

Alessandro Naso (ed.)  
**Etruscology**



# Etruscology

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Volume 1

Edited by  
Alessandro Naso

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# Table of contents

Alessandro Naso

**1 Introduction — 1**

## Part 1: I. Methods

Christoph Ulf

**2 An ancient question: the origin of the Etruscans — 11**

Martin Korenjak

**3 The Etruscans in Ancient Literature — 35**

Giuseppe M. Della Fina

**4 History of Etruscology — 53**

Maurizio Harari

**5 Etruscan Art or Art of the Etruscans? — 69**

Natacha Lubtchansky

**6 Iconography and iconology,  
Nineteenth to Twenty-first centuries — 79**

Enrico Benelli

**7 Approaches to the study of the language — 95**

Philip Perkins

**8 DNA and Etruscan identity — 109**

## II. Issues: Politic and society

Gianluca Tagliamonte

**9 Political organization and magistrates — 121**

Maria Cecilia D'Ercole

**10 Economy and trade — 143**

Markus Egg

**11 War and Weaponry — 165**

Petra Amann

**12 Society — 179**

Erich Kistler

**13 Feasts, Wine and Society, eighth–sixth centuries BCE — 195**

Fabio Colivicchi

**14 Banqueting and food — 207**

Jean-Paul Thuillier

**15 Sports — 221**

Armando Cherici

**16 Dance — 233**

Enrico Benelli

**17 Alphabets and language — 245**

## **II. Issues: Religion**

Daniele F. Maras

**18 Religion — 277**

Alessandro Naso

**19 Death and burial — 317**

Robert Rollinger

**20 Haruspicy from the Ancient Near East to Etruria — 341**

Marie-Laurence Haack

**21 Prophecy and divination — 357**

## **II. Issues: Technique and technology**

Patrice Pomey

**22 Ships and Shipping — 371**

Laura M. Michetti

**23 Harbors — 391**

Adriana Emiliozzi

**24 Vehicles and roads — 407**

Andrea Zifferero

**25 Mines and Metal Working — 425**

Alessandro Corretti

**26 The mines on the island of Elba — 445**

Fiorenzo Catalli

**27 Coins and mints — 463**

Adriano Maggiani

**28 Weights and balances — 473**

Margarita Gleba

**29 Textiles and Dress — 485**

Emiliano Li Castro

**30 Musical instruments — 505**

Marshall Joseph Becker

**31 Etruscan gold dental appliances — 523**

## Part 2: III. History

Adriano Maggiani

**32 The Historical Framework — 537**

Marco Pacciarelli

**33 The transition from village communities to protourban societies — 561**

Massimo Botto

**34 The diffusion of Near Eastern cultures — 581**

Luca Cerchiai

**35 Urban Civilization — 617**

Laurent Haumesser

**36 Hellenism in Central Italy — 645**

Arnaldo Marcone

**37 Romanization — 665**

Mario Torelli

**38 The Etruscan Legacy — 685**

#### **IV. Civilization: Early Iron Age**

Lars Karlsson

**39 Hut Architecture, 10<sup>th</sup> cent.-730 BCE — 723**

Cristiano Iaia

**40 Handicrafts, 10<sup>th</sup> cent.-730 BCE — 739**

Marco Pacciarelli

**41 Society, 10<sup>th</sup> cent.-730 BCE — 759**

Tiziano Trocchi

**42 Ritual and cults, 10<sup>th</sup> cent.-730 BCE — 779**

Albert J. Nijboer

**43 Economy, 10<sup>th</sup> cent.-730 BCE — 795**

Cristiano Iaia

**44 External Relationships, 10<sup>th</sup> cent.-730 BCE — 811**

#### **IV. Civilization: Orientalizing period**

Mauro Menichetti

**45 Art, 730–580 BCE — 831**

Marina Micozzi

**46 Handicraft, 730–580 BCE — 851**

Alessandro Naso

**47 Society, 730–580 BCE — 869**

Tiziano Trocchi

**48 Ritual and cults, 730–580 BCE — 885**



Albert J. Nijboer

**49 Economy, 730–580 BCE — 901**

Marina Micozzi

**50 External Relationships, 730–580 BCE — 921**

#### **IV. Civilization: Archaic and Classical periods**

Nigel Spivey and Maurizio Harari

**51 Archaic and Late Archaic Art, 580–450 BCE — 943**

Martin Bentz

**52 Handicrafts, 580–450 BCE — 971**

Petra Amann

**53 Society, 580–450 BCE — 985**

Marie-Laurence Haack

**54 Ritual and Cults, 580–450 BCE — 1001**

Hilary Becker

