



Dimitris Paleothodoros

## Etruscan Black-figure in Context

The aim of this paper is to explore the relationship between Etruscan black-figure vases and Attic imports in Etruscan funerary contexts and thus to give clues for answering the following questions: why were Etruscan black-figured vases produced, given the vast amount of Attic pottery that was easily available in Etruria? Were Etruscan vases more easily accessible or less expensive than the Attic ones? Which exactly was the role of Etruscan black-figured pottery in a given ceramic assemblage? Were there any differences in the way the imagery or the shapes of Etruscan vases were “consumed”, in comparison to the ways the Etruscans viewed the imported Athenian pots?

Despite the vast amount of work on the diffusion of Greek vases in archaic Etruria, attempts for a parallel study of the locally made and the imported Greek pottery are rare, even when the two classes appear in the same archaeological context<sup>1</sup>. This striking lack of interest for this aspect of scholarship might be due to the general attitude towards Etruscan figured pottery, ideally summarized in a famous comment by Sir John Beazley put in print 60 years ago: “The Etruscans were gifted artists, but clay vases were not their forte”<sup>2</sup>. In short, Etruscan vase-painting is seldom considered as a representative form of Etruscan art, compared to, say, wall-painting, bronze-working or gold-ornament.

The distribution of Etruscan black-figured vases was never considered to be an important subject of study - unless the localization of a single ceramic workshop had been at stake<sup>3</sup>. Admittedly, such a study is not an easy task to undertake, due to the lack of sufficient data for the total amount of existing Etruscan black-figured pottery. According to the present evidence, more than 60% of Etruscan black figure vases are without provenance. I have had the opportunity, being involved in the ICAR Project (an Internet Database of Figured Scenes in Pre-Roman Italy)<sup>4</sup>, to compile an extensive list of 1600 Etruscan black-figure vases, published or otherwise known to me<sup>5</sup>. The picture is clear enough, despite the fact that a great number of vases are still unpublished or remain unnoticed in scholarship. The production was relatively small, especially when compared to the vast amount of Attic imports in Etruria: to suggest the difference in scale, it suffices to cite the case of Cerveteri, where 108 tombs<sup>6</sup> with Attic vases have been excavated, against 20

<sup>1</sup> OSBORNE 2001 and 2004 are exceptions. See PALEOTHODOROS 2009.

<sup>2</sup> BEAZLEY 1947, 1.

<sup>3</sup> The principle is first used by RIIS 1938, 69–71. See also *infra*, no. 31, 33 and 40.

<sup>4</sup> See LUBTCHANSKY 2002-2003.

<sup>5</sup> Vases with pattern and floral decoration are not included. I have also excluded the Campana *dinoi* and the Northampton Group, which are now considered East Greek products: HEMELRIJK 2007 and MARTELLI 1981 respectively. Caeretan *hydriae* were locally made, but I prefer to keep them apart from the main body of Etruscan black-figure given their erratic character and their minimal influence to other workshops of Etruscan black-figure.

<sup>6</sup> REUSSER 2002, 55–65.

with Etruscan black-figure. On the other hand, the amount of Etruscan black-figure production vastly exceeds the output of Boeotian, Euboan, Clazomenian and other North-Ionian fabrics, and competes with the Laconian and Chalcidian ones.

Early Etruscan black-figure is the sum of numerous influences, Athenian, Chalcidian, East Greek and Corinthian<sup>7</sup>. New evidence, recently brought to light, leads to diminishing the alleged impact of immigrant Ionian artists on the foundation of the “Pontic” Group, the earliest school of local black-figure, around the middle of the sixth century<sup>8</sup>. Etruscan black figure has been produced for a period of 100 years, down to the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, thus outliving its main sources of inspiration.

