and decorative format of





4.20

this particular vase more closely resemble examples from Sabine and Picene territory, east of the Etruscan homeland. Buccheroïd impasto is a kind of proto-bucchero (see this chapter, p. 86). It is usually wheel-made and of better quality than earlier impasto vessels. The surface color is black, but often, as a result of incomplete reduction firing, with dark brown areas and a lighter brown or gray color for the core.

Marina Martelli associated this chalice with pottery from Poggio Sommavilla and Campovalano.<sup>44</sup> Vessels from those sites are often highly elaborate with excessive relief decoration but little incision or rouletting compared to more refined bucchero sottile. Ultimately, the Sabine versions of this distinctive shape were probably influenced by Faliscan prototypes.<sup>45</sup>



4.21

## ETRUSCAN STONE FUNERARY SCULPTURE

In antiquity and today, the Etruscans are better known for their sculpture in terracotta and bronze than for works in stone. Their earliest extant large stone sculptures originate from Southern Etruria, especially from Caeretan workshops, where they preferred to use tuff (in Italian, *tuffo*), a compacted volcanic ash found throughout Central Italy. Nenfro is a type of gray tuff with a slightly greenish tinge found in the Vulci area and used almost exclusively by workshops there. One of the advantages of volcanic stone, in addition to its ready availability, is that it is a relatively soft material but gradually hardens when exposed to the air. A disadvantage is that, unlike marble and other hard stones, it does not take sharp details or weather well. The Etruscans rarely sculpted in marble, and the famous Carrara quarries were not extensively exploited until the Late Republican period, during the first century B.C.

### 4.21 Tomb-slab fragment

Probably Tarquinian, ca. 600–550 B.C., nenfro stone, height: 17 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (44.8 cm), length: 5 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (14.6 cm). Purchase, The Manheim Foundation Inc. Gift, 1961(61.11.17)

This fragment is the lower left corner of a much larger stone slab that probably would have depicted three vertical rows of square panels (or metopes), each with an animal or figure, separated by plain stepped patterns. Almost all known examples of this type of sculpture were executed in very shallow relief, and the subjects often imitate the figures and animals represented on contemporary local vase painting, ultimately

derived from Corinthian prototypes. The entire slab, originally about three feet by seven feet, may have formed part of an enclosure for a tomb. A few vestiges of red color show that the stag on this fragment once was painted. Stags are a relatively common subject in Etruscan art, but most are shown grazing rather than striding with head erect.

A number of related examples come from Tarquinia, a city famous for its subterranean frescoed tombs. The numerous fragmentary examples there were classified and catalogued by Stefano Bruni in his *Lastroni a scala*.<sup>46</sup> He identified three basic types. Type I reliefs have the stepped patterns but no figures; Type II have geometric designs with or without stepped patterns; Type III, the most common type, have stepped patterns combined with figural “metopes.” The Museum’s fragment belongs to Bruni’s Type III, with very simplified borders consisting of incised diagonals and vertical lines.<sup>47</sup>

### 4.22 Statue of a winged lion

Ca. 550 B.C., nenfro stone, height 37 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (95.3 cm), length 28 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (73 cm), width at haunches: 13 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (35 cm). Rogers Fund, 1960 (60.11.1)  
LITERATURE: “Additions to the Collections,” 1960, p. 45; Richardson, *Etruscans*, 1964, p. 95, pl. XVII; Del Chiaro, “Archaic Etruscan Stone Sculpture,” 1977, p. 47, fig. 6; Del Chiaro, “Etruscan Stone Winged Lion,” 1982, p. 123, fig. 6

This powerful sculpted lion stands erect with his wings curled in a tight spiral. The rear legs and feet are missing, and there is no evidence of color added to the stone. Several statues of this type made from nenfro, a kind of gray volcanic stone used extensively in Vulci, depict winged lions and



4.22

sphinxes. They often appear in pairs and represent the Etruscan response to a long tradition, stretching back to ancient Egypt and the Near East, of using sphinxes or other powerful winged hybrids, especially lions and bulls, to guard entrances and protect tombs. They were set up to guard the entrances to subterranean chamber tombs covered by a tumulus, an earthen mound. Some of the largest tumulus tombs were built at Vulci in the sixth century B.C. One, the so-called Cuccumella, consisted of an artificial mound that

was about sixty feet high and surrounded by a circular stone wall 215 feet in diameter. Early nineteenth-century visitors to the site mentioned various nenfro sculptures associated with this once magnificent tomb.<sup>48</sup> A number of related lions are preserved in various collections. A fragmentary example in the Getty Museum has the same carefully articulated wings with flaring feathers and distinctive large circular perforation.<sup>49</sup>



4.23

#### 4.23 Head of a sphinx or siren

Probably Vulcian, ca. 550–525 B.C., tuff (volcanic stone), height 9 in. (22.9 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1924 (24.97.10)

LITERATURE: Richter, "Archaischer Terracotta-Kopf," 1929; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 13, fig. 45

This large head made of tuff (volcanic stone) probably represents a sphinx or siren.<sup>50</sup> Statues of both mythical creatures, usually depicted by the ancients with human female heads and winged animal or bird bodies, were often placed as guardians near the entrances to Etruscan tombs. The Museum's large winged lion (4.22) is a better preserved example of this type of Etruscan stone sculpture. The style of this female head with almond-shaped eyes, archaic smile, and wig-like hair arrangement is strongly reminiscent of Greek, especially Ionian, examples. Many related sculptures associated with ancient tombs at Vulci are in other collections. Two parallels for the Museum's head are in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, and the Fujita Collection, Tokyo.<sup>51</sup>

#### 4.24 Cippus base

Probably Chiusine, ca. 500–450 B.C., limestone, height: 14 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (35.9 cm), length: 19 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (50.5 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1925 (25.78.28)

LITERATURE: Richter, "Greek Sculpture," 1926, p. 126, fig. 1; Paribeni, "I rilievi chiusini arcaici," 1938, p. 73, no. 18; Jannot, *Les reliefs archaïques de Chiusi*, 1984, p. 174, figs. 586–89; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 472, no. 332, ill. p. 289

A cippus is a large stone marker used by the Etruscans to establish a boundary or, more commonly, to mark the location of a tomb. The Etruscans produced several types of cippi. This example, the only one in the Museum's collection, is a cubic block that originally would have supported a large spherical, onion-shaped, or pointed stone. This stone likely would have been inscribed with the name of the deceased. Each side of the block is carved with an identical scene showing symmetrically disposed horsemen. These almost certainly represent the twin gods, Roman Castor and Pollux (Etruscan Castur and Pultuce), among the most popular deities worshipped by the Etruscans. No specific episode from their mythology is depicted here. Rather, it seems to be a generic representation of the gods who are often shown with horses (compare 5.21a, b). This type of cippus is closely associated with Chiusi, an important Etruscan city in Central Italy.<sup>52</sup>

#### 4.25 Alabastron (perfume vase)

Said to be from Vulci, ca. 600–575 B.C., alabaster, height 14 in. (35.6 cm). Purchase, The Concordia Foundation Gift, 2008 (2008.332)

LITERATURE: Haynes, "Etruscan Alabastron," 1963, pl. 1; Christopher S. Lightfoot in "Recent Acquisitions," 2010, pp. 6–7, ill.

This elaborate scent bottle, carved from alabaster, could well have been made expressly for tomb use. In any case, several related pieces have come from Etruscan tombs. Like many, this example consists of the basic alabastron shape, a graceful cylinder that metamorphoses into a female figure at the top. She holds a plant in her right hand and raises her left to her breast. Some scholars have associated this female with an earth goddess, perhaps a divinity of love and fertility. However, it is not at all certain that the Etruscans would identify her as such, or even as divine. In addition, the base is decorated with four human masks with black pigment still preserved on their hair. We are at a loss to say what they might signify, if anything. The idea of transforming cylindrical alabastra into human forms began in the ancient Near East. By the seventh century B.C., they were popular items being exported from Cyprus and other places in the East. Inspired by these exotic items, the Etruscans developed their own versions by adding the decorative base, which was also more functional because it allowed the bottle to stand on its own.

Approximately twenty examples of this type survive, and many come from Etruscan tombs at Vulci, Caere, or other sites in Southern Etruria.<sup>53</sup> Some of these are clearly imports from the Eastern Mediterranean, but others may have been made locally. Vulci is considered the most likely place for an Etruscan workshop that specialized in making figured alabastra.



4.24



4.25



4.25 details





4.26

## ETRUSCAN BRONZES

### 4.26 Bronze and iron elements from a cart or chariot

Said to be from Populonia, ca. 500–480 B.C.

29.131.3a: height: 9<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (24.4 cm); 29.131.3b: height: 5<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (13.7 cm);  
 29.131.3c: height: 3<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (10 cm); 29.131.3d1: height: 2<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (5.6 cm);  
 29.131.3d2: height: 1<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (5 cm); 29.131.3d3: height: 1<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (4.9 cm);  
 29.131.3e1: height: 3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (8.1 cm); 29.131.3e2: height: 2<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (7.3 cm);  
 29.131.3f1: width: 7<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (20.2 cm); 29.131.3f2: width: 5<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (14.3 cm);  
 29.131.3f3: width: 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (13 cm); 29.131.3g1: length: 3<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (8.8 cm);  
 29.131.3g2: length: 3<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (8.4 cm); 29.131.3h1: length: 1<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (4.4 cm);  
 29.131.3h2: length: 1<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (3.3 cm); 29.131.3h3: length: 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (2.2 cm);  
 29.131.3h4: N/A; 29.131.3i1-i10: diameter: 1<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (4.8 cm); 29.131.3j:  
 N/A; 29.131.3k1-k4: N/A; 29.131.3k5-k8: height: 6<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (16 cm);  
 29.131.3k9-k10: height: 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (13.3 cm); 29.131.3L1-L4: height: 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in.  
 (5.7 cm); 29.131.3L5-L9: height: 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (2.7 cm); 29.131.3m1-m8: width:  
 2<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (5.9 cm); 29.131.3n1-n2: width: 2<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (5.6 cm); 29.131.3p1-p2:  
 height: 5<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (14.5 cm); 29.131.3q: height: 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (20.6 cm);  
 29.131.3r1-r2: height: 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (15.9 cm); 29.131.3s: N/A; 29.131.3t1-t2:  
 height: 4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (12.1 cm); 29.131.3u: N/A. Fletcher Fund, 1929  
 (29.131.3.a-u)

LITERATURE: Richter, "Etruscan Chariot," *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 1939; Richter, "Etruscan Chariot," *Studi Etruschi*, 1939  
 The large collection of metal attachments illustrated here, many with their iron or bronze nails still preserved, once belonged to a wheeled wooden cart or chariot. Approximately eighty-six pieces are extant. Because all the larger elements



4.26a



4.26b



4.26c



4.26d



4.26e



4.26f

have a flat back, it can be assumed that they came from a vehicle that was basically rectilinear rather than curved like the Museum's chariot from Monteleone (4.1). In a number of instances, the same tomb contained both a chariot and a light cart that perhaps functioned as a hearse to carry the deceased to the cemetery. The precise function of the vehicle represented by these metal elements cannot be determined.

Among the most interesting of the bronze attachments is the large plate (4.26a) that depicts, in shallow relief, a seated youth playing the lyre. The pendant to this piece (4.26b) lacks the upper portion where perhaps a related figure was once portrayed. There are ten S-shaped reinforcement plates, eight of which are decorated with bearded snakes (4.26c, d). Pairs of these distinctive braces were probably mounted back-to-back against the wooden panels of the vehicle; indeed, some wood fragments still adhere to their backs. The same bearded snakes appear on a larger symmetrical element (4.26e). Such snakes are often brandished by death demons in Etruscan art, and this specific iconographical detail may corroborate the interpretation of the cart's original function as a funerary vehicle. Other elements, for example the plates with Gorgon heads and the sockets decorated with satyr or ram heads, may reinforce this funerary function. Many other pieces are completely undecorated, and some, for example the bronze rings, might belong to the harness.

These objects are said to have come from Populonia, one of the Etruscans' major seaports. Indeed, the closest parallels for several items, especially the S-shaped and large

rectangular plates (4.26f), come from the Fossa della Biga at Populonia. However, the type of cart probably represented by the Museum's bronze pieces appears throughout Central and Northern Italy during the Etruscan period.



4.27 front



4.27 back



4.28

#### 4.27 Small statue of a young woman

Late 6th century B.C., height: 11 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (29.4 cm). Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.2066)

LITERATURE: Richter, "Archaic Etruscan Statuette," 1912, pls. III, IV; Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 34–38, no. 56, ill.; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 28, fig. 71; Fabing, "Etruscan Bronzes," 1988, pp. 194–99, no. 33, ill.; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 471, no. 324, ill. p. 282

This statue, perhaps the best-known Etruscan figural bronze in the Museum's collection, was produced in one of the major bronze-working centers, probably Vulci or Chiusi. The artist was clearly inspired by archaic Greek *korai*, votive statues of young women. This influence is especially noticeable in the typical frontal pose with right hand extended and left hand holding the garment.

The sculptor was not especially concerned about the accurate depiction of Greek costume. For example, the Greek cloak (himation) is misrepresented; the folds prominently visible from the front are absent on the back. This may indicate that the artist was looking at a two-dimensional source such as a relief sculpture or vase painting rather than a sculpture in the round. This artist was more interested in rich

surface embellishments than in realistic renderings of drapery. He produced a wealth of engraved details, indicating hair, jewelry, sewn seams, and decorated hems. The pointed shoes (*calcei repandi*), here elaborately reproduced with meticulously detailed laces and floral ornament, are distinctively Etruscan. The figure's left foot is a modern restoration.

#### 4.28 Statuette of a satyr and maenad

Ca. 510–480 B.C., height 3 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (10 cm). Rogers Fund, 1912 (12.229.5)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 42–43, no. 61, ill.; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 28, fig. 75; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 473, no. 342, ill. p. 295

This small but carefully produced bronze depicts a satyr abducting a maenad, one of the Archaic period's favorite subjects. Both figures are modeled with a great deal of attention to details such as facial features, hair, and drapery. The maenad wears a beautiful diadem with three flowers. The ultimate source of inspiration for the maenad is the series of Greek sculpted *korai*, contemporaneous female figures set up as votive offerings in many Greek sanctuaries.



#### 4.29 Statuette of Herakles

Civita Castellana, ca. 500–475 B.C., diameter  $3\frac{1}{16}$  in. (7.8 cm).  
Rogers Fund, 1912 (12.229.4)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 43–44, no. 62, ill.

The exquisitely modeled lion's-skin knotted around the waist of this active figure indicates that he is Herakles (Etruscan Hercle). He probably once held a club in his raised right hand. There are vestiges of an attachment to another object on his left knee. It is likely that originally, this figure was one of a pair that decorated a bronze tripod of the type produced at Vulci (see 4.38). Herakles may have been paired with Apollo (Etruscan Apulu), his opponent in their struggle for the mythic Delphic Tripod, the three-legged article of furniture on which the Pythian priestess sat to deliver the oracles of the god. The Tripod Struggle was a favorite subject in both Greek and Etruscan art in the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C., and one especially appropriate for an actual tripod, which was used for offerings or in other rituals. This interpretation is strengthened because Herakles kneels on a small omphalos, a rounded stone that represents the navel of the earth, a major symbol of Apollo at Delphi.<sup>54</sup>



4.29



4.30a



4.30b

#### 4.30a, b Two statuettes

Early 5th century B.C., A: 06.1092: said to be from Sirolo, height:  $3\frac{3}{8}$  in. (8.6 cm). Rogers Fund, 1906; B: 43.11.7: height  $4\frac{15}{16}$  in. (12.5 cm).

Edith Perry Chapman Fund, 1943

LITERATURE: 06.1092: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 28, fig. 74; Shirley J. Schwarz in *LIMC*, vol. 5 (1990), "Hercle," p. 221, no. 212

Statues of youths or gods carrying animals to sacrifice are common in Greek art but relatively rare in Etruscan. Possibly, the youth carrying a pig shown below center (4.30a) represents Herakles (Etruscan Hercle) carrying the Erymanthian Boar, one of the hero's twelve labors, but there are no certain attributes (for example, a lion's-skin or club) to identify him. The rounded base indicates that this statuette, highly refined in its depiction of anatomical detail, was once the finial for a candelabrum.<sup>55</sup>

The Museum's collection also includes the small bronze striding warrior illustrated below right (4.30b); nude except for his helmet, he once held a separately made spear in his right hand and perhaps carried a shield on his left arm. In addition, three perforations at the top of his helmet indicate that originally, it was fitted with a crest.

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#### 4.31a, b Two statuettes of youths

6th century B.C., A: 19.192.49: late 6th century B.C., height:  $8\frac{3}{16}$  in. (20.8 cm). Rogers Fund, 1919; B: 1972.118.64: height:  $5\frac{5}{8}$  in. (14.3 cm). Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971

The solid-cast bronze youth below (4.31a) is based on Greek prototypes. The thin attenuated torso and large feet are typical Etruscan modifications to the standard Greek form. It was probably a votive offering dedicated at an Etruscan sanctuary, perhaps in response to a benefit requested or to one already granted.

The nudity, short hair, and pose of the youth depicted in the statuette to the right (4.31b) demonstrate clearly that he represents an Etruscan response to Greek sculptures of the second half of the sixth century B.C. Originally, the figure held something, perhaps a spear or a bow, in his right hand. One characteristic Etruscan feature is that he wears pointed shoes (*calcei repandi*; see 4.27), which are unknown in the related Greek statues.



4.31a



4.31b



4.32

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#### 4.32 Statuette of a lion

6th century B.C., height  $3\frac{3}{4}$  in. (9.6 cm). Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971 (1972.118.58)

The pose and attenuated form of this solid-cast bronze are reminiscent of the monumental guardian stone lions such as those that flank the street leading to the Greek sanctuary of Apollo on Delos. Once, this lion might have ornamented a large bronze vessel or brazier; it is perhaps a product of Vulci.



4.33a, b, c

**4.33a, b, c, d Statuettes of a lion, double-headed lion, lion, and floral ornament**

Ca. 550–500 B.C., heights: A: 1989.281.74: 2½ in. (6.4 cm); B: 1989.281.76: 2¼ in. (5.7 cm); C: 1989.281.75: 2½ in. (6.3 cm); D: 1989.281.77: 4<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (12.6 cm). Gift of Norbert Schimmel Trust, 1989  
 It is said that these four objects, once part of the Norbert Schimmel Collection, were found together. Although the lions are made of bronze, apparently they were attached to something made of iron. Iron pins and plates are still preserved on them. In addition, the floral element has an iron stamen and stands on a rectangular plinth. One possibility is that all four bronzes were attached to a chariot or cart. The double-headed lion might have been used to tether reins. It is harder to imagine where the floral element might fit on a chariot. Perhaps instead, it may have decorated the top of an elaborate cup holder. See, for example, two bronze cup holders in the Museo Archeologico, Florence, from the Tomba del Duce at Vetulonia.<sup>56</sup> The finial for an incense burner (compare with 4.37) is also a possibility.<sup>57</sup> However, the heavy plinth makes these interpretations problematic.

**4.34a, b Pair of statuettes of reclining satyrs**

Late 6th century B.C., heights: A: 1972.118.65: 2¼ in. (5.2 cm); B: 1972.118.66: 1<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (5 cm). Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971  
 This delightful pair of satyrs, one playing the Pan pipes while reclining on a wineskin and the other holding a drinking horn, probably once decorated the rim of a large bronze vessel. These devotees of Bacchus (Etruscan Fuflungs) are associated with wine and thus would have been appropriate subjects on a vase used to serve that drink. Their style suggests a workshop in one of the major cities of Northern Etruria, perhaps Chiusi.

**4.35 Statuette of a satyr**

6th century B.C., height: 4<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (11.6 cm). Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971 (1972.118.72)  
 An unusual detail of this striding or dancing satyr is that he wears a *perizoma*, a kind of short pants or brief worn by both Etruscan men and women. Satyrs are almost always shown nude. The left ear is another detail that gives a delightful sense of realism and immediacy to this statuette.



4.33d



4.34a



4.34b



4.35



4.36a, b, c, d

#### 4.36a, b, c, d Four figural plaques

Said to be from Arezzo, perhaps ca. 525–500 B.C., heights: A: 96.9.380: 2<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (6.2 cm); B, C: 96.9.378, .379: 2<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (6.7 cm); D: 96.9.377: 2<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (7.1 cm). Purchase, 1896

LITERATURE: 96.9.380: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 16, no. 34, ill. 96.9.378: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 16, no. 36, ill. 96.9.379: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 16, no. 35, ill. 96.9.377: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 15, no. 33, ill. p. 16

These four small figures are cut from thin sheets of bronze to form profile silhouettes that are delineated with incisions. The treatment of the two female figures, the contours of their legs clearly visible through the linear drapery, is reminiscent of Attic vase paintings by Euthymides, a major artist of the late sixth century B.C., and of other early red-figure vase artists. Facing left are two male figures, one of which is damaged below the knees. Both are nude but have long hair, and one wears a headband. How these small plaques were used is unknown. Maybe they were affixed to flat wooden surfaces (small boxes?) with an adhesive.

### ETRUSCAN BRONZE VESSELS, UTENSILS (TRIPODS, HELMET ATTACHMENTS, HANDLES, HANDLE ATTACHMENTS)

#### 4.37 Thymiaterion (incense burner)

Late 6th century B.C., total height: 13<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (34.9 cm); height of figure: 3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (9.6 cm). Gift of Henry G. Marquand, 1897 (97.22.22)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 372, no. 1298, ill. p. 373; Teitz, *Etruscan Art*, 1967, pp. 42–43, no. 27, ill. p. 135  
Incense burners were popular items among the Etruscans, who often included these objects in burials. This example is typical of a type normally associated with Vulci, the site of extensive bronze-working activity throughout much of Etruscan history. A robust nude youth, a descendant of the Greek *kouros* type, stands on a triangular platform



4.37

supported by a tripod of lions' paws resting on balls. The shaft rising from his head terminates in a plant-like form that originally supported a small shallow bowl for the incense. A related bronze incense burner in the Villa Giulia, Rome, is almost identical to the Museum's example and must have been produced by the same workshop.<sup>58</sup>

#### 4.38 Rod-tripod

Ca. 525–500 B.C., height as restored: 26 in. (66.1 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1960 (60.11.11)

LITERATURE: von Bothmer, "Newly Acquired Bronzes," 1961, pp. 146–47, 149, figs. 19–21; Richardson, *Etruscans*, 1964, pp. 113–14, pl. XXVIII; Richard Daniel De Puma in *LIMC*, vol. 3 (1986), "Tinas Cliniar," p. 599, no. 15; Riis, *Vulciencia Vetustiora*, 1998, p. 77, n. 171

The city of Vulci was famous in antiquity for its production of luxury bronzes, especially vessels, incense-burners, candelabra, and engraved mirrors. One type of popular bronze item is the tripod, an elaborate stand to support either a cauldron (see 4.39) or a brazier. These were produced at Vulci for about seventy years, from about 540 to 470 B.C.

The Museum's example is decorated intricately with three lion's-paw feet surmounting frogs. The upper conical section of each foot terminates in a series of elegant volutes and palmettes. Higher up, three arched appliqués allow for







4.40a

the attachment of the rods that form the legs. Each of these is decorated with wild beasts attacking their prey. A lion kills a bull; a panther attacks a deer; a second lion savages a ram. Below each animal combat is a symmetrical tendril with four pendant acorns alternating with palmettes. Finally, there are three pairs of mythical subjects at the tops of the vertical rods. These figural elements depict the twin gods Castor and Pultuce (Roman Castor and Pollux), Herclé and his patroness Menrva (Roman Hercules and Minerva), and two satyrs. There is no obvious connection among these three subjects. A group of very similar appliqués is in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.<sup>59</sup>

The overall impression of these three groups of solid-cast elements—the lion's-paw feet, the arched appliqués, and the figural elements—is one of meticulous attention to decorative detail. Such bronzes are vivid testimony to the artistic and technical skills of Vulcian metalworkers in the late sixth century B.C.

#### 4.39 Tripod and dinos (deep round-bottomed bowl)

Said to be from Orvieto, ca. 525–475 B.C., total height: 35¾ in. (90.8 cm). Gift of Estate of Jacob Hirsch, in memory of Dr. and Mrs. Jacob Hirsch, 1955 (55.129.1a, b)

LITERATURE: Alexander, "Newly Acquired Bronzes," 1958, pp. 88–89, 91, ill.; Sciacca and Di Blasi, *La Tomba Calabresi*, 2003, pp. 224–25

Tripods composed of heavy solid-cast rods with lion's-paw feet and the foreparts of lions and ducks supporting a wide hammered collar often were produced at Vulci. This large dinos with separately cast rim is undecorated. It is very similar to a dinos from Campiglio Marittima, now in the Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen.<sup>60</sup>

#### 4.40a, b, c Three helmet attachments

Civita Castellana, early 5th century B.C. A: 97.22.7: 1¼ x 1⅞ in. (3.2 x 4 cm). Gift of Henry G. Marquand, 1897; B: 19.192.56: height: 1⅞ in. (2.7 cm). Rogers Fund, 1919; C: 1973.11.2: height: 2⅞ in. (5.2 cm). Arthur Darby Nock Fund, in memory of Gisela M. A. Richter, 1973  
LITERATURE: 97.22.7: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 46–47, no. 67, ill. 19.192.56: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 30, fig. 89



4.41

Shown here is one of three carefully made bronze helmet attachments that depict Acheloo or a satyr, mythical creatures popular in Etruscan art. Acheloo is a river god who can change into a serpent or a bull. Thus, he is often shown with bovine ears. The fact that each of the Museum's figures has wings reinforces the interpretation as the changeable Acheloo. The curved backs of these small decorative bronzes show that they were originally attached to the fronts of bronze helmets of the Negau type, named for the Slovenian village where a cache of them was found in 1811. Vulci is their likely origin. Some of these helmets were inscribed in a North Etruscan script.<sup>61</sup> A number of Negau helmets, some with attachments still in place, come from contexts that date from the late sixth through the fifth century B.C.<sup>62</sup>

#### 4.41 Neck-amphora (jar)

Ca. 460 B.C., height: 13⅞ in. (33.9 cm). Gift of Norbert Schimmel Trust, 1989 (1989.281.70)

The elegant curves of this vessel imitate early fifth century B.C. Greek prototypes of terracotta and bronze. Each handle is ornamented elaborately with heraldic pairs of felines above and horses below. A delicate frieze of acorns is engraved between the horses.<sup>63</sup>



4.42

#### 4.42 Pair of amphora handles

Said to be from Arezzo, late 6th to early 5th century B.C., height: 8¼ in. (20.5 cm). Gift of Henry G. Marquand, 1897 (97.22.14, .15)  
LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 31, nos. 47, 48, ill.

This pair of elegant handles once graced a large bronze amphora. Each one was attached to the side of the vessel, with two rivets at the rim and one on the satyr-head escutcheon. The satyrs, delightfully executed with pudgy faces and snub noses, have carefully rendered beards, mustaches, and hair. A bird, perhaps a dove or a duck, surmounts the curving volute at the top of each handle.

#### 4.43 Handle attachments for a situla (bucket)

6th century B.C., height: 2 in. (5.1 cm). Rogers Fund, 1908 (08.258.8a, b)  
LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 33–34, nos. 54, 55, ill.

The distinctive double rings indicate that these two bronzes, one of which is shown here, are attachments for the swinging handles of a situla. Each is carefully modeled with symmetrical palmettes and volutes below and entwined coiled serpents about the rings.

#### 4.44 Kylix (drinking cup)

Said to be from Praeneste, 7th century B.C., height: 2¾ in. (6 cm), diameter: 6⅞ in. (17.4 cm). Rogers Fund, 1909 (09.221.21)

LITERATURE: Richter, "Accessions," 1910, p. 98; Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 199–200, no. 532, ill.; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 9, figs. 25, 26

The hybrid creatures ornamenting the exterior of this cup include a griffin, a winged lion with human head, a winged panther, a second panther without wings, a lion, and a winged goat. Such images are adapted from the ornaments on Near Eastern and Greek Orientalizing objects imported by the Etruscans. In many cases, they may have appealed more for their exoticism than for any intrinsic symbolic meaning. The border below this animal frieze consists of lotus buds. These common Orientalizing motifs are clearly derived from Corinthian vase painting, but here, the artist used an unusual tool to make fine zigzag lines rather than the single lines associated with regular incision, and as with many vase paintings, the very faint lines of preliminary sketches are still visible. Incised on the underside of the foot is a Maltese cross. The kylix is made of two separate layers; the undecorated inner one is tightly fitted inside the outer figural layer. The solid-cast handles are decorated with rings on their exterior surfaces.

#### 4.45 Kyathos (single-handed cup)

Said to be from the Lago di Bolsena area, late 6th century B.C., height (with handle): 8½ in. (21.6 cm). Purchase, 1931 (31.11.12)

LITERATURE: Alexander, "Bronze Kyathos," 1932, ill.; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 30, fig. 85

This elegant bronze cup, its handle decorated with a solid-cast lotus finial, represents a type that frequently appears in bucchero examples (see 4.62 and 4.63a), especially ones associated with Vulcian workshops.



4.43





4.44



4.45



4.46



4.47



4.48

#### 4.46 Sant'Anatolia-type kyathos (single-handled jug)

Ca. 450–400 B.C., height:  $4\frac{1}{8}$  in. (10.5 cm). Rogers Fund, 1913 (13.227.4)  
LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 208–9, no. 574, ill.

This kyathos is a very fine example of a popular shape known as the Sant'Anatolia type, made in both bronze and terracotta. This type, named after a site near Spoleto where examples have been found, is characterized by a flat base, slightly concave body, short neck with wide rim, and high arched handle. Several others of the type were found in the Civita Castellana tomb group (see 5.2a–d). This one is incised delicately with two elaborate cable patterns and a tongue pattern with beading on the rim.<sup>64</sup>

#### 4.47 Oinochoe (jug)

5th century B.C., height:  $5\frac{1}{8}$  in. (14.1 cm). Rogers Fund, 1913 (13.227.5)  
LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 189–90, no. 492, ill.; Weber, *Bronzekannen*, 1983, p. 118, n. 3, p. 436, no. A.VI.5, pl. XXII

The body of this small jug is ornamented with meticulously incised tongue patterns that flank a delicate cable frieze. The base of the handle shows the head of a lion's skin and may allude to the cloak worn by Herakles (Etruscan Heracle).

#### 4.48 Biconical oinochoe (jug)

Said to be from Civita Castellana, early 5th century B.C., height:  $9\frac{1}{4}$  in. (23.5 cm). Rogers Fund, 1913 (13.232.2)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 191, no. 494, ill.

This jug with a distinctive biconical form is called Beazley's Shape VI. It was popular in both ceramic and bronze.<sup>65</sup> Examples occur from the late sixth century well into the third century B.C. Most bronze vessels have decorative handles; this one is fluted and terminates at the top with a ram's head. See also 5.13a and 5.14.

#### 4.49 Oinochoe handle

Early 6th century B.C., height:  $6\frac{3}{16}$  in. (17.3 cm). Rogers Fund, 1960 (60.11.7)

LITERATURE: von Bothmer, "Newly Acquired Bronzes," 1961, pp. 145, 148, fig. 18

This solid-cast handle, originally from an oinochoe, has a large lion's head at the top. It is flanked by smaller animal heads, perhaps deer. Rows of punch marks decorate the back of the lion's head. The handle is formed by two snake tails, which end below in the S-shaped snakes that flank a large female head, Daedalic in style and enlivened with punch



4.49



4.50

marks; this head forms the escutcheon. Daedalic is an art-historical term used to define Orientalizing sculpture, especially in Crete, of about 700–650 B.C. The name comes from the legendary inventor of Greek sculpture, Daedalos, and the figural works are characterized by strict frontality, symmetry, and stylized coiffeurs.<sup>66</sup>

#### 4.50 Oinochoe handle with satyrs

6th century B.C., height: 4<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (12.5 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1926 (26.60.62)

LITERATURE: Richter, "Recent Accessions," 1928, p. 78, fig. 1

This finely worked solid-cast handle depicts two satyrs who flank a large Acheloos head that faces toward the jug's spout. Acheloos, a river god who could change shape, is usually represented as a bearded male head with horns (see 4.40a–c). Perhaps because he fought with Heracles, he is frequently represented on Etruscan bronzes and jewelry. On this fluted and beaded handle, the satyrs are mirror images. Each holds an alabastron in one hand and masturbates with the other. Below, the escutcheon depicts heraldic sphinxes positioned above a palmette. For the satyrs, compare those on a pair of Greek loutirion handles and feet in the Museum's collection dated to the first quarter of the fifth century B.C., shown here below.<sup>67</sup>



4.50 detail



Figure 5. Handles and feet of a loutirion (basin), Greek, Archaic, 1st quarter of 5th century B.C. Bronze. Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1959 (59.11.23a–e)



4.51a

#### 4.51a, b Two funnel-strainers

Ca. 550–475 B.C. A: 34.11.8: height: 6 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (16.7 cm), length: 13 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (34.3 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1934. B: 65.11.1: length: 13 in. (33 cm).

Rogers Fund, 1965

LITERATURE: 34.11.8: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 30, fig. 86; Hill, “Wine Ladles and Strainers,” 1942, p. 47, fig. 8

The Etruscans used metal and sometimes ceramic sieves to strain wine when ladling it from large mixing vessels into pitchers, from which it would then be served. Thus, such utensils are part of the Etruscan banquet ritual and often appear in the hands of servants depicted in tomb frescoes.<sup>68</sup> The bronze example shown here and a second one in the Museum’s collection (4.51b) are beautifully crafted with ornamental handles terminating in horse’s and duck’s heads. The better-preserved strainer, as can be seen here, has two rampant lions sitting on its rim, carefully incised ornament on the handle, and incised and modeled bands on the outer surfaces of the funnel.<sup>69</sup>

#### 4.52a, b Two cinerary urns

Campanian, A: 40.11.3a, b: with lid, said to be from Capua, ca. 500 B.C., height: 19 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (48.5 cm). Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1940.

B: 23.160.24: probably from Capua, ca. 500 B.C. or later, height: 10.9 in. (27.6 cm). Rogers Fund, 1923

LITERATURE: 40.11.3a, b: Hôtel Drouot, *Objets antiques et du Moyen Age*, 1910, lot 85, pl. XI; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 29, fig. 81; Richter, “Notable Acquisitions,” 1940, pp. 431–34, figs. 4–6; Brendel, *Etruscan Art*, 1978, pp. 227–28, fig. 154. 23.160.24: Richter, “Greek and Roman Bronzes,” 1924, p. 69, fig. 4; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 29

Large hammered bronze urns, often decorated with solid-cast figures on the lid, were used for cremated remains in Etruscan-dominated Campania. Several examples have been found at Capua, the major city in this region, and it is likely that they were produced there from the late sixth to the mid-fifth century B.C. The statuettes added to the lid of the large example seen here depict a nude discus thrower surrounded by four smaller Scythian archers mounted on rearing horses. Many collections include similar statuettes that have been separated from their urns (for example, see 4.53). This urn is enhanced with engraved decoration in the form of a tongue pattern on the shoulder and a palmette frieze at mid-belly, a scheme close to the engravings on a Campanian urn in the Rhode Island School of Design, Providence.<sup>70</sup> The Museum’s work has a close parallel in the British Museum<sup>71</sup> that was discovered in 1847 in a large tuff box that contained an Attic red-figure cup by the Euergides Painter, from about 520–510 B.C. Another cinerary urn in the British Museum depicts a discus thrower surrounded by horsemen, the same configuration as





4.53

that on our urn.<sup>72</sup> There are at least two dozen related examples for these bronze cinerary urns in various collections.<sup>73</sup> The bone fragments found inside a cinerary urn in the Field Museum, Chicago,<sup>74</sup> have been studied by Marshall Becker<sup>75</sup> and appear to be those of a middle-aged female.

Compared to all other examples, the Metropolitan's urn is unusual because it has a foot, which is separately cast and was originally attached at the base. On its underside is a two-letter inscription that indicates the Etruscan number 55. It is not certain what this means. It could indicate a price or capacity for the urn or perhaps a means of identifying the maker, workshop, or owner.<sup>76</sup>

The large bowl of another cinerary urn in the collection (4.52b) that has a separately cast rim attached by means of three iron rivets belongs to the same class as the cinerary urn shown here. Remains of at least three iron fibulae and some pottery and bone fragments still adhere to the bottom interior of the vessel. No doubt, those objects were part of the funeral offerings for the cremated individual buried within the urn.

#### 4.53 Statuette of a Scythian warrior

Campanian, from Suessula, ca. 500 B.C. or later, height: 4<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.

(12.6 cm). Gift of Norbert Schimmel Trust, 1989 (1989.281.78a, b)

LITERATURE: von Duhn, "La necropoli di Suessula," 1887, p. 244, fig. 18b; Teitz, *Etruscan Art*, 1967, p. 50, no. 36, ill. p. 138; Muscarella, *Ancient Art*, 1974, n.p., no. 86, ill.

This mounted warrior once embellished the lid of a large cinerary urn such as 4.52a. The warrior was cast separately and then added to his horse. Additional decorative details include punched circles on the Phrygian cap and tunic, and the engraved lines on the horse's mane, tail, and harness.

#### 4.54 Pair of handles with satyrs

Early 5th century B.C., height: 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (10.3 cm). Gift of Norbert

Schimmel Trust, 1989 (1989.281.79a, b)

LITERATURE: Mitten and Doeringer, *Master Bronzes*, 1967, p. 195, no. 200, A, B; Teitz, *Etruscan Art*, 1967, pp. 50–51, no. 37, ill. p. 136; Muscarella, *Ancient Art*, 1974, n.p., no. 89, ill.



4.54

These handles once were attached to a large bronze column-krater, a bowl for mixing wine and water. Traces of solder on the tops suggest the possibility of additional elements, now missing. Each satyr stands erect with a hand brought to the head in a gesture resembling a salute that is called the *apokopein*. This Greek word defines a “glancing into the distance” and is a characteristic gesture of satyrs. The present author is among the scholars who believe that these handles show stylistic features associated with Etruscan bronzes produced in Campania, the region of Southern Italy where the Etruscans had founded important cities such as Capua.

#### 4.55 Griffin attachment

Ca. 600–575 B.C., height: 7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (18.2 cm). Samuel D. Lee Fund, 1941 (41.11.2)

The heavy solid-cast griffin illustrated here was probably the finial for another object, perhaps an andiron. Originally, the eyes were inlaid with other materials, such as amber or ivory, to create a more lifelike realism. A close parallel, although not as carefully modeled, is in the British Museum.<sup>77</sup>



4.55

#### 4.56 Furniture attachment with griffin heads

6th century B.C., height: 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (11.4 cm). Gift of Bashford Dean, 1903 (03.6.2)

On this furniture attachment, three small griffin heads project from a squared base that was once attached to the corner of a wooden object with two bronze pins. Incisions mark the eyes, teeth, nose, and scales of each solid-cast griffin, and there is an incised palmette on top of each head.



4.56



4.57

### ETRUSCAN IMPASTO AND BUCCHERO POTTERY

The earliest Italic pottery in the Museum's collection is hand-built from coils or slabs of rough, unpurified clay. That type of pottery is called *impasto*. Often these ceramics are decorated with stamped or incised geometric ornaments (see 4.101a–c); painted designs are rare. Over time, beginning in the seventh century B.C., more attention was paid to making vessels of refined clay and firing them in more carefully controlled kilns. Also, potters began to throw vessels on the wheel rather than build them by hand. A transitional version of pottery, which is made of more carefully fired and better levigated clay but is not quite as refined as later bucchero, is called *buccheroid impasto* (see 4.20).

From the early seventh century B.C. onward, the Etruscans produced a distinctive black pottery called *bucchero*. The collection of *bucchero* in the Metropolitan Museum includes a sizable group of objects. The color of *bucchero* is not the

result of a glaze or slip but rather is produced by firing the clay in a reduction kiln. In this kind of kiln, air can be cut off from the fire. The lack of adequate oxygen results in clay that is black on both surface and interior. The earliest documented examples of *bucchero* come from Caere (modern Cerveteri) and date from about 675 B.C. By the end of the seventh century, several other cities, especially Tarquinia, Veii, Vulci, Chiusi, and Orvieto, had important workshops producing different styles of *bucchero*. Archaeologists generally have divided this pottery into two basic types: *bucchero sottile* (light *bucchero*) and *bucchero pesante* (heavy *bucchero*). *Bucchero sottile* tends to be finer, thinner, and more delicate. *Bucchero pesante*, which is far better represented than *bucchero sottile* or *buccheroid impasto* in the Museum's collection, is a later development. Many of the larger shapes—especially the elaborate *kraters*, *kantharoi*, and *oinochoai*—with more complicated decorative schemes that often employ repetitive molded ornaments demonstrate the strength of the Metropolitan's *bucchero pesante* collection. Especially notable





4.58

is the large number of these vessels associated with the major centers of Chiusi and Vulci.

Bucchero was traded widely and has appeared in archaeological sites throughout the Mediterranean Basin, especially in the southern Rhône valley of France, in southern Spain and Tunisia, in Greece, on the Black Sea coast, and in Egypt. It is a distinctive indicator of Etruscan trade routes.

#### 4.57 Kantharos (drinking cup with high handles)

Bucchero sottile, ca. 650–600 B.C., height (with handles): 12 in. (30.5 cm), diameter: 10¼ in. (26 cm). Rogers Fund, 1921 (21.88.146)  
LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 10, fig. 32

The tall flaring handles with struts and notched decoration indicate the influence of metallic prototypes.<sup>78</sup> Impressed “fans,” made with a comb-like device (see 4.72a), are typical of this period. The kantharos is the most common shape in bucchero and occurs in a wide variety of sizes. This example is one of the largest extant.<sup>79</sup>

There is some argument about the relationship between metal and terracotta drinking cups. The earliest extant Etruscan bronze kantharoi date from the late seventh century B.C., not as early as the earliest terracotta examples. But this may be only an accident of what has survived. In any case, it is clear that the kantharos was invented by the Etruscans and is responsible for the appearance of the shape in later sixth century B.C. Greek pottery and metalware.

#### 4.58 Kantharos (drinking cup with high handles)

Bucchero pesante, 6th century B.C., height: 7¼ in. (18.4 cm). Purchase, 1896 (96.9.153)

This drinking cup is an excellent example of the standard bucchero pesante kantharos. The favored place for relief decoration is the inner face of the wide ribbon-like handles, and here they show a common subject, the divinity known as the Potnia Theron or Mistress of the Animals (see also 4.61b). She is depicted frontally and flanked heraldically by felines. This subject, inspired by Near Eastern imports, may not have



4.59

had the religious associations it implies in the East. Instead, for the Etruscans, it simply may have been an exotic decorative embellishment. The same type of handle with pronounced flange is also often used on kyathoi (see 4.63b), especially at Chiusi, the likely origin of this kantharos.

#### 4.59 Kotyle (drinking cup)

Bucchero pesante, ca. 550 B.C., height: 4½ in. (10.5 cm). Purchase, 1896 (96.9.126)

This cup with two horizontal handles and a tall rim is decorated on each side with a winged male figure that might represent a wind god. The motif also appears on other vases in the Museum's collection.<sup>80</sup>

#### 4.60a, b, c Three stemmed plates or complates

Bucchero pesante. A: 96.9.154: ca. 550 B.C., height: 6¼ (15.9 cm), diameter: 10 in. (25.4 cm). B: 96.9.156: ca. 550 B.C., height: 6 in. (15.2 cm), diameter: 10 in. (25.4 cm). Purchase, 1896 (96.9.154, .156). C: 16.174.32: 6th century B.C., height: 4 in. (10.21 cm). Rogers Fund, 1916 (16.174.32)

The footed bowl shown here (4.60a) is undecorated except for four small appliques of heraldic horse heads applied to the rim. This shape is common at Chiusi, Orvieto, and Vulci.<sup>81</sup> The Museum's plate 4.60b is similar to this one but with four janiform female heads on the rim. An incised zigzag, running between the heads, decorates the top of the rim. The third plate in the Museum's collection (4.60c) is a smaller and shorter version of 4.60a and 4.60b; the decoration on that work consists of four modeled female heads placed on the exterior rim.<sup>82</sup> It is believed that vessels of this type functioned as thymiateria or incense burners and thus were an important part of the Etruscan funerary ritual.<sup>83</sup>

#### 4.61a, b Two "Nikosthenic" amphorae (jars with two handles)

Bucchero pesante. A: 75.4.14: ca. 600–550 B.C., height: 9¼ in. (23.5 cm). Gift of L. P. di Cesnola, 1875. B: 96.9.141: ca. 550–500 B.C., height: 7.9 in. (20.2 cm). Purchase, 1896

LITERATURE: 96.9.141: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 11, figs. 33, 34

The distinctive shape of amphora 4.61a shown on the facing page, with its wide strap handles and tall conical neck, is named for the Attic potter Nikosthenes, who imitated this Etruscan shape. The form goes back to indigenous Italic shapes



4.60a



4.61a



4.61b

like the spiral amphora (3.26a, b) but over time evolved into a more attenuated type, often with ornate handles. This example is simply decorated with rouletted diagonals at the neck's midpoint and on the shoulder.<sup>84</sup>

The wide handles of amphora 4.61b shown above right are decorated with reliefs of the Potnia Theron or Mistress of the Animals, a common subject in bucchero pesante inherited from the ancient Near East. The same subject appears on the handles of 4.58. Except for these handles and some incised or modeled horizontal bands, the vase is undecorated.<sup>85</sup>

#### 4.62 Kyathos (ladle)

Bucchero sottile, ca. 650 B.C., height: 4½ in. (11.4 cm). Purchase, 1896 (96.9.60)

This small but refined ladle is unusually decorated with an incised floral ornament on the floor of the bowl. Relief ornaments cover the wide strap handle. They include alternating panels of symmetrical abstract standing figures, probably griffins, and a stylized floral device.<sup>86</sup>



4.62



4.63a



4.63b

#### 4.63a, b, c Three stemmed kyathoi (single-handled cups)

Bucchero pesante. A: 16.174.11: ca. 575–550 B.C., height without handle: 9 in. (22.9 cm), height with handle: 16 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (41 cm), diameter: 10 in. (25.4 cm). Rogers Fund, 1916. B: 96.9.151: ca. 550–525 B.C., height with handle: 8 $\frac{9}{16}$  in. (21.8 cm), height without handle: 5 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (13.3 cm). Purchase, 1896. C: 75.4.28: 6th century B.C., height: 7 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (18.1 cm). Gift of L. P. di Cesnola, 1875

LITERATURE: 96.9.151: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 11, fig. 35

The very large single-handled cup 4.63a illustrated above left has a vertical handle with flanges that terminate in rams' heads. The inner face is decorated with two pairs of bosses connected by modeled chords. Six bosses punctuate the rim; below each, on the exterior of the bowl, is a large round boss. Below the rim are a frieze of deeply incised vertical lines and two rows of incised diagonals. The notched carination is typical of both this shape and the kantharos. Large bucchero kyathoi are frequently associated with Vulci. Because they

are so large, they may not have been intended for anything but symbolic use in the tomb.<sup>87</sup>

The flared fluted rim and the molded handle of the kyathos 4.63b, shown here above right, are decorated with a female head and an elaborate palmette-volute, typical features of bucchero products made in Chiusi and environs throughout much of the sixth century B.C.

Another kyathos (4.63c) with a short stem and single high handle served as a ladle or dipper. Like the Nikosthenic amphora 4.61a, this shape was taken into the Attic ceramic repertoire in the second half of the sixth century B.C. and produced for export to Etruria.

#### 4.64a, b Pair of chalices with lids

Bucchero, Chiusine, ca. 650 B.C., A: 96.9.67a, b: height: 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (11.4 cm); B: 96.9.110a, b: height: 4 $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (11.3 cm). Purchase, 1896

LITERATURE: Donati, "Skyphoi chiusini di bucchero," 1977, p. 91, no. 11



4.64a, b

Stemmed chalices are one of the most common shapes of bucchero drinking vessels. However, most are not supplied with lids. The distinctive wide flat handles on the piece to the left (4.64a) are decorated with stamped heraldic sphinxes. This type of bucchero is associated with Chiusi and has been systematically studied by archaeologist Luigi Donati. His catalogue lists fourteen related chalices with the same handle motif.<sup>88</sup> The domed lid, supplied with a simple loop handle, depicts confronted cockerels in shallow relief and enhanced with incised details.

An Etruscan bucchero amphora in the Museum's collection (ca. 650–600 B.C., height:  $7\frac{1}{16}$  in. [19.5 cm]. Purchase, 1896 [96.9.79a, b]) is close to the chalices shown here in fabric and technique. In this case, the broad handles are stamped with a winged male figure. Similar motifs appear on 4.59.

#### 4.65 Chalice

Bucchero pesante, 6th century B.C., height:  $6\frac{7}{8}$  in. (17.5 cm). Gift of Louis P. di Cesnola, 1875 (75.4.26)

This simple but elegant chalice is unusual in shape and decoration. The deep bowl is more concave than is typical, and it has a very short foot. A series of deep horizontal grooves articulates the outer bowl and foot. Eight grooves in all are painted with a white pigment, heightening their presence. Although bucchero was sometimes painted, very few examples today show any evidence of it. This is the only piece in the Museum's extensive collection of bucchero that shows that practice.<sup>89</sup> Recent studies have demonstrated that cinnabar or other pigments were often added to the incised or impressed ornament on bucchero vessels to make the designs more legible against the black surfaces.<sup>90</sup>



4.65



4.66a



4.66b

#### 4.66a, b, c Three chalices

Bucchero pesante, ca. 550 B.C., A: 16.174.15: height: 8¼ in. (21 cm), diameter: 6⅝ in. (16.8 cm). Rogers Fund, 1916. B: 96.9.78: height: 7¼ in. (18.4 cm). Purchase, 1896. C: 16.174.17: height: 7 in. (17.8 cm), diameter (of mouth): 5¼ in. (13.4 cm). Rogers Fund, 1916

LITERATURE: 16.174.15: Richter, "Classical Accessions: Etruscan Pottery," 1921, pp. 104–5, fig. 4

The highly ornate drinking vessel 4.66b with a fluted rim topped with "rivet-like" bosses and modeled female heads in pairs, is a type associated with Chiusi. The chalice's stem is ornamented with four motifs representing the Mistress of Animals. As has been stated above (4.58 and 4.61b), this is a common subject derived from the ancient Near East. Four feline heads decorate the foot. Given the bosses and undulating rim, it would be difficult to drink from such a vessel, and so, one wonders if it might have been made expressly for the tomb. A similar chalice is in Siena.<sup>91</sup>

Chalice 4.66a is similar to 4.66b but without a fluted rim and with rams' heads affixed at the carination and female heads at the base of the stem. An almost exact parallel for this piece comes from Poggio Buco and was probably made at Vulci.<sup>92</sup> Not shown here is 4.66c, which is very close to the preceding chalice but with a shallower bowl and higher stem. The rams' heads are at the top of the stem rather than the base. Around the rim, another set of rams' heads alternate with female heads. All are topped by rivet-like bosses.

#### 4.67a, b, c Three chalices

Bucchero pesante. A: 18.145.26: ca. 550 B.C., height: ⅞ in. (19.2 cm), diameter of mouth: 5⅝ in. (13.5 cm). Rogers Fund, 1918. B: 96.9.107: ca. 550–525 B.C., 5⅜ x 5⅝ in. (13.2 x 14.1 cm). C: 96.9.94: ca. 550 B.C., height: 6⅞ (17.5 cm), diameter: 6⅜ in. (17 cm). Purchase, 1896

On the exterior frieze of the chalice illustrated here (4.67a), four boars moving to the right alternate with inverted U-shaped loops, a typical motif on Chiusine bucchero pesante. In addition, incised zigzags appear on the rim, base of bowl, and foot. The concave flare of the foot is incised with a scallop or scale pattern. Boars are a relatively uncommon subject for bucchero animal friezes.<sup>93</sup>

The exterior of another bucchero pesante chalice in the Museum's collection (4.67b, not shown) is carelessly incised with a crude animal frieze that shows stylized boars and includes inverted U-shaped loops alternating with the animals. Incised zigzags appear on the rim. This chalice is likely a product of Chiusine workshops.<sup>94</sup> The frieze on the chalice 4.67c (not shown) is a series of sphinx protomai moving to the right alternating with inverted U-shaped loops. The rim border is an incised ray pattern, and incised zigzags encircle the base of the bowl and the foot.<sup>95</sup>



4.67a

#### 4.68a, b Two chalices

A: 96.9.109: bucchero, ca. 550 B.C., height: 5½ in. (14 cm), diameter: 5¼ in. (13.3 cm). B: 96.9.147: bucchero pesante, ca. 550 B.C., height: 11⅜ in. (28.9 cm). Purchase, 1896

The stamped frieze of circles and dots on the chalice 4.68a was made with a cylinder seal rolled across the clay before firing. This type of seal has been associated with workshops in Orvieto.

The chalice 4.68b is large and deep, with slightly fluted rim and small bosses at the top of each crease in the walls of the bowl. Friezes of horizontal zigzags enliven the rim. The stem is ornamented with horizontal relief bands and incised zigzags.



4.68a



4.68b



4.69a, b



4.70





4.71a, b

#### 4.69a, b Pair of chalices

Bucchero, Chiusine, ca. 550 B.C. A: 96.18.110: height: 5<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (14.8 cm), diameter: 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (15.7 cm). B: 96.18.117: height: 5<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (13.8 cm), diameter: 5<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (14.9 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1896

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 11, fig. 36; Scalia, "I cilindretti," 1968, p. 374, nos. 108–11, fig. 5b

These chalices are a matching pair, except for their slightly different dimensions. They have the same stamped frieze, made with a cylinder seal, running around the exterior of the bowl. On it are two figures striding to the right, each holding a tall staff with leaves or branches. Next, facing right, is an enthroned figure with scepter and footstool. Beneath the throne is a large bird. Four figures striding to the right approach a second seated figure almost identical to the previous one but facing left. The first man in this foursome offers a small vase to the seated figure.<sup>96</sup>

#### 4.70 Phiale mesomphalos (libation bowl)

Bucchero, ca. 575–550 B.C., height: 2<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (6.7 cm), diameter: 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (20.7 cm). Rogers Fund, 1916 (16.174.16)

Phialai made of red impasto ware are frequently found in the tombs at Poggio Buco, but bucchero examples like this one are rare. This well-preserved piece shows the typical impressed decoration on the bowl's interior in which a series of egg-shaped gadroons encircle a zigzag with a central omphalos. Ultimately, this shape derives from ancient Near Eastern metal prototypes.<sup>97</sup>

#### 4.71a, b Pair of trefoil oinochoai (jugs)

Bucchero pesante, from Chiusi (?), ca. 550 B.C., A: 96.9.114: height: 14<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (36 cm); B: 96.9.135: height: 14<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (35.9 cm). Purchase, 1896  
Horse and lion protomai (foreparts or busts) are often used to decorate bucchero jugs made at Chiusi. The horse motif is especially reminiscent of protomai on Attic black-figure amphorae of about 600 to 570 B.C., which may have influenced these Etruscan designs. Both beautifully preserved jugs seen here have stylized feline heads rendered on their rotelle. This almost identical pair is likely an example of a *servizio per due*, or set, a distinctive feature of many Chiusine burials (see 4.69a, b).



4.72a, b

#### 4.72a, b Two trefoil oinochoai (jugs)

A: 21.88.161: bucchero pesante, ca. 550 B.C., height: 11 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (28.8 cm).

B: 21.88.159: bucchero sottile, ca. 625–600 B.C., height: 11 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (28.4 cm). Rogers Fund, 1921

LITERATURE: 21.88.161: Richter, "Department of Classical Art," 1933, p. 28, fig. 1. 21.88.159: Richter, "Greek and Etruscan Vases," 1924, pp. 99–100, fig. 7; Richter, "Technique of Bucchero Ware," 1936, pp. 64–65, pl. 23; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, pp. 10–11, fig. 31; Gran Aymerich, "Vasos de bucchero inciso," 1973, p. 228, no. 220001, pp. 271–72, 288; De Puma, "Etruscan Legacy," 1976, p. 223

Both the shape and decoration of this type of pitcher derive from Greek, especially Corinthian, prototypes. The contrasting decorative treatments illustrate the differences between bucchero sottile and bucchero pesante. The earlier pitcher (4.72b) is made of highly levigated clay and has thinner walls than the later piece (4.72a). The major animal procession and the lower frieze of ray patterns are delicately incised; the shoulder frieze of rouletted or impressed "fans" is also typical of this type.<sup>98</sup> On the bucchero pesante jug (4.72a), incision is only used to delineate and highlight details in figures, in this case, a procession of ten low-relief sphinxes, which are identical because they are stamped from a single mold.

In fact, at the point just to the left below the spout, one can see that the artist ran out of space and omitted the rear half of one sphinx. This second pitcher is a type associated with Vulci.<sup>99</sup>

#### 4.73a, b Two trefoil oinochoai (jugs)

Bucchero pesante. A: 96.9.92: ca. 550 B.C., height: 12 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (30.8 cm).

B: 96.9.111: ca. 575–550 B.C., height: 13 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (33.5 cm). Purchase, 1896  
The trefoil oinochoe, a jug with a pinched spout, is the most popular type of pitcher for bucchero potters. Illustrated here is oinochoe 4.73a, which is decorated with pairs of stags, lion heads, and busts of the winged man motif in relief. (For the winged man, see 4.59 and 4.64.)

The shoulder of a second jug (4.73b, not shown) is decorated with a series of bold gadroons in high relief. Deep horizontal grooves frame the gadroon frieze and encircle the neck. On the handle is a seated figure with a bird beneath the chair.<sup>100</sup> A grotesque mask-like face, flanked by rams' heads, is modeled at the top of the handle. The early dating is supported by recent finds at Poggio Civitate and Chianciano.<sup>101</sup> The type has been associated with Chiusi, but examples are frequent also at Orvieto and Vulci.<sup>102</sup>



4.73a



4.74

#### 4.74 Trefoil oinochoe (jug)

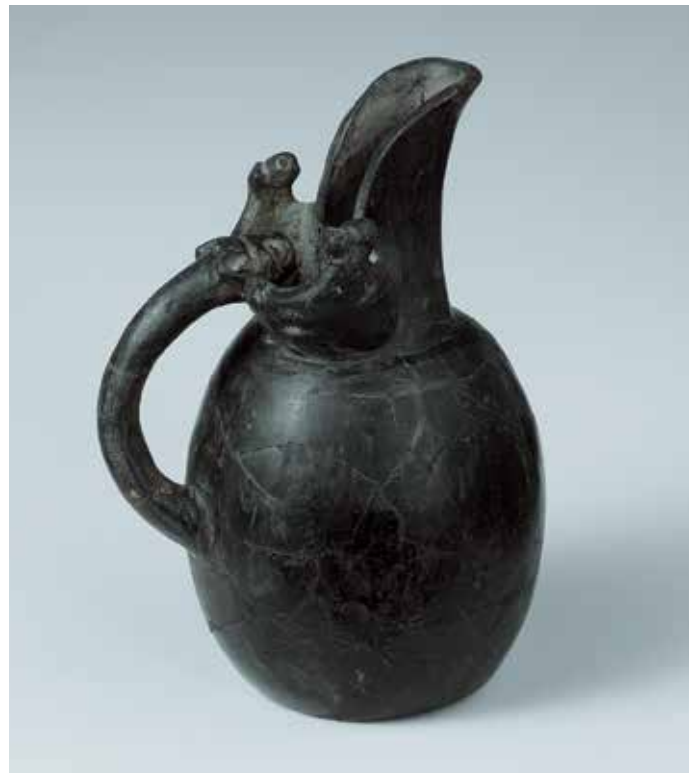
Bucchero pesante, ca. 550–500 B.C., height: 13 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (34.5 cm). Rogers Fund, 1918 (18.145.27)

This large and well-preserved oinochoe has the usual gadroon frieze on its shoulder and a belly frieze of lions striding to the right. The oversized rotelle are decorated with palmettes. A pair of incised eyes with abundant eyelashes flank the spout.<sup>103</sup> This vase and another in the British Museum<sup>104</sup> have incised eyes with eyelashes flanking the jug's spout.<sup>105</sup>

#### 4.75a, b Two trefoil oinochoai (jugs)

Bucchero pesante, 6th century B.C. A: 17.194.1840: height: 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (14 cm). Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917. B: 96.9.152: height: 8 $\frac{11}{16}$  in. (22.1 cm). Purchase, 1896

The shape of the oinochoe shown to the right (4.75a) is unusual. It has a very large beak-spout reminiscent of much earlier Italic pitchers (see 3.22; also compare 4.11). In addition, the bulbous belly is undecorated, and there is no foot. The only ornament consists of small animal heads that decorate the top of the handle. There are few parallels, but an oinochoe in the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, is close.<sup>106</sup>



4.75a



4.75b

The strong carination and wide flat shoulder mark the vase illustrated above left (4.75b) as a distinctive type ultimately derived from metal prototypes. There is no added ornament in relief or incision. Good parallels for the shape are in the Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen,<sup>107</sup> and the Lindenau Museum, Altenburg.<sup>108</sup> Variants of the shape also occur in Etrusco-Corinthian pottery and are often associated with Vulci, where the shape was popular.<sup>109</sup>

#### 4.76a, b, c Three jugs with lids

Bucchero pesante. A: 96.9.80a, b: ca. 575–550 B.C., height with cover: 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (29.1 cm), height without cover: 9<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (24.9 cm). B: 96.9.140a, b: ca. 550 B.C., height (96.9.140a): 14<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (36.8 cm), height (96.9.140b): 4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (12.1 cm). C: 96.9.119a–c: ca. 550–500 B.C., height: 16<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (42.9 cm). Purchase, 1896



4.76a

The unusual jug above right (4.76a) is elaborately decorated with modeled and incised ornaments. A bold face with incisions emphasizing the eyes stares out from the front of the top. The neck has a band of incised herringbones and modeled gadroons. The major frieze on the belly has modeled recumbent rams alternating with incised herringbones (perhaps indicating trees). Finally, the handle includes a reclining feline in relief.

Elaborate jugs such as this one, which often have a carefully modeled human head on the neck, are typical products of Chiusi.<sup>110</sup> The use of human heads is reminiscent of another major product of Chiusi, the so-called Canopic urns used as containers for cremated remains (see 4.99a). Examples of this type of jug, which appears to be an Etruscan invention of uncertain function, have been listed by G. Batignani,<sup>111</sup>



4.76b

although she excluded the examples in New York on stylistic grounds, believing they might not be Chiusine because the heads are modeled in full relief. In this author's estimation, the Museum's first two examples (4.76a and b) belong to her Type B, which is characterized by the large human face near the mouth of the vessel. She listed more than twenty related examples, most of them in Italian collections.<sup>112</sup> The

Metropolitan's examples are significant because they are more detailed and also much larger than typical examples of this type.

The jug shown above (4.76b) is similar to 4.76a but much larger. Here, the face is somewhat more naturalistic, and the shoulder ornament is more complex, with a series of recumbent lions alternating with symmetrical (floral?) designs.



4.77a, b

The lower part of the belly has a second frieze of lions produced from the same mold (see also 4.80). Identical lions appear on another bucchero vase, a large hydria in The Field Museum, Chicago.<sup>113</sup> In this case, the lid is a large bearded male head with prominent nose and incised hair and eyebrows (shown in 4.76b).<sup>114</sup>

A third tall lidded jug (4.76c, not shown) is undecorated; it has no human face but has a lid with a rooster finial. Large bucchero oinochoai with rooster finials are especially popular products of sixth-century Chiusine workshops.<sup>115</sup>

#### 4.77a, b Two trefoil oinochoai (jugs)

Bucchero pesante, ca. 550 B.C. A: 16.174.10: height: 13<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (34.8 cm). B: 16.174.12: height: 15<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (40.4 cm). Rogers Fund, 1916  
 LITERATURE: 16.174.10: Richter, "Classical Accessions: Etruscan Pottery," 1921, p. 104, fig. 1; Richter, "Technique of Bucchero Ware," 1936, pl. 20, 4; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 40, fig. 127; Batignani, "Le oinochoai di bucchero pesante," 1965, p. 311. 16.174.12: Richter, "Classical Accessions: Etruscan Pottery," 1921, p. 104, fig. 3; Richter, "Technique of Bucchero Ware," 1936, pl. 20, 5; Batignani, "Le oinochoai di bucchero pesante," 1965, p. 311

These two pitchers are of similar shape. Both have strap handles decorated with reliefs and large *rotelle*, the circular elements at the top of the handles that are vestiges of handle attachments on metal prototypes. Ornament on the smaller oinochoe consists of small projecting rams' heads similar to those on the Museum's chalices 4.66a and 4.66c. These occupy the widest part of the belly and the neck. In addition, there are bosses on the neck and shoulder, small female heads on each side of the spout, and female heads with incised hair on the *rotelle*. The larger oinochoe is less extravagantly decorated. It has small bosses on the neck, perforated bosses on the belly, and small female heads with long incised hair on the *rotelle*. Both works likely are products of a Vulcian workshop.

#### 4.78 Jug with griffin protome handle

Bucchero pesante, ca. 600–550 B.C., height with handle: 8 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (20.7 cm), height without handle: 6 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (16.8 cm). Purchase, 1896 (96.9.142)

The most distinctive feature of this unusual bucchero jug is the large griffin protome that acts as the handle. Griffin protomai are often used to decorate the rims of large bronze or impasto cauldrons, but bucchero examples are rare. A fragmentary griffin protome, which is even more stylized than the Museum's example, was excavated at the Camucia Tumulus (Tomb A) at Cortona. Based on the other funerary goods found in that tomb, it probably dates from the early part of the sixth century B.C. Many of the objects in that tomb are associated with Chiusi, the likely origin of our jug.<sup>116</sup> An impressed cylinder frieze decorates the jug's shoulder. It has a symmetrical volute design, which is worn and difficult to read. Similar friezes occur on at least three other bucchero vessels.<sup>117</sup>

#### 4.79a, b Offering trays with bowls, dish, tablets, spoon

Bucchero pesante, ca. 550–500 B.C. A: 96.9.145a (tray): height: 7 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (18.11 cm), width: 13 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (33.71 cm), length without handles: 21 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (54.3 cm); 96.9.145b (bowl): height: 1 $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (3.7 cm), diameter: 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (11.4 cm); 96.9.145c (dish): height: 1 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (2.4 cm), diameter: 4 $\frac{15}{16}$  in. (12.5 cm); 96.9.145d (bowl): height: 1 $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (3.7 cm), diameter: 4 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (10.6 cm); 96.9.145e (bowl): 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (3.2 cm), diameter: 4 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (11 cm); 96.9.145f (bowl): height: 1 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (3 cm), diameter: 4 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (10.5 cm); 96.9.145g (tablet): width: 3 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (8.4 cm), length: 6 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (15.6 cm); 96.9.145h (tablet): length: 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (14 cm); 96.9.145i (spoon): length: 4 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (12.1 cm). B: 96.9.168 (tray): height: 5 $\frac{15}{16}$  in. (15.1 cm), diameter: 12 in. (30.5 cm). Purchase, 1896 (96.9.145a–i, .168)

LITERATURE: 96.9.145a–i: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 40, fig. 128; Donati, "Vasi di bucchero," 1968, p. 351, no. 264 ("Gruppo D")



4.78

Large rectangular or circular bucchero trays, known as *focolari*, are typical tomb offerings in the Chiusi region. The rectangular type is more common. Usually, the trays contain a variety of small vessels, spoons, spatulas, palettes, and other utensils that can be associated with the preparation of food or cosmetics. Scholars, including the present author, have suggested that these items imitate, on a miniature scale, the more expensive banquet sets of bronze or silver. Some trays have perforated bases, and most have a cutaway open front, implying that perhaps some might have been used as braziers. The smaller circular one here also resembles a brazier with its deep-sided walls and cutaway open front.



4.79a



4.79b



4.80a, b





4.81a

The two examples seen here demonstrate different approaches to ornament. The much larger rectangular tray (4.79a) has modeled recumbent lions on the rim at each corner. An impressive palmette device is centered on the rim at the back, with slightly smaller versions between the lions on each side. Flanking the opening are female heads and low reliefs depicting a griffin and a siren (compare 4.81a). These are repeated on the back, but there, they face outward rather than inward. By contrast, the smaller circular tray (4.79b) has only three modeled rams' heads on the rim.<sup>118</sup> Both of the Museum's trays have a pair of horizontal handles.

#### 4.80a, b Tray and stand

Bucchero pesante, ca. 550–500 B.C., A: 96.9.148a (tray): height: 6½ in. (16.5 cm), diameter: 12⅞ in. (32.7 cm); B: 96.9.148b (stand): height: 9⅓ in. (24.9 cm). Purchase, 1896

Ornate bucchero stands with removable trays, often decorated with four female heads, have been found frequently in Chiusine burials. The ultimate prototypes for the circular trays are probably East Greek Orientalizing examples.<sup>119</sup> They might have carried actual food offerings for the deceased. The heavy arched handles are modeled to look like twisted ropes. The female heads wear pointed hats under their shawls (compare 4.102). Four additional female heads support the removable tray. A band of incised Xs decorates the bulging frieze beneath it with a lower frieze of

recumbent lions with both incised and modeled tails. The lions are very similar to those on 4.76b.

#### 4.81a, b Plemochoe (vase for scented unguents?) and plemochoe with lid

Bucchero pesante. A: 96.9.167: ca. 550 B.C., height: 10⅙ in. (27.2 cm), height (of bowl): 9⅙ in. (23.4 cm). B: 96.9.139a–c, late 6th century B.C., height: 8¼ in. (21 cm). Purchase, 1896

LITERATURE: 96.9.167: Richter, "Technique of Bucchero Ware," 1936, pl. 21, 1, 2; Donati, "Vasi di bucchero," 1968, p. 342, no. 183. 96.9.139a–c: Richter, "Technique of Bucchero Ware," 1936, pl. 22, 1, 2; Donati, "Vasi di bucchero," 1968, p. 342, no. 182

Six female heads, similar to those on 4.80, decorate the rim of the large vessel shown here (4.81a). Below that is a frieze showing a procession of modeled sirens moving to the right. They alternate with lion protomai facing left. The trumpet-shaped foot is fluted. The plemochoe is not a common shape in bucchero. Most examples have a higher foot and vertical handles.<sup>120</sup> A second plemochoe (4.81b, not shown) is similar but has only four female heads. In this case, there are heavy vertical handles below each head. Relief swans, moving to the left, decorate the belly frieze. An examination of the interiors of these two vases shows that the relief figures—sirens, lion protomai, swans—were created by the potter pushing the leather-hard clay into an exterior mold (the potter's term is *jigger*).<sup>121</sup> It is not known how the Etruscans used such vessels.



4.82b

#### 4.82a, b, c Three column-kraters (bowls for mixing wine and water)

Bucchero pesante, ca. 560–500 B.C. A: 16.174.7: height: 13<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (34.6 cm). B: 16.174.8: height: 16<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (41 cm). C: 16.174.9: height: 13<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (35.3 cm). Rogers Fund, 1916

LITERATURE: 16.174.7: Richter, "Classical Accessions: Etruscan Pottery," 1921, p. 105, fig. 8; De Puma, "Bucchero Pesante Column Krater," 1974, pp. 30–31, pl. V, c. 16.174.8: Richter, "Classical Accessions: Etruscan Pottery," 1921, p. 105, fig. 7; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 40, figs. 124, 125; De Puma, "Bucchero Pesante Column Krater," 1974, pp. 30–31, pl. V, b. 16.174.9: De Puma, "Bucchero Pesante Column Krater," 1974, pp. 30–31, pl. V, d

The three bucchero pesante vessels included here have two handles at the sides and then additional decorative straps bridging the gap between shoulder and rim at front and

back. Such kraters are typical of bucchero workshops in the Vulci area during the sixth century B.C. Illustrated here is 4.82b, one of three of the Museum's examples (with 4.82a and 4.82c) that are unusual because they have four or six straps rather than the usual two (as on 4.82a). On 4.82b, there are six, arranged with two vertical straps flanking a horizontal one, decorated with a lion on each side, and on 4.82c there are four decorated with sphinxes. It is also unusual for the straps to be decorated with animals or sphinxes, as human masks are typical for this type. The shape is ultimately derived from Corinthian metallic and ceramic models to which the Etruscan potter, in typical fashion, added lively embellishments. Most column kraters of this type come from Vulci or towns in its immediate environs.



4.83



4.84



Figure 5. Stand with two sphinxes, terracotta, Greek, Attic, red-figure, Archaic, ca. 520 B.C., height: 10¼ in. (26 cm). Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Norbert Schimmel, 1980 (1980.537)

#### 4.83 Cylindrical stand

Bucchero, 6th century B.C., height: 3.6 in. (9.09 cm). Purchase, 1896 (96.9.102)

LITERATURE: Mertens, *Greek Vases*, 2010, p. 111, fig. 39

It appears that this shape is an Etruscan invention. Such stands are relatively common in bucchero and can be simple or complex in their decoration.<sup>122</sup> The Museum's example is of the less elaborate type, with only minor embellishment in the form of accentuating the ends of the cylinder. An intriguing comparison has been made between this type of Etruscan stand and two related Attic red-figure stands also in the Museum's collection.<sup>123</sup> It is likely that these unusual stands are an Athenian response to Etruscan taste and were made expressly for export to Etruria.

We do not know the function of these stands, but because they are often found in funerary contexts, it has been suggested that they might have held offerings of aromatic herbs.<sup>124</sup>

#### 4.84 Flask

Bucchero, 6th century B.C., height: 2.7 in. (6.79 cm). Purchase, 1896 (96.9.131)

Flasks have a long history in ancient Italy going back to the Villanovan eighth century B.C., but the shape is relatively uncommon in bucchero and impasto. It is likely that the source of inspiration goes back to Late Villanovan bronze flasks. The small handles and suspension lugs suggest that these containers functioned much like modern canteens. Scholars have seen a possible connection with the faience "New Year's Flasks" of Saite Egypt (Dynasty XXVI, 664–525 B.C.).<sup>125</sup> The Museum's flask is more refined and elegant than most extant bucchero examples, and the small delicate handles flanking the spout are unusual. Significantly, these are in the same position and similar to the handles on the Egyptian flasks.<sup>126</sup>

#### 4.85 Jug in the shape of a Siren

Bucchero pesante, ca. 550–500 B.C., height: 11⅞ in. (29.1 cm). Rogers Fund, 1918 (18.145.25)

LITERATURE: Richter, "Classical Accessions: Etruscan Pottery," 1921, p. 104, fig. 2; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 40, fig. 126, and drawing on p. 43; Camporeale, "Vasi plastici di bucchero pesante," 1973–74, p. 117, pl. XXX, 1, 2; Camerini, *Il bucchero etrusco*, 1985, pl. XXXIX, 2



4.85

This rare and highly decorative trefoil-mouthed jug is in the shape of a siren, the mythical creature visualized as a hybrid between a human female and a bird. Here, the human elements include a stylized head and two small feet. The body consists of large flanking swans (or ducks?) modeled in low relief and with elaborately incised feathers. An elegant incised volute palmette decorates the front of the siren's body. The jug handle has a strut for extra support. Rotelle, flanking the top of the handle (the left one is missing), have small female heads.

Relatively few examples of this unusual type of vessel have survived. An example from Vulci, now in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin-Charlottenburg, is smaller, more simply decorated, and with a different treatment of the handle and base. A related piece in the Museo Claudio Faina, Orvieto, is the only one of the three surviving pieces with an archaeological context; it comes from a tomb in the Crocefisso del Tufo Necropolis and can be dated, on the basis of an accompanying Attic vase, to about 540 B.C.<sup>127</sup> With so few examples available, it is impossible to be certain about the workshop's



4.86

location, but several stylistic details have affinities with Chiusine bucchero. There is a bronze jug in the shape of a siren in the British Museum. In her discussion of that object, Sybille Haynes suggested that “the siren symbolized the after-life and would thus be appropriate for a vessel used in a funerary cult.”<sup>128</sup>

#### 4.86 Vessel of hybrid shape

Bucchero pesante, ca. 575–550 B.C., height: 4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (11.1 cm), length including leg: 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (15.4 cm). Purchase, 1896 (96.9.134)

This vase presents something of a puzzle. At first glance, it seems to belong to a group of about ten examples that are drinking vessels in the shape of a bent leg, including a foot but with a bearded head attached to the upper thigh. A variant of this group, consisting of another five examples, transforms the calf and foot into another element. This can be the forepart of either a horse or a ram. But the Museum’s vase is neither in the shape of a bent leg nor of an animal forepart. Instead, it seems to be a unique case that ends in the tail of a hippocamp or seahorse, although with one fin now missing.

Ultimately, the form might have been inspired by bent-leg vases produced in Greece. But once again, Etruscan creativity has taken an idea and modified it almost beyond recognition. Most of the examples of this type of vessel that have a context are connected with Chiusi, and that is the likely origin of this vase too.<sup>129</sup>

## VARIOUS EARLY TYPES OF TERRACOTTA POTTERY

Although bucchero has been called the national pottery of the Etruscans and is found abundantly throughout the territories they controlled, they produced a wide variety of other kinds of terracotta pottery. The Metropolitan Museum of Art’s collection of Etruscan art is richest in bucchero, especially bucchero pesante; in this section, seven of the additional major pottery fabrics are examined. They are treated in roughly chronological order and given the terms assigned by archaeologists: Italo-Geometric, Faliscan and Capenate, White-on-Red, Etrusco-Corinthian, Chiusine Cinerary Urns, Caeretan Red Ware, and Pontic Ware. Also included is an eighth type called here Other Etruscan Black Figure. Each type of pottery is characterized in a short introduction.

### 1. Italo-Geometric

As the name implies, this style was highly influenced by Greek Geometric pottery exported to Italy. It is the Etruscan response to the popular styles of Geometric art that appeared in Greece during the early eighth century B.C. Greek colonists were well established in the Bay of Naples region by about 770 B.C. The Euboean foundations at Pithekoussai on Ischia and Cumae were actively involved in trade with the native Italic populations and were especially interested in the rich mineral resources controlled by the Etruscans in northern Etruria. This contact had a significant influence on Etruscan culture. It brought the alphabet to Italy and profoundly changed pottery production. It is likely that the new kinds of kilns that made their appearance in Italy during the eighth century B.C. were the direct result of technologies learned from Greek potters. Those kilns have separate combustion and firing chambers that allow for a more controlled firing process. The direct result of this improved technology is seen in Italo-Geometric pottery, which is more refined than earlier impasto wares.

The importation of painted Greek pottery, in sharp contrast to the less decorative local impasto wares, quickly encouraged imitation. There are stylistic differences, but the eye alone cannot easily distinguish pottery found in Italy but made on the Greek mainland by Euboeans from pottery made by itinerant Euboeans working in Italy or from pottery made by indigenous artisans trained by Euboeans. Fortunately, scientific analysis of the clay has assisted in clarifying these distinctions.<sup>130</sup>

The Museum has four pieces of Italo-Geometric pottery, one of which, decorated with herons (4.87), is of superb quality and has important cultural connotations. That plate represents the final phase of this style, Subgeometric.





4.88a, b

#### 4.87 Barrel-shaped oinochoe (jug)

Italo-Geometric, attributed to the Workshop of the Vulci Biconical, ca. 725–700 B.C., height: 13 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (33.5 cm). Gift of Schimmel Foundation Inc., 1975 (1975.363)

LITERATURE: Paoletti, “Ceramica figurati etrusco-geometrica,” 2009, pp. 658–59, fig. 7

Examples of this unusual shape, which is perhaps an Etruscan invention, have been found often with another distinctive container, a bird-shaped askos. A connection involving an unidentified wine ritual has been proposed, although this author does not think there is enough evidence. At present, the limited evidence suggests that such vases, their painted ornaments heavily influenced by Greek Geometric pottery, were produced at Vulci. The central motif painted here depicts two wild goats flanking a stylized tree. Ultimately, this is Near Eastern imagery that reached Etruria via Greece. Often, it has been associated with fertility, but the Etruscans might have ignored that connection; we do not know. The piece demonstrates the Etruscan ability to synthesize and seamlessly combine disparate foreign elements with their own traditions.

#### 4.88a, b Two footed bowls

Italo-Geometric. A: 64.11.8: ca. 650 B.C., height: 7 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (18.8 cm), diameter: 7 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (18.3 cm). Rogers Fund, 1964. B: 59.141: 625–600 B.C., height: 8 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (20.8 cm). Gift of Joseph V. Noble, 1959

These two vases of similar shape represent different Etruscan responses to imported Greek Geometric pottery of the seventh century B.C. In both Greece and Italy, this kind of pottery is characterized by painted rectilinear (geometric) designs. Figural motifs are rare, and when they do occur, they are silhouettes without articulating incisions or added color. The “metope” frieze on the piece above left (4.88a), in this case filled with simple zigzags, appears frequently on many different shapes. The frieze of fishes on the bowl above right (4.88b) is also an especially common subject. Both types are frequently found in the tombs of Southern Etruria and may have been produced in centers such as Caere and Vulci.



4.89

#### 4.89 Plate

Subgeometric, probably Caeretan, ca. 680–670 B.C., height: 1½ in. (3.8 cm), diameter: 9½ in. (24.1 cm). Gift of Eric Efstathiou, 2000 (2000.457)

LITERATURE: Folio Fine Art, 1970, p. 22, no. 724, ill.

This plate belongs to a large group called the Heron Class after its most common subject. These plates appear frequently in tombs at Cerveteri (ancient Caere). Their precise function is unknown, but many ultimately derive, both in shape and decoration, from eighth-century B.C. Phoenician prototypes. Here, six silhouetted herons occupy the main frieze on the exterior, and wide concentric circles ornament the interior. This example, like most, has two small perforations near the rim to allow the plate to be suspended against a wall when not in use.

#### 2. Faliscan and Capenate

The Faliscans were one of the Italic ethnic groups who lived on the edge of Etruscan territory. The borders of the area occupied by this Faliscan group are ill-defined but may be said to center on its major city, Falerii Veteres (modern Civita Castellana), located on the west side of the Tiber River. From there, Faliscan territory extended to the west as far as Lake Vico and Lake Bracciano and included the settlements of Corchiano, Sutri, Narce, Nepi, and (on the Tiber's east bank) Poggio Sommavilla. The Faliscans spoke a language more akin to Latin than to Etruscan, but apparently, that did not prevent them from having close commercial and cultural ties with their more powerful neighbors. Perhaps this close relationship was the inevitable result of their geographical location.



Faliscan pottery, an area of study that deserves more attention from scholars, is rich and varied. The Museum's holdings are small and concentrated on the early phases but include some exceptional pieces. In the fourth century B.C., the Faliscans developed a vibrant version of Attic red-figure pottery, which at present is not represented in the Museum's collection.

The Capenates were a small ethnic group who spoke a dialect related to Sabine. They were located between the Etruscans, Faliscans, and Sabines in central Italy. The ancient site is about three kilometers northeast of the modern village of Capena, at a spot today called Colle di Civitucola. The center's prime location on a major trade route assured contacts with the Etruscans, Faliscans, Sabines, Latins, and Umbrians. An important meeting place and sanctuary dedicated to the goddess Feronia was located nearby at Lucus Feroniae, which became the site of a Roman colony later, after Capena was conquered by the Romans in 395 B.C. Feronia, whose festival was celebrated on November thirteenth in Roman times, was a goddess of woodlands and flowers.

#### 4.90a, b, c Two holmoi (stands) and fragment of a stand for a cauldron

Etruscan, impasto, probably Faliscan, ca. 700–650 B.C. A: 96.18.128: height: 25 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (65.7 cm), diameter of mouth: 10 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (26.4 cm). B: 96.18.126: height: 26 in. (66 cm), diameter of mouth: 13 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (34.3 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1896. C: 24.97.9: probably Faliscan, bucceroid impasto, ca. 650–600 B.C., height: 17 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (44.6 cm), diameter of mouth: 12 $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (31.6 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1924  
LITERATURE: 96.18.128: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 3, fig. 6. 24.97.9: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 4, fig. 11

The holmos seen here (4.90a) and another in the Museum's collection (4.90b) both have four elements: a large conical base decorated with rows of bosses and triangular perforations, two smaller elements with similar decoration, and a wide flaring top with large bosses to hold the dinos, a large cauldron-like vessel. Stands such as these two examples have been found in Faliscan territory and other parts of southern Etruria.<sup>131</sup>

The Museum's collection also includes a fragmentary holmos of bucceroid impasto (4.90c) that lacks the topmost bowl-shaped element that would have held a dinos. It is an important piece, even though a fragment. The flaring lower element is incised with bold abstract horses galloping to the left in two registers. An incised zigzag ornaments the base. The spherical element has a series of incised palmette motifs.



4.90a



4.91 two views



4.92b

#### 4.91 Dinos (deep round-bottomed bowl) and holmos (stand)

Faliscan, bucceroid impasto, from Capena (Colle di Civitucola), ca. 630–600 B.C., height of cauldron: 13<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (34.5 cm), height of stand: 19<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (50.5 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1928 (28.57.22a, b)

LITERATURE: Alexander, “Etruscan Cauldron,” 1930, figs. 1–3; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 4, fig. 9, and drawings, pp. xiii and 1

Although found at ancient Capena, this impressive bowl with stand was imported from a Faliscan workshop. The holmos is similar to the preceding examples (4.90a, b) but has only one round element and is not perforated. Instead of bosses, there are incised designs on both the stand and the dinos. These incisions were rubbed with a reddish mineral, probably cinnabar, to make the figures more legible. On the dinos are three large felines approaching a tall palmette-like plant, perhaps a variant of the Near Eastern Tree of Life, a fertility symbol that is frequently depicted on early pottery.

On the middle element of the holmos is a frieze of four flamboyant water birds moving to the right. They are reminiscent of the so-called herons on a terracotta plate in the Museum’s collection (4.89). On the base is a procession of three incised animals—a winged goat, a winged feline, and a smaller goat with bird above—moving to the right. The ferocious winged feline grasps a man’s leg in its mouth. The meaning of this motif, which appears with some frequency on early bucchero, is debated. Some scholars<sup>132</sup> have suggested that this is a metaphor for the inevitable death that all humans must face, while others<sup>133</sup> see a more complex symbolism involving death and transformation or apotheosis. Although problematic, we know that at least for some periods of their history, the Etruscans believed that they could

achieve a kind of immortality through animal sacrifice, something unique to Etruscan religious belief. This motif may symbolize that belief.<sup>134</sup>

#### 4.92a, b Two stemmed plates

Capenate, bucceroid impasto, from Capena, ca. 625–600 B.C.

A: 23.160.10: height: 3<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (9.2 cm), diameter: 7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (18.7 cm).

B: 23.160.11: height: 3<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (8.4 cm), diameter: 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (19 cm).

Rogers Fund, 1923

LITERATURE: 23.160.10: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 4, fig. 10. 23.160.11: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 4, and drawing, p. 78

Shown here is one of two plates (4.92b, the second is 4.92a), elegantly incised with variations of a lotus and palmette frieze, which are the only certain examples in the Museum’s collection of objects from the Capenates. Shallow plates on short stems with trumpet-shaped feet are characteristic products of Capenate potters. The symmetrical plant designs are freely based on Near Eastern and East Greek models.<sup>135</sup>

### 3. White-on-Red Ware

This type of terracotta pottery, named for its use of a strong white slip decorating the red clay, developed at Caere (modern Cerveteri) in the early seventh century B.C. It was popular for at least a century before it was replaced by the Etrusco-Corinthian wares. Most White-on-Red vases are decorated with geometric designs (diamonds, triangles, and circles are especially popular), but occasionally, figural subjects appear, especially on large pithoi and pyxides. In addition to simple narratives like battle scenes, some are mythological.<sup>136</sup> The Museum has one example of White-on-Red Ware, which is quite rare in American collections.



4.93

#### 4.93 Footed bowl

Etruscan, White-on-Red ware, from Castelnuovo di Porto, ca. 650–625 B.C., height: 9 $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (24 cm), diameter of mouth: 9 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (23.2 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1925 (25.78.67)

LITERATURE: Micozzi, "White-on-Red," 1994, p. 291, no. 74, pl. LXXX, b  
On this footed bowl from a site just southwest of Capena on the Via Flaminia, the artist painted three horizontal friezes: triangles filled with diagonal lines, compass-drawn concentric circles, and smaller triangles at the bowl's base. The foot is simply painted with ten horizontal bands.