**55 Economy, 580–450 BCE — 1013**

Christoph Reusser

**56 External relationships, 580–450 BCE — 1031**

#### **IV. Civilization: Late Classical and Hellenistic periods**

Fernando Gilotta

**57 Late Classical and Hellenistic art, 450–250 BCE — 1049**

Laura Ambrosini

**58 Handicraft, 450–250 BCE — 1079**

Petra Amann

**59 Society, 450–250 BCE — 1101**

Marie-Laurence Haack

**60 Ritual and cults, 450–250 BCE — 1117**

Hilary Becker

**61 Economy, 450–250 BCE — 1129**

Stefano Bruni

**62 External Relationships, 450–250 BCE — 1141**

## **IV. Civilization: Etruria and Rome**

Fernando Gilotta

**63 Art, 250–89 BCE — 1161**

Francesco de Angelis

**64 Handicraft, 250–89 BCE — 1173**

Arnaldo Marcone

**65 Society, 250–89 BCE — 1191**

Marie-Laurence Haack

**66 Ritual and Cults, 250–89 BCE — 1203**

Hilary Becker

**67 Economy, 250–89 BCE — 1215**

Francesco de Angelis

**68 External Relationships, 250–89 BCE — 1223**

## **V. Topography of Etruria**

Philip Perkins

**69 The landscape and environment of Etruria — 1239**

Andrea Zifferero

**70 Southern Etruria — 1251**

Erik O. Nielsen and P. Gregory Warden

**71 Northern Etruria — 1299**

Andrea Zifferero

**72 Settlement Patterns and Land Use — 1339**

## **VI. Etruscans outside Etruria: Southern Italy**

Teresa Cinquantaquattro and Carmine Pellegrino

**73 Southern Campania — 1359**

Vincenzo Bellelli

**74 Northern Campania — 1395**

## **VI. Etruscans outside Etruria: Central and Northern Italy**

Luigi Malnati

**75 Emilia — 1437**

Patrizia von Eles, Gabriele Baldelli

**76–77 Romagna and the Marches — 1453**

Raffaele Carlo de Marinis

**78 Lombardy — 1501**

## **VI. Etruscans outside Etruria: Etruscan Finds in Italy**

Alessandro Naso

**79 Central Italy and Rome — 1533**

Gianluca Tagliamonte

**80 Southern Italy — 1551**

Martin Guggisberg

**81 Northern Italy**

(Piedmont, Veneto, Trentino–Alto Adige, Friuli–Venezia Giulia) — **1565**

## **VI. Etruscans outside Etruria: Etruscan Finds in Europe**

Gerhard Tomedi

**82 South and southeast Central Europe — 1585**

Holger Baitinger

**83 Transalpine Regions — 1607**

## **VI. Etruscans outside Etruria: Etruscan Finds in the Mediterranean**

Olivier Jehasse

**84 Corsica — 1641**

Rosa Maria Albanese Procelli

**85 Sicily — 1653**

Marco Rendeli

**86 Sardinia — 1669**

Alessandro Naso

**87 Greece, Aegean islands and Levant — 1679**

Alessandro Naso

**88 North Africa — 1695**

Claire Joncheray

**89 Southern France — 1709**

Raimon Graells i Fabregat

**90 The Iberian Peninsula — 1721**

**Colour plates — 1737**

**Authors — 1761**

**Index — 1767**

Alessandro Naso

## 87 Greece, Aegean islands and Levant

**Abstract:** From the ninth to the fifth centuries BCE, Etruscan items, such as weapons and luxury goods, are among the inventory found in Greek sanctuaries and reflect relations between Italy and Greece. Because most of these votive offerings (Gk. *anathēmata*) are not inscribed, it must be presumed that they were dedicated both by Greeks returning home and by Etruscans who were admitted to Greek sanctuaries. This possibility is raised by the two buildings, or treasuries (Gk. *thesouroi*), that like several Greek cities, the Etruscan cities of Caere and Spina maintained in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi to hold the offerings to the gods. This privilege of the inhabitants of Caere and Spina is remarkable, because they were the only non-Greeks to have their own treasuries in the Delphic sanctuary. Bucchero, the Etruscan national pottery, was also appreciated by the Greeks, who adopted in their wine culture the shape of the most common Etruscan drinking cup, the *kantharos*. A few Etruscan finds reached the Levant as well. After the fifth century, there are no Etruscan finds in Greek contexts outside Italy.

