# Athens, Etruria, and the Many Lives of Greek Figured Pottery

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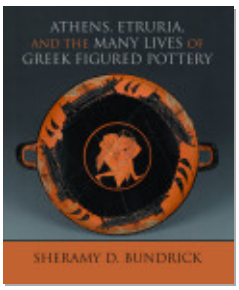


Published by University of Wisconsin Press

Bundrick, Sheramy D.
Athens, Etruria, and the Many Lives of Greek Figured Pottery.
University of Wisconsin Press, 2019.
Project MUSE. muse.jhu.edu/book/63475.

*Chapter 6*

# Attic Vases as Etruscan Cineraria

In the 1886 *Notizie degli Scavi*, Wolfgang Helbig discussed recent finds in the Palazzetta necropolis of Bisenzio, a central Etruscan site situated on the southern side of Lake Bolsena. Among them were three sixth-century *tombe a pozzo*, or so-called well tombs for cremation burials, each containing a black-figure column krater serving as a cinerary urn. Two were Attic in Helbig's estimation, the third Etruscan.[1] They held cremated remains but no other objects, and each of the pits into which they had been placed was covered by a large stone. Although only one krater can be identified today, all three featured warrior imagery. While there is no way to be certain, it is tempting to suggest that the graves belonged to men.

The known Athenian krater measures 29.8 centimeters in diameter and has a Gigantomachy on its obverse (fig. 6.1): a bearded god driving a chariot (perhaps Dionysos), Athena brandishing a spear, and an armed male figure confront a Giant at right bearing a tripod-emblazoned shield.[2] The military theme continues on the reverse, where a man on horseback is joined by three armed figures on foot, perhaps all leaving for battle. Male and female busts are painted on top of the handles, perhaps representing Dionysos and Ariadne. Helbig specifies that "una grande tazza attica" served as the krater's lid (fig. 6.2): a black-figure eye cup 28.5 centimeters in diameter. The measurements of the two vases suggest that the kylix sat upon the krater right side up.[3] As discussed in chapter 4, the eyes of such cups likely had apotropaic meaning in Etruscan funerary contexts, which became all the more significant when the cup was used as the lid of a cinerary urn. A nymph or maenad flanked by satyrs dances between the eyes on each side, while grapevines and rabbits surround the handles. Not only are Dionysian characters popular on vases used as cinerary urns elsewhere (as will be seen below), but if the charioteer in the Gigantomachy is indeed Dionysos, the god is paired with his followers, and two aspects of his identity are seen: the god capable of vengeance against his enemies and the god who brings joy and freedom. The eye

Fig. 6.1 Attic column krater with Gigantomachy, from Bisenzio. Late sixth century. Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale P270. (Photo courtesy Polo Museale della Toscana)

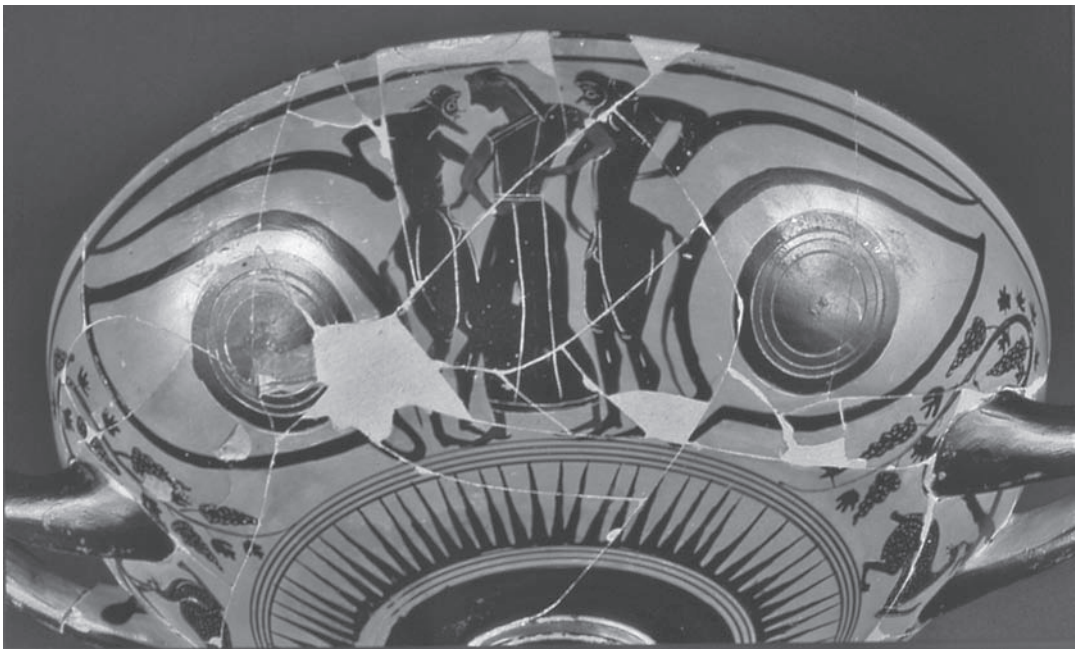

Fig. 6.2 Attic eye cup, from Bisenzio. Late sixth century. Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale P300. (Photo courtesy Polo Museale della Toscana)

cup carries traces of ancient repair around one handle, so it possibly belonged to the deceased or his/her family before being repurposed.[4]

The use of Athenian figured vases as cinerary urns, a practice which can be found sporadically in many communities, provides the most potent—and poignant—examples of their integration into Etruscan material culture. The study of this phenomenon faces methodological challenges beyond those outlined in earlier chapters. In the majority of nineteenth-century excavations like those at Bisenzio and in more recent instances of looting, the human remains were discarded, and so, without some form of documentation, it is difficult to identify cineraria. When the remains have been kept, it is sometimes but not always possible to determine the deceased's age and gender; success depends on the condition of the remains, and not all surviving specimens have been analyzed or published. Grave goods can sometimes be used to hypothesize gender, but in many cases—for example, the tomb at Bisenzio—it was not the local custom to include objects with a cremation burial. Even so, documented examples of Attic vases as cineraria encourage us to contemplate the dual roles of shape and image in the decisions made by families to inter their loved ones in these vessels. It was a conscious decision, for many types of containers were employed as cineraria in Etruria, depending on the community in question: figured vessels of Etruscan production (as noted by Helbig at Bisenzio), nonfigured ceramic vessels of different shapes and origins, stone urns with or without figural decoration, bronze containers of various sorts, and even textiles and wooden chests, since disintegrated. Figured Athenian pottery forms a distinct yet noteworthy minority, and a level of intentionality for the choices of shape and imagery is readily witnessed.

Three aspects of Etruscan cremation are important to the exploration of Attic vases as cineraria. The first is the antiquity of this form of burial, dating back to the Early Iron Age and so-called Villanovan urns in ceramic impasto, whether the more familiar biconical urns (fig. 6.3) or less common examples in the form of huts and houses. In many parts of Etruria, cremation was superseded by inhumation after the seventh century, but in some areas, such as Chiusi and environs, cremation remained the dominant form of burial. At other sites like Tarquinia, Vulci, and Caere, cremation experienced a revival during the sixth century and into the fifth, but only for certain individuals; because of the methodological problems noted above, it is difficult to discern patterns for who received cremations and why. In any case, at every site where Athenian vases were used for cremation burials, not only did these co-exist with other, local types of cinerary containers, but the tradition of cremation itself had a long history. At Bisenzio, for example, ovoid ollae and amphorae with wide mouths were preferred for cremation burials during the Early Iron Age, often with an impasto vessel shaped like a cup or deep plate placed on top as a lid.[5] Perhaps the sixth-century burial discussed above was meant to hark back to this earlier tradition while using imported figured pottery.

Second, one must consider the performativity of cremation as a "highly visual, sensual, and powerful process."[6] The burning of the body upon a pyre, the gathering of the remains and their placement in a suitable and safe container, and the deposition of the urn and any associated goods were accompanied by rituals, actions, and prayers about which we know little but which must have

Fig. 6.3 Etruscan biconical cinerary urn, from Vulci. Ninth–eighth centuries. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia. (Photo: SEF/Art Resource, NY)

been suffused with meaning. Unlike modern Western cremations, conducted by professionals and from which mourners tend to be shielded, in ancient times the deceased's family and friends would have watched and participated in at least part of the lengthy proceedings.[7] As Howard Williams notes regarding medieval Anglo-Saxon cremations, mourners would have remembered vividly the "visual spectacle of transformation," the sometimes shocking sights and smells as their loved one's corpse was consumed by flames.[8] Once the pyre had collapsed and cooled, the dwindling embers quenched by wine, attention turned to gathering the remains. We do not know whether priests or other professionals participated in this activity in Etruria (as was the case with the *ustores* mentioned in Roman texts), but family members were likely present, even if they did not undertake the task themselves.[9] Williams observes that "there is no reason to regard this as a mundane and

practical activity; instead it would have been an emotional and mnemonic process in which the mourners came into direct contact with the transformed remains of individuals they had known."[10] Often in Etruria only part of the remains were interred, and sometimes bones were crushed to facilitate their placement in a container, a process known today as "comminution"; nonetheless, this was a meaningful stage in a series of transformations.[11] As the dead person's last resting place, the urn became the focus of any remaining rites. One can imagine it being carried to the grave in a final procession, a recipient of mourning and memory, just as the deceased's intact body had been.

A widespread conception of the cinerary urn as a symbolic reconstitution of the deceased is a third key aspect of Etruscan cremation. This belief can be traced back to Early Iron Age burials, with examples of the cinerarium's literal anthropomorphization present at many sites.[12] Bronze or terracotta helmets could be placed atop impasto biconical urns, or urns might be adorned with textiles or jewelry. The biconical urn of a recently discovered (1998) cremation burial at Tarquinia, belonging to a child four to eight years old according to forensic analysis, had a necklace draped around its exterior, while more jewelry, fibulae, and other goods suggestive of a female deceased were placed inside with the remains.[13] For another pair of burials in the Poggio dell'Impiccato necropolis of Tarquinia, each urn was laid horizontally in a tomb whose size was more appropriate for an inhumation burial.[14] In Tomb I, the biconical urn was topped with a bronze crested helmet and draped with a necklace; weapons were arranged at its foot, along with a jar, stemmed plates, and other vessels that evoked a banquet.[15] In Tomb II, the lid of the urn was formed by a bronze hemispherical helmet whose repoussé decoration suggests a face. This urn too was equipped with weapons and drinking cups.[16] The deliberate breakage of handles on many biconical urns, or the conscious decision to make only one handle rather than two from the outset, may similarly designate the urn as an embodiment of the deceased, either to (theoretically) make the urn more difficult to carry away or else to ritually disable or cripple it in a more symbolic fashion.[17] Lucy Shipley makes this observation: "The lack of paired handles demands that an individual carrying the urn holds it close to their body, embracing the pot in an enclosing grasp. During burial and movement, these pots appear designed to be held close to the body—their short use-life above ground enabling physical closeness between mourners and corpse."[18] Shipley and others have further discussed the decoration of biconical urns (when it appears), abstract motifs that today are not fully understood but likely contributed to the urn's assertion of the deceased's individual and communal identities.[19]

This chapter considers how imported Athenian vases were incorporated into existing paradigms of Etruscan cremation ritual. Some scholars have claimed that the sixth-century revival of cremation resulted from increased contact with Greeks, and still others have asserted (with no evidence) that some of the cremated dead interred in Athenian pots may have been Greek themselves. I argue that while Attic vessels offered attractive options for families of the deceased through their shapes and narrative imagery, ultimately their Greekness mattered less than the way they could be made to fit local and sometimes very old customs and conceptions of the urn. To address this question, examples from different communities are examined: large coastal cities of southern Etruria like Vulci, Caere, and Tarquinia, where contact with Greeks was possible for many people,

and inland sites like Bisenzio (noted above) and Foiano della Chiana, where firsthand contact was minimal if it existed at all. As with other case studies, Athenian figured pottery has to be examined not in isolation but within a larger framework.

## Tarquinia

On the back wall of the Tomb of the Lionesses (Tomba delle Leonesse, ca. 520, fig. 6.4), complementing a banquet in progress on the side walls, a large volute krater draped with ivy stands between two musicians playing auloi and a phorminx.[20] Dancing figures frame this central group: a woman to the left playing krotala, a male-female couple to the right. The young man holds a jug as he dances, while the young woman with him enacts an apotropaic *cornuto* gesture with her right hand.[21] The krater's central placement recalls sympotic scenes on some Attic cups, and the ladle hanging beside it affirms its function. Additional meanings can be discerned, however, for the painted krater stands above a niche that held a since-lost cinerary urn, added sometime after the

Fig. 6.4 Back wall of the Tomb of the Lionesses, Tarquinia. Ca. 520. (Photo © American Academy in Rome, Photographic Archive, Neg. Mos. Corneto. T. Leo. 24042)

painting was completed. The ivy adorning the painted krater recalls the attention that would have been given the deceased's cinerarium during the funeral and deposition. One is also reminded of Fufluns, who, as noted in earlier chapters, had a chthonic aspect in addition to being associated with wine and banqueting.[22] Even the musicians possess a double meaning, for as Etruscan funerary art attests, music and dance accompanied the laying out of the body and other rituals that followed.[23] Images above and below likewise carry multiple references. In the lower zone around the tomb, dolphins leap in rolling waves, the sea recalling the deceased's passage into the afterworld (see chapter 5). At the top of the wall, the two snarling lionesses from which the tomb gets its nickname frame a *columen* perhaps doubling as an altar. While the lionesses serve a protective function as powerful as the female dancer's hand gesture, the altar recalls ceremonies and sacrifices and, by extension, the deceased's transformation and even heroization.[24] It seems no coincidence that painted altar, painted krater, and actual cinerary urn once occupied the same vertical axis.