#### 4. Etrusco-Corinthian

Etruscan trade with Greece and her colonies in Southern Italy, Sicily, Southern France, and the Black Sea area was especially vibrant from about 630 to 540 B.C. Large quantities of Corinthian pottery were imported, not only for their own sake but often for the precious goods they contained (for example, perfumes, or scented unguents). The packaging of these commodities was important. Such attractive and decorative vases soon began to influence local pottery production, not only the types of shapes used but also the style, subject matter, and technique of decoration. The Etruscan response to Corinthian pottery is called Etrusco-Corinthian or Italo-Corinthian, and it is often difficult to distinguish the

originals from the copies. One of the best indicators is the color of the clay. Corinthian clay fires to a creamy tan color, while local Etruscan clay has a slightly greenish tint to the tan. More than 2,500 extant vases have been classified as Etrusco-Corinthian. The centers of this large production were at Vulci, Caere, Veii, and Tarquinia.

Scholars have argued the sources of this influence for a long time. Everyone agrees that Greece is a vital component. But were the Etruscans simply inspired to imitate Greek items that they had imported, or did some Greek artisans themselves migrate to Italy? According to an ancient tradition, at least one Corinthian merchant, Demaratus, is said to have set up shop in Etruria about 657 B.C. In Pliny the Elder's account of the development of terracotta sculpture, written in the first century A.D., we are introduced to Demaratus:

Some authorities state that the plastic art was first invented by Rhoecus and Theodorus at Samos, long before the expulsion of the Bacchiadae from Corinth [ca. 580 B.C.], but that when Damaratus, who in Etruria became the father of Tarquin [Lucius Tarquinius Priscus] king of the Roman people, was banished from the same city [Corinth in 657 B.C.], he was accompanied by the modellers Euchir, Diopus and Eugrammus, and they introduced modelling to Italy.<sup>137</sup>

Additional details concerning Demaratus appear in other ancient literary sources. Dionysius of Halicarnassos explains that Demaratus migrated to Tarquinia, where he had already established commercial contacts, married an Etruscan noblewoman, and later had two sons, Arruns and Lucumo.<sup>138</sup> These details also are confirmed by the Roman historian Livy. Lucumo (Lucius Tarquinius Priscus) is the son who became the first Etruscan king of Rome.<sup>139</sup>

Although specific details of this history can be questioned, the basic points it makes are valid, that foreign entrepreneurs were well established in Italy, that some of them married Etruscans and produced children, and that there was a lively cultural exchange between these expatriates and the indigenous population that facilitated the change from small settlements to large urban areas. Archaeological evidence supports this picture. The earliest extant Etruscan stone funerary sculptures show evidence of Syrian influence.<sup>140</sup> Thousands of Greek vases are found in Etruscan tombs and other sites. A rich assortment of Near Eastern and Greek luxury goods has been found in the aristocratic tombs of Etruria. The alphabet was introduced. This is not to say that the Etruscans were helpless without the intervention of foreigners. These innovations built on a long tradition of indigenous skills. Rather, one should recognize a fertile and receptive society responsive to new ideas, ready to evolve to a more sophisticated and urbanized way of life.<sup>141</sup>



4.94

#### 4.94 Four-handled amphora

Etruscan, Etrusco-Corinthian, ca. 675–650 B.C., height; 24 in. (61 cm), diameter: 11¼ in. (28.6 cm). Gift of Bess Myerson, 2001 (2001.761.8)  
 The menagerie on this large amphora represents an Etruscan response to the animals painted on Protocorinthian vases, a popular style of about 725–675 B.C. imported from Greece. While the Greek models often used added color, as on the lion's face or body, the Etruscan potter juxtaposed plain and

patterned areas. Although the felines are standard types, the odd griffin-like hybrid is a unique invention. Most Protocorinthian vases are small in scale (cups, aryballoi), but this amphora is quite large, perhaps a reminder of the earlier large-scale vases of the Italo-Geometric period.<sup>142</sup>

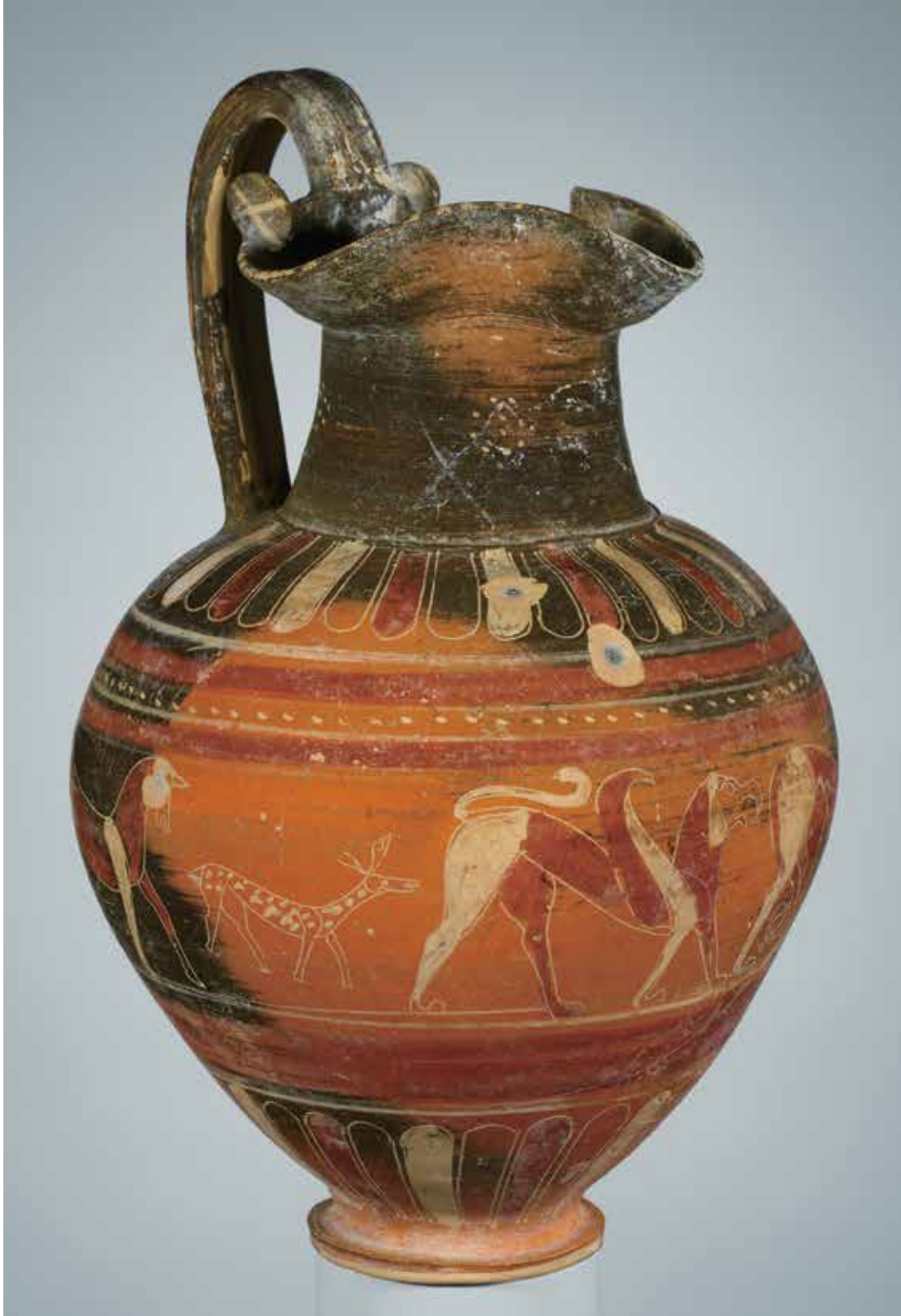
#### 4.95 Olpe (jug)

Etruscan, Etrusco-Corinthian, ca. 600–575 B.C., height with handle: 12.4 in. (31.5 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1896 (96.18.39)

The olpe is one of the most common shapes developed by Corinthian potters, and it was exported extensively to Etruria. Etruscan potters copied the shape frequently and also imitated the standard animal friezes favored by Corinthian painters. This example is covered with colorful ornament enhanced by incision, which is sometimes executed with the aid of compasses. The neck is painted with dotted white rosettes, another very popular motif at this time. Below is a frieze of vertical incised tongues framed by a cursory squiggle beside the handle. The major frieze is composed of elongated volutes and a row of incised double arcs made with compasses. The base has a painted ray pattern. Many variants of this decorative format appear on olpai.<sup>143</sup>



4.95



4.96

#### 4.96 Trefoil oinochoe (jug)

Etruscan, Etrusco-Corinthian, said to be from Veii, ca. 600–550 B.C., height: 14 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (35.7 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1925 (25.78.106)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 12, fig. 41, and drawing, p. 8; Banti, *Etruscan Cities*, 1973, p. 213, pl. 2b; Szilágyi, *Ceramica etrusco-corinzia figurate*, 1998, p. 83, no. 6, pl. XXII, a–d

A procession of animals and hybrid creatures moves to the right to form the central frieze. From the handle, they are a small horse, a very tiny spotted stag, a griffin, a lion, a large spotted stag, and a large goat. The shape and decorative format of this pitcher are directly inspired by Corinthian prototypes (ca. 630–620 B.C.), but the heightened use of color on

the segmented bodies of the animals and on the ornamental friezes is typically Etruscan. (The orange splotch on the belly is the result of misfiring.) Such vases often were made in Vulci and exported to other parts of Etruria.

#### 4.97 Vase in the shape of a monkey

Etruscan, Etrusco-Corinthian, attributed to the *Gruppo a Maschera Umana* (by Szilágyi), ca. 565–550 B.C., height: 3 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (9.2 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1926 (26.60.92)

LITERATURE: McDermott, *Ape in Antiquity*, 1938, p. 267, no. 440, pl. V, 1; Szilágyi, *Ceramica etrusco-corinzia figurate*, 1998, pp. 586–87, no. 191



4.97



4.98a



4.98b



4.98c

A monkey, his body stippled, sits on the ground and holds a large pot decorated with a bird drawn in red-brown slip. Although such small containers in the shape of monkeys ultimately derive from Corinthian and Egyptian prototypes, they were especially popular in Southern Etruria and Latium. Today, we cannot tell if that popularity was based on some special association with monkeys, for example as bringers of good luck, or if it is simply that such exotic animals were considered interesting and amusing.

#### 4.98a, b, c Three alabastra (perfume vases)

Etruscan, Etrusco-Corinthian. A: 69.11.2: in the shape of a bird, ca. 600–550 B.C., height: 3¾ in. (9.5 cm), length: 2½ in. (6.4 cm). Purchase, Winslow Carlton Gift, 1969. B: 41.162.31: in the shape of a dead hare, ca. 600–550 B.C., height: 2¾ in. (6.9 cm), length: 6⅞ in. (16.6 cm). Rogers Fund, 1941. C: 68.126: ca. 625–575 B.C., height: 3⅞ in. (8.8 cm). Gift of Mrs. Pascal Covici, 1968

One of the most popular subjects for decorative oil flasks in both Greece and Etruria is the dead hare (4.98b). In both cultures, many alabastra, whether they represented dead hares, other animals, or were simply globular, were worn

suspended from the wrist. Perhaps because dead hares were exchanged often as a token of homosexual love in Greece, the custom accounts for the popularity of the vase in Etruria.<sup>144</sup> Alabastra shaped like a dead hare were especially popular in the Eastern Mediterranean and have been associated with Ionia, Rhodes, and Corinth. Vases from these places were exported to Etruria and then imitated by local artisans, whether native Etruscans or migrant Greeks. Several Greek vases show youths with rabbits or being courted by men who present them with a rabbit.<sup>145</sup>

On another of the Museum's alabastra, shown here (4.98a), a light brown slip outlines bird's wings, each filled with a combination of cross-hatched lines and scallops. The opening at the top of the bird's head is also decorated with simple strokes, and the eyes are indicated.

The simple linear decoration of a third Etrusco-Corinthian alabastron in the Museum's collection, also illustrated here (4.98c), imitates Corinthian prototypes, but the complex profile of the belly shows the Etruscan tendency to exaggerate and complicate basic Greek forms.<sup>146</sup>



4.99a



4.100

## 5. Chiusine Cinerary Urns

One of the most important inland Etruscan cities, Chiusi controlled the rich farmlands of the Chianti Valley and commercial access to settlements to the north and the rich agricultural lands of the Po River. Long after inhumation became widespread in other parts of the Italian peninsula, the people of Chiusi and surrounding hamlets continued to cremate their dead. They deposited the ashes in anthropomorphic urns often equipped with articulated arms, jewelry, wigs, and even clothing. The Museum has two examples of this kind of impasto ash container, called a canopic urn. Canopic is a misnomer. It was applied to these urns because they bear a superficial resemblance to Egyptian canopic urns, which were used to contain the mummified internal organs of the

deceased. The Etruscans used such urns to hold the ashes and bones of a cremated person.

Not everyone cremated at Chiusi was buried in a canopic urn. Sometimes ashes were placed in more conventional pottery shapes without anthropomorphized features. The Museum has a single example of this kind of cinerary urn (4.100). During the Late Hellenistic period (second century B.C.), unpretentious cylindrical urns with minimal painted decoration and inscriptions were in vogue.<sup>147</sup> This series runs roughly parallel to the more elaborate terracotta cinerary containers treated in Chapter VI, for example, 6.91a and 6.91b.



#### 4.99a, b Two canopic urns

Etruscan, Chiusi or environs, 6th century B.C. A: 96.9.50a, b: height with cover: 21 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (55.2 cm), without cover: 13 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (33.8 cm). Purchase, 1896. B: 96.9.118a,b: 24 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 15 x 11 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (62.2 x 38.1 x 29.2 cm). Purchase, 1896

LITERATURE: 96.9.50a,b: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 13, fig. 44; Gempeler, *Die Etruskischen Kanopen*, 1974, p. 152, no. 160. 96.9.118a, b: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 13, fig. 43; Goldscheider, *Etruscan Sculpture*, 1941, pl. 54; Gempeler, *Die Etruskischen Kanopen*, 1974, p. 139, no. 136

As demonstrated by the work shown here (4.99a), the lids of such urns take the form of a stylized portrait head representing the deceased. In this case, handles that evoke shoulders and upper arms extend outward from the urn's walls. The Museum's collection includes another canopic urn (4.99b), which is in a poor state of preservation. Like the urn shown here, it too probably depicts a male; his eyes, nose, mouth, and ears are all clearly rendered, albeit in an abstracted fashion. His hair is incised, and tiny nipples were added above his thumbs. Earlier examples of Villanovan cinerary urns, especially for warriors, sometimes were topped with a bronze or clay helmet.

Canopic urns were especially popular during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. More than 650 Etruscan canopic urns survive. Often, they were placed on small "thrones" made of stone, terracotta, or bronze in their chamber tombs.

#### 4.100 Stamnoid cinerary urn with lid

Etruscan, ca. 650–600 B.C., height: (with lid): 7 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (18.4 cm), (without lid): 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (14 cm). Purchase, 1896 (96.9.163a, b)

Finely rouletted rays decorate the neck and lid of this vessel. The bulbous body and lid have vertical handles. Urns of this type were used for cremation remains at Chiusi and the surrounding area and may represent a more economical alternative to the roughly contemporaneous canopic urns (see 4.99a, b).<sup>148</sup>

### 6. Caeretan Red Ware

For about a century, the Etruscans of southern Etruria, especially those living in Caere (modern Cerveteri), produced outsized storage urns (pithoi) and braziers in large quantities. These were made of rough clay fired in an oxidation kiln to produce the distinctive terracotta red color. These Red Ware ceramics are normally decorated with one or more stamped friezes rolled onto the clay before firing with a large cylindrical matrix. More than ninety different friezes have been classified for the period between about 610 and 500 B.C. by Lisa Pieraccini and Francesca Serra Ridgway.<sup>149</sup> The Museum's collection does not include any Red Ware pithoi, but it does have two complete braziers and a rim fragment from a third. Such braziers often have been found in chamber tombs, but they also occur in domestic and sacred settings. In all these



4.101c

contexts, they served as portable hearths. A famous example from the Tomba Maroi III in the Banditaccia Necropolis at Cerveteri, now in the Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome, was found perched on a stone seat.<sup>150</sup> Within the brazier were burned remains, several eggs, and three drinking cups (two bucchero kantharoi and an imported Greek kylix).

#### 4.101a, b, c Two braziers and a brazier fragment

Etruscan, Caeretan Red Ware, ca. 600–530 B.C. A: 96.18.96: ca. 600 B.C., height: 4 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (12.4 cm), diameter 18 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (47.5 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1896. B: 19.192.53: ca. 550 B.C., height: 6 in. (15.2 cm), diameter: 17 in. (43.2 cm). Rogers Fund, 1919. C: 23.160.94: ca. 540–530 B.C., height: 2 $\frac{11}{16}$  (6.8 cm), width: 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (16.5 cm). Rogers Fund, 1923

LITERATURE: 96.18.96: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 11, fig. 38; Pieraccini, *Around the Hearth*, 2003, p. 55, no. A9.04, p. 146, K3.01. 19.192.53: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 11, fig. 39; Pieraccini, *Around the Hearth*, 2003, p. 93, C4.10. 23.160.94: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 11, fig. 40; Pieraccini, *Around the Hearth*, 2003, p. 129, G7.04 (erroneously as acc. no. 23.160.95)

The brazier on the next page top (4.101a) has two different cylinder stamps; one, the boar hunt, is only known from five examples excavated at San Giovenale. The subject of the second stamp is a simple frieze of grazing goat, stag, and boar. The second complete brazier, on the next page bottom, (4.101b) is stamped with a scene that depicts a man and two dogs chasing a hare into a net held by a second man. Such friezes are popular on Protocorinthian vases and Etruscan Pontic ware. The fragment shown above (4.101c) depicts pairs of lions attacking a bull and a horned deer, another subject adapted by the Etruscans from Near Eastern and Greek prototypes. We do not know how the Etruscans interpreted this subject or why it was so popular, especially in the last half of the sixth century B.C. One hypothesis is that it is a symbol of death and possibly apotheosis.<sup>151</sup> This last motif appears on the lower right panel of the Monteleone di Spoleto Chariot (4.1).



4.101a



4.101b

## 7. Pontic Ware

Among the first schools of Etruscan black-figure pottery is Pontic Ware, a prominent style of early Etruscan black-figure pottery perhaps produced in Southern Etruria between about 550 and 510 B.C. The makers of Pontic Ware were strongly influenced by East Greek art, especially objects produced in ancient Ionia. Pontic Ware is a misnomer based on an early scholarly theory that these vases were produced by Greek colonists working in the region of the Black Sea (ancient Pontus Euxinus). It is true, however, that although now recognized as Etruscan, this style of pottery borrows heavily from Greek models. For example, the most common Pontic shape is the neck amphora, carefully copied from Attic models but often with the addition of bulging handles that resemble those on Corinthian vases. Other popular shapes, such as some oinochoai and chalices, are derived from the indigenous bucchero repertoire. This kind of synthesis or mixing of various Greek and Etruscan elements is typical of Pontic Ware and appears especially in the rendition of figural narrative and ornament on these vases. Certainly, it is no surprise that early Etruscan black-figure is often associated with the coastal cities of Southern Etruria. Artistic centers like Vulci imported large quantities of Greek pottery and probably also welcomed Greek artisans as immigrants. The second half of the sixth century B.C., it is believed, saw many East Greeks seeking refuge from the Persian advances (they invaded Ionia in 546 B.C.) or the tyranny of Polykrates of Samos (assassinated by the Persians, ca. 523 B.C.). These insecure times in the Greek East prompted many to seek a more peaceful life in the West, especially in Italy.

A number of Pontic vase painters have been identified on the basis of style, subject matter, and other technical qualities. The most famous (at present, at least), and probably the earliest, is the so-called Paris Painter. He is named for a subject, the Judgment of Paris, portrayed on his major piece, a neck amphora in the Antikensammlungen, Munich.<sup>152</sup> Among the later painters who were inspired or perhaps trained by the Paris Painter are the Amphiaros Painter and the Tityos Painter, named for mythical subjects depicted on their major vases.

The Museum's collection includes two Pontic Ware neck-amphorae (see 4.102 and 4.103), which demonstrate the typical approach to the decoration, a major figural frieze at the shoulder followed by narrower friezes of ornament and animal processions at the belly. Usually, there is a simple symmetrical neck ornament and a ray pattern at the base. With the extensive use of added color and incision, these vases are highly decorative and attractive. R. M. Cook offered this assessment: "Whether by origin the painters were Greek or Etruscan is unimportant, as painters they were Etruscan . . . no intimate stylistic relation has been discovered to any Greek school, and technical proficiency is too low for

craftsmen trained in a reputable Greek workshop."<sup>153</sup> With all due respect, the present author disagrees. There is a lively spontaneity and energy in much of Pontic Ware. While the technical skill of the Paris Painter may not be as advanced as that of the best Greek black-figure artists, his sense of color, meticulous detail, and composition shows considerable skill and a lively imagination. The four works of Pontic Ware in the Museum's collection are of excellent quality and of considerable interest both aesthetically and culturally.

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### 4.102 Neck-amphora (jar)

Etruscan black-figure Pontic Ware, Paris Painter, ca. 540 B.C., height: 13<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (35.1 cm). Gift of Nicolas Koutoulakis, 1955 (55.7)

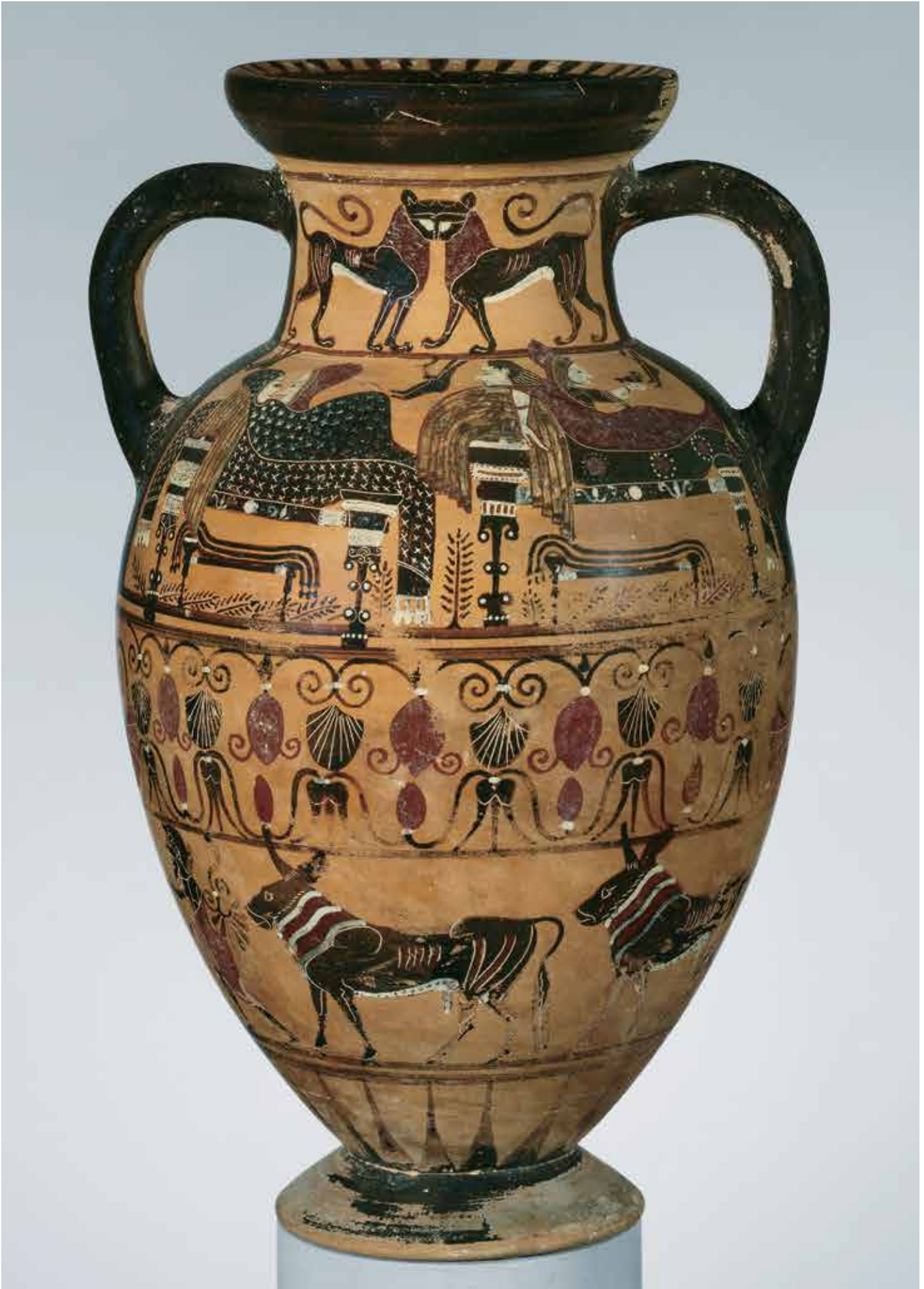
LITERATURE: von Bothmer, "Etruscan Vases by the Paris Painter," 1956, ill.; Hampe and Simon, *Griechische Sagen*, 1964, pp. 35–40, pls. 12–15; Banti, *Etruscan Cities*, 1973, p. 247, pl. 47a; Hannestad, *Paris Painter*, 1974, p. 45, no. 10; L. Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress*, 1975, pp. 73, 132, n. 20, p. 142, n. 85, fig. 147

This amphora, an excellent example of Pontic Ware, is by the most important painter of the group and the likely founder of the workshop. It is typical in displaying a complex narrative design of multiple friezes rich in ornament and added colors.

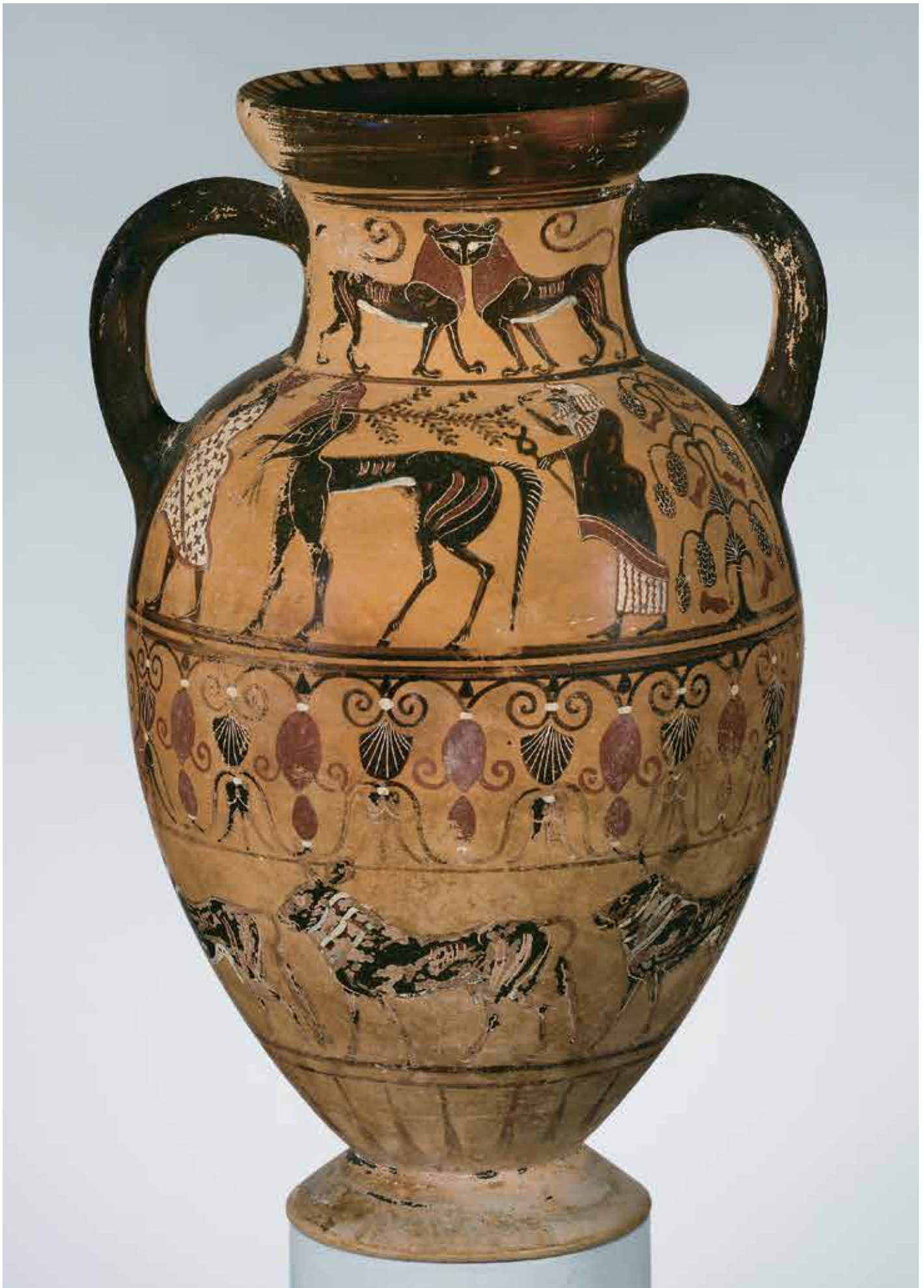
The main subject on side 1 is an elaborate banquet with pairs of female diners reclining on couches and engaged in lively conversation. The women are elegantly dressed in voluminous robes wrapped about their bodies. They have removed their pointed shoes and have hung them from hooks attached to the upper frame.<sup>154</sup> Curiously, no food or drink is represented on the tables, and no one holds a wine cup. Reading from left to right, the scene on side 2 of the vase shows a young man wearing a traveler's hat (*petasos*), a white cloak ornamented with red crosses, and pointed shoes. He leads a centaur carrying a leafy branch, and an old man who holds a herald's staff (*kerykeion*).

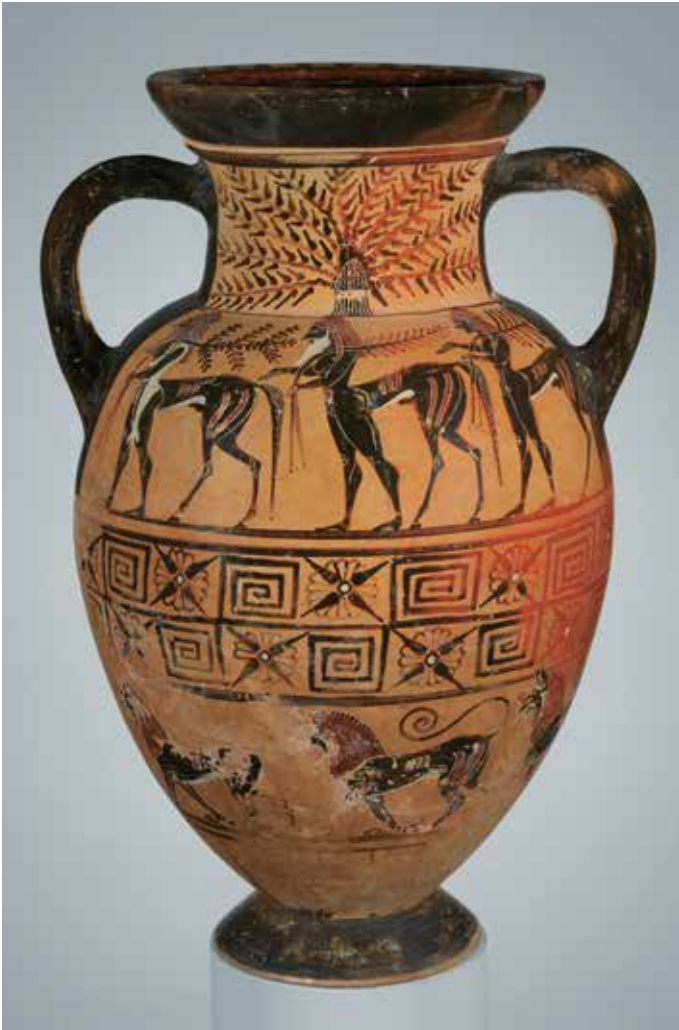
Are these two scenes related? Perhaps the youth is leading the centaur and the old man to the gathering on the opposite side, but then what is the subject? Dietrich von Bothmer suggested that the youth might be Hermes and the old man might be Priam, but then should not Hermes carry the staff and Priam hold a scepter? Indeed, in the *Iliad*,<sup>155</sup> Hermes does lead Priam to Achilles' tent, but there is no centaur in that story, so how can his presence here be explained? Several scholars imply that the two scenes are related but fail to demonstrate a plausible connection between them. In this author's opinion, they are not connected.

An unpublished lecture by Otto Brendel should be mentioned.<sup>156</sup> He suggested that the banquet scene depicts the story of Achilles on Skyros. In that legend, Achilles dressed as a woman to escape fighting in the Trojan War. Brendel noticed that there are only three, not four, pairs of shoes, and that one figure does not wear any head covering but sports a male hairdo. He proposed that this figure is a barefoot male



4.102 two views





4.103 two views

and might represent Achilles. These are valid observations; indeed, it seems there are three women and one male, but there are none of the usual attributes to show that this is the story of Achilles on Skyros. Normally, Achilles gives his disguise away (to Odysseus who ought to be present but is not) when he shows an unfeminine interest in various weapons and armor presented to the women while they examine feminine articles like jewelry, combs, or mirrors.

Erika Simon offered a different interpretation. She asserted that the woman at right holding a bird is Aphrodite (Etruscan Turan). The banquet is the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, and so, the masculine-looking figure would be Eris, the goddess of Discord. This subject fits nicely into the painter's oeuvre and could be considered a pendant to his name-piece with the Judgment of Paris. Remember that it is Eris who disrupts the wedding banquet and sets in motion the rivalry among Aphrodite, Hera, and Athena for the golden apple. This ultimately requires the Judgment of Paris (depicted on the Munich amphora) and his decision to award the prize to Aphrodite. She won the contest by promising Paris the most beautiful woman in the world. That woman was Helen, who unfortunately already was married to King Menelaus of Sparta. Their doomed love precipitated the Trojan War.

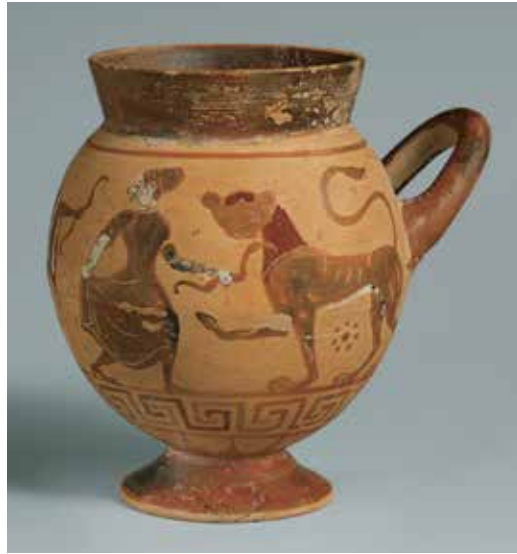
On both sides of the vase, the neck panel depicts heraldic panthers that share a common head. This motif, its meaning unknown to us, was popular with Etrusco-Corinthian and Pontic painters.<sup>157</sup> Below the main panels is a highly decorative lotus blossom frieze.<sup>158</sup> In the lower frieze, two men carry spears and herd colorfully painted bulls.

#### 4.103 Neck-amphora (jar)

Etruscan black-figure Pontic Ware, Paris Painter, ca. 550–540 B.C., height: 13 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (35.3 cm). Rogers Fund, 1955 (55.11.1)

LITERATURE: von Bothmer, "Etruscan Vases by the Paris Painter," 1956, ill.; Banti, *Etruscan Cities*, 1973, pp. 247–48, pl. 47b; Hannestad, *Paris Painter*, 1974, p. 45, no. 9

This vase presents a unified series of ornate friezes, including processions of centaurs and lions, which have no specific narrative content. Instead, the artist seems to have delighted in combining patterns and colors to create a highly decorative object. On each of the main panels are three centaurs, all carrying branches and moving to the left in solemn procession. The three centaurs on side 1, unlike the one on the previous vase (4.102), have human ears and feet. The painter attempted to relieve the monotony of these processions by varying the hair colors and styles. Some centaurs have beards, while others are clean-shaven or, in the case of the



4.104 two views

adolescent centaur (side 1, right), have just the beginnings of a beard. One of the centaurs on each side wears a white animal skin; the others are nude.

The neck panels are almost identical and on each side, depicting a basket of myrtle branches symmetrically disposed. Below the main panels with centaurs is a beautifully painted star meander frieze. Such motifs are frequently painted on Caeretan hydriai and also appear in architectural friezes. Below this is a decorative frieze of lions moving to the left in unison with the centaurs.

#### 4.104 Globular cup

Etruscan, black-figure Pontic Ware, said to be from Orvieto, Tityos Painter, ca. 520–510 B.C., height: 3¾ in. (9.5 cm). Rogers Fund, 1906 (06.1021.46)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 39, figs. 114, 115; Hannestad, *Followers of the Paris Painter*, 1976, pp. 20, 29, 60, no. 40

The subject on this small vase by the Tityos Painter, who may have been a student of the Paris Painter, is unusual; a male figure, wearing winged boots and holding a bow and an ax, pursues a woman carrying a bow. They are flanked by heraldic lions. Do the figures represent divine characters such as Apollo (Etruscan Apulu) and his twin sister Artemis (Etruscan Artumes)? The bow is a typical attribute of both these deities, and winged boots often signify a divine or supernatural being in Etruscan art. The ax is wielded by a number of male deities, especially Dionysos (Etruscan Fufluns).

The Museum's cup is closely related to two other vases by the Tityos Painter, an oinochoe in the Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm,<sup>159</sup> and an amphora in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.<sup>160</sup> In both cases, male figures wear winged boots and carry axes. Lise Hannestad interpreted these to be demon-assistants to Apollo (also shown wearing winged boots and carrying a bow on the Stockholm vase). A similar subject appears on one of the best-known works by the Tityos Painter, a plate in the Villa Giulia, Rome,<sup>161</sup> in which the male

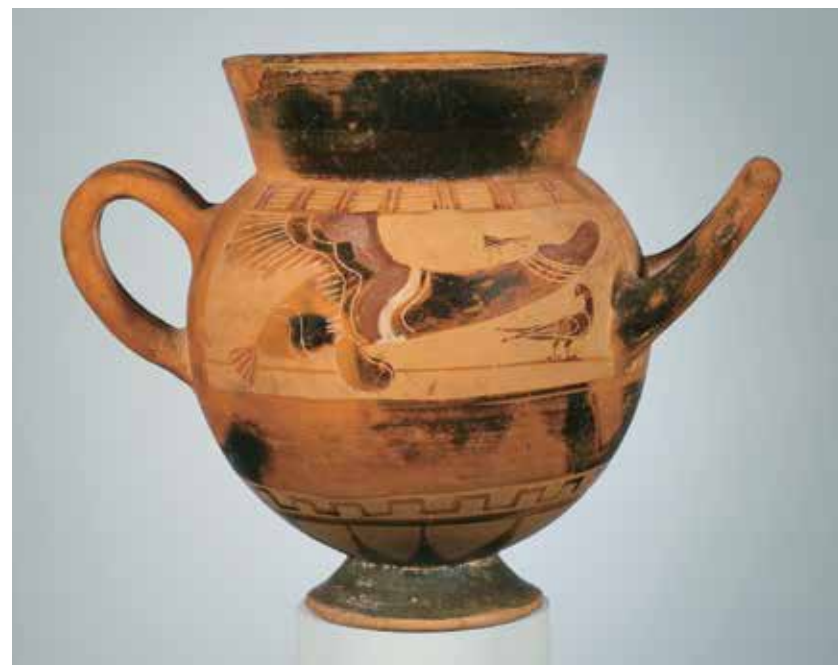
figure carries a club and bow and must represent Herakles with Deianeira, because there is also a centaur present. (The centaur Nessos attempted to rape Deianeira, wife of Herakles, but was killed by the hero.) The problem is that this painter seems to like showing various male figures wearing winged boots, and it is difficult to identify them.

#### 4.105 Globular cup with disparate handles

Etruscan, black-figure Pontic Ware, ca. 525–500 B.C., height: 5¾ in. (14.6 cm). Rogers Fund, 2009 (2009.316)

LITERATURE: Münzen und Medaillen, *Kunstwerke der Antike*, 1963, lot 162; Hannestad, *Followers of the Paris Painter*, 1976, p. 78, no. 150; Seán Hemingway in "Recent Acquisitions," 2010, p. 8, ill.

The shape of this cup is derived from bucchero prototypes, but the decoration shows influence from both East Greek and Mainland Greek sources. Phallus birds, a hybrid combining a human penis and scrotum with bird wings and sometimes



4.105

bird feet, were popular in Greek vase painting during the second half of the sixth century B.C. They appear on both sides of this cup. Small blackbirds are also present on both sides.

While there are numerous examples of the phallus bird in Greek art, the subject is rare in Etruscan. A unique frescoed phallus bird appears in the Tomba del Topolino at Tarquinia, from about 520 B.C.<sup>162</sup> Only two other Etruscan vase paintings show phallus birds, a neck-amphora in the Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, and another in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris.<sup>163</sup> We do not know precisely what the Greeks or the Etruscans had in mind with this portrayal of the phallus bird. In some cases, it may have been apotropaic, for example when it appears on shield devices, but most Greek depictions involve women who treat the phallus bird as a beloved pet. Thus, if John Boardman is correct, it may represent ancient male attitudes about female sexuality.<sup>164</sup>

## 8. Additional Etruscan Black-Figure

In the black-figure technique, silhouette figures are rendered in a slip that fires black and then, often are incised to articulate various details. Other slips might be added before firing to produce different colors, for instance white and red, the most common added colors. This technique was developed by Corinthian potters at the beginning of the seventh century B.C. It did not become common in Etruria until about 550 B.C. The Pontic Ware vessels (included above) are among the earliest examples of good Etruscan black-figure works, but gradually, the technique spread from Vulci to other Etruscan cities, and during the second half of the sixth century B.C., many workshops were producing vases in this technique.

The huge volume of Greek pottery, most of it found in Etruscan tombs, has been studied carefully, and many individual artists have been identified. Some vase painters and potters signed their names (for example, Exekias and Nikosthenes), but other anonymous painters whose characteristic styles have been identified are given names based on subjects they favored or museums that hold a representative piece. These attributions have helped define the relationships between artists and sometimes their patrons. The same is true for Etruscan pottery, but in this case, the field is not as carefully studied. Very few Etruscan vase painters or potters signed their names, so almost all have been given invented names.

In this section, twelve Etruscan black-figure vases are examined. The first two (4.106 and 4.107) are by the best known, most studied, and most prolific Etruscan black-figure artist, the Micali Painter. He is named after Giuseppe Micali (1769–1844), a famous Italian historian and archaeologist who first published a group of his vases in 1832. The Micali Painter's early works seem influenced by the Pontic painters, and he might have worked with them at the beginning of his career.

Another black-figure artist is the Ivy-Leaf Painter, so-called because of his fondness for portraying dancing or running figures who carry huge ivy leaves. The Museum has three vases associated with his workshop or "group" (4.108a, 4.109 and 4.110). Later Etruscan black-figure is here represented by two vases produced in Orvieto (4.112 and 4.113).

Finally, there is Campanian black-figure pottery. Like Campanian bucchero, Campanian black-figure is a result of the Etruscan colonization of the Bay of Naples area. The style is a complex synthesis of influences from Etruria, Attica, neighboring Greek colonies in Southern Italy, and local Italic groups such as the Daunians. The Museum has three amphorae that represent this fabric, the production of which was active in the first half of the fifth century B.C. at major centers such as Capua, Nola, and Suessula.<sup>165</sup>

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### 4.106 Oinochoe (jug)

Micali Painter, ca. 525–500 B.C., height: 11 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (28.1 cm). Rogers Fund, 1906 (06.1021.40)

LITERATURE: Beazley and Magi, *La raccolta Benedetto Guglielmi*, 1939, p. 80, no. 67 bis; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 39, fig. 118; Uggeri, "Anfora del Pittore di Micali," 1975, appendix, p. 43, no. 91; Spivey, *Micali Painter*, 1987, p. 16, no. 92

This jug, decorated with an eagle flanked by sirens, is attributed to the Micali Painter, the most prolific Etruscan painter of black-figure pottery, who probably worked at Vulci. One of his favorite subjects, sirens—along with sphinxes, winged lions, and griffins—are often invoked as guardians of the dead (see 4.22).<sup>166</sup>

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### 4.107 Amphora (jar) with lid

Micali Painter, ca. 525–500 B.C., height: 15 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (39.2 cm). Purchase, 1896 (96.9.177a, b)

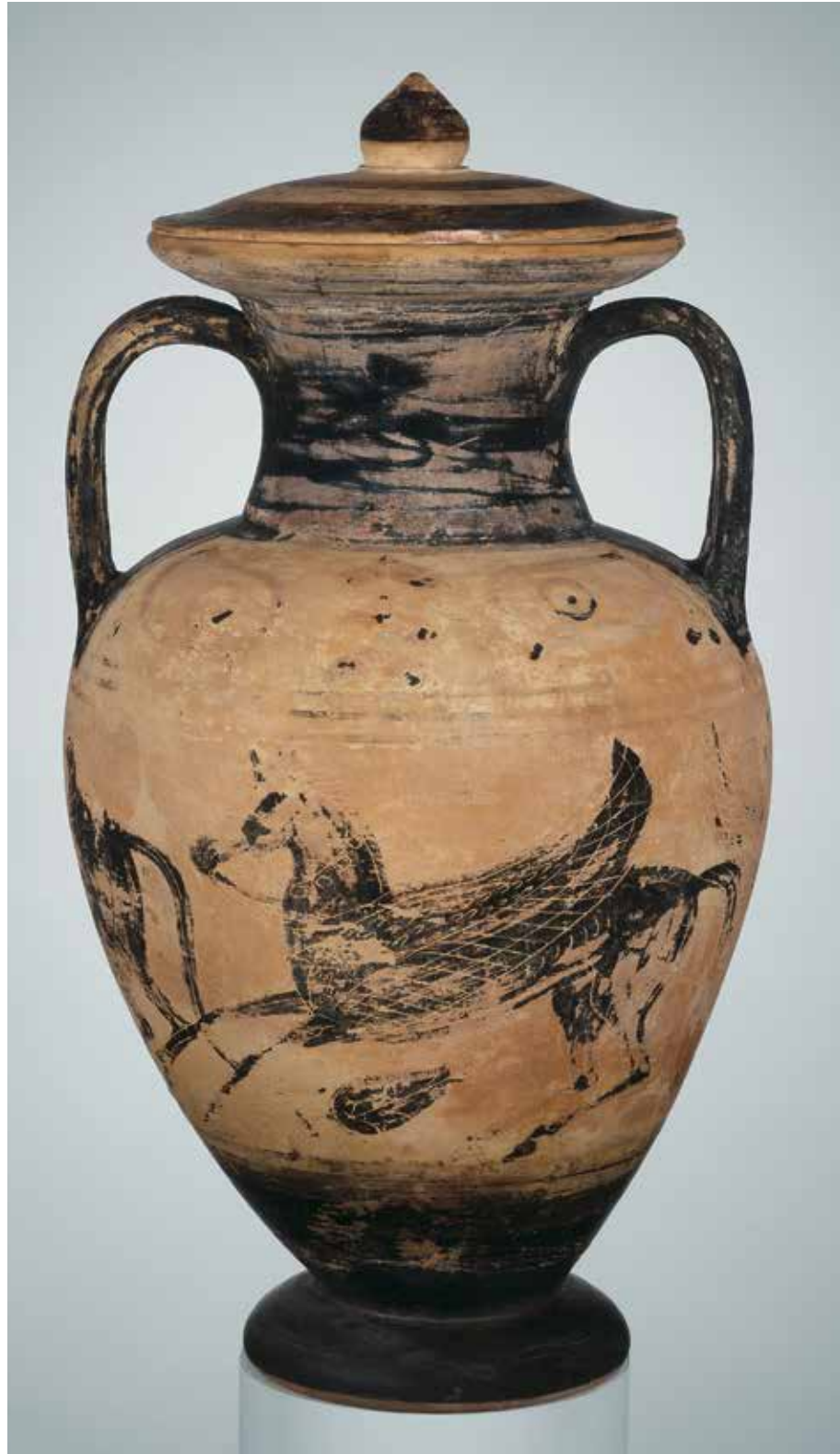
LITERATURE: Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, 1947, p. 295; Uggeri, "Anfora del Pittore di Micali," 1975, appendix, p. 40, no. 22; Spivey, *Micali Painter*, 1987, p. 20, no. 108

Both the amphora and the lid imitate shapes common in Attic pottery. The black slip of this amphora is not well preserved, making it difficult to read the images. Three winged horses galloping to the left are visible. Under one handle, there is also a siren with her wings outspread. Large lotus buds appear in the field beneath the horses, whose wings are carefully defined with numerous incisions. Some horses have reins; all wear bulla necklaces. On the shoulder between the handles of both sides, a pair of eyes flank groups of three ivy leaves positioned vertically; there are single ivy leaves beside each handle.<sup>167</sup> Another lidded amphora with eyes painted by the Micali Painter was recently found at Vulci.<sup>168</sup>

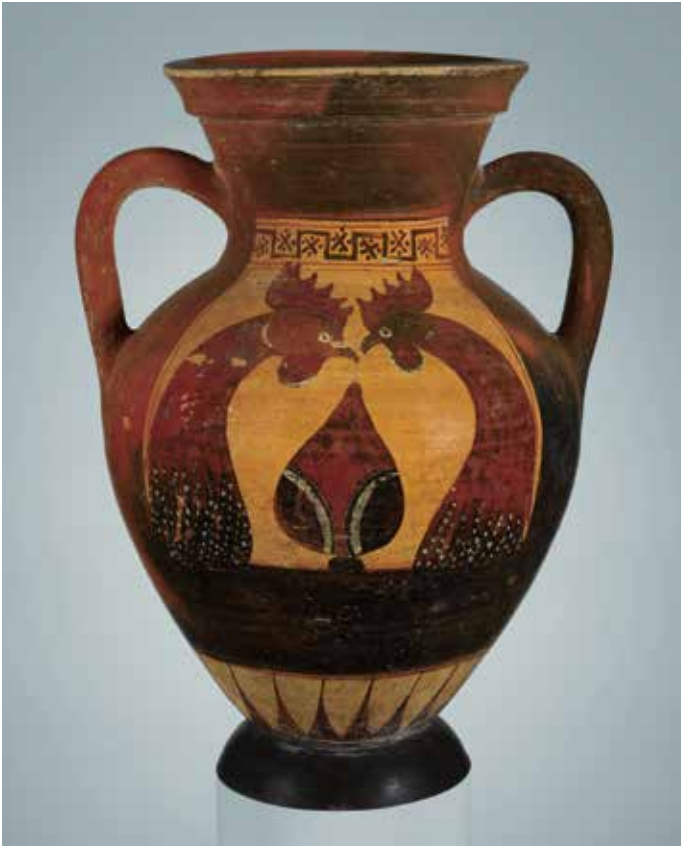




4.106



4.107



4.108a

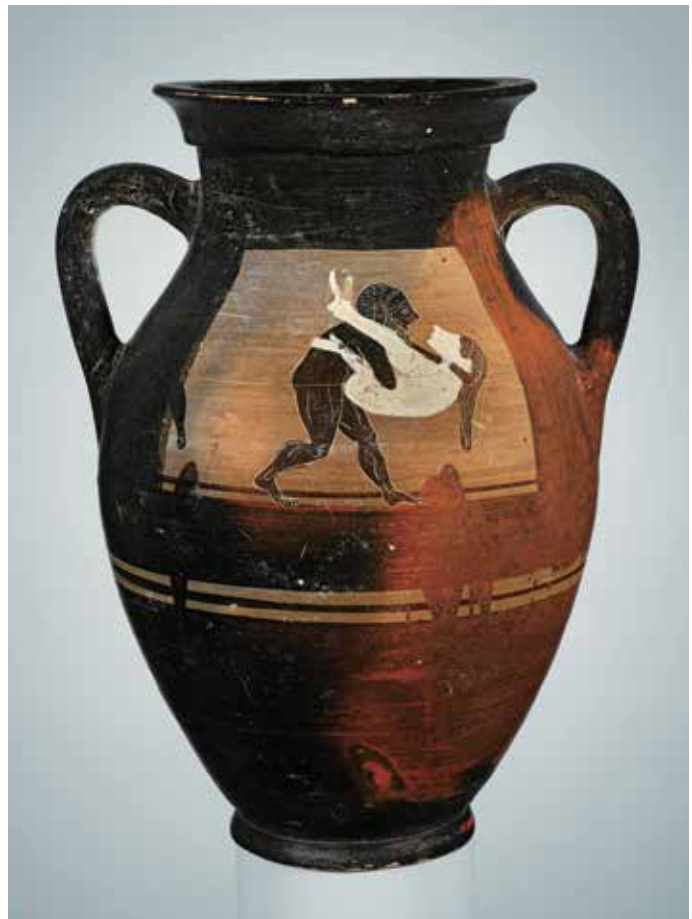
#### 4.108a, b Amphora (jar) and olpe (jug)

A: amphora, Ivy-Leaf Group, ca. 540–530 B.C., height: 13¾ in. (35 cm). Rogers Fund, 1948 (48.11.6). B: olpe, ca. 550–525 B.C., height with handle: 7¼ in. (18.5 cm). Purchase, Richard A. Van Every Gift, 1962 (62.11.10)

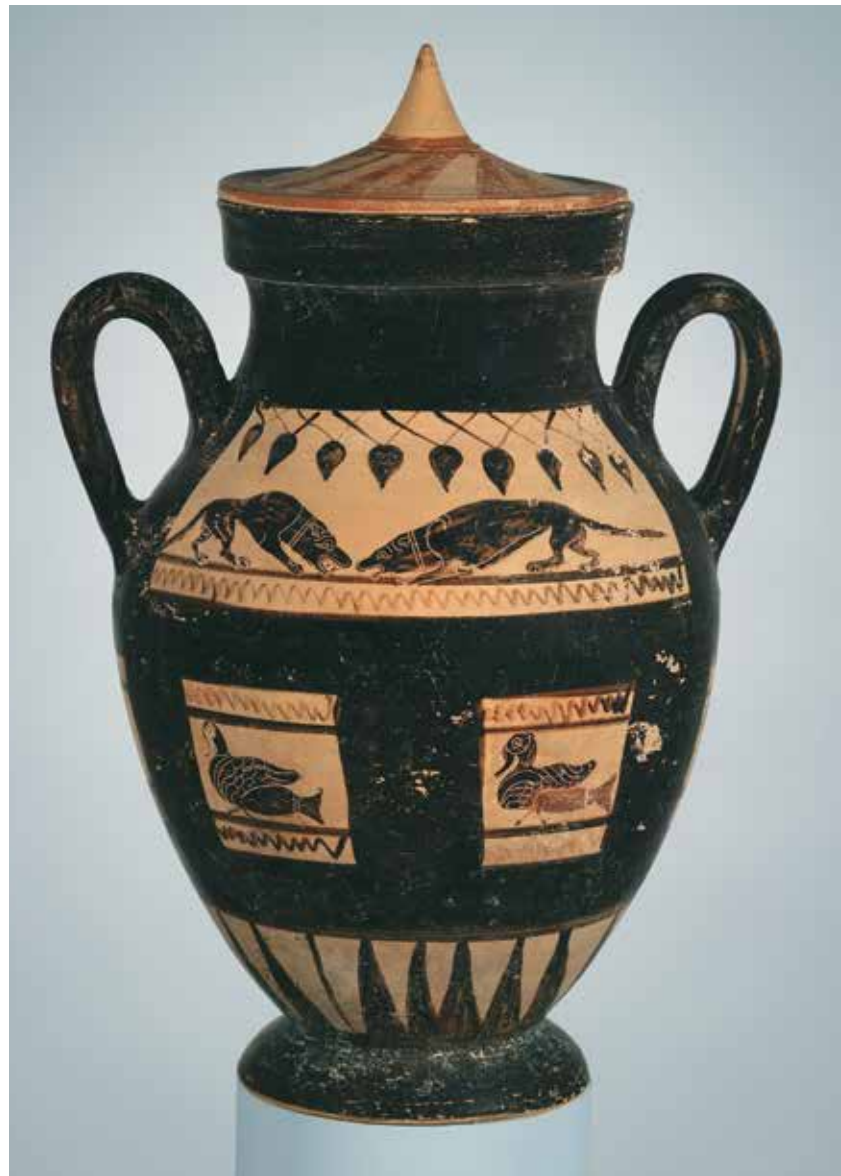
LITERATURE: 48.11.6: von Bothmer, "Recent Accessions," 1949, pp. 93–94, ill. (as East Greek)

Vases in the shape of the Museum's amphora illustrated here (4.108a), derived from Attic prototypes, were popular products of southern Etruscan workshops probably located at Vulci. Frequently, they are decorated with a window-like panel that has the same subject on both sides. Here, the necks and heads of two heraldic cocks flank a large ivy leaf, a popular motif on Chalcidian vases. As on the Greek vases of this type, the top of the panel is a decorative border, and a simple ray pattern frieze appears above the amphora's foot. On the reverse, the two cocks face left and the ivy leaf is omitted.<sup>169</sup>

The conventional subject of heraldic lions flanking a stylized palmette design is executed with expert precision and delicacy on the Museum's olpe 4.108b (not shown). The ultimate inspiration for both the motifs and the shape is Corinthian pottery, which was imported to Italy in significant quantities during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.



4.109 two views



4.110 two views

#### 4.109 Amphora (jar)

Painter of Munich 833 (Ivy-Leaf Group), ca. 530–525 B.C., height: 12¾ in. (32.4 cm). Rogers Fund, 1922 (22.139.83)

LITERATURE: Martelli, *La ceramica degli Etruschi*, 1987, p. 307, no. 120

A well-endowed and sexually aroused satyr runs across one side of the vase to the *symplegma* (scene of sexual intercourse), in which a bearded man holds a naked woman in a very acrobatic position on the opposite side. The painter was clearly inspired by Attic black-figure vases with similar subjects, especially those painted by the Amasis Painter.<sup>170</sup>

#### 4.110 Amphora with lid

Etruscan black-figure (Ivy Leaf Group), ca. 550–525 B.C., height: 14⅜ in. (36.5 cm). The Bothmer Purchase Fund, 2012 (2012.26a, b)

LITERATURE: Dohrn, “Etruskische Amphora,” 1963, pl. 24, 1–4; Gaultier, *CVA, France*, vol. 35, *Musée du Louvre*, fasc. 24, 1995, p. 53; Bentz, *Rasna*, 2008, p. 166, n. 6; Joan R. Mertens in “Recent Acquisitions,” 2012, p. 8, ill.

This vase is an excellent illustration of an Etruscan potter’s response to Greek pottery prototypes. The shape has several characteristics that identify it as a typical Type B Amphora, in which the body and neck form a continuous curve; the wide lip flares and is slightly concave; the handles are those of a neck-amphora (and, in this case, double cylinders in section) and set high on the shoulder; and the foot is an inverted echinus shape. The painted ray pattern at the base is often found on Attic Greek vases of this type.<sup>171</sup>

The painted decoration is unusual because the artist has added six square panels or metopes around the lower part of the vase’s belly. These metopes contrast with the larger rectangular panels between the handles. On both Attic and Etruscan black-figure amphoras of this type, the lower belly is almost always devoid of figural ornament; it is simply painted black. The subjects are also unusual; each metope depicts a large bird, probably a duck, in profile; the



4.111 two views

rectangular panels portray two fantastic sea creatures, perhaps tritons or mermen,<sup>172</sup> swimming past one another, and on the opposite side of the vase, two large growling dogs are about to attack each other. A stylized ivy chain, the Etruscan descendent of the pendant lotus ornament, frames the upper border of each rectangular panel.<sup>173</sup> Below, there is a perfunctory zigzag, and similar zigzags decorate the tops and bottoms of each metope. The lid, which rises to a pointed conical knob, is ornamented with a kind of tongue pattern, partly incised and partly painted in asymmetrical fashion. Relatively few Etruscan painted vases are preserved with their original lids.<sup>174</sup> There is a good deal of added red and white on the bodies of the bearded mermen and the birds.

The use of square panels or metopes has a long history in Villanovan and Etruscan pottery.<sup>175</sup> The Etruscan painter of our amphora was careful to orient the metope panels by turning the vase slowly on the wheel while holding an incising tool to create shallow horizontal guidelines in the leather-hard clay, which are still visible under magnification. The four horizontal bands, two enclosing each bird at the top and bottom of each metope, are parallel and contrast sharply with the cursory zigzags that fill the spaces they create.

In his initial publication of this amphora in 1963, Tobias Dohrn identified a very similar black-figure amphora now in

Bonn that remains the closest parallel for the Museum's vase.<sup>176</sup> It is the same shape and has the large rectangular panels, here with confronted sirens on one side and sphinxes on the other. The decorative ivy pendant lotus chains are different, but the cursory zigzags are almost identical, and there are no metopes with birds.<sup>177</sup> The New York and Bonn amphorae might be from the same workshop, probably located at Vulci, which perhaps was associated with the Ivy Leaf Group.<sup>178</sup>

#### 4.111 Alabastron (perfume vase)

Workshop of the Caeretan Hydriai, ca. 525–500 B.C., height: 7½ in. (18.1 cm). Mr. and Mrs. Martin Fried Gift, 1981 (1981.11.7)

LITERATURE: von Bothmer, "Echoes from Egypt," 1983, pp. 18–19, figs. 13–16

The upper frieze shows Herakles (Etruscan Hercle) in the company of three centaurs, perhaps a reference to the story of the hero's battle with Pholos and his fellow centaurs. Below, a robed flute player leads a procession of five women who hold one another by the wrist. The last woman grasps a flapping duck by the neck. This scene has no obvious narrative connection to the one depicted above it. Dietrich von Bothmer suggested that this might be a work by the Eagle Painter, one of two major painters of the Caeretan hydriai.<sup>179</sup>



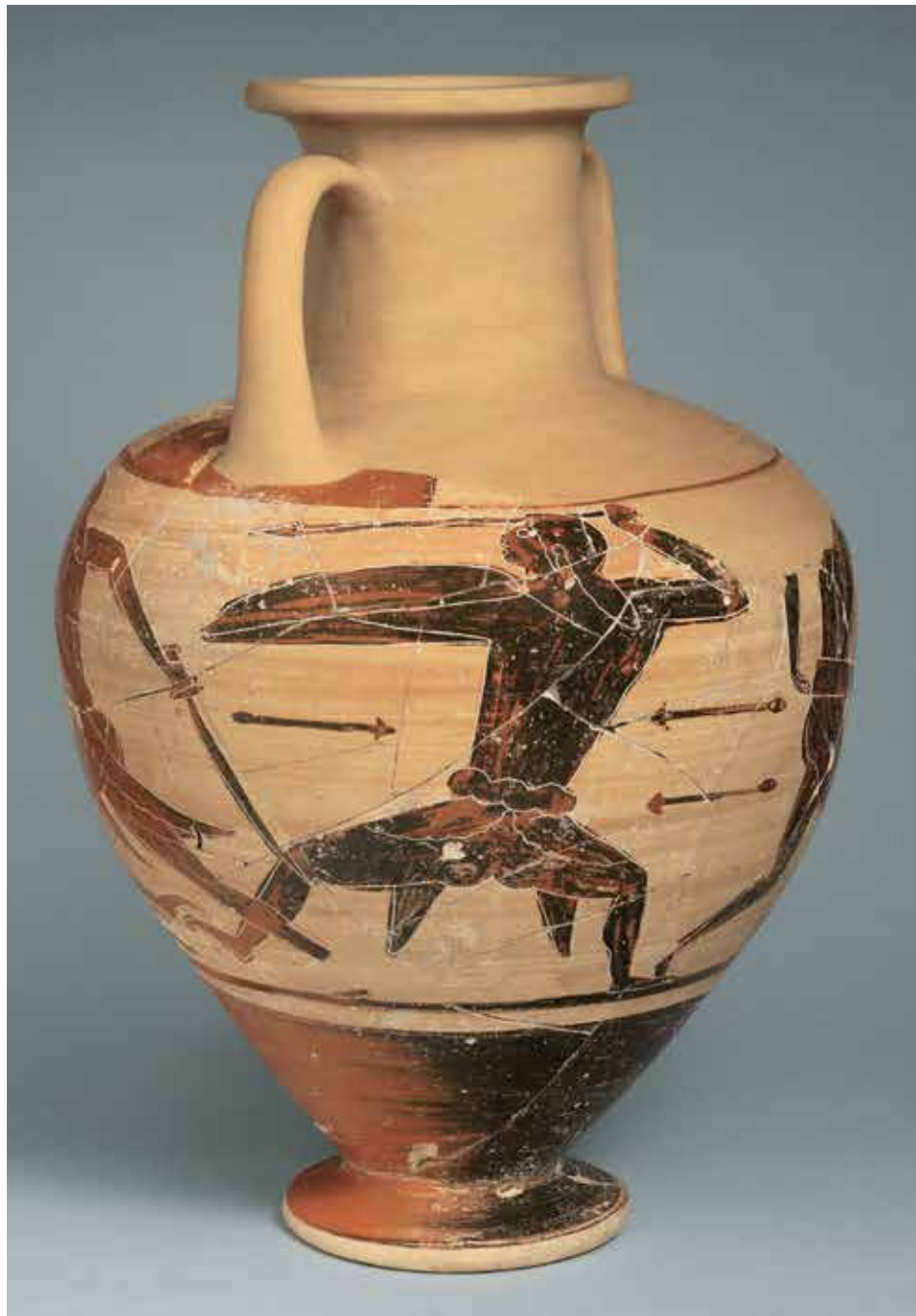
4.112

#### 4.112 Oinochoe (jug) with Herakles and the Nemean Lion

(Orvietan), Painter of the Vienna Stamnos 318, late 6th–early 5th century B.C., height: 12½ in. (31.8 cm). Rogers Fund, 1910 (10.210.10)

LITERATURE: Richter, “Accessions,” 1911, pp. 32–33, fig. 3; Spivey, *Micali Painter*, 1987, p. 84, n. 40; Shirley J. Schwarz in *LIMC*, vol. 5 (1990), “Heracle,” p. 219, no. 182

This jug, shown above left, is in fragmentary condition, but visible is a dramatic scene of Herakles (Etruscan Heracle) wrestling with the Nemean Lion, the first of the great hero’s labors. Rather than employing the usual triangular composition for this subject, the artist thrust Heracle into the battle in an almost horizontal pose. The lion submits to defeat as the nude hero forces him to the ground. This oinochoe belongs to a large group of some sixty vases produced in Orvieto.<sup>180</sup>



4.113

#### 4.113 Neck-amphora (jar) with battle scene

(Orvietan), Painter of the Vienna Stamnos 318, said to come from near Viterbo, late 6th century B.C., height: 15⅞ in. (40.3 cm). Rogers Fund, 1910 (10.210.9)

LITERATURE: Richter, “Accessions,” 1911, pp. 32–33, fig. 4

The oinochoe 4.112 and this vase are attributed to the Painter of the Vienna Stamnos 318. The major subject on this neck-amphora, shown above right, is a group of warriors fighting with various weapons while arrows fly through the air. No specific legendary or mythical battle can be identified. Both vases are made of a whitish clay, and as here, the black slip often is fired to a reddish-brown color.<sup>181</sup>



4.114

#### 4.114 Neck-amphora (jar) with sacrificial scene

Campanian, Gruppo della Festa Campestre, from Capua, ca. 480–460 B.C., height: 8<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (21.2 cm). Rogers Fund, 1906 (06.1021.42)  
 LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, pp. 38–39, fig. 117; Parise Badoni, *Ceramica campana*, 1968, pp. 60–61, no. 6, pl. 29; *ThesCRA* 2004–6, vol. 1, p. 24, no. 12, vol. 2, p. 59, no. 113, vol. 3, p. 144, no. 16, pl. 27

Although the painter's abilities are hardly refined, the subject is a very interesting one and the "namepiece" for this group of neck-amphorae. Five figures partake in a rustic sacrifice (the *fésta campestre*). A man carries two leafy branches as he approaches a large altar (or tomb?). He is followed by two male musicians, a flutist and a citharode, and then a dancing woman who carries a jug on her head. On the opposite side of the altar is a large fruit tree; another man walks toward it to pick fruit. The figures in this continuous frieze are basically silhouettes with minimal incision to make them legible. The shoulder is decorated with a tongue frieze, while perfunctory palmettes and lotus buds ornament the neck. White and red overpainting enlivens that area.



4.114 details

#### 4.115 Neck-amphora (jar)

Campanian, Gruppo del Diphros, from Capua, ca. 460–450 B.C., height: 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (29.7 cm). Rogers Fund, 1906 (06.1021.43)  
 LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 38, figs. 111, 112; Parise Badoni, *Ceramica campana*, 1968, pp. 17–18, no. 10, pl. 6

The panel on Side 1 shows a young woman seated on a folding stool (*diphros*) before a large altar on which a fire is burning. She holds a round object, perhaps a pomegranate or an incense container, in her right hand. A tall leafy plant, similar to those often painted in Etruscan tombs at Tarquinia, stands to the right of the altar. On Side 2, a youthful seated satyr seems to be reclining at a banquet; note the wreaths hanging from the walls and one that he wears. He has very odd composite human legs and hooved feet. Neck and shoulder ornaments are similar to those on the previous neck-amphora (4.114). The painter used white and red overpainting to enhance various elements, especially the altar and *diphros*; incision is relatively sparse. A related scene appears on a gem also in the Museum's collection (7.112a).



4.115

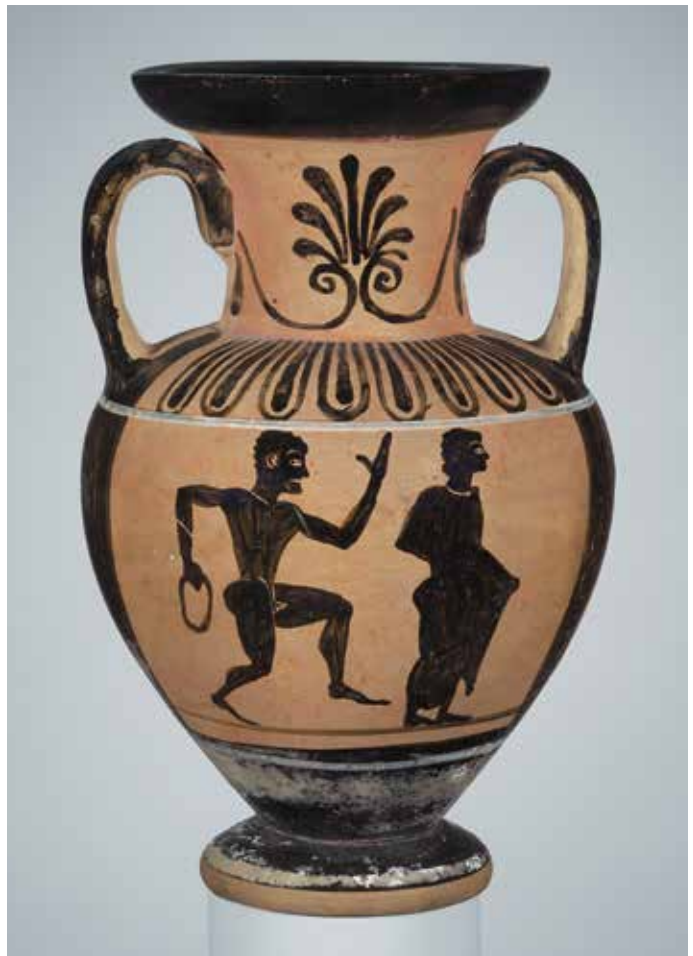


4.115 detail

#### 4.116 Neck-amphora (jar)

Campanian, Gruppo del Diphros, from Capua, ca. 460-450 B.C., height: 9½ in. (24.1 cm). Rogers Fund, 1906 (06.1021.44)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 38, figs. 113, 116; Parise Badoni, *Ceramica campana*, 1968, pp. 16-17, no. 7, pl. 4 On Side 1, a man seated on a folding stool holds a pomegranate that he seems to present to a smaller figure standing before him. On Side 2, a nude male runs to the right in the Knielauf pose (that is, with bent knees and arms forming a pinwheel shape) and holding a wreath in his right hand. Another youth, wearing a long cloak, walks to the right. Tongue patterns on the shoulder and simplified palmettes on the neck complete the decor.<sup>182</sup>



4.116 two views

## ETRUSCAN ARCHITECTURAL TERRACOTTAS

Etruscan temples employed a post-and-lintel system like that of Greek temples, but their proportions and materials are quite different. Columns usually were made of wood rather than stone, and terracotta was used extensively for many decorative elements. The standard Greek orders, Doric and Ionic, were not used by Etruscan architects until the fourth century B.C. Furthermore, the pediment, an area so prominently used in Greek temples for the display of sculpture, had a sloping tile floor and exposed end beams in Etruscan temples. Instead, terracotta sculpture was placed on the roof's ridge beam. Often, the only part of the temple made in stone was the platform on which the superstructure stood. This is one reason that there are so few remaining Etruscan temples compared to the number of relatively well-preserved Greek examples. The mud-brick walls and wooden columns, roof beams, and pediments disintegrated long ago.

Another major difference is the abundant use of terracotta architectural elements, often brightly painted, to both decorate and protect the wooden structure. Frieze revetments (4.122) were nailed to the horizontal wooden beams of the entablature. Like most other functional architectural terracottas, these were made from molds and therefore could be joined together easily to form a continuous frieze of figures in procession or repetitive vegetal ornament.

Antefixes are terracotta plaques positioned along the eaves to cover the open ends of roof tiles (see Figure 7). In addition to providing decoration, they prevent strong winds from lifting the tiles and keep rain from damaging the



4.117

wooden roof supports. The Museum's collection includes nine antefixes and five fragments that depict the heads of elegant women, maenads, satyrs, and gorgons. They would have alternated along the extent of the roof on both long sides and the horizontal entablature beneath the pediments of a large rectangular structure, most likely a temple. Based on their style and similarity to other examples, at least some of these

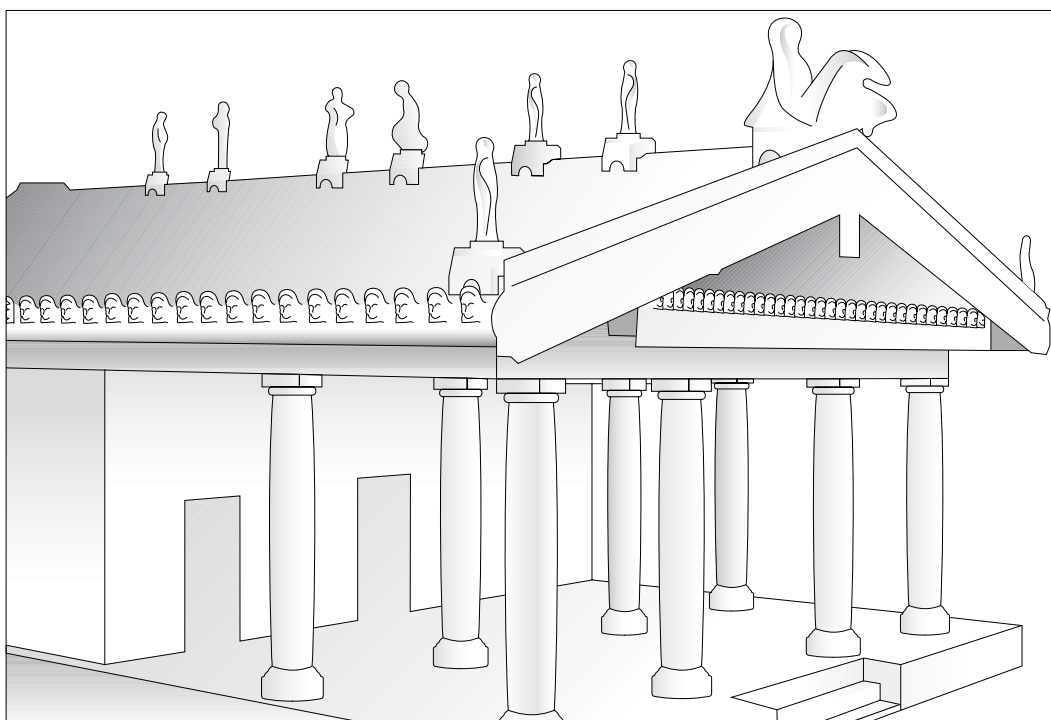


Figure 7. Representation of an Etruscan temple, showing the position of antefixes along the eaves and along the horizontal entablature beneath the pediment. Drawing by Douglas Malicki





4.118a



4.118b

elements probably came from Caere (modern Cerveteri). All antefixes were richly ornamented with bright paint, adding to the extensive and highly decorative use of terracotta that sets Etruscan temples apart from most of their Greek counterparts.

Many of the terracotta elements decorating these Etruscan buildings were made from molds, which accounts for the repetition often encountered in the decorative friezes or antefixes of a single structure. In addition, artisans working with terracotta could travel from site to site with their molds and produce similar terracotta decoration for a number of different buildings, making it difficult to identify a point of origin for the prototype.<sup>183</sup>

#### 4.117 Antefix with female head

Cerveteri, ca. 520–510 B.C., height: 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (24.6 cm), width: 6 in. (15.2 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1896 (96.18.154)

LITERATURE: André, *Architectural Terracottas*, 1939–40, p. 32, no. II: 11a; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 22, fig. 54; Winter, *Symbols of Wealth and Power*, 2009, p. 439, n. 108 (Type 6.C.4.d) Female heads like this one were used often as antefixes on Etruscan buildings. Female antefixes decorated the roofs of temples at Caere (modern Cerveteri), the likely origin of this piece. The woman depicted wears a simple diadem, which originally might have been painted elaborately (see 4.118). She also wears large concave disk earrings, and her hair is arranged in perfectly symmetrical concave finger waves; vestiges of reddish brown color remain on the left side. She has the bulging almond-shaped eyes and the slight smile typical of Archaic Greek and Etruscan sculptures.<sup>184</sup>

#### 4.118a, b Antefix with female head and fragment

A: antefix: 1997.145.2a: perhaps Cerveteri, ca. 520–510 B.C., 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> x 11<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (17.1 x 30.2 cm); B: fragment: 1997.145.2b: late 6th century B.C., 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> x 11<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (17.1 x 30.2 cm). Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Klaus G. Perl, 1997

LITERATURE: Ariel Herrmann in “Recent Acquisitions,” 1997, p. 12, ill.; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 473, no. 338, ill. p. 294; Winter, *Symbols of Wealth and Power*, 2009, p. 438, n. 106 (Type 6.C.4.c), and p. 490 (Type 6.F.3.a)

This unusual architectural element appears to belong to the corner of a building. Its major function was as a conduit for rainwater, which would have been channeled to a slot beneath the head. The painted decoration is much better preserved than usual. The woman’s diadem is carefully painted with a series of white palmettes and volutes against a dark red background. Her hair is black and wavy. She wears large disk earrings and a meticulously painted necklace with small pendants. The underside of the channel behind the head is painted with two different kinds of rosettes and above with black and red verticals. The large fragment of a terracotta antefix also shown here does not join but appears to belong to the same building. Visible are portions of a carefully painted star-like rosette and leaves of a simpler



4.118a detail

rosette and leaves of a simpler necklace with small pendants. The underside of the channel behind the head is painted with two different kinds of rosettes and above with black and red verticals. The large fragment of a terracotta antefix also shown here does not join but appears to belong to the same building. Visible are portions of a carefully painted star-like rosette and leaves of a simpler



4.119a

rosette, both executed in red and black. The type belongs to the same group as 4.117 and probably comes from Cerveteri.

#### 4.119a, b, c, d Four antefixes with female heads

These four fragmentary Etruscan antefixes show variations on the standard Caeretan type of female head. Almost certainly, all are from Augusto Jacobini's 1869–70 excavations in the Vigna Marini-Vitalini at Cerveteri. They are treated here in chronological order. I have followed the dating system proposed by Nancy Winter and referenced her useful typology.<sup>185</sup>

A. 96.18.156: Cerveteri, ca. 560–540 B.C., 5<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> x 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (13.8 x 15.4 cm)  
Purchase by subscription, 1896

LITERATURE: Andr n, *Architectural Terracottas*, 1939–40, pp. 20–21, no. I: 4b; Winter, *Symbols of Wealth and Power*, 2009, p. 249, n. 53 (Type 4.C.1.b)

The female head has bulging, almond-shaped eyes outlined with strong double lines and irises painted black. The hair is painted black and has scalloped bangs.

B. 96.18.155: Cerveteri, ca. 530 B.C., 6 x 6 in. (15.2 x 15.2 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1896

LITERATURE: Andr n, *Architectural Terracottas*, 1939–40, p. 21, no. I: 4a; Winter, *Symbols of Wealth and Power*, 2009, p. 435, n. 77 (Type 6.C.1.a)  
The hair, very heavy eyebrows, irises, and outlined eyes of this head are painted black.

C. 96.18.152: Cerveteri, ca. 530–520 B.C., 6<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> x 6<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (17.6 x 17.5 cm).  
Purchase by subscription, 1896

LITERATURE: Andr n, *Architectural Terracottas*, 1939–40, p. 22, no. I: 4e; Winter, *Symbols of Wealth and Power*, 2009, p. 433, n. 94 (Type 6.C.3.c)

The hair of this female figure is rendered in stylized concave finger-waves symmetrically disposed by a strong central part. Her lips are full. She wears large, concave disk earrings.



4.119b



4.119c



4.119d

D. 96.18.157: Cerveteri, ca. 530–520 B.C.,  $7\frac{1}{16} \times 6\frac{5}{8}$  in. (18.9 x 16.8 cm), Purchase by subscription, 1896

LITERATURE: Andrén, *Architectural Terracottas*, 1939–40, pp. 21–22, no. I: 4c; Winter, *Symbols of Wealth and Power*, 2009, p. 430, n. 88 (Type 6.C.2.d)

The eyes, irises, and eyebrows are outlined with black paint. Her black hair is arranged in scallop bangs and parted at the center. She wears large ochre disk earrings. On her neck are vestiges of red verticals, indicating a pendant necklace.

#### 4.120 Terracotta antefix with head of a maenad

Cerveteri, ca. 475 B.C., height: 19.5 in. (49.5 cm), Purchase by subscription, 1896 (96.18.158)

LITERATURE: Luce, “Etruscan Shell-Antefixes,” 1920, pp. 365–67; Andrén, *Architectural Terracottas*, 1939–40, pp. 57–58, no. IV: 6

On temple roofs, maenad antefixes often alternate with satyr-head antefixes. The Museum has three examples of this type (4.120 and 4.121a, b). This is the one example that depicts a maenad, a female follower of Dionysos. She wears an elaborate yellow diadem and brown grape-cluster earrings, a type of jewelry especially popular in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. (see 7.27a and 7.27b). The shell-like frame or nimbus is ornamented with palmettes and lotus blossoms connected by white spirals against a red and dark-blue painted background.

This antefix and the following two form a group identical with four antefixes in the University Museum, Philadelphia.<sup>186</sup> All of them were acquired by Philadelphia and the Metropolitan from the same source, Arthur Lincoln Frothingham Jr., who purchased them in Rome in 1896.<sup>187</sup> Three European museums had already acquired related antefixes: the Berlin Antiquarium in 1870; the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, and the British Museum, both in 1893. In addition, Stephen Bleecker Luce<sup>188</sup> was able to demonstrate that these antefixes almost certainly came from excavations by Augusto Jacobini in 1869–70, when Cerveteri was still part of the Papal States.<sup>189</sup>

Claudia Carlucci recently studied and classified this type of antefix.<sup>190</sup> She demonstrated that antefixes with elaborate nimbus frames enclosing the head of a maenad or satyr begin about 510 B.C. and continue to about 470 B.C. The Museum’s examples belong to her types B.xv (maenad) and D.xv (satyr) and can be dated to the end of the series thanks to finds at Pyrgi, the ancient port of Caere (Cerveteri).<sup>191</sup>

#### 4.121a, b Two terracotta antefixes with heads of satyrs

Cerveteri, ca. 475 B.C. A: 96.18.159: height:  $7\frac{3}{4}$  in. (19.7 cm). B: 96.18.160: height:  $6\frac{7}{8}$  in. (17.5 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1896

LITERATURE: 96.18.159: Luce, “Etruscan Shell-Antefixes,” 1920, pp. 360, 361; Andrén, *Architectural Terracottas*, 1939–40, pp. 56–57, no. IV: 5; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 50. 96.18.160: Luce, “Etruscan Shell-Antefixes,” 1920, pp. 360, 361; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 50, fig. 147



4.120



4.121a



4.121b



4.122

Satyr antefixes like the two shown here alternated with maenad antefixes like 4.120 to form a continuous frieze. All three of these works have shell-like backgrounds with ornamental palmettes and lotus blossoms connected by spirals, as do the related antefixes in Philadelphia. The satyrs have black hair and red faces, and wear ivy crowns. The background is red, but areas around white palmettes and spirals are black. The top palmette on the satyr antefix 4.121b has white leaves and a light blue center against a dark blue background.

#### 4.122 Revetment plaque

Perhaps Cerveteri, late 4th century B.C., height:  $24\frac{11}{16}$  x  $18\frac{3}{4}$  in. (62.7 x 47.6 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1896 (96.18.24)

LITERATURE: Luce and Holland, "Terracotta Revetments from Etruria," 1918, p. 332, no. 11a, fig. 7; Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca*, 1935, pl. 333, 1; André, *Architectural Terracottas*, 1939–40, pp. 59–60, no. IV: 11, pl. 19: 63;

Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 50, fig. 148 (erroneously illustrated upside-down; cavetto molding is always at top)

This elegant terracotta has a cavetto molding at the top that consists of alternating red and black spikes between strigil-like elements. The torus base below that frieze is painted with a spiral in red and black. The major ornament consists of a series of large palmettes and volutes that flank the elaborate lotus blossom at center. An inverted palmette on axis with the lotus blossom completes the design. Traces of red, black, and blue pigment appear in the background. There are five perforations for attachment to the wooden beam.

Related plaques are in the Antikensammlung, Berlin, and the University Museum, Philadelphia.<sup>192</sup> Arvid André suggested that all these plaques might have come from the Vigna Marini-Vitalini temple site at Cerveteri (see 4.117).<sup>193</sup>



4.123a



4.123b

## Etruscan Terracotta Antefix Fragments

### 4.123a, b Two antefix fragments with gorgon head

A: 27.122.14: 6th century B.C., with paint, 5½ x 5⅞ in. (14 x 14.9 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1927. B: 1991.171.44: 6th–5th century B.C., height: 8¼ in. (21 cm). Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan P. Rosen, 1991  
LITERATURE: 27.122.14: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 22, fig. 53

An almost complete gorgon head is preserved on the fragment 4.123a illustrated above left. Her face is painted white, and she has black hair, large black eyes, a protruding red tongue, and red lips and teeth. The locks of her beard alternate red and black. Gorgon antefixes have been found at a number of Etruscan sites. This type is especially common at Etruscan colonies in Campania.<sup>194</sup>

The strong modeling makes the fragment 4.123b above right an effective gorgon, even though part of the left side of her face is missing. Unlike the previous gorgon's head, this one has pronounced wrinkles and crow's feet, making her grimace even more emphatic. Her long teeth curve menacingly; her eyes bulge. She wears thick disk earrings. At the top of her skull are two symmetrically disposed perforations with single radiating channels. These might have supported a separately made nimbus to create an antefix such as the satyrs and maenads above (4.120 and 4.121a, b).

### 4.124 Antefix (?) fragment with rosette

520–510 B.C., 3¼ x 5⅞ in. (7.8 x 13 cm). Museum Accession (X.381)  
The petals of a simple radiating blossom are painted in white over a dark brown background. Solid white petals alternate with outlined ones in reserve, all emanating from two white concentric circles. Some vestiges of pigment are preserved on the curving upper surface of this fragment.<sup>195</sup>



4.124

#### 4.125 Antefix fragment with satyr head

5th century B.C., height: 9 in. (22.9 cm). Rogers Fund, 1923 (23.160.90)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 22, fig. 52

This striking fragmentary antefix depicts most of the head of a refined looking satyr; it appears to have been strongly influenced by Classical Greek models. He wears a crown of ivy. Black paint marks his pupils and irises, his thick eyebrows, and the strands of his mustache.