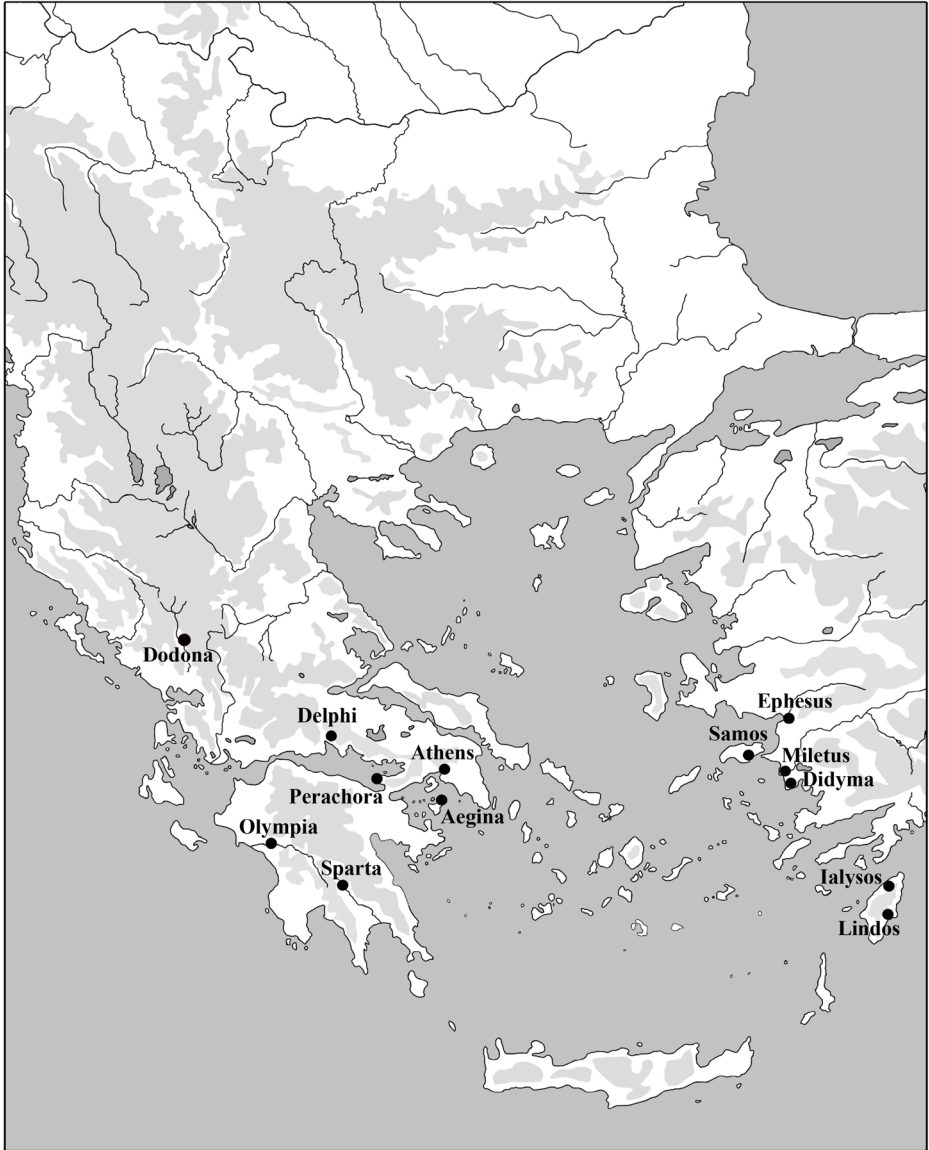
**Keywords:** Etruscan, Greek, sanctuary, panhellenic, votive offering

### Introduction

In contrast to the thousands of Greek artifacts found in Etruria, only a little over 400 Etruscan and Italic objects (about 270 of bronze, and 150 of clay and other materials) have been found in the ancient Greek world—which includes modern-day Greece, the Aegean islands, and Turkey, but excludes Sicily (see chapter 85 Albanese Procelli) and North Africa (see chapter 88 Naso), the Levant, and the Black Sea area (Fig. 87.1). Most were dedicated to the gods as votive offerings (Gk. *anathēmata*) in sanctuaries, both by Greeks returning home and by Etruscans, who were admitted to Greek sanctuaries even though they were foreigners. The finds date from the ninth to the fifth centuries BCE, but no later. The richest findspot is the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, where more than 120 Italic objects have been found. With very few exceptions—such as the three helmets from Olympia celebrating the victory of Hieron of Syracuse over the Etruscans in the sea battle of Cumae in Campania in 474 (Fig. 87.2)<sup>1</sup>—the offerings are not inscribed, so one can only speculate about the occasion of their dedication and the identity of the dedicator. In many cases general historical knowledge is too limited to allow precise hypotheses, and the objects can only be classified from an archaeological point of view. It is possible, however, to group finds with similar characteristics to try to connect them with historical events.

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<sup>1</sup> Frielinghaus 2011, 402 no. D 529, 448 nos. L 1–L 2, 552 nos. 90–92 (without illustrations for the Negau helmets).



**Fig. 87.1:** Greece and western Turkey. Map of the main sites cited in the text.



**Fig. 87.2:** Olympia: Etruscan bronze helmet with the dedication of Hieron of Syracuse (photo A. Naso)

## 1 Late Bronze Age

Pottery and bronzes of Italic origin dating to the Late Bronze Age (twelfth–tenth centuries) found in Greece, especially on Crete, and conversely, Mycenaean pottery from Italy, demonstrate the existence of relationships between the two areas based on trade and the exchange of technology. The distribution and typology of the Italic objects in Greece suggest the existence of a large movement of specialized craftsmen, including metalworkers, from Italy to the Aegean at the end of the Bronze Age.<sup>2</sup> Nothing has yet been found dating to the period from the Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age (the tenth and ninth centuries), but this does not necessarily reflect a real interruption in the well-established relations between the eastern and western Mediterranean and is due to accidents of discovery.