The Etruscan black-figure fabric had a strictly regional appeal: its presence outside Etruria proper is very limited, especially when compared to the large diffusion of etrusco-corinthian and bucchero wares, or of bronze utensils and vessels. A dozen of pots have been found outside the limits of Etruria proper: a single vase comes from outside the limits of ancient Italy, a fragmentary kylix from Ullastret by the Micali Painter<sup>9</sup>. The other non-Etruscan findspots (represented with one or two finds) are Bologna and Adria in the north<sup>10</sup>, Genova in the northeast<sup>11</sup>, Aléria in Corsica<sup>12</sup>, Narce<sup>13</sup>, Capena<sup>14</sup> and Falerii<sup>15</sup> in the Faliscan area, Nola in Campania<sup>16</sup>, Sala Consilina in Lucania<sup>17</sup> and Timpone Motta di Francavilla Marittima near Sybaris in Magna Grecia<sup>18</sup>. There are 60 more findspots from Etruria proper. It turns up that the important cities of southern and central Etruria (Cerveteri, Tarquinia, Vulci, Chiusi and Orvieto) received the vast majority of vases (table 1)<sup>19</sup>. However, several small centres, where excavation has been particularly extensive, also count among the most prolific sources of Etruscan-black-figure: Tolle (23)<sup>20</sup>, Camporsevoli (23)<sup>21</sup> and Chianciano Terme (19)<sup>22</sup> near Chiusi, Parrano near Orvieto (8)<sup>23</sup>, Ferrone near Cerveteri (16)<sup>24</sup> and Bisenzio near Vulci (10)<sup>25</sup>. Etruscan black-figure is extremely rare in the towns of northern Etruria (Populonia, Vetulonia, Fiesole and Volterra<sup>26</sup>). There is only one signature, that of the slave Cape, very few other painted inscriptions or graffiti, and no trademarks at all<sup>27</sup>. Some insignificant imitations may have occurred in the North, especially in the re-

<sup>7</sup> COOK 1989.

<sup>8</sup> WILLIAMS 2005.

<sup>9</sup> Ullastret 3664: BRUNI 2007, pl. 24a. Supposed provenances like Melos in the Cyclades or Olbia in the Black Sea for vases in 19<sup>th</sup> century collections are evidently false.

<sup>10</sup> GOVI 2005; a second vase allegedly from Bologna is the *olpe* once in the Scheurleer coll., inv. 764: CVA *la Haye, Collection Scheurleer 1*, pl. 3.5. Prof. Maurizio Harari told me of a black-figure fragment found during his excavations in the area of Adria, which will be published in the *AnnFaina*. Vases with floral and pattern decoration in Bologna and other sites from the Po area are listed by GOVI 2005, 64.

<sup>11</sup> Cited by BRUNI 2007, 105, no. 26.

<sup>12</sup> JEHASSE 1973, pl. 21, no. 1892.

<sup>13</sup> Neck-amphora Villa Giulia 5200, near the Micali Painter: RIZZO, SPIVEY 1988, 102, fig. 197, no. 78, pl. VIII.3-4.

<sup>14</sup> Neck-amphorae Göttingen Acc. inv. III 5 and III 6 (La Tolfa Group): JACOBSTHAL 1912, pl. 2.

<sup>15</sup> *Amphora* by the Micali Painter: Civita Castellana (once Villa Giulia 18597): GIGLIOLI 1948-1949, fig. 2, pl. 15.1-2; small neck-amphora Villa Giulia 539: RIZZO, SPIVEY 1988, 86, fig. 147, no. 42.

<sup>16</sup> Paris, Cab.Méd.183 (pontic *lydion* said to be from Nola): HANNESTAD 1976, 66, no. 81.

<sup>17</sup> Paris, Petit Palais 431 (*lekythos*): CVA, pl. 3.1, 4.3-6.

<sup>18</sup> Sybaris 79.AE.111.617, fragmentary Pontic *oinochoe*: VANDER WIELEN, VAN OUMEREN, DE LACHENAL 2007, 283, fig. 3.1.

<sup>19</sup> There are only four vases from Veii. Painted pottery was not much appreciated there: see SMALL 1994.

<sup>20</sup> PAOLUCCI 2007a.

<sup>21</sup> PAOLUCCI 2007b.

<sup>22</sup> PAOLUCCI, RASTRELLI 1999; PAOLUCCI 1997.

<sup>23</sup> BRUSCHETTI 2005.

<sup>24</sup> RENDELLI 1996; BROCATO 2000.