#### 4.126 Antefix fragment with satyr and maenad

Early 5th century B.C., height: 12¾ in. (32.4 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1938 (38.11.6)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 22, fig. 56; Teitz, *Etruscan Art*, 1967, pp. 48–49, no. 34, ill. p. 133

The early fifth century B.C. witnessed an elaborate transformation in the treatment of antefix decoration on temples and other large structures. Instead of antefixes in the form of large heads, they now showed full figures juxtaposed in action. There is, therefore, more emphasis on narrative with, for example, satyrs and maenads interacting.

Only the lower portion of this fragment is preserved, approximately from the figures' waists down. However, it

can be reconstructed easily from several better-preserved examples and from molds of the type that have been found at Civita Castellana. The maenad is barefoot and moves quickly to the right. Her left foot is firmly planted, while only the toes of her right foot touch the ground. She wears a diaphanous chiton (tunic) with folds that hang in delicate symmetry between her legs. This treatment probably was influenced by similar designs on Attic red-figure pottery, especially works by the painters Euthymides, Oltos, and Phintias of about 520–500 B.C.<sup>196</sup> Over her chiton, the maenad wears a mantle, but only the ends of this garment are preserved on this fragment. On similar examples, the maenad often holds castanets.

Striding behind the maenad is a nude satyr. His hooved right foot appears behind the hem of the maenad's chiton. Only his belly, genitals, and thighs are preserved, but from other more complete examples, it is known that the satyr wears an ivy crown and often holds a drinking horn. On the back of the Museum's fragment, we also see that he wears a panther skin over his shoulders. Few traces of paint survive on this fragment, but there are other examples on which the painted decoration is well preserved.<sup>197</sup>



4.125



4.126





# The Classical Period

(ca. 480–330 B.C.)

To the Etruscan, all was alive; the whole universe lived; and the business of man was himself to live amid it all. He had to draw life into himself, out of the wandering huge vitalities of the world. The cosmos was alive, like a vast creature.

—D. H. Lawrence, *Etruscan Places*<sup>1</sup>

The two centuries between about 675 and 475 B.C. are considered a golden age for the Etruscans. Those two centuries are exemplified by the Museum's excellent collection of Etruscan bronzes, fine bucchero, and gold jewelry. Between about 480 and 330 B.C., Etruscan culture began a long slow decline. A disastrous naval defeat, the Battle of Cumae, in 474 B.C., marks the beginning of a series of military troubles that only worsened the situation for the Etruscans as time passed. The loss at Cumae effectively ended Etruscan territorial expansion in Campania. Rome had expelled its last Etruscan king, Tarquinius Superbus, a generation earlier, about 510 B.C. A century later, in 415 B.C., the Etruscans unfortunately allied with the Athenians against the Syracusans, resulting in another disastrous defeat. As if Greeks and Romans weren't enough, the Etruscans also had to contend with an invasion of Gauls, who destroyed the northern city of Marzabotto in the early fourth century B.C. Veii, one of Etruria's largest and richest cities, succumbed to an eleven-year Roman siege that ended in 396. During the middle of the fourth century B.C., Rome waged a terrible war against Tarquinii (modern Tarquinia), another rich Etruscan coastal city.

Despite changes in the military and economic fortunes of the Etruscans, occasional signs of prosperity persisted. Vulci, for example, still managed to produce an incredible range of fine ceramic and metal products during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., and various objects, including engraved bronze mirrors, flourished. Orvieto (ancient Volsinii), another major bronze production center, produced not only monumental bronzes but also a wide variety of smaller bronze vessels, often decorated with elaborate sculptural handles. From Pliny's first century B.C. *Natural History*, we learn that eventually, when the Romans sacked Volsinii in 264 B.C., they carted off more than two thousand statues.<sup>2</sup>

The Museum's collection of Etruscan art from this period includes fine bronzes from a tomb group at Falerii, the site of modern Civita Castellana, and several additional exceptional bronzes. Also in the collection are examples of the earliest Etruscan imitations of Greek red-figure pottery. Finally, in keeping with the increased military activity of this period, the works of Etruscan and Italic armor in the Museum's collection are presented together at the end of this chapter.

## THE CIVITA CASTELLANA TOMB GROUP

The group of Etruscan metal objects discussed below are said to have come from a single tomb at Civita Castellana, the site of ancient Falerii. That city, the most important and largest in Faliscan territory, was strongly influenced by Etruscan culture. In fact, although the Faliscans spoke a language more akin to Latin than Etruscan, they were so Etruscanized by the fifth century B.C. that modern scholars usually treat their artistic production as a branch of Etruscan art.<sup>3</sup>

The tomb group comprises nine pieces, all but one of which (the silver kyathos 5.3) are bronze. The bronzes are consistent in type and quality. Some seem to belong to sets of three (the larger jugs) or four (the single-handled cups). This idea of providing a set is common, especially in seventh and sixth centuries B.C. Etruscan graves in which more than one person is often inhumed. For instance, a husband and wife frequently were buried in the same tomb and provided with various sets or pairs of vessels. In this case, then, the fact that two kinds of shapes are represented in multiples might indicate that more than one person was buried in this tomb. It is also unusual for a tomb to be without the typical terracotta vases, leading one to suspect that perhaps the tomb contents are not complete. Most of the items date from the second half of the fifth century B.C., and so the tomb was probably sealed before 420–400 B.C.

### 5.1a, b, c Three oinochoai (jugs)

From Civita Castellana, ca. 450–400 B.C., bronze, heights: A: 12.160.1: 12 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (32.1 cm); B: 12.160.2: 11 $\frac{13}{16}$  in. (30 cm); C: 12.160.3: 11 $\frac{15}{16}$  in. (30.3 cm). Rogers Fund, 1912

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 186–89, nos. 488–90, ill.

These oinochoai represent a type of beak-spouted jug that modern scholars call *Schmalbelkanne*. The type probably was produced at Vulci and exported to many sites in Italy and central Europe north of the Alps, especially to the Celtic peoples living in the areas now occupied by France and Germany.

The Museum's three jugs from the Civita Castellana tomb are of almost equal size and shape, but the handle ornaments are different. One (5.1a, not shown) has a satyr's head and elegant palmette on its escutcheon and does' heads on its arms. The escutcheon of the second (5.1b, not shown) shows a satyr's head and upper body above a palmette with recumbent lions on the handle's arms. On the escutcheon of the third jug (5.1c), which is illustrated here, is an elaborate leaf ornament with recumbent lions on the arms.



5.1c



5.2a-d

### 5.2a, b, c, d Four “Sant’Anatolia Type” kyathoi (single-handled cups)

From Civita Castellana, ca. 450–400 B.C., bronze, heights: A: 12.160.4: 3<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (9.7 cm); B: 12.160.7: 3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (8.1 cm); C: 12.160.6: 3<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (8.7 cm); D: 12.160.5: 3<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (9 cm). Rogers Fund, 1912

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 206–8, nos. 570–73, ill.

Small bronze and terracotta vessels of this shape are very common items in Etruscan tombs from the middle of the fifth century well into the third century B.C. Although single examples are known, they often appear in groups of three to seven of slightly different sizes. It is likely that they were used to ladle wine from larger vessels or perhaps to measure water when mixing it with wine. Falerii (Civita Castellana) has been suggested as the possible location for the workshop that produced these vessels, but they also were very popular at Spina, where forty-three examples have been excavated.<sup>4</sup>

### 5.3 Engraved kyathos (single-handled cup)

From Civita Castellana, ca. 400 B.C., silver with bronze handle, height: 7<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (20.2 cm), diameter: 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (13.4 cm). Rogers Fund, 1912 (12.160.10)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 209–10, no. 579, ill.; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 472, no. 335, ill. p. 291

Five tall kyathoi of this type, but completely in bronze, have been discovered at Spina in northeastern Italy. Like the Museum’s example, they are all decorated with meticulously incised cable patterns and hatched-triangle friezes. One in particular, from Spina Tomb 136A, is almost identical to our example in size, profile, and ornament, albeit the top two frieze patterns are reversed.<sup>5</sup>



5.3



5.4 front and back

#### 5.4 Strainer with openwork handle

From Civita Castellana, 5th century B.C., bronze, height: 11½ in. (29.2 cm). Rogers Fund, 1912 (12.160.8)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 209, no. 578, ill., and pp. 210–14, under no. 580, ill. (erroneously applied to patera 12.160.9; this was corrected in 1963); Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 30, figs. 82, 83; Dietrich von Bothmer in Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Notable Acquisitions*, 1981, p. 15; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 474, no. 351, ill. p. 299

This object is one of the most elaborate and best-preserved Etruscan strainers, although the central straining mesh has not survived. The artist skillfully presented a complex subject on a very small scale in the openwork square at the junction of the handle to the strainer. Two nude male boxers appear to have just finished a bout during which one man has been knocked to his knees. The figure that represents their trainer or referee raises his arms to indicate the end of the round, or perhaps the bout. A delicately modeled deer lying on a wave-crest border decorates the top of the handle at the back, where it is joined to the circular bowl of the strainer. At the bottom is a bearded male figure with fish-like legs that end in bearded snakeheads. The legs form a perfect circular opening, which allowed the strainer to be hung when not in use. This sea-monster, which looks almost like a merman, appears on several works of Etruscan art (see 5.20 and 6.9) and might be intended to ward off evil. Intricate and meticulously executed ornament, consisting of cable and tongue patterns, appears on both the inner and outer surfaces of the bowl.<sup>6</sup>

Also in the Museum's collection of objects from Civita Castellana is a fifth-century B.C. Etruscan undecorated bronze shallow basin or patera (diameter: 10½ in. [26.7 cm]. Rogers Fund, 1912 [12.160.9]). Apparently, the handle (now correctly attached to 12.160.8) was fixed to that piece, probably by the dealer, before it was acquired by the Museum.<sup>7</sup> In 1963, Dietrich von Bothmer realized that the handle actually belonged to the fragmentary strainer 12.160.8, which had been interpreted incorrectly by Gisela Richter as the mouth of a bronze vase.<sup>8</sup>

This is the end of the Civita Castellana Tomb Group, although some of the objects that follow may have come from that site.

#### 5.5a, b Two ladles with bifurcated handles

Both said to be from Civita Castellana, late 5th century B.C., bronze, A: 08.258.2: height: 11¼ in. (28.5 cm). Rogers Fund, 1908; B: 10.210.35: 5th century B.C., height: 13 in. (33 cm), diameter (of bowl): 3⅝ in. (9.2 cm). Rogers Fund, 1910

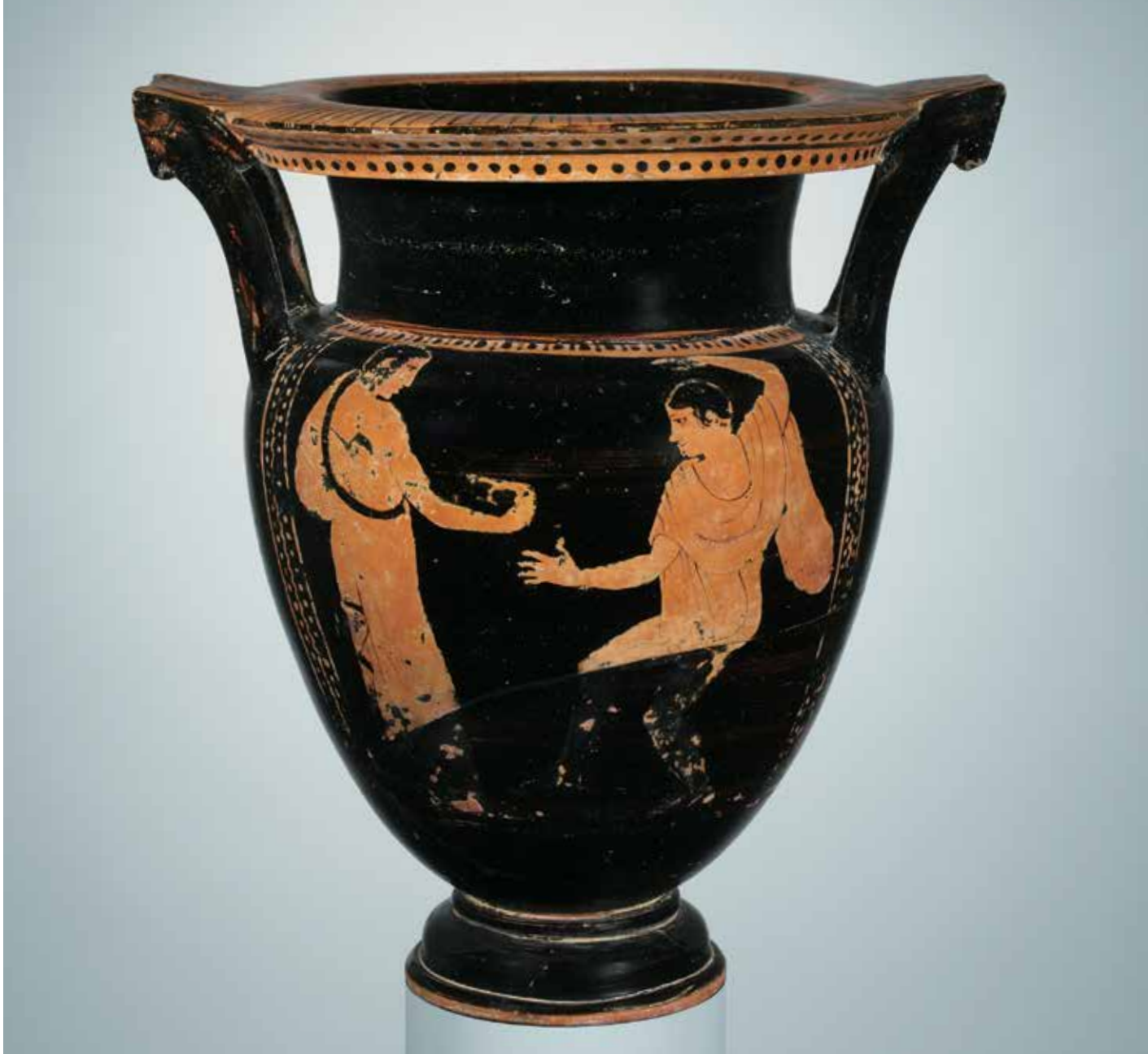
LITERATURE: 08.258.2: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 232, no. 645, ill. p. 233. 10.210.35: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 234, no. 648, ill. p. 233



5.5a

The bronze ladle shown here (5.5a) represents the standard Etruscan type, a shallow hemispherical bowl with long handle that ends in one or two animal heads. Often, when pairs are found together in a single tomb, they are nested with the larger holding the smaller and with the single animal-head fitting between the double.<sup>9</sup> The animal terminal provides a “hook” by which to suspend the ladle when it is not in use.<sup>10</sup>

This ladle is elaborately decorated. The animal heads are probably deer similar to those often found on mirror handles (see 6.11, 6.19, 6.23). On the front and back of the upper handle are inverted palmettes in low relief. A larger floral design decorates the inner base of the handle, while the outer shows a running satyr above a spiral ornament. The bowl's underside is engraved with a rosette and guilloche design.<sup>11</sup> Another ladle in the Museum's collection (5.5b) is an undecorated version of 5.5a, which also differs in having the more common duck-head terminals.



5.6

### ETRUSCAN SUPERPOSED RED POTTERY

Superposed red is the Etruscan version of the Greek “Six’s Technique” introduced by Attic potters about 525 B.C., not long after the development of true Attic red-figure, about 530 B.C. In the Etruscan process, figures are painted in a red slip applied over the black painted vase. Then, to indicate interior details such as musculature or drapery, a sharp instrument is used to incise through the red to reveal the black surface beneath. These black lines are the Etruscan imitation of the black relief lines of true Attic red-figure pottery. Because it does not depend on careful firing processes for its effect, superposed red is an easier technique than true Greek red-figure and so is more suited to the inferior clays of Tuscany.

This type of Etruscan pottery seems to have been developed first at Vulci about 480 B.C., perhaps by the potter who signed his name as Arnthe Praxias. His name combines Etruscan and Greek elements, and therefore, it has been suggested that this potter is either a colonial Greek, probably

from Cumae or Reggio because he wrote in a Chalcidian script, or the Etruscan son of a Greek immigrant.<sup>12</sup> In any case, the so-called Praxias Group represents some of the earliest Etruscan attempts to produce a viable imitation of the Attic red-figure technique. Even after true red-figure pottery was being produced extensively in Etruria, superposed red was made until as late as the third century B.C. Thus, despite its having been invented in Greece, the technique had a much longer life in Italy.

#### 5.6 Column-krater (bowl for mixing wine and water)

Praxias Group, ca. 480–450 B.C., terracotta, height: 13 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (35.2 cm).  
Purchase, 1896 (96.9.29)

A typical drinking scene, or *komos* (festive merrymaking), appears on one side of this superposed red column-krater. To the left, a clothed youth holds a kylix while his companion dances. On the other side are two more standing youths. The subject, composition, and shape are all influenced by Greek prototypes imported by the Etruscans throughout the late sixth and fifth centuries B.C.



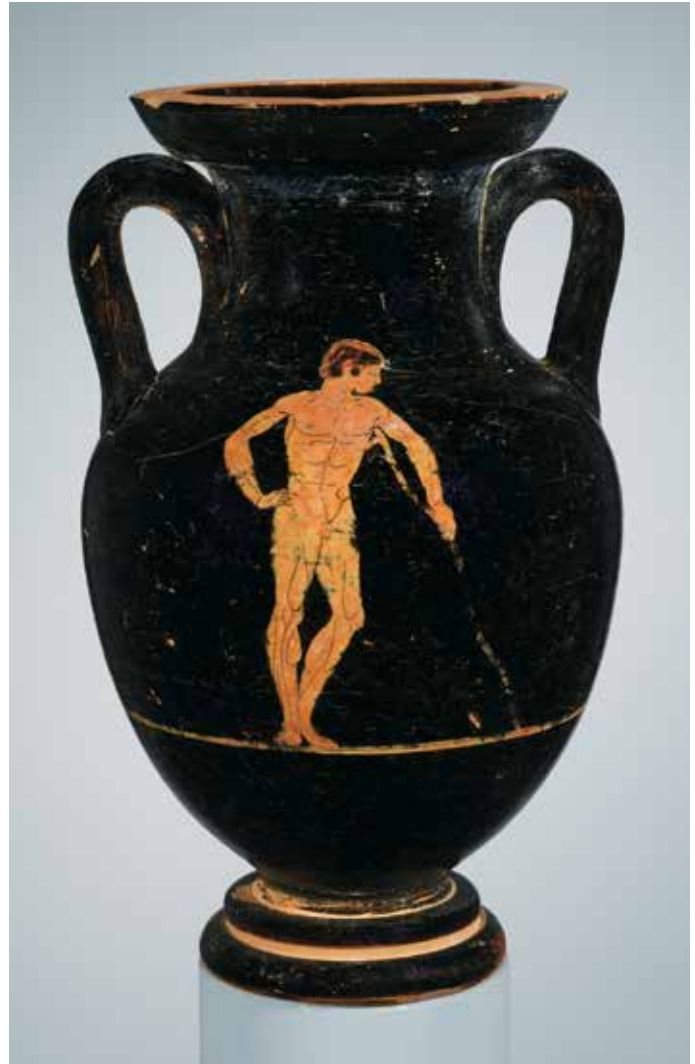
5.7

### 5.7 Amphora (jar)

Jahn Painter, ca. 480–460 B.C., terracotta, height: 8¼ in. (21 cm).  
Fletcher Fund, 1924 (24.97.6)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 39, figs. 122, 123; Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, 1947, pp. 195–96, no. 11; Szilágyi, “Praxias-Gruppe,” 1973, p. 105, fig. 8; Scarrone, “Il Pittore di Jahn,” 2008, p. 72, no. 14

This is one of two almost identical amphorae in the Museum’s collection (see 5.8). Both are of typical Greek shape with a single figure isolated on each side. On the one shown here, a draped woman gestures, perhaps to the clothed youth on the opposite side of the amphora. The use of a single large figure isolated on each side of the vase, often interacting around the vase, is typical of works by Attic vase painters such as the Berlin Painter. His earliest work began about 500 B.C. and may well have influenced painters working in Italy, whether native Etruscans or Greek immigrants.



5.8

### 5.8 Amphora (jar)

Jahn Painter, ca. 480–460 B.C., terracotta, height: 8⅜ in. (20.8 cm).  
Fletcher Fund, 1924 (24.97.7)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 39, fig. 119; Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, 1947, pp. 195–96, no. 10; Szilágyi, “Praxias-Gruppe,” 1973, p. 105, fig. 7; Scarrone, “Il Pittore di Jahn,” 2008, p. 72, no. 13

This is one of two almost identical amphorae in the Museum’s collection (see 5.7). On this example, two nude youths, one on each side of the vessel, casually lean on long knotted sticks. Both this and 5.7 use incision to create an accurate depiction of musculature that is reminiscent of red-figure paintings by Euphronios, one of the best Attic vase painters of the last decades of the sixth century B.C.

## ETRUSCAN BRONZE FIGURINES

### 5.9 Statuette of a warrior

Early 5th century B.C., height: 6 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (17 cm), Purchase, 1896 (96.9.433)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 98, no. 163, ill.; Richardson, *Etruscan Votive Bronzes*, 1983, p. 185, no. 4 (Group 3B)

The small warrior strides forward, brandishing a bent spear held in his right hand. His left arm is lowered and held beside his thigh; perhaps originally, he held a shield in his left hand. He wears an incised crested helmet with raised cheek-pieces, a breastplate, and greaves decorated with spiral patterns. A tang extends from the bottom of each foot, indicating that the statuette was originally mounted on a wooden or clay base.

The subject was popular for bronzes throughout Etruscan and Umbrian territory. It is difficult to tell whether the figures represent divine or human warriors.<sup>13</sup>



5.9



5.10

### 5.10 Statuette of a warrior

Populonia, 5th century B.C., height 10 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (25.9 cm). Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971 (1972.118.53)

This statuette is similar to the warrior shown to the left (5.9) but is larger and better preserved. The figure's facial features are clearly modeled. The spear is intact; the shield is decorated with alternating incised concentric bands, zigzags, and a central boss, and the breastplate is ornamented with a pattern of punch marks. Many extant figures of warriors in the same pose have been found at sites throughout Italy.<sup>14</sup>





5.11a



5.11b front and back views

### 5.11a, b Two statuettes of nude youths

A: 1972.118.74: ca. 480–470 B.C., height 6<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (17.3 cm). Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971; B: 97.22.11: end of the 5th century B.C., height 7 in. (17.8 cm). Gift of Henry G. Marquand, 1897

LITERATURE: 97.22.11: Furtwängler, “Antiken in Amerika,” 1905, p. 264, fig. 1. and pl. IV; Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 58–59, no. 89, ill.; Sprenger, *Die etruskische Plastik*, 1972, pp. 39–41, pls. xvi, xvii; Dohrn, *Die etruskische Kunst*, 1982, pp. 29–30, pl. 11, 2; Sprenger and Bartoloni, *Etruscans*, 1983, p. 133, pl. 192; Cristofani, *I bronzi degli Etruschi*, 1985, p. 34 and n. 41; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 475, no. 355, ill. p. 303

The stance, nudity, and hairstyle of the fine bronze seen above left (5.11a) are reminiscent of large-scale *kouroi*, the famous commemorative statues of youths set up in Greek sanctuaries. This figure once held an object, now missing, in his right hand.

The exquisite statue illustrated above center and right (5.11b) depicts a nude young man with hands raised in the

ancient prayer gesture. The facial features, hair, and musculature are precisely modeled. The stance and even the hairstyle with long wavy locks parted at the center of the forehead owe much to Greek sculptures by Polykleitos, especially his famed *Doryphoros* and *Diadoumenos*.

There were early disputes about the attribution of 5.11b. Adolf Furtwängler believed it to be Etruscan because of the treatment of hair and especially the large, deeply-cut eyes.<sup>15</sup> Gisela Richter thought that the refined modeling of the musculature indicated Greek workmanship. She also suggested that although the shoulders and arms look Polykleitan, the chest and abdominal musculature were pre-Polykleitan.<sup>16</sup> By mid-century, most scholars had accepted the work as Etruscan. According to Maja Sprenger, it was perhaps produced in Veii, but the only evidence for this is its limited stylistic connection to a terracotta from that site, now in the Villa Giulia, Rome.<sup>17</sup>



5.12 front and back views

### 5.12 Figures from a candelabrum

Ca. 480–470 B.C., height (with base): 5¼ in. (13.3 cm). Rogers Fund, 1947 (47.11.3)

LITERATURE: Gori, *Museum Etruscum*, 1737–43, vol. 1 (1737), pl. 115, vol. 2 (1737), p. 232; Richter, “Greeks in Etruria,” 1946–48, figs. 1, 2, pl. XII; Teitz, *Etruscan Art*, 1967, pp. 57–58, no. 46, ill. p. 153; Brendel, *Etruscan Art*, 1978, pp. 300–301, fig. 219; Hostetter, “Warriors from Spina,” 1979, pp. 142, 151, n. 8, pl. 86, fig. 7; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 288, no. 331, ill. p. 472

This superb bronze finial depicting two warriors, originally decorating the top of a tall candelabrum similar to examples such as 5.18, is an excellent example of Early Classical Etruscan sculpture and one of the finest bronzes in the Museum’s collection of Etruscan art. The bearded warrior, on our right, wears a full panoply of armor while supporting his younger beardless comrade, who has removed his helmet

and greaves. He has sustained a wound to his left thigh, where a bandage is visible. Originally, he leaned on a spear (now missing) that he held in his right hand, and he also supports himself with his left arm on the shoulder of his friend, who holds him around the waist. The sculptor carefully modeled numerous details of this moving sculpture.

The piece probably was discovered in the early seventeenth century; it appears in two of the seminal studies of Etruscan art: Cassiano Dal Pozzo’s *Museo Cartaceo*, the “Paper Museum” of antiquities drawings produced by various artists during his lifetime (1588–1657), and Antonio Gori’s *Museum Etruscum* of 1737–43.<sup>18</sup> It was subsequently in the collection of Henry Scott, 3rd Duke of Buccleuch (1746–1812), and eventually entered the London antiquities market, from which it was purchased by the Museum in 1947.

## ETRUSCAN BRONZE VESSELS, INCENSE BURNERS, AND UTENSILS

### 5.13a, b Biconical oinochoe (jug) and biconical oinochoe handle attachment

Ca. 425–400 B.C., A: 44.11.4; height: 9<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (24 cm). Rogers Fund, 1944; B: 43.11.5: 1<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> x 1<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (4.4 x 3.3 cm). Rogers Fund, 1943

LITERATURE: 44.11.4: Richter, "Five Bronzes," 1944, p. 7, no. 5, p. 8, figs. 20–22; Krauskopf, "Überlegungen zur zeitlichen Diskrepanz," 1995, p. 85, fig. 2. 43.11.5: Richter, "Five Bronzes," 1944, p. 7, no. 4, p. 8, fig. 19; Krauskopf, *Der Thebanische Sagenkreis und andere Griechische Sagen*, 1974, pp. 42, 101 (Kap 36)

This distinctive type of jug,<sup>19</sup> with a sharply pronounced shoulder and beak spout, is often found with a basin or patera with figural handle. The type may have been used in a washing ritual. It is difficult to say much about the type of ritual because this is just a theory. We know that the ancients always used water to cleanse themselves before touching certain things (like icons), but it is not clear in this case. The same shapes appear together again in terracotta versions about a century later in Apulia. This fabric is called *ceramica dorata* (for example, see the Museum's Hellenistic Greek oinochoe 06.1021.255).

The origins of this type of jug are debatable, but they began to appear in Etruscan tombs as early as the late sixth or first quarter of the fifth century B.C. and remained popular until the early third century B.C. Many of these biconical jugs have decorated handle elements including, like our example shown to the right (5.13a), a ram's head at the upper attachment and a decorative plate or escutcheon at the bottom. The Museum has an escutcheon that originally came from a similar jug, seen here (5.13b). Both depict a wounded warrior. Gisela Richter believed this was a collapsing Amazon.<sup>20</sup> More recently, several scholars, including this author, think the Greek hero Kapaneus of the Seven Against Thebes legend is depicted. Kapaneus (Etruscan Capne) was one of the six Argive heroes who attempted to restore Polyneikes to Thebes after his brother Eteokles had banished him. Kapaneus foolishly boasted that even Zeus could not stop him from attacking Thebes. He was killed by Zeus's thunderbolt as he tried to scale the walls of the city. Kapaneus appears in a similar pose on several carved gems, including two in the Museum's collection (see 7.78). At least nine other examples of this type of handle ornament are known.<sup>21</sup>



5.13a



5.13b



5.14



5.15



5.14 detail of handle escutcheon

### 5.14 Biconical oinochoe

Ca. 450–400 B.C., height: 8 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (20.8 cm). Rogers Fund, 1911 (11.212.1)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 190–91, no. 493, ill.

The handle escutcheon on the jug 5.14 shown here depicts a winged nude youth running to the right. There is a ram's head at the top of the handle of the Museum's bronze oinochoe 4.48, which lacks a modeled escutcheon. These are Shape VI oinochoai, which are characterized by a beak-shaped spout, tall neck, strong carination, and concave belly with no foot. The Museum has an additional example of the Shape VI oinochoe in bronze (5.13a) and an Apulian Hellenistic one in terracotta (06.1021.255).

### 5.15 Shaft of a thymiaterion (incense burner)

5th century B.C., height: 6 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (16.7 cm), Fletcher Fund, 1927 (27.122.20)

LITERATURE: Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 474, no. 350, ill. p. 298

This fragmentary bronze originally formed a portion of the shaft for an incense burner similar to those on more complete examples such as 4.37 and 5.16. During the fifth century B.C., the Etruscans were expanding their trade contacts throughout the Mediterranean world. This support in the form of a man in carefully rendered Persian costume is an unusual expression of Etruscan interest in the exotic. The two perforations in his belt once might have held a miniature metallic scabbard and sword similar to those worn by Persians on gems.<sup>22</sup> There is no evidence that the Etruscans had direct contact with Persia, but they could have encountered itinerant Persians among the Greeks, Phoenicians, or Egyptians with whom they traded directly.

### 5.16 Thymiaterion (incense burner)

Late 6th–early 5th century B.C., height 10 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (27 cm). Gift from the family of Howard J. Barnet, in his memory, 1992 (1992.262)

The calyx-shaped receptacle on the woman's head was probably surmounted by a shaft. Utensils incorporating human figures as supports or handles were popular in both Etruria and Greece. This incense burner is exceptional, not only for the rendering of the woman, who is both statuesque and decorative, but also for the manner in which every part emphasizes her three-dimensionality. Her mantle and dress are rendered carefully, with delicate engravings marking the hems on the front and back.

### 5.17 Tripod base for a thymiaterion (incense burner)

Ca. 475–450 B.C., height: 4 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (11 cm). Rogers Fund, 1920 (20.37.1a–c)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 30, fig. 88; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 472, no. 334, ill. p. 291

Originally, solid-cast bronzes like this one were attached to the base of a special type of pyramid-shaped incense burner known from more complete examples in the Vatican Museums and in the Olympia Museum. Such incense burners were probably made at Vulci.<sup>23</sup> Each leg of this tripod base consists of a carefully rendered lion's paw with wings surmounted by a nude youth with long hair. The same motif is used for legs of candelabra and cistae.<sup>24</sup>



5.16



5.17



### 5.18 Candelabrum

Ca. 500–475 B.C., height 61 in. (154.9 cm). Rogers Fund, 1961 (61.11.3)  
 LITERATURE: Shirley J. Schwarz in *LIMC*, vol. 5 (1990), “Heracle,” p. 213, no. 133, pl. 170; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 475, no. 353, ill. p. 301

This exquisite bronze candelabrum, probably made at Vulci, was assembled from six solid-cast elements. The pieces are held together by two cross-pins and a small amount of lead-tin solder near the top. Wax candles similar to modern varieties would have been stuck into the four prongs at the top of the fluted shaft. The finial depicts Herakles (Etruscan Heracle) and Minerva (Etruscan Menrva), a popular mythical pair frequently represented in Etruscan and Greek art at this time. Minerva was Herakles’ patroness and assisted him in his labors. Herakles wears his lion skin and holds the knotted club at his side. Minerva, who rests her right hand on Herakles’ shoulder, is in full panoply, consisting of crested helmet and aegis with gorgoneion; she once held a weapon in her perforated left hand. In Etruscan religion, Herakles and Minerva often were worshipped together.<sup>25</sup>

### 5.19a, b, c Three strainers

5th century B.C., A: 11.212.2: height: 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (29.4 cm), diameter: 5<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (13.7 cm). Rogers Fund, 1911; B: 14.105.3: height: 1<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (4.6 cm), diameter: 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (14 cm). Rogers Fund, 1914; C: 22.139.17: height: 9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> (24.8 cm), diameter: 4<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> (11 cm). Rogers Fund, 1922

LITERATURE: 11.212.2: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 230, no. 638, ill.; Hill, “Wine Ladles and Strainers from Ancient Times,” 1942, pp. 47–48, fig. 9; Jurgeit, *Die etruskischen und italischen Bronzen*, 1999, p. 453, D

In 1942, Dorothy Kent Hill published a seminal article that attempted to classify the various types of Greek and Etruscan wine ladles and strainers.<sup>26</sup> For strainers, her typology depended on a careful examination of the different types of handles, the position and shape of the strainer, and various details. Based on these criteria, I have classified the Museum’s strainers according to her typology.

The bronze strainer 5.19a is a good example of Hill’s Type 2, which is characterized by this simple design of strainer and engraved handle, popular in Etruria during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. The shallow bowl is perforated in a symmetrical rosette design. The flat handle is engraved with a profile (male?) head and a tear-shaped festoon on the upper surface, and its terminal is a ring with two small projecting horns. Fritzi Jurgeit discussed this type of strainer and its engraved decoration in connection with an example in the Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe.<sup>27</sup> She suggested a Chiusine workshop for the type and a dating in the second quarter of the fifth century B.C.



5.19a



5.19b



5.19c



5.20

The example 5.19b is an unusual type of strainer with the standard fixed handle omitted. Instead it has a large ring handle that could also serve for suspension. Small perforations in the shape of a pinwheel surrounded by two concentric circles form the decorative sieve. The bowl's edge is enlivened by an engraved border and two duck heads that point toward the handle.<sup>28</sup>

Like 5.19b, the strainer 5.19c has perforations in a pinwheel design. The flat fixed handle terminates in a large duck's head. A rectangular lug is situated opposite the handle. This strainer belongs to Hill's Type 5, which is characterized by the lug attached opposite the handle, a type found frequently in the tombs of Etruria and Central Italy.

### 5.20 Handle of a strainer

5th century B.C., height: 8<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (21.4 cm). The Bothmer Purchase Fund, 1981 (1981.11.8)

LITERATURE: Dietrich von Bothmer in Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Notable Acquisitions*, 1981, p. 15, ill.

The handle shown here is similar to the handle of the Museum's strainer 5.4, which comes from Civita Castellana. Both end in the sculpted form of a bearded merman or sea giant with snaky legs that form a circle, and both also have thumb-rests and symmetrical palmette designs as well as openwork elements near the top. On the openwork area of this handle is a gorgoneion surrounded by snakes whose heads join the rectangular frame.<sup>29</sup>

### 5.21a, b Pair of handles from a large volute krater (vase for mixing wine and water)

Probably from Vulci, ca. 500–475 B.C., height: 9 in. (22.9 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1961 (61.11.4a, b)

LITERATURE: von Bothmer, *Greek and Roman Art*, 1964, p. 36, fig. 48; Teitz, *Etruscan Art*, 1967, pp. 60–61, no. 49, ill. pp. 150, 151; Richard Daniel De Puma in *LIMC*, vol. 3 (1986), "Tinas Cliniar," p. 599, no. 17; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 473, no. 337, ill. p. 293

These magnificent handles are the largest and most elaborate surviving examples of their type. They depict two youths wearing winged boots and holding the bridles of their horses. The youths are almost certainly the twin gods, Castor and Pollux (Castur and Pultuce), the sons of Zeus known to the Etruscans as Tinas Cliniar (i.e., the sons of Tinia). The curving base on which they stand ends in large rams' heads. The volute handle above the twin gods is elaborately decorated with symmetrical palmettes, volutes, and beaded borders. On the reverse of the volute, which would have been visible above the krater's rim, is a recumbent deer. The handles have the distinctive shape associated with a type of krater made in Vulci and exported to Etruscan settlements as far away as Spina in Northern Italy. It has been alleged that they were found in the same context as the bronze tripod 4.38.<sup>30</sup>





5.21a



5.21b



5.22

### 5.22 Shovel

5th century B.C., 9<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (25.2 cm). Rogers Fund, 1921 (21.88.131)

Small bronze shovels like this one were used by the Etruscans to tend their braziers and incense burners. This example is simple; there is no engraved or relief decoration. The handle, similar to those found on many ladles, ends in an animal hoof. The shovel itself is rectangular.

### 5.23 Torch holder

Late 5th century B.C., length: 10<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (27.5 cm). Purchase, 1896 (96.9.375)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 236–37, no. 665, ill.

This hook-like bronze device consists of a spiral handle with seven curved prongs bent like fingers. An eighth prong near the handle has a bronze circle attached to it. The handle ends in a cavity into which a wooden extension originally might have been inserted.



5.23

Numerous examples of such devices have been found in the tombs of Etruscan warriors. Their function has been debated; it has been proposed that they were used to stir and collect cooked meat from large cauldrons, but another function is depicted on an engraved mirror in the Museum's collection (see 6.10). The prongs were used to gather material that could be ignited to form a torch. This might also explain the frequency of such items in warriors' tombs. Such torch holders would be useful in nocturnal maneuvers. At least one such object from Spina shows evidence of burning on the bronze prongs.<sup>31</sup>

## ETRUSCAN AND ITALIC BRONZE ARMOR

The large quantity of weapons and armor found in adult male burials throughout ancient Italy is a vivid reminder of the interminable warfare that characterizes much of ancient civilization. There is evidence from the late Villanovan period, at the end of the eighth century B.C., of the rise of an aristocratic class whose warriors could afford horses and their trappings, such as elegant bronze horse bits (3.18). Standard military equipment for such men included a bronze helmet, breastplate, greaves (shin guards), a dagger, sword, spear, and shield. In many examples recovered from tombs, the scars to both armor and weapons caused by blows from the enemy are still visible. Many a dead warrior was buried with his damaged battle gear, and armor and weapons often were ritually "killed" by being bent or folded so that they were no longer functional. Some weapons, especially thin shields, were often purely symbolic or ceremonial and may have been used as parade equipment before burial in a tomb. Miniature bronze weapons and armor such as those in the Museum's collection seen here were sometimes buried with deceased soldiers or offered in sanctuaries to assure safety in battle. Members of this growing warrior aristocracy identified with and emulated mythical heroes such as Herakles (Etruscan Heracle) and Achilles (Etruscan Achle), which probably accounts for the popularity of those heroes on many works of art produced for wealthy Etruscans (see, for example, the Monteleone Chariot, 4.1).

Although the broad range of dates represented by the weapons and armors examined here is beyond the scope of this chapter, they are treated together to convey a better sense of the evolution of specific types of armor, such as helmets and breastplates.

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### 5.24 Crested helmet

Villanovan, from near Santa Maria di Capua Vetere, 9th century B.C., height: 12 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (32.1 cm). Rogers Fund, 1908 (08.2.5)

LITERATURE: von Duhn, "Due oggetti di bronzo," 1883, p. 188, pl. N, 2; Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 414–16, no. 1546, ill.; Hencken, *Earliest European Helmets*, 1971, p. 85, fig. 57

Shown here is a typical Villanovan crested helmet with pointed cap and triangular crest decorated with two rows of small repoussé bosses that follow the crest's contours. Two rows of larger bosses mark the lower border of the cap. At the base of the crest, on either side, are three projecting false rivets.

Statuettes of Villanovan warriors indicate that this kind of helmet was worn with the false rivets positioned above the nose. Bronze helmets and terracotta imitations were sometimes used as the lids for biconical cremation urns.<sup>32</sup> Crested helmets have been found in Villanovan warrior burials throughout the Italian peninsula, especially in coastal Etruria.<sup>33</sup>

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### 5.25 Picene-type helmet

Italic (Picene), early 6th century B.C., height: 6 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (17.4 cm).

Rogers Fund, 1908 (08.2.2)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 418–19, no. 1558, ill.

The hemispherical helmet has a wide flaring brim. Two large bronze bosses or knobs filled with iron protrude from the areas above the warrior's ears. These knobs, made separately and attached by rivets, were meant to absorb blows from an enemy weapon. The helmet's hemispherical portion also is decorated with relief bands that may imitate the strips used to reinforce the felt caps often worn under helmets.<sup>34</sup> There are small perforations at the top and sides of the helmet. They almost certainly are for the attachment of a crest and, on the sides, for the addition of other bronze ornaments such as are preserved on some examples.<sup>35</sup> Traces of discoloration at the top of the brim indicate that originally, another band of bronze was attached there, but its function is uncertain.

This helmet is a good example of the Picene variety, so-called because most have been found in Picene burials. (The Picene ethnic group was located in east central Italy, along the Adriatic coast. See Map 2, p. 16.) However, they also occur in many other parts of ancient Italy.<sup>36</sup>



5.24

### 5.26 Jockey-type helmets with cheek-guards

Etruscan, middle of the 4th century B.C., height: 7¼ in. (18.4 cm).

Rogers Fund, 1908 (08.2.3)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 417, no. 1550, ill. p. 415

The helmet illustrated here has distinctive concentric circles on the cheek-guards that find a precise parallel in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles.<sup>37</sup> This type of helmet (sometimes called the Montefortino type), also exemplified by o8.2.1 (said to have come from Sicily, second half of



5.25

4th century B.C., height:  $7\frac{7}{8}$  in. [19.9 cm], Rogers Fund, 1908),<sup>38</sup> has been found throughout the Italian peninsula and is especially frequent in north Italian Gallic tombs dating from about 325 to 250 B.C. It consists of a hemispherical cap topped with a knob often decorated with a rosette. Cheek-guards are hinged and have a scalloped edge. The design was derived by Etruscan armor makers from Gallic prototypes that first appeared in fifth century B.C. contexts in Western Europe.<sup>39</sup>

The Museum's collection includes three additional Etruscan bronze Jockey-type helmets. Among them is 26.60.83 (late 4th century B.C., height:  $7\frac{3}{16}$  in. [19.9 cm], Fletcher Fund, 1926), which has an elaborately decorated finial and a brim enlivened with a diagonal braid pattern. Two more bronze Jockey-type helmets in the collection are: 98.13 (said to be from Sciacca [Southwestern Sicily], 4th century B.C., height:  $7\frac{1}{16}$  in. [19.5 cm], Purchase, 1898, Literature: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 417–18, no. 1551, ill.) and 08.258.13 (4th century B.C., height:  $8\frac{1}{16}$  in. [22.1 cm], Rogers Fund, 1908, Literature: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 418, no. 1552, ill.); they are similar to 08.2.1 but with cheek-guards missing. This helmet type was later adopted by the Roman army. With only minor modifications, it was used by the Romans for more than four centuries. It is estimated that more than three million helmets of this type were made for Roman soldiers.<sup>40</sup>



5.26

### 5.27a, b Two sets of breastplate and backplate

Etruscan, A: 09.41: 7th or 6th century B.C.,  $20\frac{1}{16} \times 15\frac{1}{2}$  in. (51 × 39.4 cm). Rogers Fund, 1908; B: 16.173: 5th or 4th century B.C., height:  $22\frac{3}{4}$  in. (57.8 cm).

LITERATURE: 09.41: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 420–21, no. 1565, ill. 16.173: Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, pp. 474–75, no. 352, ill. p. 300

The armor 5.27a, seen on pp. 164–65, imitates male anatomy in a stylized manner. The breasts and nipples are circles of uniform shape and size. Rows of bosses and dots follow the upper chest and back curves or form parallel bands around the waist.

The Museum's Etruscan bronze breastplate and backplate 5.27b, on pp. 166–67, are naturalistic representations of male musculature.<sup>41</sup> Such breastplates appear on three of the Museum's cinerary urns depicting battles (right figure on 6.91a, 6.91b, 6.93).



5.27a front



5.27a back







5.28



5.27b front (opposite) and back (above)

### 5.28 Belt

Italic (Samnite), ca. 350–325 B.C., diameter: 13½ in. (33.3 cm). Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan P. Rosen, 1991 (1991.171.50)

Ancient Italic warriors frequently wore thin bronze belts with parallel rows of small perforations by which leather or cloth linings could be attached. Such belts are found in male burials from the late fifth century into the third century B.C. over much of Central and Southern Italy. The specific type represented here has elaborate solid-cast bronze clasps in the form of small nude twins whose heads support a single wolf-head hook. These ornate clasps alternate with two grooved clasps with hooks in the shape of duck heads. This type of belt with figural clasps is found often in Samnite contexts and may have been produced at Tarentum (modern Taranto) in Southern Italy.<sup>42</sup>



5.28 detail

### 5.29 Seven elliptical leaves

Etruscan, Vulci, 5th century B.C. (?), 21.88.117: height: 2¼ in. (5.7 cm), width: 6⅝ in. (16.8 cm). Rogers Fund, 1921 (21.88.117–.123)

The precise function of these leaf-shaped bronze sheets is unknown. Perhaps they were attached to a leather belt to form a waist ornament.



5.29

### 5.30a, b Two pairs of greaves

Etruscan, A: 04.27.1, .2, probably late 6th century B.C., height: 19⅞ in. (50.5 cm). Rogers Fund, 1904; B: 22.139.12, .13, 4th century B.C., height: 20⅞ in. (51.1 cm). Rogers Fund, 1922

LITERATURE: 04.27.1, .2: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 425–26, nos. 1588, 1589, ill. p. 427

These greaves, which were used to protect the shins, are modeled to fit the lower legs. They show the calf muscles rendered with deep grooves. Numerous greaves have been found in Etruscan tombs; they indicate a range of dates beginning about 530 B.C. and continuing throughout the fifth century B.C.<sup>43</sup>



5.30a, b



5.31

### ETRUSCAN MINIATURE VOTIVE ARMOR

Literature: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 30, figs. 90–93

The Museum's collection includes a wonderful group of miniature bronze replicas of greaves, shields, and armor dating from the fifth century B.C., which are said to come from Vulci (5.31, 5.32). Related bronze miniatures are often found in votive contexts and may represent an offering of thanks for a successful return from military duties.<sup>44</sup>

#### 5.31 Miniature greaves

Vulci, 5th century B.C., longest length (21.88.96): 5 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (14.9 cm). Rogers Fund, 1921 (21.88.96-109)

The largest of this group of seven of the Museum's miniature greaves is engraved with two parallel arcs to represent the calf muscles.

#### 5.32a, b, c, d Miniature spearhead and 3 shields

Vulci, 5th century B.C., spearhead: A: 21.88.124, length: 6 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (15.4 cm). Rogers Fund, 1921; shields: B: 21.88.110, diameter: 3 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (7.9 cm); C: 21.88.111, 3 $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (8.7 cm); D: 21.88.115, 4 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (10.5 cm). Rogers Fund, 1921

Shown here with the miniature bronze spearhead from this group are three of seven miniature shields (21.88.110-116). It is possible that the spearhead is actually a small javelin head that was erroneously added to the group of miniatures.



5.32a-d



# The Etrusco-Hellenistic Period

(ca. 330–100 B.C.)

If the dead is a woman, her dress falls in soft gathers from her throat,  
she wears splendid jewellery, and she holds in her hand . . . the mirror, the box of essence,  
the pomegranate, some symbols of her reflected nature, or of her woman's quality.

—D. H. Lawrence, *Etruscan Places*<sup>1</sup>

The Etrusco-Hellenistic era has sometimes been called Etrusco-Roman, but that terminology stresses the political and military situation in Etruria rather than the artistic one. Because this chapter is about a collection of Etruscan art that was primarily influenced by Greek Hellenistic art, not Roman art, it seems more appropriate and descriptive to use the term Etrusco-Hellenistic.

The Etrusco-Hellenistic era is generally considered a period of slow decline for the Etruscans. At the beginning of the fourth century, they had witnessed an invasion from the north of the Gauls, who had destroyed Marzabotto and later besieged Rome itself (see Map 1, p. 2). Rome captured Veii in 396 B.C., after a decade-long siege, and by the middle of the century was waging a vicious war against Tarquinia. The Roman juggernaut continued for much of the second half of the fourth century and all of the third and second centuries. Perhaps the most significant event was the Battle of Sentinum (295 B.C.), when Rome defeated the *Quattuor Gentes*, an alliance of Etruscans, Umbrians, Samnites, and Gauls. In 292, the Romans took Roselle; in 280, they conquered Vulci, and by 264, they had defeated Volsinii (modern Orvieto). The Faliscans, the strongly Etruscanized ethnic group located to the east of Tarquinia (see Map 3, p. 17), fared no better; Falerii (modern Civita Castellana), their major city, was captured in 241 B.C. In order to gain better access and control of Etruria, the Romans established a colony at Cosa in 273 B.C., and during the second century B.C., they built major highways such as the via Aurelia, via Clodia, and via Cassia. Peninsular Italy was becoming Romanized.

This period has been designated Etrusco-Roman rather than Hellenistic in some recent studies,<sup>2</sup> perhaps because the latter term is too weighted with Greek connotations. It is certainly true that throughout much of the era, Rome was either

controlling or conquering parts of the Etruscan homeland, and by 90 B.C., the Etruscan residents of Etruria had been granted Roman citizenship. Still, the period saw significant influences from the Greek colonies in Southern Italy, and considerable artistic inspiration resulted from the many advances made by Hellenistic Greek artists throughout the Mediterranean world and beyond. Also during this period, mass production was approximated in several artistic media, for example, in certain types of engraved bronze mirrors and terracotta cinerary urns. Scholars have seen in these lesser artistic standards a diminished quality in craftsmanship that perhaps indicates the growth of what can be called a middle class. However, despite the increased repetitiveness of some art forms, occasional works of exceptional technical skill, aesthetic quality, and refinement continued to be made. An Etruscan elite remained who were willing and able to afford the best.

By the first century B.C., Etruscan culture had already contributed a great deal to the growth of Roman civilization, especially in the area of religion and augury. The Etruscans also influenced Roman language, Roman law, and even Roman hydraulics and engineering. In addition, several customs and symbols were directly borrowed from the Etruscans. This is a large and complicated subject, but some examples are: the *fasces* (a bundle of rods and an axe symbolizing authority and punishment; in Roman times they were carried by a bodyguard of lictors accompanying senior magistrates such as consuls and the Vestal Virgins),<sup>3</sup> the *lituus* (a curved scepter or staff used by augurs to divide the sky visually in preparation for reading omens),<sup>4</sup> the *sella curulis* (a folding ivory stool that became a symbol of Roman magisterial authority), the toga (a woolen garment at first worn by both sexes; the Etruscans called it the *tebenna*),<sup>5</sup> gladiatorial

contests,<sup>6</sup> and even military triumphs.<sup>7</sup> Thus, although the Etruscans ceased to be an independent or viable collection of powerful city-states, their cultural influence continued to be felt throughout the Roman ascendancy and beyond. To take one example, perhaps the most familiar to readers of this book: gladiatorial contests. During the Republican period (traditionally 509 to 27 B.C.), many wealthy Romans organized gladiatorial events to honor deceased relatives. These private funeral games were called *munera* (Latin “duties” or “obligations”) and are believed to have evolved from the bloody funeral games conducted by the Etruscans.

The Etrusco-Hellenistic art in the Museum’s collection characterizes the complex cultural changes and interactions that occurred during the last period of Etruscan culture. The Bolsena tomb group demonstrates that wealthy Etruscans were still able to bury their dead with valuable items, many imported from colonial Greeks living in South Italy. The tomb also contains less expensive examples of mass-produced black-gloss ceramics such as Malacena Ware (see 6.47 and 6.48) and simple, utilitarian pottery made locally. Both black-gloss and the elaborate silvered ware made at Volterra (see below) show how potters imitated much more expensive metallic vessels, in both shape and surface treatment.

Bronze production, especially at Vulci, continued to be impressive during this period, as is demonstrated by the Museum’s excellent collection of engraved mirrors as well as other categories of bronze items, such as candelabra, incense burners, and the elaborate Praenestine cistae.

The growth of specialized workshops is evident in the extensive production of both molded terracotta and stone cinerary urns, and the Museum’s collection includes representative examples that can be associated with the major centers of production at Chiusi, Volterra, and Perugia.

## ETRUSCAN AND PRAENESTINE ENGRAVED MIRRORS

The Etruscans made mirrors of polished bronze, and sometimes silver, from as early as about 1000 B.C. In later times, especially beginning about 500 B.C., they began to engrave decorative scenes on the reverse, nonreflecting sides.<sup>8</sup> Today, more than three thousand examples of engraved Etruscan mirrors survive to enlighten us about a wide variety of subjects, styles, and fascinating details of Etruscan culture and language. The Museum’s collection includes twenty-five engraved Etruscan or Praenestine mirrors and additionally, one box mirror with decoration in relief (6.24) and one silver forgery (see Chapter VIII, 8.1). The collection is important not only for its size, one of the largest in North America, but especially for its fine quality and the iconographical interest of the subjects depicted on several mirrors.

Over time, Etruscan mirrors generally became smaller in diameter, thinner, and more convex. The convexity of their reflecting surfaces (the side without figural engravings) provided a wider than normal field of view. The majority of Etruscan and Praenestine mirrors made after about 500 B.C. have pronounced rims of various shapes. These rims probably helped to protect the engraved sides of mirrors when they were placed face down on hard surfaces like table tops or shelves. Handles were either formed in one piece with the mirror disk or made of another material, usually carved bone or ivory, and attached by means of a tang. The Etruscans also made box mirrors or “compacts,” but these are rarer (6.24). Production was concentrated in a number of major bronze working centers, especially Vulci, Orvieto, and Praeneste, and continued to the end of the Etruscan period, about 100 B.C.

Etruscan mirrors are engraved with a wide variety of subjects. The Museum’s collection is especially rich in depictions associated with the Trojan War legends. For example, 6.3 depicts Helen, wife of King Menelaus of Sparta, and the Trojan prince Paris, whose love for each other caused the Trojan War. They are accompanied by Aphrodite, the goddess who provokes and facilitates their passion. Another mirror (6.4) portrays Paris and Helen again, this time with Achilles, the greatest of the Greek warriors who took part in the war. On 6.5, Achilles appears with his mother Thetis, a sea nymph. Also illustrated are Odysseus, king of Ithaca and the cleverest Greek, and Helen and Menelaus, brother of Agamemnon, king of Mycenae and the leader of the Greeks. The engraved scene on 6.2 shows Achilles killing Memnon, king of the Ethiopians and ally of Troy, while Eos, goddess of the dawn and mother of Memnon, retrieves her son’s body from the battlefield. An unusual mirror (6.1) depicts an early encounter of Peleus and Thetis, who became the parents of Achilles.

More tangential subjects from Homer’s *Iliad* also are illustrated on Etruscan mirrors. For example, the story of Bellerophon and the Chimaera, which is depicted on 6.15 and in a monumental bronze sculpture now in the Museo Archeologico, Florence. Another popular story, this one from Homer’s *Odyssey*, is the witch Circe’s transformation of Odysseus’ men into swine (6.6). An indication of how familiar the Etruscans were with Greek legends and myths is provided by 6.9, on which fine engravings depict the unusual subject of Perseus with the Graiai, the sisters of the Gorgons. Even the obscure Greek epithets of the Graiai, first recorded in Hesiod’s *Theogony*, are inscribed here in their Etruscanized versions.

The Museum’s collection of twenty-five engraved mirrors is the only part of the Etruscan collection to have been published definitively as a specific and unified group. (Gisela Richter’s 1956 study of the gems, although reissued in 2006, remains useful but has not been updated. I refer readers to



6.1



6.1

the complete bibliographies and lengthy analyses of each mirror provided by Larissa Bonfante and her collaborators in 1997.)<sup>9</sup>

The Museum's engraved mirrors are presented here as a group. Unless otherwise indicated, they are all bronze. Additional bibliographical citations have been added to works published after 1997, and an entry for the box mirror (6.24) omitted from Bonfante's 1997 publication is included. The mirror in the Bolsena Tomb Group (6.40) is the most frequently cited mirror in the collection. It has appeared in more than sixty publications.<sup>10</sup>

## Mirrors Engraved with Subjects or Characters from Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and Hesiod's *Theogony*

### 6.1

Etruscan, found near Castel Giorgio in 1877, ca. 350 B.C., diameter: 6 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (16.2 cm). Rogers Fund, 1909 (09.221.16)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 275–76, no. 799, ill.; Richard Daniel De Puma in *Gens Antiquissima Italiae*, 1991, pp. 277–79, no. 6.7, ill. p. 280; L. Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 3, 1997, pp. 47–49, no. 14, figs. 14a–d; L. Bonfante, "Alcuni specchi etruschi," 2000, pp. 25–26, fig. 7; Carpino, *Discs of Splendor*, 2003, pp. 56–57, pl. 82; de Grummond, *Etruscan Myth*, 2006, pp. 193–94, 196, fig. VIII.25; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 477, no. 370, ill. pp. 312, 477

This exquisite mirror depicts an event in the Trojan War cycle, an unusual scene from the myth of Peleus and Thetis, which is related to one of the events that gave rise to the war. Apparently, while Thetis is preparing for her wedding day, she is surprised by her groom, the Greek hero Peleus, who seems startled to see her image in the mirror she holds. Thetis is assisted in her toilette by a seated female figure inscribed *Calaina*, who is perhaps the Etruscanized version of the Greek name Galena, who like Thetis, is a sea nymph. Both Thetis and Calaina wear elaborate laurel wreaths very similar to those in the Museum's Etruscan jewelry collection (7.11A and 7.11B).

The story of Peleus and Thetis begins with a prophecy that the son born to Thetis, a beautiful divine sea nymph, would be more powerful and famous than his father. Zeus was attracted to Thetis, and he realized that if they produced a son together, the child would fulfill the prophecy and therefore upset the order of the universe. To avoid this eventuality, Zeus decided to marry off Thetis to a mortal man. Despite her attempts to evade Peleus by mutating into fire, water, and an assortment of wild animals, Thetis was eventually married to Peleus. Peleus and Thetis produced a son, the Greek hero Achilles, who *was* greater than his father and thus fulfilled the prophecy.<sup>11</sup> Achilles is a major character in the art and literature of both Greek and Etruscan culture.

The Greeks and the Etruscans enjoyed tales of pursuit and seduction, and events from the myth of Peleus and Thetis are depicted on many works of art in both cultures.<sup>12</sup>



6.2

### 6.2

Etruscan, ca. 450–420 B.C., diameter: 6 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (17.5 cm), length: 9 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (23.2 cm). Rogers Fund, 1922 (22.139.84)

LITERATURE: Richter, "New Accessions," 1926, p. 83, fig. 6; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 46, fig. 132; L. Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 3, 1997, pp. 61–63, no. 21, figs. 21a–d

The engraved scene depicts an episode from the Trojan War, the battle between Achilles and Memnon. Achilles was the son of Thetis, an immortal nymph, and Peleus, a mortal man. Memnon was half god and half human. His mother was Eos, the goddess of the dawn, and his father was Tithonos, a mortal man, brother of Priam, king of Troy.<sup>13</sup> Retrograde inscriptions survive on this mirror for Achilles (Etruscan *Achle*) and Memnon (*Memnun*), the leader of the Ethiopian contingent at Troy. The inscription for Eos (*Thesan*) is no longer visible under the corrosion. The goddess of the dawn is seen with four large wings and winged sandals as she retrieves the dying Memnon from the battlefield. This subject was very popular on Etruscan mirrors from about 530 to 450 B.C.<sup>14</sup>

Stylistic features suggest that this mirror is the product of a workshop at ancient Vulci, a major center of bronze working during the Etruscan period. The engraver portrayed the decorative details of the warriors' breastplates and greaves with special attention.



6.2

### 6.3

Etruscan, said to be from Perugia, early 4th century B.C., diameter: 6 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (15.4 cm), length: 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (24.1 cm.). Gift of Henry G. Marquand, 1897 (97.22.16)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 273–74, no. 797, ill.; L. Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 3, 1997, pp. 35–37, no. 9, figs. 9a–d; Carpino, *Discs of Splendor*, 2003, p. 27, pl. 35; de Grummond, *Etruscan Myth*, 2006, pp. 93, 95, fig. V.25

Three inscribed figures appear on the disk: Paris/Alexandros (*Alcsentre*), Aphrodite (*Turan*), and Helen (*Elinai*). Perhaps this scene represents a first fateful meeting at Sparta of Paris, son of Priam, king of Troy, and Helen, wife of Menelaus, king of Mycenaean (Late Bronze Age) Sparta, a meeting facilitated by the goddess of love and a meeting that led to the Trojan War. The subject also appears on at least three Etruscan mirrors in various other collections.



6.3





6.3



6.4



6.5

**6.4**

Etruscan, 3rd century B.C., diameter: 5<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (13.2 cm), length: 10<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (26.2 cm). Rogers Fund, 1921 (21.88.27)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 51, fig. 149; L. Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 3, 1997, pp. 54–56, no. 17, figs. 17a–d

Retrograde inscriptions on the border of this mirror identify the four figures as two pairs of lovers from the Trojan War cycle. They are Achilles (*Achle*) and Chryseis (*Crisitha*), and Helen (*Elinei*) and Paris/Alexandros (*Elchsntre*). Of these Homeric characters, Chryseis, daughter of the Trojan priest of Apollo, is the least frequently represented on Etruscan mirrors.<sup>15</sup> We learn of her fate at the beginning of the *Iliad*,<sup>16</sup> when it is told that her father, Chryses, tries to persuade Agamemnon, king of Mycenae and leader of the Greek forces, to return Chryseis. The king had taken her as a mistress and thus offended not only her father but also the god Apollo, whom both Chryses and his daughter served. Agamemnon stubbornly refused to return Chryseis. Her father prayed to Apollo to bring a plague upon the Greeks, which he did.<sup>17</sup>



6.4



6.5

## 6.5

Etruscan, 3rd century B.C., diameter: 5¼ (13.3 cm), length: 10⅞ in. (26.8 cm). Rogers Fund, 1921 (21.88.28)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 51, fig. 150; L. Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 3, 1997, pp. 56–58, no. 18, figs. 18a–d

Five characters from the Trojan War are identified by retrograde inscriptions on the border: Achilles (*Achle*), his mother Thetis (*Thethis*), Odysseus (*Uthste*), Helen (*Elinei*), and her husband King Menelaus (*Menle*) of Sparta. No specific scene described in the *Iliad* is represented here; rather this is an example of a mirror that depicts what modern scholars have called a “sacred conversation” between various heroic and divine figures, who cannot be identified easily without the aid of the inscriptions (see also 6.4 and 6.23). For example, two iconographical idiosyncrasies make it unlikely that we would identify the figure at right as Menelaus: he is depicted as a young man like Achilles and wears a Phrygian cap, usually associated with eastern, not mainland, Greeks. Therefore, without the inscription, we almost certainly would assume that this young man is Paris.

## 6.6

Etruscan, Campiglia Marittima (Vetulonia), ca. 350–300 B.C., diameter: 6½ in. (16.5 cm). Rogers Fund, 1909 (09.221.17)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 276–77, no. 800, ill.; L. Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 3, 1997, pp. 49–52, no. 15, figs. 15a–d; L. Bonfante, “Alcuni specchi etruschi,” 2000, pp. 21–23, fig. 5; L. Bonfante, “Etruscan Inscriptions,” 2006, pp. 20–21, fig. 11.17

The mirror depicts one of the most popular episodes from Book X of the *Odyssey*, the witch Circe’s transformation of Odysseus’ men into pigs. Three inscribed characters appear: Odysseus (*Uthste*), Circe (*Cerca*) seated at the center, and Elpenor (*Velparun*), wearing an elegant Apulian helmet. Each inscription is enclosed in a cartouche-like frame, a relatively unusual treatment for an inscription on an engraved Etruscan mirror. The engraver varied slightly from Homer’s description by presenting an unidentified man-boar (note the tusks) squatting at the base of the disk. Also, although Elpenor is present here, in Homer’s account, Odysseus is said to confront Circe alone.<sup>18</sup> Elpenor died much later, when he got drunk and fell off the roof of Circe’s palace.<sup>19</sup> Scholars have puzzled over this discrepancy since the nineteenth century. Some have assumed that the Etruscan artist was simply unfamiliar with the proper sequence of events in Homer’s account. Others have suggested that it was an artistic decision, that the artist needed to include another figure to create balance with the figure of Odysseus. Still others have posited



6.6

that the “weak and thin” or “wan” Elpenor is a ghost. I do not see these qualities in the portrayal of Elpenor, who in my opinion, looks as fit and robust as Odysseus. Usually when Etruscan artists depict a ghost, they use the word *hinthial* (shade of) with the proper name.



6.6



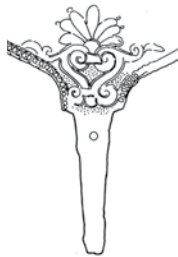
6.7

### 6.7

Etruscan, late 5th century B.C., diameter: 5<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (15.1 cm), length: 8<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (21.3 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1896 (96.18.13)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 280, no. 813, ill. p. 279; L. Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum*, U.S.A., vol. 3, 1997, p. 29, no. 5, figs. 5a–d

This mirror's disk has the flat thick profile of early mirrors and is engraved only with an elegant palmette and volutes on the area above the tang on the original reflecting side.



### 6.8

Etruscan, late 5th century B.C., diameter: 6 in. (15.3 cm), length: 9<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (24.3 cm). Rogers Fund, 1920 (20.211)

LITERATURE: L. Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum*, U.S.A., vol. 3, 1997, pp. 52–54, no. 16, figs. 16a–d

A satyr pursues a maenad or nymph. The subject, composition, and style of this mirror are very Greek and almost certainly are indebted to familiarity with Attic red-figure pottery, especially the painted tondos on the interiors of late sixth and early fifth century B.C. Attic wine cups. The female wears a peplos, a kind of garment not worn by Etruscan women. For a more typical Etruscan version of a satyr and maenad, see the Museum's mirror 6.12. According to Ulrike Fischer-Graf, our mirror was probably a product of a workshop at Vulci.<sup>20</sup>

### 6.9

Praenestine, Praeneste, ca. 400–350 B.C., diameter: 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (15.7 cm), length: 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (24.6 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1926 (26.60.63)

LITERATURE: Richter, "Recent Accessions," 1928, pp. 78–80, fig. 6; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 46, fig. 133; L. Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum*, U.S.A., vol. 3, 1997, pp. 63–66, no. 22, figs. 22a–d; L. Bonfante, "Alcuni specchi etruschi," 2000, pp. 16–17, fig. 2; Gilotta, "Specchi," 2000, pp. 144–45, fig. 2

The engravings on this mirror and the two others attributed to the same unknown artist, conventionally called the "Maestro di Alcesti" are among the most complex, energetic, and sophisticated scenes on Etruscan mirrors.<sup>21</sup>

The mirror depicts an unusual subject, the hero Perseus with the Graiai, the sisters of the Gorgons, who are offspring of Phorcys and Keto, the children of Gaia (Earth) and Pontos (Sea). Retrograde inscriptions identify Perseus (*Pherse*), Minerva (misspelled *Menarea*), Enyo (*Enie*, that is, "yellow-veiled") and Pempredo (*Pemphetru*, that is, "of the beautiful peplos"). The epithets of the Graiai are Etruscanized versions of those given by the Greek poet Hesiod in *Theogony*:<sup>22</sup>

To Phorcys, Ceto bore two daughters whose faces were beautiful, but whose hair was gray from birth; for that reason they are called Graiae by the gods and by men on earth—Pempredo, always finely dressed, and Enyo, always dressed in yellow. She also bore the Gorgons, who live on the further shore of great Ocean, on the border of Night, where the Hesperian nymphs raise their thrilling voices; their names are Sthenno and Euryale and Medusa. Medusa had a cruel fate: she was mortal while her two sisters were immortal and ageless, and Poseidon, the god with azure locks, slept with her in a soft meadow, on a bed of springtime flowers. So when Perseus later cut off her head, out leaped huge Chrysaor and the horse Pegasus . . .



6.8



6.9



6.10

Perseus sought the help of the Graiai in order to find the Medusa and her sisters. The Graiai were so ancient that they only had one eye (and, according to some sources, one tooth) between them. Perseus stole the eye and only returned it when they promised to help him. Our mirror shows Perseus at the moment when he is about to seize the eye from Enyo (Enie), who appears on the left. Contrary to some descriptions of the mirror, the eye itself is not depicted in her right hand.

Depictions of the Gorgons, especially Medusa, are common in ancient Greek, Etruscan, and Roman art, but representations of their sisters and guardians, the Graiai, are quite rare.<sup>23</sup>

### 6.10

Etruscan, Civita Castellana (ancient Falerii), ca. 400–350 b.c., diameter: 6½ in. (16.5 cm), length: 10¾ in. (25.9 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1896 (96.18.15)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 278–80, no. 802, ill.; L. Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 3, 1997, pp. 29–32, no. 6, figs. 6a–d; L. Bonfante, “Alcuni specchi etruschi,” 2000, pp. 14–15, fig. 1; Gilotta, “Specchi,” 2000, pp. 144, 146, fig. 3

Inscriptions identify the central figures in this composition as Admetus (*Atmite*) and Alcestis (*Alcestei*), best known from



6.9



6.10



6.11



6.11

Euripides' famous tragedy *Alcestis*, first produced at Athens in 438 B.C. In that drama, Admetus, who has unwittingly offended the goddess Artemis, must die. He eventually permits his wife, who volunteers willingly, to die for him. Only after her funeral does he realize the finality of death. As luck would have it, Herakles (who earlier had been hospitably received by Admetus) is able to defeat Thanatos (Death) in a wrestling contest and rescues Alcestis from the Underworld. She is reunited with her husband and becomes, in the eyes of ancient Greeks, the perfect wife. Here, the nude figure on the left who has removed his shoes probably represents Thanatos or some other Etruscan death demon.<sup>24</sup>

The figure at left holds a strange object in his raised right hand and uses it to hold a torch. The object is the only known representation of a bronze pronged torch holder shown in use. See 5.23 for one of these unusual implements. The torch, used in both marriage and funeral rituals, is an appropriate symbol for this mirror.<sup>25</sup>

To illustrate how Etruscan mirrors can aid our understanding of the culture, consider the torch-holder. Numerous examples of these objects have been found in the tombs of Etruscan warriors, and scholars have debated their function. Most have believed that they were large hooks used to retrieve boiled pieces of meat from cooking vessels.<sup>26</sup> Such bronze torch-holders might have been supplied to soldiers for use on night missions and later become a regular part of their funerary equipment.

### 6.11

Praenestine, late 4th–early 3rd century B.C., diameter: 6<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (16.8 cm), length: 12<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (31.4 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1896 (96.18.16)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 286–87, no. 827, ill.; L. Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 3, 1997, pp. 32–34, no. 7, figs. 7a–d; L. Bonfante, “Alcuni specchi etruschi,” 2000, pp. 17–19, fig. 3

The three figures on the disk are identified by inscriptions in Latin: Juno (*Iuno*), Jupiter (*Iovei*, in the dative case perhaps indicating that this image represents a statue dedicated to Jove), and Hercules (*Hercele*). Praeneste, the modern town of Palestrina, was located in Latin-speaking territory southeast of Rome but was strongly influenced by Etruscan culture.

One of the most interesting iconographical features of this mirror is the juxtaposition of a herm with female attributes (on the ground to the right of Juno) and an erect phallus (to the left of Herakles). These figures have been identified as symbolizing Iuventas and Terminus, the Roman gods of youth and boundary stones, respectively. On the mirror, they may relate to the female and male life forces protecting Rome. Both deities had shrines within the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, on the Capitoline Hill in Rome.<sup>27</sup>



6.12

### 6.12

Etruscan, said to be from Chiusi, late 4th century B.C., diameter: 6<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (17.3 cm), length: 11<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (29.4 cm). Gift of Henry G. Marquand, 1897 (97.22.17)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 274–75, no. 798, ill.; L. Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum*, U.S.A., vol. 3, 1997, pp. 37–40, no. 10, figs. 10a–d; de Grummond, *Etruscan Myth*, 2006, pp. 152–53, fig. VII.7

The non-reflecting surface of this engraved bronze mirror with ivory handle depicts Minerva (Etruscan Menrva) flanked by Thalna, a maenad or nymph, and Sime, a satyr.<sup>28</sup> Each figure is identified by a retrograde inscription.

It is unusual to see an Etruscan tang mirror with its original ivory or bone handle still attached. Close scientific examination of the Museum's mirror<sup>29</sup> shows that the ivory handle on this mirror is made of two separate pieces fastened together. These pieces are visible in the photograph—a lower section decorated with four pairs of torus mouldings, and a plain, tapering upper section. A closely related example in a private collection in Bern provides support for the authenticity of the handle.<sup>30</sup> Other bone or ivory handles with or without torus moldings are relatively common.<sup>31</sup> Several figured examples exist,<sup>32</sup> including one with some extant paint and gilding.<sup>33</sup> Such treatments testify to the original opulence of these mirrors combining polished bronze with carved ivory picked out in blue, red, and gold leaf.



6.12

### 6.13

Etruscan, ca. 350–325 B.C., diameter: 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (17 cm), length: 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (23.5 cm). Rogers Fund, 1922 (22.139.61)

LITERATURE: L. Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum*, U.S.A., vol. 3, 1997, pp. 59–60, no. 20, figs. 20a–d; de Grummond, *Etruscan Myth*, 2006, pp. 152–53, 155, fig. VII.10

The subject matter engraved on this mirror is difficult to explain; we simply do not know the precise functions of the Etruscan characters named. At the center stands a tall fully clothed female identified by a retrograde inscription as *Zipanu*, a name (with some variants that may indicate the same character) that appears on several other mirrors. She often accompanies lovers or assists in toilette scenes and might be a minor divinity connected with Turan (Greek Aphrodite).



6.13

On this mirror, she is flanked by youthful muscular males who are nude except for flowing mantles and high laced boots. Seated on the left is *Prucnaś* (a name that is not attested on any other works of art) and on the right is *Thalna*, who stands with his left foot on a rock, his left arm resting on his thigh, and with his right hand raised and pointing upward. This pose is assumed often by prophets and augurs in other Etruscan scenes.<sup>34</sup> As mentioned above in connection with 6.12, *Thalna* is usually female but can also be male, as he is here. This character seems to function in several ways, but as a male, he appears to be a prophet.

#### 6.14

Etruscan, late 4th century B.C., diameter: 7 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (18 cm), length: 13 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (33.3 cm). Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.260)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 280–81, no. 814, ill.; L. Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum*, U.S.A., vol. 3, 1997, pp. 43–44, no. 12, figs. 12a–d



6.14

This scene portraying Eros assisting the fishing Aphrodite might be derived from similar representations on Attic red-figure pottery. The jewelry chain worn by the winged Eros is similar to that on a figural bronze patera handle in the form of a *Lasa* in the Bolsena tomb group (6.27).

#### 6.15

Etruscan, ca. 350–325 B.C., diameter: 6 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (16.2 cm). Rogers Fund, 1909 (09.221.15)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 277–78, no. 801, ill.; L. Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum*, U.S.A., vol. 3, 1997, pp. 44–47, no. 13, figs. 13a–d; Iozzo, *La Chimaera di Arezzo*, 2009, p. 50, no. 15, p. 18, fig. 14

The disk shows Bellerophon riding the winged Pegasus and killing the monstrous Chimaera. The subject appears in Homer's *Iliad*<sup>35</sup> and Hesiod's *Theogony*.<sup>36</sup> It was well known to the Etruscans, who sometimes depicted it on mirrors and even in monumental bronze sculpture such as the famous "Chimaera of Arezzo," now in Florence.

The story begins with the birth of Pegasus, the winged horse born when Perseus decapitates the Gorgon Medusa. From her severed neck, two creatures spring forth: a youth named Chrysaor and the horse Pegasus (see 6.9). Later, the hero Bellerophon enters the story. As is depicted on the Museum's mirror, he is able to mount Pegasus because the gods have given him a magical harness. With the distinct advantage provided by a flying horse, Bellerophon attacks and kills the dreaded Chimaera, a fire-breathing creature with the body of a lion, with a goat's head protruding from its back, and a snake for a tail. On our mirror, these elements are clearly depicted, and the Chimaera is female. On other mirrors, the creature is often male, as it is in the famous monumental bronze from Arezzo, now in the Museo Archeologico, Florence.<sup>37</sup>



6.14





6.15



6.15



6.16



6.16

### 6.16

Praenestine, late 4th century B.C.,  $6\frac{3}{8} \times 12\frac{1}{2}$  in. (16.2 x 31.8 cm).

Rogers Fund, 1921 (21.88.29)

LITERATURE: L. Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 3, 1997, pp. 58–59, no. 19, figs. 19a–d

A nude Apollo, playing the kithara and holding a laurel wreath, accompanies an unidentified nude female. The distinctive piriform shape and the manner in which the figures overlap the border are stylistic features associated with mirrors produced in ancient Praeneste (see also 6.17 and, to a lesser extent, 6.9). The frame here is similar to that on the Praenestine cista 6.42.



6.17

**6.17**

Praenestine, ca. 330–300 B.C., 7 1/8 x 13 1/2 in. (18.1 x 34.3 cm).

Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941 (41.160.406)

LITERATURE: L. Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum*, U.S.A., vol. 3, 1997, pp. 66–68, no. 23, figs. 23a–d

A tall female figure dressed in a chiton drives a two-horse chariot. Although there are no identifying inscriptions, it is probable that the figure is Eos (Etruscan Thesan), goddess of the dawn, who is traveling across the sky. This object has many of the characteristics associated with Praenestine

mirrors, including the piriform shape, the large diameter of the disk, and the way figures burst out of the disk's frame. Although its provenance is unknown, the piece originally was owned by the Barberini, the famous Italian papal family who owned properties at Palestrina, where many tombs were excavated and numerous objects were acquired for their collections. Eventually, especially during the nineteenth century, much of that material was sold. It is quite likely that the Museum's mirror was discovered at Palestrina.



6.17



6.18



6.18

**6.18**

Etruscan, ca. 325–300 B.C., diameter: 7½ in. (19.1 cm). Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941 (41.160.407)

LITERATURE: L. Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 3, 1997, pp. 68–69, no. 24, figs. 24a–d

Two unidentified warriors, perhaps the Dioskouroi (sons of Zeus, the twin brothers Castor and Pollux), are represented on this mirror, which belongs to a group tentatively associated with mirror workshops at Orvieto.<sup>38</sup>

**6.19**

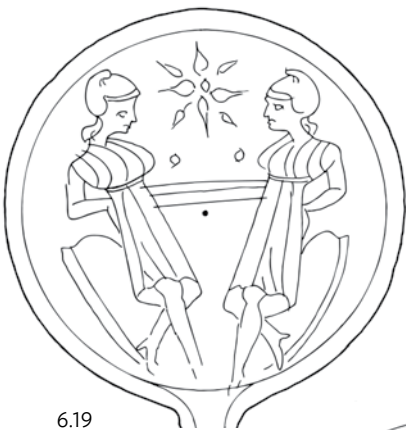
Etruscan, 3rd–2nd century B.C., diameter: 4½ in. (10.5 cm), length: 8½ in. (20.6 cm). Purchase, 1896 (96.9.370)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 285, no. 821, ill. p. 284; L. Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 3, 1997, pp. 26–27, no. 3, figs. 3a–d

Two highly-abstracted symmetrical figures wearing belted chitons and Phrygian caps flank a large star-like central device with two small circles below it. They lean against large shields and are connected by three horizontal lines. We know from numerous other representations that these figures represent one of the most common subjects on Etruscan mirrors, the Dioskouroi (Etruscan *Tinas Cliniar*).<sup>39</sup> The similarity of engravings, the size and design of mirrors and handles, and the large number of nearly identical examples all suggest that these mirrors were almost mass-produced during the last phases of the Etrusco-Hellenistic period.



6.20



6.19



6.20

**6.20**

Etruscan, ca. 250–200 B.C., diameter: 5¾ in. (13.2 cm), length: 10⅝ in. (27 cm). Museum Accession (X.21.86)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 282–83, no. 818, ill.; L. Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 3, 1997, pp. 23–25, no. 1, figs. 1a–d

This engraving is an excellent example of the popular four-figure composition probably representing the twin gods Castor and Pollux (the Dioskouroi) with Minerva and Helen or Aphrodite. The composition and various other details are very similar to those on mirror 6.4, but on that mirror, the inscriptions give the scene an entirely different meaning, connecting it with the Trojan War legend. There have been scholarly arguments over the dating of this type of mirror.<sup>40</sup>



6.21



6.21

### 6.21

Etruscan, 3rd–2nd century B.C., diameter: 5 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (13.5 cm), length: 10 $\frac{13}{16}$  in. (27.5 cm). Purchase, 1896 (96.9.371)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 284–85, no. 820, ill.; L. Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum*, U.S.A., vol. 3, 1997, pp. 27–29, no. 4, figs. 4a–d

The engravings depict a standard four-figure composition with the Dioskouroi flanking Minerva and an unidentified nude male. The word *Cracna* is engraved on the reflecting side and might indicate the owner's family name, although it is unusual for mirrors to be identified in this way.<sup>41</sup>

### 6.22

Etruscan, early 3rd–mid-2nd century B.C., diameter: 4 $\frac{9}{16}$  in. (11.6 cm), length: 5 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (14.3 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1896 (96.18.175)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 285, no. 822, ill.; L. Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum*, U.S.A., vol. 3, 1997, pp. 34–35, no. 8, figs. 8a–d

A large, stylized female with enormous wings moves to the left. She is nude except for a Phrygian cap and shoes, and she holds an alabastron in her left hand and an unidentified object in her right.

Like the subject of the Dioskouroi engraved on 6.19, winged nude females resembling the one on this mirror are very popular on late Etruscan mirrors. Most Etruscologists, including this author, believe these figures depict a Lasa, the nymph-like character who can be either male or female and has a variety of functions in Etruscan religious belief. Because there are so many mirrors with this subject and because they are so similar, they seem to have been mass produced.<sup>42</sup>



6.22



6.22

**6.23**

Etruscan, 3rd–2nd century B.C., 3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (8.1 cm), length: 6<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (17.5 cm). Purchase, 1896 (96.9.369)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 283–84, no. 819, ill.; L. Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 3, 1997, pp. 25–26, no. 2, figs. 2a–d

This unscribed four-figure group might represent the divine twins Castor and Pollux (the Dioskouroi) flanking their sister Helen and the goddess Minerva. Many late Etruscan engraved mirrors are composed of similar symmetrical groupings of three or four figures, who often appear as if engaged in conversation. Because the figures are often



6.23



6.23

divine or heroic, they have been called “sacred conversations” by modern scholars (see also 6.4, 6.5). When these figures are unidentified by inscription or have no specific attributes, it is almost impossible to identify them with certainty.<sup>43</sup>

The unusually small size of this mirror may indicate that it was the toy of a young girl.<sup>44</sup>



6.24 upper valve



6.24 mirror, nonreflecting side

### 6.24 Box mirror

Etruscan, ca. 300–250 B.C., 29.141c, relief: height (with handle): 6 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (16.8 cm), diameter: 6 in. (15.2 cm). 29.141a, b, mirror disk: diameter: 5 $\frac{13}{16}$  in. (14.8 cm). valve fragment: diameter: 4 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (12.1 cm). Anonymous Gift, 1929 (29.141a–c)

LITERATURE: Anderson, “Etruscan Mirror Cover,” 1981, p. 60, fig. 2; Willers, “Vom Etruskischen zum Römischen,” 1986, p. 21, no. 2

In addition to the popular tang and hand mirrors such as the examples discussed above, the Etruscans also produced a third type, the box mirror, comparable to the ones in modern compacts. This bronze is the only Etruscan box mirror in the Museum’s collection. It is fragmentary, but the lid of the mirror container (above left) is embellished with a relief (originally on the top valve) portraying the drunken Dionysos supported by a youthful nude Eros.<sup>45</sup> On the right is a young woman, perhaps a maenad or a muse, who wears a flowing gown and plays the kithara (lyre). The god holds a thyrsos (fennel stalk topped with ivy) over his left shoulder and is nude except for the drapery on his left arm. The figures are carefully modeled, and the drapery is especially fluid. Just below the feet of Dionysos are the remains of a loop handle, which could lift the lid and reveal the mirror. The figural scene is framed by a braided border similar to that found on several other examples with this subject.<sup>46</sup> The same composition, ultimately derived from earlier vase paintings, appears on at least thirty-five other box mirror covers.<sup>47</sup>

The actual mirror is the removable disk seen above right; it is slightly concave and decorated with three groups of concentric circles on the nonreflecting side. The bottom of the



Figure 1. Statuette of a woman looking into a box mirror. Greek, probably West Greek, possibly Centuripe, 3rd–2nd century B.C. Terracotta, height: 11 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (28.6 cm). Rogers Fund, 1912 (12.229.19)



6.24 lower valve



6.24 lower valve frame

mirror case is also decorated with concentric circles and has a loop handle for suspending the case when not in use.

Box mirrors were first developed by the Greeks in the late fifth century B.C. The Museum's collection includes Greek box mirrors (see 06.1061, 07.255, and 40.11.19a, b).<sup>48</sup> The Museum also has a charming Greek terracotta depicting a young woman using a box mirror, shown here (Figure 1). Both Greek and Etruscan box mirrors consist of two circular valves connected by a hinge. The top valve is decorated with a relief sculpture, usually figural but sometimes with vegetal ornament. Inside is a separate polished disk, the mirror, often decorated with concentric circles or an engraved figural scene on its underside.

The Etruscans imported Greek box mirrors and were inspired to create their own versions of the type, beginning in the last decades of the fourth century B.C. In many ways, the Etruscan examples are quite similar to their Greek prototypes, but they are smaller in diameter and do not usually have any engraved figural scenes on the mirror disks. Because the relief sculptures ornamenting the exteriors of these mirror cases were made from a thin sheet of bronze hammered into a matrix, they were easily duplicated.<sup>49</sup> As a result, there are numerous extant examples of the same figural relief. Scores of bronze box mirrors have survived, and we know from a few extant examples that silver versions were made as well.<sup>50</sup>

As seen in Figure 2, this very mirror appears on the desk in John Singer Sargent's portrait of Edward Robinson (1858–1931), third director of the Metropolitan Museum (see about him in Chapter I).



Figure 2. John Singer Sargent (American, Florence 1856–1925 London), *Edward Robinson*, 1903. Oil on canvas, 56½ x 36¼ in. (143.5 x 92.1 cm). Gift of Mrs. Edward Robinson, 1931 (31.60)

## THE BOLSENA TOMB GROUP

GENERAL LITERATURE: Furtwängler, "Antiken in Amerika," 1905; Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 180–82; Magini Carella Prada and Pandolfini Angeletti, *Inscriptiones*, 1987, pp. 61–63, nos. 10844–53; De Puma, "Tomb Group from Bolsena," 2008

The forty-three objects comprising this group in the Museum's collection originate from a single tomb, which most likely was discovered in the Poggio Sala Necropolis at Bolsena in the late nineteenth century (see Map 1, p. 2). The objects in the Bolsena Tomb Group were acquired by the Museum through the Rogers Fund in 1903, the same year as the tomb group from Monteleone di Spoleto entered the collection. Several of the items, especially the silver pyxis and amphoriskos (6.28a, b), the bronze cista (6.26), and the patera (6.27), are associated with female burials. Other items are more appropriate for a male burial, for example the large gold ring (6.39) and the iron banqueting utensils (6.34–6.36). The tomb included locally made items and expensive luxury imports from Southern Italy. It is likely that this tomb belonged to a wealthy couple who died about 280–270 B.C., shortly before the ultimate destruction of Volsinii (modern Orvieto) in 264 B.C. The objects in this group exemplify the singular importance of findings in tombs and reveal many of the daily practices and funerary rituals of the Etruscans.

Ten of the objects are engraved or punched with the Etruscan word *śuthina*; it appears twice on three of the objects. This means that these items were intended "for the tomb" and not to be used again by the living. *Śuthina* inscriptions appear in the fifth century B.C. on Greek vases found at Cerveteri. During the Etrusco-Hellenistic period, they have been found so far only in a confined area of ancient North-central Etruria that includes Bolsena, Orvieto, Chiusi, and Sovana. They are used on precious objects made of gold, silver, or bronze, but during this period at least, they never appear on iron or terracotta items.