## 2 Iron Age and Orientalizing period

Italic bronze weapons, which have mostly been found in the Panhellenic sanctuaries of Zeus at Olympia and Apollo at Delphi (but in other shrines as well), comprise a precise group in Greek sanctuaries. Offensive arms include bronze spearheads, some

<sup>2</sup> Cline 1994, 80–84, 272–73 lists the Italic objects from Greece. Bettelli 2002; see Radina and Recchia 2010 with further literature for relationships between Italy and Greece in the Bronze Age.

axes, and one sword (from Samos). Among defensive weapons, shields predominate, but two helmets have also been found. The arms are not preserved intact but seem to have been intentionally cut up and rendered unusable before being dedicated. This was a typical Greek practice, which allows us to bypass the controversy over the interpretation of these materials in favor of the hypothesis that in general, Italic arms found in Greek sanctuaries represent weapons captured in battle by the Greeks in Italy and dedicated—in both Panhellenic and local sanctuaries—by Greeks who had returned home. We know that Greek settlers in Italy fought against indigenous peoples in various places, as Thucydides reports in Sicily for Syracuse and Leontinoi (Thuc. 6.3.2–3). On the other hand, archaeological evidence from Cumae in Campania and Epizephyrian Locris on the Ionian Sea in Calabria shows that earlier indigenous settlements were abandoned just after the Greek foundations, so that at least some battles may be assumed.

According to present knowledge, the typological characteristics of the Italic bronze spearheads from Olympia and Delphi fit with those of the spearheads used in both Calabria and Sicily.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, we can assume that they were dedicated by returning Greeks, to thank Zeus Olympios not only for his advice in the choice of the site for the new foundation, but also for his assistance in travel and fighting the enemy. This may also explain the distribution of spearheads in major and minor sanctuaries. In Olympia, the colonists (Gk. *apoikioi*) received help before leaving for Italy by consulting oracles, whom they then had to thank upon returning home. On the other hand, the local sanctuaries may have been at the birthplace of some colonists. This assumption is generally valid, but we can distinguish some exceptions.

A bronze spearhead from Olympia, more than 60 cm long and exceptionally decorated with fine engraved triangles and dots, has very few comparable pieces in Italy—and they are from Etruria. Its dimensions and decoration indicate that it was not only a weapon, but also a symbol of power, as spears often were in early societies.<sup>4</sup> If this is true, the most likely owner—and therefore the possible dedicator in Olympia—could have been an Etruscan, who, thanks to early Hellenization, knew the importance of the sanctuary of Zeus and wanted to behave like a Greek. As a result, he might have devoted to the Greek god his own symbol of power.

This is a possibility stated by Pausanias, who in the second century CE saw in Olympia “a throne donated by the Etruscan king Arimnestos, the first barbarian to honor Zeus with a votive offering” (Paus. 5.12.5). Unfortunately, Pausanias does not

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<sup>3</sup> Six exemplars from Olympia (Baitinger 2001, 146–48, nos. 530–35, pls. 15–17) are very similar to pieces from the Mendolito hoard in Sicily (Albanese Procelli 1993, 180–81). At least one spearhead from Olympia (Baitinger 2001, no. 536) and one from Delphi (Avila 1983, 140–42, no. 998) are comparable to pieces from Calabria (Pacciarelli 1999, 134–36, fig. 36). Baitinger 2001, 39 lists the Italic objects from Greece.

<sup>4</sup> Olympia, storage, inv. no. B 1026: Baitinger 2001, 36–38, 146–47 no. 526, pl. 15.



describe the throne or give us any indication of the date of the votive offering. Some finds and general knowledge help us to suggest a chronology. First, the bronze finds at Olympia also include two fragments of repoussé sheets belonging to at least one Etruscan throne, dating to the first half of the seventh century.<sup>5</sup> Second, *Arimnestos* is the Greek rendition of an Etruscan family name that sounds very similar to the Latin name of the Ariminus River (modern-day Marecchia) in Romagna near the Adriatic, where the Romans founded the colony of Ariminum in 268 BCE. It is likely that the river name has Etruscan origins, because in that territory Etruscans had been settled around modern-day Verucchio since the early Iron Age (see chapter 76 von Eles). The most flourishing period for the Etruscans in Verucchio was the eighth–seventh centuries; the tombs dating to this period have yielded some exceptional textiles (see chapter 29 Gleba) and at least eleven engraved wooden thrones, the highest number known from any Etruscan cemetery. So it seems likely that in the seventh century a throne was donated to Zeus at Olympia by an Etruscan king from Verucchio whose name was *\*Arimneste* according to Carlo de Simone or *\*Ariemena* according to Giovanni Colonna.<sup>6</sup> The throne was perhaps made of wood: on the one hand the lack of information in Pausanias, who normally describes the precious material (bronze, marble) of the most valuable votive offerings, and the archaeological evidence of thrones in Verucchio on the other, make the hypothesis regarding the material very likely.

Some bronze fibulae with amber panels that came to light in the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesus, where they were probably dedicated together with textiles or cloth suggest a possible role of the Etruscan community of Verucchio in trade relations in the eastern Mediterranean. The shapes of these fibulae are completely isolated among the finds from Ionia, so overseas origins can be presumed for the fibulae from Ephesus, where further amber finds are known. According to present knowledge, raw amber may have been imported from Verucchio to Ephesus to be worked in a local style.<sup>7</sup> Fibulae with amber panels may have been involved in the raw amber trade; if this is true, they become the indicator for relationships that otherwise would be completely unknown for us.

The trade link between Verucchio and Ephesus, which can be connected to the highly specialized amber-working craft that had developed at Verucchio, is not a unique case, because other examples of probable direct relationships between cities in the western and eastern Mediterranean can be identified, which reveal further trade connections. Bronze workshops flourished at Vetulonia in the first half of the seventh century. Their broad production encompassed not only vessels, but also other objects, such as characteristic larger and smaller belt clasps that accompanied, respectively,

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5 Strøm 2000; Naso 2012b.