During the period under discussion in this study, cremation was not the primary rite at Tarquinia and had not been since the Early Iron Age, when biconical urns were the characteristic receptacle and were often treated in an anthropomorphized fashion. For unknown reasons, cremation experienced a revival for the burials of some individuals from approximately the second quarter of the sixth century to the late fifth. Many cremation burials were found in the nineteenth century, when human remains were not kept, but forensic analysis of more recent discoveries betrays a lack of obvious pattern for who received this treatment; children and adults, male and female, are represented.[25] Nor was cremation exclusive to less wealthy individuals. Although many cremation burials lack grave goods for whatever reason, valuable objects have sometimes been found inside or around the urns (some examples appear below). Urns were occasionally placed inside chamber tombs, as in the Tomb of the Lionesses; in that instance, the painted tomb suggests a well-off family, even though the urn is missing. Mario Torelli proposes that most if not all cremation burials belonged to metics—by which he means Greek immigrants—while Juliette de la Genière notes that cremation's reappearance chronologically coincided with the foundation of the Greco-Etruscan sanctuary at Gravisca. She speculates that the deceased were Etruscan but that nearby Greeks helped inspire the resurrection of cremation.[26] While de la Genière is surely correct that the cremated individuals were Etruscan, the styles of cremation and burial do not neatly fit Greek customs. In Greek cremations, for instance, the tendency seems to have been to collect most if not all of the remains from the pyre; in Etruscan cremations, even a small portion could serve as a *pars pro toto* for the deceased.[27] Comminution was likewise practiced regularly at Tarquinia.[28] In general, Tarquinian cremations seem more evocative of traditional Etruscan forms of burial than of Greek; even the placement of the majority of urns in pit tombs (*tombe a buca* or *tombe a custodia*) harks back to the Early Iron Age. In some cases, the pits were stone-lined or stone-topped like eighth-century examples.[29]

Many cremation burials were housed in figured pottery of Attic or Etruscan manufacture, all of which can be considered imported, given that Tarquinia did not produce its own figured ware.[30] Nonfigural local and imported vessels were also used, as for example a black-glazed Lakonian

column krater from the mid-sixth century, found in a *tomba a buca* (Tomb 6191 of the Monterozzi necropolis), where it was originally topped with a bucchero dish.[31] The remains inside belonged to a child eight to twelve years of age, while bucchero loomweights among the grave goods suggest a young girl. This krater and a few more vases discussed below represent an exception to a tendency for cremation burials to be placed in amphorae; of the nearly thirty Attic vases used as urns in my own corpus, over twenty are black-figure amphorae, and nearly all Etruscan figured pots used for cremations are amphorae, too.[32] Despite her suspicions of a Greek connection to Tarquinian cremation burials, de la Genière notes a resemblance between the shapes of amphorae and Villanovan biconical urns (cf., e.g., fig. 6.3).[33] This once more suggests deliberate revival of earlier Tarquinian practice while using imported pottery. The occasional employment of bucchero cups or locally made stemmed plates as lids bolsters the comparison, since this practice could be found with some Early Iron Age urns.[34] So too other modifications: for example, the deliberate breakage of one handle of an Etruscan black-figure stamnos used as an urn.[35] A Pontic amphora attributed to the Paris Painter (ca. 540–520) was found with a large bronze ring looped around one of its handles, perhaps anthropomorphizing the vase and mimicking the addition of necklaces or other objects to biconical urns.[36]

The iconography of Attic vases used as cinerary urns at Tarquinia is consistent with the types of subjects favored for imported pottery generally: propitious gods and heroes, Dionysian subjects, warrior imagery, and occasional genre scenes, such as a black-figure pelike with scenes of oil-sellers, found in a *tomba a buca* near the Tomb of the Baron in 1877.[37] When these vessels were employed as cinerary urns, Etruscan belief in the urn as revitalization of the deceased lent heightened significance to the chosen images, even if that significance is not always known to the modern viewer (as with the oil-sellers on the pelike). As an example of an Attic vase with propitious deities, we may consider a black-figure amphora attributed to the Affecter (figs. 6.5–6), described by Helbig in the 1876 volume of the *Bullettino dell'Instituto di Correspondenza Archeologica* as having been found at Tarquinia but unidentified until my research for this book.[38] Four neighboring *tombe a buca* with ceramic cinerary urns were found on private land belonging to the Marzi brothers; this amphora and likely the other three discovered vases (two Etruscan, one badly damaged and possibly Greek) were sold not long after discovery.[39] The Affecter amphora was bequeathed to the Harvard University Classics Department by alumnus Henry W. Haynes in 1912. When, where, and from whom Haynes acquired it are unknown, but his correspondence and travel diary show that he was in Rome in spring 1876 and could have purchased the amphora then; he even traveled to Tarquinia and met one of the Marzis on 21 May.[40]

Helbig writes that the amphora was "nello stile che gli antiquarii romani chiamano tirrenico"—of the style that the "Roman antiquarians" call "Tyrrhenian." He further explains that this style "esagera i principii dello stile arcaico" and represents mythological characters "in maniera particolarmente scura."[41] The Affecter's style is indeed distinct from his contemporaries, and while the amphora is not "Tyrrhenian" (i.e., does not belong to the Tyrrhenian Group), the rest of Helbig's description leaves no doubt that it is the same vase:

Fig. 6.5 Attic amphora attributed to the Affecter, from Tarquinia. Ca. 540–530. Harvard Art Museums/ Arthur M. Sackler Museum, transfer from the Department of the Classics, Harvard University, bequest of Henry W. Haynes, 1912, 1977.216.2244. (Photo: Imaging Department © President and Fellows of Harvard College)

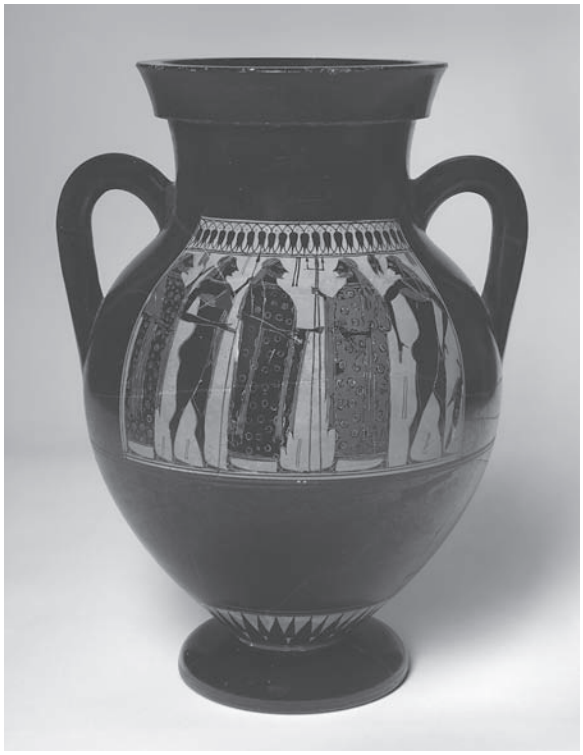

Fig. 6.6 Attic amphora attributed to the Affecter, from Tarquinia. Ca. 540–530. Reverse of fig. 6.5. Harvard Art Museums/ Arthur M. Sackler Museum, transfer from the Department of the Classics, Harvard University, bequest of Henry W. Haynes, 1912, 1977.216.2244. (Photo: Imaging Department © President and Fellows of Harvard College)

> Dall'una parte dell'anfora si vede Nettuno in piedi, avviluppato nel mantello, con un tridente nella d., un pesce nella s. Dirimpetto a lui si trova altra figura barbata, vestita col mantello, tenendo colla s. un'asta. Dietro Nettuno un efebo ignudo, con un filo di perle sopra la spalla d., se ne va, rivolgendo la testa verso il dio. Altro efebo somigliante si trova in piedi dietro la figura coll'asta; egli protende la d. e tiene colla s. un'asta. Gli è raffigurato dietro un uomo barbato, avviluppato nel mantello, che alza la s. e tiene colla d. un pesce. Presso l'efebo menzionato in primo luogo è dipinto un lepre, appiccato colle gambe davanti. L'altre parte dell'anfora mostra nel bel mezzo un uomo barbato, vestito con mantello, che tiene colla sin. un'asta. Egli siede in un trono, tra gli appoggi del quale sono raffigurati ingiù un lepre e più sù una sfinge alata, che in guise di telamone regge il sedile. In ogni lato di cotale figura di mezzo sono rappresentate due figure in piedi. Avanti si vede Mercurio, munito di petaso, chitone, clamide e stivali alati, il quale, nella s. il caduceo, alzando la d., discorre coll'uomo seduto, e dietro Mercurio un uomo barbato, vestito di lungo chitone cinto. Dall'altra parte della figura di mezzo sono rappresentati Nettuno ammantellato con tridente e pesce nelle mani ed un giovinetto ignudo che in ogni mano tiene una corona. Sopra quest'ultima figura ed avanti quella di Mercurio è dipinto un lepre appiccato colle gambe davanti.[42]

On the obverse (fig. 6.5), Zeus enthroned is surrounded by Hermes, Dionysos, Poseidon, and a youth who may be Ganymede. Hermes appears to be departing, moving away from Zeus but looking backward with upraised hand, kerykeion grasped in the other. Perhaps he is undertaking a mission for his father; one possibility is that he will be bringing the deceased Herakles to Mount Olympos, given that Hermes regularly accompanies or even leads the hero's apotheosis by chariot. Some scholars have argued that this scene and others like it allude to the impending birth of Athena, but without Hephaistos and/or Eileithyia present, this identification cannot be confirmed.[43] The amphora's reverse (fig. 6.6) depicts Poseidon again in the center, together with another bearded deity who might be Zeus (unclear since he holds only a scepter); two beardless, nude males who lack attributes to secure their identities; and a bearded male figure holding a fish, who may be Nereus. All of the represented deities have Etruscan equivalents; Turms, for example, functioned as a guide of souls like Hermes and appeared very early in Etruscan art.[44] He is identified as Turms Aitas ("Hermes of Hades") in an inscription on a fourth-century mirror that shows him with Uthuze and the *hinthial* of Terasias (Teiresias) at the edge of the Underworld.[45] Perhaps the Etruscan viewer would understand Turms to be leaving Mount Olympos to fetch Hercle, whose apotheosis was similarly important in Etruscan art and belief, or perhaps to accompany the mortal deceased whose remains were interred inside.[46] We do not know the gender of the dead, for the remains are long gone, and Helbig recorded no objects serving as grave goods.