The Bolsena tomb group is an intriguing example of the changes taking place in Etruscan culture during the Hellenistic period. Increasing threats from Rome and other neighbors may have encouraged the Etruscans to take extra precautions with their burials. Such threats might explain the use of *śuthina* inscriptions to mark valuable tomb goods and discourage tomb robbers who, as a result, would have had difficulty reselling them. Of course, if these thieves simply melted down the precious gold and silver objects, no vestige of the original inscriptions would remain, and the raw materials could be sold. Perhaps the added inscriptions acted as a powerful curse that might frighten superstitious (and literate) thieves. The fact remains that without an ancient written source explaining how these inscriptions functioned, we can only posit explanations.



6.26 detail





6.25



6.26

## Vessels From the Bolsena Tomb Group

### 6.25 Oinochoe (jug)

Etruscan, early 3rd century B.C., bronze, height: 14 in. (35.6 cm).  
Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.24.1)

A number of similar bronze vessels of this type come from, or are associated with, Orvieto and sites in the Bolsena area.<sup>51</sup> In this example, the escutcheon at the base of the handle is modeled in an elegant plant form that resembles the acanthus leaves often seen on Apulian pottery of the period. The inscription *śuthina*, engraved on the neck, indicates that the object was made for the tomb.

### 6.26 Cista (toilet box)

Etruscan or Praenestine, early 3rd century B.C., bronze, height: 7 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (19.4 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.24.2)

The only decorative elements on this small cista are a solid-cast handle in the shape of a seated boy and three feet decorated with human heads. *Śuthina* is inscribed twice, on the lid and the body. This type of cista is not common; it seems to be an Etruscan response to the larger and more elegant Praenestine cistae (see 6.41–6.44).<sup>52</sup>



6.27

### 6.27 Patera (shallow bowl with handle)

Etruscan, late 4th–early 3rd century B.C., bronze, height: 18¼ in. (46.4 cm); diameter: 9⅝ in. (24.5 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.24.4)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 217–18, no. 598, ill.

The handle of this patera is in the form of a beautiful winged female, probably an Etruscan Lasa. These nymph-like creatures often are associated with the Etruscan goddess Turan (Greek Aphrodite), but they also act as facilitators for lovers and as guardians for innocent victims, especially children. This one cradles an animal-headed drinking horn in her left hand. She is nude except for short boots and a *kestos*, a long necklace-like chain that drapes diagonally from her right shoulder to her left waist. Her unfurled wings are elaborately

rendered with stippling and engraved strokes. The bowl has been rendered “for the tomb” by the crudely engraved retrograde inscription *śuthina* across the center.

The function of paterae has been debated. Because many have elaborately modeled handles depicting a Lasa (see also 6.81a, b), it has been suggested that they may have served as libation vessels during a funeral ritual. It has also been posited that they are more utilitarian and were used for bathing. The fact that most are found in funerary contexts does not invalidate either interpretation.<sup>53</sup>

The Museum has another Etruscan bronze patera from the Bolsena tomb group (late 4th century B.C., height 2¾ in. [7 cm], Rogers Fund, 1903, 03.24.9); on that example, there is the “ghost” image or corroded impression of a palmette



6.28a, b, c

pattern on the underside of the bowl. The element indicates the point of attachment for a handle that is now lost, which probably was sculpted to represent a mythical figure resembling the one preserved on the bronze patera shown here. *Śuthina* is engraved retrograde inside the bowl.

**6.28a, b, c Amphoriskos (perfume vase), pyxis (box with lid), and strigil (scraper)**

Apulian, possibly Tarentine, early 3rd century B.C., silver and gilt, A: 03.24.5: amphoriskos, height: 6 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (15.4 cm); B: 03.24.6: pyxis: height (with cover): 3 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (8.4 cm); C: 03.24.7: strigil: possibly South Italian or Etruscan, early 3rd century B.C., length: 10 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (27.3 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903

LITERATURE: 03.24.5, .6: Oliver, *Silver for the Gods*, 1977, pp. 55, 56, nos. 22, 23; von Bothmer, "Greek and Roman Treasury," 1984, p. 61, nos. 107 (punched monogram on base is noted but misinterpreted), 108; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 477, no. 372, ill. p. 313; De Puma, "Tomb Group from Bolsena," 2008, pp. 432, 433, 436, fig. 7, p. 437, fig. 8. 03.24.7: Oliver, *Silver for the Gods*, 1977, p. 57, no. 24; von Bothmer, "Greek and Roman Treasury," 1984, pp. 61, 109; Picón et al.,

*Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 477, no. 372, ill. p. 313; De Puma, "Tomb Group from Bolsena," 2008, pp. 433–34, 439, fig. 10 Several elegant perfume vases of the type shown above at top center here, which are made of silver and imitate pointed amphorae on a small scale but with graceful volute handles, have been found in Southern Italy. This one probably was imported from there. With the exception of the solid handles and small collar-like mouth, the vase was raised from a single sheet of silver. A pair of gilded swags (or perhaps necklaces) emphasizes the widest part of the vase, and gilded acanthus leaves ornament the base. These decorative elements might have been influenced by similar treatments on Attic pottery of this period. *Śuthina* (for the tomb) is punched retrograde on the shoulder and a tiny monogram D : M appears on the base. This second inscription may refer to the Etruscan owner whose name began with an R. (See the related monogram on the strigil seen at bottom center here.) The varied renderings of the punched inscriptions demonstrate convincingly that they were added at different times. The monogram is very precise and carefully executed, but in



6.29

### 6.29 Bowl from a thymiaterion (incense burner)

Etruscan, late 4th century B.C., bronze, height: 4 $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (11.3 cm).

Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.24.8)

Only the topmost element of this incense stand is preserved. A retrograde *śuthina* inscription is deeply engraved around the inner rim of the bowl. The distinctive circular shape with molded egg-and-dart lip is typical of a kind of thymiaterion that was widespread in Etruria throughout much of the late fourth and third centuries B.C. The Museum's example belongs to "Type III A2a" in the classification proposed by Sandra Buccioli<sup>54</sup> and to "Form E I" in that proposed by Laura Ambrosini.<sup>55</sup> These classifications by two different scholars apply to the same type of thymiaterion. It is also called a Curunas type, named for the Tomb II of the Curunas family at Tuscania where several examples were found.<sup>56</sup> This type of bronze incense burner is characterized by having a small convex bowl with a flaring ring foot and wide flat inverted rim. The rim is almost always engraved with an ivy scroll

contrast, the *śuthina* is sloppy and even includes an incorrect letter. This variation in quality demonstrates that the monogram probably was added to the amphoriskos at the time of purchase, while the *śuthina* was marked, with the others, at the time of burial and probably not by a professional metalworker.

The gilded vegetal ornament on the body of the pyxis 6.28b is reminiscent of decorative friezes common on Apulian painted pottery. This elegant lidded box was no doubt imported from Southern Italy by the Etruscans, who later dedicated it for tomb use by adding the inscriptions. *Śuthina* is punched along one of the leaves of the lid and appears retrograde and upside down on the lower body of the pyxis.

Strigils were used to gently scrape accumulated oil, dirt, and sweat from the body before bathing. In both Greek and Roman society, strigils were used almost exclusively by men; in Etruscan culture, both sexes are shown using them. *Śuthina* is punched retrograde on the handle of the example shown here. In addition, there is a retrograde monogram separated by two vertical dots. It reads *DA : MV*, or "Ra . . . : Mu . . ." and probably refers to the owner. Her name might have been Ramtha Murinas or Ramtha Murcnas. The first is a name that occurs frequently for Etruscan women. Both Murinas and Murcnas, which differ by only a single letter, are well attested as family names that occur in the Bolsena region. At least two stone monuments from the Poggio Sala Necropolis at Bolsena that belonged to members of the Murinas family are known.



6.30



6.31

and the lip cast with an egg-and-dart molding interrupted by a pair of small vertically set rings, for the attachment of a chain (often missing). On the Museum's example, the ivy scroll engraving is now obscured by corrosion and the *śuthina* inscription, but it is visible under magnification. This incense container would have been supported originally by a vertical shaft rising from a tripod base (see, for example, 6.8o). These incense burners were probably produced at Tarquinia.

### 6.30 Oinochoe (jug)

Etruscan "Malacena" black-gloss, Group of Vienna O.565, ca. 300 B.C., terracotta, height: 8 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (20.5 cm). Purchase, 1903 (03.24.22)

LITERATURE: Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, 1947, p. 254, no. 26; De Puma, "Tomb Group from Bolsena," 2008, pp. 430–31, fig. 3

This jug clearly imitates more expensive metal vessels and is associated with pottery workshops at Volterra. In this case, a definite source of inspiration was Gnathian pottery from

Southern Italy. Like this piece, Gnathian oinochoai are often ribbed and have elegantly curved handles that terminate in a satyr-head attachment. Both the Gnathian and Etruscan jugs usually have decorative ivy-scroll friezes painted in added color on the shoulder.

### 6.31 Kantharos (drinking cup)

Etruscan "Malacena" black-gloss, Group of Vatican G 116, Bolsena, ca. 300 B.C., Terracotta, height: 8 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (20.5 cm). Purchase, 1903 (03.24.23)

LITERATURE: Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, 1947, p. 232, no. 69;

De Puma, "Tomb Group from Bolsena," 2008, p. 431, n. 7

Vessels of this type were produced at Volterra and are associated with the so-called Malacena Workshop, which was active from the mid-fourth until the late third century B.C. This shape was one of their most popular products and has been found at sites throughout Central and Northern Italy.

### 6.32 Six undecorated vases

Etruscan utilitarian ware, early 3rd century B.C., terracotta, heights center and left to right: 03.24.24 (oinochoe/jug): 8<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (21.9 cm), 03.24.25 (kantharos/two-handled drinking cup): 3<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (10 cm), 03.24.26 (drinking cup): 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (5.7 cm), 03.24.27 (oinochoe/one-handled jug): 3<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (9.1 cm), 03.24.28 (two-handled drinking cup): 2<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (5.9 cm), 03.24.29 (olpe/one-handled jug): 3<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (10 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903

These simple objects, which contrast starkly with the refined imports in this tomb, are utilitarian products of Bolsena or Orvieto. Small drinking sets, usually including one or more jugs<sup>57</sup> and various cups, are common features of Hellenistic tombs throughout Etruria. Some scholars believe that they were used in a drinking ritual before the tomb was closed.

### Iron Implements From the Bolsena Tomb Group

With the exception of the three iron candelabra discussed immediately below, all the remaining iron implements from the Bolsena tomb group most likely are connected with banqueting. The idea of burying the deceased with everything needed to prepare meals in the afterlife is very ancient, at least as early as Old Kingdom Egypt. The Etruscans seem to have adopted at least some of those ideas from their Greek neighbors. Roasting meats in the company of friends is the purview of Greek heroes and is inseparable from rituals of hospitality. Homer wrote of Achilles and Patroklos tending the coals of the fire and preparing meat kebabs in the *Iliad*.<sup>58</sup> Thus, necessities for the tomb are seen to include a series of andirons, spits, fire rakes, tongs, knives to butcher the meat,



and various vessels for preparing and serving food and drink. The earliest andirons in Etruscan tombs date from about 675–650 B.C. The tradition was about four centuries old by the time the Bolsena tomb was closed. The famous Tomb of the Painted Reliefs at Cerveteri is dated about a century earlier than the Bolsena tomb but also depicts many of these banqueting objects preserved symbolically for the deceased.

Unless otherwise indicated, all the iron implements in the following group are Etruscan and are from the late fourth or early third century B.C.

### 6.33a, b, c Three candelabra

Early 3rd century B.C., iron, A: 03.24.10: height: 13½ in. (34.3 cm).

Rogers Fund, 1903; B: 03.24.20: height: 42 in. (106.7 cm), Purchase,

1903; C: 03.24.21: height: 34¾ in. (88.3 cm). Purchase, 1903

LITERATURE: 03.24.10: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*,

1915, pp. 374, 376, no. 1306. 03.24.20: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and*

*Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 374, no. 1304, ill. 03.24.21: Richter, *Greek,*

*Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 374, no. 1305

Numerous examples of this relatively simple type of candelabrum occur in iron and lead in the tombs of the Etrusco-Hellenistic period. The example with its own wick-trimmer shown here (6.33b) is unusual, although isolated tweezers of this sort have been found.<sup>59</sup>



6.33a



6.33b, c



6.34

### 6.34 Two fragmentary fire-rakes

Etruscan, late 4th or early 3rd century B.C., 03.24.11: height: 12 in. (30.5 cm); 03.24.12: height: 7 $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (18.9 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.24.11, .12)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 239, no. 674 (03.24.11), ill., no. 675 (03.24.12)

The Etruscans used these simple utensils to rake the charcoal embers of the roasting fire. Examples are frequently found in tombs at Orvieto near Bolsena and at Populonia. Originally, these examples may have had long wooden handles.



6.35

### 6.35 Knife

Etruscan, late 4th or early 3rd century B.C., length: 8 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (20.5 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.24.13)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 440, no. 1679, ill.

Occasionally “kitchen” knives like this one are found in tombs, apparently to assist in the preparation of meat chunks to be skewered onto spits and roasted.



6.36





6.37a

### 6.36 Fire tongs and spit

Fire tongs: 03.24.15: length: 21 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (54.9 cm). Spit: 03.24.14: length: 23 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (59.4 cm), Rogers Fund, 1903

LITERATURE: 03.24.15: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 239, no. 673, ill. 03.24.14: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 239–40, no. 676, ill.

Tongs could be used in a metallurgical workshop and even as a medical instrument, but given the tomb context and associated cooking utensils, it is more probable that the tongs shown here were used to tend a charcoal fire for domestic purposes.<sup>60</sup>

Multiple spits customarily were deposited in a given tomb. It is unusual to find only one example, as here. Perhaps other iron spits in this tomb disintegrated, or nineteenth-century explorers might have decided that they were too damaged to be worth removing.

### 6.37a, b, c, d Four andirons

A: 03.24.16: length: 14 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (35.7 cm); B: 03.24.17: length: 15 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (40 cm); C: 03.24.18: length: 14 $\frac{15}{16}$  in. (37.9 cm); D: 03.24.19: length: 20 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (51 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903

LITERATURE: 03.24.16: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 238, no. 669. 03.24.17: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 238–39, no. 671. 03.24.18: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 238–39, no. 670, ill. (misidentified as no. 669). 03.24.19: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 238–39, no. 672

The andiron shown here (6.37a) is from two sets, one slightly larger, in the Bolsena tomb group. The ends of each are decorated with stylized animal (perhaps bird) heads, as is customary. See also the examples of andirons that originate from the Monteleone di Spoleto tomb group (4.15).

## Additional Objects From the Bolsena Tomb Group

### 6.38 Set of twelve balls

Etruscan, late 4th or early 3rd century B.C., red terracotta, diameter: 1 in. (2.5 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.24.30)

These terracotta balls might be game tokens. Various gaming pieces, especially pairs of dice, are often part of the tomb furnishings for Etruscan burials. We know almost nothing about the specific games the Etruscans played. However, there are a few depictions of either legendary or ordinary people playing games. An engraved Etruscan mirror in the Museo Teatrale della Scala, Milan, shows Achilles and Ajax playing a board game to pass the time as they await the call to battle.<sup>61</sup> The gaming board (*tabula lusoria*) is marked with seven evenly spaced parallel lines. A second engraved mirror, this one from Praeneste and now in the British Museum, London, shows a young couple playing what appears to be the same game. On that gaming board are twelve evenly spaced parallel lines.<sup>62</sup> A very similar gaming board, divided by eleven parallel lines, is rendered in painted plaster relief on the right pier in the Tomb of the Reliefs at Cerveteri.<sup>63</sup> That depiction also includes a pouch, presumably filled with game tokens and dice.



6.38



### 6.39 Ring

Etruscan, late 4th or early 3rd century B.C., gold, diameter: 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (3.2 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.24.34)

Two punched *suthina* inscriptions cover the sides of this ring, the only piece of jewelry so marked in all Etruscan art.<sup>64</sup> The gemstone that no doubt once occupied the bezel is missing. The large finger size seems appropriate for a male, although it is possible that a woman might have worn a man's ring as a pendant or kept it as a token from a lost husband, father, or other cherished male relative.



6.40



6.40 obverse

The large size and particular shape of this ring and the size of the bezel for the missing gemstone are typical of rings made in Southern Italy.<sup>65</sup> It is probable that this ring, like the silver amphoriskos and pyxis (6.28a, b) were imported from that region.

#### 6.40 Mirror

Etruscan, early 3rd century B.C., bronze, height: 11 in. (27.9 cm); diameter: 5 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (14.5 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.24.3)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 281–82, no. 817, ill.; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 53, fig. 162; L. Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 3, 1997, pp. 40–43, no. 11, figs. 11a–d (the inscriptions are engraved, not punched); L. Bonfante, “Alcuni specchi etruschi,” 2000, pp. 23–25, fig. 6; L. Bonfante, “Etruscan Inscriptions,” 2006, p. 20, fig. 11.16; de Grummond, *Etruscan Myth*, 2006, pp. 186–87, fig. VIII.15; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 477, no. 371, ill. p. 313



6.40



6.41 detail

The subject engraved on the back of this mirror is the story of Prometheus Unbound. It is one of only three depictions of the theme in Etruscan art.<sup>66</sup> According to ancient Greek belief, Prometheus created man from a lump of clay and gave man the gift of fire, thus incurring the anger of Zeus, the king of the gods. Zeus punished Prometheus by chaining him to a rock where, every morning for thirteen generations, Zeus's eagle devoured Prometheus's liver. Because Prometheus was immortal, the liver grew back, only to be devoured again the next day. Such was the terrible fate of Prometheus, until, in a more compassionate mood, Zeus sent his illegitimate son Herakles to rescue Prometheus. This mirror depicts the moment immediately after the rescue.

As seen on the drawing opposite, all four figures are identified with retrograde inscriptions, which are engraved on the rim. Reading left to right, they indicate Esplace (Asclepius), who is attending the wounded Prumathe (Prometheus) at center; Menrva (Minerva), the patroness of Heracle (Herakles), who quietly observes while Prometheus leans on her shoulder. On the ground before the feet of Prometheus is the dead eagle killed by Herakles (see chart of the gods in Chapter II, p. 24).

In addition, this is the only certain depiction in Etruscan art of Asclepius, the god of healing. The illustration opposite, above right, shows that *śuthina* (for the tomb) is boldly engraved retrograde across the reflecting surface of this mirror, thus rendering it useless for the living. At least fifteen other mirrors from this period have *śuthina* inscriptions. There is no clear pattern to the way these inscriptions are applied. Sometimes, they deface the reflecting surface, as on the mirror in the Bolsena tomb group, but other times, they damage the engraved figures on the reverse, nonreflecting side. Some inscriptions, in fact, seem to be placed to try to avoid defacing the figural representations by occupying the undecorated rim.

## PRAENESTINE BRONZE CISTAE

During the fourth century B.C., bronze workshops in Praeneste (modern Palestrina, about twenty miles east of Rome) produced luxury toiletries boxes called cistae. Some have been found still containing items such as mirrors, combs, and cosmetics. The cista evolved from wooden prototypes, sometimes covered with thin sheets of perforated bronze or silver, into the engraved bronze versions represented in the Museum's collection. These are relatively rare objects because only about ninety examples of the bronze versions exist today. Most are cylindrical, although a few ovoid and rectangular examples also survive. Typically, these consist of a container made from sheet bronze that is often elaborately engraved and frequently has small bronze chains suspended from rings that partly obscure the engraved scenes. The container usually is supported by three identical solid-cast bronze feet and is topped by a convex engraved sheet-bronze lid with a solid-cast handle. Because the solid-cast elements are made from molds, there are numerous duplicates. The sturdy handles and feet often survive, even when the thin-walled lids and containers have disintegrated. Many are exquisite small-scale sculptures in their own right. Combined with their elegantly engraved containers, they made perfect wedding gifts for Etruscan brides.

Three of the Museum's examples have extensive engravings; the first has a more complicated set of figural friezes on its body than is typical. The ovoid shape of the fourth cista is unusual; of the ninety or so extant examples, only about a dozen are ovoid. Almost all the known examples of ovoid cistae have the same type of handle, the nude figure doing a back-bend; this type of handle is rarely found on cylindrical cistae.



6.41

### 6.41 Engraved cista

Ca. 350–325 B.C., height: 23 in. (58.4 cm). Gift of Courtland Field Bishop, 1922 (22.84.1a, b)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 51, fig. 155; Foerst, *Cisten*, 1978, pp. 147–48, no. 41, pls. 31d, 32a–c; Bordenache Battaglia, *Le ciste prenestine*, vol. 1, pt. 1, 1979, pp. 141–43, no. 42, pls. CLXXII–CLXXVIII and pl. B (the drawing for the lid is mistakenly reversed); Boosen, *Etruskische Meeresmischwesen*, 1986, pp. 164–65, no. 6/5; Jurgeit, *Le ciste prenestine*, vol. 2, pt. 1, 1986, pp. 71–72, no. K40, pl. XLI, e

This is the largest and finest of the Museum's engraved cistae. The cylindrical body is decorated with three narrative friezes, a relatively unusual treatment. The major frieze, containing thirteen male figures, depicts a complicated and somewhat confused series of episodes apparently from the Trojan War, including what are perhaps the preparations before the Sacrifice of the Trojan Prisoners or, more likely in my opinion, because no bound Trojans are present, various Greek heroes preparing to arm themselves for battle. The armed charioteer, although he is bearded, might represent Achilles, the major Greek hero of the Trojan War.

The minor friezes, above and below, portray battle scenes and chariot races. But they also include unrelated fantastic creatures and motifs such as griffins attacking a winged horse and two nude warriors attacking a griffin. The upper frieze also includes a chariot pulled by three winged horses. Following the charioteer is a winged female figure, perhaps a Victory.<sup>67</sup> The chariot race motif continues on the three solid-cast lion's-paw feet, made from the same mold. Five of the shields depicted are emblazoned with a flying eagle. Gabriella Bordenache Battaglia suggested that this might be the engraver's "signature."<sup>68</sup> The lid engravings probably depict winged Nereids riding on dolphins and sea monsters while carrying the armor of Achilles. On the cylindrical body of the cista are twelve ring attachments. The chains hanging in graceful overlapping curves are a modern restoration and might not reflect the original appearance.

The cista handle, one of the finest of this type, shows two nude winged *genii* (death demons) carrying the nude body of a dead soldier. The treatment of wing feathers and hair is especially delicate. Ultimately, this composition goes back to fifth century B.C. Greek vase paintings depicting Hypnos and Thanatos (Sleep and Death) carrying a fallen warrior from the battlefield. Here, the winged figures are shown as identical youths. On a fine cista handle in the Cleveland Museum of Art, they are bearded and wear armor.<sup>69</sup>

Related cistae are in the Louvre and the British Museum, the first of which might come from the same Praenestine workshop.<sup>70</sup> The earliest documentation for the Museum's cista is a series of drawings dated 1879, in the Archives of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome.<sup>71</sup> Although it is not certain, there is a possibility that the cista was discovered

during the 1876 excavations of the Colombella Necropolis at Palestrina. Gabriele Foerst believed it might correspond to the description given by R. Schöne for the "Cista Bonarelli."<sup>72</sup>

### 6.42 Engraved cista

Ca. 325–275 B.C., height: 16 in. (40.6 cm). Gift of Courtland Field Bishop, 1922 (22.84.2a, b)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, pp. 51–52, fig. 156; Foerst, *Cisten*, 1978, pp. 148–49, no. 42, pl. 33a; Bordenache Battaglia, *Le ciste prenestine*, vol. 1, pt. 1, 1979, pp. 143–45, no. 43, pls. CLXXIX–CLXXXI; Eugène Mavleev in *LIMC*, "Amazones Etruscae," vol. 1 (1981), pp. 658–59, no. 28a; Boosen, *Etruskische Meeresmischwesen*, 1986, p. 163, no. 11/1

The engraved frieze on the cylindrical container depicts an Amazonomachy, a battle between Greeks and Amazons. Both the Greeks and the Etruscans found the violence of this subject attractive and made it one of the most popular themes in ancient art. Perhaps the struggle between the sexes also had something to do with its appeal. In Greek legend, there are several heroes who fight with Amazons. For instance, Hercules' ninth labor involves stealing the Amazon queen Hippolyta's *zoster*, a kind of armored belt worn to protect the abdomen.<sup>73</sup> Different versions of the story relate different details, but most involve a battle between Hercules and his compatriots and the Amazons. Hippolyta is almost always slain and Hercules takes the *zoster*. In the many works of art that depict Amazonomachies, unless there are inscriptions or attributes, it is difficult to say if the main characters are Hercules versus Hippolyta or Theseus versus Andromache



6.42 detail



6.42

or Achilles versus Penthesileia. All of these pairs had violent encounters resulting in the death of each Amazon queen.

The cylindrical frieze on this cista shows Hercules (the Roman spelling is used here because Latin was spoken in Praeneste, and not Etruscan), wearing his lion's skin and brandishing his club, as he and other nude Greek warriors fight the Amazons. Amazons usually wear short tunics, but here, several are nude. One wears tight pants, a decorative tunic and a Phrygian cap, garments that usually denote an Eastern origin. The Amazon about to be clubbed by Hercules

crouches and hides her face in a dramatic gesture that conveys imminent death.<sup>74</sup> The frieze is framed by a laurel border above (see mirror 6.16) and horizontal palmettes below. Three ring attachments are preserved, and traces of an additional five attachments are visible, but no chains.

On the lid are dragon-headed and horse-headed sea monsters flanking a dolphin. They are surrounded by a laurel border similar to the one decorating the top of the cylinder. The solid-cast lion's-paw feet have attachments in the shape of a crouching lion ready to pounce to the left. On the cista



6.43

handle, a nude man and woman stand with their outer arms akimbo. These figures are almost identical, and from behind, both appear to be male, a typical expression of androgyny in Etruscan art of this period. Many figures, whether divine, mythical or human, are depicted as androgynous. To a certain extent, this trend happened beginning with the Late Classical Greek sculptures of Polykleitos (ca. 430 B.C.) and especially in Hellenistic Greece with the sculptures of Praxiteles, in which male figures often assume feminine postures and have more voluptuous proportions than in the Classical period.<sup>75</sup> Such trends no doubt influenced Etruscan artists. This is exemplified in the Museum's Etruscan collection by the figure of Marsyas on the incense burner 2.4, and also the right figure on mirror 6.18.

#### 6.43 Engraved cista

Ca. 325–300 B.C., height: 11 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (29.5 cm), diameter: 9 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (24.5 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1896 (96.18.1a, b)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 51, fig. 154; Foerst, *Cisten*, 1978, pp. 146–47, no. 40, pl. 31c; Bordenache Battaglia, *Le ciste prenestine*, vol. 1, pt. 1, 1979, pp. 145–46, no. 44, pls. CLXXXII–CLXXXIV

The cylindrical body of this cista is engraved with a second Amazonomachy (see 6.42), but in this case, it is a generic battle between Greeks and Amazons, as no specific Greek or Amazon has recognizable attributes or is identified by inscription.

The frieze is framed by a cable pattern at the top and perhaps an ivy border below; unfortunately, much of the lower part of the cylinder is damaged. Eight evenly spaced rings hold a looped chain at the cylinder's center. The three cast-bronze lion's feet support Ionic column capitals with frontal winged Sirens perched atop them.

Engraved on the lid are two nude warriors, one standing and one seated, but these are modern additions no doubt inspired by similar compositions frequently seen on mirrors (compare 6.18). The cista handle is missing.



6.44

### 6.44 Cista

Ca. 300–275 B.C., height: 11 in. (27.9 cm). Gift of Courtland Field Bishop, 1922 (22.84.3a, b)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 51, fig. 153; Foerst, *Cisten*, 1978, p. 149, no. 43

This oval-shaped container is not engraved, but it does have four solid-cast feet that terminate in depictions of a comic theater mask atop an animal claw. A solid-cast figure of a woman doing a back-bend serves as the handle; she is nude except for slippers. This is the most popular type of handle for ovoid Praenestine cistae (see 6.45d). Unlike the lids of the cylindrical cistae, which simply lift off, this ovoid lid is attached with two long hinges, one on each long side. They can be disengaged by removing a bronze pin attached to the body of the cista by a small chain. These hinges are a clever device, because they allow the lid to be opened from either side or removed completely.<sup>76</sup>



6.45a



### 6.45a, b, c, d Four handles from cistae

4th century B.C., A: 96.18.8: height: 4½ in. (11.4 cm), Purchase by subscription, 1896; B: 09.221.11: height: 5½ in. (14 cm), Rogers Fund, 1909; C: 13.227.7: height: 5¾ in. (13.2 cm), Rogers Fund, 1913; D: 19.193: early 4th century B.C., height: 4½ in. (11.4 cm). Rogers Fund, 1919  
LITERATURE: 96.18.8: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 78, no. 124, ill. p. 79; Coppola, *Le ciste prenestine*, vol. 1, pt. 3, 2000, pp. 35–36, no. M44, pl. XXXIII. 09.221.11: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 77, no. 122, ill. p. 79; Coppola, *Le ciste prenestine*, vol. 1, pt. 3, 2000, p. 36, no. M45, pl. XXXIV. 13.227.7: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 77–78, no. 123, ill. p. 79; Coppola, *Le ciste prenestine*, vol. 1, pt. 3, 2000, pp. 36–37, no. M46, pl. XXXIV; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 474, no. 348, ill. p. 298. 19.193: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, pp. 51–52, fig. 152; Coppola, *Le ciste prenestine*, vol. 1, pt. 3, 2000, p. 35, no. M43, pl. XXXIII

The solid-cast handle 6.45a (shown at left) is in the form of two mirror-image nude male wrestlers. An almost identical handle is on an early cista in the Villa Giulia in Rome,<sup>77</sup> and a second parallel is in the British Museum.<sup>78</sup>

The solid-cast handles 6.45b and 6.45c (shown here) depict a popular subject, warriors carrying the body of a fallen comrade from the battlefield. In both examples, all the figures are nude, but some handles show the figures wearing armor, and occasionally, the carriers are given wings indicating that they are superhumans (see cista 6.41). Felice Coppola sees the treatment of the figures' hair on the second example as typically Vulcian and posits an itinerant artist.<sup>79</sup>

The nude youth doing an arching back-bend to form 6.45d (shown here) makes a perfect handle for a cista lid. Projecting from the hands and feet of this acrobat are three perforated tangs to allow for insertion into a wooden cista lid. For a related example, see the ovoid cista 6.44.

### 6.46 Pair of feet from a cista

Ca. 350–300 B.C., height 3¼ in. (8.3 cm). Gift of the Ernest Erickson Foundation, 1988 (1988.113.1, 2)

The attachments on these lion's-paw feet show a panther attacking a crane. The subject is rare, if not unique, for cista feet.



6.46



6.45c



6.45d

## ETRUSCO-HELLENISTIC VASES

### Black-Gloss Vases

In the fourth century B.C., a number of Etruscan pottery workshops began to make a distinctive type of pottery today called black-gloss or black-glaze ware (in Italian, *ceramica a vernice nera*). More correctly, this pottery is black-painted ware, because despite its glossy metallic sheen, the black is not a true glaze. Although at first glance it resembles bucchero pottery, black-gloss is black only on the surface, while the black color of bucchero is found throughout the clay fabric because it is the result of a reduction firing process in the kiln.

Black-gloss was produced in many workshops throughout Etruria, Latium, and Campania, and was exported to sites over the entire Mediterranean basin from the fourth to the first century B.C. By far, the best quality black-gloss ware seems to have been made at Volterra. Sir John D. Beazley was the first to identify and attempt to classify specific pieces with a workshop for the type. He called it Malacena Ware after the name of the area where an important Hellenistic tomb, the Tomb of the Calisna Sepu Family, was discovered in 1893 near Monteriggioni, ten miles northwest of Siena. That tomb contained more than a hundred cremation burials and a great deal of good black-gloss pottery.

Much black-gloss pottery shows a strong rapport with Greek, especially Attic, Apulian, and Macedonian shapes, and decorative treatments. At its best, the hard blue-black color gives the vases a metallic appearance. No doubt, they were meant to imitate more expensive bronze and silver vessels, much like bucchero and the Volsinian Silvered Ware (see 6.67–6.72). The frequent use of ribbing, moldings, applied relief decoration, and gracefully curved handles enhances the metallic appearance. The Bolsena tomb group includes two examples of Etruscan Malacena Ware (6.30, 6.31).

### 6.47 Situla (bucket)

Etruscan black-gloss, early 3rd century B.C., height: 8½ in. (21.6 cm).

Fletcher Fund, 1927 (27.122.3)

LITERATURE: Anne Weis in *LIMC*, vol. 7 (1994), "Olympos I," p. 39, no. 9; Zimmermann, *Beziehungen zwischen Ton- und Metallgefäßen*, 1998, p. 167, no. STT 21

Around the circumference of this Malacena Ware situla, under a border of grape vines, are a total of eight evenly spaced figures in high relief. They represent events from the mythical musical contest between Apollo (Etruscan Apulu) and the satyr Marsyas.

The story tells how the goddess Athena invented the double-flutes (*auloi*) but discarded them in disgust when she saw how playing them puffed up her cheeks. Marsyas was not so self-conscious about his appearance and learned to play the instrument. When he had become an accomplished



6.47 details



6.47

musician, he took on a handsome young pupil named Olympos.<sup>80</sup> Marsyas boasted that he was perhaps as good a musician as Apollo, the god of music, who challenged the satyr to a contest. The winner could do whatever he wanted to the loser. The judges were Apollo's Muses, who, not surprisingly, chose Apollo as the winner. The god had Marsyas tied to a tree and flayed alive as punishment for his hubris.

On the Museum's fine Etruscan incense burner 2.4, we see Marsyas awaiting his fate.<sup>81</sup> The scenes on this situla also show incidents before the story's horrific ending. Marsyas plays the double-flutes, and Apollo holds his kithara (lyre). In front of Apollo is a Scythian who holds the victory crown for Apollo, and behind him is a female figure, probably one

of the Muses who will judge the contest. Apollo appears again on this situla, handing a long object, probably a knife, to a Scythian who will eventually use it to flay Marsyas. But here, we see Marsyas happily playing the flutes, while Olympos, wearing a Phrygian outfit as he often does, watches his teacher and lover. Still another group essentially repeats the scene with Apollo handing the knife to the Scythian. Under each perforated handle attachment are additional reliefs that imitate treatments of this shape in metal.

Quality bronze situlae have been found at many sites in Northern Greece, Thrace, Southern Russia, and Western Europe. Scholars debate their ultimate origin, but most are probably Etruscan exports from Vulci.<sup>82</sup>



6.49



6.48

#### 6.48 Krateriskos (small mixing bowl)

Etruscan Malacena black-gloss, Group of Copenhagen 3817, probably Volterra, ca. 300 B.C., height: 9½ in. (24.1 cm). Purchase, Arthur Darby Nock Bequest, in memory of Gisela M. A. Richter, 1969 (69.11.70)

The distinctive ring handles on this small mixing bowl are in the form of two snakes with heads and tails modeled carefully in relief. Snakes were often connected with death and rebirth in the ancient Mediterranean world. At least one vase of this specific type is known to have been used for a cremation urn.<sup>83</sup>

#### 6.49 Rim fragment of a large vessel

Etruscan black-gloss, 3rd century B.C., height: 8⅛ in. (22 cm). Purchase, Arthur Darby Nock Bequest, in memory of Gisela M. A. Richter, 1980 (1980.11.11)

LITERATURE: Pfrommer, *Toreutik*, 1987, p. 103, n. 616

Like so much of black-gloss pottery, this piece imitates a metal prototype. Metal vessels with handles modeled in the form of youths, in this case a sleeping African youth, were sometimes used for cinerary urns. See bronze handle 6.86.



6.50a



6.50b

## Etruscan and Faliscan Red-Figure Vases

### 6.50a, b Pair of skyphoi (deep drinking cups)

Etruscan red-figure, attributed to the Tondo Group (Chiusi), ca. 325–300 B.C., A: 07.286.33: height: 3½ in. (8.9 cm). Rogers Fund, 1907; B: 51.11.1: height: 3¼ in. (8.3 cm). Rogers Fund, 1951.

LITERATURE: 07.286.33: Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, 1947, p. 116, no. 1, pl. XXVIII, 6, 7; von Bothmer, “Etruscan Vases,” 1952, ill.; Harari, *Il “Gruppo Clusium,”* 1980, p. 78, no. 5, p. 181, pl. LIX, figs. 3, 4; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 476, no. 367, ill. p. 309. 51.11.1: von Bothmer, “Etruscan Vases,” 1952, ill.; Harari, *Il “Gruppo Clusium,”*

1980, p. 78, no. 4, p. 181, pl. LIX, fig. 2; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 476, no. 365, ill. p. 308

The imaginative rendering of tendrils and flowers on these two skyphoi is reminiscent of similar motifs on Greek pottery of Southern Italy, especially Apulia. Inhabiting the elaborate floral ornaments on 6.50a are profile and frontal heads of a woman wearing a white hairband, and on 6.50b, a dove wearing a white necklace is represented on one side (see the jackdaw wearing a bulla necklace, 6.64).<sup>84</sup>

### 6.51 Kantharos (drinking cup with high handles)

Etruscan red-figure, said to be from Spina, ca. 325–300 B.C., height: 6 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (15.7 cm). Rogers Fund, 1951 (51.11.10)

LITERATURE: von Bothmer, "Etruscan Vases," 1952, ill.; Harari, *Il "Gruppo Clusium,"* 1980, p. 79, no. 1, pp. 183–85, pl. LX, fig. 4

The subject on both sides of this drinking cup depicts griffins attacking a deer. This motif has a long history in Greek, Etruscan, and Roman art, but it was especially popular during the Hellenistic period throughout the Mediterranean area. It may be a symbol of the inevitability of death. The handles, ribbon-like and tied in Hercules Knots (today these are called square knots) connote good fortune and symbolize marriage and fertility. Dietrich von Bothmer believed that the same painter might have produced this vase and also 6.50a and 6.50b.<sup>85</sup>



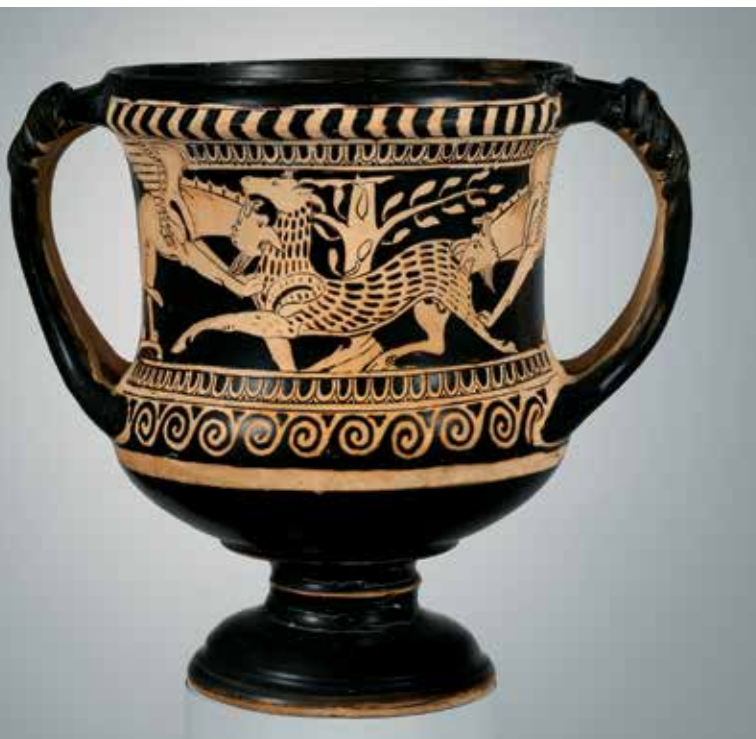
6.51 detail

### 6.52 Kantharos (drinking cup)

Etruscan, superposed red, late 4th century B.C., height: 5 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (12.9 cm). Rogers Fund, 1964 (64.11.6)

This fourth century B.C. kantharos has a sea monster (*ketos*) on each side. Because the trip to the Underworld was believed to involve a sea voyage, marine creatures, both real and imaginary, were often associated with death in Etruscan culture. Hippocamps and sea monsters were presented in a positive light, often guarding the deceased or transporting them to the Underworld (see also the similar monsters engraved on the cista lid 6.42).

We call this vase a kantharos because it is a two-handled cup, but in fact, it is not like typical Etruscan or Greek kantharoi (see, for example, the bucchero examples 4.57 and 4.58). It is much closer to an indigenous Etruscan shape also seen in bucchero and represented in the Museum's collection by 4.59, although that cup has horizontal rather than vertical handles. It is interesting to see that this early shape continued to be used for more than two centuries.



6.51



6.52



6.53

### 6.53 Duck-askos (flask)

Etruscan red-figure, Clusium Group, ca. 350–325 B.C., height: 5 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (14.3 cm). Rogers Fund, 1919 (19.192.14)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 46, fig. 137; Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, 1947, p. 119, no. 9; Harari, *Il "Gruppo Clusium,"* 1980, p. 57, no. 24, p. 149, pl. XXXIV, fig. 3

The Etruscan pottery style exemplified by this flask in the shape of a duck is associated with workshops active in Chiusi (Latin Clusium) and Volterra during the second half of the fourth century B.C. This style is characterized by the somewhat caricatured duck but especially by the meticulous complexity and ornamental quality of the duck's painted plumage, which includes wave-crest designs on the tail. Carefully rendered feathers are seen on the duck's body and wings, and each side is decorated with a floating nude female

holding a ribbon. On some related duck-askoi, these figures are winged and have often been identified as Etruscan Lasas, popular nymph-like characters frequently depicted on engraved mirrors and pottery. Here, the figures are somewhat different and prompted Maurizio Harari to assign this askos to an unspecified, but non-Chiusine, workshop.<sup>86</sup>

The precise function of duck-askoi has been debated vigorously. Many examples seem too large to have been used for expensive scented oils and instead might have contained lamp oil or olive oil. Because some earlier duck-askoi have been found with a special type of barrel-shaped jug (see 4.87), it has been suggested that there is a connection with wine.<sup>87</sup> However, in my opinion, both the spout (at the base of the handle on the duck's back) and the mouth are very small and seem more suitable for oil than for wine.



6.54

### 6.54 Amphoriskos (oil flask)

Etruscan red-figure, Clusium Group(?), said to be from Vulci, ca. 325–300 B.C., height: 5<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (15 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1926 (26.60.18)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 46, fig. 139; Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, 1947, pp. 102–3

This delicate vase may have been used for scented oil. It was assigned to the Clusium Group by Gisela Richter, but that was disputed by John Beazley, who thought it might be Faliscan, albeit without reference to any convincing

parallels.<sup>88</sup> The Clusium Group is so named because many vases of the second half of the fourth century B.C. found at Chiusi (Latin name, Clusium) are believed to have been produced there. These vases are characterized by competent execution of the red-figure technique, often with an abundant use of added white and frequently dilute slip or hatched lines for shading. The designs are meticulous and fluid, as seen on this vase. However, Maurizio Harari, one of the foremost contemporary experts on the Clusium Group, did not include it in his catalogue of examples. It is often quite difficult to distinguish among the Clusium Group and red-figure vases of the same period produced at Volterra and in Faliscan territory.

### 6.55 Oinochoe (jug), Shape VII

Etruscan red-figure, Torcop Group, ca. 300 B.C., height: 11<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (30 cm). Edward C. Moore Collection, Bequest of Edward C. Moore, 1891 (91.1.465)

LITERATURE: Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, 1947, p. 169, no. 1, pl. XXXVIII, 4

This oinochoe shape is an Etruscan invention popular at Caere (modern Cerveteri) in Southern Etruria. There are many different variations on the basic oinochoe shape, and archaeologists assign numbers to these variations to help distinguish them. Shape VII oinochoai have an unusually tall and cylindrical neck. The use of three large profile female heads, one facing left on the neck and two confronted on the body, is typical ornament for this shape. The women always wear earrings and a *sakkos*, a kind of hair net or snood. The *sakkos* always has an opening at the crown so that a tuft of hair can be pulled out and often the *sakkos* is decorated with dotted rosettes. There is a preference for picking out details with added white paint. Many of these vases have been attributed to the so-called Populonia Torcop Painter, an artist active at the end of the fourth century B.C., who is a member of Beazley's Torcop Group, so named because two of the most representative vases in this group are in museums in Toronto and Copenhagen.<sup>89</sup> This painter's style is characterized by use of a rapid fluid brushstroke that creates rather flaccid curvilinear shapes in both figures and vegetal ornament.





6.55 two views



6.56

### 6.56 Stamnos (jar)

Faliscan red-figure, Painter of Copenhagen H 153 (Fluid Group), ca. 375 B.C., height: 9 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (24.5 cm). Edward C. Moore Collection, Bequest of Edward C. Moore, 1891 (91.1.441)

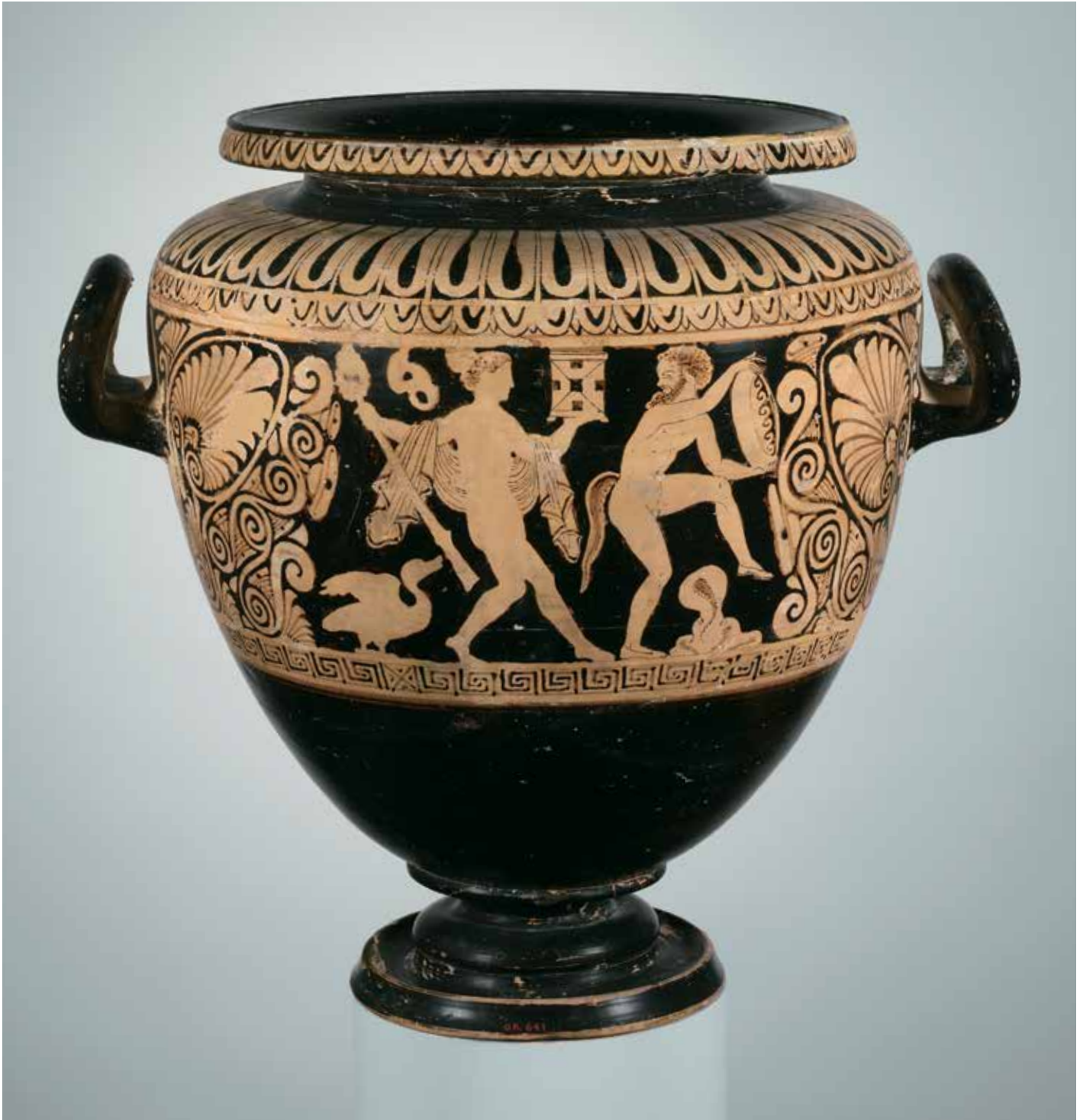
LITERATURE: Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, 1947, addenda, p. 301 (as no. 9 bis on p. 153, under vi); Del Chiaro, *Etruscan Red-Figured Vase-Painting*, 1974, p. 109, fig. 17; Del Chiaro, "Faliscan Red-Figure Bell Krater," 1987, pp. 163–64, figs. 4, 5

Falerii Veteres (modern Civita Castellana) was the home of a very active pottery workshop beginning about 380 B.C. and continuing until the end of the fourth century B.C. This Faliscan workshop supplied vases, especially large banquet shapes like the stamnos, to clients living along the Tiber Valley.

This well-preserved late Faliscan stamnos depicts almost precisely the same scene on each side, a woman wearing a long sleeveless dress who moves quickly to the right while looking back to the left. Large volutes and scrolls ornament the areas under each handle and almost overwhelm the woman. A wave crest borders the shoulder, and a meander acts as a ground line below the painted frieze. The artist included puffy "cauliflower" tendrils,<sup>90</sup> a hallmark of this Faliscan group. Beazley named it the Fluid Group because the painted ornament is so organic and flowing.



6.57 detail



6.57

### 6.57 Stamnos

Faliscan red-figure, Civita Castellana, Captives Group, ca. 350 B.C., height: 14 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (36.4 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1896 (96.18.61)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 47, fig. 140; Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, 1947, p. 88, no. 2, pl. XVIII, 7, 8 This stamnos depicts satyrs in pursuit of maenads, a favorite subject of both Faliscan and Etruscan vase painters, which

ultimately was derived from Attic prototypes. The satyrs, as usual, are completely nude. So also is the maenad on the front of this vase, although it is not so common for maenads to be nude. The other wears only a skirt-like garment (see detail at left). The florid curvilinear palmettes under the handles are typical of this style of Faliscan vase painting.



6.58

**6.58 Vase in the form of the head of an African boy**

Etruscan,<sup>91</sup> said to be from near Viterbo, 4th century B.C., height: 9 in. (22.9 cm). Purchase, 1903 (03.3.1)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 46, figs. 134, 135; Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, 1947, p. 187, no. 4, pl. XL, 4; Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity*, 1970, pp. 27, 57, fig. 29; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 475, no. 359, ill. p. 305

This vase combines the distinctive neck of the Shape VII oinochoe (see 6.55) with a naturalistic head of an African boy. His curls and the central rosette were made separately. Sculptural (or plastic, from *Plastik*, the German word for sculpture) vases were popular items in several Mediterranean cultures.<sup>92</sup> The Greeks and the Etruscans produced both terracotta and metal versions. This connection between clay and metal suggests ancient Caere as the likely site of manufacture for the plastic vase because artisans at that city had a long tradition of producing terracotta vessels that imitated more expensive metal versions. However, Beazley proposed Chiusi because of a similar treatment of concentric circles on the undersides of this group and the duck-askoi associated



6.59

**6.59 Mug in the form of the head of an African boy**

Etruscan, late 4th century B.C., height: 6 in. (15.2 cm). Gift of El Conde de Lagunillas, 1956 (56.49.2)

LITERATURE: Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity*, 1970, p. 58, fig. 30  
 The boy depicted here wears an olive-leaf wreath decorated with a central medallion. The face is painted black, but the mold used for this piece appears to represent features resembling those of a Caucasian boy.<sup>97</sup>

**6.59 Mug in the form of the head of an African boy**

Etruscan, late 4th century B.C., height: 6 in. (15.2 cm). Gift of El Conde de Lagunillas, 1956 (56.49.2)

LITERATURE: Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity*, 1970, p. 58, fig. 30  
 The boy depicted here wears an olive-leaf wreath decorated with a central medallion. The face is painted black, but the mold used for this piece appears to represent features resembling those of a Caucasian boy.<sup>97</sup>

### 6.60 Vase with janiform heads

Etruscan, 4th century B.C., height: 5½ in. (14 cm). Rogers Fund, 1906 (06.1021.204)

LITERATURE: Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, 1947, p. 188 and addenda, p. 305; Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity*, 1970, pp. 160, 233, fig. 93; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 475, no. 360, ill. p. 305

Vases with two heads back-to-back, or janiform, were produced by Athenian potters near the end of the sixth century B.C. The two heads are usually different to provide a contrasting juxtaposition, for example, a satyr paired with a maenad, a white woman paired with a black woman, or Herakles with Omphale, Queen of Lydia.

This Etruscan vase is unique because both heads are made from the same mold but are painted to appear different. On one side, the head is that of a satyr with pointed ears and a beard; on the opposite side, the same head is rendered to look like a black African man. Frank Snowden suggested that this vase may indicate the appearance of black characters in satyr-plays, the ribald and satirical burlesques that usually followed a tragic trilogy.<sup>98</sup> The neck and handle of the vase are similar to a type of Italic lekythos (oil flask). The standard lekythos is a Greek oil flask with tall, cylindrical body, a sharp carination and almost flat shoulder that curves into a narrow neck with wide, flat mouth. Only the upper part of the Museum's janiform vase has the neck and mouth of an Italic lekythos. This Etruscan work has a much wider mouth (more like that on an aryballos) than the typical Greek examples and a double knotted handle. A close parallel to the mouth and knotted handle appears on a fourth-century B.C. Campanian terracotta askos in the Museum's collection (41.162.45).

### 6.61 Oinochoe (jug) in the form of a woman's head

Etruscan, late 4th century B.C., height: 5⅞ in. (13 cm).

Museum Accession (X21.18)

LITERATURE: Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, 1947, addenda, p. 305 (GR 617, p. 187)

Sculptural vessels such as this one, with generic features and decorative painted details on the vessel's neck, were popular products of the Clusium Group, but there they are usually kantharoi and are often janiform. This example might be an imitation of Chiusine work produced in a South Etruscan center such as Tarquinia. The generic figure is veiled and wears an elaborate wreath, large disk earrings, and a necklace.



6.60



6.61

### 6.62 Pair of stands with satyrs

Etruscan, said to be from near Orvieto, late 4th century B.C., 20.212: height: 9¾ in. (24.8 cm), 20.213: height: 7 in. (17.8 cm). Rogers Fund, 1920 (20.212, .213)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 46, fig. 138; Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, 1947, pp. 190–91; Teitz, *Etruscan Art*, 1967, pp. 84–86, no. 76, ill. p. 191; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 475, nos. 357, 358, ill. p. 304

These two objects with sculpted figures of squatting satyrs facing opposite directions are clearly pendants. The pointed ears and tails of both satyrs are visible. They wear slippers and have cloaks wrapped across their backs and around their hands. Typically, these Hellenistic satyrs appear refined and handsome, with none of the crude or grotesque features of earlier Archaic versions.<sup>99</sup>

Although the funnel-shaped elements could function as vases, more probably, they are supports for separate vessels such as pointed amphorae, which cannot stand alone. These terracottas are unique, but a similar pair of nude males, perhaps satyrs, is painted on a wall of the Tomb of the Orcus II at Tarquinia. The fresco dates to about 325–300 B.C. and shows a banquet table set with elaborate metal vessels. In that case, however, there are no funnel-shaped elements; instead, the figures hold pointed amphorae directly.<sup>100</sup>



### 6.63 Askos (flask)

Etruscan, 4th century B.C., height: 7¾ in. (18.7 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1929 (29.131.5)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 46, fig. 136

The Etruscans produced numerous askoi in the shape of ducks (see 6.53), but flasks in the shape of other kinds of birds are quite rare. In addition to this example, only one other rooster askos is known, and it is almost identical to this one.<sup>101</sup> Both were probably made in Orvieto.

### 6.64 Askos (flask)

Etruscan, 4th century B.C., height: 6¾ in. (16.4 cm). Rogers Fund, 1965 (65.11.13)

LITERATURE: Teitz, *Etruscan Art*, 1967, p. 90, no. 80, ill. p. 190; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 476, no. 364, ill. p. 308

This askos in the form of a jackdaw (*Corvus monedula*), a Eurasian bird similar to a small crow, is unique. It must represent someone's favorite pet. The bird is adorned with a protective bulla necklace of the type usually worn by Etruscan children, and it holds a white pebble or seed in its beak.





6.63



6.64



6.65

### 6.65 Phiale mesomphalos (libation bowl)

Etruscan, black-gloss, 4th century B.C., height: 2<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (5.6 cm).

Purchase, 1896 (96.9.19)

The interior of this fine bowl, as illustrated here, is decorated with an incised vine with painted white leaves connoting the sacred ivy of the wine god Dionysos (Etruscan Fufluns). Concentric red branches flank the vine.

### 6.66a, b, c Three bowls

Etruscan, said to be from Cerveteri, 4th–3rd century B.C., A: 96.9.24:

height: 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (8 cm), diameter: 6<sup>5</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (16.7 cm). Purchase, 1896;

B: 06.1021.272: height: 2<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (6.8 cm), diameter 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (16.5 cm);

C: 06.1021.274: height: 3 in. (7.6 cm), diameter 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (17.1 cm).

Rogers Fund, 1906

The illustration shows 6.66a, one of three bowls in the Etruscan collection listed here, all of which have prominent central female heads in high relief and surrounded by decorative bands. It is not clear if they represent deities, specific individuals, or generic types.



6.66a

### Volsinian Silvered Ware Terracottas

Workshops active between about 350 and 200 B.C. in the region between Orvieto (ancient Volsinii) and Lake Bolsena produced an extravagantly ornate type of ceramic called Silvered Ware (see Map 1, p. 2). The fabric may have begun in Volsinii and then transferred to workshops in Bolsena after 264 B.C., when Volsinii was destroyed by the Romans. There were also important production centers in Faliscan territory and at Volterra. These terracotta vases usually were coated with a tin-lead alloy to produce the appearance of silver; some also had added color. All the examples in the Museum's collection, except the five shallow phialai, were intentionally perforated and are too delicate or friable to have been used in everyday life. Instead, they almost certainly were made expressly for the tomb, as substitutes for the kind of precious banqueting sets their owners could not afford or did not want to relegate to the deceased.

### 6.67a, b Pair of volute-kraters (vases for mixing wine and water)

Etruscan, Volsinian Silvered Ware, ca. 330–290 B.C., terracotta,

A: 96.9.30: height (with handles): 15<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (39.9 cm); B: 96.9.169:

height (with handles): 15<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (39.2 cm). Purchase, 1896<sup>102</sup>

LITERATURE: 96.9.30: Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, 1947, p. 285,

no. 2 (GR 1015); Michetti, *Le ceramiche argentate e a rilievo in Etruria*,

2003, p. 150, no. 34 (Type Vols.C.II.a). 96.9.169: Richter, *Handbook*

*of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 54, fig. 165; Beazley, *Etruscan*

*Vase-Painting*, 1947, p. 285, no. 1 (GR 1014); Michetti, *Le ceramiche*

*argentate e a rilievo in Etruria*, 2003, p. 150, no. 35 (GR 1014)

(Type Vols.C.II.a)





6.67a



6.67a detail

Shown here is 6.67a, one of a pair of vases in the Museum's collection with fluted bodies and elaborate volute handles that indicate the influence of metallic prototypes. The handle attachments are modeled female groups. The necks are decorated with grape vines, and the shoulders have small reclining figures banqueting, hunting Erotes, and more vegetal ornament, all executed in appliqué reliefs. Both vases have intentionally perforated bases, indicating that they were made for the tomb.

### 6.68 Volute-amphora

Etruscan, Volsinian Silvered Ware, from Orvieto, ca. 300–290 B.C., terracotta, height: 17½ in. (43.5 cm). Rogers Fund, 1906 (06.1021.250)  
 LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 53, fig. 166; Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, 1947, p. 289, no. 3; Michetti, *Le ceramiche argentate e a rilievo in Etruria*, 2003, p. 161, no. 98 (Type Vols.A.I.c)

The modeled frieze depicts an Amazonomachy, a legendary battle of Greeks and Amazons (see 6.42) and consists of seven generic figures repeated twice as the scene circles the vase. In the first of the three figural groups, a nude warrior wearing a helmet and carrying a round shield lunges to the right to attack an Amazon with his sword. She stands before her horse while holding the reins in her left hand and brandishing a double axe in her right. Second, another nude warrior defends a nude and wounded compatriot who sprawls on a large rock. An Amazon attacks them from the right. Third, a nude warrior with helmet and round shield grabs the hair of a mounted Amazon to pull her off her horse. Identical friezes appear on at least sixteen other amphorae from Orvieto or Bolsena. Several of the compositional groups are derived from Greek relief sculptures such as those originally from inside the Temple of Apollo at Bassae and now in the British Museum.<sup>103</sup>



6.68 detail



6.68



6.69



6.69 detail

### 6.69 Volute-krater (vase for mixing wine and water)

Etruscan, Volsinian Silvered Ware, from Bolsena, ca. 300–250 B.C., terracotta, height: 16¾ in. (42.5 cm), diameter (of body): 7⅞ in. (18.1 cm). Rogers Fund, 1906 (06.1021.256)

LITERATURE: Hôtel Drouot, *Collection d'antiquités*, 1903, lot 189, pl. VIII, no. 3; Sambon, *Vases antiques*, 1904, p. 47, no. 163, pl. X; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 53, figs. 167–69; Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, 1947, p. 286, no. 1; Hill, “Bacchic Erotes at Tarentum,” 1947, p. 253; Michetti, *Le ceramiche argentate e a rilievo in Etruria*, 2003, p. 158, no. 75 (Type Vols.C.III.b)

This volute-krater is notable for its extravagant handles, which consist of modeled figures of a woman and a stylized man, perhaps a caricature. Scholars have interpreted the woman and the man as Etruscan death demons, perhaps

Vanth and Charu, who are appropriate for the funerary function of such objects.<sup>104</sup> Both figures are clothed in long garments, and above each, projecting high above the rim, a nude youth is seated on what is perhaps a dolphin. The base of each handle is an elegant palmette that flares onto the belly of the vase. The neck is decorated with tendrils that enclose a central female head on each side. This vase is intentionally perforated (as are 6.67a, b; 6.68; 6.70).

The Museum's example is one of relatively few vases of this specific type, which is characterized by a wide flat rim, tall cylindrical neck, and has high elaborately sculpted handles. A few fragments of the sculpted figures from other damaged vases have survived. The closest intact piece with such elaborate handle figures is in the Museo Archeologico, Florence.<sup>105</sup>



6.70



6.70 detail

### 6.70 Volute-krater (bowl for mixing wine and water)

Etruscan, Volsinian Silvered Ware, ca. 300–250 B.C., terracotta  
 15¼ x 8⅞ x 7⅛ x 3 in. (38.7 x 22.5 x 17.9 x 7.6 cm). Museum  
 Accession (X.21.48)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 53;  
 Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, 1947, p. 286, no. 2 (GR 1013); Michetti,  
*Le ceramiche argentate e a rilievo in Etruria*, 2003, pp. 157–58, no. 74  
 (GR 1013) (Type Vols.C.III.b)

The handles on this volute-krater consist of standing nude youths with rounded objects (perhaps phialai or diskoi?) in their left hands, which are held close against their bodies. One figure's right arm is akimbo; the other's right hand is raised to his right shoulder. The youths imitate standard

poses familiar from Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Greek sculptures. Such figures are often employed as handles on metal vessels.<sup>106</sup> Above each nude is a small winged Eros riding a dolphin. The escutcheons at the base of each handle are elegantly modeled palmettes emanating from volutes. This motif imitates metal prototypes at the base of oinochoe handles (compare 5.1a).

Only the neck of the vase is decorated. A frieze of applied vegetal motifs flanks a single satyr head on each side. Below, at the neck's center, is a slightly wider frieze of tendrils flanking a female bust on each side. At the carination is a simple border of tool marks. A single perforation at the bottom interior renders the vase useless for the living.



6.71



6.71 detail

### 6.71 Askos (flask)

Etruscan, Volsinian Silvered Ware, ca. 300–250 B.C., terracotta, height: 9 in. (22.9 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1896 (96.18.23)  
LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 53; Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, 1947, p. 290, no. 3 (GR 1002); Michetti, *Le ceramiche argentate e a rilievo in Etruria*, 2003, p. 182, no. 202 (GR 1002) (Type Vols.As.II)

This flask has a trefoil spout and a handle modeled in the form of a nude youth. His left hand is raised in the gesture of an athlete crowning himself with a victor's wreath.<sup>107</sup> His right arm is missing, but from the breaks, it appears that it was at his side. The youth's feet are planted firmly on a small shelf. The escutcheon below has a modeled head with long hair and wearing a garland crown. Around the neck of the askos is a necklace with three pendants, perhaps meant to represent leaves flanking a grape cluster. The base is hollow, so that the vessel could not hold liquids.<sup>108</sup>

### 6.72a–e Five phialai (shallow bowls)

Etruscan, Volsinian Silvered Ware, ca. 250–200 B.C., terracotta,  
A: 96.9.195: diameter: 8¾ in. (22.2 cm); B: 96.9.196: diameter: 8⅞ in.  
(22.5 cm); C: 96.9.197: diameter: 9⅝ in. (23.7 cm); D: 96.9.198:  
diameter: 9¼ in. (23.5 cm); E: 96.9.200: diameter: 9⅜ in. (23.8 cm).  
Purchase, 1896

LITERATURE: 96.9.197: Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, 1947, addenda,  
p. 310 (GR 1143 on pp. 281–82); Michetti, *Le ceramiche argentate e  
a rilievo in Etruria*, 2003, p. 196, no. 307 (GR 1143) (the shape is called  
a patera; Type Vols.Pa.II.a). 96.9.200: Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*,  
1947, p. 292 (GR 1147); Michetti, *Le ceramiche argentate e a rilievo in  
Etruria*, 2003, p. 196, no. 305 (GR 1147) (the shape is called a patera;  
Type Vols.Pa.II.a)

As the example illustrated shows (6.72e), the interiors of five Etruscan phialai in the Museum's collection are enlivened with modeled vines or fanciful vegetal motifs. At the center of three of the shallow bowls (6.72c, d, e), including the one illustrated here (6.72e), each less than two inches deep, is a frontal Silenos head within a fluted medallion. The fluted borders appear to have been produced with a fork-like tool, perhaps similar to the fan motifs of earlier bucchero sottile pottery (see 4.57). For the fluted medallions, compare a terracotta cista from Bolsena in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.<sup>109</sup> Medallions with the same Silenos head also appear on other shapes, for example on a stamnoid situla in the Museo Archeologico, Florence.<sup>110</sup>



6.72e

## ETRUSCOHELLENISTIC TERRACOTTA SCULPTURE

### 6.73 Head of a woman

Said to be from Cerveteri, 4th century B.C., height: 6 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (16 cm).

Purchase by subscription, 1896 (96.18.174)

LITERATURE: von Bothmer, "History of the Terracotta Warriors," 1961, p. 14, n. 24, pl. XXI, A

The Etruscans made votive offerings to the gods for favors or wishes granted or in the hope of receiving help for some infirmity or desired outcome. Often, they were portraits, either stylized or naturalistic. Other common types include various afflicted body parts, like eyes, limbs, breasts, or genitals. These terracotta (and less frequently, bronze) votives were deposited in sacred pits or trenches near the temple of the specific deity whose favor was sought. The goddess Uni (Greek Hera, Latin Juno) was one of the most popular Etruscan healing deities.

This votive figure wears an elaborate diadem with rosettes and an ornate necklace, types of jewelry often depicted on votive heads from the sanctuaries of Cerveteri in Southern Etruria.<sup>111</sup>



6.73



6.74b

### 6.74a, b Two heads of youths

3rd or 2nd century B.C., A: 11.212.13: height: 11 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (29.2 cm).

Frederick C. Hewitt Fund, 1911; B: 96.18.173: height: 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (21.6 cm).

Purchase by subscription, 1896

LITERATURE: 11.212.13: Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 478, no. 373, ill. p. 314

Stylistically, the type of head exemplified by the two shown here—with deep-set eyes, luxurious curly hair, and full lips—is ultimately derived from Hellenistic Greek prototypes and was especially popular with sculptors working at Cales, a city northeast of Naples. Originally, the head was part of a full figure that was either a votive offering or might have adorned a pediment of a temple or another kind of public building.<sup>112</sup>

The terracotta of a youthful male head 6.74b has a helmet whose edge is decorated with an incised crosshatched pattern. Four symmetrically displaced holes in the helmet might have allowed the incorporation of various attachments, such as bronze plumes. Like 6.74a, this head originally might have been part of a votive offering or a pedimental sculpture.





6.74a



### 6.75 Statue of a young woman

late 4th–early 3rd century B.C., height: 29<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (74.8 cm). Rogers Fund, 1916 (16.141)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Classical Collection*, 1917, p. 167; von Bothmer, “History of the Terracotta Warriors,” 1961, p. 14, pl. XX, A; Türr, *Fälschungen antiker Plastik*, 1984, pp. 118–19, no. E14; Bartman, *Portraits of Livia*, 1999, p. 36, fig. 31; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 478, no. 374, ill. pp. 315, 478 (detail)

The legendary Trojan hero Aeneas, father of the Romans, is treated in Homer’s *Iliad*,<sup>113</sup> but the major history of his life is in Virgil’s *Aeneid*. In that Latin poem, we learn that, as the Greeks were burning Troy, Aeneas fled from the city to Crete, Macedonia, Sicily, Carthage (in modern Tunisia, founded by Dido), and finally to the Italian peninsula.<sup>114</sup> There, he founded a city called Lavinium:

The Trojans could no longer doubt that at last their travels were over and that they had found a permanent home. They began to build a settlement, which Aeneas named Lavinium after his wife Lavinia [daughter of the local king, Latinus]. A child was soon born of the marriage: a boy, who was given the name Ascanius [who, after many generations, would lead to the twins, Romulus and Remus].<sup>115</sup>

Eventually, Aeneas was buried at Lavinium, and it became a major religious center for the Latin people. Today, the Lavinium archaeological site is at the village of Pratica di Mare, about eighteen miles south of Rome.

Adorned with its distinctive clothing and jewelry, this charming life-sized statue closely resembles fourth and third century B.C. votive terracottas found at Lavinium. The elaborate necklaces and armband appear to be reproduced from molds of actual jewelry. The young woman wears a diadem decorated with a dozen rosettes, grape-cluster earrings (see 7.27a), and four necklaces, two of which consist of repoussé pendants of various shapes and sizes. The upper necklace originally consisted of ten pendants (two are missing): two ovoid pendants that depict a nude female washing her hair and five pendants with concave sides that show a male figure flanked by heraldic animals, apparently a *Potnios Theron*, or Master of Animals. The larger necklace below originally had five bulla pendants (one is missing). The semicircular and triangular pendants at the center and ends are non-figural. The one extant bulla is decorated with three figures: a central standing female flanked by two seated (male?) figures (compare the gold bulla 7.15 and the bronze 6.77). Four more rosettes, like the ones on her diadem, ornament the sleeve of her right shoulder and upper arm. Finally, there is a heavy armband above her right elbow. When complete, the statue

probably stood in a sanctuary and showed the young woman holding an incense box in her extended right hand.

This rare statue is an exceptional example of the awakening sophistication of Italic artists, who over the following two centuries, fused native traditions with imported ones and gave birth to the multifaceted art of Late Republican Rome. Although doubts concerning its authenticity were expressed by connoisseurs, including John Marshall as early as 1913,<sup>116</sup> in the early 1970s, thermo-luminescence tests were done, and they demonstrated that this work is ancient.<sup>117</sup> Numerous terracotta votive statues have been excavated at ancient Lavinium since the 1950s. Several show features similar to the Museum’s outstanding terracotta.<sup>118</sup>

### 6.76 Votive group

4th–3rd century B.C., height: 5<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (13.8 cm). Rogers Fund, 1917 (17.230.44)

Two almost identical female figures with long curly hair sit on a bench. Their bodies are almost completely enshrouded in heavy hooded cloaks. Vestiges of pink paint appear throughout the sculpture, especially on the bench.

Votive terracottas depicting seated couples (either both female or male and female) are frequent offerings at Etruscan sites, including Cerveteri, Veii, and elsewhere. Sometimes a child (or as many as three children) accompanies the adults. Often, the figures hold libation vessels, and sometimes, doves.<sup>119</sup>



6.76

Opposite: 6.75



6.77

## ETRUSCO-HELLENISTIC BRONZES

### 6.77 Statuette of a female votary

4th–3rd century B.C., height: 8½ in. (21.6 cm). Edith Perry Chapman Fund, 1965 (65.11.9)

LITERATURE: Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 476, no. 362, ill. p. 307

This attractive statuette represents an elegantly dressed woman wearing a diadem and a necklace with three pendant bullae. She holds a pomegranate, a symbol of fertility often associated with Aphrodite (Etruscan Turan) or Persephone (Phersipnai) and sometimes Hera (Etruscan Uni), and once, she might have held a libation bowl in her right hand. She is a smaller bronze version of the life-sized terracotta votive statue in the Museum's collection (6.75).<sup>120</sup>



6.78

**6.78 Statuette of a man, probably a priest**

3rd–2nd century B.C., height: 11 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (29.5 cm). Rogers Fund, 1916 (16.174.4)

This expressive bronze statuette portrays a man, perhaps a votary or priest, pouring a libation to the gods from a patera (libation bowl) that he holds in his right hand. The gesture is typical of both human and divine beings who are making offerings. The barefoot figure wears a fillet tied tightly about his head and a long toga-like garment.



6.79

**6.79 Statuette of a solar deity**

3rd–2nd century B.C., height: 9 $\frac{13}{16}$  in. (24.9 cm). Rogers Fund, 1916 (16.174.5)

LITERATURE: Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 476, no. 363, ill. p. 307

The idealized features and seminudity of this carefully executed statuette suggest that he represents a deity. The radiant crown indicates a solar deity, perhaps Apollo or Helios (Etruscan Apulu and Usil, respectively). The missing right hand once might have held a patera (libation bowl) like that held by the larger male figure 6.78. The object in the figure's left hand might be an incense box.



6.80a, b

**6.80a, b Two thymiateria (incense burners)**

A: 2000.456.2: ca. 300 B.C., height: 14¼ in. (36.2 cm), Gift of Alexander and Helene Abraham, 2000; B: 96.18.17: said to be from Civita Castellana, ca. 325–275 B.C., height: 15¾ in. (40 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1896

LITERATURE: 96.18.17: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 373–74, no. 1303, ill.; Ambrosini, *Thymiateria etruschi in bronzo*, 2002, p. 257, no. 234, pl. LXIII, 234 (Type ZE5)

The Museum's bronze incense burner 6.80b represents a popular type of small thymiaterion with tripod legs that support a tall shaft that, in turn, holds a small square plate with a bowl for burning incense sunk at its center. Such

bronze objects perhaps originated in Vulci workshops. The base consists of a tripod with each foot ending in a horse hoof and with a leaf-like plate ornamenting the area between each pair of feet. A spirally incised shaft extends to hold a small bowl at the top. The four corners are embellished with modeled birds (doves?). A modeled cat or panther climbs up the shaft.

The incense burner 6.80a, which is similar to 6.80b but of better quality and workmanship, has three equine legs, a diagonally articulated (rather than incised) shaft that once held a small animal running up it, and a square incense container at the top with a bird at each corner.<sup>121</sup>



6.81b



6.81a

**6.81a, b Two patera handles, each in the form of a Lasas**

4th century B.C., A: 96.18.9: height: 8 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (20.6 cm), (of figure): 5 $\frac{13}{16}$  in. (14.7 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1896; B: 19.192.65: height: 17 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (45.1 cm). Rogers Fund, 1919

LITERATURE: 96.18.9: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 39, no. 57, ill. 19.192.65: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 52 (with drawing), figs. 157, 158; Teitz, *Etruscan Art*, 1967, pp. 93–94, no. 84, ill. p. 202; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, pp. 475–76, no. 361, ill. p. 306

Both these handles are elaborately modeled in the form of nude female figures who probably represent Etruscan nymphs known as Lasas.<sup>122</sup> Typical attributes of these mythical beings are wings and elegant jewelry. The handle attachments, at the top on the reverse of each piece, are decorated with an ivy leaf and a female head wearing a necklace of three pendant bullae. A patera from the Bolsena tomb group (6.27) also has a Lasas handle.



6.82

**6.82 Pair of handle attachments from a stamnoid situla (pail)**

Ca. 350–275 B.C., height: 2<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (7.2 cm), width: 3<sup>13</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (9.7 cm).

Rogers Fund, 1967 (67.11.15a, b)

A symmetrical pair of coiled serpents forms the holes for two swing handles that are now missing. The serpent heads are only rendered on the left handle. The only other decorative details are two small seashells at the center of each attachment; the base, a half-moon shaped plate, is unornamented. The carefully drilled hole on the lower right coil of the right handle is of uncertain function. Vulci, Orvieto, and Chiusi have all been proposed as the likely origin of this type of handle.<sup>123</sup>

**6.83 Pair of handles**

Said to be from near Rome, ca. early 4th century B.C., 10.210.31: height: 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (17.1 cm), 10.210.33: height: 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (17.1 cm), width: 5<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (14.6 cm). Rogers Fund, 1910 (10.210.31, .33)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 126, nos. 249, 250, ill.; Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, 1947, p. 250, no. 3 (with list of related examples, pp. 248–50)

Shown here is 10.210.33, one of a pair of heavy solid-cast handles decorated with carefully modeled Silenos heads supporting floral garlands. The handles once were attached to a stannos, a large vessel that the Etruscans frequently used for cremated remains during the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods. These vessels and their handles were probably made in Vulci.<sup>124</sup>



6.83

**6.84 Pair of handles**

5th century B.C., height: 3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (8.6 cm), width: 4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (11.1 cm).

Rogers Fund, 1966 (66.11.3a, b)

Shown here is one of an identical pair of handles in the Museum's collection. Frontal feline heads decorate the area below each handle attachment. Three large palmettes connected by volutes form the portion originally attached to a bronze basin.



6.84





6.85

### 6.85 Handle with tritons supporting a youth

4th century B.C., height: 6 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (17.5 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1925 (25.78.53)

LITERATURE: Froehner, *Collection J. Gréau*, 1885, p. 32, no. 153, ill. p. 33; Richter, "Recent Accessions," 1927, p. 21; Shepard, *Fish-Tailed Monster*, 1940, p. 68, n. 14; Liepmann, "Ein etruskischer Bronzehenkel," 1972, p. 11, no. 5, fig. 5

Two hybrid sea creatures, part human and part snake, support a sleeping youth, nude except for his shoes, who forms the handle for a large bronze vessel. The sea creatures are nude but wear coiled necklaces. All the symbolism is connected with death, an appropriate allusion on a vessel

that might have been used for cremated remains. The large semicircular attachment plate is decorated with a palmette flanked by two rams' heads. This motif is found on several related handles, even when the handle configuration and subject are different (for example, 6.86).

An almost identical counterpart to the Museum's bronze handle is in the *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, Brussels.<sup>125</sup> These handles are surely a separated pair. The sea creatures on both examples have been interpreted as tritons, nereids, or giants. Perhaps tritons are the most likely interpretation because they have muscular male torsos.



6.86

**6.86 Handle with dogs flanking a reclining youth**

4th century B.C., height: 7 in. (17.8 cm), width: 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (24.3 cm).

Fletcher Fund, 1928 (28.57.13)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 52, fig. 151; Liepmann, "Ein etruskischer Bronzehenkel," 1972, p. 11, no. 2, fig. 2; Hostetter, *Bronzes from Spina*, 1986, p. 28; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 474, no. 349, ill. p. 298

This magnificent handle is in the form of a sleeping youth flanked by dogs. The youth, nude except for shoes, might well represent Endymion, the beloved hunter of Artemis (Etruscan Artumes), who was granted immortality and

eternal youth but also perpetual sleep. Since such handles are often associated with large bronze vessels that served as cremation urns, depictions of Endymion are especially appropriate. Close parallels for this handle are in the Kestner Museum, Hannover,<sup>126</sup> and a pair, now divided between the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Antikensammlung, Berlin, that comes from Città della Pieve, north of Orvieto (ancient Volsinii).<sup>127</sup> There is also an intact basin with two related handles in the Menil Collection, Houston.<sup>128</sup> All probably are products of a Volsinian bronze workshop.



6.87

### 6.87 Upper part and lid of an oil flask

Praenestine, from Praeneste, 4th century B.C., diameter:  $3\frac{5}{8}$  in. (9.2 cm). Rogers Fund, 1910 (10.230.1)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 61–62, no. 94, ill.; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 45, figs. 130, 131; Bordenache Battaglia and Emiliozzi, *Le ciste prenestine*, vol. 1, pt. 2, 1990, pp. 288–89; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 475, no. 356, ill. p. 303

This elegantly worked roundel depicts a nude youth being attacked by a griffin. It relates to legends, first mentioned by Herodotus,<sup>129</sup> of the people called Arimasps who lived east of the Black Sea. Their land was rich in gold, but the gold was guarded by fierce griffins. The subject of Arimasps being attacked or devoured by griffins became popular during the Hellenistic period, especially for terracottas produced in Tarentum. It is likely that these South Italian models of griffins attacking Arimasps inspired the Praenestine (Central Italian) adaptation on this bronze.<sup>130</sup>

### 6.88 Balsamarium (cosmetics container)

Late 4th or early 3rd century B.C., height:  $3\frac{3}{8}$  in. (8.6 cm). Rogers Fund, 1911 (11.91.3)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 193–94, no. 510, ill.

Small portable bronze containers in the shape of female heads were very popular items during the Etrusco-Hellenistic period, especially at Todi, where several fine examples have been found. Most of the heads seem to be generic females, but some, like this one, might depict a deity such as Turan (Roman Venus) or a Lasa, the nymph-like patroness of lovers.



6.88



6.89a detail



6.89a

### 6.89a, b Two perfume dippers

Bronze, 4th–3rd century B.C., A: 97.22.18: length: 16 in. (40.6 cm).

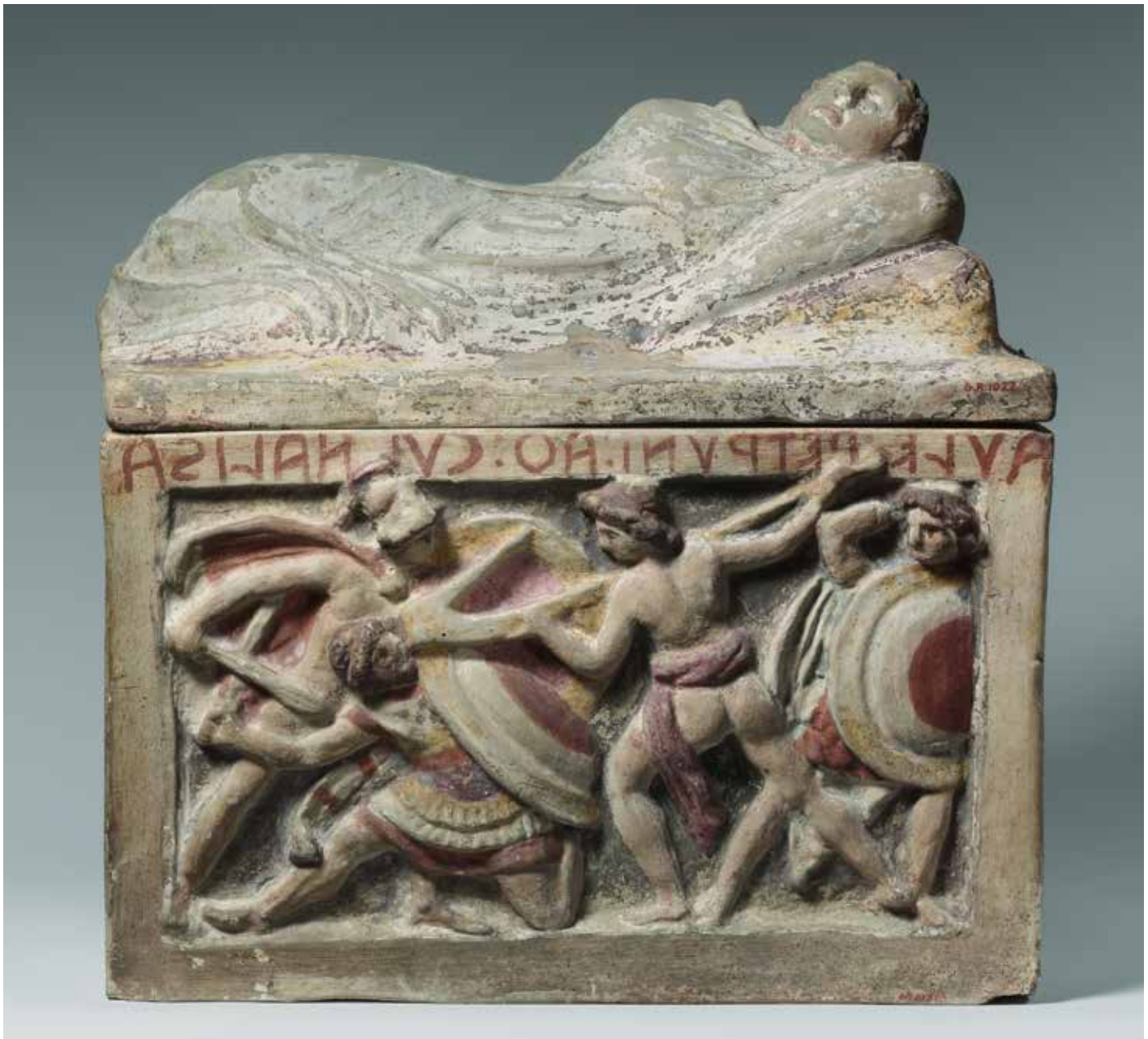
Gift of Henry G. Marquand, 1897. B: 23.160.88: length: 10½ in.

(26.7 cm). Rogers Fund, 1923

LITERATURE: 97.22.18: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, p. 306, no. 911, ill.; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 52. 23.160.88: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 52

Bronze or ivory dippers were used often by the Etruscans to apply scented oils and perfumes to the hair and body. Examples are depicted on two mirrors in the Museum's collection, 6.10 on which a servant applies perfume to the hair of Alcestis, and 6.1, on which a dipper is visible in the toiletries box of Thetis. The Museum's two bronze perfume dippers are decorated with small figures of females. The nude figure on 6.89a, shown here, holds a libation bowl and could represent Turan (Roman Venus). Engraved on the figure of that dipper is a four-letter inscription. Richter interpreted it to say las . . . , presumably for Lasa, which makes sense given the subject of the statuette.<sup>131</sup> The problem is that the letters that should correspond to A in both cases look more like the letter O or theta, which from the fifth century B.C. on can be written like an O, and I, respectively, in Etruscan.<sup>132</sup> Also, the first letter looks more like a P than an L and appears to have been made with three strokes, appropriate for a P. Unfortunately, pths or even pthss make no sense in Etruscan. It has been suggested that the word might be Faliscan.<sup>133</sup> Another idea is that the letters represent a monogram with the navel of the figure acting as punctuation separating the two pairs of letters: PΘ.SI. Thus, a first name starting with Pth . . . and a last name beginning with Si . . . (cf. the monogram on 6.28c). The small scale of the letters and the uneven surface on which they are engraved no doubt added to the difficulty of creating a legible inscription.<sup>134</sup>

The second dipper (6.89b) is uninscribed. Its finial depicts a fully-clothed woman who could represent a deity such as Uni (Hera) or Turan (Aphrodite). She wears an elaborate diadem, large necklace, and laced boots.



6.90a

## ETRUSCO-HELLENISTIC CINERARY URNS

During the last phase of Etruscan civilization, cremation burials became increasingly common. Several types of cinerary containers were used; most were made of terracotta. All eight examples in the Museum's collection (six made of terracotta and two of stone) exhibit the usual characteristics: a small rectangular box-shaped ash container decorated with mythical or ornamental scenes in relief, an inscription at the top of the box identifying the deceased, and a reclining figure on the lid portraying the deceased. Traces of the original polychromy are preserved on several examples. Many of the subjects represented on the rectangular terracotta boxes were made from molds and vary little in appearance. Major centers of this kind of "mass production" of terracotta urns were Chiusi, Volterra, and Perugia. Artisans at those centers also carved unique cinerary urns from alabaster and other stones.