6 de Simone 1989, 199; Colonna 1993, 53–54.

7 Naso 2012a.

male and female outfits. Characteristic bronze items from Vetulonia have been found in the sanctuary of Hera at Samos, such as a small belt clasp and the remains of a handle decorated with lion heads and a flower from the top of a censer.<sup>8</sup> Correspondingly, Vetulonia has yielded typical Samian finds, dated to the first half of the seventh century (bronze cauldrons decorated with griffin or lion protomes<sup>9</sup>) and to the second half of the seventh and the early sixth centuries (many clay vases).<sup>10</sup>

How can we explain the existence of luxury object exchange between Vetulonia and Samos? A possible answer may be Etruria's metal resources. The copper and iron minerals in northern Etruria were already being exploited in the seventh century, and the Vetulonia's elite were involved in the mining industry (see chapter 25 Zifferero). Trade in ingots or partly worked metals between Etruria and Samos or other eastern Greek communities can only be assumed as early as the first half of the seventh century; the wreck found off Giglio Island proves that around 600 BCE, metal ingots played a primary role in Mediterranean trade relations (see chapter 49 Nijboer) and implies personal relationships between the merchants, as shown by the Etruscan *tesserae hospitales* in the sixth and fifth centuries (see chapter 10 D'Ercole). All this allows us to imagine that gift exchange to establish new trade partnerships was probably going on in the early seventh century. The luxury objects from Vetulonia and Samos may well be the fruit of a gift exchange, which in Etruria is well attested in inscriptions.<sup>11</sup>

In Olympia, women's jewelry also came to light, some of which is concentrated around the temple of Hera. Because the pieces were found during several campaigns carried out over many years—even before the Hera temple itself was found<sup>12</sup>—they have not yet been completely identified. They are from no later than 600 BCE, and include two joining fragments of a silver Etruscan plaque, probably from a diadem of the first half of the seventh century. The plaque shows a variety of stamped decoration, including animals like winged lions, depicted walking and crouching, motifs, such as a cable pattern, Phoenician palmettes, and concentric-circle ornaments (Fig. 87.3). Because early stamped jewelry is characteristic of southern Etruria in both Tarquinia and Caere, it is likely that the votive offering comes from this district.<sup>13</sup>

**8** Kyrielleis 1986, 127–30 for the bronze vases discussed recently by Bruni 2004; Naso 2006a, 361, fig. 8 for the belt clasp.

**9** Gehrig 2004, 92–95 (“Bernardini” Werkstatt), 153–58 with previous literature.

**10** Cristofani Martelli 1978, 156 nos. 15–16 (bird-bowls), 177 nos. 24–27 (alabaster); Ciuccarelli 2004, 157–68 (findspots around Vetulonia).

**11** Cristofani 1984 with previous literature by the same author.

**12** Moustaka 2002, 307–11.

**13** Strøm 1990, 92; Naso 2006c, 340–41.



Fig. 87.3: Olympia: silver plaque (diadem?) (photo A. Naso)

### 3 Archaic and Late Archaic periods

From the early sixth to the mid fifth centuries, Etruscan pottery, such as bucchero, together with luxury goods such as bronzes and wooden shrines with ivory plaques, all played an active role in the framework of Archaic trade in both the western and eastern Mediterranean.

Bucchero, the national Etruscan pottery (see chapters 46 Micozzi and 52 Bentz), is widespread throughout the Mediterranean from Spain to Turkey and from southern France to North Africa, particularly in the form of the *kantharos*, a drinking cup with two high handles that allow the vessel to be handled easily (Fig. 49.2). Bucchero *kantharoi*—particularly the shape classified as 3e by Tom Rasmussen and used from the end of the seventh century to the first half of the sixth—are the real marker of the Etruscans all over the Mediterranean.<sup>14</sup>

Etruscan *kantharoi* were highly appreciated in Greece. Herman Brijder notes that the low attachment of the handles on the body shows that the earliest Attic black-figure *kantharoi* around 580 derive directly from Etruscan bronze *kantharoi*.<sup>15</sup> The bronze handle of an Etruscan *kantharos* found in the temple of Apollo at Didyma proves that bronze *kantharoi* were also offered in Greek sanctuaries; later black-figure

<sup>14</sup> Rasmussen 1979, 104–6. The distribution is mapped by von Hase 1989, fig. 27, completed by Naso 2009a, 138–39.

<sup>15</sup> Brijder 1988, completed by Naso 2006a, 377–79, figs. 11–12.