*Sacre conversazioni* like those on the amphora are common in the work of the Affecter throughout his career (ca. 540–520), with three and perhaps four such vases imported into Tarquinia.[47] Zeus sits on a stool instead of a throne on an amphora in Gotha, and the central enthroned figure is a female deity (Hera?) on an amphora in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense.[48] Both of these amphorae were found in the nineteenth century and lack documented contexts; the latter

belonged to the Bruschi-Falgari family, while the Gotha vase was acquired via Helbig. Another amphora in Baltimore likely comes from Tarquinia as well, based on circumstantial evidence; here, each side depicts Hermes between Dionysos and a female figure who might be Ariadne, this trio flanked by satyrs.[49] In her 1975 monograph, Heide Mommsen placed all four of these amphorae with gatherings of gods into her Group One, the earliest of the Affecter's vases, which suggests that the potter/painter dealt with a trader knowledgeable about Tarquinian demand.[50] Although none carries a trademark, a different and unprovenienced Group One amphora bears the graffito of trader ϟO (type 21A), the quintessential knowledgeable *emporos*, and indeed eight ϟO marks appear on Affecter vases.[51]

As one might expect, given his prominence in Etruria, Herakles is the hero most commonly represented on Attic vases adapted as cinerary urns at Tarquinia. Herakles and Telamon fight Amazons on one side of an ovoid neck amphora attributed to the Camtar Painter (fig. 6.7), one of

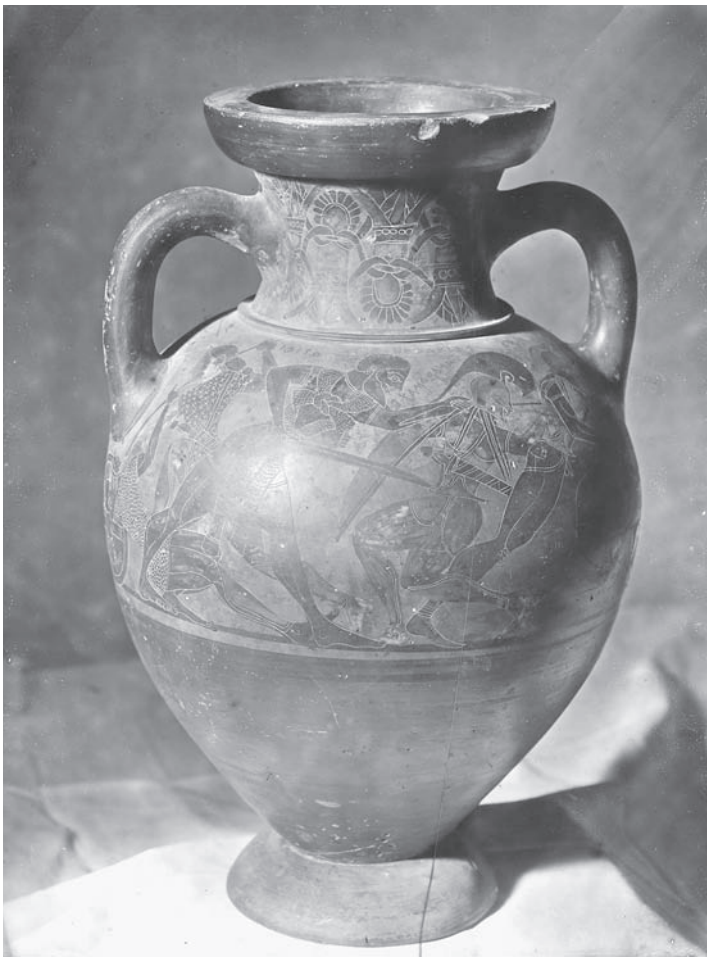

Fig. 6.7 Attic amphora attributed to the Camtar Painter, from Tarquinia. Ca. 575–550. Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense RC5564. (Photo © American Academy in Rome, Photographic Archive, Neg. Mos.Cer. 8631)

the earliest Athenian vases used in this capacity (ca. 575–550).[52] All the figures, including Andromache the Amazon, are identified by inscription. Instead of being placed in a *tomba a buca*, the amphora was found inside a chamber tomb with at least one inhumed individual; Helbig's description in the 1884 *Bullettino* says that it stood just inside the door.[53] The amphora's other side shows an abbreviated version of the Calydonian Boar Hunt, with Peleus, Kastor, Melanion, and a hunting dog (all with names inscribed) attacking the beast, as another hunter lies wounded or dead beneath it. Found primarily on Attic black-figure vases dating from the first half of the sixth century, the Calydonian Boar Hunt would have appealed to the family selecting the urn for its themes of collectivity, valor, and aristocratic pursuits.[54] We cannot be certain of the deceased's gender, for nothing was inside the urn save the now-lost remains; however, an oxidized spearpoint and a burned blue scarab fused together and lying on the floor between the benches had probably come from the pyre and would suggest a male.[55]

Black-figure amphorae with scenes of Herakles were found in two *tombe a buca* on private land in the *contrada* Ripagretta, situated only a meter and a half apart and with no accompanying grave goods.[56] Unidentified until my research for this book, both vases were purchased on the Roman art market by Arthur Frothingham and entered the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in 1896.[57] On the obverse of the first (fig. 6.8), Herakles pulls one Amazon to her knees while another, with a prominent wicker *pelta* (crescent-shaped shield), charges from right.[58] The reverse shows two Amazon warriors on horseback. On the second amphora, Herakles fights the Nemean Lion as Athena watches from behind (fig. 6.9).[59] Helbig did not attempt a description of the reverse, given that the vase "ha sofferto troppo dall'umidità," but even with the damage, the three standing figures can be identified as Hermes, Herakles, and a female figure who is most likely Athena.[60] This scene may represent an abbreviated version of Herakles' arrival on Mount Olympos in which the hero approaches on foot instead of in a chariot; if so, Herakles' first labor is paired with his happy ending. Such an affirmation of the hero overcoming obstacles to reach the world of the gods offered a positive message for a cinerary urn. Herakles and the lion appear again on an amphora attributed to the Antimenes Painter and placed in a different *tomba a buca*, its reverse featuring the Birth of Athena, yet another propitious image.[61]

Another amphora by the Antimenes Painter used as a Tarquinian cinerary urn features Herakles retrieving Kerberos from the Underworld, a myth whose already potent significance, discussed in chapter 4, was amplified when the vessel was repurposed in this fashion.[62] Its *tomba a buca* was one of four such graves described in the 1878 *Bullettino* as being near the Tomb of the Baron.[63] Herakles and Hermes appear at right, and the dog Kerberos follows as Athena raises a hand in approval. The reverse shows Aineias carrying Anchises as they escape from Troy (fig. 6.10), a subject discussed in chapter 2 as appearing primarily on vases exported to Etruria. As with Nikosthenes' eye cup from Vulci (fig. 2.6), Aineias and his father are the focus of the composition, but the amphora's shape allowed the Antimenes Painter to include more figures. To right a Scythian archer leads the group and Aineias' wife, Kreusa, carries their son, Askanios. To left, raising her hand in a gesture that mirrors Athena on the opposite side, is a female figure likely to be Aineias' mother,

Fig. 6.8 Attic amphora with Amazonomachy, from Tarquinia. Late sixth century. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Museum Purchase, Subscription of John Wanamaker, 1896, MS1752. (Photo courtesy Penn Museum, image 122132)

Fig. 6.9 Attic amphora with Herakles and the Nemean Lion, from Tarquinia. Late sixth century. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Museum Purchase, Subscription of John Wanamaker, 1896, MS1753. (Photo courtesy Penn Museum, image 2723)

Fig. 6.10 Attic amphora attributed to the Antimenes Painter, from Tarquinia. Ca. 520–510. Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense RC976. (Photo by H. Schwanke, © Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 80.1889)

Aphrodite, encouraging the refugees and assuring them of her protection.[64] Both subjects on the amphora present a positive message of overcoming obstacles, while the Aineias scene further celebrates the bonds of family. A trademark under the foot (Johnston's type 37A) appears on seven amphorae by this painter, six with known Tarquinian provenience. This suggests insider knowledge of consumer demand by the trader and, by extension, the Antimenes Painter.[65]

A hero less common than Herakles on imported vases appears on a black-figure column krater found in a nearby *tomba a buca* (fig. 6.11): Theseus, fighting the Minotaur among four robed men with spears.[66] Attic red-figure painters, especially after the Battle of Marathon, would portray the full range of Theseus' deeds and emphasize his status as quintessential Athenian hero (including on vases exported to Etruria); on black-figure vases, however, his battle with the Minotaur was the

Fig. 6.11 Attic column krater with Theseus fighting the Minotaur, from Tarquinia. Ca. 540–530. Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense RC968. (© MiBAC–Archivio Fotografico, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome, neg. 225718)

adventure of choice.[67] To the Etruscan viewer, this story appealed for its heroic combat and the hero's defeat of a hybrid monster, the latter perhaps carrying subtexts of sacrifice.[68] The subject further implies Theseus' successful penetration of the labyrinth, which may have held eschatological meaning, like Herakles' descent into the Underworld.[69] We cannot rule out the possibility that when vases lacked inscriptions, as here, Etruscan viewers interpreted the depicted hero as Hercle himself; in later Etruscan art, it is he, not These/Theseus, who defeats the Minotaur.[70] The krater's reverse depicts "la ben conosciuta pompa nuziale" in Helbig's words: a man and woman in a chariot, accompanied by deities like Dionysos and Apollo. To the Greek painter, the couple was likely Peleus and Thetis, as on inscribed examples of the scene; while the Etruscan viewer may have also seen Pele/Thethis, this image simultaneously evoked the passage of the deceased and his/her spouse into the afterworld.

The column krater was topped with an Attic red-figure kylix by Epiktetos, serving as a lid (fig. 6.12).[71] Featuring a single scene in the tondo—a satyr holding a large wineskin—the cup almost certainly was placed onto the krater facing up, its festive mood complementing the procession scene below.[72] Dionysian imagery of various sorts—the god himself, satyrs, nymphs/maenads—was common on Athenian vases used as cineraria at Tarquinia and reflects local devotion to Fufluns (cf. the paintings of the Tomb of the Lionesses, fig. 6.4). An amphora attributed to the Antimenes Painter (fig. 4.6, right), found in a *tomba a buca,* where it was topped by a bucchero cup or plate, contained not only bones and ash but five silver fibulae and two gold-decorated clasps that perhaps

Fig. 6.12 Attic kylix attributed to Epiktetos, from Tarquinia. Ca. 510–500. Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense RC1091. (Photo by H. Felbermeyer, © Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 61.2445)

secured a textile around the remains.[73] The frontal mask of Dionysos on each side may have served an apotropaic function while invoking the god (cf. fig. 4.10). Dionysos appears with maenads and satyrs on three other black-figure amphorae used as cineraria at Tarquinia, as well as a large red-figure amphora by Phintias identified as "un cenerario" by the excavator, Luigi Dasti.[74] The opposite side of the Phintias amphora, which had many ancient repairs, depicts Herakles and Apollo struggling over the Delphic tripod. Unique among Tarquinian cineraria is a black-figure psykter used for a female deceased about sixteen to twenty-one years old (based on forensic analysis of the remains); maenads and satyrs dance around the vessel, recalling the cheerful dancing mortals in many contemporary chamber tombs (e.g., fig. 6.4).[75] In this instance, the Dionysian imagery may have inspired the vase's choice as a cinerary urn despite its top-heavy form and somewhat impractical shape.

Nine scenes on Attic amphorae used as Tarquinian cinerary urns depict generic (or at least uninscribed) images of warriors, either in combat or in what could be read as departure scenes. An amphora attributed to Group E with combat scene was topped with a bucchero dish as a makeshift lid, but the gender of its deceased cannot be known.[76] An amphora attributed to the Antimenes Painter from Tomb 6202 (fig. 6.13), a *tomba a buca*, provides an important case study because its recent discovery (1987) allowed the human remains to be kept and analyzed.[77] They belong to a mature (?) adult male, raising the question of whether he died in battle, as the amphora's iconography implies.[78] Two warriors duel over a corpse on one side while two female figures watch, a scene perhaps intended by the Greek painter to represent Achilles and Memnon with Thetis

Fig. 6.13 Attic amphora attributed to the Antimenes Painter, Tomb 6202, Tarquinia. Ca. 520–510. Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense 112378. (© MiBAC–Archivio Fotografico, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome, neg. 234014)

and Eos (cf. fig. 3.17); the other side shows two soldiers attacking a third. A trademark under the foot is the same type 37A noted above for the Aineias/Anchises amphora by this painter (fig. 6.10). Inside with the remains were fragments of a bucchero stemmed plate that had served as a lid in a style reminiscent of Early Iron Age burials. This *tomba a buca* was located near a tumulus chamber tomb of earlier date and neighbored three others with the cremated remains of male youths. The deceased in Tomb 6204, for instance, seems to have been eight to twelve years old, based on forensic analysis, and yet was buried with a helmet and weapons.[79] Even if the deceased interred inside the Antimenes Painter's amphora was not killed in combat, the choice of iconography meshes well with the warrior ideology favored for many Tarquinian male burials since early times.

Female-centered images—other than scenes involving Dionysian women, Athena, or Amazons—are a minority among Attic vases used as Tarquinian cineraria. The deceased can be identified as female in both examples in my current corpus; as with the male burial of Tomb 6202, the iconography of chosen vases seems to mesh with the family's conception of the deceased. A red-figure pelike from Tomb 5967 of the Monterozzi necropolis (ca. 440–430, fig. 6.14) features a

Fig. 6.14 Attic pelike with two women, Tomb 5967, Tarquinia. Ca. 440–430. Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense 102831. (Photo: author, used with permission of the Archivio Fotografico, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome)

young woman with chelys lyre and another with closed book roll, the former reaching toward the latter as if to take the scroll or ask her companion to open it.[80] The reverse shows a pair of draped young men. The condition of the remains does not permit an age estimate, but the gracile form of the bone fragments suggests a female, an identification supported not only by the pelike's imagery but by the grave goods.[81] Inside the pelike were a pair of silver gorgoneion plaques, a bronze double-arched fibula of a shape associated with female burials, an iron nail, oxidized iron fragments, and a group of ivory/bone fragments. The inclusion of silver and bronze in this burial suggests that the deceased was not of lower status.

More curious were objects outside the pelike but still inside the grave: iron nails, wood fragments (perhaps from a small chest), more human bone, pig bones (likely from a funerary sacrifice, perhaps to Vei), and the broken pieces of an undecorated column krater of local manufacture and a date similar to that of the pelike.[82] More krater fragments were scattered outside the grave.[83] Examination of the human bones suggested that they belonged to the same individual interred inside the pelike; in the tomb's publication, it was proposed that the nonfigural krater may have been the original cinerary urn, but the remains were transferred.[84] If this happened purposely and not because of a last-minute accident, perhaps the column krater was broken to signal its ritual abandonment. However, if this did happen on purpose, one must ask why. At 25.7 centimeters high, the pelike was not much smaller than the krater (reconstructed height 27.6 cm), but its closed form would have made it difficult to transfer the remains.