### 6.90a, b Two cinerary urns

A: 96.9.219a, b and B: .220a, b: both: 2nd century B.C., terracotta, height (with lid): 13 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 13 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 8 in. (35 x 34.9 x 20.3 cm). Purchase, 1896  
 LITERATURE: 96.9.219a, b: Pauli and Danielsson, *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum*, 1893, no. 4905; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 49, fig. 143; Rix, *Etruskische Texte*, 1991, p. 233, no. CI 1.2114; Wallace, "Culnališa or Cutnališa?," 2009, ill. (the accession number given is incorrect). 96.9.220a, b: Pauli and Danielsson, *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum*, 1893, no. 4900; Rix, *Etruskische Texte*, 1991, p. 212, no. CI 1.1332

The frieze on 6.90a portrays one of the most popular subjects on Etruscan terracotta urns, a man using a plow as a weapon. Some scholars suggest that this figure is the Greek hero Echetlos, a rustic who came to the aid of the Athenians and killed many Persians, wielding his plow against them at the Battle of Marathon in 490 B.C. However, it has never been satisfactorily explained why such an obscure Greek legend was



6.91a

so popular in Etruria. It is possible that the scene represents an Etruscan legend or event whose specific meaning is unknown to us. The type was produced extensively in Chiusi.

As told by the retrograde inscription, this is the cinerary urn of AULE : PETRUNI : AΘ : CULNALIŠA (Aule Petruni [son] of Arnth, [the son] of Culna). AΘ is an abbreviation for the common Etruscan masculine name Arnth. It can also be abbreviated A or AR. Color is well preserved on this urn. The inscription is painted in magenta, a color also used for details of some armor and drapery. The breastplate of the falling warrior and details of some shields are in yellow. Brown appears for some helmets and hair.

The frieze on the Museum's cinerary urn 6.90b depicts the same subject as that on 6.90a. The inscription reads: ARNTILE . A8UNASŠ . LAUTNI (Arntile, freedman of the Afuna family). The letter F in Etruscan often takes the form of our number 8, especially in late inscriptions. LAUTNI (of the family) denotes that this person had been a slave but was manumitted at some point before his death.

### 6.91a, b Two cinerary urns

Terracotta, A: 96.18.163a, b: 3rd century B.C., height: 26 in. (66 cm), length: 11 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (28.4 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1896; B: 57.11.10: 3rd–2nd century B.C., height: 15 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (39.4 cm), length: 22 in. (55.9 cm), width: 11 in. (27.9 cm). Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Harry G. Friedman Gift, 1957

LITERATURE: 96.18.163a, b: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 50, fig. 145; Rix, *Etruskische Texte*, 1991, p. 204, no. Cl 1.1076. 57.11.10: Rix, *Etruskische Texte*, 1991, p. 224, no. Cl 1.1778

The friezes on both urns included here depict an unidentified five-figure battle scene. This generic battle composition is repeated on many urns associated with workshops at Chiusi during the Etrusco-Hellenistic period. The colors are well preserved and indicate red and blue for the pilasters framing the figural scene. The inscription on the urn shown here (6.91a) identifies the deceased as: AV : LATINI : VELŠIAL ("Aulus Latinus, son of Velšia"). The AV is a common abbreviation for the popular male name Aule or Avle in Etruscan, the equivalent of the Latin Aulus. Almost all these urns have inscriptions that identify the deceased whose ashes were once within the urn.

Much of the polychromy on 6.91b (not shown) is still preserved: magenta for the inscription and details of armor and clothing; blue for shields, breastplates, and some drapery; yellow for helmets and some drapery; yellow and blue for the frieze. The inscription identifies the deceased: ARNΘ : HELE : HERINIAL ("Arnth Hele, son of Herinia").

### 6.92 Cinerary urn

3rd century B.C., alabaster, height with cover: 33 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (85.1 cm), without cover: 17 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (43.8 cm), length: 25 in. (63.5 cm)  
Purchase, 1896 (96.9.225a, b)

LITERATURE: Körte, *I rilievi delle urne etrusche*, 1896, pl. LXXIV, 2; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 49, fig. 142; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, pp. 476–77, no. 369, ill. p. 311

The reclining woman on the lid wears a heavy torque necklace and holds a removable stone fan in her right hand. The frieze depicts two pairs of Greeks fighting Amazons while the Etruscan death demon Vanth stands at the right. Vanth is nude. She holds some drapery over her left arm and carries a torch in her right hand. She is shown winged and with small wings in her hair, and she wears a torque and high boots. The subject of this urn, the Amazonomachy, was well known from Greek art, especially from the fourth century onward, and it also appears on other Etruscan works in the Museum's collection. The Vanth is a characteristic Etruscan addition to this Greek legend.

The narrow sides of the urn are carved with large single floral motifs beneath a simple row of vertical panels. There is no inscription to identify the deceased.



6.92 left side



6.92





6.93



6.94

### 6.93 Cinerary urn

2nd century B.C., terracotta, height: 28¼ in. (71.8 cm), body: 29 x 20½ x 11¾ in. (73.7 x 52.1 x 29.8 cm), lid: 12½ x 11¼ x 11⅝ in.

(31.8 x 28.6 x 29.5 cm). Purchase, 1896 (96.9.223a, b)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 49, fig. 144; Rix, *Etruskische Texte*, 1991, p. 223, no. Cl.1.1744

The rectangular battle scene is framed by a yellow frieze below the inscription, the last word of which is painted vertically on the lower left edge of the box: THANA : VIPINEI : RANAZUNIA : CREICEŠA (Thana Vipinei Ranazunia, wife of the Greek). This is one of several examples of inscriptions on cinerary urns documenting the marriage of an Etruscan woman and a Greek man.

Paint is well preserved on this urn. The figure of the deceased on the lid wears large yellow earrings and red slippers. Her facial features are depicted clearly. In her right hand, she holds a small fan, a typical feminine attribute on Etruscan cinerary urns.

### 6.94 Cinerary urn

2nd century B.C., terracotta, height (overall): 17¼ in. (43.8 cm), body: 8¾ x 13¼ x 7⅞ in. (22.2 x 33.7 x 18.1 cm). lid: 8½ x 14¼ x 8 in.

(21.6 x 36.2 x 20.3 cm). Purchase, 1896 (96.9.221a, b)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 50, fig. 146

A fantastic frontal head with bovine ears wears a Phrygian cap with wings. Other examples of this unidentified subject, taken from the same mold, come from Chiusi, the likely site of manufacture for the entire group.<sup>135</sup> On some of these urns, the pilasters that frame the figural scene are painted, but here, they are modeled and carefully rendered. Color is well preserved on this depiction of the deceased lying on the lid. The inscription on this urn is illegible.



6.95

### 6.95 Cinerary urn

2nd century B.C., travertine, height: 22 $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (57.3 cm), length: 5 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (13 cm). Purchase, 1896 (96.9.224a, b)

LITERATURE: Körte, *I rilievi delle urne etrusche*, 1896, pl. CVIII, 2; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 49, fig. 141; Martelli, "Urne volterrane," 1974–75, p. 220, no. 15; Nielsen, "Volaterran Cinerary Urns," 1975, pp. 292–93; Ingrid Krauskopf in *LIMC*, vol. 1 (1981), "Alkmaion," p. 550, no. 17, ill.; Small, *Theban Cycle on Late Etruscan Urns*, 1981, pp. 28, 98–99, no. 20, pl. 11, b

The reclining woman on the lid holds a fan in her right hand and a pomegranate, often a symbol of fertility, in her left hand. The fan is especially interesting because it has an elegant handle in the form of an Aeolic pilaster, similar to the bone and ivory handles associated with bronze mirrors (see 6.12). There is no inscription on the lid to identify the deceased. Vestiges of the original polychromy are visible on the hair of some figures and on the footstool at the bottom center of the panel.

The frieze depicts the murder of a woman in her bed, perhaps the Matricide of Alkmaion. The story of the matricide is a part of the complex Theban Cycle.<sup>136</sup> Alkmaion promised his father, Amphiaraos, that he would kill his mother, Eriphyle, if she betrayed Amphiaraos by encouraging him to

go to war and he died as a result. Eriphyle was bribed with a precious necklace to do so, and after Amphiaraos was killed in battle, Alkmaion killed his mother. Euripides wrote two plays about this legend; Sophokles and eight lesser Greek playwrights also told this story in their tragedies. Unfortunately, none of these plays survives.<sup>137</sup>

Although scholars as early as Gisela Richter in 1940 have suggested the Matricide of Alkmaion as the subject of the Museum's urn, it is by no means accepted universally. Jocelyn Penny Small's close study of this and several related urns seems, to me at least, reasonable and convincing.<sup>138</sup> She sees the Museum's urn as depicting an unspecified matricide based on a conflation of several legends, the Matricide of Alkmaion being an important source. The subject might relate to an unknown Etruscan legend involving the murder of a woman, not necessarily a matricide. Perhaps more interesting is a thornier question: Why would one select any murder of a woman, let alone a matricide, for the subject of what appears to be the cinerary urn of a woman?

At least twenty other urns, most from Volterra, have been attributed to the same workshop, the so-called *Officina di Poggio alle Croci*.



# Overview of Etruscan and Italic Jewelry, Ambers, and Gems

Death, to the Etruscan, was a pleasant continuance of life, with jewels and wine and flutes playing for the dance. It was neither an ecstasy of bliss, a heaven, nor a purgatory of torment. It was just a natural continuance of the fullness of life. Everything was in terms of life, of living.

—D. H. Lawrence, *Etruscan Places*<sup>1</sup>

## JEWELRY

The Museum's collection includes exquisite examples of Etruscan jewelry, including an early set of gold items from a tomb at Vulci excavated in the 1830s and important holdings of amber and engraved gems.

The gold, silver, and bronze jewelry made by the Etruscans is among the finest in the ancient world. Etruscan jewelry was worn extensively by women, men, children, and even pet animals. In most cases, it was not only ornamental but also served to indicate social status and even to protect the wearer from harm. This is especially true of the charms incorporating animal teeth (7.16a–d) or semiprecious stones and amber, which were thought to have magical or medicinal properties. Not all jewelry was made for the living. Examples of very large impractical pieces sometimes were made expressly for the deceased. In fact, the extraordinary stability of gold, which never tarnishes or corrodes like silver or copper, gave it a special quality of permanence that symbolized the hope for eternal well-being after death.

All the basic techniques employed were developed by earlier Near Eastern metalsmiths, but it was the Etruscans who refined and perfected them to produce truly spectacular works. Unfortunately, any guidebooks the Etruscans may have written on the technical processes of jewelry-making no longer survive. Instead, we must depend on a close examination of the extant pieces of jewelry to unlock the secrets of their creation. With the aid of electron microscopes and other analytical devices, modern scholars have learned a great deal about the three basic techniques that were employed individually or in various combinations on an individual piece of gold jewelry—repoussé, filigree, and granulation.

## Repoussé

Pure gold is the most malleable solid metal; a piece of gold can be beaten into a thin sheet. The first-century A.D. Roman encyclopedist Pliny the Elder (d. 79 A.D.) explained that a single ounce of gold can be beaten into 750 sheets or leaves, each about three inches square.<sup>2</sup> That is the equivalent of about forty-six square feet total. Such gold leaves can then be pressed into bronze molds to create figures or designs. This process of pressing or gently hammering thin sheets of gold into various shapes and designs is called repoussé, a term borrowed from the French. It is the simplest, earliest, and most common technique of jewelry-making. Good examples in the Museum's Etruscan collection are 7.1, 7.4, 7.11a, 7.15, 7.24, and 7.27a.

## Filigree

Because pure gold is extremely ductile, it can be drawn into fine wires. Pliny the Elder mentioned having seen the Empress Julia Agrippina, fourth wife of Claudius and mother of Nero, wearing an elegant military cloak made of “cloth of gold” that was woven from fine gold wires.<sup>3</sup> He wrote that this material had been invented much earlier and that the Romans called it “cloth of Attalus,” no doubt after Attalus I of Pergamon (241–197 B.C.). Wires also can be produced by rolling a narrow ribbon of gold between two hard flat surfaces, which results in a helical seam that sometimes can be seen with the naked eye. Gold wires can be manipulated in a variety of ways to produce numerous effects such as beading. In fact, our word filigree comes from the Latin words *filum* (wire) and *granum* (grain) and probably refers to beaded wire.

The Etruscans used gold wires in four basic ways: to form openwork borders (for example, 7.19), to create independent designs on a gold background or repoussé relief (for

example, 7.26), to outline or frame independent elements (for example, 7.23b), and to form loop-in-loop chains of varying complexity (for example, 7.13a and 7.13b).

### Granulation

This, the most complicated and difficult technique, is normally used for gold but also is sometimes seen in silver and bronze pieces. Tiny beads of the metal are soldered to the surface to create a scintillating background or to articulate a figural or geometric pattern. The earliest granulation appeared about 2500 B.C., in the royal tombs at Ur in Mesopotamia. From the ancient Near East, the technique spread to Egypt, Crete, the Greek mainland, and eventually, westward to Italy. The Etruscans may have learned it from Greek colonists in the Bay of Naples area. What sets Etruscan granulation apart from earlier uses of the technique is the relatively small size of the gold beads or grains. Typical Egyptian gold grains are about 1.0 millimeter in diameter. Etruscan beads range from about 0.5 millimeters to an astonishing 0.14 millimeters in diameter. Often, the beads are so fine that Etruscologists call them *pulviscolo*, or “dust” granulation.

For many years, modern investigators were not sure how such beads were made or, more importantly, how they were attached to the object they decorated. Soldering hundreds of such tiny beads to a single piece of jewelry seemed an impossible task. There is still debate about how the beads were produced, because several different techniques will work. Each has advantages and disadvantages, and it is therefore most likely that individual jewelers had their own preferences. One method that allows for the production of grains of a uniform size involves making solid gold wires of the desired diameter, then cutting them into small uniform cylinders. If these are mixed in powdered charcoal and heated in a crucible, they will melt into tiny spheres or beads of relatively uniform diameter. The charcoal keeps them from fusing together. The technique also works with tiny pieces of a flat gold sheet.

In order to understand how the tiny gold beads were attached to the gold element they decorate, Italian investigators carefully sliced a single bead from a damaged piece of seventh-century B.C. excavated Etruscan jewelry.<sup>4</sup> Then, they examined its chemical composition using an electron microprobe. It turned out that the small bit of metal that formed the join between the gold bead and the gold background was fifteen times higher in copper compared to the gold composition of the bead and the background. Here again, Pliny the Elder provided the significant clue.<sup>5</sup> He discussed *chrysocola*, a Greek word combining *chrysos* (gold) with *colla* (glue). This “gold glue” is a mixture of several ingredients, including powdered malachite, soda, and animal glue. The jeweler

used this substance to glue the tiny grains and wires to the gold piece he was decorating. Next, the object was heated in the kiln until the glue vaporized and the malachite reduced to copper. This process provided the joins between the tiny grains or wires and the gold surface of the piece of jewelry. Significantly, the Latin for this gold glue is *santerna*, a word derived from Etruscan.

How did the Etruscans use granulation? There are five basic functions: (1) “massed” granulation provides a background for a figure in relief or covers an area to indicate, for example, hair on a bearded face; (2) “silhouette” granulation forms figures against a blank gold background; (3) “linear” granulation outlines or delineates a figure or forms geometric patterns or other linear designs, usually with double rows of grains; (4) “point” granulation punctuates a design with single, usually large grains; and (5) “cluster” granulation forms tiny pyramids made of four grains. Linear granulation is surely the most frequently used technique; point and cluster granulation are the rarest types.

GENERAL LITERATURE: Formigli, “Appendice tecnica,” 1983; Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, 1983; De Puma, “Etruscan Gold Jewelry Techniques,” 1987; Nestler and Formigli, *Granulazione etrusca*, 1994; Williams and Ogden, *Greek Gold*, 1994

### THE VULCI GROUP, ABOUT 475–425 B.C.

In 1832, a two-chambered subterranean tomb was discovered by Domenico Campanari on the right bank of the Fiora River at Vulci. Domenico was the youngest of three sons of Vincenzo Campanari from Toscanella (Tuscania). All four members of this Italian family were engaged actively in various excavations at Vulci, Poggio Buco, Tuscania, and other Etruscan sites between 1828 and 1846. In 1837, they also organized the first public exhibition of Etruscan art in London.<sup>6</sup> Early descriptions of the tomb, published in 1834 and 1835, described some of the contents that eventually made their way into various museums. One chamber was for an adult male who was interred with his armor, including a helmet now in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.<sup>7</sup> His chamber also contained the large gold ring (7.4) said to have been recovered from the fourth finger of his left hand. In addition, there was a bronze tripod, now in the Vatican Museums, similar to the Museum's piece 4.38,<sup>8</sup> and a bronze amphora with figural handles now in the British Museum.<sup>9</sup> The other chamber was for an adult woman, probably the warrior's wife. The remaining jewelry items in this collection were found with her, according to Domenico Campanari's earliest published reports. The chamber also

contained at least four painted vases, but it has been difficult to trace their present whereabouts. One might be a stamnos now in the Vatican Museums, Rome,<sup>10</sup> but by no means is that certain. These objects from the same tomb would help to establish a more secure date for the burials. Based on stylistic analysis and relationships to the bronze articles found with them, most items in the tomb have been dated to the second and third quarters of the fifth century B.C. At this point, it appears that some items (for example, 7.6) are of later date than most of the others. This variance might be simply the result of adding precious heirlooms or keepsakes inherited from the tomb occupant's deceased relatives, or perhaps more likely, they have been added in the nineteenth century by mistake.

The Vulci jewelry collection was acquired by Rougemont de Lowenberg shortly after the death of its first owner, Jacques Claude, Baron Beugnot (1761–1835). By 1930, it had entered the European antiquities market, and the Museum purchased it a decade later. It is rare to have what appears to be a complete set of Etruscan gold jewelry, especially one that comes from a major Etruscan city. It is also of historical interest that this tomb was opened at Vulci only about four years after the first accidental discovery there of a rich tomb on the property of the Prince of Canino in 1828 (see Chapter I). Thus, it is part of the earliest recovery of precious luxury items that so captivated nineteenth-century explorers of Vulci's extensive Etruscan cemeteries. It is quite possibly this group that Lady Hamilton Gray referred to in 1839 when she stated: "I had heard, in particular, much of the beauty of the gold and jewelled ornaments belonging to Lucien [Bonaparte, Prince of Canino], and that, a few winters ago, the Princess of Canino had appeared at some of the ambassador's fêtes in Rome with a parure of Etruscan jewellery, which was the envy of the society, and excelled the *chefs d'oeuvres* of Paris or Vienna."<sup>11</sup> This "envy of the society" stimulated the production of imitation Etruscan jewelry, especially by the Castellani family of jewelers in Rome.<sup>12</sup> The Museum has a fine example dated about 1840–70 of Castellani "archaeological jewelry," a gold necklace with pendants (22.139.46).

### 7.1–7.10 Set of jewelry from Vulci

Etruscan, gold, glass-paste, and semiprecious stones. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940 (40.11.7–18)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 33, fig. 106; Richter, "Notable Acquisitions," 1940, figs. 7–12; Mauro Cristofani in Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, 1983, pp. 289, 290, nos. 127–34, ill. pp. 158–59; Riis, *Vulciencia Vetustiora*, 1998, pp. 92–98, n. 218; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 473, no. 344, ill. p. 296

### 7.1 Necklace (40.11.7)

Gold and glass-paste, length: 14¼ in. (36.2 cm)

Eleven almost identical pendants are suspended from a chain of tubular beads. Each pendant has a repoussé female head flanked by wings at the top and a smaller head, alternatively, of either a satyr or the Greek river god Acheloos at the base. Between these heads is a large bezel of point granulation enclosing alternating glass paste imitations of carnelian and banded agates. Some of the female heads are dented, and one satyr head is missing.

Repoussé sirens form the clasps at either end of the necklace. Next, at either end, is a large spherical bead enhanced with double wires that form petals. These beads and the biconical beads enclosed with small gold filigree bands that form the chain are all made of the same greenish material, probably glass paste.

Several parallels to individual elements on this necklace can be cited. The repoussé river gods and sirens are very similar to slightly larger pendants on a necklace in the British Museum dated by context to the early fifth century B.C.<sup>13</sup> Another necklace in the British Museum has spherical beads decorated with filigree petal patterns.<sup>14</sup> Finally, a necklace formerly in the collection of Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis has been in the antiques market in New York and is perhaps the closest parallel to the Vulci necklace.<sup>15</sup>

### 7.2 Pair of disk earrings (40.11.8, .9)

Gold, glass-paste, carnelian, and rock crystal, diameter of disks: 27/16 in. (6.1 cm)

LITERATURE: Richter, "Notable Acquisitions," 1940, pp. 437–38, figs. 8, 9; Becatti, *Oreficerie antiche*, 1955, text facing p. 95, pl. F, 1

Each of these earrings, seen at the far left, which are identical in size and design, consists of a circular gold disk decorated with three concentric bands of ornament. The outermost band is the most complex and consists of small ovals of carnelian and glass-paste banded stones set in filigree frames. Originally, there would have been four inserts of each type, but some are missing. The present condition is identical to that illustrated in the 1834 publication.<sup>16</sup> These alternate with palmettes and lotus flowers that are enhanced with filigree and massed granulation. This band is framed by serpentine wires and is enlivened with considerable use of point granulation. The second band, of plain gold, contrasts dramatically with its complicated neighbors. The innermost band is a series of fine beaded and twisted wires. At the center of each earring is a transparent circle of rock crystal. Set behind this is a delicate wire configuration that forms an elaborate four-petaled flower. On the outer surface, at the center of the flower, is a smaller cutout flower surrounded by a spray of tiny wires. The back of this central feature supports the small cylindrical post that would have been inserted into the earlobe.<sup>17</sup>

The Etruscans produced this kind of disk earring in various sizes. This pair is larger than most, but comparable examples, also with central posts, are in the British Museum.<sup>18</sup> The Museum's disk earrings are most unusual because they employ a prominent transparent central feature. Somewhat related in this regard are examples with opaque glass inlays in the Dallas Museum of Art<sup>19</sup> and in an American private collection.



**7.3 Cartouche ring with sphinx and lion (40.11.17)**

Gold, diameter: 1 in. (2.5 cm)  
LITERATURE: Richter, "Notable Acquisitions," 1940, fig. 11; Boardman, "Archaic Finger Rings," 1967, p. 16, no. B IV 17

The ring in the top row left, which is also shown here, consists of a solid gold wire that supports a large ovoid bezel (the cartouche) decorated in repoussé. The bezel is framed by a beaded wire and filigree volutes. The scene depicts a crouching sphinx facing a lion.<sup>20</sup> Rings of this type have been dated about 530 B.C.



**7.4 Lion ring with satyr heads (40.11.16)**

Gold and carnelian, diameter: 1 1/6 in. (2.7 cm)  
LITERATURE: Richter, "Notable Acquisitions," 1940, fig. 10; Becatti, *Oreficerie antiche*, 1955, p. 184,

no. 304, pl. LXXVI; Boardman, "Archaic Finger Rings," 1967, p. 21, n. 65; *Les Étrusques et l'Europe*, 1992, p. 268, no. 347, ill.

According to early nineteenth-century accounts, the large ring in the top row center was the only article of jewelry found in the male's burial chamber. Two frontal satyr heads with carefully modeled hair and beards flank the small ovoid carnelian. The intaglio shows a flying bird grasping a snake in its beak.<sup>21</sup> The stone is surrounded by a single line of granulation and flanked by small palmettes of delicate filigree.

This type is called a Lion Ring because most are decorated with repoussé lions rather than satyrs.<sup>22</sup> There are also examples with sirens and tritons. All have been dated to the early fifth century B.C., the likely date for the Museum's work. The repoussé satyr heads on this ring are similar to the satyr carved on the back of a scarab in the Museum's collection (7.98).<sup>23</sup>



7.1–7.10



**7.5 Ring with carnelian scarab (40.11.15)**

Gold and carnelian, diameter: 1 5/16 in. (2.4 cm)  
LITERATURE: Richter, "Notable Acquisitions," 1940, fig. 12c

The ring in the top row right is truncated in order to hold a carnelian scarab that swivels. The intaglio depicts a nude man holding a club and bow while running to the right. He probably represents Herakles (Etruscan Heracle).<sup>24</sup>





**7.6 Ring with banded agate scarab (40.11.14)**

Gold and agate, diameter:  $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (2.2 cm)

LITERATURE: Richter, "Notable Acquisitions," 1940, pp. 434, 437, figs. 7, 12b; Mauro Cristofani in Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli*

*Etruschi*, 1983, p. 289

The scarab in the second row left is carved in intaglio with the figure of a nude youth (or female?) leaning on a short pillar and holding a sword. This ring is Hellenistic and therefore later than the other objects in the tomb group. It may not belong to this tomb group.<sup>25</sup>



**7.7 Ring with inset bezel (40.11.18)**

Gold, diameter:  $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (2.2 cm)

LITERATURE: Richter, "Notable Acquisitions," 1940, p. 434, fig. 12a  
The solid gold ring in the second row right has a recessed

or inset bezel and belongs to Boardman's Type L rings, which are simple and have bezels that imitate intaglio gems, of which there are at least five other examples in various collections. In this case, the bezel shows a recumbent lion with its head turned back; the oval is flanked by radiating palmettes.<sup>26</sup>



7.11a, b

### 7.8 Pin (40.11.13)

Gold, length:  $2\frac{7}{8}$  in. (7.3 cm)

On the pin at bottom left, a solid gold wire is topped by four identical repoussé segments that join to form a pomegranate flower. A slightly shorter, but otherwise almost identical pin was found in a cremation burial at Bientina, east of Pisa.<sup>27</sup> The Bientina burial can be dated to about 470–460 B.C. on the basis of associated Greek pottery.

### 7.9 Pair of Certosa-type fibulae (40.11.11, .12)

Gold, length of each:  $1\frac{5}{8}$  in. (4.1 cm)

LITERATURE: Guzzo, *Le fibule in Etruria*, 1972, p. 40, no. 2, pl. VIII

The Certosa-type fibulae of identical size and design seen at bottom center are named for the archaeological site in Bologna where many bronze and silver examples were found. Like the Museum's pair, most of these fibulae are very

small and simple, consisting of a solid-wire bow, spring, and pin. The high curved clasp is topped by a little sphere. Fibulae resembling this pair are rare in gold.<sup>28</sup>

### 7.10 Sanguisuga fibula with sphinx (40.11.10)

Gold, length:  $1\frac{15}{16}$  in. (4.9 cm)

LITERATURE: Sundwall, *Die älteren italischen Fibeln*, 1943, p. 230, no. 2a; Guzzo, *Le fibule in Etruria*, 1972, p. 28, no. 12, pl. V

The fibula at bottom right has a hollow arched bow made of two joined halves. The top seam and sides are decorated with serpentine wires and small gold flowers. The long clasp ends with a repoussé double-headed sphinx and rosettes. Some twenty related examples, most of which come from Vulci and date to the late sixth and early fifth century B.C., are known, including a close parallel in the British Museum<sup>29</sup> and other examples in the Louvre<sup>30</sup> and the Antikensammlung, Berlin.<sup>31</sup>



7.12a, b

## WREATHS AND DIADEMS (Etruscan Gold Unless Otherwise Indicated)

### 7.11a, b Two funerary wreaths

Late 4th–early 3rd century B.C., A: 95.15.250: length: 13 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (33.3 cm); B: 95.15.251: length: 9 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (23.5 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1895

The larger wreath consists of four horizontal rows of delicate gold leaves on each side flanking two rows of leaves set vertically at the center, where there is a large repoussé boss surrounded by small floral petals. Each laurel leaf has a rounded end and three raised lines running down the central spine. The wreath's rounded ends, where it would have been attached to a ribbon or chord to adorn the head, preserve three perforations on the right side. Both ends are decorated with repoussé designs representing sirens. The smaller wreath is of similar design and construction. It has a larger central boss but smaller floral petals, and the rounded ends are perforated with two pairs of holes on each side for attachment. Some of the laurel leaves, which are the same on both wreaths, have been reattached erroneously on the left side.

Both wreaths are rather fragile and were probably made as tomb gifts rather than for use by living banqueters. Various kinds of leaves (for example, ivy, myrtle, or laurel) are naturalistically depicted on Etruscan wreaths. The laurel tree was sacred to Apollo (Etruscan Apulu), and thus, the Museum's two wreaths may have been appropriate gifts for devotees of that god.<sup>32</sup>

### 7.12a, b Two bands or diadems

A: 1998.216: Etruscan or South Italian, said to be from Taranto, 3rd century B.C., length: 13 in. (33 cm). Purchase, Malcolm Wiener Gift, 1998. B: 47.11.10: early 5th century B.C., length: 11 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (30.5 cm). Rogers Fund, 1947

LITERATURE: 1998.216: *Pomerance Collection*, 1966, pp. 122–23, no. 142, ill. 47.11.10: Oliver, "Jewelry," 1966, pp. 280–81, figs. 23, 24

The long gold band with turned-up scalloped edges shown at the top in the illustration (7.12a) is decorated with fourteen large rosettes. Each six-petaled flower is fastened to the band by a single granulated sphere at its center. Smaller spheres, plain or granulated on the alternate rosettes, emanate from each flower on tiny wires. The alleged provenance suggests a South Italian origin for this diadem, but it could just as easily be Etruscan.<sup>33</sup>

The gold band shown at the bottom (7.12b), which is perhaps a diadem, is composed of twelve small rectangular plaques. Two sides of each plaque have tubes through which a cord or wire could be strung to hold the pieces together. Each plaque consists of repoussé elements (crouching rabbits, doves, and palmettes) combined with various wires and decorative floral forms stacked atop one another to produce a complex design.<sup>34</sup>

## NECKLACES, CLASPS, AND PENDANTS (Etruscan Gold Unless Otherwise Indicated)

### 7.13a, b Two chain-link necklaces

4th–3rd century B.C. A: 95.15.259: length: 20 in. (50.8 cm). B: 95.15.261: length: 10½ in. (26.7 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1895  
Numerous fine gold wires have been linked to form these delicate necklaces. In this technique, a long solid-gold wire is tightly wrapped around a solid cylinder (for example, a bronze nail) to form a spiral. (The diameter of the cylinder determines the diameter of the rings or links in the chain or necklace.) The tight gold spiral is then cut horizontally to create a series of identical open gold rings. The ends of each ring are soldered together to form a complete circle. Each ring is then bent to form a U-shaped link. One U-shaped link is threaded through the next and bent tightly to form a chain-link necklace. Variations in the number of links threaded together allow for more complex chains.<sup>35</sup>

### 7.14a, b Pair of clasps and single clasp

A: 95.15.246, .247: pair, silver, 6th century B.C. (?), length: 1⅞ in. (2.9 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1895; B: 95.15.271: single clasp with sphinxes, 6th century B.C., length: 1 3⁄16 in. (4.6 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1895

LITERATURE: 95.15.271: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 34, figs. 109, 110

The pair of silver clasps on the left depict recumbent lions. The delicately crafted gold clasp on the right consists of a tube the ends of which are wrapped in beaded wire and rings of granulation. The final segment on each end is covered with a zigzag pattern of silhouette granulation. At the center are two heraldically disposed (that is, mirror images of each other) modeled recumbent sphinxes. On the reverse, their long hair, tied in a fillet, is carefully depicted. Their heads support a disk, perhaps for a missing gem, flanked by flowers with single points of granulation. This clasp was probably originally part of a chain-link necklace.



7.14a, b





7.15 front



7.15 back

### 7.15 Bulla

5th century B.C., 3 $\frac{3}{16}$  x 2 $\frac{1}{16}$  x 1 in. (8.1 x 6.9 x 2.6 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1895 (95.15.263)

LITERATURE: Alexander, *Jewelry*, 1928, p. 7, no. 29, ill. p. 17; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 54, fig. 170

In Etruscan times, bullae were worn as protective amulets by adults and children—and even animals. They might be worn as single pendants or as multiples on necklaces and armbands. Bullae are often represented on engraved mirrors (see 6.13, in which the figure of Thalna, Etruscan goddess of childbirth, on the right, wears an armband with three bullae) and on other types of objects (see 6.64, jackdaw). This marvelous piece is one of the best-known examples of a type of Etruscan jewelry adopted by the Romans. In the latter culture, it was worn primarily by prepubescent boys.

Three figures are rendered in repoussé against a stippled background: a central male flanked by a winged female on the left and a bearded male on the right. The woman is seated with her left leg bent. She wears a diadem, an aegis with snake border, and has an *a grappolo* (grape-cluster) earring (see 7.27a). The aegis must indicate the goddess Minerva (Etruscan Menrva), who in Etruscan art, is often shown winged. The man at center could be Herakles, because what seems to be the vestige of a lion pelt is knotted about his

neck. Unfortunately, the bearded figure with a plant to his right is too damaged to identify. The precise meaning of the scene is unknown, but various three-figure compositions are common on bullae.<sup>36</sup> For example, a bulla in the Vatican Museums, Rome, probably shows Aphrodite with Adonis and Eros; one in the British Museum might depict a scene from the Greek tragedy by Aeschylus the *Oresteia*, with the goddess Minerva between two heroes voting on the fate of Orestes; a third bulla in the Louvre, Paris, shows four figures, but two of them, Peleus and Thetis, who are the parents of Achilles, act compositionally as one. As they wrestle, they are flanked by two females.

The suspension tube is decorated with embossed palmettes on a stippled field.<sup>37</sup> Beaded wires surround the bulla and divide the suspension tube vertically, and a single row of granulation separates the bulla from the suspension tube on the front and back. Inside the bulla are visible remains of a congealed amuletic substance of unknown type (it has not yet been analyzed), perhaps labdanum, which is dark brown and becomes brittle with age. Labdanum is a resinous substance from the Mediterranean rockrose (*Cistus ladaniferus*) that was used as a perfume. Remains of it have been found inside a fifth-century B.C. Etruscan gold bulla in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.<sup>38</sup>



7.17a-g

### 7.16a, b, c, d Four pendants, teeth set in gold

5th century B.C., A: 95.15.262: length: 2 in. (5.1 cm); B: 95.15.289: length: 1½ in. (3.8 cm); C: 95.15.288: length: ¾ in. (2.2 cm); D: 95.15.340: ½ in. (1.3 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1895

Like many ancient people, the Etruscans believed in the talismanic power of the teeth of wild animals, especially of bears. These pendants would have been worn around the neck to ward off evil. Each tooth is contained in a gold mount decorated with serpentine bands and tiny concentric circles in filigree. Similar pendants in London contain painted stones that imitate animal teeth.<sup>39</sup> A pendant in the Villa Giulia, Rome, has a stone “tooth.”<sup>40</sup> A necklace from Vulci has related pendants that have lost their teeth.<sup>41</sup> In addition, a large bear tooth, pierced for suspension, was found in a ninth or early eighth century B.C. context at Osteria dell’Osa in Latium.<sup>42</sup>



7.16a, b, c, d



7.18



7.19

## HAIR SPIRALS, PINS, RINGS, AND EARRINGS (Etruscan Gold Unless Otherwise Indicated)

### 7.17a-g Seven spirals

7th–6th century B.C., diameters (top row, left to right): A: 95.15.135: 1 in. (2.5 cm); B, C: 95.15.151, .150: ½ in. (1.3 cm); (center) D: 95.15.132: ⅝ in. (0.8 cm); (bottom row, left to right) E, F: 95.15.149: ⅜ in. (1.4 cm); and 95.15.133: ⅜ in. (1.4 cm); G: 95.15.134: silver, ⅜ in. (1.7 cm).

Purchase by subscription, 1895

Gold and silver spirals like those shown here were used as hair ornaments by Etruscan girls and women. Often, they are embellished with filigree and granulation. The piece seen here at center (7.17d) is a single coil with fourteen clusters of point granulation. The two gold spirals each with six coils shown in the top row (7.17b, c) are a pair, and the two similar gold pieces in the bottom row left (7.17e, f) perhaps represent a pair.<sup>43</sup>

### 7.18 Pair of spirals with granulated beads

Mid-7th century B.C., electrum, Rogers Fund, 1906 (06.1157, .1158)

LITERATURE: Robinson, “Acquisitions,” 1907, p. 122, fig. 1; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 10, fig. 30

The decorated portions of these spirals are made of bronze that is wrapped with an alloy of gold and silver, called electrum in antiquity. There are also solid gold wires completing the spirals. A part of the outer surface of each spiral is decorated with a series of human heads in repoussé that alternate with spherical beads of various sizes, covered in fine granulation. However, the granulation only appears on the outer surfaces. One of the spirals has been rejoined erroneously and no longer matches the other in most details.<sup>44</sup>

### 7.19 Pair of spirals with filigree

7th century B.C., width: 1 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (3.5 cm). Purchase, Anne Murray Gift, in memory of Rita C. Murray, 1994 (1994.446.a, b)

LITERATURE: Elizabeth J. Milleker in "Recent Acquisitions," 1995, p. 11, ill. These delicate spirals are formed with plain ribbons of gold that flank an open filigree pattern of serpentine wires. The spirals terminate in heart-shaped repoussé finials.<sup>45</sup>

### 7.20a–e Five pins

6th–4th century B.C., lengths: A: 95.15.280: 2 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (5.6 cm);

B: 95.15.281: 2 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (5.4 cm); C: 95.15.283: 2 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (5.5 cm);

D: 95.15.284: 2 $\frac{9}{16}$  in. (6.5 cm); E: 95.15.286: 3 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (8.1 cm).

Purchase by subscription, 1895

Gold straight pins of this kind most likely were used as hair-pins. The major differences within this group are in the treatment of the finial; 95.15.280, far left, has a small teardrop shaped finial; 95.15.281, second from left, has a spherical finial topped with point granulation; 95.15.283, center, has a repoussé floral element for its finial; 95.15.286, far right, is the only pin in this group decorated with garnets at the top and attached by linked chains.<sup>46</sup>

### 7.21a, b, c Three finger rings

A: 95.15.306: 8th/7th century B.C., diameter: 1 in. (2.5 cm); B: 95.15.302:

4th century B.C., diameter: 1 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (2.4 cm); C: 95.15.299: 4th–3rd

century B.C., diameter: 1 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (2.4 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1895

The ring at left (7.21a) appears to be made of solid gold. The ring at center (7.21b) is similar to two rings with undecorated elliptical bezels found at Tarquinia in 1870. On the basis of other materials in the same tomb, those rings can be dated to the fourth century B.C.<sup>47</sup> On 7.21c, the elaborate central bead ornament consists of a filigree flower on a granulated background. The swivel joint from bead to ring is covered by coiled wires.



7.20a–e



### 7.22 Ring

Mid-6th century B.C., silver-gilt, length of bezel:  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (1.6 cm). Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Fried Gift, 1995 (1995.40)

LITERATURE: Elizabeth J. Milleker in "Recent Acquisitions," 1995, p. 11, ill.

This silver-gilt cartouche ring is an example of the same type as 7.3, from Vulci. In this case, the cartouche depicts

three subjects in intaglio disposed vertically: a recumbent chimaera facing right, a siren facing right, and a flying scarab beetle. The subjects clearly show the influence of Phoenician, Greek, and Egyptian motifs.<sup>48</sup>



7.21a, b, c



7.23a, b



7.24

### 7.23a, b Two single *a baule* earrings

6th century B.C., A: 95.15.138:  $\frac{9}{16} \times \frac{1}{2} \times \frac{5}{8}$  in. (1.4 x 1.3 x 1.6 cm);  
B: 95.15.141:  $\frac{5}{8} \times \frac{3}{4} \times \frac{11}{16}$  in. (1.5 x 2 x 1.7 cm); Purchase by  
subscription, 1895

The beautifully preserved *a baule* earring at right (7.23b) has a checkerboard design of alternating plain and granulated beads. It is named because it vaguely resembles a valise (*baule* in Italian) and is an Etruscan invention that began in the seventh century B.C. but was especially popular in the sixth. Each spherical bead is in a square compartment made of serpentine wire set on end to produce a lace-like tracery on the sides. The top of the earring has a granulated finial flanked by concave hemispheres, each with a single grain at center. The closed end is decorated with delicate filigree palmettes and point granulation.<sup>49</sup>

The earlobe cover at the top of the delicate earring at left (7.23a) is decorated with a volute of twisted wire punctuated by point granulation. Below, the curved body has a single large flower formed with twisted wire and hollow beads topped with gold grains. The sides are framed with flattened spiral wires.

### 7.24 Pair of *a baule* earrings

6th century B.C., height:  $1\frac{3}{8}$  in. (3.4 cm), width:  $1\frac{5}{16}$  in. (2.4 cm). Rogers Fund, 1959 (59.11.21, .22)

LITERATURE: Oliver, "Jewelry," 1966, p. 280, fig. 22

The pair of earrings shown here represents the Etruscan *a baule* type (see also 7.23 and 7.25). There are scores of variations on the type, but most employ all three gold-working techniques: filigree, granulation, and some repoussé elements, often of tiny lions, rabbits, or human heads. This pair, which is slightly compressed, has a symmetrical palmette embellished with single gold grains at the top, which is flanked by repoussé crouching rabbits. Below is a design of circular floral devices composed of coiled wire.

### 7.25 Single *a baule* earring

6th century B.C., gold and enamel, diameter:  $1\frac{3}{16}$  in. (2 cm). Purchase, Jacob Bleibtreau Foundation Inc. Gift, 1994 (1994.374)

LITERATURE: Elizabeth J. Milleker in "Recent Acquisitions," 1995, p. 11, ill.

This Etruscan *a baule* earring has two repoussé human heads wearing disk earrings inlaid with blue enamel that flank a central finial (a floral stalk?). Below is a frieze of ten enameled tongues that alternate dark and light blue. The major area has a large rosette with central filigree star-like flower, two foil sheets for petals, and large hollow spheres on single wires for stamens. On the back panel is a flat symmetrical flower composed of beaded wires with point granulation.

Enamel is rare in Etruscan jewelry. This single earring includes the same basic elements as a very close parallel in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore,<sup>50</sup> but there, the two female heads wear tiny crowns and flank a bull's head. Enamel enlivens the crowns and the tongue frieze below the three heads. A pair of enameled *a baule* earrings was excavated at Palestrina (ancient Praeneste).<sup>51</sup> There is a series of gold figural plaques with detailed enamel decoration.<sup>52</sup> Those items, and perhaps our earring too, are likely the products of a Caeretan workshop.<sup>53</sup>



7.25 front



7.25 back





7.26

### 7.26 Pair of disk earrings

Late 6th century B.C., 13.225.30a: length:  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (1.6 cm), diameter:  $1\frac{1}{16}$  in. (4.3 cm); 13.225.30b: length:  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (1.3 cm), diameter:  $1\frac{1}{16}$  in. (4.3 cm). Rogers Fund, 1913 (13.225.30a, b)

LITERATURE: Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 474, no. 347, ill. p. 297

These exquisite disk earrings are a smaller version of the pair from Vulci (7.2). In this case, each disk consists of a series of concentric circles crowded with tiny floral motifs made with coiled filigree. The center of each disk has a large flower composed of three ribbons of gold alternating with repoussé lion heads; each lion head is topped by a single gold grain. In addition, fine wires terminate in large gold grains. The large granulated sphere at the center is missing from one earring. A very similar earring, albeit somewhat larger and more elaborate, is in the British Museum.<sup>54</sup> Specific details such as the treatment of the central flower with lion heads are so similar that it is tempting to assign these three objects to the same workshop.<sup>55</sup>

### 7.27a, b, c Three pairs of earrings *a grappolo*

Said to be from Capena, ca. 350 B.C., heights: A: 18.103.1:  $2\frac{1}{8}$  in. (5.4 cm), 18.103.2: 2 in. (5.1 cm); B: 18.103.3:  $1\frac{1}{16}$  in. (4 cm), 18.103.4:  $1\frac{5}{8}$  in. (4.1 cm). Funds from various donors, 1918. C: 95.15.152, .153: diameter:  $1\frac{3}{16}$  in. (3 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1895

LITERATURE: 18.103.1, .2: Richter, "Etruscan Earrings," 1918, ill.; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 54, fig. 172; Richardson, *Etruscans*, 1964, p. 152, pl. XL, c. 18.103.3, .4: Richter, "Etruscan Earrings," 1918

This type of earring is called *a grappolo* (in Italian, like a grape-cluster) because its general shape resembles a bunch of grapes. It is an Etruscan invention that appeared in the fifth century B.C. but continued to be popular well into the fourth. The three pairs are almost identical except for size. They rely on repoussé with minimal use of granulation, here reserved only for triangular clusters of large grains attached to the seven spheres that decorate the lower half of each earring.<sup>56</sup>

### 7.28 Pendant earring

Late 4th century B.C., height:  $4\frac{1}{16}$  in. (10.3 cm), width:  $1\frac{5}{16}$  in. (3.3 cm). Rogers Fund, 1917 (17.230.134)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 54, fig. 173; Coarelli, *Jewellery*, 1988, p. 151, ill. no. 53

This large earring is one of the most complex known designs of repoussé, filigree, and both authentic and imitation granulation. It consists of a tubular clasp that ends in an animal head, all invisible behind a large leaf-like ear cover tipped by a small winged female bust flanked by flowers and repeated on the base. Most of the cover's surface is decorated with stamped imitation granulation, which are grains produced in repoussé.



7.27a, b, c



7.28

Several wire volutes at the base of the ear cover hold various pendants: a large hollow female head at the center from which hang three amphora-shaped beads and a larger bulla-like pendant. The female wears long wire “earrings” decorated with authentic granulation; these terminate with small stones, perhaps rock crystal. Two other earrings of this type flank the female head. The type is most famously represented by the splendid pair of earrings from Todi, now in the Villa Giulia, Rome.<sup>57</sup>

### 7.29 Pair of tubular (*a tubo*) earrings

5th–4th century B.C., diameter: 1½ in. (3.8 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1895 (95.15.182, .183)

LITERATURE: Oliver, “Jewelry,” 1966, p. 281, fig. 25

The exterior surfaces of the earrings are decorated in floral repoussé patterns that include palmettes and acanthus leaves bordered by wave patterns. The background is delicately stippled to imitate fine granulation.<sup>58</sup>

### 7.30a, b Two pairs of tubular earrings

4th–3rd century B.C., diameters: A: 95.15.172, .173: ½ in. (1.3 cm); B: 95.15.178, .179: 1¾ in. (4.4 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1895

These hollow tubular earrings show a minimal use of filigree to decorate the flaring knobs. The two pairs are identical except in size. The larger pair (7.30b), which is shown here, has a very close parallel in a pair of earrings excavated in tomb 64/10 at the Badia Necropolis, Volterra.<sup>59</sup> From associated finds, this tomb can be dated to about 320–300 B.C.



7.29



7.30b



### 7.31 Earring with filigree

5th–4th century B.C., diameter: 1¾ in. (3 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1895 (95.15.190)

Single beads of granulation enclosed by gold S-shaped coiled wires ornament this tubular earring.

### 7.32 Pair of tubular earrings with pendants

4th–3rd century B.C., heights: 95.15.180: 2½ in. (6.4 cm), 95.15.181: 2⅝ in. (6.7 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1895

LITERATURE: 95.15.180, .181: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 54, fig. 171

These earrings have the standard tubular element, this time covered with an elaborate floral ornament in repoussé against a stippled background. There are also pendant rings that enclose tiny bulla-like vases that may well have been intended to carry perfume.<sup>60</sup> This is the finest pair of Etruscan gold earrings with pendant rings in the Museum’s collection.

### 7.33 Pair of earrings with pendants

4th–3rd century B.C., (some modern wire additions on 20.233?), height: 1⅞ in. (2.9 cm). Rogers Fund, 1920 (20.232, .233)

This pair of earrings includes a pendant vase and ring.



7.32



7.33



7.34



7.35a, b



7.36

### 7.34 Pair of tubular earrings with beads

4th–3rd century B.C. (with some modern repairs), diameter:  $1\frac{7}{8}$  in. (4.8 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1895 (95.15.188, .189)  
Floral patterns decorate the tubular elements with pendant beads attached.<sup>61</sup>

### 7.35a, b Two pairs of boat-shaped earrings

4th–3rd century B.C., A: 95.15.155, .156:  $\frac{9}{16} \times \frac{3}{4} \times \frac{1}{8}$  in. (1.4 x 1.9 x 0.3 cm); B: 95.15.160, .161:  $1 \times \frac{3}{8} \times \frac{9}{16}$  in. (2.5 x 1 x 1.4 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1895

The upper pair (7.35b) is decorated with filigree and point granulation.<sup>62</sup> The lower pair (7.35a) has lion-head terminals in repoussé. These are unusual because normally, only one terminal is decorated with a lion head.

### 7.36 Pair of earrings

3rd–2nd century B.C., gold with garnet cabochons, 95.15.201:  $\frac{9}{16} \times \frac{7}{16} \times 1\frac{1}{16}$  in. (1.4 x 1.1 x 4.3 cm); 95.15.202:  $\frac{9}{16} \times \frac{7}{16} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$  in. (1.4 x 1.1 x 3.9 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1895

These earrings consist of an upper starburst disk covered in granulation and set with a polished and uncut garnet. Below, another larger garnet cabochon is contained within gold collars decorated elaborately with filigree and granulation. In addition, two chains of small hooks are suspended from the starburst disk.

This type of earring shows the increased interest in gems during the late Etruscan period. A related earring, depicted in painted terracotta, appears in the ear of Seianti Hanunia, on her well-preserved sarcophagus in the British Museum, dated between about 250 and 150 B.C.<sup>63</sup>

### 7.37 Pair of earrings

Ca. 200–100 B.C., gold and amber, height:  $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (2.2 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1895 (95.15.216, .217)  
Carefully modeled amber beads depict the heads of two African youths. The amber is enclosed in a gold casing composed of granulated hair and filigree conical hats.<sup>64</sup>



7.37



7.38a



7.39

## GOLD AND SILVER ETRUSCAN FIBULAE

Note: The Museum's Proto-Etruscan, Etruscan, and Italic fibulae in bronze are discussed in Chapter III.

### 7.38a, b Two serpentine-type fibulae

A: 95.15.198: with granulated animals, from Roselle, ca. 630 B.C., gold, length: 3½ in. (8.9 cm). B: 95.15.238: 7th century B.C., gold, length: 3¾ in. (8.8 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1895

LITERATURE: 95.15.198: Karo, "Leoreficerie di Vetulonia," 1899–1901, p. 245, pl. V, 2; Curtis, "Ancient Granulated Jewelry," 1917, pp. 84–85, pl. 18, 1–3; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 9, figs. 27, 29; Hackens, *Classical Jewelry*, 1976, p. 31, 4b; Mauro Cristofani in Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, 1983, p. 282, no. 107, ill. p. 142; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 469, no. 314, ill. p. 273

Seen here is serpentine fibula 7.38a with the coiled bow distinctive of the type (see also Chapter III). It is a spectacular example of Etruscan granulation employed on a type of fibula associated with Vetulonia.<sup>65</sup> Note the absence of a spring coil at the base of the bow. The wide clasp accommodates a procession of winged animals and birds rendered in silhouette granulation. Four stylized quadrupeds appear on the front side of the clasp, and three more attenuated quadrupeds are seen on the back, which also has a single line of granulation forming a zigzag on the clasp's upturned short

edge. There are smaller animals and an elongated human figure rendered in granulation on the arcs, spheres, and cylinders that form the bow. These silhouetted figures are simply "curved masses of granulation" with little to suggest specific forms.<sup>66</sup> This fibula is from Roselle (Rusellae), an important Etruscan center within the orbit of Vetulonia.<sup>67</sup>

Also in the Museum's collection is another seventh-century Etruscan gold serpentine fibula (7.38b, not shown here) that is an undecorated example of the serpentine type represented in the collection by the one illustrated here. A close parallel in silver comes from the Circolo degli Avori at Marsiliana d'Albegna, an Etruscan site near Florence.<sup>68</sup>



### 7.39 Fibula with filigree

7th century B.C., silver, height: 2 in. (5.1 cm), length: 5¾ in. (13.7 cm). Rogers Fund, 1916 (16.174.44)

This exquisite silver fibula is a triumph of Etruscan filigree decoration. The spine of the hollow silver bow is enlivened with a rectangular panel of serpentine wires framed by beaded wires. The tapering ends of the bow are wrapped by fine wires to create surfaces of great beauty and elegance. By contrast, the clasp is undecorated.<sup>69</sup>



7.40a

### 7.40a, b Sanguisuga-type fibulae

A: 31.11.1: with granulated meanders, mid-7th century B.C., gold, length: 2¼ in. (5.7 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1931; B: 95.15.244, .245, 8th–7th century B.C., silver, length of each, 1⅞ in. (3.6 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1895

LITERATURE: 31.11.1: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 9, fig. 28; Oliver, “Jewelry,” 1966, p. 280, fig. 21; Higgins, *Jewellery*, 1980, p. 146, pl. 38 B; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 469, no. 315, ill. p. 273

Sanguisuga (“leech”) fibulae, probably the most common type of fibula in the late Villanovan and Etruscan periods, have arched bows with closed undersides (see also Chapter III). They were used almost exclusively by females from the end of the ninth century B.C. In the piece shown here (7.40a), the standard shape of sanguisuga fibula<sup>70</sup> has been enhanced by covering almost every available surface with granulated embellishments. Complex meanders, formed throughout by double rows of grains, cover the catch plate and continue onto the bow, where they alternate with double rows of zig-zags. A number of excavated tomb groups from Vetulonia suggest that this type of elaborately granulated fibula was a specialty of workshops there.<sup>71</sup>

The Museum’s collection includes a pair of silver sanguisuga fibulae (7.40b). Both pieces are heavily corroded and have broken pins. The fused remains of filigree ornament appear at the upper spine of each arc and near the point of attachment to the pin and clasp.



### 7.41 Sanguisuga fibula

6th–5th century B.C., gold, length: 1¼ in. (3.2 cm) Rogers Fund, 1920 (20.238)

This charming tiny gold sanguisuga fibula was perhaps made for a child. It is decorated with minute floral designs on the arc and clasp. The clasp is framed by a fine beaded wire.<sup>72</sup>

### 7.42 Fibula with recumbent lion

6th–5th century B.C., gold, length: 1⅞ in. (3.6 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1895 (95.15.240)

A large repoussé lion ornaments the top of this fibula. The body is carefully modeled to indicate ribs and mane. The coil of the fibula’s spring doubles as the tail.<sup>73</sup>

## AMBER

Carved amber was one of the most prized articles of the Etruscans. From very early times, they had established trade contacts that supplied them with Baltic amber. Almost all ancient Mediterranean amber originally came from Baltic sources and moved along various river routes (such as the Vistula and Elbe, the Oder and Spree) south to the Adriatic’s northernmost coast. Sicilian amber, generally an inferior variety, apparently was not exploited until much later. Relatively little is known about what the Etruscans thought of this hard, translucent, typically orange or yellowish substance. But possible ideas can be extrapolated from Greek and Latin writers such as Aristotle, Diodorus Siculus, Tacitus, and Pliny the Elder.<sup>74</sup> It is known that many Etruscan tombs have contained quantities of carved amber beads, often strung into necklaces, and other jewelry elements including carved chunks of amber that might be used as pendants or form the arcs of fibulae.

There were numerous myths about the origin of amber, but as early as the fourth century B.C., Aristotle demonstrated an accurate understanding of the substance; it is fossilized resin from pine trees.<sup>75</sup> Pliny the Elder told that, by his time in the first century A.D., amber was a luxury commodity. He classified only myrrhine (probably a type of feldspar) and rock crystal as more precious and stated that a carved amber “human figurine, however small, is more expensive than a number of human beings [slaves, that is], alive and in good health.”<sup>76</sup> Certainly, large chunks of good amber always must have been rare, and relatively large pieces of carved amber like the Museum’s so-called Morgan Amber (7.48) would have been highly prized in Etruscan times. But the relative frequency of small amber articles from earlier times suggest that the commodity was not as expensive for the



7.42 two views



7.43b



7.44

Etruscans and other early Italic peoples as it eventually became for the Romans.

It is quite possible that the Etruscans, like the Romans, valued amber for its supposed medicinal and apotropaic qualities. From very early times, people must have noticed that when rubbed amber attracts light objects like feathers. Of course, this is due to static electricity. (The Greek word for amber is *electron* from which all our words having to do with electricity derive.) This property must have seemed magical to many early people, and it is easy to see how amber might have become a valuable talisman. Pliny suggested that amber amulets could protect children and, when worn about the neck by adults, could alleviate fever and various diseases.<sup>77</sup> Powdered amber could be mixed with honey, rose oil, or wine, and drunk to calm throat and stomach ailments, poor eyesight, and earaches. Although it lacks specific detail, the provocative statement of Diodorus Siculus<sup>78</sup> that amber “is commonly used in connection with the mourning attending the death of the young” may help explain the widespread appearance of amber articles, especially pendants, in funerary contexts.

The different surface appearances of the ambers in the Museum’s collection are a result of their original burial conditions. If amber is in a relatively moist environment, it will retain its translucency. If it is in a dry environment, it will become opaque, cracked, and friable. Of course, there are also many shades of amber, depending on its specific composition. Most Baltic amber is the familiar orange color, but amber from Northern Germany is yellow. Combining different shades of amber on a single piece of jewelry took time and skill. Some fibulae discovered at Verucchio have more than 300 separately cut pieces and combine amber of

different hues with bone, ivory, and bronze elements. The technique has been analyzed and reconstructed by modern Italian archaeologists (see 7.45).<sup>79</sup>

It is often difficult to distinguish between Italic and Etruscan, and the distinctions made here are meant only as suggestions. The Museum’s collection is very large and diverse, comprising more than 700 pieces. It is hoped that they will be published definitively as an independent catalogue in the future. A representative selection is included here from the three periods of most active acquisition: the 1890s (Samuel Baxter’s Collection), the period between 1917 and 1924 (mostly J. P. Morgan’s donations), and the early 1990s.

### Fibulae (safety pins)

#### 7.43a, b Two fibulae with beads

Italic, 7th–6th century B.C., bronze with amber beads, lengths: A: 96.9.317: 2¾ in. (7 cm); B: 96.9.367: 4⅞ in. (11.1 cm). Purchase, 1896

LITERATURE: 96.9.317: Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 322–23, no. 1011, ill.; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 5, fig. 16. 96.9.367: *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, 1915, pp. 323–24, no. 1015, ill.

The bows of both fibulae are square in section and support one or three amber circular beads. On 7.43b, the example illustrated here, the beads have small circular depressions for inlays of another material, perhaps ivory or bone.

#### 7.44 Sanguisuga fibula

Etruscan, 7th–6th century B.C., gold and amber, length: 2⅞ in. (6.8 cm). Rogers Fund, 1917 (17.230.122)

The eight amber segments that form the fibula’s bow are clearly visible (see 7.45, 7.46).<sup>80</sup>

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### 7.45 Four elements from fibulae

Etruscan or Italic, 7th–6th century B.C., diameters: 96.9.503 (top):  $1\frac{3}{16}$  in. (3 cm); 96.9.489 (left): amber, bronze, bone, or ivory,  $1\frac{11}{16}$  in. (4.3 cm); 96.9.507 (bottom center):  $\frac{7}{8} \times \frac{3}{4} \times \frac{5}{16}$  in. (2.2 x 2 x 1.4 cm); 96.9.502 (bottom right):  $\frac{15}{16}$  in. (2.4 cm). Purchase, 1896

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### 7.46 Three elements from fibulae

Etruscan or Italic, 7th–6th century B.C., 96.9.492 (left): diameter:  $1\frac{9}{16}$  in. (4 cm); 96.9.493 (center): diameter:  $1\frac{15}{16}$  in. (3.3 cm); 96.9.509 (right), amber and bronze,  $\frac{9}{16} \times 1\frac{1}{8} \times 1\frac{11}{16}$  in. (1.5 x 2.8 x 4.3 cm). Purchase, 1896

The small circular or ovoid pieces of amber illustrated here (7.45 and 7.46) are pierced in order to be strung on the bows of bronze fibulae. They are from the Baxter Collection and were acquired by Samuel Baxter from Ferdinando Marsili, an Italian collector/dealer who excavated near Verucchio in the late nineteenth-century. The site, recently reinvestigated, has proven to be an excellent source of high-quality amber jewelry, especially fibulae. From the methodical examination of many examples, both fragmentary and well preserved, Italian archaeologists have shown how these pieces would have been used to create highly decorative amber fibulae.<sup>81</sup>

The circular perforations allow each amber section to fit onto the bronze bow. The central perforation on some fragments is square so that these fit onto bows with square

sections; this would also prevent rotation of the elements. In many cases, there are additional perforations, which, it is believed, might have had two functions. First, tiny wooden posts could be inserted in them to help align the various components, and second, the holes, when left unfilled, provide an attractive dimension to the transparent amber. The amber elements are graduated in size so that when strung in the proper order they create a smooth, leech-shaped bow of the type familiar from hundreds of bronzes (for example, 3.7c and 3.9b). The cutout sections on the perimeters of some pieces are for the addition of other materials: bone or ivory, or amber of a different color, or a painted or incised amber laminated with tin backing to reflect light through the amber. Parallels to many of these pieces can be found in the excavated ambers from Verucchio.<sup>82</sup>

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### 7.47a, b Two fibulae

Italic (Picene), 7th century B.C., amber and bronze, lengths:

A: 26.60.39:  $5\frac{3}{4}$  in. (14.6 cm), pin: 8 in. (20.3 cm); B: 26.60.40:  $5\frac{3}{4}$  in. (14.6 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1926

LITERATURE: 26.60.39: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 5, fig. 17; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 467, no. 309, ill. p. 269. 26.60.40: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 5, fig. 19; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 467, no. 310, ill. p. 269



7.45



7.46



7.47a

Fibulae with bronze clasps and springs supporting a large semicircular amber bow are relatively common in the early tombs of Picene women. Many, like the two discussed here, are much too large and heavy to have been worn in life. Rather, they seem to have been made expressly for burial with the deceased. The precise function of the various rectangular cuttings is not known, but in some examples, the holes are filled with a slightly different color of amber.<sup>83</sup>

The Museum's collection also includes amber from the bow of a fibula and an additional element (26.60.41a, b: 3<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. [9.8 cm]. Fletcher Fund, 1926) that is similar to 7.47a and 7.47b but with almost all the bronze elements now



7.47b

missing.<sup>84</sup> The bead itself is pierced with two horizontal perforations.

#### 7.48 Carved bow of a fibula

Etruscan, ca. 500 B.C., amber, length: 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (14 cm). Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.2067)

LITERATURE: Albizzati, "Un'ambra scolpita d'arte ionica," 1919, figs. 2, 3; Kredel, "Ein archaisches Schmuckstück," 1923–24, pl. IV; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 31, figs. 97, 98; Herbig and Simon, *Götter und Dämonen der Etrusker*, 1965, p. 15, pl. 19; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 471, no. 326, ill. pp. 284, 285; Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Guide*, 2012, p. 69, ill.

This work, known as the Morgan Amber, is the largest and most complex carved amber known from the Etruscan period. It is alleged that it was discovered at Falconara on the Adriatic coast. It continues the long Picene tradition and taste for very large fibulae such as 7.47a and 7.47b. Perforations at the base and those at either end with vestiges of iron show that the amber was originally the bow of a metal fibula no longer preserved.

The amber depicts two figures: an elegantly dressed woman and a young man, reclining on a couch as if banqueting. The woman wears a pointed hat and shoes of the kind seen on contemporary vases (for example, Pontic amphora 4.102). The folds of her drapery and the details of her face and hair are rendered with care and precision. The same is true for the young man. He is beardless but has a crown of straight hair indicated by delicate striations. From the back, one can see that he is wearing drapery around his torso, but his legs and feet are bare. The woman holds a small perfume or oil





7.48 front and back views



7.49

flask in her right hand and, with two fingers of her left hand, appears about to offer some to the youth. This gesture appears in other works of Etruscan art, for example on the lid of a terracotta sarcophagus from Monte Abatone, Cerveteri, in the Villa Giulia, Rome.<sup>85</sup>

A third figure, standing at the foot of the couch, is proportionally smaller and might represent a child. There is also a large bird (apparently a duck) behind the woman's head. The subject has no obvious meaning, and in fact, we cannot be certain if the figures represent humans or divinities. Is this genre or myth? It is tempting to see the female figure as Thesan (Eos, goddess of the dawn) with one of her human lovers, but Thesan is usually depicted with wings in Etruscan art.<sup>86</sup> Perhaps a more likely interpretation, if it is a mythical subject, was proposed by Richter in 1940, who posited Turan (Greek Aphrodite) with her lover Atunis (Greek Adonis). That subject was popular with the Etruscans, and they often depicted the goddess as older and larger than Atunis, as she appears on this amber.

## Pendants

### 7.49 Four pendants

Etruscan, mid-7th century B.C., silver or silver-gilt and amber, 1992.11.24 (top left): height: 2 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (6.0 cm), width: 2 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (6.7 cm), length:  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (1.3 cm); 1992.11.25 (bottom left): height: 2 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (6.0 cm), width: 2 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (7.3 cm), length:  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (1.6 cm); 1992.11.26 (top right): height: 6 in. (15.2 cm), width: 2 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (7.3 cm); 1992.11.27 (bottom right): height: 3 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (8.5 cm). Purchase, Renée E. and Robert A. Belfer, Patti Cadby Birch and The Joseph Rosen Foundation Inc. Gifts, and Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1992

LITERATURE: 1992.11.24, .25: Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 469, no. 313, ill. p. 272 (bottom center and right)

These four pendants, two of which are incomplete, are excellent examples of a type popular in the seventh century B.C. Each consists of a silver or silver-gilt elliptical hoop topped by a suspension tube. The base of the ring accommodates an ovoid amber bead mounted so that it can swivel. All the amber beads are incised with simple geometric motifs on their convex side; the flat sides are plain.<sup>87</sup>

### 7.50 Pendant

Etruscan, 6th–5th century B.C., 4 x 2<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub> x 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (10.1 x 6.5 x 2.9 cm).  
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan P. Rosen, 1992 (1992.267.2)

The figures of two men are preserved on this large amber fragment. One, wearing a helmet, is carrying over his shoulder the second, whose leg hangs limply. The piece depicts Ajax and Achilles, a subject familiar from numerous Greek and Etruscan vase paintings that show Ajax carrying the body of Achilles from the Trojan battleground after he was fatally wounded in his one vulnerable heel by an arrow, shot by Paris but guided by Apollo. There are small round perforations in Achilles' right arm and buttocks; a third, on his right thigh, is rectangular. The round perforations might have been used for suspension, although this would have been a large pendant. The rectangular slot might have held an element in a different material.

The best-known representations of the subject in Greek vase painting are on the handles of the François Vase, a black-figure calyx krater of about 570 B.C.<sup>88</sup> An excellent depiction of the subject appears on an Italic carnelian ring stone in the Museum's collection (7.84). Despite its small scale, the gem cutter has included the arrow piercing Achilles' heel.<sup>89</sup>



7.50

### 7.51 Pendant

Etruscan, 5th century B.C., height: 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (6.4 cm). Rogers Fund, 1917 (17.230.52)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 32, figs. 104, 105; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 473, no. 340, ill. p. 295

This finely carved amber depicts a standing woman carrying a nude child whose head is now missing. The woman wears a diadem or crown with pointed leaf-like elements, and her hair is indicated by delicately indicated striations.



She is dressed in a long garment that leaves her arms exposed. A similar subject is seen on an amber thought to depict Eos (Greek goddess of the dawn) and her lover Kephalos (a Greek mortal man) from tomb 60 at Tricarico (Basilicata).<sup>90</sup>

### 7.52 Pendant

Etruscan, 5th century B.C., length: 2<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (7.5 cm), height 1<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (4.8 cm). Rogers Fund, 1923 (23.160.96)

LITERATURE: Lodovico Pollak in *Oggetti d'arte antichi*, 1923, no. 232a, pl. XI (top left); Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, pp. 31–32, fig. 99; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 439, no. 187, ill. p. 163 (middle left)

This fragmentary amber shows the upper portion of a woman with long hair and short-sleeved chiton. She may be reclining or, if the amber is positioned vertically, dancing. The action is difficult to interpret. It is likely that, when complete, the piece included another figure. In fact, an early photograph, published by Pollak in 1923, shows portions of a male body to the left. This piece has both horizontal and vertical perforations.



7.52



7.53a-c

### 7.53a, b, c, d Four pendants of human heads

A: 23.160.97: Italic, 5th century B.C., height: 1 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (4.1 cm), width: 2 $\frac{15}{16}$  in. (7.5 cm). Rogers Fund, 1923; B: 24.97.115: Etruscan, 5th century B.C., height: 1 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (4.1 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1924; C: 24.97.116: Etruscan, later 5th century B.C., height: 2 $\frac{15}{16}$  in. (7.5 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1924; D: 1992.11.28: Italic, fifth-fourth century B.C., height: 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (6.3 cm), Purchase, Renée E. and Robert A. Belfer, Patti Cadby Birch and The Joseph Rosen Foundation Inc. Gifts, and Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1992

LITERATURE: 23.160.97: Lodovico Pollak in *Oggetti d'arte antichi*, 1923, no. 232b, pl. XI (bottom left); Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 32, fig. 100. 24.97.115: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 32, fig. 102. 24.97.116: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 32, fig. 101; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 439, no. 187, ill. p. 163 (top right). 1992.11.28: Carlos A. Picón in "Recent Acquisitions," 1992, p. 10, ill.; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 439, no. 187, ill. p. 163 (middle right)

A head, probably female, appears in profile on the pendant 7.53a shown at left. There are five large perforations in a roughly circular pattern. The remains of rivets indicate that originally, this piece probably was attached to a missing fragment with an additional figure. The simple human head 7.53b shown at center, perhaps meant to indicate a male, has large eyes and a conical hat. An elongated female head with soft features, wavy hair, and a diadem or headdress form the attractive pendant 7.53c, shown at right.

Another amber pendant (7.53d), far right, depicts a large female head in profile facing left. She has very large almond-shaped eyes and small lips and nose. And she wears a pointed hat with a wide band at her forehead.



7.53d

### 7.54 Pendant

Etruscan or Italic, 5th century B.C., height: 1 $\frac{15}{16}$  in. (5 cm). Purchase, Renée E. and Robert A. Belfer, Patti Cadby Birch and The Joseph Rosen Foundation Inc. Gifts, and Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1992 (1992.11.11)

LITERATURE: Beth Cohen in Buitron et al. 1992, pp. 126–27, no. 37, ill. p. 115; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 439, no. 187, ill. p. 163 (middle center)

This amber pendant depicts a siren, the mythical hybrid creature who is part bird and part human female. Sirens were first described in the *Odyssey*;<sup>91</sup> they are frequently depicted in Etruscan art, in which they are usually not part of a specific narrative but seem to function in a purely decorative capacity (for example, end clasps on necklace 7.1, silver-gilt ring 7.22, Micali Painter vases 4.107 and 4.106). On this pendant, the siren's head is shown in profile and turned back on her shoulder to look over her left wing. The pronounced almond-shaped eye is typical of this period (see 7.53d).<sup>92</sup>



7.54



7.55a



7.55b



7.55c

### 7.55a, b, c Three pendants of animals

A: 24.97.117: Etruscan, 5th century B.C., height: 1½ in. (3.8 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1924; B: 1992.11.13: Italic, 5th century B.C., height: 2½ in. (5.9 cm). Purchase, Renée E. and Robert A. Belfer, Patti Cadby Birch and The Joseph Rosen Foundation Inc. Gifts, and Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1992; C: 1992.11.16: Etruscan or Italic, 5th century B.C., height: 1½ in. (3.8 cm). Purchase, Renée E. and Robert A. Belfer, Patti Cadby Birch and The Joseph Rosen Foundation Inc. Gifts, and Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1992

LITERATURE: 24.97.117: Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 439, no. 187, ill. p. 163 (bottom left). 1992.11.13: Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 473, no. 343, ill. p. 259. 1992.11.16: Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 473, no. 341, ill. p. 295

The pendant 7.55a, shown above left, depicts a horse's head. The wear on the piece of amber 7.55b, above center, makes it difficult to determine the subject, which previously has been identified as a cowrie-shell (see 7.59). However, it is more likely to represent a hare, as some details resemble the animal's ears, eyes, and front legs. Finally, the pendant 7.55c, above right, which is pierced under the thighs, depicts a crouching boar.

### 7.56 Pendant

Etruscan, late 5th century B.C., height: 2¾ in. (5.5 cm). Purchase, Renée E. and Robert A. Belfer, Patti Cadby Birch and The Joseph Rosen Foundation Inc. Gifts, and Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1992 (1992.11.23) LITERATURE: Carlos A. Picón in "Recent Acquisitions," 1992, p. 10, ill.

This handsome pendant depicts a swimming hippocamp. These mythical creatures are depicted often in Etruscan art and seem to function as guardians or guides to the Underworld. Compare this pendant with the sea monsters on the Etruscan kantharos 6.52.

### 7.57 Pendant

Italic, 5th century B.C., height: 2¼ in. (5.2 cm). Purchase, Renée E. and Robert A. Belfer, Patti Cadby Birch and The Joseph Rosen Foundation Inc. Gifts, and Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1992 (1992.11.22)

LITERATURE: Carlos A. Picón in "Recent Acquisitions," 1992, p. 10, ill.; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 473, no. 339, ill. p. 295 This pendant most probably represents a stylized thunderbolt or, less probably, two heraldic lotus blossoms. Etruscan depictions of thunderbolts, for instance on engraved mirrors, closely resemble this one. Additionally, because the Etruscans were fascinated with thunder and thunderbolts as divine signals interpreted by augurs, these phenomena are a more plausible subject for an amber with amuletic value.



7.56



7.57



**7.58a, b Necklace with monkey pendant and separate monkey pendant**

Etruscan, 7th century B.C., A: 1992.11.50: length of necklace: 49½ in. (125.7 cm), pendant height: 1¼ in. (3.2 cm), depth: 7⁄8 in. (2.2 cm), width: ¾ in. (1.0 cm). Purchase, Renée E. and Robert A. Belfer, Patti Cadby Birch and The Joseph Rosen Foundation Inc. Gifts, and Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1992. B: 1995.84: height: 1 in. (2.5 cm). Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Haber, 1995

LITERATURE: 1992.11.50: Carlos A. Picón in "Recent Acquisitions," 1992, p. 10, ill.; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 467, no. 313, ill. p. 272 (top). 1995.84: Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 467, no. 313, ill. p. 272 (bottom left)

The necklace was reconstructed using ancient beads that might not have formed a single necklace nor have been strung in this order. The isolated monkey pendant shown below (7.58b) once might have been part of a necklace or worn as a pendant (note the small perforation in his head).

Compare the necklace with the Museum's Rhodian aryballos illustrated below.<sup>93</sup> Examples are found at several Etruscan sites along the west coast of Italy from Vetulonia to Satricum. The monkey on the necklace sits on an L-shaped support with a close parallel from Palestrina.<sup>94</sup> The crouching monkey is a popular motif derived from Egypt. It might have reached Etruria via imported East Greek pottery. It is unclear why this subject was so popular. The monkey has been considered an interesting exotic animal, and it has also been believed that it might have amuletic potency, which is strengthened because many crouching monkeys are amber pendants.<sup>95</sup>



7.58b



Aryballos (perfume vase) in the form of a monkey, Greek, Archaic, Rhodian, 1st quarter of the 6th century B.C. Terracotta, height: 3¼ in. (9.3 cm). Purchase, Sandra Brue Gift, 1992 (1992.11.2)

Opposite: 7.58a



7.59

**7.59 Group of cowrie-shaped beads**

Etruscan, 6th–5th century B.C., height: 1¼ to 2¾ in. (1.8 cm to 5.5 cm). Purchase, Renée E. and Robert A. Belfer, Patti Cadby Birch and The Joseph Rosen Foundation Inc. Gifts, and Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1992 (1992.11.42.a–q)

Shown here are seven of a group of seventeen tear-shaped amber beads that resemble simplified cowrie shells. They vary considerably in color and size. Each has one flat side and is scored with a groove that runs the entire length; the other side of each is slightly convex. They are perforated at the pointed end, indicating that they probably were meant to be strung into a necklace.<sup>96</sup>

**7.60 Group of fourteen quails**

Etruscan, 5th century B.C., height: ¾ in. (1.9 cm), length: 1½ in. (2.4 cm). Purchase, Renée E. and Robert A. Belfer, Patti Cadby Birch and The Joseph Rosen Foundation Inc. Gifts, and Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1992 (1992.11.29.a–n)

LITERATURE: Carlos A. Picón in "Recent Acquisitions," 1992, p. 10, ill. (five examples shown)

Each quail is carefully rendered in the round and sits on a perforated rectangular base, suggesting that these pieces originally were strung to form a necklace.



7.60

### 7.61 Group of bulla-shaped pendants

Etruscan, 6th century B.C., necklace: 11 x  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (27.9 x 0.9 cm). Purchase, Renée E. and Robert A. Belfer, Patti Cadby Birch and The Joseph Rosen Foundation Inc. Gifts, and Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1992 (1992.11.57)

The illustration shows a modern reconstruction that includes twenty of a group of twenty-nine bulla-shaped amber pendants. Similar pendants on various necklaces have been noted and are relatively common in the tombs of Central and Southern Italy.<sup>97</sup>

### 7.62 Series of twenty-five squares

Etruscan, 6th–5th century B.C.(?), height (average):  $\frac{13}{16}$  in. (2 cm), length (average):  $1\frac{1}{16}$  in. (2.7 cm). Purchase, Renée E. and Robert A. Belfer, Patti Cadby Birch and The Joseph Rosen Foundation Inc. Gifts, and Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1992 (1992.11.48)

The squares are of different sizes but once might have decorated a gold pectoral, or perhaps, they were inlays for a wooden box or piece of furniture. It is also possible that they represent unfinished elements that were to be cut into fibula segments.<sup>98</sup>

The following are additional representative ambers in the Museum's collection. All are considered Etruscan, Etrusco-Campanian, or Italic. All are Purchase, Renée E. and Robert A. Belfer, Patti Cadby Birch and The Joseph Rosen Foundation Inc. Gifts, and Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1992:

7.63 1992.11.14a: Etruscan, Vetulonia, 8th–7th century B.C., height: 1 in. (2.5 cm). Female head with bird headdress

7.64 1992.11.14b: Etruscan, Vetulonia, 8th–7th century B.C., height: 1 in. (2.5 cm). Male head

7.65 1992.11.51: Etruscan, primarily 7th century B.C. Reconstructed necklace of amber beads

7.66 1992.11.52: Etruscan, primarily 7th century B.C., height:  $7\frac{1}{16}$  in. (18 cm). Reconstructed necklace of amber beads

7.67 1992.11.54: Italic or Etruscan, 7th–5th century B.C. Reconstructed necklace of amber pendants and beads

7.68 1992.11.55: Italic, 7th–6th century B.C., 21 x  $1\frac{1}{8}$  in. (53.3 x 2.8 cm), central pendant:  $\frac{5}{8}$  x  $\frac{5}{16}$  x  $1\frac{3}{16}$  in. (1.6 x 0.7 x 3 cm).

Reconstructed necklace of amber beads and trapezoidal pendant

7.69 1992.11.3: Etrusco-Campanian, 6th–5th century B.C., height:  $2\frac{3}{16}$  in. (5.5 cm). Panther head





7.61

- 7.70 1992.11.18, a–c: Etruscan, 6th–5th century B.C., heights:  
 1992.11.18a: 1½ in. (2.9 cm), 1992.11.18b: 1 in. (2.5 cm), 1992.11.18c:  
 1⅝ in. (2.4 cm). Three ram’s-head pendants
- 7.71 1992.11.21: Etruscan, late 6th–early 5th century B.C., height: 1¾ in.  
 (4.5 cm). Draped female (kore) in two fragments
- 7.72 1992.11.4: Etruscan, mid-5th century B.C., height: 2⅙ in. (5.3 cm).  
 Nude youth with left arm raised
- 7.73 1992.11.10: Italic or Etruscan, mid-5th century B.C., height: 1⅝ in.  
 (2.4 cm), length: 2¾ in. (7 cm). Crouching bull

- 7.74 1992.11.17: Etrusco-Campanian, 5th century B.C., length: 3⅛ in.  
 (8 cm). Crouching animal in two fragments
- 7.75 1992.11.19: Etrusco-Campanian, 5th century B.C., height: ⅞ in.  
 (2.2 cm). Head of Herakles with lion headdress
- 7.76 1992.11.20: Italic or Etruscan, 5th century or later, height: 3⅝ in.  
 (8.4 cm). Pendant with two bearded male heads
- LITERATURE: 1992.11.10: Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007,  
 p. 439, no. 187, ill. p. 163 (bottom center). 1992.11.19: Picón et al., *Art of  
 the Classical World*, 2007, p. 439, no. 187, ill. p. 163 (top center)



7.62

## ENGRAVED GEMS (Etruscan Unless Otherwise Indicated)

Carving designs into small stones is perhaps one of the earliest human activities. By the time of the Etruscans, it had reached near perfection in the hands of master gem cutters in Greece and the ancient Near East. Many of the forms that Etruscan gemstones take, especially the scarabs, are clearly influenced and inspired by long traditions of craftsmanship outside Italy. The Museum's collection of classical gems is quite extensive and among the earliest groups of objects acquired. Gisela Richter's impressive catalogue, published in 1956 and reissued in 2006, lists sixty-nine Etruscan examples. (This includes fifty-six Etruscan scarabs, nos. 161–217, and thirteen Italic-Etruscanizing ringstones, nos. 218–229.) Only about a third of this number are illustrated here. Examples such as 7.94, not recognized as Etruscan earlier, are included. The entire collection can be consulted in Gisela M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems: Greek, Etruscan, and Roman*,<sup>99</sup> and Richter's 2-volume *Engraved Gems of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans*.<sup>100</sup> Additionally, the images appear on the Museum's website, where they can be enlarged.

### Techniques and Materials

As with the techniques of gold jewelry production, we are fortunate to have assistance from the Roman world when it comes to understanding the techniques of Etruscan gem carving. The workshops of at least three gem carvers have been recovered from the ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum. Discovered in the House of Pinarius Cerialis (Pompeii III, 4, b; also called the Casa di Ifigenia) was a small strongbox of more than 107 gemstones, 28 worked and 79 either unfinished or untouched stones, as well as various tools. These and similar discoveries provide striking evidence that local artisans often had workshops in their homes, where they also displayed and sold finished products to their clients.

The earliest Etruscan gemstones from a controlled excavation are two serpentine seals from Poggio Civitate (Murlo) in Tuscany. These date from about 625 and about 600–550 B.C. and appear to have been produced in Italy, if not at the site itself since the serpentine is a local variety.<sup>101</sup> The engraved motifs of the second seal are very similar to those on cartouche rings like 7.3 and 7.22 with devices in three registers.<sup>102</sup> Such rings were traded widely and are a likely source of inspiration for the Etruscan artisan. The Poggio Civitate finds suggest an earlier dating for some types of cartouche rings than is often cited.

By about 540 B.C., Etruscan gem production was well underway. The subjects and styles of these early gems were

strongly influenced by Ionian and Cypriot traditions, and in fact might have been produced by immigrant artists from those areas. The scarab, a type of gemstone developed in Egypt, was imitated by Greek and Phoenician gem workers, who then probably brought the motif to Italy, where it became especially popular in the fifth century B.C. The carving of the scarab beetle itself is usually more anatomically accurate and elaborate in the hands of Etruscan artisans than it is of Greek or Phoenician makers. By about 430 B.C. and for the next hundred years, the Etruscans produced their most distinctive scarab type, the *a globolo* or globular style scarab (for example, 7.89, 7.91, 7.92, 7.96a, and 7.111b), an Etruscan invention. These were produced in great quantities, especially in the fifty years from about 325 to 275 B.C. Thus, what might well have been inspired by foreign artisans soon developed a local flavor and independence. It is estimated that about seventy-five percent of the extant pre-Roman engraved gems are Etruscan *a globolo* scarabs. Richter included many examples in her handbook of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman gems, regarding them as specimens of “abstract” art, stating: “Since this [*a globolo*] style may be of interest to some artists of today working in ‘abstract’ art, I have assembled here a group of such representations.”<sup>103</sup>

Most Etruscan gemstones were cut using a bow-drill and an abrasive powder such as sand or flint. All the Etruscan gemstones in the Museum's collection are soft stones that are relatively easy to carve. Hard stones, like emerald and sapphire, were very rarely carved until the middle of the Hellenistic period. A tougher abrasive like emery (aluminum oxide, readily available from the Greek island of Naxos) was needed for those harder stones. An idea of the drills used can be gained by examining ancient depictions of gem cutters or carpenters at work. For example, a gem cutter works with a bow-drill on an Etruscan carnelian scarab from Cortona in the British Museum.<sup>104</sup> From the Roman period, there is a fresco depicting Daedalus delivering Pasiphae's wooden cow at the House of the Vettii, Pompeii. On the floor near Daedalus' assistant's feet is a bow-drill.<sup>105</sup> Elements of the technical process are also revealed by studying unfinished gems (for example, 7.109). Diamond powders were mentioned in Roman times,<sup>106</sup> and it is now certain that diamond-tipped drills were used as early as the Hellenistic period.<sup>107</sup>

A wide variety of precious and semiprecious stones was used throughout antiquity. We have valuable ancient accounts of these materials by Theophrastus in his *De lapidibus* and by Pliny the Elder. We also know from their citations the names and some of the ideas of several other ancient writers who treated this subject but whose works are now lost.

The most popular stone used for Etruscan scarabs is carnelian, a type of quartz. Unlike Greek varieties of this stone that range in color from a dark red to orange, the Etruscan variety is consistently red, which might indicate a single and likely indigenous source. In Roman times, most carnelian was imported from India. Another popular stone is the banded agate (*akhates*). Although this material has been used for cameos later, it does not seem that the Etruscans developed cameo carving. Banded agate, along with other stones, was often imitated in glass paste, as is seen on the necklace from Vulci (7.1). Sard (*sardius, sarda*), a dark brown or yellowish brown stone that resembles carnelian, is one of the favored materials of Etruscan gem cutters. Rock crystal (*crytallum*) is another quartz frequently used for gems and jewelry (see 7.2). Garnet, a transparent stone that comes in a variety of reddish colors, was highly prized and is relatively rare in Etruscan work (see 7.20e). Perhaps because garnet is often the color of wine, the stone may have been associated with Dionysos (Etruscan *Fufluns*). Other stones represented in the Museum's collection are chalcedony (*iaspis*) and banded chalcedony, other varieties of quartz, which come in a wide range of milky colors, often with darker inclusions.

### Functions

Engraved gems had three primary functions throughout the Greek, Etruscan, and Roman worlds. The first was to act as a seal to authenticate correspondence or identify ownership. In antiquity, the literacy rate was much lower than it is in many modern countries, and a seal took the place of a signature. Measures were taken to avoid duplication and fraud. For instance, we know from the ancient Greek writer Diogenes Laertius that Solon instituted a law in the sixth century B.C. forbidding gem engravers to keep copies of their seals.<sup>108</sup>

The second important function was as a talisman, apotropaic or medicinal device (like amber). Our best ancient source for those beliefs is Pliny's *Naturalis historia*, book XXXVI. For example, certain types of agate acted as cures for spider or scorpion bites. Agate also has a long history, in many cultures, of making the wearer invincible in athletic competitions or military conflict. It is also believed to lessen thirst if it is held in the mouth.<sup>109</sup> Carnelian, perhaps the most commonly used gem in Etruscan art, is not mentioned as having specific medicinal properties by Pliny. Perhaps its popularity is simply because of its beautiful color.

The third major function of gemstones was as ornament. Wealth and status could be conveyed easily by wearing elaborate jewelry. Precious stones could cost huge sums of money. We have no record of any Etruscan gem collectors, but by Roman times, collecting and often dedicating gem

collections to a temple became quite fashionable. Among the famous collectors recorded in ancient accounts are Sulla's stepson Marcus Aemilius Scaurus, Pompey the Great, and Julius Caesar.<sup>110</sup>

### Subject Matter

Many of the Museum's Etruscan gems depict mythological scenes. Several of these can be identified because they are based on familiar Greek sources. Herakles and his labors were especially popular. Complex legendary subjects like the Trojan Horse (see 7.98) are rare. Other subjects depict solitary mythical creatures like satyrs, centaurs, sphinxes, hippocamps, or griffins but are usually shown without reference to a specific narrative context. There are also some subjects that probably can be classified as genre scenes, showing everyday activity such as artisans at work. These too, however, might depict a mythical or legendary figure. For example, a man building a ship could be an ordinary craftsman or perhaps the legendary shipbuilder Argos (see 7.81). A discus thrower might be an anonymous athlete or the legendary Tydeus (see 7.102). The numerous depictions of warriors can sometimes refer to legendary heroes like Achilles or Odysseus. Without inscriptions, it is impossible to be certain. Other popular subjects include single animals—a bull, horse, dog, or bird—or animals fighting each other—a lion attacking a deer or bull or a wolf attacking a stag, for example.