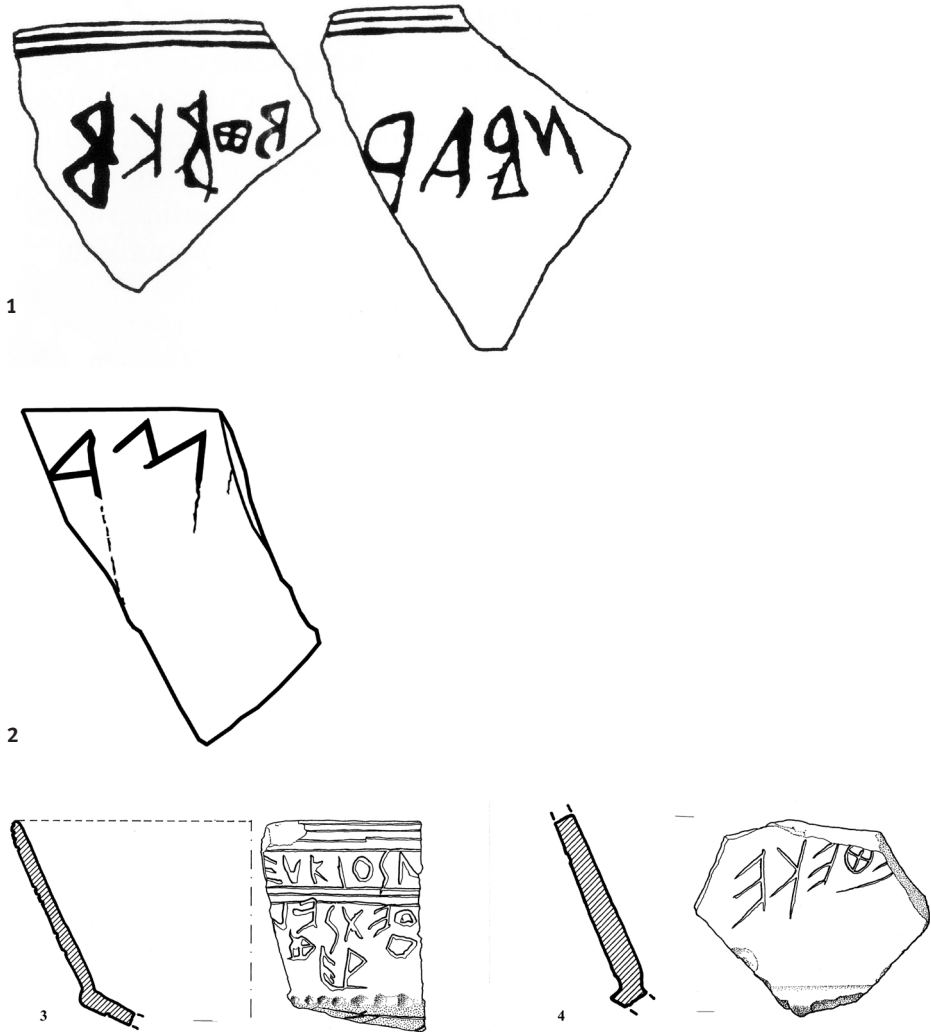
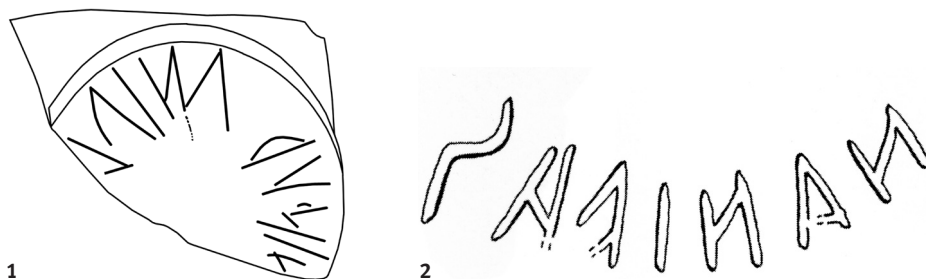


Fig. 87.4: Greek Inscriptions on Etruscan kantharoi from Greek sanctuaries 1: Perachora; 2: lalyos; 3.-4 Lentini (after Naso 2006b, fig. 8)

vase paintings, dating to the second half of the sixth century, show that the shape was adopted in Greek culture as an attribute of Dionysus, the Greek god of wine. Miletus is the richest bucchero findspot in the Aegean; the recent German excavations have produced more than 100 Etruscan bucchero sherds, mostly from *kantharoi*. Thin section and petrographic analysis allow us to identify the probable Etruscan production centers of the bucchero vases, which were dedicated in the local Aphrodite sanctuary. These centers were Caere and Tarquinia, which probably had direct relationships



**Fig. 87.5:** Etruscan Inscriptions from Greece: 1. Laconian cup from Aegina; 2: gem from Perachora (after Cristofani 1993, fig. 1)

with Miletus.<sup>16</sup> Greek votive inscriptions on bucchero *kantharoi* from Perachora in Greece, Ialysos on Rhodes, and some findspots in Sicily demonstrate that such votive offerings in Greek sanctuaries must be connected to Greeks (Fig. 87.4.1–4).<sup>17</sup>

Several votive offerings are surely Etruscan *anathemata*. Two inscriptions from Aegina and Perachora suggest that the Etruscans wanted to act like Greeks and participated in the life of the sanctuaries. The first Etruscan inscription in Greece has been identified in the sanctuary of Aphaia at Aegina; unfortunately it is incomplete: *mi pl [...]xinur*. The text, engraved on a stemless Laconian cup from the third quarter of the sixth century, names the cup's donor in the first person. After *mi* ("I") can be read *pl*, probably the beginning of the family name of the person making the dedication. For the restoration of the missing part there are several possibilities, but none of them is certain. The final letters *xinur* indicate a plural, which may refer to an offering of more than one object (Fig. 87.5.1). Mauro Cristofani suggested connecting the inscription with the rituals carried out in the dining rooms of the sanctuary of Aphaia and assumed the presence of an Etruscan at these ceremonies. Recently, a second Etruscan inscription from Greece has been read on a Greek gem from the sanctuary of Hera at Perachora, probably datable around 500. (Fig. 87.5.2)<sup>18</sup>