Whether substituted for another vase or not, the pelike's iconography seems to comment on the female deceased's social persona. Leisure, literacy, and musical training are all implied. The pelike is only the eleventh known Attic vase to include female figures with book roll and musical instrument in the same scene.[85] No inscriptions identify the women, which left open to the ancient viewer's interpretation the question of whether they were Muses (or some other goddesses) or mortals. If the latter, they were likely citizen women rather than *hetairai* or prostitutes, given the lack of sympotic or other references that might imply the latter. Certainly for the Etruscan family who selected this pelike, an identification with prostitutes is unlikely. Even Muses might be unlikely, given that the earliest confirmed Muses in Etruscan art are not found until the fourth century.[86] Female musicians in general are rare in Etruscan art, despite the ubiquity of music itself. Players of stringed instruments in Tarquinian tombs tend to be male, as for instance the phorminx player in the Tomb of the Lionesses (fig. 6.4) and a chelys lyre player in the Tomb of the Leopards (Tomba dei Leopardi); instead, women tend to play krotala, as also seen in the Tomb of the Lionesses.[87]

A female lyre player does appear in the Tomb of the Black Sow (Tomba della Scrofa Nera, fig. 6.15), currently thought to date to ca. 450 or a little after, close in time to Tomb 5967.[88] Three *klinai* appear in a banqueting scene on the back wall, each hosting a male-female reclining couple. At the feet of the central couple sits a fragmentary female musician with chelys lyre; her upper half is mostly missing, but the white paint of her ankles clarifies her gender. She is richly dressed and rests her feet upon a stool while turning toward the couple, the reclining woman's outstretched hand showing that they formed a tight compositional group. The identity of the musician has been

Fig. 6.15 Detail of back wall painting, Tomb of the Black Sow, Tarquinia. Ca. 450–425. (Photo by H. Schwanke, © Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 82.2112)

debated, with Carl Sittl and George Dennis dubbing her a servant or other professional entertainer in their nineteenth-century accounts of the tomb.[89] However, as Simonetta Stopponi points out in her 1983 publication, iconographic clues suggest that the musician is an honored member of the tomb owner's family: her seated rather than standing position, the similarity of her garments to those of the reclining woman, and her footstool, which in Etruscan art symbolizes prestige.[90] Stopponi speculates that she could be the daughter of the reclining couple, the trio representing the primary family members to whom the tomb was dedicated.[91] I take this hypothesis a step further and propose that she is the couple's unmarried daughter, for if she were married, she would surely recline with her husband, like other couples on the tomb walls. Perhaps she died before marriage

and joined her parents in the afterworld. A crucial implication of the Tomb of the Black Sow is that despite the rarity of female musicians with stringed instruments in Etruscan art, young women of a certain class could be associated with musical instruments and even learn to play them.

The Athenian pelike of Tomb 5967 communicated the deceased's status and education in similar fashion. The possibility that the individual interred here was considered a form of special dead—someone who had died prematurely, an *aoros*, did merit special treatment in Greece—is suggested not only by the uncommon nature of the grave goods but by her tomb's design and placement. A large, rectangular stone closed the burial, forming a so-called *tomba con custodia*; it was concluded by the original excavator, Richard Linington, that the stone would have been partly visible in ancient times, publicly marking the grave as well as protecting it.[92] To cover an interred cinerary urn with a stone was not uncommon at Tarquinia, but these were not always visible above the surface. Moreover, Tomb 5967 was placed close to a *tomba a camera* (Tomb 1780), which was topped by a small tumulus and outlined with stones in a fashion not unique in the Monterozzi necropolis but relatively unusual there.[93] Tomb 1780 is thought to date from the second half of the sixth century, which means a considerable time gap; even so, it is possible that the deceased in Tomb 5967 was somehow related. Linington suggests that some of the stones outlining tumuli like Tomb 1780 formed a stairway, perhaps indicating an ongoing form of ancestral cult.[94] Alternatively, steps on the tumulus may have been used as an offering place.[95] Interring the deceased of Tomb 5967 nearby may have been intended to grant her the benefits of those offerings and the protection of those who had gone before.

The female deceased interred in a red-figure bell krater attributed to the Berlin Painter (ca. 500–490, fig. 6.16) may have herself been a special dead, although the evidence is circumstantial.[96] Her family chose a vase that was locally unusual in three respects: the bell krater was a brand-new Kerameikos invention; this is the only Berlin Painter vase attested from Tarquinia; and the iconography departs from other known Attic vases used as Tarquinian cineraria.[97] The krater presents a novel interpretation of an old story, Europa's abduction by Zeus in the form of a bull. In previous Greek representations—not only on Attic and other vases but in architectural sculpture and other media—Europa rides the bull as he either gallops or saunters away, and her emotions range from visibly frightened to remarkably unconcerned.[98] Many Athenian black-figure amphorae with a woman riding a bull had been exported to Etruria in previous decades, including to Tarquinia itself, but only one carries an actual inscription identifying the woman as Europa; the majority are more ambiguous, perhaps purposely so.[99] Many examples feature grapevines surrounding the female figure, in which case Greek or Etruscan viewers may have identified her as Ariadne. A more easily identified Europa appears in sixth-century Etruscan art, on two Caeretan hydriai where allusions to the sea leave no doubt. On the hydria in the Villa Giulia (fig. 6.17), the bull races across water populated with fish and dolphins as a Nike bearing two crowns (absent from Attic iconography) assures the viewer of a happy ending.[100]

On the Tarquinia bell krater, the Berlin Painter altered the composition, and in some ways the mood, by having Europa run alongside the bull. She grasps his horn as earlier Europas had done,

Fig. 6.16 Attic bell krater attributed to the Berlin Painter, from Tarquinia. Ca. 500–490. Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense RC7456. (© MiBAC–Archivio Fotografico, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome, neg. 243727)

Fig. 6.17 Caeretan hydria attributed to the Eagle Painter. Ca. 520. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 50643. (Photo: Scala/ Art Resource, NY)

but here the gesture suggests eagerness and attachment rather than fear, and her agency in the alleged abduction is asserted by her implied speed. The story continues on the opposite side, where an anxious female companion hurries after the fleeing pair, hand outstretched in a futile appeal for them to stop. The Berlin Painter's effective use of the bell krater shape recalls another by the same artist with Ganymede and Zeus, the former playing with a hoop on one side and the determined god striding toward the youth from the opposite one.[101] The painter opted for a more traditional scene of Europa on a fragmentary hydria of approximately the same date, where her pose riding the bull better suits the kalpis form.[102]

Discrepancies exist between Helbig's published description of the krater's discovery in the 1890 *Notizie degli Scavi* and the unpublished account of that week's excavations conducted by the *comune* of Tarquinia, the *Rapporto settimanale degli oggetti che si sono ritrovati ai Monterozzi dal 24 febbraio al 1 marzo 1890*.[103] Helbig writes that the *tomba a camera* where it was found contained two inhumed deceased on benches carved from the tufa, and that the krater stood at the feet of the deceased to the right: "Sopra ognuna delle due banchine, lavorate nel tufo appiè delle pareti laterali, fu trovato uno scheletro (incombusto). Sulla banchina destra poi, attorno al cadavere, erano raggruppati un cratere attico a figure rosse, alto m. 0.32 (diam. esterno m. 0.385), il quale si trovava ai piedi del cadavere; uno specchio di bronzo, tondo e liscio (diam. m. 0.145); ed una lekythos di alabastro, alta m. 0.14. Il cratere appartiene ai più bei vasi dipinti che si sono trovati nella necropoli tarquiniese."[104] Helbig proceeds to describe objects surrounding "il cadavere posto sulla banchina destra," which cannot be correct, given that he has already discussed the right-hand bench; comparison with the *Rapporto settimanale* shows that he means the deceased to the left in the second part of his account. The *Rapporto* indicates that at the feet of this skeleton was a black-glazed cup and further lists two scarabs with figured decoration and two golden rings ("piccoli cerchietti d'oro"). Additional objects hung on the wall, including another small black-glazed cup, a small pitcher, a small cup with winged sphinx, and an Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Painter of Heidelberg 211 and showing athletic scenes (ca. 440–430).[105] Helbig provides a few details that the *Rapporto settimanale* does not, including the decoration of the two scarabs: one with a horseman and Etruscan letter *A*, the other with a kneeling hoplite and a bird. Helbig also says that the "cerchietti d'oro" were found next to the skeleton's head, where he thought they had served as hair ornaments. The account of the *Rapporto*, however, leaves open the possibility that they instead were with the scarabs and black-glazed cup at the skeleton's feet. Regardless of their exact placement, none of the objects described as being with the skeleton on the left-hand bench guarantee his or her gender. Even if the "cerchietti d'oro" are jewelry, even if they are earrings rather than hair ornaments, these are found in some Etruscan male burials despite being preferentially female. Conversely, scarabs are preferentially male in Etruscan graves but can be found in female graves too.

The *Rapporto settimanale* diverges from Helbig regarding the Europa krater, and given its role as an eyewitness record for the communal archives, it is more likely to be accurate. It agrees that there were "due morti" in the tomb but says that the Europa krater in the center of the right-hand bench held a "cadavere decomposto." No mention is made of a second inhumed individual: "una

tomba etrusca lunga m. 4.50 × 4.00 × 2.70 di altezza, e con l'ingresso a levante. Nella tomba erano due morti su banchina. . . . Nel principio della banchina destra si è trovato un vaso a campana . . . con due figure, e alto 0.35 × 0.40 di d. Nell'interno del vaso vi era un cadavere decomposto, e un piccolo anellino d'oro. Uno specchio liscio, e un balsamario d'alabastro."[106] The small gold ring said by the *Rapporto* to accompany the "cadavere decomposto" inside the krater was not mentioned by Helbig, any more than the "cadavere decomposto" itself. It is not clear from the *Rapporto*'s wording and punctuation whether the "balsamario d'alabastro" and mirror were inside the krater as well. Either way, the mirror and the alabastron (or lekythos) together imply a female deceased, although mirrors have been found in a small minority of Tarquinian male graves of later periods.

The phrase "cadavere decomposto"—as opposed to "combusto"—is somewhat surprising. If indicating a difference in appearance between this and other Tarquinian cremation burials found at the time, it might suggest an *enchytrismos* or pot burial, perhaps of a small child; however, these are unattested at Tarquinia (or at least undocumented) and are uncommon in Etruria. This description could instead refer to a cremated adult whose bones had not been fully crushed after burning and so remained in larger pieces, even though comminution was otherwise a common Tarquinian practice. The krater's size and wide mouth would have rendered comminution mostly or entirely unnecessary. Taken all together, it would be most logical to identify the tomb's inhabitants as an inhumed male to left and a cremated female, interred in the Europa krater, to right. We cannot completely rule out an alternative combination: for example, an adult inhumed female and a cremated child, but a husband-wife couple would suit the grave goods and be consistent with the majority of Tarquinian tombs.