<sup>25</sup> PALLOTTINO 1980, 92, 94, 96, pl. 112, 113, 116 et 117 (Villa Giulia 57184, 57185, 57186 and 57232); AMORELLI 1960, 385–386, fig. 1-2 and 3-4 (Villa Giulia 57232 and n.n.); EDLUND 1980, pl. 80-82, no. 51 (Columbia University PI 53); MAGI 1942, 555–556, fig. 3-4 (Florence 73342); REUSSER 1993, 75 (lost column-krater); note also an unpublished *stamnos* from the workshop of the so-called *Pittore dell'Ancile* mentioned by PISTOLESI 2007, 74.

<sup>26</sup> Populonia: BRUNI 1996. Vetulonia: TALOCCHINI 1981, 115, pl. 24c-d. See also a fragmentary *stamnos* from Castiglione della Pescaia (territory of Vetulonia): CURRI 1977, p. 462, pl. LXXb. Volterra: BONAMICI 2003, 264–265, pl. XXIX.1. Fiesole: Louvre E 758, column-krater from the first collection of Captain Durand: POTTIER 1901, pl. 56.

<sup>27</sup> Signature of a slave potter/painter (*Kape Mukathesa*): Würzburg HA 21 (795); SPIVEY 1987, 36, no. 3. See COLONNA 1975, 186–187, for a discussion of the issue, and MARTELLI 1982, 290–291, for the slave's alleged Campanian origin. For the unique painted dedication

Vulci	239
Cerveteri	118
Orvieto	91
Tarquinia	76
Chiusi	60
Tolle	23
Camporsevoli	23
Ferrone	16
Chianciano Terme	19
Bisenzio	10
Parrano	8

gion of Adria<sup>28</sup>. Campanian black-figure probably derives from later Etruscan black-figure, but it aims at a different clientele: no campanian vase was found in Etruria<sup>29</sup>.

Most scholars share the conviction that Etruscan figured vases functioned as cheap substitutes for the expensive, luxurious and / or unaccessible Attic ones<sup>30</sup>. However, even a rudimentary statistic analysis (table 1) would show that Etruscan black-figure was produced and consumed in exactly the same places where Attic imports were conspicuous: the city of Vulci, the most celebrated consumer of Athenian pottery in the Archaic period was the main productive centre of Etruscan black-figure in the 6<sup>th</sup> century and hosted the majority of vases with known provenance (239 vases)<sup>31</sup>. Next is Cerveteri (118)<sup>32</sup>, where imports have been particularly important in

the 6<sup>th</sup> century; two important workshops are localised in that site, the La Tolfa Group in the 6<sup>th</sup> and the Lotus-Bud Group in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century<sup>33</sup>.

In the cases of Chiusi (50) and Orvieto (91), the production starts at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, a period that saw the rise, or at least the maintenance of high numbers for Attic imports, contrary to the general trends in southern Etruria, where imports diminish. Except for the obvious case of the Orvieto Group<sup>34</sup>, it is not easy to define the place of manufacture of the stylistic groups which are heavily represented with finds in both sites, but especially in satellite sites like Chianciano Terme, Sarteano, Tolle and Camporsevoli: the groups of Munich 883<sup>35</sup>, Munich 892<sup>36</sup> and Vatican 265<sup>37</sup>, probably form a single workshop, the Jerusalem Painter<sup>38</sup>, or a painter of cups for whom I coined the name the Fallerini Painter<sup>39</sup>. Chiusi is a better candidate for the localisation of those workshops than Orvieto<sup>40</sup>. The case of Tarquinia<sup>41</sup>, with 72 vases belonging to various groups, is remarkable: all Etruscan black-figured vases that were found there were imports, since the city does not seem to have produced any painted vases at all in the archaic pe-

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on a neck-amphora from Sarteano (divided between Dresden and Chianciano Terme), see COLONNA, PAOLUCCI 2004, 332–334. Graffiti: see the globular cup Munich 989 (HANNESTAD 1976, 69, no. 95) and the *amphora* of Harrow School, inv. HA 20 (JOHNSTON 1992, pl.XLV).