The most famous Etruscan *anathemata* in Greek sanctuaries belonging to 6<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> cent. are concentrated in Delphi and are connected to the consultation of the oracle there.<sup>19</sup> An inscribed stone base recording a Greek dedication to Apollo by the Etruscans belongs to the early fifth century. According to the traces remaining on the top,

<sup>16</sup> Bucchero and bronze *kantharoi* in Greek sanctuaries have been examined by Naso 2009a, with previous literature.

<sup>17</sup> Naso 2006b, 191 fig. 8 with literature.

<sup>18</sup> Cristofani 1996 comments on the inscription from Aegina; Colonna 2007 publishes as Etruscan the inscription from Perachora and suggested possible restorations for the inscription from Aegina (220 footnote 48).

<sup>19</sup> Briquel 1998; d'Agostino 2000.

the base probably held a *lebes* or a krater of bronze on a supporting column. The Greek text from Delphi raises some questions—primarily the mention of the Etruscans as a people, because it would be the only direct testimony of the Etruscan nation thought of as a whole (see chapter 35 Cerchiai). The inscription is not complete, so doubts remain. We know from literacy sources that in the fifth century, two Etruscan cities—Caere and Spina—built their own treasuries in Delphi, as was the usual practice for several Greek city-states.<sup>20</sup> The purpose of a treasury is to commemorate victories and to thank the oracle of Apollo for her advice, which was thought to have contributed to the victories. The buildings are called treasuries (Gk. *thesauroi*), because they held the offerings made to the god of the sanctuary; these were frequently a tenth of the spoils of a battle. The only non-Greek cities with their own treasuries in Delphi were the Etruscan cities Caere and Spina. It is not by chance that these two cities are represented there; even though they were Etruscan, both were thought to have Pelasgic, i.e. Greek, origins.<sup>21</sup> They represented the Tyrrhenian and the Adriatic coasts and the corresponding resources from each—the metals of Tuscany and the grain of the Po plain, both of them essential to the Greek economy. It can therefore be suggested that all this played a role in the permission and/or invitation for the two non-Greek *poleis* to build their own treasuries at Delphi, both in the fifth century. The identification of the Etruscan buildings within the sanctuary is uncertain. G. Colonna suggested identifying the *thesauros* of Caere with the remains of a building at Marmaria in the sanctuary of Athena near the treasury of Massalia (the Greek city corresponding to modern-day Marseille in France) and to date it to the second half of the sixth century; epigraphic texts are lacking.<sup>22</sup> Regarding the treasury of Spina, two characteristic bronze leg caps belonging to a wooden Etruscan folding chair were found in Delphi and compare well with similar finds from Etruria Padana of the first half of the fifth century. The side palmette on the top of the leg caps is a characteristic of the folding chairs from Etruria Padana, whereas the leg caps of the folding chairs from southern Etruria end with an ivy leaf. In Etruria such chairs were probably a symbol of a magistrate and as such were transmitted by the Etruscans to Roman culture (*sella curulis*). If this is true, the chair from Delphi may have been offered on an unknown occasion in the *thesauros* of Spina by a magistrate from Etruria Padana. Actually the two bronze fragments are the only remains that may be connected to the *thesauros* of Spina (Fig. 87.6).<sup>23</sup>

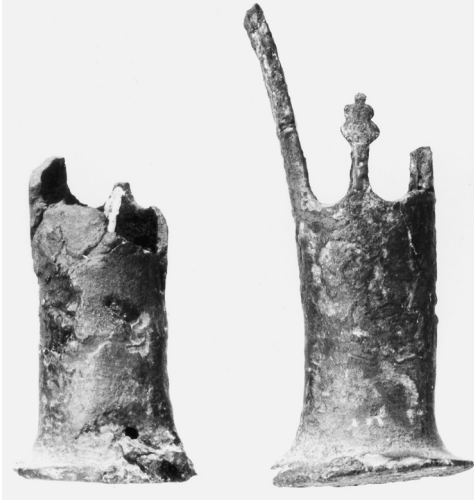
The great skills of Etruscan bronze workers were highly appreciated in Greece, as the literary tradition of the Late Archaic shows and several finds confirm, includ-

<sup>20</sup> Jacquemin 1999, 335 no. 303 (stone base), 309 no. 012 (treasure of Caere), 352 no. 443 (treasure of Spina).

<sup>21</sup> The literary sources are collected and discussed by Briquel 1984, 3–30 (Spina), 169–224 (Caere). Naso 2013 for the treasure of Spina.

<sup>22</sup> Colonna 2000.

<sup>23</sup> Naso 2006a, 402–6 lists the Etruscan folding chairs, completed by Naso 2014b.