The Europa krater seems another example of a cinerarium chosen as much for its imagery as its shape: the theme of abduction by a god—over the sea, no less—was appropriate for a woman who had died. Additional vases with erotic pursuit scenes and similar subtexts can be found elsewhere as cineraria; examples from Caere and Foiano della Chiana are discussed later in this chapter. Why the wife was cremated rather than inhumed like her husband (if that is indeed the case here) cannot be known. Had she perished in pregnancy or childbirth to become a special dead, and did this account for her special treatment and special urn?[107] It is tempting to suggest that the family had owned the krater for some time before its interment, given that it dates much earlier than the Attic red-figure cup that hung on the wall. The extent of the krater's ancient repairs likewise raises questions; a long fracture stretches around the vase about one-fourth of the way up from the bottom, and two pieces below the left handle were totally replaced (fig. 6.18).[108] Ten carved channels with holes for inset metal clamps appear along the breaks: three on the reverse under the female figure, seven on the left side away from the two scenes. No clamps are visible on the Europa scene, although the ancient fracture continues in this area; perhaps the craftsman making the repair did not wish to mar her feet or those of the bull.[109] He similarly avoided the feet of Europa's companion and likely filled in the many grooves to make them less apparent.[110] Helbig describes the clamps as "fili di bronzo," which, if accurate, implies the repairs were made in Etruria

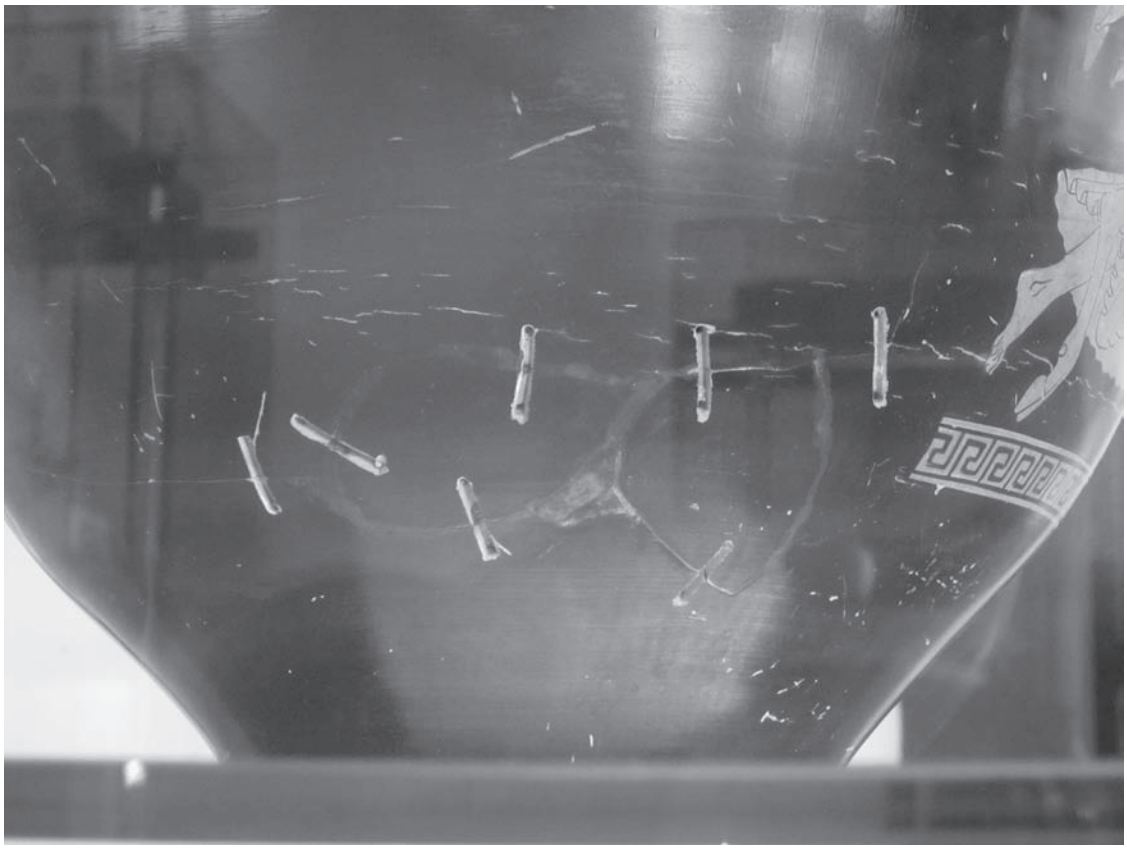

Fig. 6.18 Attic bell krater attributed to the Berlin Painter, from Tarquinia, view of ancient repairs. Ca. 500–490. Detail of fig. 6.16. Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense RC7456. (Photo: author, used with permission of the Archivio Fotografico, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome)

rather than Athens, where they would have been more likely to be done in lead.[111] The degree of damage may have rendered the vase unusable, which may have also contributed to its choice for the tomb.

## Caere

The tombs in the Banditaccia necropolis at Caere, dating for the most part from the seventh through fourth centuries, represent a mixture of chamber tombs and cremation burials, the latter making up a sizable percentage of the total. Cremation burials tended to be housed in simpler *tombe a pozzo*, often located near the entrances to *tombe a camera*, or else in more elaborate versions lined and topped with stone blocks. Nonfigured ollae and other vessels presumably of local manufacture

made up the majority of containers, but a small number of figured vases serving as a cinerary urns, both Etruscan and Attic, have also been found; of the graves excavated by Raniero Mengarelli in the early twentieth century and published in 1955, seven featured Athenian vases.[112] All are two-handled storage jars, either amphorae or pelikai, and all carry warrior iconography or some other scene that can be associated with premature death. Five of the seven burials can be hypothesized as male, either through grave goods or because the tomb was marked with a cylindrical cippus, seemingly associated with men in this necropolis.

The four black-figure vases are neck amphorae from the last decades of the sixth century, all with scenes of soldiers in combat, departing for war, or both. One may single out Tomb 122 *a pozzetto*, which was located near a chamber tomb (Tomb 121) and marked with a cylindrical cippus.[113] It was of the more elaborate form, with cut-stone blocks built up around and over the pit. The amphora inside features Ajax carrying the body of Achilles on the obverse, and Dionysos between a maenad and a satyr on the reverse.[114] The Ajax and Achilles scene represents a late sixth-century variant in which the two warriors are framed by the elderly figure of Peleus and the goddess Thetis; even in the absence of a literary source for this encounter, vase painters included Achilles' parents to emphasize war's impact on families at home.[115] The fact that the amphora still has its original lid and shows no sign of ancient repairs may indicate that it was acquired specifically for this burial. Mixed with the deceased's remains inside the amphora were bronze fragments damaged by the pyre, almost certainly parts of weapons. In Tomb 137 *a pozzetto*—where the amphora's obverse has Athena, Dionysos, and Hermes and the reverse depicts two warriors attacking a third—an iron spearpoint, bronze fragments (perhaps part of a shield band), and a copper cup, all oxidized from the heat of the fire, were placed around the cinerary urn inside the pit.[116] This grave too had been marked with a cylindrical cippus and was located near the entrance of a chamber tomb (Tomb 134).

Continuing the warrior theme, a soldier bids farewell to a female figure in both scenes of a red-figure pelike attributed to the Painter of London E489 (fig. 6.19).[117] On one side, the woman hands the young man his helmet and holds his shield; another helmet sits on the ground, and greaves are suspended overhead. Since the male figure already wears his greaves, the viewer is left to wonder about the absent soldier whose armor remains. On the other side, the female figure holds an oinochoe as if preparing a libation for the warrior's departure; he is already wearing his helmet and holding his spear, and his shield lies on the ground, waiting to be taken up. The *tomba a pozzetto* where this pelike served as cinerary urn (Tomb 20) was located just south of a tumulus with seventh- and early sixth-century burials, and like others previously mentioned, consisted of cut-stone blocks as well as the cylindrical stone *pozzetto* proper into which the urn was placed.[118] Inside the pelike were bronze fragments deformed by the fire, possibly an oinochoe and weapons; fragments of a small ivory vase, possibly an alabastron; the bones of a small animal, perhaps a bird that served as a last offering; and a gold ring, interpreted by the excavators as an "anello matrimoniale."[119]

Mythological scenes can be found on the two remaining red-figure vases. On an amphora from Tomb 194 attributed to the Flying Angel Painter (fig. 6.20), Eros, hovering over an altar, brandishes


Fig. 6.19 Attic pelike attributed to the Painter of London E489, Tomb 20, Banditaccia necropolis, Caere. Ca. 475–450. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 46942. (Photo by H. Koppermann, © Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 63.84)

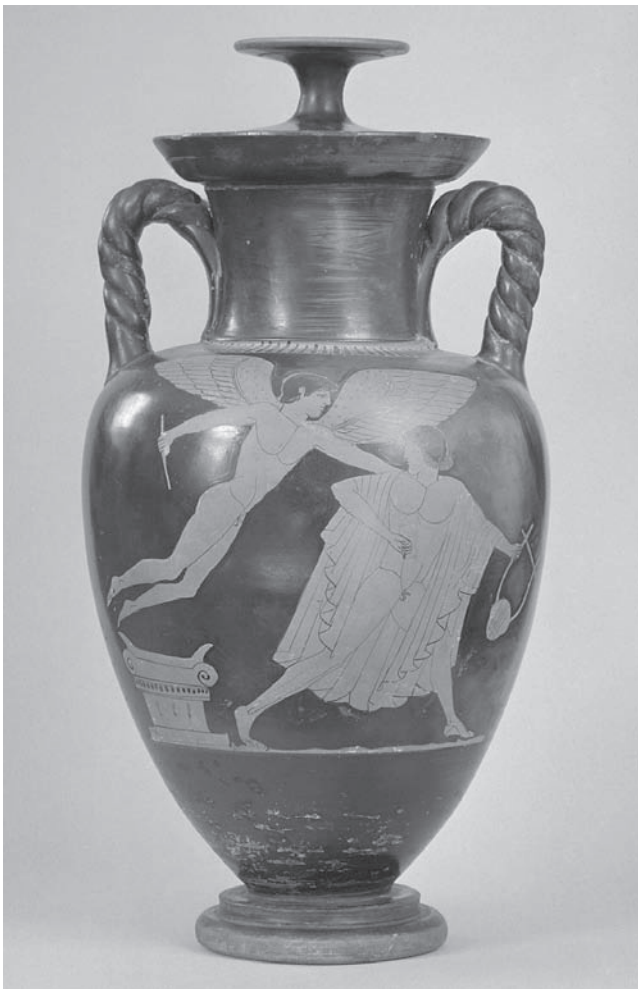

Fig. 6.20 Attic amphora by the Flying Angel Painter, Tomb 194, Banditaccia necropolis, Caere. Ca. 470–460. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 47214. (Photo by F. X. Bartl, © Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 56.1551)

a whip or short staff and grasps a young man's shoulder.[120] The youth's lyre confirms his young age and elite educated status, and his muscular body is revealed as his mantle falls away.[121] This vase exemplifies the double perspective of Athens and Etruria: where an Athenian viewer (and the painter himself) would have seen an allusion to homosexual relationships and the pursuit of a young *eromenos*, to the Etruscan viewer selecting the amphora for a cinerary urn, the youth is being snatched from this earth.[122] Eros may have been interpreted as a winged underworld demon, while the altar recalled funerary sacrifices.[123] Although the deceased's age is unknown, an egyptianizing scarab discolored by the pyre was found inside the amphora with the remains. The amphora was itself topped with an Attic black-glazed kylix, recalling similar examples at Tarquinia and perhaps also evoking Early Iron Age biconical urns, likewise prevalent at Caere. A red-figure pelike attributed to the Barclay Painter served as the cinerary urn in Tomb 417 *a pozzetto*, with no accompanying

objects but with a cylindrical cippus marking a male grave.[124] Here, Hermes brings baby Dionysos to a nymph of Nysa. While not a scene that would reference death in Greek eyes, the role of Turms as leader of souls may have inspired an Etruscan viewer to read it symbolically this way.

## Vulci

The discussion of Attic vases used as cineraria at Vulci is hindered by the large numbers of vessels discovered in the early nineteenth century with undocumented findspot. There is no way of knowing whether any of the vases from the Bonaparte, Campanari, or other excavations originally served as ash urns. Subsequent discoveries of cremation burials have been few—inhumation being the preferred local rite—but have included Attic and Etruscan figured vases (the latter of local manufacture: e.g., from the Micali Painter's workshop), as well as nonfigured ware. The three instances with Athenian vases discussed here all feature black-figure amphorae of relatively early date, and all depict deeds of Herakles, noted in previous chapters as a popular subject on vases exported to Vulci.

A Tyrrhenian amphora attributed to the Timiades Painter and dating from ca. 560 comes from Gsell's excavations in the Polledrara necropolis to the east (fig. 2.5).[125] The four-chambered *tomba a cassone* from which it came (Tomb XLIX) had been explored and everything removed in Gsell's absence, without good documentation and much to his chagrin. However, he determined that the amphora had been inside Chamber B because of a small pit near the door that was the approximate size of the vase; "d'après un témoignage digne de foi," it contained cremated remains at its discovery, which were emptied before he returned and examined the vase.[126] He identified some other objects that had originally been in this chamber, including an Italo-Corinthian oinochoe and an aryballos and kylix of Etruscan production, but it is unclear whether any were associated with the cremation burial; since Chamber B had a stone bench, Gsell believed it had housed an inhumation burial as well.[127] As is typical for the Tyrrhenian Group, the Attic amphora is ovoid in shape and features three superimposed friezes on the body and a ring of lotuses around the neck. The upper frieze of the obverse depicts Herakles fighting the Amazons, with legible inscriptions naming the figures: hand-to-hand duels are underway between Timiades and Pantariste, Herakles and Andromache, and Telamon and Ainipe.[128] The upper frieze on the reverse shows four male komast dancers between large swans.

Two other cremation burials with Attic vases documented at Vulci were individual tombs with a single deceased. A small *fossa* (trench) grave, discovered in 1998 during rescue excavations in the Osteria necropolis (Tomb B/1998), contained an Attic amphora as the cinerary urn, a bucchero oinochoe, a bucchero kantharos, and a small impasto bowl.[129] The black-figure amphora, possibly attributable to the Painter of Louvre F6 or his workshop, dates from ca. 550–540 and includes Herakles attacking a centaur, surely Nessos.[130] Instead of Deianeira in the scene as one might expect, an old man with elaborate robes stands to right. Mark Stansbury-O'Donnell has noted the relatively high incidence of mantled, inactive male spectators of adult age in scenes with Nessos and suggests that these spectators embody the overall message of the story: the symbolism

of Nessos as a "threat to the domestic social order."[131] For the Etruscan family who chose the vase—as was suggested in connection with the Tyrrhenian amphora featuring this subject in the Caeretan tomb of chapter 3—Herakles' victory over the centaur would have epitomized his overcoming of obstacles and pointed to his later death and apotheosis.