Among the list of engraved gems that follows, the earliest group is the King Collection acquired in 1881 and donated by John Taylor Johnston. Additional inscribed gems in the Museum's collection are found in Chapter II (2.5 and 2.6), and three gems that are part of the Vulci tomb group are discussed in this chapter (7.4, 7.5, and 7.6). The publications cited below refer to Gisela Richter's 1956 catalogue, unless an object appears in a colorplate in the 2006 reissue. (The reissue of that book in 2006 is identical to the earlier version except for the inclusion of new colorplates for some of the objects.) Comparanda in other collections are cited by both Richter and Zazoff.<sup>111</sup> It also should be noted that most of the images in Richter's 1956 and 2006 catalogues are taken from impressions of the gems; in Zazoff's 1968 book, many are photographs of the actual gems.<sup>112</sup>

**The Following Group of Etruscan Gems are Gift of John Taylor Johnston, 1881**



7.77a

**7.77a, b Two scarabs**

A: 81.6.13: 4th century B.C., carnelian, length:  $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (2.2 cm); B: 81.6.2: early 4th century B.C.(?), carnelian, length:  $\frac{11}{16}$  in. (1.7 cm). Gift of John Taylor Johnston, 1881  
LITERATURE: 81.6.13: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 49, no. 188, pl. XXX; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 151, no. 429. 81.6.2: Richter, *Catalogue of*

*Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 48, no. 180, pl. XXX; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 201, no. 1326

As seen here, the winged female depicted on 7.77a wears a belted chiton. She flies down from the right to empty a large vessel that she holds in both hands. Related versions of this subject appear on mirrors.<sup>113</sup> On another carnelian scarab (7.77b), a large sphinx with wings unfurled crouches to the left. Her hair is done up in a chignon. Her hindquarters are raised, but her forepaws grasp a branch.



**7.78 Scarab**

Ca. 500–450 B.C., banded agate, length:  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (1.6 cm). Gift of John Taylor Johnston, 1881 (81.6.4)  
LITERATURE: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 44, no. 166, pl. XXVIII; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 173, no. 843; Ingrid Krauskopf in *LIMC*, vol. 5 (1990), “Kapaneus,” p. 958, no. 42a

This scarab shows Kapaneus struck by Zeus’s thunderbolt. It is a slightly later treatment of this subject that is also depicted on another gem in the Museum’s collection (2.5). In this piece, there is no identifying inscription, but the Greek hero Kapaneus is clearly meant. One of the commanders in the army known as the Seven Against Thebes, Kapaneus was destroyed for blasphemy by Zeus. In Sophokles’ play *Oedipus at Kolonus*, Kapaneus wants to burn down Thebes out of hostility toward the king of that city. Here, he is shown in a more upright position but having dropped his crested helmet and sword. The contorted figure is compressed into the available ovoid space, providing a sense of dramatic and sudden violence.<sup>114</sup>



7.79a

**7.79a, b, c Three scarabs**

A: 81.6.7: late 5th–early 4th century B.C., carnelian, length:  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (1.8 cm); B: 81.6.5: 5th–4th century B.C., length:  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (1 cm); C: 81.6.6: 5th–4th century B.C., length:  $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (1.1 cm). Gift of John Taylor Johnston, 1881

LITERATURE: 81.6.7: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, pp. 46–47, no. 174, pl. XXIX; Zazoff, *Etruskische*

*Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 164, no. 667; Shirley J. Schwarz in *LIMC*, vol. 5 (1990), “Heracle,” p. 219, no. 176b

The scene on the scarab shown here depicts Herakles and the Nemean Lion. A youthful nude Herakles bends down to grasp the diminutive creature, more wolf or dog than lion. The hero’s club appears behind his right leg. This first Heraklean Labor is one of the most popular in art (see 4.112) and is the subject of at least ten other Etruscan gems in various collections.

Two additional carnelian scarabs in the Johnston gift, dated from the fifth–fourth century B.C.,<sup>115</sup> depict large bulls, one moving to the left, the other recumbent with his head turned back to look over his shoulder. Peter Zazoff considers the second an example of the *a globolo* style, but that is debatable.<sup>116</sup>



**7.80 Scarab**

5th century B.C., agate, length:  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (1.6 cm). Gift of John Taylor Johnston, 1881 (81.6.12)  
LITERATURE: Vian, “Une gigantomachie étrusque,” 1949, p. 34, no. 7; Vian, *Gigantomachies*, 1951, p. 104, no. 490, pl. LVIII; Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 48, no. 178, pl. XXX; Zazoff,

*Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 155, no. 513; Del Chiaro, “Etruscan Gigantomachy,” 1970, pp. 350–51, fig. 9

A winged Athena (Etruscan Menrva) wears a chiton and crested helmet; she carries a large round shield on her right arm. On the ground before her right foot is a coiled snake. The goddess brandishes the amputated limb of a giant in her left hand. This gruesome subject derives from the Greek Gigantomachy legends in which the various divinities defeat the giants. It is most famously depicted in the sculpted frieze

on the Hellenistic Altar of Zeus at Pergamon, now in the Pergamonmuseum, Berlin. These stories were also well known to the Etruscans and appear on numerous vases, mirrors, and architectural sculptures.

Richter sees the subject as Menrva brandishing a giant's leg on this gem, but Del Chiaro calls it an arm, and it is true that most Etruscan depictions show the goddess either about to tear off the giant's arm or using his own already amputated arm as a weapon against him. The subject is more complete and legible on a gem in Paris.<sup>117</sup> On that gem, we can see that an arm is indicated because the giant's hand is attached. A specific name is given to this unfortunate giant on an engraved mirror in Perugia.<sup>118</sup> There, he is called Akrathe, a word that the Etruscans perhaps derived from the Greek Akrotos, a satyr connected with Dionysos.<sup>119</sup>



### 7.81 Ring stone

3rd–2nd century B.C., 81.6.25: carnelian, length:  $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (1.4 cm). Gift of John Taylor Johnston, 1881 (81.6.25)  
LITERATURE: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 55, no. 224, pl. XXXIV; Martini, *Etruskische Ringsteinglyptik*, 1971, pp. 70, 92, 141, no. 114, pl. 22, 6

The figure on this carnelian ring stone bends slightly in a posture to hammer the small prow of a ship. Perhaps he represents a mythical builder such as Argos, who fashioned the ship on which Jason and the Argonauts (he was one of them) sailed in search of the Golden Fleece.



### 7.82 Ring stone

3rd–2nd century B.C., agate, length:  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (1.3 cm). Gift of John Taylor Johnston, 1881 (81.6.26)  
LITERATURE: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 55, no. 223, pl. XXXIV; Martini, *Etruskische Ringsteinglyptik*, 1971, pp. 48, 135, no. 39, pl. 10, 4

On this agate ring stone, a nude man who faces left sits on a one-legged stool and holds a plumb line before a sculpted herm. This is one of many gems and vase paintings that depict artisans at work.



7.83a



7.83b

### 7.83a, b Two ring stones

3rd–2nd century B.C., banded agate, length:  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (1.3 cm). A: 81.6.28; B: 81.6.29. Gift of John Taylor Johnston, 1881

LITERATURE: 81.6.28: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 55, no. 225, pl. XXXIV; Martini, *Etruskische Ringsteinglyptik*, 1971, pp. 95, 141, no. 118, pl. 23, 5. 81.6.29: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, pp. 55–56, no. 226, pl. XXXIV; Martini, *Etruskische Ringsteinglyptik*, 1971, pp. 94, 141, no. 111, pl. 22, 3

The ring stone above left (7.83a) shows a youthful nude Hermes bending to lift a smaller bearded man who emerges from the earth. Hermes wears a cloak (*chlamys*) draped over his back and a winged hat (*petasos*), and he carries the messenger's staff (*kerykeion*) in his right hand. This gem shows Hermes in his role as Psychopompos, or soul conductor, although here, he seems to be bringing a deceased person back to earth rather than, as is usual in Greek art, guiding him to the Underworld. Variations on this theme appear on several Etruscan gems.<sup>120</sup> Three Etruscan letters appear in the field, C-A above Hermes's head and D above the other figure, all written in reverse. CAD (=car), but the meaning of the letters here is unclear.

The ring stone above right (7.83b) is somewhat similar to 7.83a, but on this piece, the man is not given the attributes of Hermes. Instead, he holds a tablet and writes the oracular response of the head lying at his feet. This is one of several Etruscan works, including engraved mirrors and gems, that show the prophesying head of Orpheus (Etruscan Orphe). Even after Orpheus was decapitated, his head miraculously continued to sing and utter prophesies.<sup>121</sup> The meaning of the star and crescent moon above the head is not clear. On other works, these symbols are often associated with the Dioskouroi and Helen, all children of Leda and Zeus.

**The Following Group of Italic Ring Stones are also Part of the Johnston Gift**

LITERATURE: 81.6.21–.24, .30: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, pp. 54–56, nos. 218–20, 222, 227, pl. XXXIV



**7.84 Ring stone**

Italic, 3rd–2nd century B.C., carnelian, length: 9/16 in. (1.5 cm). Gift of John Taylor Johnston, 1881 (81.6.21)  
Ajax carries the dead Achilles, who can be identified by the fatal arrow in his right heel.



**7.85 Ring stone**

Italic, 3rd–2nd century B.C., Italic, carnelian, length: 9/16 in. (1.5 cm). Gift of John Taylor Johnston, 1881 (81.6.22)  
The wounded Spartan hero Othryades writes on a shield.



**7.86 Ring stone**

Italic, 3rd–2nd century B.C., Italic, carnelian, length: 11/16 in. (1.7 cm). Gift of John Taylor Johnston, 1881 (81.6.23)  
A warrior kneels on one knee.



**7.87 Ring stone**

Italic, 3rd–2nd century B.C., Italic, carnelian, length: 9/16 in. (1.4 cm). Gift of John Taylor Johnston, 1881 (81.6.24)  
A warrior places a garland around a column that is surmounted by a vase. The column could be a trophy or a funerary monument.



**7.88 Ring stone**

Italic, 3rd–2nd century B.C., Italic, banded agate, length: 1/2 in. (1.3 cm). Gift of John Taylor Johnston, 1881 (81.6.30)  
A warrior approaches a pillar topped by a bird. A snake coils up the pillar and a goat is at its base. Perhaps the man is consulting an oracle.

**Group of Glass Gems, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917**

Glass copies of stone seals were made in Greece from at least as early as the fifth century B.C. by producing a terracotta mold from the stone scarab or ring stone. In this way, multiple copies could be produced and, sometimes, sold as original stone gems.<sup>122</sup> Sixth century B.C. Middle Eastern examples demonstrate that the technique was probably employed there before influencing Greek artists. The colors of the glass used often imitate the colors and markings of specific types of stone. For example, brown glass resembles sard; black glass may imitate agate. On the other hand, some colors (for example, in the Museum's collection, yellow and blue glass) do not resemble any actual gem colors used by the Etruscans.<sup>123</sup>



**7.89 Scarab**

Etruscan, 4th century B.C., *a globolo* style, yellow glass, length: 9/16 in. (1.4 cm), Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.194.20)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 51, no. 207,

pl. XXXII; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 156, no. 527

A griffin leaps to the left. The wing feathers are carefully striated, but most details of the creature's body are cursory and typical of the *a globolo* style.

**7.90 Scarab**

Etruscan, 4th century B.C., blue glass, length: 7/16 in. (1.2 cm). Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.194.24)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 49, no. 183, pl. XXX; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 183, no. 1030

A warrior wearing a helmet and breastplate and carrying a shield and spear charges to the left.

**7.91 Scarab**

Etruscan, *a globolo* style, brown glass, late 4th century B.C., length: 9/16 in. (1.4 cm). Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.194.21)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 50, no. 193, pl. XXXI; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 205, no. 1424

This one portrays a crouching dog.

### 7.92 Front of a scarab

Etruscan, a *globolo* style, 3rd–2nd century B.C., black glass, length: 1 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (1.8 cm). Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.194.23)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 52, no. 210, pl. XXXII; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 183, no. 1037

Two men, apparently nude, stand facing each other. Between them is a shield shown in profile, and on the right side is a sword.

### 7.93 Ring stone

Italic, brown glass, 3rd–2nd century B.C., length: 1.6 cm. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.194.31)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, pp. 54–55, no. 221, pl. XXIV

Odysseus in the disguise of a beggar leans on his staff.

## Group of Varied Etruscan Acquisitions

### 7.94 Intaglio

From Castel Trosino, banded agate set in later Longobardic gold ring, late 5th century B.C. 1 $\frac{3}{16}$  x 1 $\frac{1}{16}$  x 1 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (2.1 x 1.7 x 2.4 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1895 (95.15.4)

LITERATURE: Paroli, “Longobardic Finds,” 2000, pp. 150–51, fig. 13.16

This early Etruscan intaglio was reused in the Middle Ages, in about 600 A.D., to produce a new signet ring. It was discovered in a Longobardic cemetery at Castel Trosino (south of Ascoli Piceno) in 1872. Other articles from that tomb suggest that it belonged to a wealthy Longobardic chieftain. Because only important officials possessed signet rings at this period, he may have held an administrative position in the Duchy of Spoleto.

The gem depicts two warriors supporting a wounded comrade. All three warriors are nude and bearded, and wear crested helmets. Their musculature is carefully rendered. The border of a round shield can be seen behind the warrior on the left. This subject and composition are familiar from other Etruscan works. Perhaps the closest parallel is an engraved mirror in the British Museum on which the warriors’ names

are inscribed as *Zimite* (Diomedes), *Utusé* (Odysseus), and *Pentasila* (Penthesilea, Queen of the Amazons).<sup>124</sup> All wear crested helmets and full armor but are in poses similar to those on the intaglio.<sup>125</sup>

### 7.95 Intaglio, banded agate set in large gold ring

3rd century B.C., length: 1 $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (3 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1895 (95.15.111)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 51, no. 201, pl. XXXI

A nude bearded satyr sits on a large stone and pets a goat standing before him. The gold ring consists of a large ovoid bezel embossed with a leafy tendril set against a stippled background to imitate granulation. The tendril frieze is framed by a dotted pattern above and a series of short vertical lines below.<sup>126</sup>



7.96a

### 7.96a, b Two scarabs

A *globolo* style, carnelian, A: 19.58: 4th or 3rd century B.C., length: 1 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (1.7 cm).

Funds from various donors, 1919;

B: 95.15.109: 4th century B.C., length:  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (1 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1895

LITERATURE: 19.58: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 52, no. 211, pl. XXXII; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 154, no. 489

A trio of horses face frontally on the relatively large gem shown here. The execution is simple and abstract, with almost no detail.

Another similarly dated carnelian *a globolo* style scarab in the Museum’s collection (7.96b)<sup>127</sup> depicts a hybrid monster composed of a human male body with legs ending in the upper bodies of dogs. It might represent a Triton or a Skylla-like sea monster, although the mythological monster Skylla is usually represented as a female. Approximately six additional Etruscan scarabs in various collections depict a similar figure.<sup>128</sup>



7.94



7.95 two views





### 7.97 Scarab

Early 4th century B.C., agate, length: ½ in. (1.3 cm). Rogers Fund, 1921 (21.88.41)

The wounded hero Achilles (Etruscan Achle) sits nude on the ground with his weight supported by his upright shield. An arrow has wounded his left heel, his only vulnerable spot. He has removed his helmet, which sits on the ground behind him, and his spear is indicated behind his right thigh. Achilles's long hair is tied up in a ponytail. His strong physique is carefully rendered. The wounded hero appears on at least five other Etruscan gems in various collections; usually, however, he kneels rather than sits on the ground.<sup>129</sup>



### 7.98 Pseudo-scarab

Populonia, ca. 500–475 B.C., carnelian, length: ⅝ in. (1.5 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1932 (32.11.7)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 31, figs. 95, 96; Richter, *Catalogue of*

*Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 43, no. 164, pl. XXVII; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 211, no. 1568; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 471, no. 327, ill. p. 286

On this impressive scarab, the artist managed to convey a monumental and complex scene on a minute scale with great drama and tension. Greek soldiers armed with round shields and spears swarm around the giant Trojan Horse. A small crescent moon sets the event at night. Although only seven soldiers are depicted, the artist crowded them into the space to create the sense of a large multitude. The opposite side of the scarab is beautifully carved to represent the head of a satyr. Perhaps because the Trojan Horse represents such a challenge, this is its only known appearance on an Etruscan gem.<sup>130</sup>



### 7.99 Scaraboid

Vetulonia, ca. 480 B.C., banded agate, length: ⅝ in. (1.6 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1935 (35.11.11)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 31, fig. 94; Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, pp. 43–44, no. 165, pl. XXVIII; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 53, no. 57, pl. 17; Picón

et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 474, no. 346, ill. p. 297

The crouching satyr holding a lyre, and especially the satyr's pose, are reminiscent of many Greek vase paintings. This prompted Gisela Richter to suggest that the gem was carved by a Greek artist working for Etruscans in Italy. It could just as easily have been made by an Etruscan artist who was inspired by scenes on imported Greek vases.

## Group of Etruscan Ring Stones and Scarabs, Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941



### 7.100 Ring stone

4th century B.C., banded agate, length: ⅞ in. (1.7 cm). Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941 (41.160.537)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 97, no. 437, pl. LIV; Martini, *Etruskische Ringsteinglyptik*, 1971, pp. 92, 141, no. 113, pl. 22, 5

A standing nude man holds the severed torso and arms of another male figure. Richter, although aware of some other Etruscan parallels, believed this gem was Roman and that it represented a sculptor holding part of an unfinished statue.<sup>131</sup> It now seems more likely that it is Etruscan and shows an especially gruesome aspect of many ancient (and some modern) societies: *maschalismos*. This is the conscious mutilation of the body of a fallen enemy to humiliate and terrify any survivors and, it was believed, to prevent vengeance from the ghost of the deceased.

The subject appears, in much the way it does on this gem but sometimes with additional body parts, on several other gems in various collections.<sup>132</sup>



### 7.101 Ring stone

3rd–2nd century B.C., carnelian, length: ⅔ in. (1.4 cm). Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941 (41.160.466)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 56, no. 229, pl. XXXIV; Martini, *Etruskische Ringsteinglyptik*, 1971, pp. 39, 135, no. 36, pl. 10, 2

A man wearing drapery around his hips and legs sits in profile on a stool. He holds a small chest in his right hand and opens it with his left. A knarled staff with curved end is in the field before him, and a short Greek inscription (*ENE III*) runs diagonally behind him.

There is an almost identical scarab in Florence.<sup>133</sup> The figures depicted on both works are sometimes identified as generic philosophers, although Richter does not attempt an identification. However, Wolfram Martini suggested that they might represent the Titan Epithemeus (Afterthought), brother of Prometheus (Forethought), opening the beautiful box given by Hermes to his wife, Pandora, which contained such horrible curses on humankind.<sup>134</sup>





### 7.102 Scarab

Ca. 460 B.C., agate, length:  $\frac{9}{16}$  in. (1.5 cm). Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941 (41.160.436)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, pp. 44–45, no. 169, pl. XXVIII; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 212, no. 1570

A nude athlete bends at the waist to pick up or perhaps throw a discus. Because there are no inscriptions, we cannot be certain that this represents a generic athlete or a legendary figure like Tydeus (Etruscan Tvte), who is sometimes shown this way on other gems where he is identified by inscription.<sup>135</sup>



7.104a



7.103a

### 7.103a, b Two scarabs

5th–4th century B.C., carnelian, length (of both):  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (.9 cm); A: 41.160.467; B: 41.160.463. Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941

LITERATURE: 41.160.467: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 48, no. 181, pl. XXX; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 166, no. 716; Shirley J. Schwarz in

*LIMC*, vol. 5 (1990), “Heracle,” p. 202, no. 33a. 41.160.463: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 50, no. 192, pl. XXXI; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 211, no. 1556

On the scarab shown here (7.103a), a nude Herakles (Etruscan Heracle), wearing the lion skin over his shoulders and brandishing his club, strides to the left. A second carnelian of the same date that is also part of the Beatty bequest (7.103b) shows a wolf or hyena attacking a stag from behind.

### 7.104a, b Two scarabs set in gold rings

A: 41.160.489: early 4th century B.C., carnelian, length:  $\frac{11}{16}$  in. (1.7 cm); B: 41.160.477: 4th century B.C., banded agate, length:  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (0.6 cm). Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941

LITERATURE: 41.160.489: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 46, no. 172, pl. XXIX; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 146, no. 337; Odette Touchefeu in *LIMC*, vol. 1 (1981), “Aias I,” p. 329, no. 113. 41.160.477: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 50, no. 197, pl. XXXI; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 206, no. 1462

Legendary Greek hero Ajax, nude except for the mantle on his back, bends over his sword planted in a mound. He holds his hands behind his back. His shield is visible below his legs. This scarab depicts the suicide of Ajax. After the death of Achilles, there was an argument over which of the Greeks should inherit his divinely crafted armor. The two major contenders were Ajax and Odysseus. Eventually, the decision

was voted on by all the Greek warriors. They chose Odysseus. This angered and depressed Ajax, who at the provocation of Athena, went mad and committed suicide by falling on his sword. An early depiction (inscribed *hahifas* = *aivas*) appears on a Greek green steatite gem dated to the seventh century B.C. in the Museum’s collection (42.II.13).<sup>136</sup>

The subject is popular in Etruscan art and appears on several vases, mirrors, gems, and small-scale bronzes. One of the most interesting is an engraved Etruscan mirror in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.<sup>137</sup> That fine mirror, which depicts a variation of the myth based on Aeschylus, was almost certainly engraved by the same artist as the Museum’s mirror 6.9.<sup>138</sup> On another Beatty gem (7.104b), mounted in a similar ring, a horse runs to the right.<sup>139</sup>



7.105a

### 7.105a, b Two scarabs

5th–4th century B.C., A: 41.160.523: agate, length:  $\frac{9}{16}$  in. (1.4 cm); B: 41.160.534: black jasper, length:  $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (1.1 cm). Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941

LITERATURE: 41.160.523: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 48, no. 182, pl. XXX; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 155, no. 502.

41.160.534: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 49, no. 185, pl. XXX; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 195, no. 1220

On the agate scarab illustrated here (7.105a), a robust nude warrior (a giant?) kneels with his shield on his right arm. On another scarab from the fifth-fourth century B.C. (7.105b), that one of black jasper, an armed nude man stands behind a large horse and holds its reins.



### 7.106 Scarab

4th century B.C., agate, length:  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (0.8 cm). Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941 (41.160.498)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 49, no. 187, pl. XXX; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 186, no. 1079

On this agate scarab, the nude figure is a bearded man. He sits on a folding stool while reading a scroll before a herm.



### 7.107 Scarab

4th century B.C., agate, length:  $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (1.1 cm). Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941 (41.160.538)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 49, no. 189, pl. XXX; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 152, no. 437

A winged female wearing a chiton

and holding a large wreath in both hands moves quickly to the left. This may represent the Greek victory figure, Nike, or the Etruscan Lasa, who often assumes the role of victory-bringer.



7.108a

### 7.108a, b Two scarabs

A: 41.160.539: 4th century B.C., chalcedony, length:  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (1.3 cm); B: 41.160.540: 4th-3rd century B.C., carnelian, length:  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (0.8 cm). Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941

LITERATURE: 41.160.539: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956,

p. 50, no. 196, pl. XXXI; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 206, no. 1464. 41.160.540: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 50, no. 199, pl. XXXI; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 202, no. 1356  
On this scarab made of chalcedony (7.108a), a type of quartz, a horse gallops to the right, while a large bird hovers above its back. It has been posited<sup>149</sup> that the popularity of animals on a *globolo* gems may indicate their use as heraldic seals by specific Etruscan individuals or clans. On another scarab in the Beatty bequest (7.108.b), this one of carnelian, a quadruped, either a large hare or a small deer, runs to the left.



7.109

### 7.109 Scarab

Ca. 450–400 B.C., agate, length:  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (1.9 cm). Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941 (41.160.550)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 47, no. 175, pl. XXIX; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 161, no. 612

A nude Herakles (Etruscan Hercle), with his club and lion's skin, stands at the left. There is a

second figure standing in profile beside him, this one unfinished. His head and neck are indicated only by six small circular depressions. The composition is similar to that of another gem that shows Herakles conversing with Hermes (Etruscan Turms).<sup>141</sup>

## Group of Etruscan a *globolo* Style Scarabs, Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941

### 7.110 Scarab

A *globolo* style, ca. 325–200 B.C., carnelian, length:  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (1.2 cm). Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941 (41.160.485)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 52, no. 214, pl. XXXIII; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 174, no. 855

This warrior is viewed from behind as he falls backward. He holds a shield(?) on his left arm and tightly grasps a bow with his right hand. His body is apparently nude, with very large bulbous shins and buttocks.

### 7.111a, b, c, d Four scarabs

A *globolo* style, carnelian, A: 41.160.504: ca. 325–200 B.C., length:  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (1.3 cm); B, C: 41.160.475, .476: both ca. 325–200 B.C., length:  $\frac{9}{16}$  in. (1.5 cm); D: 41.160.500: 3rd century B.C., length:  $\frac{9}{16}$  in. (1.4 cm).

Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941

LITERATURE: 41.160.504: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 52, no. 217, pl. XXXIII; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 162, no. 633; Shirley J. Schwarz in *LIMC*, vol. 5 (1990), "Hercle," p. 222, no. 217. 41.160.475: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 52, no. 215, pl. XXXIII; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 185, no. 1071. 41.160.476: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 52, no. 212, pl. XXXIII; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 166, no. 704. 41.160.500: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 52, no. 216, pl. XXXIII; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 153, no. 463



7.110 two views



7.111a two views

On the scarab illustrated here (7.111a), a nude man overpowers a deer by kneeling on its back. This might represent Herakles and the Hind of Keryneia, the fourth of the hero's Twelve Labors. In the story, the goddess Hera had caused Herakles to go insane and kill his wife Megara and several of their children. To purify this blood-guilt, he sought the advice of the Delphic Oracle. He was told to go to Tiryns and there to become the servant of King Eurystheus for twelve years, during which time he performed the labors for this king.

The Hind of Keryneia, despite being female, had antlers, and they were made of gold. She was sacred to the goddess Artemis and therefore could not be killed. However, she could be captured, so Herakles pursued her for a year and eventually caught her. When Artemis and her brother Apollo objected, Herakles explained his predicament. They took pity on him and allowed him to take the hind to Eurystheus.<sup>142</sup> The nude man depicted on 7.111b holds his head back and runs quickly to the right. The pose here is a late and more energetic adaptation of the standard archaic *Knielauf* position, a pinwheel like configuration that depicts all four limbs bent at ninety-degree angles. In both Greece and Etruria, the *Knielauf* position signifies the rapid movement of a running

or flying figure. On 7.111c, a nude Herakles stands with his back to the viewer. He holds a bow in his right hand and club in his left. On a fourth carnelian scarab (7.111d), an unidentified man drives a two-horse chariot.



7.112a

### 7.112a, b, c Three scarabs

A *globolo* style, 3rd century B.C., carnelian, A: 41.160.679: length:  $\frac{9}{16}$  in. (1.4 cm); B: 41.160.536: length:  $\frac{11}{16}$  in. (1.7 cm); C: 41.160.697: length:  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (0.9 cm). Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941

LITERATURE: 41.160.679: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 52, no. 213, pl. XXXIII; Zazoff,

*Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 190,

no. 1143. 41.160.536: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 51, no. 208, pl. XXXII; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 185, no. 1076. 41.160.697: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 52, no. 209, pl. XXXII; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 180, no. 980

The three *a globolo* style carnelian scarabs grouped together here all have nude male figures. On the one illustrated here (7.112a), a nude man holding a branch and bow stands before an altar, which holds two pomegranates. A portion of the bottom of the gem is missing. Offering scenes are relatively rare on Etruscan scarabs; Peter Zazoff lists eleven others in various collections.<sup>143</sup> The nude man on scarab 7.112b is squatting, and his arms and legs are extended above three bosses or balls. And on 7.112c, a nude warrior with helmet and shield runs quickly to the left. He holds a sword in his left hand.



### 7.113 Scarab

A *globolo* style, agate, late 4th century B.C., length:  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (1.3 cm). Bequest of W.

Gedney Beatty, 1941 (41.160.519)

LITERATURE: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 49, no. 186, pl. XXX; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 199, no. 1293

The nude figure on this scarab is a satyr. His tail is clearly visible, and he carries a tripod stand and cauldron to the right.



7.114a

### 7.114a, b, c, d Four scarabs

A *globolo* style, 3rd century B.C.,  
A: 41.160.546: carnelian, length:  $\frac{3}{16}$  in. (1.4 cm); B: 41.160.552: banded agate, length:  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (1 cm); C: 41.160.556: carnelian, length:  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (1.2 cm).  
D: 41.160.681: carnelian, length:  $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (1.1 cm). Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941

LITERATURE: 41.160.546: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 51, no. 206, pl. XXXII; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 167, no. 733; Boosen, *Etruskische Meeresmischwesen*, 1986, p. 139, no. 9. 41.160.552: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 51, no. 202, pl. XXXI; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 209, no. 1524. 41.160.556: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 50, no. 194, pl. XXXI; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 207, no. 1484. 41.160.681: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 50, no. 195, pl. XXXI; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 207, no. 1485

A large hippocamp swims across the scarab illustrated here. See 7.56 for an amber hippocamp. On 7.114b, a swan or another type of waterfowl unfurls its wings and moves to the left. A star-like device appears in the field below the bird's head.

Another *a globolo* style scarab also in the Beatty bequest and dated from the 3rd century B.C. (7.114c) depicts a large bull, his head facing frontally. The imagery on 7.114d appears to be a bull viewed from above, although only two legs are visible.



7.115a

### 7.115a, b, c Three scarabs

A *globolo* style, A: 41.160.682: late 4th century B.C., banded chalcedony, length:  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (0.8 cm); B: 41.160.683: 3rd century B.C., agate, length:  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (0.8 cm); C: 41.160.696: 3rd century B.C., carnelian, length:  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (0.9 cm).  
Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941

LITERATURE: 41.160.682: Richter,

*Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 50, no. 198, pl. XXXI; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 202, no. 1339. 41.160.683: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 51, no. 200, pl. XXXI; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 203, no. 1379. 41.160.696: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 51, no. 204, pl. XXXII; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 175, no. 869

The strange imagery on the scarab illustrated here (7.115a) combines a large stag moving to the left, while a fish above the stag's back swims to the right. On 7.115b, a large goat strides to the left. Above the goat is a tendril or bud. On the last scarab from the Beatty bequest that is included here (7.115c), a centaur leans back with arms outstretched to fill most of the space. A centaur, a favored subject of the Etruscans, is also the subject of the next scarab (7.116).

## Group of Additional Etruscan Scarabs



### 7.116 Scarab

Ca. 450 B.C., carnelian, length:  $1\frac{1}{16}$  in. (2.7 cm). Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1942 (42.11.27)  
LITERATURE: Richter, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 44, no. 167, pl. XXVIII (2006 ed., colorpl. 9); Zazoff, *Etruskische*

*Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 174, no. 859; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, p. 474, no. 345, ill. p. 297

A centaur struggles to extract an arrow from his abdomen with his left hand. His sword lies under his forelegs, and his large ovoid shield, still held by his right hand, forms a backdrop for the scene. The centaur's hair and musculature are skillfully rendered. Both subject and style are reminiscent of the Parthenon metopes showing battles between the Lapiths and Centaurs, although this specific pose is not represented there. The Etruscans favored this subject, and centaurs in a variety of poses appear on more than fifty scarabs.<sup>144</sup>



### 7.117 Scarab

Ca. 500–450 B.C., carnelian, length:  $1\frac{1}{16}$  in. (1.7 cm). Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1942 (42.11.28)  
LITERATURE: Richter, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 44, no. 168, pl. XXVIII (2006 ed., colorpl. 9); Zazoff, *Etruskische*

*Skarabäen*, 1968, pp. 35–36, no. 37, pl. 12; Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, 2007, pp. 471–72, no. 328, ill. p. 286

This gem depicts a variation on a subject that is frequently executed in small-scale sculpture, especially for cista handles (see 6.45). It shows a dead warrior carried from the battlefield by winged figures, perhaps Memnon carried by Eos and Thanatos. The theme also appears on Etruscan mirrors but ultimately may derive from Greek vase paintings such as the famous Euphronios Krater. Usually it is the winged Hypnos and Thanatos, the Greek personifications of Sleep and Death, that carry the dead warrior from the battlefield, but in this case, one of the winged figures clearly is female. Her most likely identification is Eos (Etruscan Thesan), the goddess of the dawn. She is a popular Etruscan divinity and is often represented with her son Memnon on Etruscan engraved mirrors.<sup>145</sup>



7.119a



7.119b



7.119c



7.118a

### 7.118a, b Two scarabs

A: 51.43.1: ca. 480–350 B.C., banded agate, length:  $\frac{9}{16}$  in. (1.4 cm). Gift of James J. Rorimer, 1951; B: 11.195.2: Civita Castellana, ca. 450–400 B.C., banded agate, length:  $\frac{11}{16}$  in. (1.7 cm). Rogers Fund, 1911

LITERATURE: 51.43.1: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 42, no. 161, pl. XXVII; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*,

1968, p. 163, no. 663; Shirley J. Schwarz in *LIMC*, vol. 5 (1990), “Hercle,” p. 229, no. 300a; Alexander Cambitoglou and Stavros A. Paspalas in *LIMC*, vol. 7 (1994), “Kyknos I,” p. 973, no. 32. 11.195.2: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, no. 173, pl. XXIX; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 164, no. 671; Shirley J. Schwarz in *LIMC*, vol. 5 (1990), “Hercle,” p. 220, no. 190

As seen here, the scarab 7.118a portrays Herakles (Etruscan Hercle) as he defeats Kyknos (Etruscan Kukne),<sup>146</sup> the son of Ares (Etruscan Laran), god of war, by forcing him to his knees. The subject appears on two scarabs with identifying inscriptions. Both figures are nude and bearded. Herakles, wearing an Attic helmet, wields his club, and Kyknos has a shield but is using a rock as a weapon. The great hero Herakles appears again on the banded agate scarab 7.118b, which depicts a scene from the myth of Herakles and the Nemean Lion.<sup>147</sup> A nude Herakles throws the lion over his left shoulder, an unusual maneuver in representations of this subject. The figures are crowded into the ovoid space with only enough room at the right for the hero’s knotted club. A different view of the same subject appears on 7.79a.

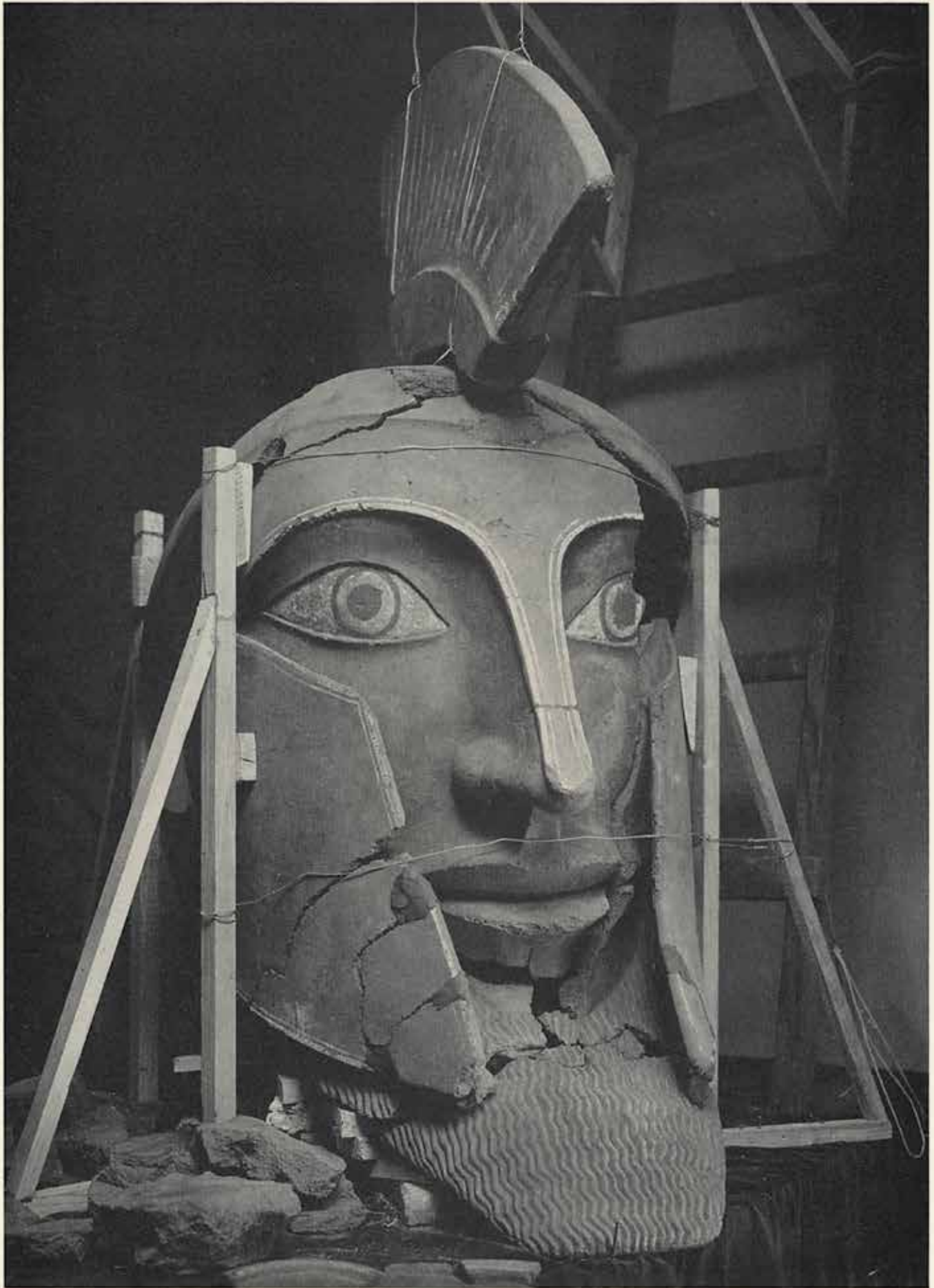
### 7.119a, b, c Three scarabs

A *globolo* style, 3rd century B.C., A: 55.128.1: sard, length:  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (1.9 cm). Gift of Rupert L. Joseph, 1955; B: 55.128.2: carnelian, length:  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (1.6 cm). Gift of Rupert L. Joseph, 1955; C: 51.43.2: banded agate, length:  $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (1.1 cm). Gift of James J. Rorimer, 1951

LITERATURE: 55.128.1: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, pp. 47–48, no. 177, pl. XXIX; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 163, no. 647; Shirley J. Schwarz in *LIMC*, vol. 5 (1990), “Hercle,” p. 237, no. 386d. 55.128.2: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 49, no. 184, pl. XXX; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 182, no. 1014. 51.43.2: Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1956, p. 51, no. 203, pl. XXXII; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, 1968, p. 175, no. 868

On the scarab shown above left (7.119a), Herakles (Etruscan Hercle) is seated nude on a rock and bends forward to lean on his club. Behind him stands a bearded figure with wings unfurled, perhaps representing Hypnos, the personification of sleep (or Thanatos, the personification of death). Gisela Richter realized that this gem was very similar to one in Parma on which the winged figure is inscribed *Tieuta* (although she misread the inscription). She also published two other gems in London and Oxford that are closely related.<sup>148</sup> Unfortunately, it is not possible to identify this winged figure more specifically. *Tieuta* might be another name for or manifestation of the Etruscan Thanatos.<sup>149</sup>

The carnelian *a globolo* style scarab from about 325–300 B.C. shown above center (7.119b) depicts a nude warrior with a round shield on his back who stoops to the left. He holds a sword in his hand, and a spear, point down, appears behind him. Another *a globolo* style scarab in the Museum’s collection from the third century B.C., shown above right (7.119c), is of banded agate with a modern gold mount. On this one, a centaur with extended arms and head turned back gallops to the right as his spindly legs strain to support his rotund body. The centaur, a mythological hybrid favored by the Etruscans, is also the subject of 7.115c and 7.116.



THE COLOSSAL HEAD BEFORE ARRIVAL IN NEW YORK

# Forgeries, Pastiches, and Objects of Uncertain Authenticity

Despite all the studies and technical tests available, forgeries will still be made. . . . The element of risk can be minimized but not eliminated. . . . In order to acquire great pieces, particularly from newly discovered and relatively unknown cultures, it is necessary to take a calculated chance. The collector who has never bought a forgery probably has never bought a great piece of art.

—Joseph Veach Noble, Emeritus Director, Museum of the City of New York<sup>1</sup>

Art forgery is at least as ancient as the Old Babylonian period, about 1800–1600 B.C. One of the oldest forgeries is a religious text that claims to come from the reign of the much earlier Akkadian King Manishtushu (ca. 2276–2261 B.C.).<sup>2</sup> The objective of that deception probably was to establish an ancient precedent for the properties and privileges of a specific temple and its priests. This example demonstrates that there can be a wide variety of reasons for the creation of a forgery. Profit is not the only one.

In this chapter, several known forgeries in the Museum's collection are examined. In addition to outright forgeries, pastiches, objects that incorporate parts of authentic artifacts to create a convincing but unrealistic new work, and objects that are entirely modern and meant to deceive are also evaluated. Finally, works that have raised questions difficult to answer definitively are considered. These objects might be ancient, but at this point, that cannot be absolutely certain.

## FORGERIES

### 8.1 Relief mirror

Silver, height: 9 in. (22.9 cm), diameter: 4 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (10.3 cm). Purchase by subscription, 1896 (96.18.12)

LITERATURE: Richter, "New Classical Study Room," 1929, p. 145; Fischer-Graf, "Der etruskische Silberreliefspiegel in Florenz," 1982, pl. 21, 3; L. Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 3, 1997, pp. 69–71, no. 25, figs. 25a–d; Carpino, *Discs of Splendor*, 2003, pp. 78–79, no. 13, pp. 81–82, pls. 113, 114

The Museum acquired this mirror in 1896 from Arthur Lincoln Frothingham, Jr. As indicated in Chapter I, Frothingham's letter that accompanied this object mentions that it resembles only one other, a silver mirror said to be from Bomarzo in the Museo Archeologico, Florence, donated in 1892 by the Viterbo dealer Bonifacio Falcioni. There are, in fact, additional examples in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens, the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de la Ville de Genève, Geneva, and the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. All are forgeries. Gisela Richter realized that the Museum's silver relief mirror is a forgery as early as 1929 and believed it was copied from the example in Florence.<sup>3</sup> But, as has been demonstrated forcefully by Ulrike Fischer-Graf, all five relief mirrors are nineteenth-century creations, inspired by an engraved Etruscan mirror formerly in the Museum für Antike Kleinkunst, Munich.<sup>4</sup>

Almost all extant Etruscan mirrors, whether engraved or unengraved, box mirrors or relief, are bronze. Extant silver mirrors can be counted on one hand. Mirrors that combine relief and engraving, as do the examples considered here (in New York, Florence, Athens, Geneva, and Cambridge) are exceedingly rare. All those relief mirrors are of nearly identical diameters, about 4 inches (10 centimeters). All three silver mirrors (in New York, Florence, and Athens) were acquired during the 1890s; the bronze (Geneva) and lead (Cambridge) examples were acquired in 1913 and 1941, respectively. This seems to indicate that the first group at least was produced from a plaster mold, probably made after about 1850 in Italy, based on the Munich mirror.<sup>5</sup>

8.6 before restoration (*Etruscan Terracotta Warriors*, pl. VIII)



8.1

## 8.2 Architectural plaques

Terracotta, height: 14 in. (35.6 cm), width: 7 in. (17.8 cm). Rogers Fund, 1914 (14.105.8a-g)

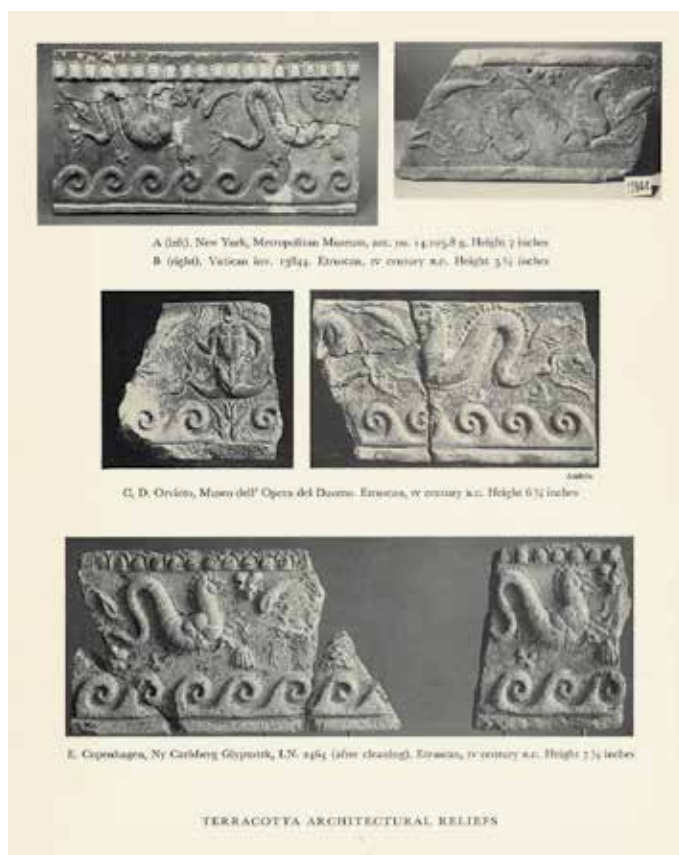
LITERATURE: Richter, "Accessions," 1915, pp. 208, 210, fig. 2; von Bothmer, "History of the Terracotta Warriors," 1961, pp. 14–15, pl. XXII, A

Architectural terracottas are tempting targets for forgers. Because they are made of clay, a material still readily available in Italy, and because even the Etruscans often used molds to make their architectural revetments and other embellishments, it is easy to duplicate their processes and styles.

John Marshall, working as the Museum's agent in Rome, acquired a group of seven architectural terracotta frieze plaques for the Museum in 1914 (14.105.8 a-g). These terracottas are poorly preserved because they were soaked apart in 1960 as part of the Museum's investigation into their authenticity.<sup>6</sup> One of them is illustrated here at the upper left (numbered A) in an early photograph that depicts it soon after the plaques were acquired. The series is similar to others already acquired at Orvieto about 1880 and now in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Orvieto, as can be seen in the second column of the same photograph (numbered C, D) as the Museum's piece.<sup>7</sup> Several closely related examples were acquired by different museums or by a private collector between 1910 and 1916. For example, four fragments of a raking sima were acquired in 1909 by the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek

in Copenhagen (see illustration here numbered E).<sup>8</sup> Other related plaques were acquired by the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Vatican City (see in illustration here numbered B); by the Villa Giulia and the Conservatori Museums and the collection of Angelo Signorelli, all in Rome, and by the Mannheim Museum. All these frieze plaques depict sea monsters, dolphins, and scallops swimming above a wave-crest border (the Vatican example has a plain border).

Pietro Stettiner, a post office official, collector, and dealer, told Marshall the seven examples he was offering the Metropolitan had come from a temple at Cerveteri, which at the time was a reasonable provenance for such a discovery. Stettiner was the same gentleman who would put Marshall in touch with the Italians who eventually sold him the famous Etruscan terracotta warriors (8.4–8.6 below); therefore, when those statues came under suspicion much later, so too did other items he had supplied. By 1960, Dietrich von Bothmer and Joseph Noble were well on the way to proving the Etruscan warriors to be forgeries. The chemical composition of the paint on two of the Museum's architectural plaques was also examined carefully.<sup>9</sup> In several respects, they had much in common with their more famous



8.2. Five architectural plaques, from von Bothmer and Noble, *Etruscan Terracotta Warriors*, 1961, pl. XXII





8.3

brethren, the large terracotta warriors. All were acquired by Marshall from Stettiner; all had been broken before firing; colors sometimes were painted over the breaks; and spectrographic analysis of the various coloring agents used on the terracottas revealed elements that are modern. Eventually, it was discovered that the plaques in New York, Rome, and Mannheim were copied from the authentic ones in Orvieto and Copenhagen. All the others are forgeries. Von Bothmer reported that in his interview with Alfredo Adolfo Fioravanti, in early February 1961 in Rome, Fioravanti provided numerous technical details about how the terracotta architectural slabs with sea monsters were produced and confessed that he had made the seven sold to the Museum as well as those that went to Copenhagen, Mannheim, and Rome.<sup>11</sup> As seen in 8.4–8.6 below, Fioravanti was also involved in the forgery of the famous Etruscan terracotta warriors.

### 8.3 Antefix (roof tile)

Terracotta, height: 16½ in. (41.9 cm), width: 14¾ in. (36.5 cm).

Samuel D. Lee Fund, 1937 (37.11.5)

LITERATURE: Richter, "Terracotta Antefix," 1937, ill.; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 22, fig. 55; Richardson, *Etruscans*, 1964, p. 100, pl. XXI

In 1937, Gisela Richter acquired another kind of architectural terracotta, an antefix in the shape of a woman's head with a scallop-shell frame, which is illustrated above. It is known now that it is a forgery, a modern imitation of an original type from Veii in the Villa Giulia, Rome, dated about 500 B.C.<sup>12</sup> Dietrich von Bothmer, in a memorandum to Director James Rorimer dated February 11, 1963, explained that the antefix had been removed from public display. According to this memorandum, there were several problems

with the antefix: it was not made from a mold, as would be expected, but modeled freehand; the strut on the back was misunderstood and appeared to be more like a handle; and the polychromy was a "non-ceramic coloring." Von Bothmer also cited a forged antefix in the Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, and it was implied that both that piece and the New York antefix might have been made by Alceo Dossena (1878–1937), an Italian sculptor known for producing a number of convincing forgeries, including the "Archaic Etruscan Diana" in the St. Louis Art Museum.<sup>13</sup>

### 8.4, 8.5, 8.6 Three warriors

Terracotta, 15.164: height: 79¾ in. (202.6 cm). Rogers Fund, 1915;

21.195: height: 96¼ in. (244.5 cm). John Stuart Kennedy Fund, 1921;

16.117: height: 55 in. (139.7 cm). Rogers Fund, 1915

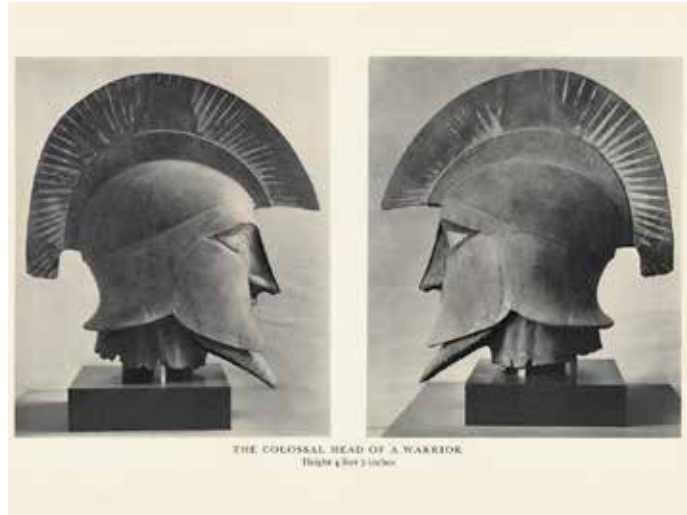
LITERATURE: Richter, *Etruscan Terracotta Warriors*, 1937; von Bothmer and Noble, *Etruscan Terracotta Warriors*, 1961; Craddock, *Copies, Fakes and Forgeries*, 2009, pp. 197–98

A brief history of the acquisition of these monumental terracotta forgeries is given in Chapter I. Apparently the forgers, all members of an extended family in Orvieto, were inspired to copy authentic objects but enlarge them to enormous size.<sup>14</sup> Thus, the so-called Old Warrior (8.4) is very close in pose and proportions to a number of small bronze warriors in various collections, and any of them are easy to see in various museums, or more likely, in illustrated books on Etruscan art.<sup>15</sup> The same is true for the so-called Striding Warrior (8.5), but it has been established that the makers specifically copied a small-scale Greek bronze from Dodona in the Antikensammlung, Berlin.<sup>16</sup> For the gigantic helmeted head (8.6), the Italian forgers probably copied one of the many small terracotta ointment vessels of this shape, which are primarily East Greek products.<sup>17</sup> The elaborate painted designs on the warrior's clothing and armor represent a more creative exercise in transferring various border motifs on the Monteleone Chariot to large-scale statues.<sup>18</sup>

Soon after the Etruscan Warriors went on public display in 1933, scholars began to question their authenticity. Massimo Pallottino was one of the first authorities to publish a stylistic critique.<sup>19</sup> But many other serious scholars believed that the statues were ancient. Without solid evidence, the arguments continued. In the late 1950s, new scientific techniques were being developed to test terracottas, and soon, Joseph Noble began his research into the question of authenticity.<sup>20</sup> He discovered that indeed these three terracotta warriors are modern forgeries, and his evidence was corroborated on January 5, 1961, when an Italian named Alfredo Adolfo Fioravanti signed a legal document claiming that he had participated in their manufacture almost fifty years earlier.<sup>21</sup>



8.4. Three views of the Old Warrior (15.164) after restoration, from von Bothmer and Noble, *Etruscan Terracotta Warriors*, 1961, pl. I



8.6. The Colossal Head of a Warrior (16.117) after restoration, from von Bothmer and Noble, *Etruscan Terracotta Warriors*, 1961, pl. VI



8.5. The Striding Warrior (21.195) before restoration and after restoration, from von Bothmer and Noble, *Etruscan Terracotta Warriors*, 1961, pls. XII and X



## PASTICHES

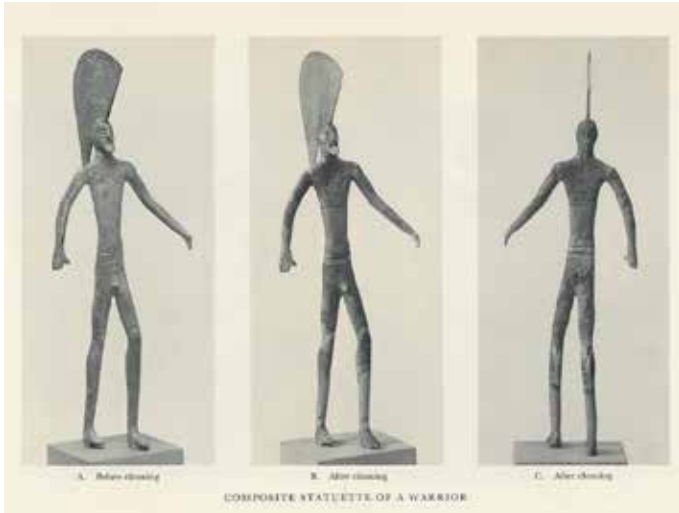
### 8.7 Statuette of a warrior

Bronze, height: 10 5/8 in. (27 cm). Rogers Fund, 1919 (19.192.2)

LITERATURE: Richter, "Classical Accessions: Bronzes," 1921, pp. 35–36; von Bothmer, "History of the Terracotta Warriors," 1961, p. 18, pls. IV, V

This statuette of a warrior was acquired by John Marshall on April 15, 1919, from Pietro Stettiner, the post office official, collector, and dealer who had told Marshall about the architectural terracottas discussed above (8.2 and 8.3), and who had put Marshall in touch with the Italians who sold him the Museum's three warriors (8.4–8.6).

A common subject is presented on an unexpectedly large scale. Various features raise questions: the warrior is bearded; his hands are open rather than pierced for the attachment of weapons or shield; and he wears a Corinthian, not an Attic, helmet and a decorated metal cuirass. These details raise concerns because they are all at variance with the vast majority of Italic or Etruscan bronze statuettes of warriors. Careful examination and cleaning revealed that the patina is really a modern concoction of paint, wax, and gesso. The statuette is a pastiche composed of the upper portion of an authentic female figurine (which explains why the hands are open, not pierced to carry weapons) and the lower parts of an authentic male. Additionally, various details of both parts have been



8.7. Bronze statuette of a warrior before and after cleaning, from von Bothmer and Noble, *Etruscan Terracotta Warriors*, 1961, pl. V

altered significantly by re-cutting, adding brass elements, and engraving. The pronounced attenuation of the figure, which makes it look like an authentic Italic statuette, was achieved by adding a bronze midsection. We do not know when this statuette was made nor by whom. However, Dietrich von Bothmer suggested that this strange invention was designed expressly for Marshall so that the oddities of the Etruscan terracotta warriors could find relevant parallels in an early “authentic” Italic or Etruscan bronze.<sup>22</sup> Thus, a modern pastiche would support the alleged authenticity of the three modern forgeries discussed above. It is unlikely that we will ever be able to substantiate von Bothmer’s suggestion, but it makes perfect sense.

### 8.8 Hut urn

Bronze, height: 11<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (29.4 cm), width: 14<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (36.2 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1938 (38.11.14)

LITERATURE: Richter, “Italic Bronze Hut Urn,” 1939, figs. 1, 2; Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 2, fig. 3; Teitz, *Etruscan Art*, 1967, p. 18, no. 1, ill. p. 107; Buranelli, “Bronze Hut Urn,” 1986, figs. 1–4, 14, 15, 17; Stone, “Bronze Hut Urn,” 1986, figs. 1, 2

This attractive bronze was acquired by Gisela Richter in 1938 and appears in her 1940 *Handbook*.<sup>23</sup> At the time, a fair number of terracotta hut urns had been excavated and published, but there were no known bronze examples. That changed in 1965, when the Villa Giulia confiscated a well-preserved bronze hut urn that had been excavated clandestinely at Vulci.<sup>24</sup> Unfortunately, the other objects found with this bronze urn were dispersed and remain unrecorded. There is one authentic terracotta hut urn encased in bronze sheets in the F.E. Collection, Geneva, and a hammered bronze hut urn in the Princeton University Art Museum.<sup>25</sup> Both these urns are unprovenanced.

As late as 1980, the Metropolitan’s hut urn was accepted by scholars as authentic, a rare survival of an even rarer type,



8.8

that is a hut urn made completely of bronze. In 1986, Francesco Buranelli and Richard Stone examined the urn. There were a number of problems. The New York urn is constructed, for the most part, of much heavier bronze than the Villa Giulia example or the sheet bronze used in the terracotta version in Geneva; an unparalleled model ship is on top of the roof; and elements that resemble pilasters with capitals flank the door. Buranelli’s methodical analysis demonstrates that all three of these features are unparalleled in extant Etruscan art of this early period. In addition, the use of rivets as well as tin and lead solder that had been covered with tinted putty was more disturbing.

Buranelli and Stone determined that the Museum’s hut urn was a modern pastiche made, in part, from ancient sheets of bronze that had come from some other object. The only completely authentic item is the bronze pin securing the door. The Villa Giulia and Princeton hut urns remain the only surviving examples made completely in bronze.

### 8.9 Villanovan cauldron

Bronze, height: 9 in. (22.8 cm), diameter: 12<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (31.2 cm). Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1954 (54.11.1)

LITERATURE: Hencken, “Horse Tripods of Etruria,” 1957, pp. 2–3, pl. 2, fig. 7; Hencken, *Earliest European Helmets*, 1971, pp. 113, 116; Rudolph and Calinescu, *Simkhovitch Collection*, 1988, pp. 122–23, no. 113, ill.

Basins decorated with abstract horsemen and birds are especially common at Vetulonia, a probable site of manufacture. This example has six legs with stylized horsemen and birds, while all others of this Vetulonian type have only three legs and a shallower basin without handles.<sup>26</sup> On all other extant examples, all three solid-cast legs are identical, but here there are differences. Three of the legs show horses with reins that connect vertically to the ground-line on which they stand. The three others depict riders with arms. Because the six legs on this example represent two distinct types



8.9

(horses with and without reins and riders with and without arms), Hugh Hencken has suggested that the object is really a pastiche composed of disparate ancient elements: two slightly different sets of solid-cast legs from about 700–650 B.C. and a handled basin from the sixth century B.C.<sup>27</sup> I agree with this assessment. A fair number of solid-cast legs have survived without their basins, simply because the thin sheet bronze of the basins is more likely to disintegrate over time.<sup>28</sup>

### 8.10 Inscribed kantharos (drinking cup with high handles)

Bucchero, height: 7¼ in. (18.4 cm). Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jan Mitchell, 1964 (64.17)

LITERATURE: Pallottino, “Iscrizione del *kantharos* di bucchero del Metropolitan Museum,” 1966, fig. 1; De Puma, “Inscribed Bucchero Kantharos in New York,” 2009, figs. 1–5

The question of the origin of this kantharos presents a different and more complex problem than any of the objects treated thus far in this chapter. Almost everything about the vase—its shape, proportions, and fabric—are perfectly authentic Etruscan bucchero, an example of Rasmussen’s Type 3e kantharos.<sup>29</sup> This shape, associated with Southern

Etruria, especially Cerveteri, is the most common type of bucchero traded throughout the Mediterranean, about 625–525 B.C. What is most unusual is that the vase is incised with elaborate decorative friezes and an inscription, plus an ornamental design on the bottom of the bowl. Massimo Pallottino examined the vase in 1964 and published the inscription.<sup>30</sup> He considered the vase entirely authentic, and several later scholars have mentioned or illustrated it as such. My conclusion, based on a careful analysis of the motifs represented and a close examination of the object under high magnification, is that the kantharos is ancient except for most of the figural designs. Those designs, I think, were added in recent times, perhaps in the late 1950s, and make the vase a kind of pastiche. The large male gorgon on Side A, for example, is almost unique in Etruscan art.<sup>31</sup> The strange minotaur-like creature on this side is also unusual. In fact, several motifs have parallels only on bucchero vases that are similarly suspect.

On the other hand, the inscription seems authentic. It reads *mini spuriaza [---]rnaσ mulvanice alśaianasi* and can be translated as “Spuriaza [---]rnas gave me to Alśaiana.” Spuriaza’s family name, ending in *rnaσ*, might be Teithurnas, which is attested in other inscriptions associated with Cerveteri. However, the ornate cartouche surrounding this inscription, and also two of the other figures shown on this side of the vase, are probably modern enhancements. Only the inscription, the circular design on the bowl’s bottom, and the grazing stag portrayed on Side B are, in my opinion, ancient incisions.

At least eleven bucchero vases are related to the Museum’s kantharos.<sup>32</sup> Three of them have been subjected to thermo luminescence testing and have proven to be ancient, but that does not mean that their incisions are ancient. Most of them came onto the Swiss antiquities market, without provenance, in the early 1960s. I have suggested that a tomb belonging to the Teithurnas family was discovered in Southern Etruria, perhaps at Cerveteri or Veii, and



8.10 two views

clandestinely excavated in the 1950s.<sup>33</sup> Several of the fine bucchero vases from that tomb, some with authentic inscriptions, were enhanced later with figural decoration to increase their appeal and market value.

## OF UNCERTAIN AUTHENTICITY

### 8.11 Pectoral

Gold, height: 13¼ in. (33.7 cm), width: 10¾ in. (27.3 cm). Fletcher Fund, 1965 (65.11.10)

LITERATURE: von Bothmer, "Etruscan Pectoral," 1966, frontispiece, figs. 1, 4–8, 10; Baines, "Gold Pectoral," 2003

This impressive object was acquired by Dietrich von Bothmer in 1965. It is composed of a single very thin sheet of gold cut into a biblike shape and then embossed numerous times with six different stamps. Four stamps depict animals—a goat, a horse, a lion, and what is perhaps a dog. A chevron stamp is used for the outside border of the pectoral, and a palmette stamp occupies registers between animal friezes.

In the first publication of this pectoral, Dietrich von Bothmer recognized its close affinity with the famous pectoral from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Vatican City.<sup>34</sup> That tomb, discovered in 1836, contained a variety of exceptional gold and amber jewelry. Both the Metropolitan's and the Vatican's pectorals use the same repoussé technique, are made of thin gold foil cut in the same shape, and have similar motifs. The Vatican pectoral is larger (42 cm high) and uses sixteen rather than six stamps. In addition, it has more registers. Von Bothmer believed that the Metropolitan's pectoral was later than the Vatican example. He dated the Vatican piece to the last third of the seventh century and the New York pectoral to the early sixth century B.C. (Today, most Etruscologists date the Vatican pectoral earlier, to the middle of the seventh century B.C.) Von



8.11 detail



8.11

Bothmer also used a skillful argument to justify the alleged findspot of the New York pectoral at Novara, "an outpost area close to the Alpine passes. . . . [P]ectorals were traditional in northern Europe, and the tradition may have filtered down from the north into Italy."<sup>35</sup>

Von Bothmer did not mention any other parallels, because at the time, relatively few were known. It is odd that he did not cite a highly relevant fragmentary gold pectoral in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, which shows the same basic shape and technique.<sup>36</sup> Related stamps appear on many other types of gold jewelry and on embossed bronze shields. (see 3.14a, b; 3.15a, b; and 3.16).<sup>37</sup>

Ingrid Strøm, an eminent Danish archaeologist at the University of Copenhagen, was the first to question in print the authenticity of the Museum's gold pectoral.<sup>38</sup> Without offering any specific reasons, she simply stated: "This pectoral must be a fake, inspired by the pectoral of Tomba Regolini-Galassi." A series of technical studies was carried out in 2003, by Richard Stone of the Museum's conservation department and Robert Baines, an Australian jewelry maker and an Andrew Mellon Research Fellow. Among other suspicious details, they noted the uniform thickness of the gold sheet (0.5 millimeters), a feature at odds with the variable thicknesses of ancient gold sheets beaten by hand. This element suggests that a modern device might have been used to roll out the sheet. The outer edge of the gold sheet is also very crisp, with no cracks or irregularities, and shows evidence of scissors having been used to trim it, a feature inconsistent with ancient practice. In addition, there are differences in the sharpness of the stamp impressions. The chevron and

palmette stamps have much finer and crisper edges than the animal stamps, which often cause minute tears in the gold sheet. The palmettes are inverted at the center and upper rows, an apparent error in execution. Furthermore, the “ghosting” of the animals’ outer perimeters suggests that their stamps may have been made from impressions taken of stamped animal designs on pottery or bronze shields. Another problem that arises, when this piece is compared to the Vatican and Baltimore pectorals, is the absence of any perforations at the perimeter (for attachment to a cloth or leather backing) or wire attachments at the shoulders. This difference indicates that, unlike the Vatican and Baltimore examples, the Museum’s pectoral was not made to be worn. The composition of the gold sheet was determined to be 85.5% gold, 14.2% silver, and 0.2% copper, and although relatively few authentic Etruscan gold objects from the Orientalizing period have been analyzed, those that have show a consistently higher percentage of gold, often above 98%. Finally, there is a noticeable discoloration on the pectoral’s reverse side that marks a large area where acid was poured to artificially age the surface.

With such a small sample size of extant gold pectorals, it is difficult to determine the authenticity of the Museum’s pectoral. However, there are enough inconsistencies and “mistakes” to arouse suspicion. The very fact that this example is so well preserved compared to all but one of the others (the Vatican example) is also reason for concern that it is of uncertain authenticity.

### 8.12 Pair of disks

Granulated gold, diameter:  $1\frac{3}{8}$  in. (3.4 cm). Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971 (1972.118.165a, b)

LITERATURE: von Bothmer, *Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Antiquities*, 1950, p. 13, no. 104

These attractive gold objects, which are now thought to be of uncertain authenticity, have an appeal that is provided by a number of aspects. They are extremely refined products of jewelry-making on a delicate, small scale; they are relatively intact and undamaged; and the incredibly rich granulated surfaces invite close inspection. If one assumed that they are original Etruscan creations of the sixth or early fifth century B.C., they are even more amazing and precious.

We now know that disks of this type were indeed made by the Etruscans and used as earrings. Several extant pairs have tiny posts (or sometimes perforations for posts) on the reverse (see 7.2 and 7.26). However, at the time when these



8.12

earrings were made in the late nineteenth century, debate remained about the precise function of Etruscan gold disks. That could explain why these and several almost identical parallels in other collections do not have the necessary posts on the reverse to allow them to function as earrings or as brooches fastened to clothing.

An identical pair was acquired by the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, probably in 1900. The Field Museum has an excellent collection of Etruscan jewelry. However, their acquisition records, roughly from 1895 to 1912, are cursory, and often, the notes are so vague that it is impossible to know exactly what pieces are being cited. The two pairs of gold granulated disks, one pair identical to those in the Museum and the other a bit smaller, are perhaps those referenced in the notes of December 11, 1900, as “2 reproductions of gold disk brooches.”<sup>39</sup> If that is correct, the pieces (perhaps all four) were purchased as known reproductions. Over time, however, they were accepted as ancient and appeared as such in a number of publications.<sup>40</sup> Now, with more refined microscopes, some characteristic problems can be seen. For example, beaded wire is made by crimping rather than rolling. Grains of granulation often have concave surfaces rather than convex ones. The reverses show no indication of a way to attach the disk to the ear or, for that matter, to anything else.

Both pairs of disks, in Chicago and in New York, as well as closely related pairs in the Antikensammlung, Berlin,<sup>41</sup> and the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia,<sup>42</sup> were probably all made in Italy in the late nineteenth century. At that time, several Italian jewelers were specializing in producing high-quality reproductions and imitations “in the Etruscan style” for their wealthy clients.

# CONCORDANCE

ACCESSION NO.	CAT. NO.
75.4.14	4.61a
75.4.26	4.65
81.6.2	7.77b
81.6.4	7.78
81.6.5	7.79b
81.6.6	7.79c
81.6.7	7.79a
81.6.12	7.80
81.6.13	7.77a
81.6.21	7.84
81.6.22	7.85
81.6.23	7.86
81.6.24	7.87
81.6.25	7.81
81.6.26	7.82
81.6.28	7.83a
81.6.29	7.83b
81.6.30	7.88
91.1.441	6.56
91.1.454	3.22
91.1.465	6.55
95.15.4	7.94
95.15.109	7.96b
95.15.111	7.95
95.15.132	7.17d
95.15.133	7.17f
95.15.134	7.17g
95.15.135	7.17a
95.15.138	7.23a
95.15.141	7.23b
95.15.149	7.17e
95.15.150	7.17c
95.15.151	7.17b
95.15.152, .153	7.27c
95.15.155, .156	7.35a
95.15.160, .161	7.35b
95.15.172, .173	7.30a
95.15.178, .179	7.30b
95.15.180, .181	7.32
95.15.182, .183	7.29
95.15.188, .189	7.34
95.15.190	7.31
95.15.198	7.38a
95.15.201, .202	7.36
95.15.216	7.37
95.15.217	7.37
95.15.238	7.38b

ACCESSION NO.	CAT. NO.
95.15.240	7.42
95.15.244	7.40b
95.15.245	7.40b
95.15.246	7.14a
95.15.247	7.14b
95.15.250	7.11 a
95.15.251	7.11 b
95.15.259	7.13a
95.15.261	7.13b
95.15.262	7.16a
95.15.263	7.15
95.15.271	7.14b
95.15.280	7.20a
95.15.281	7.20b
95.15.283	7.20c
95.15.284	7.20d
95.15.286	7.20e
95.15.288	7.16c
95.15.289	7.16b
95.15.299	7.21c
95.15.302	7.21b
95.15.306	7.21a
95.15.340	7.16d
96.9.19	6.65
96.9.24	6.66a
96.9.29	5.6
96.9.30	6.67a
96.9.50a, b	4.99a
96.9.60	4.62
96.9.67a, b	4.64a
96.9.78	4.66b
96.9.79a, b	4.64
96.9.80a, b	4.76a
96.9.92	4.73a
96.9.94	4.67c
96.9.102	4.83
96.9.107	4.67b
96.9.109	4.68a
96.9.110a, b	4.64b
96.9.111	4.73b
96.9.114	4.71a
96.9.118a, b	4.99b
96.9.119a-c	4.76c
96.9.126	4.59
96.9.131	4.84
96.9.134	4.86
96.9.135	4.71b

ACCESSION NO.	CAT. NO.
96.9.139a-c	4.81b
96.9.140a, b	4.76b
96.9.141	4.61b
96.9.142	4.78
96.9.145a-i	4.79a
96.9.147	4.68b
96.9.148a	4.80a
96.9.148b	4.80b
96.9.151	4.63b
96.9.152	4.75b
96.9.153	4.58
96.9.154	4.60a
96.9.156	4.60b
96.9.163a, b	4.100
96.9.167	4.81a
96.9.168	4.79b
96.9.169	6.67b
96.9.177a, b	4.107
96.9.195	6.72a
96.9.196	6.72b
96.9.197	6.72c
96.9.198	6.72d
96.9.200	6.72e
96.9.217	2.3
96.9.219a, b	6.90a
96.9.220a, b	6.90b
96.9.221a, b	6.94
96.9.223a, b	6.93
96.9.224a, b	6.95
96.9.225a, b	6.92
96.9.317	7.43a
96.9.356	3.3
96.9.364	3.7a
96.9.367	7.43b
96.9.369	6.23
96.9.370	6.19
96.9.371	6.21
96.9.375	5.23
96.9.377	4.36d
96.9.378	4.36b
96.9.379	4.36c
96.9.380	4.36a
96.9.433	5.9
96.9.438	3.17
96.9.489	7.45
96.9.492	7.46
96.9.493	7.46

ACCESSION NO.	CAT. NO.
96.9.502	7.45
96.9.503	7.45
96.9.507	7.45
96.9.509	7.46
96.18.1a, b	6.43
96.18.8	6.45a
96.18.9	6.81a
96.18.12	8.1
96.18.13	6.7
96.18.15	6.10
96.18.16	6.11
96.18.17	6.80b
96.18.23	6.71
96.18.24	4.122
96.18.39	4.95
96.18.60	3.27
96.18.61	6.57
96.18.80	3.26a
96.18.83	3.23b
96.18.84	3.24
96.18.88	3.26b
96.18.91	3.25
96.18.96	4.101a
96.18.110	4.69a
96.18.117	4.69b
96.18.125	3.28
96.18.126	4.90b
96.18.128	4.90a
96.18.139	3.28
96.18.152	4.119c
96.18.154	4.117
96.18.155	4.119b
96.18.156	4.119a
96.18.157	4.119d
96.18.158	4.120
96.18.159	4.121a
96.18.160	4.121b
96.18.163a, b	6.91a
96.18.173	6.74b
96.18.174	6.73
96.18.175	6.22
97.22.7	4.40a
97.22.11	5.11b
97.22.14, .15	4.42
97.22.16	6.3
97.22.17	6.12
97.22.18	6.89a

ACCESSION NO.	CAT. NO.
97.22.22	4.37
03.3.1	6.58
03.6.2	4.56
03.23.1	4.1a-e
03.23.2	4.2
03.23.3	4.6
03.23.4, .5	4.7
03.23.6	4.5
03.23.7	4.4
03.23.8-.13	4.7
03.23.14	4.8
03.23.15-.18	4.7
03.23.19	4.12
03.23.20	4.9
03.23.21	4.11
03.23.22	4.10
03.23.23	4.3
03.23.24-.28	4.13
03.23.29-.37	4.7
03.23.38	4.15a
03.23.39	4.15b
03.23.40	4.15
03.23.41-.44	4.16
03.23.51	4.18b
03.23.52	4.18a
03.23.53	4.17
03.23.54	4.14
03.23.55	4.13
03.24.1	6.25
03.24.2	6.26
03.24.3	6.40
03.24.4	6.27
03.24.5	6.28a
03.24.6	6.28b
03.24.7	6.28c
03.24.8	6.29
03.24.9	6.27
03.24.10	6.33a
03.24.11, .12	6.34
03.24.13	6.35
03.24.14	6.36
03.24.15	6.36
03.24.16	6.37a
03.24.17	6.37b
03.24.18	6.37c
03.24.19	6.37d
03.24.20	6.33b
03.24.21	6.33c
03.24.22	6.30
03.24.23	6.31
03.24.24-.29	6.32
03.24.30	6.38
03.24.31	4.19b
03.24.32	4.19a

ACCESSION NO.	CAT. NO.
03.24.33a, b	4.20
03.24.34	6.39
03.25	3.16
04.27.1, .2	5.30a
06.1021.40	4.106
06.1021.42	4.114
06.1021.43	4.115
06.1021.44	4.116
06.1021.46	4.104
06.1021.204	6.60
06.1021.250	6.68
06.1021.256	6.69
06.1021.272	6.66b
06.1021.274	6.66c
06.1092	4.30a
06.1157, .1158	7.18
07.260	6.14
07.286.33	6.50a
08.2.2	5.25
08.2.3	5.26
08.2.5	5.24
08.258.2	5.5a
08.258.8a, b	4.43
09.41	5.27a
09.221.11	6.45b
09.221.15	6.15
09.221.16	6.1
09.221.17	6.6
09.221.21	4.44
10.210.9	4.113
10.210.10	4.112
10.210.31	6.83
10.210.33	6.83
10.210.35	5.5b
10.230.1	6.87
11.91.3	6.88
11.195.2	7.118b
11.212.1	5.14
11.212.2	5.19a
11.212.3	3.20
11.212.13	6.74a
12.160.1	5.1a
12.160.2	5.1b
12.160.3	5.1c
12.160.4	5.2a
12.160.5	5.2d
12.160.6	5.2c
12.160.7	5.2b
12.160.8	5.4
12.160.10	5.3
12.163.1	3.15c
12.163.2	3.15b
12.163.3	3.15a
12.229.4	4.29

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12.229.5	4.28
13.225.30a, b	7.26
13.227.4	4.46
13.227.5	4.47
13.227.7	6.45
13.232.2	4.48
14.105.3	5.19b
14.105.8a-g	8.2
15.164	8.4
16.117	8.6
16.141	6.75
16.173	5.27b
16.174.4	6.78
16.174.5	6.79
16.174.7	4.82a
16.174.8	4.82b
16.174.9	4.82c
16.174.10	4.77a
16.174.11	4.63a
16.174.12	4.77b
16.174.15	4.66a
16.174.16	4.70
16.174.17	4.66c
16.174.32	4.60c
16.174.44	7.39
17.190.2066	4.27
17.190.2067	7.48
17.190.2128	3.21
17.194.20	7.89
17.194.21	7.91
17.194.23	7.92
17.194.24	7.90
17.194.31	7.93
17.194.1840	4.75a
17.230.44	6.76
17.230.52	7.51
17.230.120	3.10a
17.230.121	3.10b
17.230.122	7.44
17.230.134	7.28
18.103.1, .2	7.27a
18.103.3, .4	7.27b
18.145.23	3.15d
18.145.25	4.85
18.145.26	4.67a
18.145.27	4.74
19.58	7.96a
19.192.2	8.7
19.192.14	6.53
19.192.49	4.31a
19.192.53	4.101b
19.192.56	4.40b
19.192.65	6.81b
19.193	6.45d

ACCESSION NO.	CAT. NO.
20.37.1a-c	5.17
20.211	6.8
20.212	6.62
20.213	6.62
20.232, .233	7.33
20.238	7.41
20.260	3.7b
21.88.27	6.4
21.88.28	6.5
21.88.29	6.16
21.88.41	7.97
21.88.53-.56	4.7
21.88.58	4.3
21.88.59, .60	4.13
21.88.61	4.7
21.88.96-.109	5.31
21.88.110	5.32b
21.88.111	5.32c
21.88.115	5.32d
21.88.117-.123	5.29
21.88.124	5.32a
21.88.131	5.22
21.88.146	4.57
21.88.159	4.72b
21.88.161	4.72a
21.195	8.5
22.84.1a, b	6.41
22.84.2a, b	6.42
22.84.3a, b	6.44
22.139.12, .13	5.30b
22.139.17	5.19c
22.139.61	6.13
22.139.83	4.109
22.139.84	6.2
22.139.85	3.2
23.160.10	4.92a
23.160.11	4.92b
23.160.24	4.52b
23.160.88	6.89b
23.160.90	4.125
23.160.94	4.101c
23.160.96	7.52
23.160.97	7.53a
24.97.6	5.7
24.97.7	5.8
24.97.9	4.90c
24.97.10	4.23
24.97.21a, b	2.1
24.97.115	7.53b
24.97.116	7.53c
24.97.117	7.55a
25.78.28	4.24
25.78.53	6.85
25.78.67	4.93



ACCESSION NO.	CAT. NO.	ACCESSION NO.	CAT. NO.	ACCESSION NO.	CAT. NO.	ACCESSION NO.	CAT. NO.
<b>25.78.106</b>	4.96	<b>41.160.498</b>	7.106	<b>64.11.8</b>	4.88a	<b>1992.11.13</b>	7.55b
<b>25.78.114</b>	3.9b	<b>41.160.500</b>	7.111d	<b>64.17</b>	8.10	<b>1992.11.14a</b>	7.63
<b>25.78.116</b>	3.11b	<b>41.160.504</b>	7.111a	<b>65.11.1</b>	4.51b	<b>1992.11.14b</b>	7.64
<b>25.78.117</b>	3.11a	<b>41.160.507</b>	2.6	<b>65.11.2</b>	3.12c	<b>1992.11.16</b>	7.55c
<b>26.60.18</b>	6.54	<b>41.160.519</b>	7.113	<b>65.11.9</b>	6.77	<b>1992.11.17</b>	7.74
<b>26.60.39</b>	7.47a	<b>41.160.523</b>	7.105a	<b>65.11.10</b>	8.11	<b>1992.11.18a-c</b>	7.70
<b>26.60.40</b>	7.47b	<b>41.160.534</b>	7.105b	<b>65.11.13</b>	6.64	<b>1992.11.19</b>	7.75
<b>26.60.44</b>	3.23a	<b>41.160.536</b>	7.112b	<b>66.11.3a, b</b>	6.84	<b>1992.11.20</b>	7.76
<b>26.60.62</b>	4.50	<b>41.160.537</b>	7.100	<b>67.11.15a, b</b>	6.82	<b>1992.11.21</b>	7.71
<b>26.60.63</b>	6.9	<b>41.160.538</b>	7.107	<b>68.126</b>	4.98c	<b>1992.11.22</b>	7.57
<b>26.60.87</b>	3.5	<b>41.160.539</b>	7.108a	<b>69.11.2</b>	4.98a	<b>1992.11.23</b>	7.56
<b>26.60.92</b>	4.97	<b>41.160.540</b>	7.108b	<b>69.11.70</b>	6.48	<b>1992.11.24-.27</b>	7.49
<b>26.60.94</b>	2.2	<b>41.160.546</b>	7.114a	<b>1972.118.51</b>	3.14b	<b>1992.11.28</b>	7.53d
<b>27.122.3</b>	6.47	<b>41.160.550</b>	7.109	<b>1972.118.52</b>	3.14a	<b>1992.11.29a-n</b>	7.60
<b>27.122.14</b>	4.123a	<b>41.160.552</b>	7.114b	<b>1972.118.53</b>	5.10	<b>1992.11.42a-q</b>	7.59
<b>27.122.20</b>	5.15	<b>41.160.556</b>	7.114c	<b>1972.118.58</b>	4.32	<b>1992.11.48</b>	7.62
<b>27.142</b>	3.1	<b>41.160.679</b>	7.112a	<b>1972.118.64</b>	4.31b	<b>1992.11.50</b>	7.58a
<b>28.57.13</b>	6.86	<b>41.160.681</b>	7.114d	<b>1972.118.65</b>	4.34a	<b>1992.11.51</b>	7.65
<b>28.57.22a, b</b>	4.91	<b>41.160.682</b>	7.115a	<b>1972.118.66</b>	4.34b	<b>1992.11.52</b>	7.66
<b>29.131.3a-u</b>	4.26	<b>41.160.683</b>	7.115b	<b>1972.118.72</b>	4.35	<b>1992.11.54</b>	7.67
<b>29.131.5</b>	6.63	<b>41.160.696</b>	7.115c	<b>1972.118.74</b>	5.11a	<b>1992.11.55</b>	7.68
<b>29.141a, b</b>	6.24	<b>41.160.697</b>	7.112c	<b>1972.118.87</b>	2.4	<b>1992.11.57</b>	7.61
<b>29.141c</b>	6.24	<b>41.162.31</b>	4.98b	<b>1972.118.165a, b</b>	8.12	<b>1992.262</b>	5.16
<b>31.11.1</b>	7.40a	<b>42.11.27</b>	7.116	<b>1973.11.2</b>	4.40c	<b>1992.267.2</b>	7.50
<b>31.11.12</b>	4.45	<b>42.11.28</b>	7.117	<b>1975.363</b>	4.87	<b>1994.374</b>	7.25
<b>32.11.7</b>	7.98	<b>43.11.5</b>	5.13b	<b>1977.187.6</b>	3.18	<b>1994.446a, b</b>	7.19
<b>34.11.8</b>	4.51a	<b>43.11.7</b>	4.30b	<b>1980.11.11</b>	6.49	<b>1995.40</b>	7.22
<b>35.11.11</b>	7.99	<b>44.11.4</b>	5.13a	<b>1981.11.7</b>	4.111	<b>1995.84</b>	7.58b
<b>37.11.5</b>	8.3	<b>47.11.3</b>	5.12	<b>1981.11.8</b>	5.20	<b>1997.145.2a</b>	4.118a
<b>38.11.6</b>	4.126	<b>47.11.10</b>	7.12b	<b>1988.113.1, .2</b>	6.46	<b>1997.145.2b</b>	4.118b
<b>38.11.14</b>	8.8	<b>48.11.1</b>	2.5	<b>1989.281.70</b>	4.41	<b>1998.216</b>	7.12a
<b>40.11.3a, b</b>	4.52a	<b>48.11.6</b>	4.108a	<b>1989.281.74</b>	4.33a	<b>2000.456.2</b>	6.80a
<b>40.11.7</b>	7.1	<b>51.11.1</b>	6.50b	<b>1989.281.75</b>	4.33c	<b>2000.457</b>	4.89
<b>40.11.8, .9</b>	7.2	<b>51.11.10</b>	6.51	<b>1989.281.76</b>	4.33b	<b>2001.761.8</b>	4.94
<b>40.11.10</b>	7.10	<b>51.43.1</b>	7.118a	<b>1989.281.77</b>	4.33d	<b>2008.332</b>	4.25
<b>40.11.11, .12</b>	7.9	<b>51.43.2</b>	7.119c	<b>1989.281.78</b>	4.53	<b>2009.316</b>	4.105
<b>40.11.13</b>	7.8	<b>54.11.1</b>	8.9	<b>1989.281.79a, b</b>	4.54	<b>2012.26a, b</b>	4.110
<b>40.11.14</b>	7.6	<b>55.7</b>	4.102	<b>1991.171.2</b>	3.19	<b>X.21.18</b>	6.61
<b>40.11.15</b>	7.5	<b>55.11.1</b>	4.103	<b>1991.171.3</b>	3.8	<b>X.21.48</b>	6.70
<b>40.11.16</b>	7.4	<b>55.128.1</b>	7.119a	<b>1991.171.4</b>	3.9a	<b>X.21.86</b>	6.20
<b>40.11.17</b>	7.3	<b>55.128.2</b>	7.119b	<b>1991.171.8</b>	3.7c	<b>X.381</b>	4.124
<b>40.11.18</b>	7.7	<b>55.129.1a, b</b>	4.39	<b>1991.171.16</b>	3.4b		
<b>41.11.2</b>	4.55	<b>56.49.2</b>	6.59	<b>1991.171.17</b>	3.4a		
<b>41.160.406</b>	6.17	<b>57.11.10</b>	6.91b	<b>1991.171.18</b>	3.4c		
<b>41.160.407</b>	6.18	<b>59.11.21, .22</b>	7.24	<b>1991.171.29</b>	3.6		
<b>41.160.436</b>	7.102	<b>59.141</b>	4.88b	<b>1991.171.44</b>	4.123b		
<b>41.160.463</b>	7.103b	<b>60.11.1</b>	4.22	<b>1991.171.50</b>	5.28		
<b>41.160.466</b>	7.101	<b>60.11.7</b>	4.49	<b>1991.171.51</b>	3.12a		
<b>41.160.467</b>	7.103a	<b>60.11.11</b>	4.38	<b>1991.171.52</b>	3.12b		
<b>41.160.475</b>	7.111b	<b>61.11.17</b>	4.21	<b>1991.171.53-.55</b>	3.13		
<b>41.160.476</b>	7.111c	<b>61.11.3</b>	5.18	<b>1992.11.3</b>	7.69		
<b>41.160.477</b>	7.104b	<b>61.11.4a, b</b>	5.21a, b	<b>1992.11.4</b>	7.72		
<b>41.160.485</b>	7.110	<b>62.11.10</b>	4.108b	<b>1992.11.10</b>	7.73		
<b>41.160.489</b>	7.104a	<b>64.11.6</b>	6.52	<b>1992.11.11</b>	7.54		

# NOTES

## Chapter I

1. Elizabeth Caroline Hamilton Gray, *Tour to the Sepulchres of Etruria, in 1839*, 3rd ed. (London, 1843), p. 301.
2. For general accounts, see Roberto Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (New York, 1973); Nancy de Grummond, "Rediscovery," in *Etruscan Life and Afterlife: A Handbook of Etruscan Studies*, ed. Larissa Bonfante (Detroit, 1986), pp. 18–46; *Les Étrusques et l'Europe*, exh. cat., Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, and Altes Museum, Berlin (Paris, 1992), pp. 276–411.
3. Roberto Weiss, "Traccia per una biografia di Annio da Viterbo," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 5 (1962), pp. 425–41; Christopher R. Ligota, "Annius of Viterbo and Historical Method," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 50 (1987), pp. 44–56; Mark Jones, ed., *Fake? The Art of Deception*, exh. cat., British Museum (London, 1990), pp. 64–65, no. 42; Walter Stephens, "When Pope Noah Ruled the Etruscans: Annus of Viterbo and His Forged 'Antiquities,'" *Modern Language Notes* 119 (2004), suppl., pp. 201–23.
4. Annio da Viterbo, quoted in Jones, *Fake?*, p. 64.
5. Mauro Cristofani, "Per una storia del collezionismo archeologico nella Toscana granducale, I: I grandi bronzi," *Prospettiva* 17 (1978), pp. 4–15; Mauro Cristofani, *I bronzi degli Etruschi*, with contributions by Edilberto Formigli and Maria Elisa Micheli (Novara, 1985), pp. 64–70, 295–97, no. 121; Mario Iozzo, ed., *The Chimaera of Arezzo*, exh. cat., J. Paul Getty Museum at the Getty Villa, Malibu (Florence, 2009).
6. Tobias Dohrn, *Der Arringatore: Bronzestatue im Museo Archeologico von Florenz* (Berlin, 1968); Cristofani, *I bronzi degli Etruschi*, p. 300, no. 129.
7. Massimo Pallottino, "Vasari e la Chimera," *Prospettiva* 8 (1977), pp. 4–6.
8. However, perhaps the first scholarly attempt to demonstrate which Roman symbols and customs were derived from the Etruscans appears in *Italia illustrata* by Flavio Biondo (1392–1463), published posthumously in Rome in 1474.
9. Paola Barocchi and Daniele Gallo, eds., *L'Accademia Etrusca* (Milan, 1985).
10. George Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* (London, 1848), vol. 1, p. 410.
11. Luigi Pareti, *La Tomba Regolini-Galassi del Museo Gregoriano Etrusco e la civiltà dell'Italia centrale nel sec. VII a.c.* (Vatican City, 1947). See also the "Virtual Reconstruction of Regolini-Galassi Tomb" available online (<http://regolinigalassi.wordpress.com>).
12. Secondiano Campanari, *A Brief Description of the Etruscan and Greek Antiquities Now Exhibited at No. 121, Pall Mall, Opposite the Opera Colonnade* (London, 1837). See also Nancy Thomson de Grummond, ed., *An Encyclopedia of the History of Classical Archaeology* (Westport, Conn., 1996), s.v. "Campanari Family" (pp. 224–25).
13. Elizabeth Caroline Hamilton Gray, *Tour to the Sepulchres of Etruria, in 1839* (London, 1840). For her antiquities collection, see most recently Dyfri Williams, "Etruscan Production and Interpretation: The Hamilton Gray Vase," in *Etruscan by Definition: The Cultural, Regional and Personal Identity of the Etruscans; Papers in Honour of Sybille Haynes*, ed. Judith Swaddling and Philip Perkins (London, 2009), pp. 10–20.
14. Gray, *Tour to the Sepulchres of Etruria* (1840), pp. 338–39.
15. James Byres, *Hypogaei; or, Sepulchral Caverns of Tarquinia, the Capital of Antient Etruria*, ed. Frank Howard (London, 1842).
16. C. Densmore Curtis, "The Barberini Tomb," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 5 (1925), pp. 9–52; Fulvio Canciani and Friedrich-Wilhelm von Hase, *La Tomba Bernardini di Palestrina* (Rome, 1979).
17. Anna Maria Moretti Sgubini, ed., *La collezione Augusto Castellani* (Rome, 2000).
18. James Jackson Jarves, *Retrospective Art Catalogue of the Boston Foreign Art Exhibition* (Boston, 1883), pp. 30–33, nos. 464, 465. For Jarves, see Francis Steegmuller, *The Two Lives of James Jackson Jarves* (New Haven, 1951); Ellen Frank et al. in *Italian Primitives: The Case History of a Collection and Its Conservation*, exh. cat., Yale University Art Gallery (New Haven, 1972), pp. 2–5.
19. Letter from Jarves to Cesnola, August 16, 1883, office of the Secretary Records, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives. Jarves suggested that Cesnola encourage a Mrs. Stanford to supply funds for these and also for some of his Old Master paintings. George Dennis gave a brief description of the sarcophagi (Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, vol. 1, appendix to chap. XXII, p. 439, note II). He mentions that he had heard they were acquired by the Vatican, but there is no corroboration for this rumor, and it is omitted from the 1878 edition (see p. 472). His date for the discovery, cited in both editions as 1845–46, is also different from that cited by Jarves. It is not clear why the sarcophagi were rejected by the Museum. Perhaps, at the time, funds were not available or they were needed for other items considered more important. Perhaps some found the subject matter (married couples reclining on their wedding beds) unsuitable for general audiences.
20. Mary B. Comstock and Cornelius C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone: The Greek, Roman and Etruscan Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1976), pp. 244–49, nos. 383, 384. For additional bibliography, see Cornelius C. Vermeule and Mary B. Comstock, *Sculpture in Stone and Bronze in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Additions to the Collections of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Art, 1971–1988* (Boston, 1988), p. 116, nos. 383, 384.
21. He wrote one of the first books in English on Japanese art; see James Jackson Jarves, *A Glimpse at the Art of Japan* (New York, 1876).
22. James Jackson Jarves, "American Museums of Art," *Scribner's Monthly* 18, no. 3 (July 1879), p. 408.
23. Good examples of this kind of research include: Edith Hall Dohan, *Italic Tomb-Groups in the University Museum* (Philadelphia, 1942); Gilda Bartoloni, *Le tombe da Poggio Buco nel Museo Archeologico di Firenze* (Florence, 1972); Jean M. Davison, *Seven Italic Tomb-Groups from Narce* (Florence, 1972); Maria Teresa Falconi Amorelli, *Vulci: Scavi Bendinelli (1919–1923)*, Collana di studi sull'Italia antica 1 (Rome, 1983); Richard Daniel De Puma, *Etruscan Tomb-Groups: Ancient Pottery and Bronzes in Chicago's Field Museum of Natural History* (Mainz, 1986); Eric Hostetter, *Bronzes from Spina*, vol. 1, *The Figural Classes* (Mainz, 1986); Maria Teresa Falconi Amorelli, *Vulci: Scavi Mengarelli (1925–1929)*, Collana di studi archeologici 1 (Rome, 1987); Eric Hostetter, *Bronzes from Spina*, vol. 2, *Instrumentum Domesticum* (Mainz, 2001).
24. Jacques Heurgon, "The Inscriptions of Pyrgi," *Journal of Roman Studies* 56 (1966), pp. 1–15; Mauro Cristofani, ed., *Civiltà degli Etruschi*, exh. cat., Museo Archeologico, Florence (Milan, 1985), p. 255, no. 9.18, ill. p. 259; Dieter Steinbauer, *Neues Handbuch des Etruskischen* (St. Katherinein, 1999), pp. 196–209; Giuliano Bonfante and Larissa Bonfante, *The Etruscan Language: An Introduction*, rev. ed. (Manchester, 2002), pp. 64–68, 123, n. 25, fig. 5; Rex E. Wallace, *Zikh Rasna: A Manual of the Etruscan Language and Inscriptions* (Ann Arbor, 2008), pp. 7–8.
25. For a summary and review of the exhibition catalogues, see Nigel Spivey in *Journal of Roman Studies* 76 (1986), pp. 281–86. The congress papers were published as *Atti: Secondo Congresso Internazionale Etrusco, Firenze, 26 maggio–2 giugno 1985*, ed. Guglielmo Maetzke, 3 vols. (Rome, 1989).
26. A sampling of the exhibition publications: *Die Welt der Etrusker: Archäologische Denkmäler aus Museen der sozialistischen Länder* (Berlin, 1988); *Gens Antiquissima Italiae: Antichità dall'Umbria*, a series of four related exhibitions at the Vatican (1988), Budapest and Cracow (1989), Leningrad (1990), and New York (1991), all published in Perugia; Mauro Cristofani, ed., *La grande Roma dei Tarquini* (Rome, 1990); *Les Étrusques et l'Europe* (Paris, 1992), at the Grand Palais, Paris, and the Altes Museum, Berlin; Francesco Buranelli, *The Etruscans: Legacy of a Lost Civilization from the Vatican Museums* (Memphis, 1992), traveled to Memphis, Dallas, Morristown, New Jersey, and Provo, Utah;

*Principi etruschi: Tra Mediterraneo ed Europa* (Venice, 2000), at the Museo Civico Archeologico, Bologna; Mario Torelli, ed., *The Etruscans* (Milan, 2000), at the Palazzo Grassi, Venice; Adriana Emiliozzi, ed., *Carri da guerra e principi etruschi* (Rome, 2000), at Viterbo, Rome, and Ancona; *Treasures from Tuscany: The Etruscan Legacy* (Edinburgh, 2004), an exhibition drawn primarily from the Museo Archeologico in Florence and shown at various venues that sometimes included material from local collections (different versions of this exhibition appeared in São Paulo, Mexico City, Santa Ana, California [see my review of this venue in *Etruscan Studies* 8 (2001), pp. 155–58], Edinburgh, Shanghai, and Taipei); Francesco Buranelli and Maurizio Sannibale, eds., *Etruscan Treasures from the Cini-Alliata Collection* (Rome, 2004), exhibited in Shawnee, Oklahoma [see my review in *Etruscan Studies* 12 (2009), pp. 245–47]; Debora Barbagli and Mario Iozzo, eds., *Etruschi: Chiusi, Siena, Palermo; la collezione Bonci Casuccini* (Siena, 2007), exhibited in Siena and Chiusi; *From the Temple and the Tomb: Etruscan Treasures from Tuscany* (Dallas, 2009).