<sup>28</sup> GOVI 2005, 65–70.

<sup>29</sup> See FALCONE, IBELLI 2007, 175–176, for a reevaluation of the relations between the Etruscan and the Campanian Schools of black-figure.

<sup>30</sup> For example, SPIVEY 1987, 74.

<sup>31</sup> The Pontic (HANNESTAD 1974, 1976, LUND, RATHJE 1988), Ivy Leaf (DRUKKER 1986, WERNER 2005) and Micali Groups (SPIVEY 1987, GAULTIER 2003, 33–42 and BRUNI 2007), along with minor ones, are firmly localised at Vulci.

<sup>32</sup> In these figures are included vases from both the Campana and Castellani collections.

<sup>33</sup> La Tolfa Group: ZILVEBERG 1986; GAULTIER 1995, 37–39. Lotus-Bud Group: SCHWARZ 1989, 175–177, 179–180; GAULTIER 2003, 64–72 and 2005 (on the localisation).

<sup>34</sup> Most recently studied by SCHWARZ 1984, 54–60, 74–77 and 1989, 167–174 and 177–179. See also BRUSCHETTI 2005.

<sup>35</sup> SCHWARZ 1983, 127–134 and 1984, 61–66. See PISTOLESI 2001–2002 and 2007, for a different classification.

<sup>36</sup> SCHWARZ 1983, 121–127, PISTOLESI 2004 and GOVI 2005.

<sup>37</sup> SCHWARZ 1984, 66–72; PAOLUCCI 2004, 19 and 2007b, 16 sq.

<sup>38</sup> See PAOLUCCI 2004, 18, no. 12 and 2007a, 27, for a list of attributed vases.

<sup>39</sup> See PAOLUCCI 2000. Add a cup illustrated by BRUNI 2007, pl. 24b-c, one from Volterra (cited in n. 26) and a third one from Chiusi (Iozzo 2007, 77–78, no. 70).

<sup>40</sup> See already MARTELLI 1992, 342–343 and PAOLUCCI 1999, 286–289.

<sup>41</sup> PALLOTTINO 1937, col. 277–283; GINGE 1987 and 1988–1989.

Amphora	778
Stamnos	82
Kylix	42
Kyathos and one-handed kantharos	103
Column-krater	38
Hydria	105
Oinochoe	141
Olpe	52
Chalice	61

riod. On the other side, Etruscan black-figure vastly outnumbers or equals Attic imports in inland centres, like Ferrone, Bisenzio, Tolle, Parrano, Chianciano Terme, Camporsevoli and Fallerini<sup>42</sup>. People from inland or remote areas might have been unable or even unwilling to purchase Attic vases. This seems to hold true for some major Etruscan sites as well: a series of tombs at Vulci, where the custom of primary cremation into a pit was practiced, were particularly well furnished with Etruscan black-figure vases, almost excluding any other ceramic finds. These tombs cluster in the locality Pelicone of the Osteria necropolis<sup>43</sup>.

Generally speaking, the overall distribution of the finds does not confirm the idea that Etruscan black-figure was a substitute to Attic imports. Instead, it is safer to assume a more complex role for Etruscan pots: Etruscan black-figure was destined to supplement Attic imports with local shapes and local iconography. The single most important shape (table 2) in the Etruscan black-figure repertory is the *amphora* (778 examples), and especially the neck-amphora of average shape (553 examples), plus 80 examples in variants (pontic, nicosthenic, pointed etc.). The neck-amphora is considered to be a shape with special appeal to the Etruscans because of its likeness to ancient forms of impasto cinerary urns<sup>44</sup>. Related shapes are strongly represented, such as the one-piece *amphora* (78), and the small neck-amphora (67), as well as the *stamnos* (82). These shapes were also very popular in Attic. On the other hand, the *kylix* (42) and the column-krater (38), likewise very popular in Attic black- and red-figure and massively imported in Italy, are rather rarely produced in Etruria. The *kylix* is replaced by locally made forms of drinking vessels, *chalices* (61), *kythoi* and one-handed *kantharoi* (103). *Hydriae* (105) are especially popular among potters from Vulci. This predilection is undoubtedly due to the fact that this shape was locally used as a mixing bowl<sup>45</sup>. In other areas, metal vessels must have played the role of a mixing bowl, a case already pointed out by L. Van der Meer for Tarquinia<sup>46</sup>. *Oenochoai* (141) and *olpai* (53) appear in significant numbers, as it would have been expected for shapes that completed the banquet service.