The final burial is the most elaborate: Tomb 8/1989, discovered next to a large structure found in 1988 in the area southeast of the Cuccumella tumulus.[132] Because its position relative to the tumulus is consistent with the placement of many Etruscan altars, this structure has been identified with funerary and even ancestral cult.[133] Grouped around it were a series of *tombe a cassone* that, based on the meager remains of objects, date from the sixth century; only Tomb 8/1989 on the western side preserved its assemblage intact, although with some damage to the grave goods. Its form follows that of an ordinary *tomba a cassone* with chamber and open-air vestibule, but on a reduced scale, since it was employed for a cremation burial.[134] With an emphasis on banqueting and soldiering, the assemblage of vases and bronzes almost certainly indicates a male deceased and recalls inhumation burials discussed for Osteria Tombs 47 and 50 (see chapter 4). Attic imports include a Droop cup 21.5 centimeters in diameter with lotus chain decoration and a black-figure Little Master band cup of similar size with what appears to be an athletic scene; both were repaired with lead clamps in antiquity.[135] Bucchero vessels include an oversized kyathos, oinochoai, a kantharos, and several chalices, while among the bronzes are an oinochoe and a large basin. Bronze spear points and a fragmentary bronze axe evoke the warrior ideal, while a series of bronze, bone, and wood fragments have been identified as parts of a so-called *sgabello*, a type of folding stool that in Etruria served as a marker of social status.

A black-figure amphora attributed to Group E served as the cinerary urn.[136] One side depicts Herakles fighting the Nemean Lion in a standing position, watched by Athena and Iolaos. The reverse shows Theseus fighting the Minotaur, likewise in a standing position and plunging his sword into the monster's neck, with a larger gathering of spectators: two male figures at the outer edges, two female figures closer to the fray. The figures to left may be Minos and Pasiphaë, since the man has a beard and wears elaborate robes. The female figure to right is surely Ariadne, holding a crown aloft, while the nude youth at far right may represent an Athenian prisoner. The Herakles/Lion and Theseus/Minotaur duels have been seen on other cinerary vessels in this chapter, a black-figure amphora and a black-figure column krater from Tarquinia (fig. 6.11). The unusual decision to cremate the dead, the rich assemblage, and the proximity of Tomb 8/1989 to the large funerary altar combine to mark someone of high status in the community.

The recent discovery of cremation burials in containers other than Attic vases should be noted. A late sixth-century *tomba a buca* found in 2001 featured an Etruscan black-figure amphora attributed to the workshop of the Micali Painter as the cinerary urn. Examination of the remains revealed that the deceased was a woman twenty to thirty years old.[137] The grave was found in an area of the *località* Poggio Mengarelli where many Early Iron Age graves had previously been discovered, raising questions as to the deliberate employment of the *buca* form for the burial. The amphora's decoration includes winged sphinxes, panthers, and lions, all creatures that appear as sixth-century stone

tomb sculptures at Vulci and can be considered liminal and apotropaic in character.[138] Included among the remains and showing evidence of burning were a bronze fibula and two alabastra that were actually made of alabaster; not only do these recall female grave goods of an earlier age, but they also suggest a woman of means. Bird bones were included, perhaps an offering at the funeral. This burial verifies that women at Vulci could be cremated and interred in figured pottery as well as men, counteracting any assumptions that might arise from the burials with Attic vases above.

### Foiano della Chiana

The Tuscan site of Foiano della Chiana presents important differences from Tarquinia, Caere, and Vulci. First, although the Etruscan town proper has yet to be discovered, the lack of information from textual or other sources suggests that it was not a significant city along the lines of the other three. Tomb finds suggest that Foiano received Greek imports via various trade routes, but its inland location and relative unimportance likely meant fewer contacts between local inhabitants and actual Greeks. This in turn has implications for any suggestions of hellenization. Second, Foiano and the rest of the Val di Chiana fell under the influence of Chiusi for much of its history, which meant that cremation was the prevailing rite and had been since the Early Iron Age. The Chiusine region had a stronger tradition of creating and employing cinerary urns than other communities examined thus far in this chapter, including the so-called canopic urns of the seventh and early sixth centuries.[139] With their articulated, sometimes masked faces and their bodies often draped in textiles, these urns exhibited a high degree of anthropomorphization. Most lack documented contexts, but they seem to have been interred with banqueting goods, even seated on thrones or chairs so that the deceased (male or female) could participate in the feast. Such distinctive preexisting customs should be borne in mind as the use of Athenian figured pottery in similar capacities is considered.[140]

Helbig's account of an 1879 excavation conducted near the church of San Francesco by Giuseppe Cappanelli and Giacomo Tempora provides our only evidence for the local importation and use of Attic pottery.[141] Helbig describes the contents of two "tombe vergini" in detail, having watched their discovery himself, but he notes that sixty other tombs were emptied before his arrival, with black- and red-figure Greek vases dominating those finds. None of the vessels beyond the *tombe vergini* are identified today, but based on the Attic pottery known from these two chamber tombs—which ranges in date from ca. 530–520 until ca. 440—Foiano received imported vases for a lengthy period of time. Initially they probably came to the area from Vulci via Chiusi, while later imports may have arrived from the north via Adriatic sites like Spina.[142] A local demand for figured pottery to use as cinerary urns likely helped fuel the trade to what otherwise was a small inland community of no particular distinction.[143]

Because they were found intact and showed no sign of previous disturbance, and because Helbig relays eyewitness information, the *tombe vergini* provide critical evidence for local practices (figs. 6.21–22). Accepting two tombs as representative of a larger necropolis containing dozens

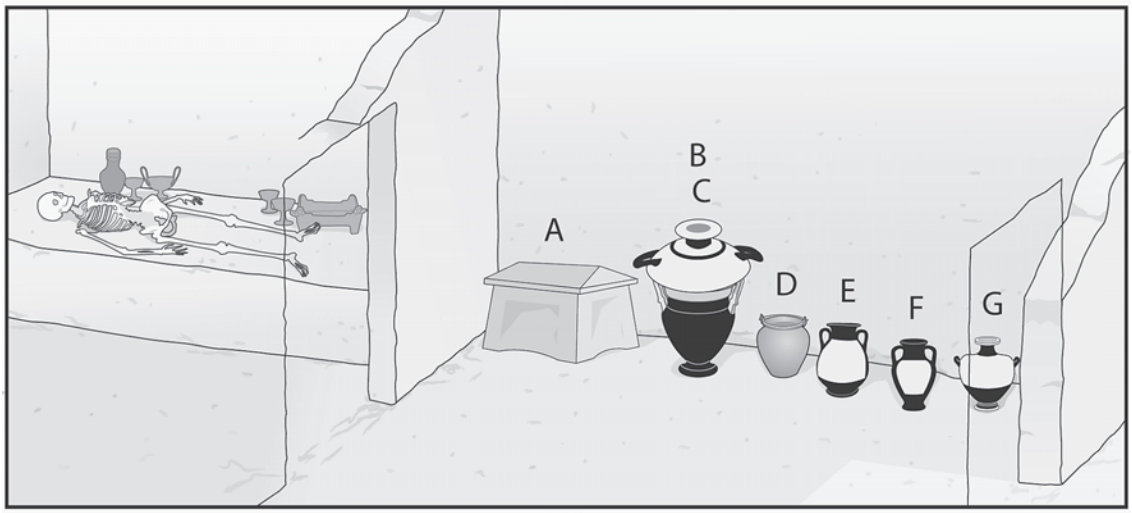


Fig. 6.21 Reconstruction of Tomb One, Foiano della Chiana, based on the 1879 description by Wolfgang Helbig. (Drawing by Valerie Woelfel, rights held by author)

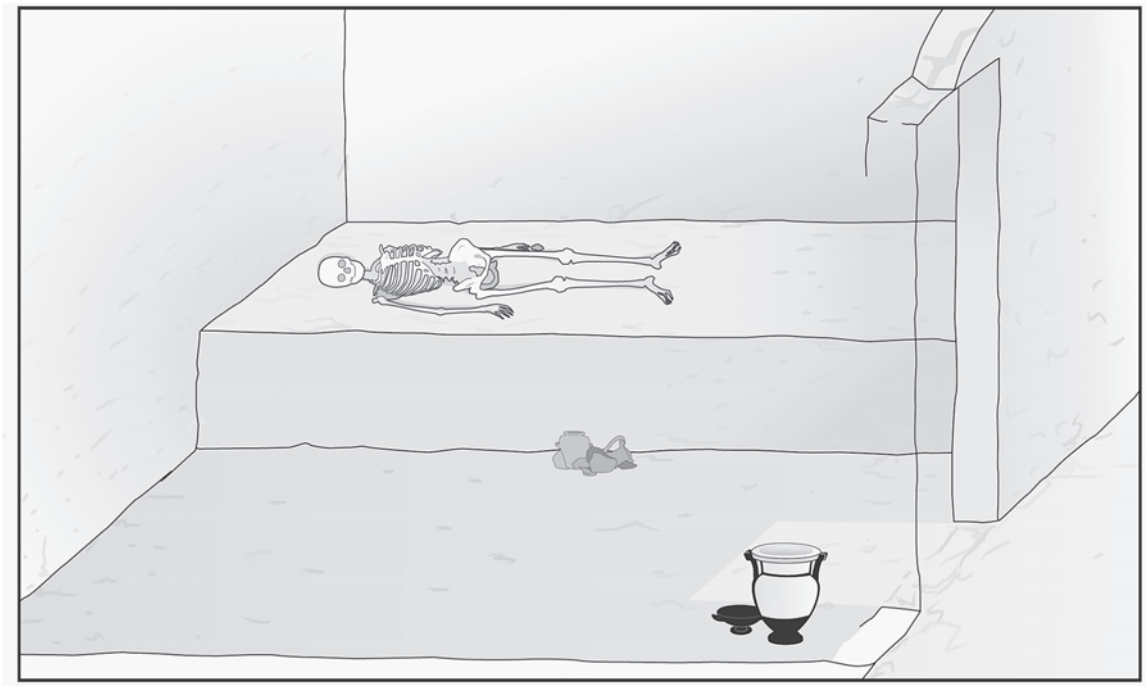

Fig. 6.22 Reconstruction of Tomb Two, Foiano della Chiana, based on the 1879 description by Wolfgang Helbig. (Drawing by Valerie Woelfel, rights held by author)

more undocumented graves presents obvious methodological difficulties; nonetheless, the tombs possess sufficient similarities to suggest larger patterns. In both cases multiple burials are included (seven in what shall be called here Tomb One, two in Tomb Two), and in both cases an inhumation burial with exclusively local (meaning Chiusine) goods is the oldest. In Tomb One (fig. 6.21), the inhumed deceased lay in his (?) own separate, inner chamber; Helbig notes a skeleton along the right-hand wall, resting upon a bench carved from the tufa.[144] The deceased's remains were surrounded by bucchero vessels, including a footed cup, two jars, three chalices adorned with horse protomes, and "un piatto con quattro teste di donna sporgenti sopra l'orlo," a so-called *focolare* or offering tray typical of the Chiusine region. Some of the vessels contained eggshells, remains of the funerary feast and symbolic of the deceased's regeneration.[145] In Tomb Two (fig. 6.22), located forty steps to the south of Tomb One according to Helbig, the inhumed skeleton also lay upon a bench along the right-hand wall, here accompanied by two bronze jugs, many bucchero vase fragments, and, once again, many eggshells. This deceased individual held a piece of *aes rude* in his (?) hand. None of the goods associated with the inhumations are identified today, but from their descriptions the ceramic objects were examples of Chiusine *bucchero pesante* and dated from around the mid-sixth century. These burials seem to pre-date the advent of Greek imports at Foiano and may represent honored ancestors of the two families. Local custom may have dictated the otherwise unusual use of inhumation for such persons, although this cannot be verified without more tombs for comparison.

Athenian figured vases dominate the urns among the cremation burials in both tombs, although two of Tomb One's burials were housed in containers of Etruscan, perhaps even Chiusine, manufacture: a stone urn with roof-like cover and sculpted triglyphs on its long side (fig. 6.21A), a design probably meant to evoke a house, and a "secchia di bronzo," a bronze pail or situla (fig. 6.21D). Neither of these is identified today, despite Helbig's descriptions. As for the Athenian vases, they present a striking range of shapes. The vases that have been conclusively identified in Tomb One include a black-figure volute krater with eye cup serving as a lid (figs. 4.5, 6.21B–C, 6.23), a black-figure pelike (figs. 6.21E, 6.24), and a red-figure hydria (figs. 6.21G, 6.25), while the cremation burial in Tomb Two was interred inside a red-figure column krater (fig. 6.26). The only still-unidentified vase in Tomb One (fig. 6.21F) was described by Helbig as an "anfora"; it could be an actual amphora, or else a pelike, stamnos, or even column krater based on his use of the term elsewhere. Based at least on these two tombs, no one shape is prevalent locally, in contrast to the prominence of neck amphorae for cineraria at Tarquinia or the trio of column kraters in the *tombe a pozzo* at Bisenzio (fig. 6.1). Whether this implies a hodgepodge of shapes being imported into Foiano or a preference for selecting cinerary urns based primarily on iconography (or both) cannot be determined. The imagery of the figured pottery in both tombs is appropriate for a mortuary context: all scenes mesh well with local beliefs while commenting on the deceased's social persona.