**27.** For the first years after the Museum's founding in 1870, there was no Museum director; most acquisitions were made by donations or purchases from a small group of wealthy trustees and advisers. Cesnola was hired essentially to curate the vast collection of Cypriot material that he had assembled while serving as the American consul on Cyprus (1865–77) and sold to the Museum in November 1872. See Vassos Karageorghis, with Joan R. Mertens and Marice E. Rose, *Ancient Art from Cyprus: The Cesnola Collection in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 2000). On the Cesnola Collection, see also www.metmuseum.org. About Cesnola, see Elizabeth McFadden, *The Glitter and the Gold: A Spirited Account of The Metropolitan Museum of Art's First Director, the Audacious and High-Handed Luigi Palma di Cesnola* (New York, 1971). Three of the 21 vessels that Cesnola gave to the Museum are included in this volume; the additional 18 are damaged and in deep storage (all have accession numbers 75.4.1 to 75.4.28).

**28.** C. W. King, *Collections of Engraved Gems, Hand-Book* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art), no. 9 (New York, 1894), although the manuscript was completed on February 28, 1878. King was well known to Cesnola and wrote an appendix, "The Rings and Gems in the Treasure of Curium," for Cesnola's book *Cyprus: Its Ancient Cities, Tombs, and Temples; a Narrative of Researches and Excavations during Ten Years' Residence in That Island* (New York, 1878).

**29.** Conrad Hewett, "The Edward C. Moore Collection," *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 2, no. 6 (June 1907), pp. 105–6.

**30.** *Catalogue of Etruscan Jewellery, with Some Roman and Longobardic Ornaments, in the Collection of S. T. Baxter, Florence* (Florence, 1886). There is also a typed manuscript, 76 pages long, listing some 331 objects, and a shorter typed manuscript, 49 pages long, entitled "Etruscan Gold Work." These manuscripts are kept in the archives of the Department of Greek and Roman Art at the Metropolitan Museum.

**31.** Baxter Collection purchase file, office of the Secretary Records, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives. The purchase of already-formed large collections is a well-known fact of American collecting, especially in the nineteenth century. For example, James Jackson Jarves had assisted Robert H. Coleman (1856–1930), one of the wealthiest industrialists in America, to form a collection of antiquities in the 1880s. After Coleman went bankrupt, a victim of the financial panic of 1893, his entire collection, which included several forgeries, was purchased at auction by the University of Pennsylvania Museum, in February 1897. See Donald White et al., *Guide to the Etruscan and Roman Worlds at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology* (Philadelphia, 2002), pp. 2–3. The acquisition of entire collections continued into the twentieth century. For example, the Metropolitan purchased Albert Gallatin's collection of more than 250 Greek vases in 1941. During the same year, W. G. Beatty donated his collection of more than 500 engraved gems, many of which are Etruscan.

**32.** For more on Frothingham, see De Puma, *Etruscan Tomb-Groups*.

**33.** Frothingham's list is part of his correspondence kept in the archives of the Department of Greek and Roman Art at the Metropolitan Museum.

**34.** For a brief account of this irascible millionaire, see Calvin Tomkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces: The Story of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1989), pp. 87–91.

**35.** Richard Daniel De Puma, "A Third-Century B.C.E. Etruscan Tomb Group from Bolsena in The Metropolitan Museum of Art," *American Journal of Archaeology* 112, no. 3 (July 2008), pp. 429–40.

**36.** Edward Robinson, "New Greek and Roman Acquisitions," *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 2, no. 1 (January 1907), p. 5.

**37.** For a comprehensive history of the Department of Greek and Roman Art, see Carlos A. Picón in Carlos A. Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World in The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Greece, Cyprus, Etruria, Rome* (New York, 2007), pp. 3–23; see also Gisela M. A. Richter, "The Department of Greek and Roman Art: Triumphs and Tribulations," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 3 (1970), pp. 73–95.

**38.** The two formed an intimate friendship that lasted the rest of their lives. They first came to the attention of the art world in 1892, when they attended the Adolphe van Branteghem sale of antiquities in Paris, where they managed to purchase the most important items in an extravagant series of auction triumphs. Much of this material was later donated or sold, at little or no profit, to American museums, especially the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

**39.** Osbert Burdett and E. H. Goddard, *Edward Perry Warren: The Biography of a Connoisseur* (London, 1941), esp. chap. 16, "Warren as Collector," by John D. Beazley; Martin Green, *The Mount Vernon Street Warrens: A Boston Story, 1860–1910* (New York, 1989); David Sox, *Bachelors of Art: Edward Perry Warren and the*

*Lewes House Brotherhood* (London, 1991). In addition, Marshall briefly acted as the European purchasing agent for the Museum of Fine Arts; Warren's older brother, Samuel Dennis Warren II (1852–1910), was president of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts from 1902 to 1906. It had been decided in 1899 to move the museum from Copley Square to a new building on the Fenway. Soon almost all available funds were diverted to this expensive construction project, leaving the budget for new purchases virtually nonexistent. Edward Perry Warren argued that this was the time to buy antiquities, not to spend money on a new building, construction of which could be delayed. His brother was of the opposite opinion and, no doubt, helped to influence both Robinson's and Marshall's decision to move their allegiance to New York.

**40.** Marshall Archives, pt. 3, vol. 7 (1917), p. 1512, Department of Greek and Roman Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

**41.** Inv. 40702, late sixth century B.C. See Maja Sprenger and Gilda Bartoloni, *The Etruscans: Their History, Art and Architecture* (New York, 1983), pp. 111–12, pls. 118, 119. Although discovered in 1916, the Apollo from Veii was not restored, carefully published, and well illustrated until 1926; see Giulio Quirino Giglioli, "Etruskische Terrakottafiguren aus Veji," *Antike Denkmäler* 3, no. 5 (1926), pp. 53–66, pls. 45–55.

**42.** Carlos A. Picón in Carlos A. Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, p. 12.

**43.** Gisela M. A. Richter, "The Department of Classical Art: Extension and Rearrangement," *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 28, no. 2 (February 1933), pp. 29–30; Gisela M. A. Richter, *Etruscan Terracotta Warriors in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, with a report on structure and technique by Charles F. Binns, Papers (The Metropolitan Museum of Art) 6 (New York, 1937). See also reviews by S. Casson and others listed in Dietrich von Bothmer, "The History of the Terracotta Warriors," in *An Inquiry into the Forgery of the Etruscan Terracotta Warriors in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, by Dietrich von Bothmer and Joseph V. Noble, Papers (The Metropolitan Museum of Art) 11 (New York, 1961), p. 11, n. 13.

**44.** Dietrich von Bothmer and Joseph V. Noble, *An Inquiry into the Forgery of the Etruscan Terracotta Warriors in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Papers (The Metropolitan Museum of Art) 11 (New York, 1961).

**45.** For a complete bibliography of Richter's work, see Joan R. Mertens, "The Publications of Gisela M. A. Richter: A Bibliography," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 17 (1982), pp. 119–32.

**46.** Christine Alexander, "An Etruscan Cauldron," *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 25, no. 1 (January 1930), p. 13.

**47.** George H. Chase, "Two Bronze Tripods, Lent by James Loeb, Esq.," *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 2, no. 3 (March 1907), p. 38. See also George H. Chase, "Three Bronze Tripods Belonging to James Loeb, Esq.," *American Journal of Archaeology* 12, no. 3 (July–September 1908), pp. 287–323. All three tripods accompanied the Loebes when they moved to Munich in 1909.

They were exhibited prominently in the Loeb mansion for many years and were donated, along with other antiquities, to the Munich Antikensammlungen after Loeb's death in 1933; see Raimund Wünsche and Matthias Steinhart, eds., *Sammlung James Loeb: James Loeb (1867–1933), Antikensammler, Mäzen und Philanthrop* (Munich, 2009). The Loeb Tripods remain in Munich. These major bronzes were first exhibited at the Metropolitan, and apparently, there was some hope that Loeb might donate them to the Museum, but he left New York for Munich and donated them to its museum instead.

**48.** Schimmel's was a large gift of 102 objects that included, in addition to the bronzes mentioned above, the barrel-shaped oinochoe (4.87). For the entire gift, see *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, n.s., 49, no. 4 (April 1992).

**49.** A selection of major works from the new installation appears in Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*. That volume includes the informative "A History of the Department of Greek and Roman Art" (pp. 3–23) by Carlos A. Picón, and there is a section on the "Art of Etruria" (pp. 265–315, 467–78).

**50.** The chariot is the subject of an authoritative, highly informative, and beautifully illustrated article by Adriana Emiliozzi, "The Etruscan Chariot from Monteleone di Spoleto," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 46 (2011), pp. 9–132.

## Chapter II

**1.** D. H. Lawrence, *Etruscan Places* (1932); reprinted as *Sketches of Etruscan Places in D. H. Lawrence and Italy*, Penguin Classics (London, 2007), p. 359.

**2.** Livy, 1.9–13; Plutarch, *Life of Romulus* 14.

**3.** For recent studies, see Anna Maria Moretti Sgubini, ed., *Dinamiche di sviluppo delle città nell'Etruria meridionale: Veio, Caere, Tarquinia, Vulci; Atti del XXIII Convegno di Studi Etruschi ed Italici* (Pisa, 2005); Corinna Riva, *The Urbanisation of Etruria: Funerary Practices and Social Change, 700–600 B.C.* (Cambridge, 2010).

**4.** Athenaeus of Naukratis, *Deipnosophistai* 12.517d–518b.

**5.** Marshall J. Becker, "Etruscan Gold Dental Appliances: Origins and Functions as Indicated by an Example from Orvieto, Italy, in the Danish National Museum," *Dental Anthropology Newsletter* 8 (1994), pp. 2–8.

**6.** See Jean MacIntosh Turfa, "Anatomical Votives and Italian Medical Traditions," in *Murlo and the Etruscans: Art and Society in Ancient Etruria*, ed. Richard Daniel De Puma and Jocelyn Penny Small (Madison, Wisc., 1994), pp. 224–40. For recent investigations, see Annamaria Comella and Sebastiana Mele, eds., *Depositi votivi e culti dell'Italia antica dall'età arcaica a quella tardo-repubblicana* (Bari, 2005); Jean MacIntosh Turfa, "Votive Offerings in Etruscan Religion," in *The Religion of the Etruscans*, ed. Nancy Thomson de Grummond and Erika Simon (Austin, 2006), pp. 90–115.

**7.** See Harrison Powley, "The Musical Legacy of the Etruscans," in *Etruscan Italy: Etruscan Influences on the Civilizations of Italy from Antiquity to the Modern Era*, ed. John F. Hall (Provo, 1996), pp. 287–303; Bo Lawergren, "Etruscan Musical Instruments and Their Wider Context in Italy and Greece," *Etruscan Studies* 10 (2004), pp. 119–38.

**8.** Compare the trimmed beards and mustaches worn by men in the Tomb of the Olympic Games (ca. 510 B.C.) with the clean-shaven men in the Tomb of the Meeting (ca. 300–250 B.C.), both at Tarquinia. See Stephan Steingraber, *Abundance of Life: Etruscan Wall Painting* (Los Angeles, 2006), respectively, pp. 108–11, and pp. 255, 268–69.

**9.** For example, Luigi Lanzi (1732–1810), who is also important for realizing that the painted vases found in Etruscan tombs were not Etruscan, as most had believed, but Greek. He published that finding in *De' vasi antichi dipinti volgarmente chiamati etruschi* (Florence, 1806).

**10.** Roger T. Macfarlane, "Tyrrhena Regum Progenies: Etruscan Literary Figures from Horace to Ovid," in *Etruscan Italy: Etruscan Influences on the Civilizations of Italy from Antiquity to the Modern Era*, ed. John F. Hall (Provo, 1996), pp. 241–65; Robert L. Maxwell, "Quia Ister Tusco Verbo Ludio Vocabatur: The Etruscan Contribution to the Development of Roman Theater," in *Etruscan Italy: Etruscan Influences on the Civilizations of Italy*, pp. 267–85.

**11.** Varro, *Lingua Latina* 5.55.

**12.** See Jean MacIntosh Turfa, "The Etruscan Brontoscopic Calendar," in *The Religion of the Etruscans*, ed. Nancy Thomson de Grummond and Erika Simon (Austin, 2006), pp. 173–90.

**13.** See Maristella Pandolfini and Aldo L. Prosdocimi, *Alfabetari e insegnamento della scrittura in Etruria e nell'Italia antica* (Florence, 1990), pp. 26–29, no. I.6. On the question of literacy, see T. J. Cornell, "The Tyranny of the Evidence: A Discussion of the Possible Uses of Literacy in Etruria and Latium in the Archaic Age," in *Literacy in the Roman World*, ed. J. H. Humphrey, *Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series* 3 (Ann Arbor, 1991), pp. 7–33.

**14.** This is confirmed by two complete but uninscribed examples, one of bucchero and the other Etrusco-Corinthian, in a Swiss private collection (Ines Jucker, *Italy of the Etruscans*, exh. cat., Israel Museum [Jerusalem, 1991], p. 200, nos. 262, 263; Jacques Chamay in *The Art of the Italic Peoples from 3000 to 300 BC*, ed. Jacques Chamay, exh. cat., Musée Rath, Geneva, and Mona Bismark Foundation, Paris [Geneva and Naples, 1993], p. 234, nos. 133, 134). A close parallel to the Museum's vase is the inscribed bucchero cockerel in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (acc. no. 80.532; Hugh Hencken, *Tarquinia, Villanovans, and Early Etruscans* [Cambridge, Mass., 1968], vol. 1, p. 421, no. 3, fig. 447). This object is associated with Tarquinia. The treatment of incised wing feathers on both the New York and Boston vases is identical. It is likely that these two and another bucchero cockerel in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (inv. Fr III 24;

Giovanna Bagnasco Gianni, *Oggetti iscritti di epoca orientalizzante in Etruria*, Biblioteca di "Studi Etruschi" 30 [Florence, 1996], no. 309) are all products of a Tarquinian workshop.

**15.** Pliny, quoted by Priscian, a grammarian who lived about A.D. 500, in his *Institutiones grammaticae* 2.26.6 (English trans., Giuliano Bonfante and Larissa Bonfante, *The Etruscan Language: An Introduction*, rev. ed. [Manchester, 2002], pp. 79, 126, n. 54).

**16.** These include the consonants *beta*, *delta*, and *samekh*. Samekh is the fifteenth letter of both the Phoenician and the Hebrew alphabets and also appears in that position on the Museum's bucchero cockerel; in Attic Greek it is the letter Xi and is written X.

**17.** For example, most masculine names end either in a consonant or *-e* (e.g., *Vel*, *Aule*), while feminine names usually end in *-a* or *-i* (*Ramtha*, *Fasti*). As in Latin, the Etruscans often used three names: a *praenomen* (like our first name), a *nomen gentile* (family name), and a *cognomen* (a nickname, but often confused in modern parlance with family name). Thus, in Latin we have names like Appius Claudius Pulcher (Appius of the Claudian family, the Handsome) or Caius Julius Caesar (Gaius of the Julian family, Baldy). The same situation occurs in Etruscan: Marce Apenas Qutu (Marce of the Apenas family, nicknamed Qutu). Qutus is Etruscan for oinochoe or wine jug. Perhaps Marce earned his nickname because he liked his drink. Sometimes, Etruscan inscriptions were added to Greek vases. An example is the dedicatory inscription (LARIS VULSENAS) on the foot of a red-figured kylix by the Euergetes Painter in the Museum's collection (09.221.47).

**18.** Livy, 5.1.6 (English trans., Livy, *The Early History of Rome: Books I–V of The History of Rome from Its Foundation*, trans. Aubrey de Séincourt [Harmondsworth, 1971], p. 341).

**19.** Arnobius, *Adversus nationes* 7.26. Pagan authors had previously used "superstition" for Christianity.

**20.** Seneca, *Naturales quaestiones* 2.32.3.

**21.** The *Etrusca disciplina* was collected in a series of books that were copied and later translated and annotated by Roman scholars. Except for a few paraphrases and fragmentary quotes, these books do not survive, but we know the subjects they treated from their titles. There were books on how to interpret divine messages conveyed by lightning and thunder, the livers of sacrificed animals, earthquakes, various prodigies like unusual births, animal or human deformities, and a variety of atypical unexpected events. Such divine messages could be interpreted by specialized priests and prophets. Their knowledge, although it served a religious function, was a science (*disciplina*).

**22.** The major passages are conveniently collected in *The Religion of the Etruscans*, ed. Nancy Thomson de Grummond and Erika Simon (Austin, 2006), appendix B, pp. 191–218; for the passages concerning Etruscan time, see pp. 198–202.

23. For additional examples, see Peter Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen* (Mainz, 1968), p. 55, no. 65, p. 83, no. 141, p. 173, no. 834.
24. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliothèque (World History)* 5.40.4 (English trans., Ellen Macnamara, *Everyday Life of the Etruscans* [London, 1973], p. 169).
25. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 1.25–30.
26. Herodotus, *Histories* 1.94 (English trans., Herodotus, *Histories*, trans. Aubrey de Sélincourt [Harmondsworth, 1954], pp. 52–53).
27. Quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 1.28.
28. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 1.30.2 (English trans., *The Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, trans. Earnest Cary [based on the version by Edward Spelman], vol. 1, Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge, Mass., 1968], p. 97).
29. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 1.26.2 (English trans., *Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, p. 85).
30. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 1.28.1–2 (English trans., *Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, p. 89).
31. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* (1.30.4), also mentions another section of his work or a separate treatise about them, but no such text has survived.
32. Suetonius, *Life of Claudius* 42 (English trans., Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, trans. Robert Graves [1957; rev. ed., Harmondsworth, 1980], p. 180).
33. For Brizio's influence, see Giovanna Cravero and Anne Dore, eds., *Edoardo Brizio, 1846–1907: Un pioniere dell'archeologia nella nuova Italia*, exh. cat., Museo Civico di Archeologia Storia Arte, Palazzo Traversa, Bra (Bologna, 2007).
34. Massimo Pallottino, *The Etruscans*, rev. ed. (Bloomington, Ind., 1975), p. 68.
35. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 1.30.3.
36. Pallottino, *Etruscans*, pp. 68–69.
37. See the reading list on the origin of the Etruscans in the Selected Bibliography.
38. T. J. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c. 1000–264 B.C.)* (New York, 1995), p. 47.

### Chapter III

1. D. H. Lawrence, *Etruscan Places* (1932); reprinted as *Sketches of Etruscan Places in D. H. Lawrence and Italy*, Penguin Classics (London, 2007), pp. 434–35.
2. Frothingham supplied large quantities of excavated tomb groups, including much Villanovan material, to museums in Philadelphia, Chicago, and Berkeley.
3. Jean M. Davison, *Seven Italic Tomb-Groups from Narce* (Florence, 1972); Richard Daniel De Puma, *Etruscan Tomb-Groups: Ancient Pottery and Bronzes in Chicago's Field Museum of Natural History* (Mainz, 1986).

4. Luigi Donati, "The Antiquities from Saturnia in the University of California Museum at Berkeley," *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere, La Colombaria* 49 (n.s., 35) (1984), pp. 3–43.
5. See Katie Demakopoulou, ed., *The Mycenaean World: Five Centuries of Early Greek Culture, 1600–1100 B.C.*, exh. cat., National Archaeological Museum (Athens, 1988), p. 262, no. 290.
6. This fibula is close to Sundwall's Type A III c1 (Johannes Sundwall, *Die älteren italischen Fibeln* [Berlin, 1943], fig. 57).
7. The type is close to Sundwall's Type D II β c 18 (ibid., fig. 232) or Bietti Sestieri's Form 40 (Anna Maria Bietti Sestieri, ed., *La necropoli laziale di Osteria dell'Osa*, 3 vols. [Rome, 1992], vol. 1, pp. 372–74, vol. 3, pl. 38, Form 40). Also close is a fibula from Terni (Oscar Montelius, *La civilisation primitive en Italie depuis l'introduction des métaux* [Stockholm and Berlin, 1895–1910], vol. 1, pt. 2, col. 12, pl. 253, fig. 9). For the incisions, compare a bow fibula with disk foot in the Svarc Collection (Ines Jucker, *Italy of the Etruscans*, exh. cat., Israel Museum [Jerusalem, 1991], pp. 57–58, no. 43, ill.) and a group of related disk designs in Friedrich-Wilhelm von Hase, *Die Trensen der Früheisenzeit in Italien*, *Prähistorische Bronzefunde*, sec. 16, vol. 1 (Munich, 1984), figs. 21a, 21b.
8. This example belongs to Sundwall Type H II β b1 (Sundwall, *Die älteren italischen Fibeln*, fig. 396).
9. For more on this tomb, see Hugh Hencken, *Tarquinius, Villanovans, and Early Etruscans* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), vol. 1, pp. 201–20.
10. Sundwall, *Die älteren italischen Fibeln*, Type H III a b 3, fig. 408.
11. These similar examples belong to Sundwall's Type H III a aa 25 (ibid., fig. 407; cf. figs. 404, 409). The major difference is in the elaboration of the bow, which has larger and heavier knobs on 1991.171.19.
12. Mitten in *Animals in Ancient Art from the Leo Mildenberg Collection*, ed. Arielle P. Kozloff, exh. cat., Cleveland Museum of Art (Cleveland, 1981), p. 104, under no. 85 (see comparative literature).
13. Montelius, *La civilisation primitive en Italie*, vol. 1, pt. 1, cols. 4–5, pl. V, fig. 35; Friedrich-Wilhelm von Hase, "Die goldene Prunkfibel aus Vulci, Ponte Sodo," *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums*, 1984, p. 263, list 4, no. 1, p. 264, n. 37, fig. 10, 1.
14. See also Sundwall, *Die älteren italischen Fibeln*, Type J II a b 1, fig. 437.
15. This fibula is close to Sundwall, *Die älteren italischen Fibeln*, Type G III β a 7, fig. 360.
16. Ibid., Type F I a b 7, fig. 287.
17. These belong to Sundwall, *Die älteren italischen Fibeln*, Type F II c 7, fig. 311.
18. For examples from Verucchio, see Maurizio Forte, ed., *Il dono delle Eliadi: Ambre e oreficerie dei principi etruschi di Verucchio*, Studi e documenti di archeologia, Quaderni 4 (Rimini, 1994), p. 106, nos. 240, 241, p. 115, pl. XL (drawings), fig. 65, and p. 159, nos. 513, 514, p. 162, pl. LX (drawings).
19. Hencken, *Tarquinius*, vol. 1, p. 189, fig. 174, j.
20. Maria Teresa Falconi Amorelli, *Vulci: Scavi Bendinelli (1919–1923)*, Collana di studi sull'Italia antica 1 (Rome, 1983), pp. 192–93, nos. 337, 338, fig. 83.

21. Similar single figure (the second figure missing?) with chain but no base: Hencken, *Tarquinius*, vol. 1, pp. 350–51, fig. 349, k, from Tarquinia, Poggio Gallinaro, Fossa 9. See also Emeline Hill Richardson, "The Recurrent Geometric in the Sculpture of Central Italy, and Its Bearing on the Problem of the Origin of the Etruscans," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 27 (1962), pl. II, fig. 5.
22. See Giovanni Colonna, "Gli scudi bilobati dell'Italia centrale e l'ancile dei Salii," *Archeologia classica* 43, [nos. 1–2] (1991), pp. 55–122 (issues titled *Miscellanea etrusca e italica in onore di Massimo Pallottino*, ed. by Romolo A. Staccioli et al.). An especially good parallel for the size (D. 22.5 cm), decorative format, and configuration of perforations appears on p. 83, fig. 21, and p. 82, n. 45.
23. For a related group of disks, see Mary Comstock and Cornelius Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1971), pp. 472–75, nos. 691–95.
24. Hencken, *Tarquinius*, vol. 2, p. 430.
25. See Ingrid Ström, *Problems Concerning the Origin and Early Development of the Etruscan Orientalizing Style* (Odense, 1971), p. 27, no. 29, figs. 3, 4.
26. A close parallel is Jucker, *Italy of the Etruscans*, p. 164, no. 198, ill. p. 165, with related examples cited.
27. For parallels, see Davison, *Tomb-Groups from Narce*, pl. IX, h; John W. Hayes, *Etruscan and Italic Pottery in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Toronto, 1985), p. 37, no. B6, ill.
28. Mauro Cristofani and Marina Martelli, eds., *Loro degli Etruschi* (Novara, 1983), no. 45.

### Chapter IV

1. D. H. Lawrence, *Etruscan Places* (1932); reprinted as *Sketches of Etruscan Places in D. H. Lawrence and Italy*, Penguin Classics (London, 2007), p. 338.
2. See Adriana Emiliozzi, "The Etruscan Chariot from Monte Leone di Spoleto," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 46 (2011), appendix, pp. 108–9, doc. no. 2, and p. 111, n. 18.
3. These were deposited in the Museo Archeologico, Florence (inv. 14343–14356). The mound of earth for this *tumulus* burial has long been obliterated by farming activity at the site.
4. Balliard (1841–1916) had been trained as a watchmaker in Geneva and later worked at Tiffany's in New York before becoming a photographer, mount-maker, and restorer at the Museum from 1879.
5. Emiliozzi, "Etruscan Chariot," p. 111, n. 18.
6. I cannot ascertain where they were between 1903 and 1921, when Marshall acquired them for the Museum. Richter makes no mention of that in "Classical Bronzes: Recent Accessions," *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 18, no. 3 (March 1923), p. 76, their first publication. Brian Cook ("A Class of Etruscan Bronze Omphalos-Bowls," *American Journal of Archaeology* 72, no. 4 [October 1968], pp. 337–44)

is silent on the matter, as is Sarah Leach (“La ‘Tomba del Carro’ di Monteleone di Spoleto” / “The ‘Tomba del Carro’ of Monteleone di Spoleto,” in *Gens Antiquissima Italiae: Antichità dall’Umbria a New York*, ed. Francesco Roncalli and Larissa Bonfante, exh. cat., Grey Art Gallery, New York [Perugia, 1991], pp. 395–414). And there is no reference to them in Emiliozzi, “Etruscan Chariot.” I can say that they definitely belong to the Monteleone group. The bowls 21.88.53, .56 (4.7), for example, are identical to the ones acquired in 1903, as are the two spits, 21.88.59, .60 (4.13).

7. Emiliozzi, “Etruscan Chariot,” pp. 29–36; that chariot is dated about 520 B.C.

8. For discussion of ancient repairs and possible ownership, see *ibid.*, pp. 41–42, 56–57.

9. This is a hypothesis proposed by Emiliozzi (*ibid.*, p. 61). We cannot know when (she suggests about 560 B.C. on the basis of the Attic cups) or especially why. She posits: “The heirs of the first owner in Vulci may have used it [the chariot] to obtain influence along the trade routes crossing the Apennines.”

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 80–81.

11. At least two other chariots, although much more fragmentary, have this kind of design format, but those have different subjects.

12. For a discussion of the artisans and Vulci as the city where the chariot was produced, see Emiliozzi, “Etruscan Chariot,” pp. 60–61.

13. All elements of the chariot have been meticulously catalogued and described by Emiliozzi (*ibid.*, esp. sec. V). See both the old drawing in Gisela M. A. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1915), pp. 23–24, no. 40, which shows elaborate incised decor, and the new drawing in Emiliozzi, “Etruscan Chariot,” pp. 42–43, fig. III.3 (reproduced here on page 50 as Figure 3).

14. Homer, *Iliad* 18.368–616, 19.1–39.

15. See Timothy Gantz, *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources* (Baltimore, 1993), pp. 622–25.

16. Homer, *Odyssey* 3.111–12.

17. *Iliupersis*; see also Euripides, *Hecuba* 218–436.

18. See Emiliozzi, “Etruscan Chariot,” p. 79, figs. V.27–V.29.

19. Roland Hampe and Erika Simon, *Griechische Sagen in der frühen etruskischen Kunst* (Mainz, 1964), pp. 63–64, fig. 11; see also Emiliozzi, “Etruscan Chariot,” p. 45.

20. A close parallel is from Annifo di Foligno (Perugia); see Francesco Roncalli, ed., *Antichità dall’Umbria in Vaticano* (Perugia, 1988), p. 56, no. 2.34. For other examples, see the citations in Giovannangelo Camporeale, “Vasi plastici di bucchero pesante,” *Archeologia classica* 25–26 (1973–74), p. 110, n. 26; Richard Daniel De Puma, *Etruscan Tomb-Groups: Ancient Pottery and Bronzes in Chicago’s Field Museum of Natural History* (Mainz, 1986), pp. 94–95, no. SB 14, fig. 32, pl. 43, a, b.

21. Cook, “Etruscan Bronze Omphalos-Bowls,” p. 341, n. 10: “Bothmer has discovered that the pin 03.23.48a (G.R. 515a) . . . was used to keep in place the lid of the bronze cauldron 03.23.7

(G.R. 399).” I have examined this and believe von Bothmer was right, but it has been added to the vessel in recent times, i.e., the 1960s.

03.23.48a (pin): see Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, p. 305, no. 910; Leach, “La ‘Tomba del Carro,’” p. 408, no. 17 (Leach gives an incorrect accession number for 03.23.7, calling it 23.23.7).

22. See De Puma, *Etruscan Tomb-Groups*, p. 97, no. SB 17, pl. 46, a, b.

23. See Ursula Höckmann, *Bronzen aus dem Fürstengrab von Castel San Mariano bei Perugia* (Munich, 1982), p. 99, no. 57, pl. 55, 1, 4.

24. Two examples are from the Isis Tomb at Vulci (Sybille Haynes, “The Isis-Tomb: Do Its Contents Form a Consistent Group?,” in *La civiltà arcaica di Vulci e la sua espansione: Atti del X Convegno di Studi Etruschi ed Italici; Grosseto, Roselle, Vulci, 29 maggio–2 giugno 1975*, ed. Aldo Neppi Modona [Florence, 1977], p. 29, pl. XI, d, e).

25. Adolfo Morini, *La scoperta di una tomba antichissima a Monteleone presso Cascia: Il rinvenimento della preziosa biga e di varia suppellettile funebre d’arte greca-arcaica* (Perugia, 1904), p. 8, no. 2, mentions twenty-eight examples. See also Sarah Leach in *Gens Antiquissima Italiae: Antichità dall’Umbria a New York*, ed. Francesco Roncalli and Larissa Bonfante, exh. cat., Grey Art Gallery, New York (Perugia, 1991), pp. 182–84, nos. 3.13–3.16.

26. An identical rim ornament appears on the bronze basin from Castel San Mariano, Perugia (Höckmann, *Bronzen*, p. 99, no. 57, pl. 55, 2). See also Anna Kieburg in *Rasna: Die Etrusker*, ed. Martin Bentz, exh. cat., Akademisches Kunstmuseum, Universität Bonn (Petersberg, 2008), pp. 58–59, nos. 67, 68, ill., and detail on p. 1.

27. Cook, “Etruscan Bronze Omphalos-Bowls.” See also Maurizio Sannibale, *La raccolta Giacinto Guglielmi*, vol. 2, *Bronzi e materiali vari* (Vatican City, 2008), pp. 48–49; for an updated list of examples, see pp. 48–50, no. 21.

28. Acc. no. X.405.1 (Cook, “Etruscan Bronze Omphalos-Bowls,” pl. 109, fig. 3); see also Sannibale, *La raccolta Giacinto Guglielmi*, vol. 2, pp. 50–51, nos. 23, 24.

29. 03.23.45: height: 2<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (5.5 cm), diameter: 3<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (8.4 cm); 03.23.46: height: 2<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (5.5 cm), diameter: 3<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (8.4 cm); 03.23.47: height: 2<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (6.7 cm), diameter: 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (11.4 cm). Rogers Fund, 1903 03.23.45, .46, .47.

30. For lists, see Cook, “Etruscan Bronze Omphalos-Bowls,” pp. 338–39; Sannibale, *La raccolta Giacinto Guglielmi*, vol. 2, pp. 46–50.

31. Berta Stjernquist, *Ciste a cordoni (Rippenzisten): Produktion, Funktion, Diffusion*, 2 vols. (Bonn and Lund, 1967).

32. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 64–68. In addition, a very close parallel to the Monteleone example was excavated at Sirolo (Ancona) and is now in the Museo Archeologico, Ancona, inv. 50764 (Giovanni Colonna, *Eroi e regine: Piceni popolo d’Europa*, exh. cat., Galleria Nazionale d’Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini [Rome, 2001], pp. 362–63, no. 139).

33. This example, distinguished by its wide, flaring mouth and abbreviated shoulder, belongs to Type A-3 in the classification proposed by M. V. Giuliani-Pomes, “Cronologia delle situle rinvenute in Etruria, I,” *Studi Etruschi* 23 (1954), pp. 178–79.

34. For the type, see *ibid.* An example from Campovalano (Vincenzo Cianfarani, ed., *Antiche civiltà d’Abruzzo* [Rome, 1969], p. 62, no. 86, pl. 36) is especially close to our situla.

35. A very similar jug comes from Tomb A2/1998 (the so-called Tomba dei Vasi del Pittore di Micali [Tomb of the Micali Painter Vases]) at Vulci. The residue in that jug has been analyzed and found to contain various resins suggesting it contained incense. See Anna Maria Moretti Sgubini, ed., *Veio, Cerveteri, Vulci: Città d’Etruria a confronto*, exh. cat., Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia (Rome, 2001), p. 228, no. III.B.6.14.

36. See Vassos Karageorghis, with Joan R. Mertens and Marice E. Rose, *Ancient Art from Cyprus: The Cesnola Collection in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 2000), pp. 174, 175, nos. 281, 282.

37. Alberto Satolli, “Il giornale di scavo di Riccardo Mancini (1876–1885),” *Quaderni dell’Istituto Statale d’Arte di Orvieto* 5–6 (1985), pp. 17–132.

38. Fol. 131r (*ibid.*, p. 109).

39. Morini, *Una tomba antichissima a Monteleone*, p. 8, no. 5.

40. As described in Homer, *Iliad* 9.214.

41. Morini, *Una tomba antichissima a Monteleone*, p. 10.

42. They could have been used for either war or hunting or both, I suspect. If we had their original wooden shafts, we might have a better idea. Also, if we had other armor (e.g., greaves, a shield), we would assume the spears were part of a warrior’s equipment.

43. Now in the Vatican Museums, Rome, inv. 15036.

44. Marina Martelli, “Per una definizione archeologica della Sabina: La situazione storico-culturale di Poggio Sommavilla in età arcaica,” in *Civiltà arcaica dei Sabini nella valle del Tevere*, vol. 3, *Rilettura critica della necropoli di Poggio Sommavilla*, ed. Paola Santoro (Rome, 1977), p. 30.

45. For closely related examples, see Cianfarani, *Antiche civiltà d’Abruzzo*, nos. 156–59; *I sabini: La vita, la morte, gli dèi*, exh. cat., Sala dei Cordari, Rieti (Rome, 1997), nos. 6.37, 7.6.

46. Stefano Bruni, *I lastroni a scala*, *Materiali del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia* 9 (Rome, 1986).

47. For somewhat similar fragmentary examples, see *ibid.*, pls. XIII and XXIV, which range in date between about 590 and 560 B.C.

48. Giuseppe Micali, *Storia degli antichi popoli italiani* (Florence, 1832), vol. 1, p. 148; George Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* (London, 1848), vol. 1, p. 435.

49. J. Paul Getty Museum, acc. no. 77-AA.76. Other related examples are in the University Museum, Philadelphia (acc. no. 59-24-1), and the Menil Collection, Houston. Another fragmentary griffin, from Civita Castellana, is now

- in the Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 3793; Giulio Quirino Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca* [Milan, 1935], pl. 72, 3). All but the last of these have been associated with Vulci.
- 50.** Note that in Gisela M. A. Richter, "Archaischer Terracotta-Kopf," in *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur* (Munich, 1929), pl. 722, and Gisela M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1940), p. 13, fig. 45, the head is erroneously thought to be made of gray terracotta.
- 51.** Bernard Andreae, Andreas Hoffmann, and Cornelia Weber-Lehmann, *Die Etrusker: Luxus für das Jenseits, Bilder vom Diesseits, Bilder vom Tod*, exh. cat., Bucerius Kunst Forum and Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg (Munich, 2004), pp. 39–40, 103, no. 1/106.
- 52.** Closely related cippi with heraldic horsemen are in the Altes Museum, Berlin, and the Museo Archeologico A. Salinas, Palermo (Jean-René Jannot, *Les reliefs archaïques de Chiusi* [Rome, 1984], figs. 582, 590; Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca*, pl. 148, 1).
- 53.** Three examples come from the famous Isis Tomb at Vulci, and they are now in the British Museum. For a complete bibliography tracing the debate on origins and distribution of the type, see Marina Cristofani Martelli, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Italia*, vol. 53, *Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Gela, Collezione Navarra*, fasc. 2 (Rome, 1973), D, pl. 31.
- 54.** A good parallel for Heracle's pose appears on a helmet relief in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca*, pl. 104, 1).
- 55.** Compare a kriophoros on a candelabrum from Orvieto and one atop a Campanian dinos (ibid., pl. 216, 2, 4, and pl. 105, 1).
- 56.** Inv. 7096/4 (Giovannangelo Camporeale, *La tomba del Duce* [Florence, 1967], pp. 40–43, no. 14; Gilda Bartoloni et al., *Principi etruschi: Tra Mediterraneo ed Europa*, exh. cat., Museo Civico Archeologico, Bologna [Venice, 2000], p. 183, no. 152, ill. p. 182).
- 57.** See Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca*, pl. 212, 1, 3, and pl. 213, 1, for related examples in Munich and Berlin.
- 58.** Mario Moretti, *The National Museum of Villa Giulia* (Rome, 1975), p. 133, fig. 100. Another related piece is in the Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe (Sybille Haynes, *Etruscan Bronzes* [London, 1985], p. 265, no. 55, ill. p. 157). A third, in a Swiss private collection, is also quite similar (David Gordon Mitten and Suzannah F. Doeringer, *Master Bronzes from the Classical World*, exh. cat., Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, City Art Museum of St. Louis, and Los Angeles County Museum of Art [Mainz, 1967], no. 191).
- 59.** Inv. H 223 a (Poul Jørgen Riis, *Vulcentia Vetustiora: A Study of Archaic Vulcian Bronzes*, *Historisk-filosofiske skrifter* 19 [Copenhagen, 1998], p. 77, fig. 75a–c).
- 60.** Ibid., p. 22, fig. 11a–c.
- 61.** See T. L. Markey, "A Tale of Two Helmets: The Negau A and B Inscriptions," *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 29 (2001).
- 62.** For a complete helmet of this type, see Sannibale, *La raccolta Giacinto Guglielmi*, vol. 2, pp. 216–19, no. 134. See Alessandro Naso, *I Piceni: Storia e archeologia delle Marche in epoca preromana* (Milan, 2000), pl. 48, for a chart showing the evolution of the Negau type helmet.
- 63.** There is a very similar bronze amphora in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg (Mitten and Doeringer, *Master Bronzes*, no. 198; Wilhelm Hornbostel, *Kunst der Etrusker*, exh. cat., Interserva Gesellschaft für Beteiligungen [Hamburg, 1981], pp. 80–82, no. 97, ill. [with literature]). The handles on the Hamburg amphora reverse the feline and horse protomai.
- 64.** In the classification system developed by Gianluca Caramella, this kyathos belongs to "Variant B2"; see Gianluca Caramella, "Parte seconda," in *I bronzi etruschi e romani*, by Maria Paola Bini, Gianluca Caramella, and Sandra Bucciolini, *Materiali del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia* 13 (Rome, 1995), vol. 1.
- 65.** See John D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting* (Oxford, 1947), p. 266, on "Shape VI." See also Ingrid Krauskopf, "Überlegungen zur zeitlichen Diskrepanz zwisch[en] Metallgefäßen und ihren Nachbildungen in Ton," *Revue des études anciennes* 97, nos. 1–2 (1995), pp. 77–87 (issue titled *Vaisselle métallique; vaisselle céramique: Productions, usages et valeurs en Étrurie*, ed. Jean-René Jannot), for relationships between bronze and terracotta examples of this shape.
- 66.** For more on this style, see Andrew Stewart, *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration* (New Haven, 1990), pp. 106–8.
- 67.** 59.11.23a, b (Dietrich von Bothmer, "Newly Acquired Bronzes: Greek, Etruscan, and Roman," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, n.s., 19, no. 5 [January 1961], pp. 142, 146–47, figs. 14, 15).
- 68.** See, for example, Stephen Steingraber, ed., *Etruscan Painting: Catalogue Raisonné of Etruscan Wall Paintings*, trans. Mary Blair, ed. David Ridgway and Francesca R. [Serra] Ridgway (New York, 1985), pls. 105, 190, 174, 196, fig. 344.
- 69.** This strainer is Hill's Type 1; see Dorothy Kent Hill, "Wine Ladles and Strainers from Ancient Times," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 5 (1942), pp. 40–55. Dorothy Kent Hill was one of the first scholars to classify the various types of strainers. This type is characterized by its thin, curved handle, hinged strainer, and attached funnel-shaped base. See also 5.4 and 5.19a.
- 70.** Acc. no. 30.017 (David Gordon Mitten, *Classical Bronzes*, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design [Providence, 1975], pp. 112–15, no. 32).
- 71.** Inv. 55.8–16.1 (Haynes, *Etruscan Bronzes*, pp. 269–70, no. 64, ill. pp. 162, 163, colorpl. p. 38).
- 72.** Inv. 559 (H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman and Etruscan, in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* [London, 1899], pp. 79–80).
- 73.** For lists, see Jacques Heurgon, *Recherches sur l'histoire, la religion et la civilisation de Capoue préromaine: Des origines à la deuxième guerre punique* (Paris, 1970), pp. 397–402; Riis, *Vulcentia Vetustiora*, pp. 156–58.
- 74.** Acc. no. 24963 (De Puma, *Etruscan Tomb-Groups*, pp. 95–96, no. SB 15, pl. 44, a, b).
- 75.** Marshall Becker, "An Analysis of Etruscan Skeletal Remains from Funerary Urns at the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Illinois," *Archaeological News* 20 (1995), pp. 26–31.
- 76.** For concise discussions of Etruscan numbers, see Giuliano Bonfante and Larissa Bonfante, *The Etruscan Language: An Introduction*, rev. ed. (Manchester, 2002), pp. 94–98; Rex E. Wallace, *Zikh Rasna: A Manual of the Etruscan Language and Inscriptions* (Ann Arbor, 2008), pp. 54–56. For numbers on bronze candelabra and situlae from Spina, see Eric Hostetter, *Bronzes from Spina*, vol. 1, *The Figural Classes* (Mainz, 1986), pp. 163–64; for numbers and letters on the bottoms of Etruscan vases, see Giuseppe Sassatelli, "Sala X, Bologna 'etrusca,'" in *Il Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna*, ed. Cristiana Morigi Govi and Danielle Vitali (Imola, 1993), pp. 263–306.
- 77.** See Haynes, *Etruscan Bronzes*, pp. 254–55, no. 26, ill. p. 142; see also pp. 254, 255, nos. 25, 27, 28, ill. pp. 142, 143, for related examples depicting griffins and horses.
- 78.** See, for example, the gilded silver examples in the Louvre Bj 2165 and S 1211 from Camiros, Rhodes (J. M. Jean Gran Aymerich, "Le bucchero et les vases métallique," *Revue des études anciennes* 97, nos. 1–2 [1995], p. 72, pl. 10 [issue titled *Vaisselle métallique; vaisselle céramique: Productions, usages et valeurs en Étrurie*, ed. Jean-René Jannot]).
- 79.** For more on the shape and its origins, see Tom B. Rasmussen, "Etruscan Shapes in Attic Pottery," *Antike Kunst* 28 (1985), pp. 33–34; H. A. G. Brijder, "The Shapes of Etruscan Bronze Kantharoi from the Seventh Century B.C. and the Earliest Attic Black-Figure Kantharoi," *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 63 (1988), pp. 103–14.
- 80.** See acc. no. 96.9.79a, b; see also discussion under 4.64a, b. For a discussion of this motif in bucchero and related wares, see De Puma, *Etruscan Tomb-Groups*, p. 67, nn. 17–19.
- 81.** For related examples, see De Puma, *Etruscan Tomb-Groups*, pp. 65–67, no. CA 13, figs. 18, 19, pl. 22, b, c, a stemmed plate from Chiusi in the Field Museum, Chicago.
- 82.** For two parallels in the Getty Museum and related parallels, see Richard Daniel De Puma, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 31, *The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu*, fasc. 6, *Etruscan Impasto and Bucchero* (Malibu, 1996), pl. 319, 1, 2.
- 83.** See P. Tamburini, "Dai primi studi sul bucchero etrusco al riconoscimento del bucchero di Orvieto: Importazioni, produzioni locali, rassegna morfologica," in *Appunti sul bucchero: Atti delle giornate di studio*, ed. Alessandro Naso (Florence, 2004), pp. 212–14, Form XXI; Filippo Capponi and Sara Ortenzi, *Museo Claudio Faina di Orvieto: Buccheri* (Milan and Perugia, 2006), pp. 321–28.
- 84.** For related examples, see De Puma, *Etruscan Tomb-Groups*, p. 70, nos. CA 17, CA 18, pl. 25, a; J. M. Jean Gran Aymerich, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, France*, vol. 31, *Musée du Louvre*, fasc. 20 (Paris, 1982), pl. 42, 7, 8; John W. Hayes, *Etruscan and Italic Pottery in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Toronto, 1985), no. C33; Capponi and Ortenzi, *Museo Claudio Faina*, nos. 12–14.

85. For the shape, compare examples in Compiègne (Marcelle Flot, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, France*, vol. 3, *Musée de Compiègne [Musée Vivien]* [Paris, 1924], pl. 21, 2), and Rome (Paolino Mingazzini, *Vasi della collezione Castellani: Catalogo* [Rome, 1930], pl. III, 7).
86. For a series of related handle ornaments, see Hayes, *Etruscan and Italic Pottery*, p. 63, no. C1. For the unusual stud feet on our kyathos, see Philip Perkins, *Etruscan Bucchero in the British Museum* (London, 2007), no. 215.
87. For more on the type, see Capponi and Ortenzi, *Museo Claudio Faina*, pp. 207–8, no. 179. A kyathos is also a ladle, but in this specific case, it is too big to be anything but a cup.
88. Luigi Donati, “Skyphoi chiusini di bucchero con anse piatte,” *Studi Etruschi* 45 (1977), pp. 90–91.
89. For additional examples of painted bucchero, see Ines Jucker, *Italy of the Etruscans*, exh. cat., Israel Museum (Jerusalem, 1991), p. 203, no. 268; Gran Aymerich, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, France*, vol. 31, *Musée du Louvre*, fasc. 20, pl. 39, 1–6. For a brief discussion of painted bucchero, see Tom B. Rasmussen, *Bucchero Pottery from Southern Etruria* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 142.
90. See Ulderico Santamaria and Giulia Artizzu, “Indagini scientifiche,” in *La Tomba Calabresi e la Tomba del Tripode di Cerveteri*, by Ferdinando Sciacca and Leonardo Di Blasi, with contributions by Maurizio Sannibale, Ulderico Santamaria, and Giulia Artizzu (Vatican City, 2003), pp. 271–79.
91. Inv. 540 (Luigi Donati, “Vasi di bucchero decorati con teste plastiche umane: Zona di Chiusi,” *Studi Etruschi* 36 [1968], p. 324, no. 5, pl. LXIII, c). See also Hayes, *Etruscan and Italic Pottery*, pp. 101–2, no. C72.
92. Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 88226 (Gilda Bartoloni, *Le tombe da Poggio Buco nel Museo Archeologico di Firenze* [Florence, 1972], p. 198, no. 6, pl. CXXXVII, a). A related chalice, also from Poggio Buco, is in the Museo di Antichità, Turin, inv. 76515 (Cristina Ambrosini and Filippo M. Gambari, eds., *La collezione Dianzani: Materiali da Poggio Buco nel Museo di Antichità di Torino* [Turin, 2004], p. 73, no. 137, figs. 43, 44).
93. A close parallel for this chalice is in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Rudolf Sunkowsky, “Eine Bucchero Pesante Gruppe,” *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 40 [1953], fig. 38, with additional examples cited on p. 123). See also Capponi and Ortenzi, *Museo Claudio Faina*, no. 228.
94. See 18.145.26 (4.67a). For close parallels, see Elisabeth Rohde, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Deutschland*, vol. 24, *Gotha, Schlossmuseum*, fasc. 1 (Munich, 1964), pl. 18, 1; Capponi and Ortenzi, *Museo Claudio Faina*, no. 229.
95. For the shape, see Capponi and Ortenzi, *Museo Claudio Faina*, no. 224.
96. A repertoire of fifty-seven figural Chiusine seal impressions has been studied by F. Scalia, “I cilindretti di tipo chiusino con figure umane,” *Studi Etruschi* 36 (1968), pp. 357–401. This specific seal is her Motif XIII and appears on fourteen other vases, including nine chalices. Also in the Museum’s collection is a bucchero chalice fragment (07.156.3), about 575–550 B.C., excavated at Orvieto in 1879. On this fragment the seal is non-figural and represents a continuous guilloché frieze. The fragment is published in Giovannangelo Camporeale, *Buccheri a cilindretto di fabbrica orvietana* (Florence, 1972), pp. 89–90, no. 5, pl. XXXI, c.
97. For a close parallel and discussion of the type, see De Puma, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 31, *Getty Museum*, fasc. 6, pl. 326.
98. A very similar oinochoe is Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. C 559 (J. M. Jean Gran Aymerich, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, France*, vol. 34, *Musée du Louvre*, fasc. 23 [Paris, 1992], pp. 39–40, pl. 7). A close parallel was on the New York art market (Sotheby’s, New York, May 31, 1997, lot 73).
99. For close parallels, see Christian Sørensen Blinkenberg and Knud Friis Johansen, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Danemark, Copenhagen, Musée National (Collection des antiquités classiques)*, fasc. 5 (Paris, 1935), pl. 211, 4; Giulio Paolucci, ed., *City Archaeological Museum of Thermal Waters, Chianciano Terme* (Siena, 1997), p. 108, fig. 98.
100. For this motif, see 4.69a, b; see also Erwin Bielefeld, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Deutschland*, vol. 19, *Altenburg, Staatliches Lindenau-Museum*, fasc. 3 (Munich, 1960), pl. 123, 4; Giulio Quirino Giglioli, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Italia*, vol. 1, *Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia in Roma*, fasc. 1 (Milan, 1925), pl. 2, 4.
101. See Jon Berkin, *The Orientalizing Bucchero from the Lower Building at Poggio Civitate (Murlo)* (Philadelphia, 2003), pp. 28–30, n. 9, fig. 9.
102. See Capponi and Ortenzi, *Museo Claudio Faina*, nos. 74–82.
103. A very close parallel is in the Sackler Gallery, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts (George H. Chase and Mary Zelia Pease, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 8, *Fogg Museum and Gallatin Collections* [Cambridge, Mass., 1942], pl. 27, 7).
104. Perkins, *Etruscan Bucchero*, fig. 276e.
105. For additional examples, see Capponi and Ortenzi, *Museo Claudio Faina*, nos. 88, 89, 91–95, 103, 105, and related oinochoai in G. Batignani, “Le oinochoai di bucchero pesante di tipo ‘chiusino,’” *Studi Etruschi* 33 (1965), nos. 14, 29, 44, 46, 47, and other examples.
106. Fernand Mayence and V. Verhoogen, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Belgique*, vol. 2, *Bruxelles, Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire (Cinquanteenaire)*, fasc. 2 (Brussels, 1937), pl. 1, 8.
107. Blinkenberg and Johansen, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Danemark, Copenhagen, Musée National*, fasc. 5, pl. 213, 3.
108. Bielefeld, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Deutschland*, vol. 19, *Altenburg, Staatliches Lindenau-Museum*, fasc. 3, pl. 125, 5.
109. See Marina Martelli, *La ceramica degli Etruschi: La pittura vascolare* (Novara, 1987), no. 73.
110. For two less ornate versions in the British Museum, see Perkins, *Etruscan Bucchero*, nos. 243, 244; cf. Jean MacIntosh Turfa, *Catalogue of the Etruscan Gallery of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology* (Philadelphia, 2005), pp. 202–3, no. 206, ill.
111. Batignani, “Le oinochoai di bucchero pesante.”
112. *Ibid.*, pp. 304–5.
113. De Puma, *Etruscan Tomb-Groups*, pp. 77–78, no. SP 4, fig. 23, pl. 30, a, b, and pl. 31, a, b.
114. For the bearded male head, compare a fragmentary example in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (Hayes, *Etruscan and Italic Pottery*, no. C45).
115. A close parallel for this vase is in the Museo Archeologico, Florence, inv. 3183–3184 (Jules Martha, *L’art étrusque* [Paris, 1889], p. 471, fig. 315).
116. See Paola Zamarchi Grassi, ed., *La Cortona dei principes*, exh. cat., Palazzo Casali (Cortona, 1992), p. 45, no. 24.
117. See Flot, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, France*, vol. 3, *Musée de Compiègne*, pl. 21, no. 26; Madeleine Massoul, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, France*, vol. 13, *Musée National de Sèvres*, fasc. 1 (Paris, 1935), pl. 27, no. 5; Bielefeld, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Deutschland*, vol. 19, *Altenburg, Staatliches Lindenau-Museum*, fasc. 3, pl. 123, nos. 1, 4.
118. Close parallels for this small round one are in the Schlossmuseum, Gotha (Rohde, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Deutschland*, vol. 24, *Gotha, Schlossmuseum*, fasc. 1, pl. 18, 6), and the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (Hayes, *Etruscan and Italic Pottery*, no. C107). For a more elaborate round tray in Brussels, see Giglioli, *L’arte etrusca* [see Chapter IV, note 49], pl. 40, 4.
119. For example, De Puma, *Etruscan Tomb-Groups*, pp. 63–64, no. CA 1, fig. 71, pl. 20, a–c, and p. 64, n. 6.
120. For related pieces, see Arthur Fairbanks, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases*, vol. 1, *Early Vases, preceding Athenian Black-Figured Ware* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), no. 672; Donati, “Vasi di bucchero,” pp. 342–43; Hayes, *Etruscan and Italic Pottery*, no. C122; Blinkenberg and Johansen, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Danemark, Copenhagen, Musée National*, fasc. 5, pl. 216, 1.
121. For this technique, see Gisela M. A. Richter, “The Technique of Bucchero Ware,” *Studi Etruschi* 10 (1936), pp. 61–65.
122. For a comparison of the two types, see Hayes, *Etruscan and Italic Pottery*, nos. C87, C88.
123. See Joan R. Mertens, *How to Read Greek Vases*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 2010), pp. 108–11, no. 21 (65.11.14 and 1980.537).
124. For dating and a list of other bucchero examples, see Giovannangelo Camporeale, *La collezione Alla Querce: Materiali archeologici orvietani* (Florence, 1970), pp. 74–76.
125. For two representative examples of this type of Egyptian flask, see Florence Dunn Friedman, ed., *Gifts of the Nile: Ancient Egyptian Faience*, exh. cat., Rhode Island School of Design, Providence (London, 1998), p. 138 and nos. 126, 127. For three examples from the Castellani Tomb at Palestrina and another from the Isis Tomb at Vulci, see Bartoloni et al., *Principi etruschi*, p. 283, nos. 361–63, ill., and p. 302, no. 414, ill. p. 301.
126. For additional examples in bucchero, see Giovannangelo Camporeale, *La collezione C. A.: Impasti e bucceri*, vol. 1, *Impasti e bucceri* (Rome, 1991), nos. 21, 139–41; in Etrusco-Corinthian, see Martelli, *La ceramica degli Etruschi*, no. 56.



127. Museo Claudio Faina, Orvieto (Mario Bizzarri, "La necropoli di Crocefisso del Tufo in Orvieto," *Studi Etruschi* 30 [1962], p. 74, no. 149, pl. XVI; Mario Bizzarri, *Orvieto etrusca* [Orvieto, 1972], p. 17 and fig. 12 [detail]; Camporeale, "Vasi plastici di bucchero pesante [see Chapter IV, note 20]," p. 115, no. 3, pp. 117–18).
128. Haynes, *Etruscan Bronzes*, pp. 253–54, no. 23, ill. p. 141.
129. For discussion of the type, see Camporeale, "Vasi plastici di bucchero pesante," pp. 103–15; Sarah Underhill Wisseman, "Observations on the Technique of Etruscan Bucchero Pesante: Selected Examples from the University Museum, Philadelphia," *Archaeological News* 7 (1978), no. 7, figs. 26–28.
130. See David Ridgway et al., "Provenance and Firing Techniques of Geometric Pottery from Veii: A Mössbauer Investigation," *Annual of the British School in Athens* 80 (1985), pp. 139–50.
131. A closely related parallel from Narce Tomb 105F is in Philadelphia (Turfa, *Catalogue of the Etruscan Gallery*, no. 59). For a classification of this type, see M. Gilda Benedettini, "Note sulla produzione dei sostegni fittili dell'agro falisco," *Studi Etruschi* 63 (1997), pp. 3–73.
132. Fernand Benoit, "L'aire méditerranéenne de la 'tête coupée,'" *Rivista di studi liguri* 17, no. 1 (January–March 1951), pp. 38–40; see also Mette Moltesen and Marjatta Nielsen, *Etruria and Central Italy, 450–30 B.C.: Catalogue*, with contributions by Pia Guldager Bilde, Tobias Fischer-Hansen, and Anne Marie Nielsen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (Copenhagen, 1996), pp. 40–41, no. 5.
133. For example, P. Gregory Warden, "The Blood of Animals: Predation and Transformation in Etruscan Funerary Representation," in *New Perspectives on Etruria and Early Rome: In Honor of Richard Daniel De Puma*, ed. Sinclair Bell and Helen Nagy (Madison, Wisc., 2009), pp. 198–219.
134. For related examples, see Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca*, pl. 40, 3; H. Salskov Roberts, "A New Bucchero Kantharos with Incised Frieze Found at Vulci," in *Recent Danish Research in Classical Archaeology: Tradition and Renewal*, ed. Tobias Fischer-Hansen et al., *Acta Hyperborea* 3 (Copenhagen, 1991), p. 356; Gran Aymerich, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, France*, vol. 34, *Musée du Louvre*, fasc. 23, pl. 32, figs. 19, b, 20, b, 23, d, 30, a; Jacques Chamay in *The Art of the Italic Peoples from 3000 to 300 BC*, ed. Jacques Chamay, exh. cat., Musée Rath, Geneva, and Mona Bismarck Foundation, Paris (Naples, 1993), pp. 200–201, no. 101, p. 215, no. 112; Warden, "Blood of Animals," pp. 198–219. A dinos and holmos of almost identical shape but smaller and with incised vegetal ornament are in the Olcott Collection at Columbia University, New York (Ingrid E. M. Edlund, *The Iron Age and Etruscan Vases in the Olcott Collection at Columbia University, New York*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 70, pt. 1 [Philadelphia, 1980], no. 28). In addition, see a related dinos and holmos excavated at Capena, S. Martino Necropolis, Tomb LXXXI (Paola Santoro, ed., *Civiltà arcaica dei Sabini nella Valle del Tevere: Le scoperte della necropoli di Colle del Forno*, exh. cat., Palazzo delle Scienze [Rome, 1973], pp. 108–10, pl. 23), and a painted parallel in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome (Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca*, pl. 41, 3).
135. For a close parallel to the second plate, see Edlund, *Iron Age and Etruscan Vases*, no. 32; Hayes, *Etruscan and Italic Pottery*, no. B26, with several other examples cited.
136. For example, see The Blinding of Polyphemos on a pithos in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (Richard Daniel De Puma, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 34, *The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu*, fasc. 9, *Etruscan Painted Pottery* [Malibu, 2000], no. 7).
137. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 35.43.152 (English trans., Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. Harris Rackham, Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge, Mass., 1948], vol. 9, p. 373).
138. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 3.46.3–5.
139. Livy, 1.34.2.
140. Giovanni Colonna and Friedrich-Wilhelm von Hase, "Alle origini della statuaria etrusca: La Tomba delle Statue presso Ceri," *Studi Etruschi* 52 (1984), pp. 13–59.
141. For more on this complex topic, see David Ridgway and Francesca R. Serra Ridgway, "Demaratus and the Archaeologists," in *Murlo and the Etruscans: Art and Society in Ancient Etruria*, ed. Richard Daniel De Puma and Jocelyn Penny Small (Madison, Wisc., 1992), pp. 6–15; Albert J. Nijboer, "The Role of Craftsmen in the Urbanization Process of Central Italy (8th to 6th Centuries BC)," in *Urbanization in the Mediterranean in the 9th to 6th Centuries BC*, ed. Helle Damgaard Andersen, Helle W. Horsnaes, Sanne Houbj-Nielsen, and Annette Rathje, *Acta Hyperborea* 7 (Copenhagen, 1997), pp. 383–406.
142. For examples of this shape from Veii, see Mauro Cristofani, *Le tombe da Monte Michele nel Museo Archeologico di Firenze* (Florence, 1969), fig. 14 and pl. XVII, 1–4. Another parallel is Jucker, *Italy of the Etruscans*, no. 275.
143. A close parallel is in the Museo Claudio Faina, Orvieto (Maria Cappelletti, *Museo Claudio Faina di Orvieto: Ceramica etrusca figurata* [Perugia, 1992], no. 2).
144. Numerous Greek painted vases depict men offering hares, cockerels, and other gifts to young men or boys. For homosexual courtship and gift-giving, see K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), pp. 91–93, figs. 8, 16, 17, 19; H. A. Shapiro, "Courtship Scenes in Attic Vase-Painting," *American Journal of Archaeology* 85, no. 2 (April 1981), pp. 133–43; Gundel Koch-Harnack, *Knabenliebe und Tiergeschenke: Ihre Bedeutung im päderastischen Erziehungssystem Athens* (Berlin, 1983); Thomas K. Hubbard, ed., *Homosexuality in Greece and Rome: A Sourcebook of Basic Documents* (Berkeley, 2003), pp. 18–20, figs. 8, 16, 19.
145. Compare a red-figure kylix by the Ambrosios Painter (John D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, 2nd ed. [Oxford, 1963], vol. 1, p. 174, no. 15) and a kalpis by the Kleophrades Painter (Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, vol. 1, p. 189, no. 75), both in the Augusto Castellani Collection, Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome. For more on this topic, see Koch-Harnack, *Knabenliebe und Tiergeschenke*, esp. pp. 59–128, figs. 3–10, 12–15, 20, 24, 26; De Puma, *Etruscan Tomb-Groups*, pp. 32–33, no. VB 25.
146. See also 2.2 for an alabastron with an Etruscan inscription.
147. For this late type of Chiusine cinerary urn, see Hayes, *Etruscan and Italic Pottery*, pp. 166–70.
148. For a series of similar vases, all said to be from Chiusi, see *ibid.*, nos. A22, A23. The earlier versions with modeled ribs rather than impressed ornament are represented by nos. A10, A11.
149. Lisa C. Pieraccini, *Around the Hearth: Caeretan Cylinder-Stamped Braziers* (Rome, 2003); Francesca R. Serra Ridgway, *Pithoi stampigliati ceretani: Una classe originale di ceramica etrusca* (Rome, 2010).
150. Pieraccini, *Around the Hearth*, figs. 10, 107.
151. *Ibid.*, pp. 196–97; see also 4.91.
152. Inv. 837 (Martelli, *La ceramica degli Etruschi*, no. 102).
153. Robert Manuel Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* (London, 1960), p. 156.
154. For another depiction of shoes or slippers hanging on a wall, see an engraved Etruscan mirror (Maria Paola Baglione and Fernando Gilotta, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, Italia*, vol. 6, *Villa Giulia*, fasc. 1 [Rome, 2007], no. 40).
155. Homer, *Iliad* 24.153–58.
156. See Larissa Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress* (Baltimore, 1975), p. 132, n. 20; the lecture was delivered at New York University in February 1972.
157. See Darrell A. Amyx, "Some Etrusco-Corinthian Vase Painters," in *Studi in onore di Luisa Banti* (Rome, 1965), p. 12, n. 8; for a list of examples in various media, see Roberts, "New Bucchero Kantharos," pp. 343–48.
158. Lise Hannestad, *The Paris Painter: An Etruscan Vase-Painter*, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 47, pt. 2 (Copenhagen, 1974), p. 9, Type 2.
159. Inv. MM 1961 (Lise Hannestad, *The Followers of the Paris Painter*, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 47, pt. 4 [Copenhagen, 1976], no. 41).
160. Inv. 171 (*ibid.*, no. 35.)
161. Inv. 84444 (Martelli, *La ceramica degli Etruschi*, no. 101.5).
162. Steingraber, *Etruscan Painting*, p. 349, no. 119, pl. 156.
163. Vatican, inv. 17689 (Nigel Jonathan Spivey, *The Micali Painter and His Followers* [Oxford, 1987], p. 8, no. 6, with bibliography); Paris, inv. 875 (Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, p. 143, no. 15; Mario A. Del Chiaro, *The Etruscan Funnel Group: A Tarquinian Red-Figured Fabric* [Florence, 1974], p. 26). For the subject in Greek art, see John Boardman, "The Phallos-Bird in Archaic and Classical Greek Art," *Revue archéologique* 2 (1992), pp. 227–42.
164. See Boardman, "Phallos-Bird," for the explanation. For connections with death, see Emily Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley, 1979), pp. 173–75, figs. 26, 27.
165. See Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, p. 11.

166. For interpretations of the meaning and popularity of sirens, see Charlotte Scheffer, "Sirens and Sphinxes from the Micali Painter's Workshop," *Bulletin* [Medelhavsmuseet] 14 (1979), p. 46.

167. A similar treatment of subject and decorative format is seen on a hydria in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Vulci (Maria Antonietta Rizzo, ed., *Un artista etrusco e il suo mondo: Il Pittore di Micali*, exh. cat., Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome, and Civiche Raccolte Archeologiche e Numismatiche, Milan [Rome, 1988], p. 66, no. 8, pl. II) and also on a stamnos in the Museo Archeologico Statale di Orvieto (Cappelletti, *Museo Claudio Faina*, no. 22).

168. See Moretti Sgubini, *Veio, Cerveteri, Vulci*, pp. 226–27, nos. III.B.6.10, III.B.6.11, pl. XV.

169. A good parallel is an amphora in the Museo Claudio Faina, Orvieto, inv. 2710 (Cappelletti, *Museo Claudio Faina*, pp. 72–73, no. 19).

170. For similar satyrs, see an amphora in Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum, inv. L 265 (Dietrich von Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and His World: Vase-Painting in Sixth-Century B.C. Athens*, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Toledo Museum of Art, and Los Angeles County Museum of Art [Malibu and New York, 1985], pp. 113–18, no. 19, colorpl. 1).

171. For the shape, see Gisela M. A. Richter and Marjorie J. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (New York, 1935), pp. 3–4, figs. 1–4, where it is called Type Ia; Ingrid Werner, *Dionysos in Etruria: The Ivy Leaf Group* (Stockholm, 2005), pp. 35–37. A close parallel for the shape is the Attic Greek amphora by the Amasis Painter, about 550 B.C., in the Museum's collection (06.1021.69). Two other Etruscan black-figure amphoras of this shape are 4.108a and 4.109. Although rare, the Type B amphora is also imitated in bucchero; see Rasmussen, *Bucchero Pottery*, p. 75, fig. 25; Gran Aymerich, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, France*, vol. 31, *Musée du Louvre*, fasc. 20, p. 88, pl. 42, nos. 9, 10, and fig. 30. For an especially close parallel to the shape of the Museum's vase, see a bucchero amphora with lid from Orvieto (*Mostra degli scavi archeologici alla Cannicella di Orvieto, Campagna 1977*, exh. cat., Palazzo dei Papi [Orvieto, 1978], p. 53, no. 2).

172. On tritons or mermen in Etruscan art, see Monika Boosen, *Etruskische Meeresmischwesen: Untersuchungen zu Typologie und Bedeutung* (Rome, 1986), pp. 65–130; Giovannangelo Camporeale in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC)*, ed. John Boardman et al., vol. 8 (Zurich, 1997), "Tritones (in Etruria)," pp. 85–90; Werner, *Dionysos in Etruria*, p. 70.

173. This is almost certainly a simplified version of the ivy chains pendant lotos on contemporaneous Attic black-figure amphorae, including one in the Museum's collection (21.88.76).

174. See also the Museum's amphora by the Micali Painter, 4.107. For three related examples in other collections, see Martelli, *La ceramica degli Etruschi*, nos. 118, 133, 134. As will be seen from these lids, all are decorated with concentric circles and have distinct, easily grasped

knobs. The lid for 4.110 appears to be unique for both its asymmetrical decoration and the continuous curve of its knob.

175. For the earlier Villanovan material, see Alessandro Guidi, *Studi sulla decorazione metopale nella ceramica villanoviana*, Biblioteca di "Studi Etruschi" 13 (Florence, 1980). For stamped metope decoration on later Etruscan red-ware and bucchero, see Serra Ridgway, *Pithoi stampigliati ceretani*, pp. 27–60, 182–95; Camporeale, *Buccheri a cilindretto*, p. 117, n. 1, pl. XL, a, b.

176. Akademisches Kunstmuseum, Bonn, inv. 386C (Bentz, *Rasna* [see Chapter IV, note 26], pp. 165–66, no. 243).

177. Tobias Dohrn ("Etruskische Amphora in Basler Privatbesitz," *Antike Kunst* 6, no. 2 [1963], pl. 25, 1, 2) compared the bird metopes on the Museum's amphora with somewhat similar swans within squares on painted architectural terracottas in the Antikensammlung, Berlin, and the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (Nancy A. Winter, *Symbols of Wealth and Power: Architectural Terracotta Decoration in Etruria and Central Italy, 640–510 B.C.* [Ann Arbor, 2009], pp. 405–7, 412–15). In my opinion, the comparison is not convincing.

178. Françoise Gaultier (*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, France*, vol. 35, *Musée du Louvre*, fasc. 24 [Paris, 1995], p. 53) has proposed that these two vases are related to a sub-category of her "Group of Louvre CA 1870," which she sees as connected to the Painter of Tarquinia RC 7946. After having looked at several of these vases, my opinion is that, for now at least, it is best to go only so far as attributing the New York vase to the Ivy Leaf Group.

179. Dietrich von Bothmer, "Echoes from Egypt," in *Artibus Aegypti: Studia in Honorem Bernardi V. Bothmer*, ed. Herman de Meulenaere and Luc Limme (Brussels, 1983), pp. 15–19. For a Caeretan hydria in the Museum's collection, see 64.111.1.

180. A. L. Calò, "Una fabbrica orvietana di vasi etruschi nella tecnica a figure nere," *Studi Etruschi* 10 (1936), pp. 429–37.

181. For more on the Orvieto Group, see Cappelletti, *Museo Claudio Faina*, p. 115.

182. Vases from the same group with almost identical subjects are in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Siena, and the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg (Franca Parise Badoni, *Ceramica campana a figure nere* [Florence, 1968], nos. 8, 9, pl. 5).

183. For antefix molds from Vulci and Falerii, see Giovanni Colonna, ed., *Santuari d'Etruria*, exh. cat., Sottocchia di San Francesco and Museo Archeologico Gaio Cilnio Mecenate, Arezzo (Milan, 1985), p. 48, with illustrations on p. 46.

184. Parallels for the Museum's antefix are found in the University Museum, Philadelphia; the Antikensammlung, Berlin; the Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen; and the British Museum, London. As Stephen Bleecker Luce ("Archaic Antefixes from Cerveteri in the University Museum, Philadelphia, Pa.," *American Journal of Archaeology* 24, no. 1 [January–March 1920], pp. 27, 33–34) demonstrated, all of them came from Augusto Jacobini's 1869–70 excavations at the Vigna Marini-Vitalini, Cerveteri, Philadelphia,

University Museum, acc. no. MS 1813 (Turfa, *Catalogue of the Etruscan Gallery*, pp. 250–51, no. 280), is very close to our example.

For the British Museum's related antefix with better paint preservation, see also Arvid Andrés, *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples* (Lund and Leipzig, 1939–40), pl. 9: 28; Ellen Macnamara, *The Etruscans* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), fig. 33.

185. Winter, *Symbols of Wealth and Power*.

186. Turfa, *Catalogue of the Etruscan Gallery*, pp. 257–59, nos. 288–91.

187. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

188. Luce, "Archaic Antefixes from Cerveteri," p. 27.

189. For more on Jacobini's activities at Cerveteri, see Francesca Melis, "Considerazioni e ricerche antiquarie su un gruppo di lastre fittili ceretane," in *Italian Iron Age Artefacts in the British Museum: Papers of the Sixth British Museum Classical Colloquium*, ed. Judith Swaddling (London, 1986), pp. 159–69.

190. Claudia Carlucci, "Osservazioni sulle associazioni e sulla distribuzione delle antefisse di II fase appartenenti ai sistemi decorativi etrusco-laziali," in *Deliciae Fictiles III, Architectural Terracottas in Ancient Italy: New Discoveries and Interpretations; Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the American Academy in Rome, November 7–9, 2002*, ed. Ingrid Edlund-Berry, Giovanna Greco, and John Kenfield (Oxford, 2006), pp. 2–23.

191. For a similar satyr antefix from Pyrgi, see Colonna, *Santuari d'Etruria*, p. 138, no. 7.1.L, and colorpl. on p. 147.

192. See Stephen Bleecker Luce and Leicester Bodine Holland, "Terracotta Revetments from Etruria in the University Museum, Philadelphia," *American Journal of Archaeology* 22, no. 3 (July–September 1918), pp. 319–39; Turfa, *Catalogue of the Etruscan Gallery*, pp. 259–60, no. 292.

193. Andrés, *Architectural Terracottas*, pp. 59–60. Note that this plaque was illustrated upside-down in Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, because at the time, it was thought that this was the correct orientation. It is now known that the cavetto should always be at the top of such a revetment.

194. For related examples at Capua, see Barbara Grassi, "Le terrecotte architettoniche" and "La ceramica campana a figure nere," in *Il Museo Archeologico dell'Antica Capua* (Naples, 1995), pp. 40–41; Barbara Grassi and Valeria Sampaolo, "Terrecotte arcaiche dai nuovi scavi del fondo Patturelli di Capua: Una prima proposta interpretativa," in *Deliciae Fictiles III, Architectural Terracottas in Ancient Italy: New Discoveries and Interpretations; Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the American Academy in Rome, November 7–9, 2002*, ed. Ingrid Edlund-Berry, Giovanna Greco, and John Kenfield (Oxford, 2006), p. 325, fig. 32.13. For a mold of this antefix type in the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam, see Patricia S. Lulof, "Roofs from the South: Campanian Architectural Terracottas in Satricum," in *Deliciae Fictiles III, Architectural Terracottas in Ancient Italy*, p. 239, fig. 23.8.

195. For somewhat similar eaves tile soffits from Cerveteri, see Winter, *Symbols of Wealth and Power*, p. 487 (Type 6.F.2.f), fig. 6.23.2.

196. For some relevant examples, see Paolo Enrico Arias, *A History of Greek Vase Painting*, trans. and rev. B. B. Shefton (London, 1962), pls. 91, 94, 99, 100, 116.

197. See, for example, the similar antefix, without provenance, formerly in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, acc. no. 96.AD.33 (Sybille Haynes in *A Passion for Antiquities: Ancient Art from the Collection of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman*, ed. Marion True and Kenneth Hamma, exh. cat., J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, and Cleveland Museum of Art [Malibu, 1994], pp. 195–97, no. 92, with related references). Closely related examples and variants of this antefix type (see Carlucci, “Osservazioni sulle associazioni e sulla distribuzione delle antefisse di II fase,” Type 2.VII) come from Civita Castellana, Veii, Pyrgi, Satricum, and Rome.

## Chapter V

1. D. H. Lawrence, *Etruscan Places* (1932); reprinted as *Sketches of Etruscan Places in D. H. Lawrence and Italy*, Penguin Classics (London, 2007), pp. 374–75.

2. Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 16.34. For a good summary of the Etruscan economy and the way in which archaeology helps us understand it better, see Graeme Barker and Tom B. Rasmussen, *The Etruscans* (Oxford, 1998).

3. See also Faliscan and Capenate, Chapter IV.

4. See 4.46; see also Eric Hostetter, *Bronzes from Spina*, vol. 2, *Instrumentum Domesticum* (Mainz, 2001), pp. 63–79.

5. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Ferrara, inv. 5094 (ibid., pp. 61–62, no. 172, fig. 98, pl. 27, b, c).

6. The closest parallels for this object are the handles of two strainers: Bologna (Museo Civico Archeologico, Sala X) from the “tomba grande” in the Giardini Margherita, Bologna, and Ferrara (Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 15785) from Tomb 447B at Spina. On the basis of Attic pottery found with it, the second strainer from Spina can be dated to the fifth century B.C. For additional examples, see Fritz Jurgait, *Die etruskischen und italischen Bronzen, sowie Gegenstände aus Eisen, Blei und Leder im Badischen Landesmuseum Karlsruhe* (Pisa, 1999), pp. 448–66, nos. 757–87, pls. 107, 140–48.

7. See Gisela M. A. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1915), pp. 210–14, no. 580, ill., where the handle belonging to 12.160.8 is erroneously attached to 12.160.9.

8. Ibid., p. 209, no. 578, ill. For a group of similar bronze basins in the Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe, see Jurgait, *Die etruskischen und italischen Bronzen*, pp. 292–94, nos. 489–92, pl. 149.