The idea of a local production especially designed to supplement Attic vases is strongly advocated by the analysis of the contexts in which Etruscan black-figured vases appear side by side with Attic ones. Concrete information has been found in more than 100 tomb contexts where Etruscan black-figure appears, along with 20 more cases where reports are vague and imprecise. Not surprisingly, most of those tomb-contexts have been found at Cerveteri (20); Ferrone and Tolle are also prominent, while Vulci and Tarquinia are represented to a lesser degree. Tombs from more than 30 different sites are included in my list; but a detailed analysis of this data is better put off until another occasion. For the moment, I restrict myself in the study of a small number of cases.

T. 91 in Aleria<sup>47</sup> is one of the most ancient chamber tombs built by the Etruscan settlers of Corsica, in the turn of the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. It is a very rich tomb and contains the bones of two persons. On the northern bench laid a dead child, a girl, as one can judge from her jewelry (golden necklace, golden earrings and ivory pendants). A bronze mirror, a *situla* and an Attic black-figured *lekythos* are part of the

<sup>42</sup> See above.

<sup>43</sup> See MORETTI SGUBINI, RICCIARDI 2005.

<sup>44</sup> De la GENIÈRE 1987; SPIVEY 1991.

<sup>45</sup> REUSSER 2003; see BRUNORI 2006.

<sup>46</sup> VAN DER MEER 1984.

<sup>47</sup> JEHASSE 1973, 467 ss.

same context. To the east, on another bench, were found an Etruscan black-figured *oenochoe* with two satyrs and a woman dancing<sup>48</sup>, as well as an Attic red-figured cup<sup>49</sup>, a brasier, an impasto plate, two bronze handles, a *phiale*, an iron spearhead and three ivory dices. The southern couch received yet more precious Attic vases (a rhyton by the Brygos Painter, a cup by the Antiphon Painter, a cup by the Wedding Painter), bronze vessels and iron weapons. The most important item of this deposit was a golden ring. In the centre of the tomb laid yet more finds: a late Attic black-figured *skyphos*, an *askos* by Makron, various impasto vases and stone amulettes. To the south, an adult male laid directly to the ground.

What strikes at first is the chronological difference between the Etruscan *oenochoe* and the Attic cup that were laid side by side on the east bench. The *oenochoe* is decorated by the Kyknos Painter, a follower of the Micali Painter and should be dated around 490-480 BCE. The cup is attributed to the Penthesilea Painter and should be placed around 460-450 BCE. We can safely assume, then, that the *oenochoe* was in the possession of the dead warrior (to whom belonged the group of offerings placed on the eastern bench, as one can guess from the presence of a spearhead among them) for almost a generation before it was deposited in the tomb. I venture the hypothesis that the pot was brought from the continent, when the settlers sailed for Corsica, and was kept as a precious heirloom.

If this was a single case, the chronological discrepancy between the finds would have been attributed to an error in our dating. However, if we move further to the north, at another outpost of Etruscan civilisation, Bologna, we encounter a similar process of hoarding: t. 360 in the Certosa necropolis is an unusually elaborate cist tomb containing a wooden coffin with the inhumed remains of an adult female<sup>50</sup>. Two silver *fibulae*, five amber beads, small black-glazed and impasto vases, but also a fine black-figured Etruscan neck-amphora with lid by the Painter of Munich 892<sup>51</sup> and an Attic-red figured cup by the Calliope Painter<sup>52</sup> are part of the context. The Etruscan vase belongs to the beginning of the production of the group and should be dated around 490-480 BCE. The cup by the Calliope Painter cannot be earlier than 450 BCE. The neck-amphora is a heirloom in the possession of the deceased woman, apparently dating from the time her family moved northwards from a centre of inland Etruria.