In Tomb One, the six cinerary urns—local containers and imported pottery alike—lined the right-hand wall of the outer chamber (fig. 6.21). Judging from the styles and relative chronology

Fig. 6.23 Attic black-bodied volute krater, Tomb One, Foiano della Chiana. Ca. 510. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acquired by Henry Walters with the Massarenti Collection, 1902, inv. 48.29. (Photo courtesy The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore)

Fig. 6.24 Attic pelike attributed to the Eucharides Painter, Tomb One, Foiano della Chiana. Ca. 500–490. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 253096. (Photo courtesy Polo Museale della Toscana)

Fig. 6.25 Attic hydria attributed to the Niobid Painter, Tomb One, Foiano della Chiana. Ca. 460. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Gift of Edward Perry Warren, 90.156. (Photo © 2019 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

Fig. 6.26 Attic column krater attributed to the Naples Painter, Tomb Two, Foiano della Chiana. Ca. 440. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acquired by Henry Walters with the Massarenti Collection, 1902, inv. 48.67. (Photo courtesy The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore)

of the Athenian vases, the burials proceeded chronologically from the corner nearest the inner chamber (the stone urn) to that nearest the door (the red-figure hydria), with the entire tomb containing as many as three generations of a single family.[146] Aside from the cineraria, the grave goods in the outer chamber were few and placed along the opposite, left-hand wall. These included fragmentary impasto vessels and bronze implements that Helbig records as being in bad condition: namely, a strigil, two ladles, and what might have been either a meat spit or a *thymiaterion*. Helbig's description does not permit these objects to be linked with any particular cinerary urn(s).

The first and presumably oldest of the Tomb One burials associated with an Athenian vase was placed inside an unattributed black-figure and black-bodied volute krater, nearly 58 centimeters tall (figs. 6.21C, 6.23).[147] Described by Helbig as "un'anfora con manichi a volute dipinti," this pot eluded identification until a 1998 article by Anna Rastrelli, where she matched Helbig's account with a vase in the Walters Art Museum.[148] Henry Walters purchased the krater in 1902 from Don Marcello Massarenti in Rome; Massarenti had published it in an 1897 catalogue of his collection but gave no information about its acquisition or provenience; he also misidentified its scenes as "les jeux olympiques."[149] Herakles wrestles the Nemean Lion on the obverse, watched by Iolaos, a female figure, and the seated Athena. Continuing the theme of combat, a trio of hoplites fight in the reverse frieze, flanked by standing female figures and male figures in various poses, including one with a horse and another mounting a chariot. The krater's iconography could indicate a male deceased, although without the remains for analysis or any accompanying grave goods, it is not possible to verify this suspicion. Confirmed examples of Attic volute kraters being used as cineraria in Etruria are rare despite their large size and elegant shape. In Tomb 749 of the Valle Trebba necropolis at Spina, a red-figure volute krater attributed to the Boreas Painter and featuring a scene of erotic pursuit held two black-glazed oinochoai and a terracotta alabastron together with the cremated remains.[150] The pursuit scene shows a young man with spears and traveling garb (Theseus?) chasing a young woman, but it is not clear whether the deceased was male or female. The Spina krater's volute handles were almost completely removed before deposition, perhaps a throwback to the Early Iron Age custom of removing the handles of biconical urns.[151]

In describing the Foiano krater, Helbig states that "sopra l'anfora piena di cenere era posta a guisa di coperchio una grande tazza a figure nere" (fig. 6.21B). Whereas the krater has only recently been identified, the eye cup that served as its lid was recognized decades ago.[152] Truly monumental in scale at 60 centimeters in diameter (74 cm including the handle), it was considered by Beazley to be in the manner of the Lysippides Painter and date to the last third of the sixth century, contemporary with the krater (fig. 4.5).[153] Propitious divine figures appear on each side between the eyes; one of those trios consists of Herakles, Athena, and Hermes in a scene that likely shows the hero's arrival on Mount Olympos. As on an amphora-turned-cinerarium from Tarquinia discussed earlier in this chapter (fig. 6.9), the labor of the Nemean Lion is paired with Herakles' apotheosis, except here two vases have been purposely juxtaposed. Hermes repeats on the cup's opposite side, together with Dionysos and a satyr, while combat scenes under the eye cup's handles recall the battle scene on the krater's reverse. The iconographic intersection of cup and krater reveals a

meaningful choice by the deceased's family, much like cup/krater combinations from Tarquinia (figs. 6.11–12) and Bisenzio (figs. 6.1–2).

The Foiano eye cup was almost certainly placed upside down over the volute krater, as suggested by the cup's depth and diameter and the krater's volute handles. The addition of a lengthy Etruscan inscription to the cup's foot at some point before deposition further implies that it faced upward (fig. 6.27).[154] Perhaps the text contained information about the deceased, or else wishes for protection that echoed the apotropaic eyes; although the inscription can be transcribed, it cannot be read.[155] When set atop the krater, the eye cup would have had the further, curious effect of anthropomorphizing the whole. One is reminded of the "canopic urns" from the Chiusine region, as well as a notable variation on this custom in a pair of late seventh-century burials elsewhere in the Val di Chiana, one discovered at Poggio alla Sala in 1876 and another just outside Chianciano Terme in 1994.[156] In both cases, thin sheets of gold were placed over the bronze cremation urns and pairs of bone eyes laid on top. Perhaps the deceased's relatives chose the eye cup as a lid for the

Fig. 6.27 Attic eye cup in the manner of the Lysippides Painter, Tomb One, Foiano della Chiana, view of Etruscan inscription on foot. Ca. 530–520. Detail of fig. 4.5. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 74624, on long-term loan to the Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca e della Città di Cortona. (Photo courtesy Polo Museale della Toscana)

Foiano Tomb One krater not only because of its size, shape, and imagery—and because it literally and symbolically protected the urn's contents—but because its juxtaposition with the krater resurrected local funerary tradition and revitalized the dead.

Coming next after the lost and presumably Chiusine "secchia di bronzo" (fig. 6.21D), the second burial involving an Athenian vase was housed inside "un'anfora a figure nere di stile avanzato" per Helbig, identified by Rastrelli as a black-figure pelike by the Eucharides Painter (figs. 6.21E, 6.24).[157] One side depicts a musical concert or contest: a bearded man wearing a long, ungirt chiton plays the kithara, observed by a standing man to left and a seated man to right, both wreathed. A similar subject appears on a second pelike by the same painter used for a cremation burial far away on Samothrace, while three additional black-figure pelikai with kithara players by other painters have known Etruscan provenience, although they lack documented findspots.[158] Musical subjects are frequent throughout Etruscan art, and we have already noted an Attic vase with musical scene used for a Tarquinian cremation burial (fig. 6.14); however, whereas the chelys lyre depicted on the latter is frequent in Etruscan art (although not often played by women) and presumably Etruscan practice, the square-based concert kithara seems to have been much less common there.[159] Perhaps the figure at right on the Foiano pelike was considered the primary character and evocative of the deceased by virtue of his staff and his seated position upon a folding stool, both Etruscan symbols of power and authority that appear in Chiusine funerary art.[160] It is equally possible that the seated female on the pelike's other side stood for the dead person, since the deceased's gender remains unknown and Helbig does not record which scene was most visible in the tomb. Her chair is decorated with a swan's head, and she is flanked by two standing men with staffs, both wreathed and bearded. When women were seated in Etruscan art, it conveyed status and power, just as it did for men.[161]

With the next cremation burial in Tomb One, not only is the identity of the deceased unknown, but the vase itself is unaccounted for today (fig. 6.21F). Helbig calls it "un'anfora a figure rosse di stile piuttosto severo," with a height of 38.5 centimeters; it is likely to date from the early fifth century, but since Helbig uses the term "anfora" for amphorae, pelikai, stamnoi, and even column kraters on occasion, one cannot be certain about its shape.[162] The obverse featured a scene of erotic pursuit: a bearded man with chiton, himation, and scepter, taenia around his head, chasing a long-haired woman with long robes. The man grasps the shoulder of the woman, who looks back in alarm as she tries to run away.[163] The "scettro" implies a scene of Zeus chasing Aegina, if Helbig identified the object correctly.[164] The vase's reverse depicts a wreathed youth enveloped in his himation, flanked by two seated, bearded men, each of whom wears a himation and carries a staff. The pursuit scene was probably considered the primary image; we have already noted an amphora with pursuit used as a cinerary urn at Caere (fig. 6.20), possibly for a male deceased. A red-figure column krater by the Painter of the Louvre Centauromachy, used as a cinerarium in Tomb 119 of the Certosa necropolis at Bologna, shows a youth in traveling garb (Theseus?) chasing a young woman as two others flee; here, two bronze fibulae of arched shape among the cremated remains suggest a female deceased.[165] Along with the Europa krater from Tarquinia (fig. 6.16), these are to my knowledge the only Attic vases with pursuit scenes used as Etruscan cineraria that include

evidence pointing to the deceased's gender; it is tempting to suggest that the gender of the painted pursued often (if not always) correlated to that of the deceased.[166]

The final Attic vase repurposed as a cinerarium in this Foiano tomb is the only one that included any objects among the remains (fig. 6.21G). Helbig mentions a carnelian scarab "tra la cenere deposta in cosifatta idria," although it was "tanto scomposto dal fuoco" to the point where its incised decoration was unrecognizable.[167] The scarab could indicate a male deceased, although they do appear in female tombs elsewhere as well. The shape employed here—a red-figure hydria attributed to the Niobid Painter (fig. 6.25)—was a surprising choice, not because hydriai were exclusively associated with women in Etruria (at Vulci they were not, as discussed in chapters 4 and 5), but because their narrow necks, which made them ideal for transporting water, must have made them difficult to use as cineraria.[168] I know of another Attic hydria used for an Etruscan cremation burial, from a grave at Spina, where hydriai do seem to have been associated primarily with women; in each case, any practical challenges involved with using the pot must have been outweighed by the attraction of its iconography.[169] The Spina hydria features a domestic scene of textile production; the central female figure works upon a handloom, which would have carried many positive associations.

On the Foiano hydria, a long-haired Orpheus, clad in chitoniskos, boots, and laurel wreath and identified by inscription, falls to the ground at the attack of Thracian women, holding his lyre above his head in vain.[170] Three women surge from left and two from right, the former bearing meat spits, the latter carrying a sword and sickle respectively. The two nearest Orpheus grab him by his long hair as the sword-wielding Thracian prepares to strike the death blow. Unusually for this motif, probably because the hydria offered sufficient space, two male Thracian soldiers frame the composition. One mythological tradition surrounding Orpheus said that the Thracian women were furious because the poet distracted their husbands with his music; vase painters were just beginning to depict Orpheus playing his lyre for the Thracian soldiers at the time this hydria was made.[171] Perhaps here they have been enchanted to the point of inactivity, for they do nothing to stop the murder unfolding before them.

Between the unusual choice of subject and choice of shape, one must presume a special reason for the hydria's selection. Other vases with the death of Orpheus have known Etruscan provenience (but undocumented findspots), including three examples from Vulci (e.g., an amphora by the Niobid Painter), three from Spina, a now-lost stamnos originally from Chiusi, and a fragmentary cup from Adria.[172] A red-figure stamnos attributed to Hermonax was said by Beazley to be from Nola but may instead be from southern Etruria, perhaps Caere.[173] One could presume an association with Orphism for these vases in funerary contexts, except that no firm evidence exists for the cult's presence in Etruria during this period. More likely, the theme of premature death and especially the intimation of human sacrifice appealed to those selecting vases for the tomb (compare discussion of Troilos and Polyxena imagery in chapter 3). In representations of Urphe/Orpheus on fourth-century Etruscan mirrors, the poet's severed head speaks prophecy, and the mirrors themselves may have been used in divination.[174] On the Foiano hydria, the Thracian women

grabbing Orpheus' hair and the woman with sickle seem bent on imminent decapitation. Instead of Orpheus' murder seeming a hopeless act that ends his story, perhaps the Etruscan viewer who selected the hydria as a cinerarium believed his killing led to a transformed existence of another sort, much as cremation fragmented yet transformed the deceased.