9. The *Tomba dei Vasi dipinti* at Tarquinia shows nested ladles and a strainer held by one of the servants; see Dorothy Kent Hill, “Wine Ladles and Strainers from Ancient Times,” *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 5 (1942), p. 43, fig. 3; Horst Blanck and Cornelia Weber-Lehmann, eds., *Malerei der Etrusker in Zeichnungen des 19.*

*Jahrhunderts: Dokumentation vor der Photographie aus dem Archiv des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Rom* (Mainz, 1987), p. 93, fig. 46.

10. This can be seen on the exterior of an Attic vase by Makron in the Metropolitan’s collection, 20.246 (Hill, “Wine Ladles and Strainers from Ancient Times,” p. 44, fig. 4).

11. Ladles are found at many Etruscan sites and have been classified by Dorothy Kent Hill (“Wine Ladles and Strainers from Ancient Times”) and Gianluca Caramella (“Parte seconda,” in *I bronzi etruschi e romani*, by Maria Paola Bini, Gianluca Caramella, and Sandra Buccioli, *Materiali del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia* 13 [Rome, 1995], vol. 1, p. 93, nos. 16–19). Our example belongs to Hill’s Type 1b and Caramella’s Type A1. For good summaries of Etruscan ladles, see John W. Hayes, *Greek, Roman, and Related Metalware in the Royal Ontario Museum: A Catalogue* (Toronto, 1984), pp. 40–43, nos. 48–54, ill.; Jurgait, *Die etruskischen und italischen Bronzen*, pp. 442–47, nos. 743–53, pls. 221–24; Maurizio Sannibale, *La raccolta Giacinto Guglielmi*, vol. 2, *Bronzi e materiali vari* (Vatican City, 2008), pp. 126–32, nos. 72–77, ill.

12. It has been suggested that these names indicate two different men, one the potter and the other the workshop owner, an opinion with which the present author does not agree.

13. For more on the subject, see Emeline Hill Richardson, “The Recurrent Geometric in the Sculpture of Central Italy, and Its Bearing on the Problem of the Origin of the Etruscans,” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 27 (1962), figs. 103, 104, 107, 110, 112; David Gordon Mitten, *Classical Bronzes*, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design (Providence, 1975), pp. 119–22, no. 34, ill.

14. For a close parallel, see Richard Stuart Teitz, *Masterpieces of Etruscan Art*, exh. cat., Worcester Art Museum (Worcester, Mass., 1967), pp. 56–57, no. 45, ill. p. 144.

15. Adolf Furtwängler, “Neue Denkmäler antiker Kunst III: Antiken in den Museen von Amerika,” *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Philologischen und Historischen Klasse der Kgl. Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*, 1905, no. 2, p. 264.

16. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, pp. 58–59, no. 89.

17. Maja Sprenger and Gilda Bartoloni, *The Etruscans: Their History, Art and Architecture* (New York, 1983), p. 133.

18. Antonio Francesco Gori, *Museo Etruscum Exhibens Insignia Veterum Etruscorum Monumenta*, vol. 1 (Florence, 1737), pl. 115, vol. 2 (Florence, 1737), p. 232. See also Ingo Herklotz, *Cassiano Dal Pozzo und die Archäologie des 17. Jahrhunderts*, *Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 28 (Munich, 1999); Lorenza Mochi Onori and Francesco Solinas, *I segreti di un collezionista: La straordinaria raccolta di Cassiano dal Pozzo, 1588–1657*, exh. cat., Galleria Nazionale d’Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini (Rome, 2000).

19. Beazley’s Shape VI (John D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting* [Oxford, 1947], p. 266). The shape, in both bronze and terracotta, is characterized by its beak-shaped spout, conical neck, elongated S-shaped handle, sharp carination,

concave belly, and footless base. See 13.232.2 (4.48) and Chapter IV, note 65. See also Ingrid Krauskopf, “La ‘Schnabelkanne’ della collezione Watkins nel Fogg Art Museum e vasi affini,” *Prospettiva* 20 (1980), pp. 7–16.

20. Gisela M. A. Richter, “Five Bronzes Recently Acquired by the Metropolitan Museum,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 48, no. 1 (January–March 1944), p. 7, no. 4.

21. See, for example, Vatican, inv. 15531 (Luigi M. Calì, *La collezione Bonifacio Falcioni*, Cataloghi, Monumenti, musei e gallerie pontificie, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 6 [Vatican City, 2000], pp. 195–96, no. 357, ill.).

22. See, for example, John Boardman, *Persia and the West: An Archaeological Investigation of the Genesis of Archaemenid Art* (London, 2000), p. 223, figs. 6.1, 6.2.

23. Poul Jørgen Riis, *Vulcentia Vetustiora: A Study of Archaic Vulcian Bronzes*, *Historisk-filosofiske skrifter* 19 (Copenhagen, 1998), pp. 46–49, figs. 41, 42.

24. The Museum’s collection does not include any of this type of cista foot. For three related examples in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, see Mary Comstock and Cornelius Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1971), p. 380, no. 516, ill.

25. They seem to have been worshipped together at least at two temples: Portonaccio (Veii) and Sant’Omobono (Rome). Giovanni Colonna, “Note preliminari sui culti del santuario di Portonaccio a Veio,” *Scienze dell’antichità, storia, archeologia, antropologia* 1 (1987), pp. 419–46.

26. Hill, “Wine Ladles and Strainers from Ancient Times.”

27. Jurgait, *Die etruskischen und italischen Bronzen*, pp. 452–54, no. 765, pl. 227. A close parallel is also cited by Hill, “Wine Ladles and Strainers from Ancient Times,” p. 47, n. 21.

28. For terracotta versions of this strainer type, see Laura Maria Michetti, *Le ceramiche argentate e a rilievo in Etruria nella prima età ellenistica*, *Monumenti antichi, Serie miscellanea* 8 (Rome, 2003), p. 202, nos. 334–37, fig. 24, pls. LXXIV, LXXV.

29. A related handle is in the Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe (Jurgait, *Die etruskischen und italischen Bronzen*, pp. 465–66, no. 784, pl. 232).

30. Closely related examples include the only other extant pair, from Tomb 128 at Spina; see Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Ferrara, inv. 2314, 2315 (Eric Hostetter, *Bronzes from Spina*, vol. 1, *The Figural Classes* [Mainz, 1986], pp. 18–19, no. 2, pl. 4, a–d, pl. 5, a, b), although they are not as elaborate, omitting the deer, for example, and single handles or fragments in Paris, Orvieto, and Volterra.

31. Hostetter, *Bronzes from Spina*, vol. 2, *Instrumentum Domesticum*, p. 140, no. 348, pl. 61, b. For other examples, see Filippo Magi, *La raccolta Benedetto Guglielmi nel Museo Gregoriano Etrusco*, vol. 2, *Bronzi e oggetti vari* (Vatican City, 1941), pp. 214–17, no. 88, ill.; Anne-Marie Adam, *Bronzes étrusques et italiques* (Paris, 1984), pp. 69–72, nos. 70–73, ill.;

Jurgeit, *Die etruskischen und italischen Bronzen*, pp. 515–16, no. 865, pl. 250; Hostetter, *Bronzes from Spina*, vol. 2, *Instrumentum Domesticum*, pp. 137–44, nos. 344–47, 349–59, pls. 61–65 (no. 357 is closest to our example); Jean MacIntosh Turfa, *Catalogue of the Etruscan Gallery of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology* (Philadelphia, 2005), pp. 154–55, nos. 120, 121, ill.; Sannibale, *La raccolta Giacinto Guglielmi*, vol. 2, pp. 150–57.

32. See Hugh Hencken, *Tarquinius, Villanovans and Early Etruscans* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), vol. 2, p. 497, for a list of terracotta helmets at Tarquinia.

33. Close parallels for the Museum's helmet come from Sala Consilina and Tarquinia (Hugh Hencken, *The Earliest European Helmets: Bronze Age and Early Iron Age* [Cambridge, Mass., 1971], figs. 56, 58, respectively).

34. This is according to Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, p. 418, no. 1558.

35. For example, a similar helmet in the Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe (Jurgeit, *Die etruskischen und italischen Bronzen*, pp. 120–21, no. 155, pls. 56, 67).

36. For a chart showing the evolution of the Picene helmet, see Alessandro Naso, *I Piceni: Storia e archeologia delle Marche in epoca pre-romana* (Milan, 2000), pl. 33.

37. David Gordon Mitten and Suzannah F. Doeringer, *Master Bronzes from the Classical World*, exh. cat., Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, City Art Museum of St. Louis, and Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Mainz, 1967), p. 224, no. 227, ill., dated to the third century B.C. A similar example is in the Villa Giulia, Rome (Anna Maria Moretti Sgubini, ed., *La collezione Augusto Castellani* [Rome, 2000], pp. 133–34, no. 82, ill.). Both of these helmets are associated with the major nineteenth-century Italian collector Augusto Castellani (1829–1914).

38. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, pp. 416–17, no. 1549, ill. p. 415.

39. Such helmets are rendered in plaster in the Tomb of the Reliefs at Cerveteri. See Chapter II, illustration on page 18 in this volume. See also Horst Blanck and Giuseppe Proietti, *La Tomba dei Rilievi di Cerveteri*, Soprintendenza Archeologica per l'Etruria Meridionale, Studi di archeologia 1 (Rome, 1986), pp. 47–48, pl. XXV, a, b.

40. See Peter Connolly, *Greece and Rome at War* (London, 1981), pp. 120–22; Adrian Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army* (London, 2003), pp. 29–31. For the earlier Italic examples, see Edoardo Brizio, "Il sepolcreto gallico di Montefortino presso Arcevia," *Monumenti antichi* 9 (1899), cols. 748–54 and pl. VI.

41. Compare a fourth-century B.C. Apulian breastplate in the Museum, 1992.180.3.

42. For the nude twin clasps, see Jurgeit, *Die etruskischen und italischen Bronzen*, pp. 114–15, no. 147, pls. 49, 52.

43. For discussion of related examples, see Sannibale, *La raccolta Giacinto Guglielmi*, vol. 2, pp. 228–31, nos. 138, 139, ill.

44. A group of similar miniature bronze helmets, now in the Villa Giulia, Rome, might be related

to this group; see L. Morpurgo, "Di un gruppo di piccoli elmi e di altri ex-voto per vittorie sui Galli," *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 54 (1926), pp. 183–90.

## Chapter VI

1. D. H. Lawrence, *Etruscan Places* (1932); reprinted as *Sketches of Etruscan Places in D. H. Lawrence and Italy*, Penguin Classics (London, 2007), p. 357.

2. For example, P. Gregory Warden et al., *From the Temple and the Tomb: Etruscan Treasures from Tuscany*, exh. cat., Southern Methodist University (Dallas, 2009), p. 19 ("A Brief Chronology of the Etruscans").

3. The first-century A.D. Roman writer Silius Italicus stated that the Romans adopted the fasces from the Etruscan city of Vetulonia (*Punica* 8.485–86), and indeed an early example was found there in the Tomb of the Lictor. See Mauro Cristofani, ed., *Civiltà degli Etruschi*, exh. cat., Museo Archeologico, Florence (Milan, 1985), p. 104 and p. 101, fig. 3.15.30.

4. Bronze examples have been found in Etruscan tombs and they are represented in Etruscan frescoes and sculpture.

5. See Larissa Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress* (Baltimore, 1975), pp. 48–57; Hans Rupprecht Goette, *Studien zu römischen Togadarstellungen* (Mainz, 1990); Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante, eds., *The World of Roman Costume* (Madison, Wisc., 1994). For an excellent example in the Museum's collection, see an Augustan togatus (04.15).

6. For images of gladiators on Roman objects in the Museum's collection, see a painted glass beaker, 22.2.36, .37, and a glass cup, 81.10.245 (Carlos A. Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World in The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Greece, Cyprus, Etruria, Rome* [New York, 2007], pp. 492–93, nos. 442, 445, ill. pp. 378, 379).

7. See Larissa Bonfante Warren, "Roman Triumphs and Etruscan Kings: The Changing Face of the Triumph," *Journal of Roman Studies* 60 (1970), pp. 49–66; Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (Cambridge, 2009).

8. The back of an Etruscan mirror is the side with the engraved figural subjects. The originally polished reflecting side is the front, although sometimes, this is mistakenly called the reverse in modern literature. Correct terminology is obverse for the original reflecting side and reverse for the figural side.

9. Gisela M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems: Greek, Etruscan, and Roman*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Rome, 1956); Larissa Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 3, *New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Rome, 1997).

10. One additional Etruscan mirror (depicting a dancing satyr and maenad) was originally part of the Cesnola collection but was deaccessioned with many Cypriot objects from the Museum in 1927. It was purchased by John Ringling and is now in the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida (acc. no. S.N. 28.2164; Nancy Thomson de Grummond in *Ancient Art from Cyprus: The Ringling Collection*, ed. Norma

Kershaw, exh. cat., John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art [Sarasota, Fla., 1983], pp. 38–42, no. 52).

11. Homer, *Iliad* 24.55–63.

12. On Etruscan engraved mirrors, artists depicted Peleus wrestling with Thetis as she tries to evade him by beginning one of her transmutations. For that subject on early Etruscan engraved mirrors, see Nancy Thomson de Grummond, "An Etruscan Mirror in Tokyo," in *Aspetti e problemi della produzione degli specchi etruschi figurati: Atti dell'incontro internazionale di studio, Roma, 2–4 maggio 1997*, ed. Maria Donatella Gentili (Rome, 2000), pp. 69–77. During the nineteenth century in Italy, several ancient Etruscan blank mirrors were engraved with imitations of a well-known authentic Etruscan mirror in the British Museum that shows Peleus pursuing Thetis. On that subject, see Richard Daniel De Puma, "Forgeries of Etruscan Engraved Mirrors," in *From the Parts to the Whole: Acta of the 13th International Bronze Congress, Held at Cambridge, Massachusetts, May 28–June 1, 1996*, ed. Carol C. Mattusch, Amy Brauer, and Sandra E. Knudsen, vol. 2 (Portsmouth, R.I., 2002), pp. 60–61; Richard Daniel De Puma, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 4, *Northeastern Collections* (Rome, 2005), pp. 56–57, no. 38. For the authentic mirror in London, see Judith Swaddling, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, Great Britain*, vol. 1, *The British Museum*, fasc. 1, *Archaic and Classical Mirrors (Early Tanged and Related Mirrors)* (London, 2001), pp. 47–49, no. 30.

13. Homer, *Iliad* 20.237.

14. The date given above, about 450–420 B.C., is based on Bonfante's analysis, but others, including myself, believe the mirror is earlier. The thick, flat section of the disc indicates to me, at least, a date in the first half (not the second half) of the fifth century B.C. For this and the question of the subject's popularity on mirrors, see Richard Daniel De Puma, "Eos and Memnon on Etruscan Mirrors," in *Murlo and the Etruscans: Art and Society in Ancient Etruria*, ed. Richard Daniel De Puma and Jocelyn Penny Small (Madison, Wisc., 1994), pp. 180–89.

15. She is named on only two others: Museo Archeologico, Palestrina, inv. 1511 (Elena Foddai, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, Italia*, vol. 6, fasc. 2, *Roma: Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia; Palestrina: Museo Archeologico* [Rome, 2009], no. 86); Bareiss Collection (Jaen Puhvel, "Etruscan Inscriptions at the J. Paul Getty Museum," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 12 [1984], p. 164, fig. 2). The name also appears on two engraved Praenestine cistae: Antikensammlung, Berlin, inv. 3467, and Villa Giulia, Rome, inv. 51198.

16. Homer, *Iliad* 1.8–43.

17. *Ibid.*, 1.47–54.

18. Homer, *Odyssey* 10.244–73, 10.361, 10.428–37.

19. *Ibid.*, 10.550–60.

20. See Ulrike Fischer-Graf, *Spiegelwerkstätten in Vulci*, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Archäologische Forschungen 8 (Berlin, 1980), pp. 40–41. For other mirrors with satyrs and maenads, see Ilse Mayer-Prokop, *Die gravierten*

- etruskischen Griffspiegel archaischen Stils, Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung, suppl. 13 (Heidelberg, 1967), pp. 83–86, esp. pl. 22, 1.
- 21.** See 96.18.15 and Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, acc. no. 99.494 (Richard Daniel De Puma, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 2, *Boston and Cambridge: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts; Cambridge, Harvard University Museums* [Ames, Iowa, 1993], pp. 30–32, no. 9, figs. 9a–d.)
- 22.** Hesiod, *Theogony* 270–85 (English trans., Hesiod, *Theogony*, trans. Norman O. Brown [1953; repr., New York, 1990], pp. 60–61).
- 23.** For more on the story and its sources, see Timothy Gantz, *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources* (Baltimore, 1993), pp. 19–20, 305–6. See also John H. Oakley, “Perseus, the Graiai, and Aeschylus’ *Phorkides*,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 92, no. 3 (July 1988), pp. 383–91.
- 24.** The subject is represented on two Etruscan red-figure vases: Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, inv. 918 (Marina Martelli, *La ceramica degli Etruschi: La pittura vascolare* [Novara, 1987], pp. 222, 324–25, no. 170), where the figures, inscribed *Alcsti* and *Atmite*, are flanked by death demons; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, acc. no. 97.372 (J. Michael Padgett et al., *Vase-Painting in Italy: Red-Figure and Related Works in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* [Boston, 1993], pp. 257–60, no. 173), where a winged death demon hovers over the un-inscribed couple. Both vases are dated to the second half of the fourth century B.C.
- 25.** This mirror has been displayed in the Museum’s Etruscan gallery that opened in 2007 beside the implement.
- 26.** An engraved cista in the Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire, Brussels, inv. A 1159 (Gabriella Bordenache Battaglia, with Adriana Emiliozzi, *Le ciste prenestine*, vol. 1, *Corpus*, pt. 1 [Rome, 1979], pp. 70–72, no. 12, pl. LXXX), depicts a kitchen scene with seven cooks preparing and boiling meat. One pair of cooks tends a large tripod cauldron, and the man on the right uses a device somewhat similar to the bronze hook to stir or retrieve a piece of meat. This image led Richard Engelmann (“Das Homerische Pempobolon,” *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 6 [1891], pp. 173–74) to propose that this engraving proved that such hooks were used by chefs preparing meat dishes. A generation later, A. Wentzel (in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1925, pp. 282–86) disputed Engelmann’s interpretation on the basis of his examination of the Metropolitan’s mirror. Debate continues, but today the consensus is that this device is a torch holder not a cooking implement (see Sybille Haynes, *Etruscan Bronzes* [London, 1985], pp. 284–85, no. 107).
- 27.** See Lawrence Richardson Jr., *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore, 1992), p. 228, “Iuventas, Aeducula,” and pp. 379–80, “Terminus, Fanum”; Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 3, p. 33.
- 28.** The name *Thalna* is inscribed on another mirror in the Museum’s collection (6.13) and on fifteen mirrors in other collections, demonstrating that this spirit can sometimes be male. For discussion of *Thalna*, see Giovannangelo Camporeale in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC)*, ed. John Boardman et al., vol. 7 (Zurich, 1994), pp. 900–902.
- 29.** Reported by Deborah Schorsch in Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 3, p. 38, and radiograph on p. 77.
- 30.** Ines Jucker, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, Schweiz*, vol. 1, *Basel, Schaffhausen, Bern, Lausanne* (Bern, 2001), pp. 79–81, no. 39, is almost exactly like the Museum’s handle but with three rather than four pairs of torus moldings on the lower section. For another pair of related handle elements, see Anna Eugenio Feruglio in *Gens Antiquissima Italiae: Antichità dall’Umbria a Leningrado*, ed. Francesco Roncalli, exh. cat., State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (Perugia, 1990), pp. 266, 267, nos. 4.26, 4.29.
- 31.** For many of the following examples, the handles, even if ancient, may not have originally belonged to the mirrors to which they are now attached: Swaddling, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, Great Britain*, vol. 1, pp. 40–42, no. 27, pp. 47–49, no. 30; De Puma, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 2, pp. 44–45, no. 25 (isolated handle); Nancy Thomson de Grummond, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, Great Britain*, vol. 3, *Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, Claydon House, Pitt Rivers Museum* (Rome, 2007), p. 25, no. 13.
- 32.** Ursula Liepmann, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, vol. 2, *Braunschweig, Göttingen, Hamburg, Hannover, Kiel, Münster, Steinhorst, Wolfenbüttel* (Munich, 1988), nos. 20, 22, 23; Nancy Thomson de Grummond, ed., *A Guide to Etruscan Mirrors* (Tallahassee, Fla., 1982), p. 11, figs. 10, 11; Richard Nicholls, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, Great Britain*, vol. 2, *Cambridge: Corpus Christi College, the Fitzwilliam Museum, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, the Museum of Classical Archaeology* (Cambridge, 1993), no. 7; Nancy Thomson de Grummond, *Etruscan Myth, Sacred History, and Legend* (Philadelphia, 2006), p. 167, fig. VII.22; and an unpublished example in the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts (acc. no. 1995.1129), showing winged *Hermes*, about 400 B.C.
- 33.** Richard Daniel De Puma, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 1, *Midwestern Collections* (Ames, Iowa, 1987), pp. 31–32, no. 16, figs. 16a–k; for the subject in general, see S. Weinberg, “Etruscan Bone Mirror Handles,” *Muse*, no. 9 (1975), pp. 25–33.
- 34.** For good discussion and several examples of this pose, see de Grummond, *Etruscan Myth*, pp. 23–40, figs. II.2, 9, 14, 15, 17.
- 35.** Homer, *Iliad* 6.181–83.
- 36.** Hesiod, *Theogony* 319–24.
- 37.** For more on the subject, see Mario Cristofani, *I bronzi degli Etruschi*, with contributions by Edilberto Formigli and Maria Elisa Micheli (Novara, 1985), pp. 64–67, 295–97, no. 121, ill. pp. 228–31. Larissa Bonfante (*Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 3, p. 46) discusses a parallel mirror from Palestrina, now in the Villa
- Giulia, Rome (inv. 42221), that has recently been carefully published (Foddai, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, Italia*, vol. 6, fasc. 2, no. 80; see also no. 84, another example with the same subject).
- 38.** For the possible connection to Orvieto, see Ingela M. B. Wiman, *Malstria—Malena: Metals and Motifs in Etruscan Mirror Craft* (Göteborg, 1990), p. 113.
- 39.** For their iconography, see Richard Daniel De Puma in *LIMC*, vol. 3 (Zurich, 1986), “*Tinas Cliniar*,” pp. 597–608. Several volumes of *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum* have additional examples, but see especially Gabrielle Cateni, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, Italia*, vol. 3, *Volterra: Museo Guarnacci*, fasc. 1 (Rome, 1995).
- 40.** For some of the discussions, see Ursula Höckmann, “Die Datierung des hellenistisch-etruskischen Griffspiegel des 2. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.,” *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 102 (1987), pp. 247–89; János György Szilágyi, “Discorso sul metodo contributo al problema della classificazione degli specchi tardo-etrusco,” in *Tyrrhenoi philotechnoi*, ed. Marina Martelli (Rome, 1994), pp. 161–72; Witold Dobrowski, “I Dioscuri sugli specchi etruschi,” in *Tyrrhenoi philotechnoi*, pp. 173–81.
- 41.** For other interpretations of this word, see Bonfante, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 3, p. 28.
- 42.** For more information on the subject, see Antonia Rallo, *Lasa: Iconografia e esegesi* (Florence, 1974), and for mirrors, Wiman, *Malstria—Malena*.
- 43.** For more on this topic, see De Puma in *LIMC*, vol. 3, “*Tinas Cliniar*,” pp. 597–608.
- 44.** For other examples of very small bronze mirrors, see De Puma, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 2, p. 44, no. 24.
- 45.** A variant of this subject replaces *Eros* with a satyr, but the poses are identical. See, for example, a bronze cista handle in the Museo Archeologico, Palestrina, inv. 1499 (Bordenache Battaglia, *Le ciste prenestine*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 154–55, no. 47, pl. CCIV).
- 46.** Dietrich Willers, “Vom Etruskischen zum Römischen: Noch einmal zu einem Spiegelrelief in Malibu,” *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986), figs. 1, 3–6.
- 47.** *Ibid.*, pp. 21–25. For additions to the Willers list, see Jucker, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, Schweiz*, vol. 1, pp. 53–55, no. 26.
- 48.** For examples of Greek bronze box mirrors in the Museum’s collection, see Gisela M. A. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1915), pp. 257–68, nos. 757–77. See also Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, pp. 440, 441, nos. 196, 198, ill. pp. 169, 171; see also p. 440, no. 195, ill. p. 168.
- 49.** On the technique, see Dorothy Kent Hill, “Ancient Metal Reliefs,” *Hesperia* 12, no. 2 (October–December 1943), pp. 97–114; Ines Jucker, “Bemerkungen zu einigen etruskischen Klappspiegeln,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung* 95 (1988), pp. 1–39.

50. See, for example, two silver gilt box mirrors from Chiusi in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (De Puma, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 2, pp. 38–39, nos. 15, 16).
51. See Maristella Pandolfini, “Considerazioni sulle iscrizioni etrusche di Bolsena su *instrumentum*,” *Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome, Antiquité* 99, no. 2 (1987), p. 622, nn. 5, 6.
52. A closely related example is in Toronto (John W. Hayes, *Greek, Roman, and Related Metalware in the Royal Ontario Museum: A Catalogue* [Toronto, 1984], pp. 29–30, no. 34), although the handle, which is ancient, might not belong to it. Another example, found at Vulci (Maria Teresa Falconi Amorelli, *Vulci: Scavi Mengarelli [1925–1929]*, Collana di studi archeologici 1 [Rome, 1987], no. 27), still contained vestiges of fine cloth and a laurel wreath; for a short list of cistae of this type, see Gabriele Foerst, *Die Gravierungen der pränestinischen Cisten* (Rome, 1978), p. 92, n. 403. An earlier engraved example, from the mid-fifth century B.C., comes from Populonia (Museo Archeologico, Florence, inv. 81961; Warden et al., *From the Temple and the Tomb*, p. 277, no. 204, ill. p. 27).
53. Ingrid Krauskopf makes a good case for the ritual use of paterae, and with the caveat that there will always be exceptions to a given rule, I agree with her. See Ingrid Krauskopf, “Überlegungen zur zeitlichen Diskrepanz zwischen Metallgefäßen und ihren Nachbildungen in Ton,” *Revue des études anciennes* 97, nos. 1–2 (1995), pp. 77–87 (issue titled *Vaisselle métallique; vaisselle céramique: Productions, usages et valeurs en Étrurie*, ed. Jean-René Jannot). See also *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum (ThesCRA)*, vol. 5, *Personnel of Cult, Cult Instruments* (Los Angeles, 2005), pp. 167–68, nos. 54, 160, 161.
54. Sandra Buccioli in *I bronzi etruschi e romani*, by Maria Paola Bini, Gianluca Caramella, and Sandra Buccioli, *Materiali del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia 13* (Rome, 1995), vol. 2, pp. 438–39.
55. Laura Ambrosini, *Thymiateria etruschi in bronzo: Di età tardo classica, alto e medio ellenistica* (Rome, 2002), p. 391, no. 416, pl. CX.
56. Mario Moretti and Anna Maria Moretti Sgubini, eds., *I Curunas di Tuscania* (Rome, 1983), pp. 109–10, nos. 64–70, pl. CX.
57. “Shape VII, type A,” without foot; see John D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting* (Oxford, 1947), addenda, p. 309 (to p. 269), with parallels.
58. Homer, *Iliad* 9.199–217.
59. For example, Luigi M. Calì, *La collezione Bonifacio Falcioni*, *Cataloghi, Monumenti, musei e gallerie pontificie*, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 6 (Vatican City, 2000), p. 305, no. 529, and pp. 254–55, no. 461, for the standard candelabrum of this type.
60. A close parallel is in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Vatican City (ibid., pp. 305–6, no. 530).
61. Eduard Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, vol. 5 (Berlin, 1897), pp. 144–46, pl. 109, dated to the fourth century B.C. The subject might have been inspired by the famous Attic black-figure amphora with the same subject by Exekias, dated about 540 B.C. The vase was found at Vulci and is now in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Vatican City (*Les Étrusques et l’Europe*, exh. cat., Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, and Altes Museum, Berlin [Paris, 1992], p. 329).
62. Latin inscriptions record the conversation; she says, “I’m going to beat you” and he replies, “I do believe you are.” See Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, vol. 5, pp. 191–93, pl. 146, dated to the late fourth or early third century B.C.
63. See Horst Blanck and Giuseppe Proietti, *La Tomba dei Rilievi di Cerveteri*, Soprintendenza Archeologica per l’Etruria Meridionale, Studi di archeologia 1 (Rome, 1986), p. 27, fig. 16, p. 73, pl. XI, a, p. 78, pl. XVI, b; Stephen Steingraber, ed., *Etruscan Painting: Catalogue Raisonné of Etruscan Wall Paintings*, trans. Mary Blair, ed. David Ridgway and Francesca R. [Serra] Ridgway (New York, 1986), pp. 262, 263, fig. 10 and pl. 2. This tomb is dated to the late fourth century B.C.
64. There is a gold pin marked only once with *śuthina*. See Gösta Säflund, *Aphrodite Kallipygos* (Stockholm, 1963), pp. 50–51, fig. 35.
65. For close parallels of the ring, see Frederick Henry Marshall, *Catalogue of the Finger Rings, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum* (London, 1907), p. 67, no. 365, pl. XI; Ettore De Juliis, ed., *Gli ori di Taranto in età ellenistica*, exh. cat., Brera 2 (Milan, 1984), pp. 295–96, no. 226. For a gemstone of the proper size, see De Juliis, *Gli ori di Taranto*, p. 307, no. 266, all three dated to the third century B.C.
66. Most scholars of classical Greek literature believe that Aeschylus (ca. 525–456 B.C.) produced a trilogy about the Titan Prometheus: *Prometheus Bound*, *Prometheus Unbound*, and *Prometheus the Fire-Carrier*.
67. The Etruscan name of this goddess is not known, but in Praeneste, where Latin was spoken, *Victoria* is inscribed on both other cistae and mirrors that depict her.
68. Bordenache Battaglia, *Le ciste prenestine*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 143.
69. Suzannah Fabing, “Etruscan Bronzes,” in *The Gods Delight: The Human Figure in Classical Bronze*, ed. Arielle P. Kozloff and David Gordon Mitten, exh. cat., Cleveland Museum of Art, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, and Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Cleveland, 1988), pp. 244–49, no. 45, ill., with related types on p. 249. See also 42.11.28 (scarab).
70. See, respectively, Gabriella Bordenache Battaglia and Adriana Emiliozzi, *Le ciste prenestine*, vol. 1, *Corpus*, pt. 2 (Rome, 1990), pp. 181–86, no. 59, pls. CCLVII–CCLXVI; Bordenache Battaglia, *Le ciste prenestine*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 112–15, no. 29, pls. CXXXV–CXXXIX.
71. See Foerst, *Cisten*, pl. 32, a–c, for the original drawings. Bordenache Battaglia, *Le ciste prenestine*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pl. B, is a new drawing based on the 1879 originals in Rome.
72. Foerst, *Cisten*, p. 208, no. 4; R. Schöne, “Le ciste prenestine,” *Annali dell’Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 1866, pp. 161–62, no. 6. Of course, if Foerst is correct, the cista could not have been found in the 1876 excavations at Palestrina.
73. Cf. Homer, *Iliad* 4.130–40.
74. Herakles fighting with Hippolyta appears on an Etruscan mirror in the Villa Giulia, Rome, inv. 24872 (Eduard Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, vol. 4 [Berlin, 1867], pp. 85–86, pl. CCCXLI, 2). The figures on that mirror are inscribed. In Etruscan Hippolyta is Hephlepta.
75. See the Museum’s terracotta copy of Polykleitos’s Diadoumenos, 32.11.2 (Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, p. 454, no. 253, ill. p. 217).
76. I know of only two other ovoid cistae with this feature: Musée Municipal, Laon, inv. 37/1344 (Bordenache Battaglia, *Le ciste prenestine*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 98–100, no. 23, pls. CXVIII–CXX), and Museo Archeologico, Palestrina, inv. 1497 (Bordenache Battaglia, *Le ciste prenestine*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 167–69, no. 55, pls. CCXLI–CCXLIV).
77. Inv. 15693 (ibid., pp. 18–21, no. VIII, pl. XXII, d, e).
78. Inv. 84 6-14 35 (ibid., pp. 115–16, no. 30, pl. CXXII, b, c).
79. Felice Coppola, *Le ciste prenestine*, vol. 1, *Corpus*, pt. 3, *Manici isolati* (Rome, 2000), p. 37, no. M46. For a close parallel, see an example in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (Mette Moltesen and Marjatta Nielsen, *Etruria and Central Italy, 450–30 B.C.: Catalogue* [Copenhagen, 1996], pp. 230–34, no. 102, ill.).
80. The Museum has a Greek box mirror (14.130.4) that shows Marsyas instructing Olympos (Anne Weis in *LIMC*, vol. 7 [Zurich, 1994], “Olympos I,” p. 39, no. 8).
81. See the Museum’s red-figured Lucanian skyphos (12.235.4) for a depiction of Marsyas and Athena (Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World*, p. 438, no. 177, ill. pp. 156, 157).
82. For more on terracotta relief situlae, see Adolf Greifenhagen, *Beiträge zur antiken Reliefkeramik*, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, suppl. 21 (Berlin, 1963). For the literary sources and works of art treating Marsyas, see Anne Weis in *LIMC*, vol. 6 (Zurich, 1992), “Marsyas I,” pp. 366–78.
83. The form is characterized by a wide, flaring mouth, high concave neck, sharp carination with distinctive ring handles, and base of small diameter that joins a domed foot.
84. Beazley listed five other examples of this special shape, the glaux with its distinctive single vertical and horizontal handles. Harari assigned the two vases in our collection to his “Pittore degli Skyphoi” with two examples in the Villa Giulia, Rome, especially close to the Metropolitan’s skyphoi. See, respectively, Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, pp. 116–17, nos. 2–6; Maurizio Harari, *Il “Gruppo Clusium” nella ceramografia etrusca* (Rome, 1980), p. 78, nos. 4, 5.
85. Dietrich von Bothmer, “Some Etruscan Vases,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, n.s., 10, no. 5 (January 1952), p. 145. For a very close parallel, in subject, shape, technique, and stylistic details, see Ines Jucker, *Italy of the Etruscans*, exh. cat., Israel Museum (Jerusalem, 1991), pp. 242–43, no. 311.
86. Harari, *Il “Gruppo Clusium”*, p. 57, no. 24, p. 149.

- 87.** Orazio Paoletti, "Ceramica figurata etrusco-geometrica: Qualche osservazione," in *Etruria e Italia preromana: Studi in onore di Giovannangelo Camporeale*, ed. Stefano Bruni (Pisa, 2009), vol. 2, pp. 658–59.
- 88.** Gisela M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1940), p. 46; Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, pp. 102–3.
- 89.** For this group, see Mario A. Del Chiaro, "Etruscan Oinochoai of the Torcop Group," *Studi Etruschi* 28 (1960), pp. 137–64; Mario A. Del Chiaro, *Etruscan Red-Figured Vase Painting at Caere* (Berkeley, 1974), pp. 68–86, esp. pls. 70, 71, for two close parallels to the Museum's oinochoe; see also Martelli, *La ceramica degli Etruschi*, pp. 206, 319, no. 156. For other oinochoai by the Popolonia Painter, see Vincent Jolivet, *Recherches sur la céramique étrusque à figures rouges tardive du Musée du Louvre: Département des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines* (Paris, 1982), pp. 50–51, 69 (where the painter's work is dated about 310–280 B.C.); Francesca R. Serra Ridgway, *I corredi del Fondo Scataglini a Tarquinia* (Milan, 1996), vol. 1, p. 8, no. 3-1, pl. III, and p. 33, no. 25-2, pl. XXI.
- 90.** Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, p. 161.
- 91.** Beazley (*ibid.*, p. 187, no. 4) placed this vase in what he called the Negro Boy Group, and that is the name given to the group of vases in the scholarly literature.
- 92.** For a good discussion of plastic vases, see Marion True, "Athenian Potters and the Production of Plastic Vases," in *The Colors of Clay: Special Techniques in Athenian Vases*, ed. Beth Cohen (Los Angeles, 2006), pp. 240–90.
- 93.** Inv. 4982.51 (Karl Anton Neugebauer, *Führer durch das Antiquarium*, vol. 2, *Vasen*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin [Berlin, 1932], p. 166).
- 94.** Padgett et al., *Vase-Painting in Italy* [see Chapter VI, note 24], pp. 265–67, nos. 178, 179, ill.
- 95.** Inv. 16338 (Giulio Quirino Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca* [Milan, 1935], pl. 281, 2; Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, pl. XL, 6). For the famous bronze head vase in the Munich Antikensammlungen (inv. 2573), see Cristofani, *I bronzi degli Etruschi*, pp. 232, 295, no. 119.
- 96.** Sometimes, that interest turned to rather bizarre or comic caricatures of ethnic types, all apparently to demonstrate the idea that the appearance and behavior of foreigners were odd. See discussion in François Lissarrague, *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet: Images of Wine and Ritual* (Princeton, 1990), pp. 57–59; Padgett et al., *Vase-Painting in Italy*, pp. 263–65, no. 177, ill.
- 97.** Two close parallels for the head of this boy (56.49.2), probably made from the same mold, are in Ferrara (Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 1909; Frank M. Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience* [Cambridge, Mass., 1970], p. 59, fig. 31; Harari, *Il "Gruppo Clusium"*, pp. 69, 166, no. 7, pl. XLVIII, 1, 2) and San Simeon, California (Hearst San Simeon State Historical Monument, acc. no. 5650; Mario A. Del Chiaro, "Etruscan Vases at San Simeon," *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 4 [1971], pp. 122–23, no. 5, pl. 3.3). Two additional related head vases, but not from the same mold, are published in *Art of Ancient Italy: Etruscans, Greeks and Romans*, exh. cat., André Emmerich Gallery (New York, 1970), pp. 30–31, nos. 43, 44. See also a similar head vase in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, inv. 1947.147 (Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity*, fig. 32).
- 98.** Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity*, p. 160.
- 99.** Compare the famous bronze satyr in Munich (Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca*, pl. 257, 1, 2; Haynes, *Etruscan Bronzes*, pp. 303–4, no. 157, colorpl. p. 93).
- 100.** Steingraber, *Etruscan Painting*, pl. 132.
- 101.** Giovannangelo Camporeale, *La collezione Alla Querce: Materiali archeologici orvietani* (Florence, 1970), pp. 141–42, no. 153, pl. XXXVIII, b. For possible uses of rooster askoi in Etruscan funerary ritual, see Paola Desantis in Fede Berti et al., *La coroplastica di Spina: Immagini di culto*, exh. cat., Museo Archeologico Nazionale (Ferrara, 1987), pp. 23–27. Less naturalistic bucchero roosters were often used as finials on bucchero pesante vases in the sixth century B.C. See Jean MacIntosh Turfa, *Catalogue of the Etruscan Gallery of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology* (Philadelphia, 2005), pp. 185–86, no. 183. Note that the bucchero rooster with inscribed alphabet 2.1 is not an askos.
- 102.** When Gisela Richter and John Beazley published their books in 1940 and 1947 respectively, the Museum was also using an alternative inventory system in which each object was given a specific number preceded by GR (for Greek and Roman Department). Even some more recent publications cite these old and now obsolete numbers. Therefore, in order to avoid confusion, both the old and the new inventory numbers for this group of vases are included, where appropriate, in the citations here.
- 103.** The sculpted Ionic frieze originally decorated the interior rectangular space of the temple's cella. The construction of the temple is dated 429–about 400 B.C. The frieze is now reconstructed in the British Museum, London. It consists of three related subjects: the Trojan Amazonomachy, the Heraklean Amazonomachy, and a Centauromachy. For an excellent analysis, see Frederick A. Cooper, ed., *The Temple of Apollo Bassitas*, vol. 2, *The Sculpture*, by Brian C. Madigan, pp. 70–86, pls. 38–56, and vol. 4 [plans, elevations, and reconstructions], by Frederick A. Cooper, pls. 58–60 (Princeton, 1992).
- 104.** See Laura Maria Michetti, *Le ceramiche argentate e a rilievo in Etruria nella prima età ellenistica*, Monumenti antichi, Serie miscellanea 8 (Rome, 2003), p. 73, for other interpretations.
- 105.** Inv. 76544 (*ibid.*, p. 157, no. 73, pl. XXX).
- 106.** Mary Comstock and Cornelius Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1971), p. 385, no. 530, ill.
- 107.** For example, *Victorious Youth* in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (acc. no. 77.AB.30); see also *Gens Antiquissima Italiae: Antichità dall'Umbria a New York*, ed. Francesco Roncalli and Larissa Bonfante, exh. cat., Grey Art Gallery, New York (Perugia, 1991), pp. 361–62, no. 8.10.
- 108.** For related examples in the Museo Archeologico, Florence, and the Museo Territoriale del Lago di Bolsena, see Michetti, *Le ceramiche argentate e a rilievo in Etruria*, pp. 179–82, nos. 186–97, pls. LX–LXII.
- 109.** Moltesen and Nielsen, *Etruria and Central Italy*, pp. 186–89, no. 81, ill.
- 110.** Michetti, *Le ceramiche argentate e a rilievo in Etruria*, p. 173, no. 157, pl. LVI.
- 111.** For related examples of this type, see Helen Nagy, *Votive Terracottas from the "Vignaccia," Cerveteri*, in the *Lowie Museum of Anthropology* (Rome, 1988), pls. II–XVI.
- 112.** For good parallels, see terracottas from Lavinium (Ferdinando Castagnoli et al., *Enea nel Lazio: Archeologia e mito; bimillenario Virgiliano*, exh. cat., Palazzo dei Conservatori [Rome, 1981], pp. 260–61, nos. D 254, D 255).
- 113.** Homer, *Iliad* 20.300–308.
- 114.** For a map illustrating Aeneas's routes as detailed by Virgil and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, see *Roma: Romolo, Remo e la fondazione della città*, ed. Andrea Carandini and Rosanna Cappelli, exh. cat., Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, Rome (Milan, 2000) p. 191. For the hero, see Fulvio Canciani in *LIMC*, vol. 1 (Zurich, 1981), "Aineias," pp. 381–96.
- 115.** Livy, 1.2 (English trans., Livy, *The Early History of Rome: Books I–V of The History of Rome from Its Foundation*, trans. Aubrey de Sélincourt [Harmondsworth, 1971], pp. 35–36).
- 116.** We learn from Marshall's diary, now in the Beazley Archive at the University of Oxford, that on October 24, 1913, he first met the art dealer Pietro Stettiner at the latter's home in Rome. This fragmentary terracotta votive statue of a young woman, which Stettiner was offering for sale, was one of the objects discussed. Stettiner had heard from Wolfgang Helbig, a major archaeologist and antiquities dealer in Rome and close friend of the Marshalls, that Marshall had earlier expressed doubts about its authenticity. It seems that Carl Jacobsen, the wealthy beer baron who founded the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen and who employed Helbig as his purchasing agent, also thought the terracotta was suspect. We do not know what caused Marshall to change his mind and purchase the statue for the Museum three years later. See Dietrich von Bothmer, "The History of the Terracotta Warriors," in *An Inquiry into the Forgery of the Etruscan Terracotta Warriors in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, by Dietrich von Bothmer and Joseph V. Noble, Papers (The Metropolitan Museum of Art) 11 (New York, 1961), p. 14.
- 117.** Unpublished documentation in the archives of the Department of Greek and Roman Art at the Metropolitan Museum.
- 118.** Compare, for example, the head and hair of a votive terracotta statue of a young girl in Castagnoli et al., *Enea nel Lazio*, pp. 234–35, no. D 215, ill., which shows the same soft features and hairstyle. For the jewelry, there are several good parallels; see Castagnoli et al., *Enea nel Lazio*, pp. 239–41, 243–48, nos. D 224, D 227–D 229, ill. For depictions of jewelry in terracotta votives, see Nagy, *Votive Terracottas from the "Vignaccia," Cerveteri*, pp. 293–301.

119. For related examples, see Nagy, *Votive Terracottas from the "Vignaccia," Cerveteri*, pp. 232–38, figs. 236–48.

120. There is a similar statuette at Harvard. See David Gordon Mitten and Suzannah F. Doeringer, *Master Bronzes from the Classical World*, exh. cat., Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, City Art Museum of St. Louis, and Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Mainz, 1967), p. 169, no. 168, ill.

121. A good parallel is Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, inv. 4166.39 (Örjan Wikander, "Two Etruscan Thymiateria in the von Beskow Collection," *Bulletin* [Medelhavsmuseet] 18 [1983], pp. 45–47, with general discussion of the type on pp. 50–61).

122. For three related examples, see Fabing, "Etruscan Bronzes," pp. 258–71, nos. 48–50, ill.

123. For related examples, see Calió, *La collezione Bonifacio Falcioni*, pp. 241–42, no. 437; Eric Hostetter, *Bronzes from Spina*, vol. 2, *Instrumentum Domesticum* (Mainz, 2001), pls. 1–8.

124. This pair is closely related to another pair of stamnos handles in the Museum's Etruscan collection, 10.210.32 and 10.210.34, mentioned as "Archaic" by Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, p. 32, nos. 50, 51. Richter believed that 10.210.31 and 10.210.33 were Roman and that both pairs came from hydriae rather than stamnoi. In fact, all four stamnos handles are Etruscan.

125. Inv. R. 1180.

126. Inv. 12 274.

127. See Ursula Liepmann, "Ein etruskischer Bronzehenkel im Kestner-Museum zu Hannover," *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte* 11 (1972), p. 11, nos. 3–4, figs. 3, 4, and pp. 19–20, nn. 3, 4.

128. Herbert Hoffmann, *Ten Centuries That Shaped the West: Greek and Roman Art in Texas Collections*, exh. cat., Institute for the Arts, Rice University (Houston, 1970), pp. 192–94, no. 90, ill.

129. Herodotus, *History* 3.116.

130. The subject, griffins attacking Arimasps, appears on a bronze cista in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago (acc. no. 25033; Richard Daniel De Puma in Bordenache Battaglia, *Le ciste prenestine*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 78–79, no. 15, pls. XCI–XCIII). For a similar composition, compare gold bullae (showing Hippothoon attacked by a horse) in the Villa Giulia, Rome (inv. 53695), and the Louvre, Paris (inv. Bj 743); see Mauro Cristofani and Marina Martelli, eds., *L'oro degli Etruschi* (Novara, 1983), pp. 235, 314–15, nos. 259, 262. See also a griffin attacking a mounted Arimasps on a contemporary Attic red-figure pelike (acc. no. X.21.21) in the Museum's collection.

131. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, p. 306, no. 911.

132. The Etruscans did not use O in their inscriptions, but they continued to represent it when they wrote out the alphabet. By the fifth century B.C. their letter for theta looks like an O with a dot in the center, and sometimes they omitted the dot, thus creating what appears to be an O until one realizes that theta is what they intended, by context.

133. Rex Wallace to Richard Daniel De Puma, personal communication, August 30, 2010.

134. Close parallels for the pin and figure are in the Museo Archeologico A. Salinas, Palermo (inv. N.I. 6944; Debora Barbagli and Mario Iozzo, eds., *Etruschi: Chiusi, Siena, Palermo; la collezione Bonci Casuccini*, exh. cat., Complesso Museale Santa Maria della Scala, Siena, and Laboratorio Archeologico, Chiusi [Siena, 2007], no. 98) and formerly on the Swiss antiquities market (Münzen und Medaillen, *Schmuck der Antike: Gefässe und Geräte aus Bronze*, exh. cat., Sonderliste T [Basel, 1981], no. 116). The first pin is likely of Chiusine origin.

135. An almost precise parallel is in the Antikensammlung, Berlin, inv. Sk. 1314 (*Die Welt der Etrusker: Archäologische Denkmäler aus Museen der sozialistischen Länder*, exh. cat., Staatliche Museen zu Berlin [Berlin, 1988], pp. 329–30, no. D 5.36). On four related urns the subject is thought to represent Medusa; see Ingrid Krauskopf in *LIMC*, vol. 4 (Zurich, 1988), "Gorgones in Etruria," pp. 335, 344, nos. 58–61.

136. For more detail, consult Gantz, *Early Greek Myth*, pp. 522–28.

137. For the literary and artistic sources, see Ingrid Krauskopf in *LIMC*, vol. 1 (Zurich, 1981), "Alkmaion," pp. 546–52.

138. See Jocelyn Penny Small, *Studies Related to the Theban Cycle on Late Etruscan Urns*, *Archaeologica* 20 (Rome, 1981), pp. 98–99.

## Chapter VII

1. D. H. Lawrence, *Etruscan Places* (1932); reprinted as *Sketches of Etruscan Places in D. H. Lawrence and Italy*, Penguin Classics (London, 2007), p. 341.
2. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 33.9.61.
3. *Ibid.*, 33.19.63; see also *ibid.*, 37.6.12.
4. Paolo Parrini, Edilberto Formigli, and Emilio Mello, "Etruscan Granulation: Analysis of Orientalizing Jewelry from Marsiliana d'Albegna," *American Journal of Archaeology* 86, no. 1 (January 1982), pp. 118–21.
5. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 29.93.
6. For more on their activities, see Giovanni Colonna, "Archeologia dell'età romantica in Etruria: I Campanari di Toscanella e la tomba dei Vipinana," *Studi Etruschi* 46 (1978), pp. 81–117; Francesco Buranelli, *Gli scavi a Vulci della Società Vincenzo Campanari—Governo Pontificio (1835–1837)* (Rome, 1991).
7. See Giulio Quirino Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca* (Milan, 1935), pl. 104, 1; Poul Jørgen Riis, *Vulcentia Vetustiora: A Study of Archaic Vulcian Bronzes*, *Historisk-filosofiske skrifter* 19 (Copenhagen, 1998), p. 79, n. 184.
8. Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca*, pl. 102, 3; Riis, *Vulcentia Vetustiora*, p. 66, n. 137.
9. Sybille Haynes, *Etruscan Bronzes* (London, 1985), p. 284, no. 105, ill. p. 184; Riis, *Vulcentia Vetustiora*, p. 80, n. 187.
10. John D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting* (Oxford, 1947), p. 47, no. 1.
11. Elizabeth Caroline Hamilton Gray, *Tour to the Sepulchres of Etruria, in 1839* (London, 1840), p. 257.
12. See Susan Weber Soros and Stefanie Walker, eds., *Castellani and Italian Archaeological Jewellery*, exh. cat., Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts (New York, 2004).
13. F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum* (London, 1911), no. 1461.
14. *Ibid.*, no. 1456.
15. Phoenix Ancient Art, *Crystal*, vol. 3, dealer's cat. (Geneva, 2010), no. 7 (necklace with mythological figures and agates, ca. 500 B.C.).
16. *Monumenti inediti pubblicati dell'Istituto Archeologico* 2 (1834), pl. VII.
17. Gisela M. A. Richter, "Four Notable Acquisitions of The Metropolitan Museum of Art," *American Journal of Archaeology* 44, no. 4 (October–December 1940), p. 437, fig. 9.
18. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery*, nos. 1416, 1419.
19. Barbara Deppert-Lippitz, *Ancient Gold Jewellery at the Dallas Museum of Art* (Dallas, 1996), pp. 47, 125, no. 15.
20. For a close parallel, see John Boardman, "Archaic Finger Rings," *Antike Kunst* 10, no. 1 (1967), p. 16, no. B IV 17; and for a related ring with sphinx and hippocamp, see F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Finger Rings, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum* (London, 1907), no. 211.
21. Compare with Marshall, *Catalogue of the Finger Rings*, no. 331.
22. Mauro Cristofani and Marina Martelli, eds., *L'oro degli Etruschi* (Novara, 1983), nos. 185–87, 189; Deppert-Lippitz, *Ancient Gold Jewellery*, nos. 32–34.
23. See Gisela M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems: Greek, Etruscan, and Roman*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Rome, 1956), pl. XXVII, no. 164B.
24. For two scarabs with the same subject, see Peter Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen* (Mainz, 1968), pp. 59–60, no. 76, pl. 19, pp. 71–72, no. 100, pl. 23.
25. For similar examples, see Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, p. 40, nos. 157–60, pl. XXVI.
26. For a close parallel, see Ines Jucker, *Italy of the Etruscans*, exh. cat., Israel Museum (Jerusalem, 1991), p. 280, no. 371; a similar device occurs on a "lion ring" in Hamburg, inv. 1925/50 (Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, no. 185).
27. Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, no. 135.
28. The piece is classified as Guzzo's Class D, Type VI, to help distinguish a large number of similar objects. See Pier Giovanni Guzzo, *Le fibule in Etruria dal VI al I secolo*, *Studi e materiali di etruscologia e antichità italiane* 11 (Florence, 1972).
29. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery*, no. 1383.
30. Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, nos. 172, 173.
31. Adolf Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall*, vol. 1, *Fundgruppen* (Berlin, 1970), pl. 69, 1, 2. This fibula belongs to Sundwall's Type G IV 2a (Johannes Sundwall, *Die älteren italischen Fibeln* [Berlin, 1943]) and Class C, Type I in Guzzo's classification (Guzzo, *Le fibule in Etruria*).



32. A very close parallel for the larger gold laurel wreath is in Hamburg (Wilhelm Hornbostel, *Kunst der Etrusker*, exh. cat., Intersera Gesellschaft für Beteiligungen [Hamburg, 1981], pp. 15, 127–29, no. 161). In that case, the rounded ends of the wreath are better preserved and the repoussé scenes depict Skylla. Other similar wreaths are collected by Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, nos. 231–37. See also Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery*, nos. 2299–2301.
33. Compare with Giovanni Becatti, *Oreficerie antiche dalle minoiche alle barbariche* (Rome, 1955), p. 182, no. 288, pl. LXXIV.
34. Very similar plaques exist in other collections: Sackler Museum, Harvard University (fourteen plaques); Field Museum, Chicago (seven plaques); the Vatican (seven plaques and the only ones with a secure provenance, Corchiano). All these plaques, nearly identical in composition and technique, probably originated in the same (Vulcian?) workshop. For a diagram showing the construction of the plaques, see Richard Daniel De Puma, “Etruscan Jewelry in the Field Museum of Natural History,” in *Ancient Jewelry and Archaeology*, ed. Adriana Calinescu (Bloomington, Ind., 1996), p. 200, fig. 3.
35. The technique is described in Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, p. 323, fig. 1; Dyfri Williams and Jack Ogden, *Greek Gold: Jewelry of the Classical World*, exh. cat., British Museum, London, and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (New York, 1994). For related Etruscan chains, see Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, nos. 68, 225.
36. See Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, nos. 222, 261, 264.
37. Cf. Diana M. Buitron, “Etruscan Jewelry,” in *Jewelry: Ancient to Modern* (New York, 1979), pp. 67–68, no. 210.
38. Acc. no. 57.371 (Richard Stuart Teitz, *Masterpieces of Etruscan Art*, exh. cat., Worcester Art Museum [Worcester, Mass., 1967], pp. 67–68, no. 56, ill. p. 179; Buitron, “Etruscan Jewelry,” p. 67, no. 209). Labdanum is treated in Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 12.37. See also Giuseppe Donato and Monique Seefried, *The Fragrant Past: Perfumes of Cleopatra and Julius Caesar*, exh. cat., Emory University Museum of Art and Archaeology, Atlanta (Rome, 1989), p. 33.
39. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery*, nos. 2278 and 2304, from Chiusi. There is also a similar pendant in the Antikensammlung, Berlin, inv. 30219, from Bolsena (Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall*, pl. 70, 12; Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, no. 165).
40. Becatti, *Oreficerie antiche*, p. 202, no. 433, pl. CXVIII.
41. Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, no. 156. For a tooth attached to the ring on a bronze fibula, see Jean M. Davison, *Seven Italic Tomb-Groups from Narce* (Florence, 1972), pp. 47–48, no. 36, pl. VIII, a, from Tomb V at Narce.
42. Anna Maria Bietti Sestieri, ed., *La necropoli laziale di Osteria dell'Osa* (Rome, 1992), vol. 1, p. 438, vol. 3, pl. 44, no. 91C.
43. For related examples, see Buitron, “Etruscan Jewelry,” pp. 60–61, nos. 173–76; Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, nos. 48, 67, 79–82.
44. A precise parallel is in the Princeton Art Museum, acc. no. 2001-180 (“Acquisitions of the Princeton University Art Museum, 2001,” *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 61 [2002], p. 136, ill.). Compare related examples in the Villa Giulia (Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, no. 79) and the British Museum (Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery*, no. 1366). See also Hornbostel, *Kunst der Etrusker*, no. 157; Jucker, *Italy of the Etruscans*, p. 278, no. 368.
45. For related examples in the British Museum, see Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery*, no. 1360, and in the Villa Giulia, Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, no. 78.
46. For a series of similar Etruscan pins, see Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, nos. 20, 28, 135.
47. See Anna Maria Moretti Sgubini, ed., *Tarquinia etrusca: Una nuova storia*, exh. cat., Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Tarquinia (Rome, 2001), p. 115, fig. 155.
48. A closely related ring comes from Cerveteri and is now in the Villa Giulia, Rome, inv. 54519 (Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, no. 175).
49. For a similar earring, see Luigi M. Calì, *La collezione Bonifacio Falconi*, Cataloghi, Monumenti, musei e gallerie pontificie, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 6 (Vatican City, 2000), p. 47, no. 44.
50. Buitron, “Etruscan Jewelry,” p. 57, no. 159.
51. See Mauro Cristofani, ed., *La grande Roma dei Tarquini* (Rome, 1990), p. 262, no. 10.5.1, pl. 30, where they are dated about 520–510 B.C. See Ida Caruso, *Collezione Castellani: Le oreficerie*, Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia (Rome, 1988), pp. 27–30, no. 40, pl. 6, for a late 4th century B.C. dating.
52. See Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery*, nos. 1267, 1268; Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, nos. 192–94.
53. For earrings with similar design elements but without enamel, see Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery*, no. 1289; Caruso, *Collezione Castellani*, p. 30, no. 41.
54. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery*, no. 1416; Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, no. 151.
55. A related pair of disk earrings is in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, acc. no. 83.AM.2.2 (*Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: Antiquities* [Los Angeles, 1997], p. 77).
56. A pair of earrings almost identical to our first pair and also said to come from Capena is in the Antikensammlung, Berlin, inv. 30483 (Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall*, pl. 73, 1). There is a related but somewhat more elaborate pair of earrings in the British Museum, London (Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery*, no. 2252; Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, no. 239).
57. Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, no. 223. For a series of related examples, see Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery*, no. 2262; Bernard van den Driessche, “Sept boucles d'oreilles baroques de l'Étrurie hellénistique,” in *Mélanges d'étruscologie*, ed. Roger Lambrechts (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1978), pp. 13–31.
58. Compare Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery*, nos. 2219, 2220, 2223.
59. Museo Guarnacci, Volterra (Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, no. 242).
60. For earrings with similar pendants, see Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery*, nos. 2228, 2229, 2232, 2233; Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, nos. 243–45. See also Maria Teresa Falconi Amorelli, ed., *Todi preromana: Catalogo dei materiali conservati nel Museo Comunale di Todi* (Perugia, 1977), p. 199 (inv. 1198/928), pl. XCIX, a; Annette Green and Linda Dyett, *Secrets of Aromatic Jewelry* (Paris, 2001).
61. Compare Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery*, no. 2227.
62. For somewhat similar earrings, see Karl Hadaczek, *Der Ohrschmuck der Griechen und Etrusker* (Vienna, 1903), p. 66, figs. 133, 134.
63. See Judith Swaddling and John Prag, *Seianti Hanunia Tlesnasa: The Story of an Etruscan Noblewoman*, Occasional Paper (British Museum) 100 (London, 2006), p. 6, pl. 4. For other examples of this earring type from Vulci, see Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery*, no. 2335; Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, no. 251.
64. For similar earrings, see Tony Hackens, *Classical Jewelry*, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design (Providence, 1976), pp. 41–42, no. 7 (with vestiges of enamel), and a pair from Volterra (Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, nos. 256, 257), and one from Orvieto (Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall*, pl. 74, 5).
65. Sundwall, *Die älteren italischen Fibeln*, p. 201, fig. 326 (Type G I β a 39).
66. C. Densmore Curtis, “Ancient Granulated Jewelry of the VIIth Century B.C. and Earlier,” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 1 (1915–16; pub. 1917), p. 84.
67. For similar granulated animal processions on gold fibulae, see Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, nos. 65, 66, 108. A closely related sanguisuga fibula is in Providence (Hackens, *Classical Jewelry*, pp. 22–34, no. 1, with extensive discussion of the Vetulonian parallels). Still another related sanguisuga fibula recently appeared on the Swiss antiquities market (Cahn Auktionen, Basel, *Kunstwerke der Antike*, sale cat., November 5, 2011, lot 176).
68. Gilda Bartoloni et al., *Nuove letture di monumenti etruschi dopo il restauro* (Florence, 1971), p. 37, no. 7, fig. 5.
69. An example from Vetulonia provides a close parallel (David Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans: A Study of the Early Iron Age in Italy as It Is Seen near Bologna, in Etruria and in Latium* [Oxford, 1924], p. 136, fig. 48).
70. The standard shape is Sundwall's Type G I β a, which is characterized by elaborate use of granulation and a long clasp. Sundwall, *Die älteren italischen Fibeln*, p. 201.
71. The Museum's 95.15.198 (7.38a) is another example of this type. For related examples, see Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, nos. 33, 34, 99, 106.
72. A group of eighteen similar gold fibulae comes from Cerveteri; see Caruso, *Collezione Castellani*, p. 14, no. 13, pl. II.

- 73.** A similar fibula from Cerveteri is now in the British Museum, London (Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, no. 166).
- 74.** For a discussion of the ancient sources, see D. E. Strong, *Catalogue of the Carved Amber in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, British Museum (London, 1966), pp. 3–7.
- 75.** Aristotle, *De generatione animalium* 2.736a.5.
- 76.** Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 37.12.49 (English trans., Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. D. E. Eicholz, vol. 10, Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge, Mass., 1962], p. 201).
- 77.** Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 37.12.51.
- 78.** Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca (World History)* 5.23 (English trans., *Diodorus of Sicily*, trans. C. H. Oldfather, vol. 3, Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge, Mass., 1939], p. 161). Diodorus wrote a history during the last half of the first century B.C.
- 79.** See Maurizio Forte, ed., *Il dono delle Eliadi: Ambre e oreficerie dei principi etruschi di Verucchio*, Studi e documenti di archeologia, Quaderni 4 (Rimini, 1994), pp. 55–61.
- 80.** This is close to Sundwall, *Die älteren italischen Fibeln*, p. 190, fig. 306 (Type F II b). See 17.230.120 and 121 (3.10a, b), the glass and gold fibulae discussed above in Chapter III.
- 81.** See Forte, *Il dono delle Eliadi*, pp. 58–60, pl. IX.
- 82.** *Ibid.*, esp. pl. XIX, nos. 50, 52, pl. XXI, nos. 33, 34, pl. LIII, no. 437. Most of these belong to Sundwall's Type F II b (Sundwall, *Die älteren italischen Fibeln*, p. 190).
- 83.** A similar large fibula from Ascoli Piceno is in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia (Jean MacIntosh Turfa, *Catalogue of the Etruscan Gallery of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology* [Philadelphia, 2005], pp. 224–25, no. 239); a smaller example is in the British Museum (Strong, *Carved Amber*, pp. 60–61, no. 33, pl. XIII). All belong to a basic type, Sundwall's Type F II c 21 (Sundwall, *Die älteren italischen Fibeln*, p. 194, fig. 315).
- 84.** Gisela M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1940), p. 5, fig. 18.
- 85.** Mario Torelli, *Necropoli dell'Italia antica* (Milan, 1982), p. 28, fig. 30.
- 86.** For an example of this subject in amber, see David A. Grimaldi, *Amber: Window to the Past* (New York, 1996), pp. 150–51.
- 87.** For related examples and discussion of the type, see Strong, *Carved Amber*, pp. 48–49, nos. 12–14, pl. III; Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, no. 94; see Grimaldi, *Amber*, p. 154, for two examples in granulated gold. For two earlier silver examples imported from the Near East to Vulci, see Moretti Sgubini, *Tarquiniā etrusca*, p. 199, nos. III.B.1.62, III.B.1.63.
- 88.** This vase, discovered at Chiusi in 1845, is in the Museo Archeologico, Florence (inv. 4209). For the relevant detail, see Paolo Enrico Arias, *A History of Greek Vase Painting*, trans. and rev. B. B. Shefton (London, 1962), pl. 46.
- 89.** Acc. no. 81.6.21 (Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, p. 54, no. 218, pl. XXXIV); see also 21.88.41 (7.97) and Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, pls. 3, 4, nos. 9–13. For Ajax and Achilles in Etruscan art, see Giovannangelo Camporeale in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC)*, ed. John Boardman et al., vol. 1 (Zurich, 1981), “Achle,” pp. 208–9, 213, nos. 136–46; in Greek art, see Klaus Fittschen, *Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagen Darstellungen bei den Griechen* (Berlin, 1969), pp. 179–81; on vases by Exekias, see Mary B. Moore, “Exekias and Telamonian Ajax,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 84, no. 4 (October 1980), pp. 424–31; on Greek vases in the Museum's collection, see 26.60.20 and 56.171.20; for the subject on an Etruscan black-figure vase in Boston, see Arthur Fairbanks, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases*, vol. 1, *Early Vases, preceding Athenian Black-Figured Ware*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), no. 572, pl. LXXIV.
- 90.** *Magie d'ambra: Amuleti e gioielli della Basilicata antica*, exh. cat., Museo Archeologico Nazionale della Basilicata “Dinu Adamesteanu” (Potenza, 2005), pp. 110, 128.
- 91.** Homer, *Odyssey* 12.39–52.
- 92.** For a similar amber depicting a sphinx, see Faya Causey in *Glories of the Past: Ancient Art from the Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection*, ed. Dietrich von Bothmer, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1990), pp. 129–30, no. 99.
- 93.** See Carlos A. Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Greece, Cyprus, Etruria, Rome* (New York, 2007), p. 417, no. 46, ill. p. 58.
- 94.** See Friedrich-Wilhelm von Hase, “Die goldene Prunkfibel aus Vulci, Ponte Sodo,” *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums* 31 (1984), p. 272, fig. 15a, no. 9.
- 95.** For more on the subject in general, see B. Bonacelli, “La scimmia in Etruria,” *Studi Etruschi* 6 (1932), pp. 343–82; William Coffman McDermott, *The Ape in Antiquity* (Baltimore, 1938); D. Rebuffat-Emmanuel, “Singes de Maurétanie Tingitane et d'Italie: Reflexions sur une analogie iconographique,” *Studi Etruschi* 35 (1967), pp. 638–44.
- 96.** See Strong, *Carved Amber*, pp. 86–87, no. 94, pls. XXXIII, XXXIV.
- 97.** Various necklaces have been noted in *Magie d'ambra*.
- 98.** See Forte, *Il dono delle Eliadi*, p. 56, fig. 4.
- 99.** Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems* (1956; reissued 2006).
- 100.** Gisela M. A. Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans*, 2 vols., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (London, 1968–71).
- 101.** K. M. Phillips, “Orientalizing Gem Stones from Poggio Civitate (Murlo, Siena),” *La parola del passato* 182 (1978), pp. 355–69; K. M. Phillips, “Murlo: Gemma e sigillo,” in *Cento preziosi etruschi*, exh. cat., Anfiteatro Romano, Arezzo (Florence, 1984), pp. 66, 136–37, nos. 92, 93.
- 102.** Boardman, “Archaic Finger Rings [see Chapter VII, note 20],” Type B I, pp. 11–12.
- 103.** Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans*, vol. 1, p. 213.
- 104.** Inv. 645 (Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, p. 84, no. 152, pl. 31).
- 105.** Filippo Coarelli, ed., *Pompeii* (New York, 2002), ill. p. 308.
- 106.** Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 37.15.
- 107.** Jack Ogden, *Ancient Jewellery* (London, 1992), p. 37, fig. 22, for a microphotograph illustrating the distinctive profile created by a diamond-tipped drill. For a general account of gem cutting techniques, see John Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings: Early Bronze Age to Late Classical* (New York, 1970), chap. 8.
- 108.** Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* 1.2.9.
- 109.** For the parallel beliefs in other cultures and times, see Sidney H. Ball, *A Roman Book on Precious Stones* (Los Angeles, 1950), pp. 304–6.
- 110.** For Sulla's stepson, see Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 37.5, which states that he was the very first Roman gem collector.
- 111.** Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*.
- 112.** For an excellent summary of Etruscan gems, see Peter Zazoff, *Die antiken Gemmen* (Munich, 1983), chap. 10, “Etruskische Skarabäen und Ringsteine.”
- 113.** Eduard Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1843), pl. XL.
- 114.** For Kapaneus in general, see Ingrid Krauskopf in *LIMC*, vol. 5 (Zurich, 1990), pp. 952–63.
- 115.** Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, pp. 49–50, nos. 190, 191, pl. XXXI; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, p. 207, nos. 1482, 1483.
- 116.** Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, p. 207, no. 1483.
- 117.** Mario A. Del Chiaro, “An Etruscan Gigantomachy from Caere,” *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1970, p. 352, fig. 8.
- 118.** Alba Frascarelli, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, Italia*, vol. 2, *Perugia: Museo Archeologico Nazionale*, fasc. 1 (Rome, 1995), no. 3.
- 119.** See Giovannangelo Camporeale in *LIMC*, vol. 1 (Zurich, 1981), “Akrathe,” pp. 447–48.
- 120.** Wolfram Martini, *Etruskische Ringsteinglyptik* (Heidelberg, 1971), pp. 33–34, pl. 6, 5, 6, pl. 22, 3, 4, pl. 23, 3.
- 121.** For related examples, see Martini, *Etruskische Ringsteinglyptik*, pp. 42–43; Richard Daniel De Puma, “An Etruscan Mirror with the Propheying Head of Orpheus,” *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 60 (2001), pp. 18–29.
- 122.** Cf. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 37.26.
- 123.** For more on the use of glass for imitation gems, see Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, p. xxiv; Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*, pp. 210–11, 415–16.
- 124.** Judith Swaddling, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, Great Britain*, vol. 1, *The British Museum*, fasc. 1, *Archaic and Classical Mirrors (Early Tanged and Related Mirrors)* (London, 2001), no. 22.
- 125.** An Etruscan banded agate scarab in the British Museum shows Achilles supporting the body of Penthesilea (Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, pp. 46–48, no. 48, pl. 15). On our gem all three are bearded male warriors.
- 126.** A gold ring from Chiusi, now in the British Museum, is an almost exact parallel; see Marshall, *Catalogue of the Finger Rings*, no. 356, pl. X.

127. Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, p. 51, no. 205, pl. XXXII; Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, p. 211, no. 1565.

128. For a third-century B.C. Canosan terracotta askyla with two sculpted representations of Skylla, see the Museum's 11.43.

129. For these five gems, see Giovannangelo Camporeale in *LIMC*, vol. 1 (Zurich, 1981), "Achle," p. 208, nos. 128, 130–33.

130. The "Roman" gem with the Trojan Horse in the Museo Archeologico, Florence (cited by Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, p. 43), is modern. See Zazoff, *Die antiken Gemmen*, p. 393, n. 33, pl. 127, 2.

131. Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, p. 97, no. 437, pl. LIV.

132. Martini, *Etruskische Ringsteinglyptik*, pp. 133, 134, 137, 148, 154, nos. 23, 25, 26, 61, 188, 285; John Boardman and Diana Scarisbrick, *The Ralph Harari Collection of Finger Rings* (London, 1977), no. 25. For the practice, see Martini, *Etruskische Ringsteinglyptik*, p. 34, n. 101; Emily Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley, 1979), p. 236, n. 30.

133. Inv. 14393 (Martini, *Etruskische Ringsteinglyptik*, pl. 10, 1).

134. *Ibid.*, no. 36.

135. For Tydeus on Etruscan gems, see Zazoff, *Die antiken Gemmen*, pp. 223–24, pl. 57, 1, 2.

136. See Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, p. 4, no. 13, pl. III; Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*, p. 122, pl. 264. Although the gem is Greek, the inscription is Etruscan and was probably added later, according to John Boardman. The subject is treated in Sophokles' *Ajax* and on an exquisite black-figured amphora by Exekias, now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Boulogne-sur-Mer (inv. 558).

137. Acc. no. 99.494 (Richard Daniel De Puma, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum, U.S.A.*, vol. 2, *Boston and Cambridge: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts; Cambridge, Harvard University Museums* [Ames, Iowa, 1993], pp. 30–32, no. 9).

138. For this subject in Etruscan art, see Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, pp. 137–41; Odette Touchefeu in *LIMC*, vol. 1 (Zurich, 1981), "Aias I," pp. 329–31. For the suicide of Ajax in Greek and Etruscan art, see Mark I. Davies, "The Suicide of Ajax: A Bronze Etruscan Statuette from the Käpelli Collection," *Antike Kunst* 14, no. 2 (1971), pp. 148–57; for an insightful treatment of the suicide of Ajax on Greek vases by Exekias, see Moore, "Exekias and Telamonian Ajax," pp. 431–32.

139. For similar rings, see Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery*, nos. 340, 341.

140. For example, by Marina Martelli in Marina Martelli and Fernando Gilotta, "The Minor Arts," in *The Etruscans*, ed. Mario Torelli, exh. cat., Palazzo Grassi, Venice (Milan, 2000), p. 462.

141. Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, pp. 72–73, no. 103, pl. 24.

142. For the subject on Etruscan gems, see *ibid.*, pp. 161–62, nos. 618–38.

143. *Ibid.*, p. 76, no. 116, pl. 26, p. 77, nos. 119–21, pl. 26, p. 79, no. 126, pl. 28, p. 189, nos. 1132–34, p. 190, nos. 1140–42, 1144.

144. See *ibid.*, p. 137, no. 289, pp. 174–77, nos. 860–915.

145. For a possible reason for this popularity, see Richard Daniel De Puma, "Eos and Memnon on Etruscan Mirrors," in *Murlo and the Etruscans: Art and Society in Ancient Etruria*, ed. Richard Daniel De Puma and Jocelyn Penny Small (Madison, Wisc., 1994), pp. 180–89. For two closely related Etruscan gems, see Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, pp. 34–35, nos. 35, 36, pl. 12.

146. See Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, pp. 39–40, nos. 40, 41, pl. 13; Alexander Cambitoglou and Stavros A. Paspalas in *LIMC*, vol. 7 (1994), "Kyknos I," pp. 986–87; the subject appears on the fine Attic red-figure column krater in the Museum's collection, 91.1.462.

147. Del Chiaro, "Etruscan Gigantomachy," p. 352, fig. 8.

148. Gisela M. A. Richter, "Unpublished Gems in Various Collections," *American Journal of Archaeology* 61, no. 3 (July 1957), pp. 265–66, pl. 82, 9, 10, 12. A fourth has turned up in Cambridge; see Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen*, p. 95, no. 178, pl. 36.

149. For a discussion of the problem, see Shirley J. Schwarz in *LIMC*, vol. 5 (1990), "Hercle," p. 252, no. 44.

## Chapter VIII

1. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. "Forgery" (online edition; accessed January 9, 2013).

2. Mark Jones, ed., *Fake? The Art of Deception*, exh. cat., British Museum (London, 1990), p. 60, no. 35, ill. p. 61, the so-called Shabaka Stone, now in the British Museum.

3. Gisela M. A. Richter, "A New Classical Study Room," *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 24, no. 5 (May 1929), p. 145.

4. Inv. 3691. That Munich mirror, unfortunately lost during World War II, was published as early as 1723 and again in the first half of the nineteenth century (Thomas Dempster, *De Etruria Regali Libri Septem*, vol. 1, ed. Thomas Coke [Florence, 1723], p. 78, pl. 3; it also appeared in Karl Otfried Müller's *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, vol. 2 [Göttingen, 1832], no. 25, and Eduard Gerhard's seminal *Etruskische Spiegel*, vol. 1 [Berlin, 1843], pl. LXXIV, and vol. 3 [Berlin, 1862], pp. 75–77. The illustration in one of these books was probably the source for the design then used for the mold employed to produce the mirrors in silver [Florence, Athens, New York], bronze [Geneva], and lead [Cambridge]).

5. Despite the convincing evidence to the contrary, the Museo Archeologico in Florence continues to believe that its mirror is ancient. It was the subject of a commemorative Italian postage stamp produced in the 1980s and appeared in 2001 on the cover of the exhibition catalogue *The World of the Etruscans*, a traveling exhibition organized in Italy.

6. Dietrich von Bothmer, "The History of the Terracotta Warriors," in *An Inquiry into the Forgery of the Etruscan Terracotta Warriors in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, by Dietrich von Bothmer and Joseph V. Noble, Papers (The Metropolitan Museum of Art) 11 (New York, 1961), p. 14.

7. Orvieto, inv. 1343 (Arvid Andrén, *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples* [Lund and Leipzig, 1939–40], p. 201, pl. 74: 252, 253; Monika Boosen, *Etruskische Meeresmischwesen: Untersuchungen zu Typologie und Bedeutung* [Rome, 1986], pp. 92–93, no. 10, and see also p. 196, no. 43).

8. Inv. HIN 395 (Jette Christiansen and Nancy Winter, with contributions by Patricia Lulof, *Architectural Terracottas and Painted Wall Plaques, Pinakes, c. 625–200 BC, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Etruria 1* [Copenhagen, 2010], pp. 52–53, no. 14).

9. Data for 14.105.8 is given in Dietrich von Bothmer and Joseph V. Noble, *An Inquiry into the Forgery of the Etruscan Terracotta Warriors in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Papers (The Metropolitan Museum of Art) 11 (New York, 1961), appendix C, p. 28, but others, not specified by accession number, were also examined.

10. The complex history of these plaques is outlined methodically in von Bothmer, "History of the Terracotta Warriors," pp. 14–15.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

12. See Gisela M. A. Richter, "A Terracotta Antefix," *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 32, no. 6 (June 1937), pp. 151–52; Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli, ed., *The Western Greeks* (Venice, 1996), p. 576.

13. In 1971, von Bothmer had a sample of the New York antefix sent for TL testing to Stuart Fleming, then at Oxford, but we have been unable to locate the response. Because the object remained off display, it can be assumed that the test showed the object to be modern. For the "Archaic Etruscan Diana," see note 19 below.

14. Von Bothmer, "History of the Terracotta Warriors," pp. 17–18, traces the evolution of this idea. Gisela Richter's observations about the pose of the large striding warrior in New York is apparently the earliest published mention of this theory (see note 16 below).

15. In general, see Emeline Hill, "Etruscan Votive Bronze Warriors in the Walters Art Gallery," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, nos. 7–8 (1944–45), pp. 104–24; Richard Stuart Teitz, *Masterpieces of Etruscan Art*, exh. cat., Worcester Art Museum (Worcester, Mass., 1967), pp. 142–43, nos. 28, 39, 42, ill. pp. 142, 143; Giovanni Colonna, *I bronzi votive umbro-sabellici a figura umana*, vol. 1 (Florence, 1970); see also von Bothmer and Noble, *Etruscan Terracotta Warriors*, pls. IV, V. In the Museum's Etruscan collection, see 96.9.433 (5.9), 32.17, and 1972.118.53 (5.10).

16. Inv. 7470 (von Bothmer and Noble, *Etruscan Terracotta Warriors*, pl. XVII; Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer in Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, *Die Antikensammlung im Pergamonmuseum und in Charlottenburg* [Mainz, 1992], pp. 268–69, no. 145, with bibliography). Gisela M. A. Richter (*Etruscan Terracotta Warriors in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, with a report on structure and technique by Charles F. Binns, Papers [The Metropolitan Museum of Art] 6 [New York, 1937]) had recognized the similarity between the large terracotta warrior in New York and the small bronze warrior in Berlin. Von Bothmer ("History of the Terracotta Warriors," p. 17) reported that one of the surviving forgers,

Alfredo Fioravanti, claimed that the model used was an illustration of the Berlin bronze warrior published in Emanuel Löwy's *Die griechische Plastik* (Leipzig, 1911), pl. 12, fig. 41.

17. Von Bothmer and Noble, *Etruscan Terracotta Warriors*, pl. VII, B, C. These examples are in the Museum's collection (21.88.170 and 21.88.171).

18. These are clearly depicted in Paul R. Bollo's drawings of the chariot published in Gisela M. A. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1915), pp. 23–24. See also von Bothmer, "History of the Terracotta Warriors," p. 17.

19. Massimo Pallottino, "Note e commenti: Intorno ai 'papazzi' Etruschi di Nuova York," *Roma* 15 (December 1937), pp. 473–74; see also Massimo Pallottino, "Ostraca," *Archeologia classica* 6, no. 1 (1954), pp. 170–71. This brief note is primarily about another terracotta forgery, the "Archaic Etruscan Diana" purchased by the St. Louis Art Museum in 1952; see M. Bellisario, "La falsa Diana etrusca e il vero Dossena," in *Fortuna degli Etruschi*, ed. Franco Borsi (Milan, 1985), pp. 130–34.

20. See Joseph V. Noble, "Proof of the Forgery: Technical Considerations," in *Etruscan Terracotta Warriors*, by von Bothmer and Noble, pp. 20–24, with spectrographic analyses on pp. 26–28. It should be noted that one of Noble's major points is that, although it is found in all three Etruscan terracotta warriors, "Manganese was not used in Italy until the introduction of the manufacture of maiolica [in the late thirteenth century]"; Noble, "Proof of the Forgery," p. 21. More recent studies have shown that manganese was used earlier than previously thought. See, for example, François Schweizer and Anne Rinuy, "Manganese Black as an Etruscan Pigment," *Studies in Conservation* 27, no. 3 (August 1982), pp. 118–23. Of course, this finding alone does not alter the basic conclusion that the three terracotta warriors are forgeries.

21. Fioravanti signed his deposition before the American consul in Rome on January 5, 1961; see von Bothmer, "History of the Terracotta Warriors," p. 16. The deposition is in the office of the Secretary Records, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives.

22. Von Bothmer, "History of the Terracotta Warriors," p. 18.

23. Gisela M. A. Richter, "An Italic Bronze Hut Urn," *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 34, no. 3 (March 1939), pp. 66–68, figs. 1, 2; Gisela M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1940), p. 2, fig. 3. See also "Bronze Hut-Urn," *American Journal of Archaeology* 46, no. 1 (January–March 1942), p. 138.

24. G. Scichilone, "Vulci: Cinerario sporadico," in *Nuovi tesori dell'antica Tuscia*, ed. Giovanni Colonna, exh. cat. (Viterbo, 1970), pp. 18–22, pls. IV, V.

25. For the urn in Geneva, see Jacques Chamay in *The Art of the Italic Peoples from 3000 to 300 BC*, ed. Jacques Chamay, exh. cat., Musée Rath, Geneva, and Mona Bismarck Foundation, Paris (Naples, 1993), pp. 100–101, no. 9, ill. The urn in Princeton (acc. no. 1999-70; "Acquisitions of the Art Museum, 1999," *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 59, nos. 1–2 [2000], p. 91, ill. p. 92) was not known to Buranelli in 1986, nor have I had an opportunity to study it closely. In size, shape, and decorative elements, it is very similar to the bronze urn from Vulci.

26. For comparable examples, see Hugh Hencken, "Horse Tripods of Etruria," *American Journal of Archaeology* 61, no. 1 (January 1957), pp. 1–4. For additions to Hencken's list, see Wolf Rudolph and Adriana Calinescu, eds., *Ancient Art from the V. G. Simkhovitch Collection* (Bloomington, Ind., 1988), no. 113; Chamay in *Art of the Italic Peoples*, p. 164, no. 69, ill.; Bernard Andreae, Andreas Hoffmann, and Cornelia Weber-Lehmann, *Die Etrusker: Luxus für das Jenseits, Bilder vom Diesseits, Bilder vom Tod*, exh. cat., Bucerius Kunst Forum and Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg (Munich, 2004), p. 94, no. 1/45, ill. p. 57.

27. Hugh Hencken, *The Earliest European Helmets: Bronze Age and Early Iron Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), pp. 113, 116.

28. This can be seen by comparing the photographs of a Villanovan tripod basin excavated at La Rustica, before and after restoration. See *Civiltà del Lazio primitivo*, exh. cat., Palazzo delle Esposizioni (Rome, 1976), p. 163, no. 4, pl. XXVI, B (before restoration); Lorenzo Quilici, *Roma primitiva e le origini della civiltà laziale* (Rome, 1979), pl. 56 (after restoration).

29. This is an example of the Type 3e bucchero kantharos described in detail by Tom B. Rasmussen, *Bucchero Pottery from Southern Etruria* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 104–6. Our kantharos, at 22.7 cm in diameter, is larger than the norm for Type 3e, which usually range between 11 and 16 cm in diameter. However, in details of its shape, treatment of bowl, handles, foot, and carination, it is typical of Type 3e.

30. Massimo Pallottino, "Nota preliminare sulla iscrizione del kantharos di bucchero del Metropolitan Museum di New York," *Studi Etruschi* 34 (1966), pp. 403–6.

31. I am aware of only one other male gorgon in Etruscan art. It is on a bronze disc, perhaps a shield ornament, in the Museo Claudio Faina, Orvieto. The date is about 630–600 B.C. See Hans Mühlstein, *Die Kunst der Etrusker: Die Ursprünge* (Berlin, 1929), pl. 167.

32. Richard Daniel De Puma, "An Inscribed Bucchero Kantharos in New York," in *Etruria e Italia preromana: Studi in onore di Giovannangelo Camporeale*, ed. Stefano Bruni (Pisa, 2009), vol. 1, p. 306, table 1.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 303–8.

34. Dietrich von Bothmer, "An Etruscan Pectoral," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, n.s., 24, no. 9 (May 1966), pp. 261–68; Mauro Cristofani and Marina Martelli, eds., *L'oro degli Etruschi* (Novara, 1983), no. 35.

35. Von Bothmer, "Etruscan Pectoral," p. 268.

36. Ingrid Strøm, *Problems Concerning the Origin and Early Development of the Etruscan Orientalizing Style* (Odense, 1971), p. 75, no. S 58, fig. 38; Diana M. Buitron, "Etruscan Jewelry," in *Jewelry: Ancient to Modern* (New York, 1979), p. 55, no. 154, ill. p. 54. The Walters Art Museum fragmentary pectoral (acc. no. 57.368) was acquired by Henry Walters in 1927 and donated to the museum in 1931. There are also similar fragments of gold pectorals in the Museo Archeologico, Tarquinia (Strøm, *Etruscan Orientalizing Style*, p. 70, no. S 40, fig. 49; Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, no. 86) and formerly in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin (earlier in the Durow Collection), but now lost (Strøm, *Etruscan Orientalizing Style*, pp. 67–68, no. S 33, fig. 37). There is also a recently published pectoral in the Takuhiko Fujita Collection, Tokyo (Andreae, Hoffmann, and Weber-Lehmann, *Die Etrusker*, pp. 35, 97, no. 1/59, ill.).

37. Other gold pectorals have amber ornaments but show similar stamps (*Civiltà del Lazio primitivo*, pp. 287–88, pl. LXI, B; Cristofani and Martelli, *L'oro degli Etruschi*, no. 85; Anna Maria Moretti Sgubini, ed., *La collezione Augusto Castellani* [Rome, 2000], pp. 170–71, no. 115, ill.).

38. Strøm, *Etruscan Orientalizing Style*, p. 223, n. 56.

39. See Richard Daniel De Puma, "Etruscan Jewelry in the Field Museum of Natural History," in *Ancient Jewelry and Archaeology*, ed. Adriana Calinescu (Bloomington, Ind., 1996), pp. 200–201.

40. Tony Hackens and Rolf Winkes, eds., *Gold Jewelry: Craft, Style and Meaning from Mycenae to Constantinople*, exh. cat., Rhode Island School of Design, Providence (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1983), pp. 101–3, no. 25; Richard Daniel De Puma, "Etruscan Gold Jewelry Techniques," *Field Museum of Natural History Bulletin* 58, no. 9 (October 1987), pp. 12–13, figs. 10–12.

41. Adolf Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall*, vol. 1, *Fundgruppen* (Berlin, 1970), p. 91, pl. 70, 4, 5.

42. Jean MacIntosh Turfa, "'Etruscan' Gold from Cerveteri (and Elsewhere) in the University of Pennsylvania Museum," in *New Perspectives on Etruria and Early Rome: In Honor of Richard Daniel De Puma*, ed. Sinclair Bell and Helen Nagy (Madison, Wisc., 2009), pp. 93–94, fig. 6.1 (bottom row).

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