In both cases, then, the role of the Etruscan vase is “prospective” (to use the terminology of Erwin Panofsky): it is destined to reassert the identity of the dead in a colonial context. The iconography plays no role at all: this explains why the Etruscan *amphora* that depicted satyrs and boys in erotic attitudes was placed in a woman’s tomb. But it is clear that these cases are marginal. Most of the ceramic contexts must be examined as if their iconography concerns directly the deeds of the dead or the expectations and eschatological conceptions of his family. In that respect, Etruscan vases assume a different role from the Attic ones: their iconography refers directly to the dead or alludes directly to death and afterlife, and its use is not symbolic.

Let us examine some cases, to illustrate this idea. I will briefly repeat the results of my analysis of the context of the deposition in the first chamber of t. 19 from sector A at the Necropolis of Riserva di Ferrone<sup>53</sup>: The first room had two benches. A silver ring, some bronze fragments, and a broken small Etruscan black-figured neck-amphora of the Group of Munich 872<sup>54</sup> (fig. 1) were found on the right bench, along with the skeleton of a woman. On each side of the *amphora* is depicted a standing woman amidst palmettes. Lying on the ground between the two beds were various vases, mostly dating from the time of the

<sup>48</sup> ALÉRIA 67/458: JEHASSE 1973, pl. 21, no. 1892; SPIVEY 1987, 42 (probably by the Kyknos Painter).

<sup>49</sup> JEHASSE 1973, pl. 49, no. 1893.

<sup>50</sup> ZANNONI 1876, pl. 121; PELLEGRINI 1912, 232. See GOVI 2005, 50.

<sup>51</sup> Bologna 28846 (P 822): ZANNONI 1876, pl. 121.1, 5-6; PELLEGRINI 1912, p. 232, no. 822; GOVI 2005, 44–55, pl. 8a-b.

<sup>52</sup> BEAZLEY 1963, 1259.12; ZANNONI 1876, pl. 121.2-4; PELLEGRINI 1912, 190–191.

<sup>53</sup> PALEOTHODOROS 2009. On the tomb and its contents, see BROCATO 2000, 238–324.

<sup>54</sup> Tolfa 125847: BROCATO 2000, 242, no. 13, 267, fig. 236-238. My attribution to the Painter of Munich 872 is based on comparison with the *amphora* Harrow HA 21 (*supra*, n. 27). This looted tomb context is exhibited in the Tolfa Museum, but the *amphora* is placed on the ground, not on the bench, where it originally laid, since the broken neck was still next to the skeleton in the time of the excavation (BROCATO 2000, 263, fig. 225 and 264, fig. 228).



Fig. 2 – Drawing by the author of Tolfa 125801 (after BROCATO 2000, 271, fig. 250).

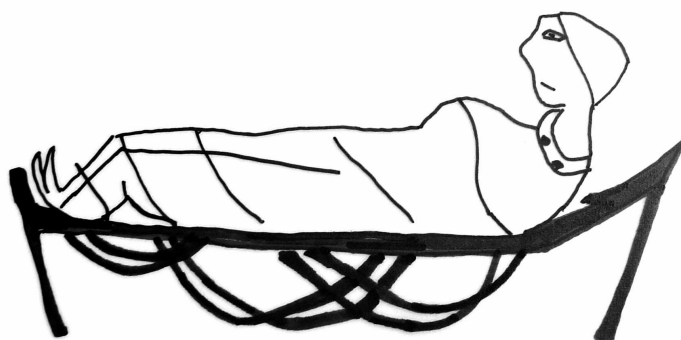


Fig. 1 – Drawing by the author of Tolfa (after BROCATO 2000, 267, fig. 236).