**Fig. 87.6:** Delphi: Etruscan bronze revetments from a folding chair (photo A. Naso)

ing incense-burners, a tripod, and *infundibula*.<sup>24</sup> *Infundibula* are utensils of genuine Etruscan invention, which were used as both funnel and strainer to filter wine (see chapter 88 Naso). They were imported to Greece from Etruria and were probably also imitated by Greek utensil-makers. Special attention is due to an *infundibulum* from Olympia that is part of a wine set, which includes three other Greek bronze vessels (a cauldron, a fragment of a basin, and an *oinochoe*), all four of which were inscribed in the late sixth century with the same dedication to Zeus Olympios by the Eleans, inhabitants of Elis/Eleia, an ancient district of the Peloponnese.<sup>25</sup> We know neither how the Etruscan *infundibulum* came to Olympia nor the occasion for its offering along with the other bronzes. What we know is that it was part of a Greek wine set that was used in ceremonies in the sanctuary of Zeus.

Some specific Etruscan products delighted Greek customers. According to the Athenian comic poet Cratinus, Etruscan bronze sandals with thick soles were known and appreciated in fifth-century Athens. The mention of the sole connects this remark to a specific model of sandal, which in Etruria was a woman's platform shoe. The sole was thick enough to bear a bronze sheet with embossed figural decoration, as can be seen on an earlier pair of Etruscan sandals from Grave 119 of the cemetery of

<sup>24</sup> Literary sources are collected and discussed by Mansuelli 1984; for the archaeological evidence see Naso 2006a, 380–97 (*infundibula*); 2009b (incense-burners).

<sup>25</sup> Siewert 1991, 81–82 nos. 4 (cauldron), 5 (*oinochoe*), 6 (basin?), 7 (*infundibulum*: inv. no. B 4574).



Campovalano in Abruzzo (Teramo province), which dates to the early sixth century.<sup>26</sup> Etruscan bronze vases were also appreciated in the Levant. In Hauran, in southern Syria, at Tell Sukas and Al-Mina on the coast of northern Syria respectively, have been found one *olpe*, one foot from a *cista* (small casket) and an *oinochoe*, dating to different decades of the fifth century.<sup>27</sup>

These bronzes, and some wooden Etruscan shrines with ivory plaques from the first quarter of the fifth century have been found in several places in Greece, including Athens,<sup>28</sup> and show the broad—if quantitatively limited—diffusion of Etruscan handcraft items in the Greek world. Together, they can be interpreted as traces of a trade based on Athenian figured vases, which was in Greek hands, and as the alphabetic trademarks show.<sup>29</sup> However, involvement of Etruscans in the vase trade is possible. Greek potters and painters, such as the Athenian potter Nikosthenes, whose amphorae were produced expressly for Etruria,<sup>30</sup> were so willing to adapt their production to Etruscan tastes that the presence of Greek agents in Etruria and Etruscan agents in Athens can be assumed. It has recently been suggested that an Etruscan painter could have been active in the workshop of Nikosthenes in Athens around 520.<sup>31</sup> The importance of Etruscan business for the Greek vase traders is evidenced in the fifth century too. A mid fifth-century red-figure cup sherd from Populonia, attributed by John Beazley to the workshop of the Penthesilea Painter, bears a painted Etruscan inscription: *metru menece*, “Metru made (me).” The Etruscan personal name Metru derives from the Greek Metron. A variety of interpretations of this sherd have been offered, but is likely that Metru/Metron was an Athenian potter, who by translating his name stressed the destination of the vase in Etruria.<sup>32</sup>

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**26** Poll. *Onom.*, ed. Bethe 1900–1931: 7.86.9–7.87.1 (Etruscan sandals), 7.92–7.93.1 (thick sole); additional Greek literary sources are listed by Naso 2009b, 642. For the finds from Campovalano: Zanco 1989 (sandals); Boccolini 2003 (tomb group). I am not certain whether or not some sandals from Greek findspots are really Etruscan, as suggested by Touloupa 1973 and recently by Frankenhauser and Weidig 2014.

**27** Weber 1990.

**28** Martelli 1988–89, 17–20 for the shrines. It must be noted that the Achelous mask from Olympia, mentioned by Martelli (20 n. 44), to be identified with Olympia, Archeological Museum, Inv. no. M 880, is certainly of bronze cast and probably not Etruscan.

**29** Johnston 1985; 2006.

**30** Tosto 1999. The more widespread *pyxides* from the same workshop have been found in both Etruria and Greece (Lyons 2009).

**31** Malagardis 2007.

**32** The various opinions and interpretations of this tiny sherd are collected by Naso 2014a, to be supplemented with Maggiani 2011, 217, fig. 7.



## 4 Epilogue

A number of items, from the throne of Arimnestos in Olympia, to the magistrate's folding chair in Delphi, establish that the Etruscan elite in Tyrrhenian and Adriatic city-states—which had a favored position within the Greek world—participated in the life and ceremonies of Greek sanctuaries, consulting oracles and giving votive offerings. Etruscans probably played a role in the production and distribution of Athenian pottery in Etruria in the sixth and fifth centuries. The presumed presence of Etruscans in Greek cities was a limited phenomenon, chronologically restricted to the age of more intense relations between Greece and Etruria, the sixth and fifth centuries. Athenian vases dating to the fourth century were exported to Adriatic Italy, particularly Spina, but the general historical frame is completely new.

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