In contrast to Foiano Tomb One, with its two chambers and six cremation burials (four housed in Attic vases), Foiano Tomb Two held only one cremation burial, paired with the above-discussed inhumation burial in a single chamber (fig. 6.22).[175] As much as a century separated the two deceased; however, they still could have been members of the same family. Helbig describes "un'anfora a figure rosse, alta 0,40, munita di coperchio," and near it "una tazza (diametro 0,23) a figure rosse a stile libero," with no other grave goods. Although the cup remains unattested, in 2014 I identified the "anfora" as a red-figure column krater attributed to the Naples Painter from ca. 440, formerly in the Massarenti collection and now in Baltimore (fig. 6.26).[176] The reverse shows a trio of mantled youths in conversation, while the obverse features a symposion scene of a sort common in the fifth century. Three figures recline on *klinai* with striped pillows: two bearded men to left and right, and a younger, beardless man in the center. They wear fillets around their heads and himations loosely draped around their bodies; the man at right originally held a red bit of ivy vine in his right hand for a wreath (now mostly flaked away). Standing among them is a female figure playing an aulos, a professional musician and possibly a *hetaira* paid to entertain the group, although her dress is comparatively modest and the scene's mood is restrained. An unusual detail is the white *phorbeia* around her face, a strapped device that tied around the head and had holes at the mouth for playing an aulos. On Athenian vases, a *phorbeia* is usually worn by professional male aulos players performing outdoors, presumably to help support their instrument and allow them to control their breath.[177] The performance of the *auletris* is received with enthusiasm by the youngest symposiast. His right arm is crooked over his head in a graceful gesture, and he seems oblivious to his fellow revelers as he gazes at her face.[178]

The ability to match the Naples Painter's Baltimore krater definitively with Foiano della Chiana encourages a fresh look at the distribution of his column kraters (and those said to be in his manner).[179] Judging from known findspots, these were primarily exported to Italy, mostly to northern cities under Etruscan influence or control, and to a lesser extent to Greek and Italic communities in south Italy and Sicily. Such a distribution is consistent with mid-fifth-century trade patterns, as exports to southwestern Etruria lessened (although they did not cease completely), and exports to Adriatic sites and Magna Graecia continued to grow.[180] Fifteen column kraters by the Naples Painter derive from the cemeteries at Spina, and another six from Bologna; traders carrying his vases seem to have traveled up the Adriatic coast (with stops in Puglia) to Spina, which served as a gateway port for northern Italy.[181] Earlier in its history, Foiano had likely received vases from Vulci via Chiusi, but by this point it likely received them from the north.[182]

Four of the Naples Painter's Spina kraters feature symposion scenes similar to that on the Foiano krater, and certain figures repeat themselves, including the gesturing man who appears at right on the Baltimore vase.[183] Another figure on one of the Spina kraters, a balding, barbitos-playing

musician, recurs on a column krater by the Naples Painter said to be from Conversano, near Bari in Puglia.[184] To dismiss such standardized scenes and repetitive figures as unoriginal is to subscribe to a modern construct of the fine artist; thus, Martin Robertson speaks of the Naples Painter's "consistently undistinguished achievement," with "achievement" referring to his artistic skills.[185] If one instead considers the Naples Painter as a member of a busy workshop focused on selling vases, then formulaic images like these symposia—favored by many painters even into the fourth century—were a strategy to maximize production and appeal to multiple Greek and non-Greek audiences.[186] As noted in chapter 2, further evidence for the acquisition of batches of the Naples Painter's column kraters comes from a notation under the foot of a vase in Cleveland, where "KO IIII" almost certainly references a group of four "Corinthians."[187]

Returning to Foiano Tomb Two and the Etruscan consumer(s) of the Naples Painter's Baltimore krater, we see once more how well its shape and iconography mesh with its function as a cinerarium and with local mortuary practice. Banqueting references and imagery had long been part of Chiusine funerary tradition, as noted with the "canopic urns" at the beginning of this section, while reclining banqueters appeared in the funerary art of the region as early as the later seventh century.[188] An impasto ash urn from Tomb 23 at Tolle, dating ca. 630–620 and discussed in chapter 3, features the fragmentary figure of a reclining male banqueter on its lid.[189] Reinforcing this urn's theme, Tomb 23's deceased was given banqueting vessels to accompany him in death, including a ceramic oinochoe, an impasto kyathos, and a group of cups, most notably a bucchero kylix with frieze decoration. One can also compare banqueting scenes in sixth- and fifth-century Chiusine funerary art; Eoin O'Donoghue has noted that in a sample of about 150 urns and cippi, close to 20 percent represent communal feasting.[190] A late sixth-century example depicts two pairs of male banqueters reclining on *klinai* on its long side, joined by a male aulos player and standing attendant (fig. 6.28).[191]

Based on Helbig's description, the lost red-figure cup that accompanied the Naples Painter's krater (presumably Attic, but possibly Etruscan) further introduced themes of athletics and soldiering: namely, the departure of warriors. The interior depicted a bearded man standing before a horse, wearing a traveling cloak and *petasos*, and carrying two spears. One of the exterior scenes featured a similar traveling figure between a bearded man with scepter and a young woman with phiale. Here, the traveler was a youth wearing a cloak, with his *petasos* hanging down his back, armed with two spears and a sword on his hip. The other exterior side showed a bearded man with two nude youths, one of whom carried a pair of hand weights (*halteres*) for the long jump.[192] The lack of other objects in the assemblage suggests not only that the cup was intended to equip the deceased for the afterlife and allow him to participate in banquets (perhaps with the ancestor interred nearby in the tomb), but that it may have been used as a libation vessel at the funerary ceremonies. If so, then the scene of departure on the exterior with young woman preparing a libation was appropriate. Together, the imagery of cup and krater conveyed a masculine ideal found throughout locally produced Chiusine funerary art.[193] The continuity of such a paradigm in the Val di Chiana makes it tempting to suggest that the deceased himself was male.


Fig. 6.28 Etruscan urn with banqueting scene, from Chiusi. Late sixth century. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 5501. (Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY)

## Conclusions

Recent scholarship on mortuary practice has emphasized cremation as a series of transformative processes rather than a straightforward act of destruction.[194] The deceased's body was consumed, but not annihilated, in an emotional spectacle of fire that would have been particularly memorable in areas where cremation was not the normative rite. The visible metamorphosis of the physical body mirrored changes felt within the family and community because of their loved one's absence and marked another step in the *rite de passage* launched with his or her death. The cinerary urn into which the remains were placed represented the next step. In Etruria, even in the cremation burials of the Early Iron Age, the urn served as a focus of performance, mourning, and memory, a portable version of the tomb itself and a metaphorical rejuvenation of the deceased's fragmented body.[195] It was a way of making the dead present again, albeit in a different form, as the remains were transported from pyre to tomb. Terje Oestigaard describes a cremation urn as "an ideologically transformed multi-vocal container with several functions, characteristics, and properties"; this is certainly true for cineraria in Etruscan burials, which both protected the dead and, if decorated, provided narrative accompaniment to the events at hand.[196] The deceased was literally encased in images that benefited his or her journey and were visible to others as the urn was carried, with the urn's shape and material also conjuring meaningful associations.

This chapter has examined the specific use of Athenian figured pottery as Etruscan cineraria during the sixth and fifth centuries, in large southern cities near the coast that had many contacts with Greeks (Tarquinia, Caere, Vulci) and smaller inland sites where residents may have rarely encountered foreigners (Bisenzio, Foiano della Chiana). Although communities differed with regard to local burial practices, and in each instance the sample of vases with documented contexts is small, significant commonalities emerge. First, at every site discussed here and others besides (e.g., Spina, Felsina/Bologna, and Capua), imported Athenian vases were one of several options for cinerary urns.[197] Etruscan figured pottery (often imported from other communities, except at Vulci), nonfigured ceramic vessels either locally made or imported, and containers in other materials such as bronze, stone, wood, and even cloth were available and used at these sites. Some cineraria discussed here from Bisenzio (fig. 6.1) and Tarquinia (figs. 6.5–6, 6.10) were found in pit tombs that neighbored tombs with Etruscan figured vases. The *tomba a buca* holding the Herakles/Aineias amphora (fig. 6.10) adjoined two others with Attic vases near the Tomb of the Baron, while a fourth contained an amphora attributed to the Micali Painter with a hoplite phalanx, *cornu* player, boar hunt, and Siren on its body and a homoerotic scene on its shoulder.[198] In Tomb One at Foiano della Chiana (fig. 6.21), Attic vases and nonfigured bronze and stone containers of likely Chiusine production shared the same space.

Although functionally the different types of cinerary urns were interchangeable, they probably did not hold the same level of prestige. Bronze and stone urns, where available, were the most expensive and presumably the most desirable; nonfigured local ware and wooden containers the least. Figured pottery, whether Attic or Etruscan, likely fell in the middle in terms of economic and social value. As with inhumation burials, one cannot assume that an Athenian vase signals a wealthy person; sufficient Attic pottery was available in most communities that families could acquire a vessel consistent with their means. Athenian pots served as urns in simpler, starker graves as well as more elaborate burials accompanied by objects of value like bronzes or jewelry. Nor can one assume that Etruscan figured ware was less prestigious or less valuable than Attic, for Etruscan pots can also be found in both simpler and more elaborate burials.[199] A Pontic amphora attributed to the Paris Painter, noted earlier in this chapter—the Paris Painter was long thought to be a Greek immigrant but is now more accepted as an Etruscan—was found in a small Tarquinian chamber tomb with stone benches, together with an Ionian amphora also serving as a cinerary urn.[200] Of ovoid shape, the Pontic amphora features a frontal-faced masturbating satyr flanked by heraldic lions on each side, the figures probably interpreted as both liminal and apotropaic. Distribution data show that enough Greek and Etruscan black-figure amphorae were available at Tarquinia that consumers had the advantage of choice, especially in the last decades of the sixth century. Families who chose Etruscan amphorae for their loved ones' urns were not doing so because Attic vases were inaccessible, or vice versa.[201] Iconography may have inspired particular choices, families selecting urns whose decoration best fit their expectations of how the deceased should be commemorated, protected, and presented in the context of the funeral, where the urn would be displayed for all to see.

When families did select Athenian figured vases as cinerary urns, this did not equate to emulation of Greek funerary practice, nor were these vessels necessarily picked for their Greekness. Athenian figured pottery was treated the same as Etruscan figured ware or other containers for the purposes of the rite. There is no evidence for differences in tomb design, deposition of objects, or treatment of the remains (when available for study) among known cremation burials with Attic vases. Instead, these frequently evoke indigenous traditions. We see this, for instance, with the placement of cups or other objects as lids that recall earlier cineraria (e.g., biconical urns at Tarquinia, "canopic" urns at Foiano); the designs of tombs that mimic examples from the Early Iron Age; and even the strategic placement of cremation graves close to earlier tombs or funerary structures. In a few identifiable instances, the handles were removed from Athenian vases prior to their use as cineraria, recalling a similar widespread tendency with biconical urns.[202] Attic vases used as Etruscan cineraria provide potent examples of the integration of imported objects into local practices and traditions, rather than evidence for hellenization.

As a final example, we may consider a cremation burial from a fourth-century *tomba a camera* in the Frontone necropolis of Perusia (ancient Perugia) that employed a fifth-century Athenian vase as the urn (figs. 6.29–30).[203] Discovered in 1886, the tomb had a collapsed roof and may have

Fig. 6.29 Attic bell krater attributed to the Niobid Painter, Frontone necropolis, Perusia (Perugia). Mid-fifth century. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria 1886.1810. (Photo by C. Rossa, © Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 75.1820)

been anciently disturbed, so that it is difficult to determine which goods belong with the cremation burial and which with the inhumed deceased also found inside. The presence of two sets of bronze greaves and multiple weapons, plus the absence of any objects clearly relating to women, may indicate that both deceased were men, while the rich assemblage suggests that they were of high status.[204] The remains of the cremated deceased were placed inside a red-figure bell krater attributed to the Niobid Painter: one side features Triptolemos in his winged cart, performing a libation with Persephone, together with Demeter, Hermes, and an older man with scepter who may be Triptolemos' father, Celeus.[205] The theme of libation repeats on the reverse, where Nike, with an oinochoe, joins an enthroned Zeus and Hera, each extending a phiale.

Like other cineraria in this chapter, the krater was a conscious selection in terms of both shape and image. The positive association of Triptolemos and the other represented deities for the Etruscans is discussed elsewhere in this book (cf. fig. 3.21). To suit its new purpose, a sheet of bronze was cut to size and made to serve as a lid: bronze Etruscan statuettes accompanying the krater were likely attached here originally, including the figure of a dog, a woman holding an object that could be a roughly indicated phiale, a winged female figure probably identifiable with the underworld demon Vanth, and another female figure. A bronze statuette of a young man holding a

Fig. 6.30 Attic bell krater attributed to the Niobid Painter, Frontone necropolis, Perusia (Perugia). Mid-fifth century. Reverse of fig. 6.29. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria 1886.1810. (Photo by C. Rossa, © Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 75.1819)

phiale, taller than the rest but from the same period, may have also adorned the cinerarium. The inclusion of the Vanth statuette in particular—harmonizing well with the winged Nike of the libation scene—suggests an *interpretatio etrusca* of the krater's imagery as related to the deceased's passage to the afterworld, perhaps even joining the gods at banquet (cf. the fourth-century Golini Tomb I at Orvieto). The krater's apparent choice from among the family's longtime possessions, dating as it does about a century earlier than the statuettes and other objects in the tomb, enhanced both its poignancy and its value as a funerary offering. The bronze additions, meanwhile, sealed its final transformation from a Greek to an Etruscan object.