construction of the tomb, around the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century (and presumably belonging to the first deposition, on the bed to the left), as well as a series of Attic and Etruscan black-figured and black-glazed vases that belong to the late first to early second quarter of the fifth century BCE, and apparently match the finds on the right bed: a black-figured *lekythos* with patterned decoration, a *lekythos* of the Haimon Group that represents four seated women, a *skyphos* that belongs to the earlier production of the Haimon Painter with Peleus and Thetis on both sides, two *skyphoi* of the Pistias Class, one with unidentified quadrupeds, the other with running women on each side and an etruscan black-figured *amphora* of Caeretan fabric showing on the reverse an erotic scene and on the obverse a woman lying on a couch<sup>55</sup> (fig. 2). While the Attic vases put in the grave were carefully chosen in order to project the idea of death as a violent rapt and marriage (a very Greek idea after all), both Etruscan *amphorae* directly refer to the dead woman lying on the right bed: on the *amphora* by the Group of Munich 872, she is shown as an apparition, a Greek *eidolon* or an Etruscan *hinthial*, while on the Caeretan *amphora* she is shown lying on her deathbed.

Judging from the inscribed *cippus*, the chamber tomb 26 from the necropolis of Crocifisso del Tufo belonged to a man, Larth Stramena, whose cremated remains have been discovered inside a lidded impasto urn<sup>56</sup>. The finds are by no means negligible: 18 bucchero vases of various shapes, a small bronze *phiale*, a gold earring, a belt, a spearhead, an arrowhead, a knife, were found along with a lip-cup<sup>57</sup>, a cup by Epiktetos with a *schema synousiastikon a tergo*<sup>58</sup> and a neck-amphora from an artist working at the outskirts

<sup>55</sup> Tolfa 125801: BROCATO 2000, 245–247, no. 41, 270–273, fig. 247-254. On the style, see BRUNI 2007, 109, n. 36.

<sup>56</sup> BIZZARI 1962, 148–149, no. 22. The inscription reads *MI LARTHIA STRAMENAS* (sinistrograde). On the name, see MORANDI TARAMBELLA 2004, 494. Once thought to be a feminine nominative, *Larthi*, *Larthia* it is now considered an archaic masculine genitive of *Larth*.

<sup>57</sup> BIZZARI 1962, pl. 14a, no. 550.

<sup>58</sup> Orvieto 549: BEAZLEY 1963, 1705.79bis; BEAZLEY 1971, 328; BIZZARI 1962, pl. 5b; PALEOTHODOROS 2004, 165, no. 135, pl. 38.1.

of the Orvieto Group<sup>59</sup>, showing on each side a winged hook-nosed male daemon: this is apparently one of the earlier depictions of Charun<sup>60</sup> (fig. 3). This is a curious assemblage, indeed: the three vases put into the tomb belonged to three different time marks: the lip-cup should be dated around 540-530, the cup by Epiktetos to the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> or the very beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, and the Orvieto *amphora* is not earlier than 490 BCE. The two cups undoubtedly refer to parties (either in the life of the dead person, or in the afterlife), while the Etruscan *amphora* illustrates one of the dreadful Etruscan daemons of death.

My last case is that of the so-called *tomba a buca*, a widespread type of tomb with secondary cremation within a ceramic container, most usually an Attic *amphora*, and less often an Etruscan figured vase, a plain *krater* or an *impasto* urn. Etruscan black-figure vases are used in a number of cremations at Cerveteri<sup>61</sup>, Vulci<sup>62</sup>, Tarquinia<sup>63</sup>, Tolle<sup>64</sup> and Bisenzio<sup>65</sup>. Earlier opinions attributed a marginal social or ethnic role to the owners of those tombs, while recent studies point that their owners were, in most cases, young males and females just before the age of adulthood<sup>66</sup>. Whatever the case, Greek and Etruscan painted vases appear as interchangeable, at least in terms of the ritual employed<sup>67</sup>.

Sir Moses Finley once wrote that "(a)n Etruscan tomb is nothing more than an assemblage of artifacts, despite the sophistication of the technology or the wall-paintings, so long as there is no adequate literary key to the conventions and values represented by the artifacts"<sup>68</sup>. Since it is evident that such a key will never be found, the meaning and function of the artifacts put into an Etruscan tomb need to be grasped only by means of contextual archaeological analysis. In that respect, the persistent attitude in recent scholarship to overemphasize the role of Attic pottery and to neglect the role of Etruscan, or even other classes of painted pots that belong to the same contexts, cannot be justified anymore. As the distribution of finds of Etruscan black-figure shows, the two classes were regarded as complementary, or even interchangeable, in funeral contexts. As a rule, Etruscan painted pots of the archaic period belong to the realm of the dead, even if it cannot be claimed that they were invariably produced for a funeral destination. Otherwise, the presence of painted Etruscan pots seems to have been quite limited: some finds from



Fig. 3 – Drawing by the author of Orvieto, no. 551 (after BIZZARI 1962, pl. 6c).

<sup>59</sup> Orvieto 551: BIZZARI 1962, pl. 6c; SCHWARZ 1984, 77, no. 60 and 1989, 179, no. 60.

<sup>60</sup> Compare BONAMICI 2005, 40–41.

<sup>61</sup> Tombs BA 208, BA 209, BA 348, BA 349, BA 353 and a *tomba a pozzetto* inside tumulus II: RICCI 1955.

<sup>62</sup> Tomba a buca 2001: MORETTI SGUBINI 2002, 63–68.

<sup>63</sup> *Bulletino* 1878, 177–178, NSA 1893, 113–115, NSA 1896, 21 and 184–186.

<sup>64</sup> PAOLUCCI 2007a, t. 14, 34, 97 and 447.

<sup>65</sup> *MDAI(R)* 1, 1885, 26, n. 1.

<sup>66</sup> See the discussions in CATALDI 2005 and PALMIERI 2005.

<sup>67</sup> Compare also the custom of putting a pair of *amphorae* in the same tomb at Cerveteri; in most cases, we have a pair of *amphora* from the La Tolfa Group (B-L 291, B-L 324, MA 424, MA 450: RIZZO 1994; see also the tomb at Capena discussed in n. 14); but other wares occur as well: see the t. BA Autostrada 115 (Attic black-figure) t. BF 599 (Corinthian).

<sup>68</sup> FINLEY 1975, 94.

Rosellae and the Civita in Tarquinia come from urban sites and a few more have been found in sanctuaries (Timpone Motta, Gravisca, Volterra, Veii)<sup>69</sup>.

The choice of putting an Etruscan figured vase, instead of an Attic or a bucchero one, in the tomb was principally ideological. Ethnic or local identity is a key factor for the use of Etruscan pots in remote areas. But normally, Etruscan black-figure was destined to supplement Attic imports with clear ideological messages about the social status of the dead person and the expectations of himself and his relatives regarding death and the afterlife. Iconography was not the only important aspect: some tomb groups (like the *Tomba dei vasi del Pittore di Micali* at Vulci<sup>70</sup>) might reproduce an ideal banquet service. Shape and subject were of equal importance for the Etruscan artisan and his clients.

**Dimitris Paleothodoros**

Assistant Professor of Classical Archaeology  
University of Thessaly  
Department of History, Archaeology and Social Anthropology  
Argonafton & Filellinon  
38222 Volos  
Greece  
E-mail: palaio@uth.gr

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<sup>69</sup> Rosellae: LAVIOSA 1960, 330–331, fig. 28-29 (*kantharos* of the Orvieto Group); unpublished vases in the Grosseto Museum include a small neck-amphora with floral decoration, a *skyphos* with patterned decoration, a fragmentary *amphora* from the Orvieto Group, two fragmentary *amphorae*, perhaps belonging to the Group of Vatican 265; Civita: the fragmentary *oinochoe* Tarquinia 3/88, 47/2 (Pontic Group), 2/33 and 31/55 (Micali Group). BONGHI JOVINO 1999, pl. 135, 136 and 140. Note also the small neck-amphora with floral decoration from S. Basilio di Ariano Polinese (*supra*, n. 10). Timpone Motta: *supra*, n. 18. Gravisca: 72/10465-6 and 72/4061 (two fragmentary chalices); BOLDRINI 1994, 133, nos. 238-239. Volterra: BONAMICI 2003, 264-265, pl. XXIX.1. Veii: VAGNETTI 1971, pl. LXII (Campetti); MORETTI SGUBINI 2001, 79–80 (Portonaccio).

<sup>70</sup> MORETTI SGUBINI 2001, 220–235; REUSSER 2003; PALEOTHODOROS 2009.



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