

# 1 | From East to West and Beyond

ALESSANDRO NASO

## 1.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to give an overview of East Greek and West Anatolian connections with Etruscan art and society and to open up new perspectives on corresponding Etruscan influences in East Greece and West Anatolia. The relationship between non-Greek cultures in Anatolia and Etruria is a subject worth investigating, with particular reference to the seventh and sixth centuries BCE. This field of research has never been fully explored, for at least two reasons. Firstly, close comparisons between the Etruscan and Lydian cultures might have been interpreted as a sort of confirmation of Herodotus' theory of Etruscan origins and the migration of Lydians to Italy under the guidance of Tyrsenos, son of the Lydian king Atys (Hdt. 1. 94) (Drews 1992; Ridgway 1993; Ulf 2017). Secondly, few scholars have expertise in both Lydian and Etruscan cultures. A notable exception was George Hanfmann, who wrote his first dissertation in Germany on an Etruscan topic, *Altetruskische Plastik* (Hanfmann 1936), before he went to the United States and began the great enterprise of the Sardis excavations:

I had started my archaeological career as an Etruscologist and like so many others I had the optimistic hope that Lydia might yet yield the key to the mystery of the Etruscan language and the origins of the people. Might not the huge necropolis of Bin Tepe several miles north of Sardis, where the Lydian kings were buried, yield some clue to link Lydians and Etruscans, especially since its mounds seemed (at least in illustrations) so similar to the mounds of ancient Etruscan cemeteries north of Rome? (Hanfmann 1972: 8–9).

Also worth mentioning is Nancy Ramage, a member of the excavation team at Sardis for many years, who authored a pioneering article about early Etruscan bucchero (Ramage 1970; Ramage and Ramage 1983). A general view on the contacts between Etruria and Anatolia, however, is

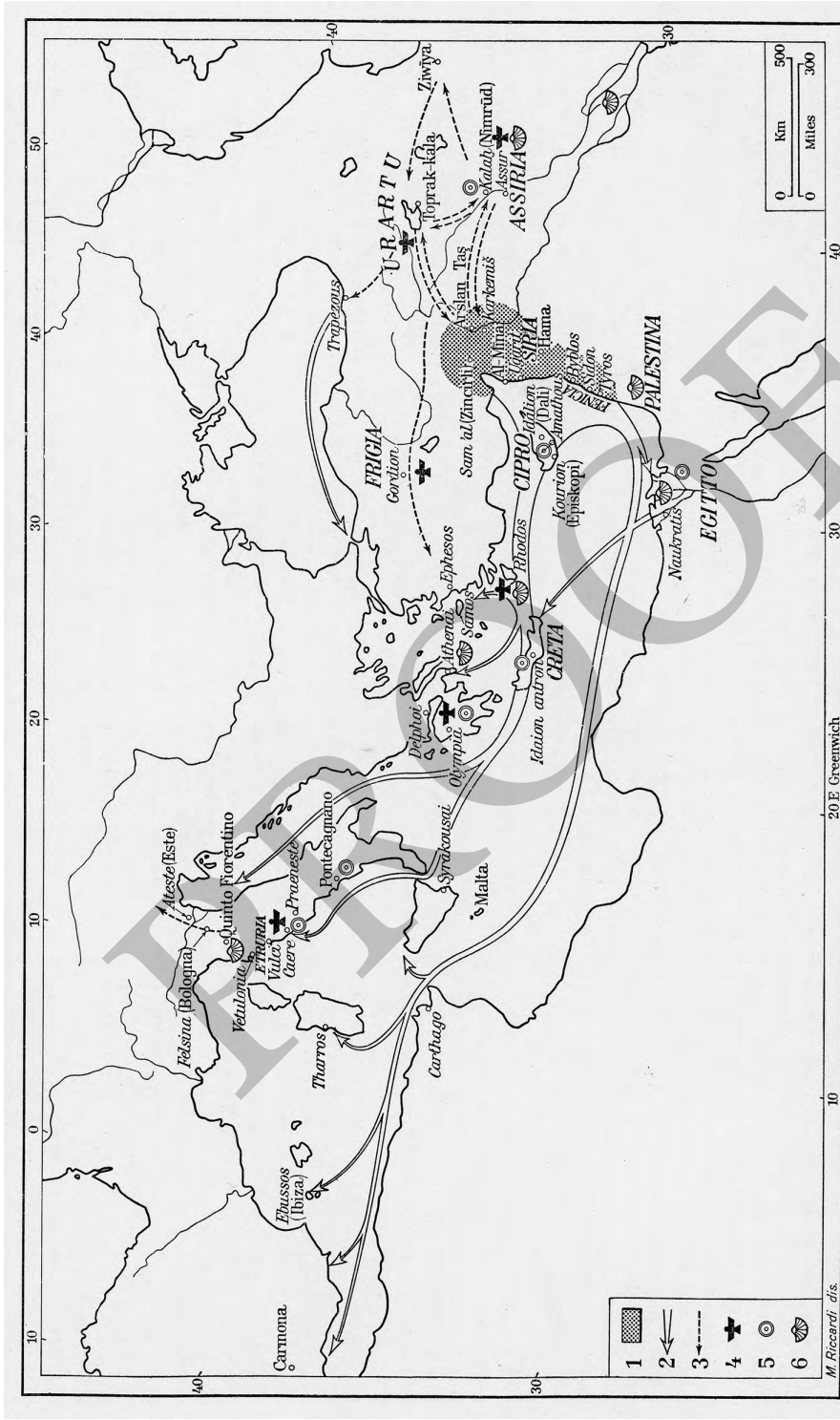
still lacking. The present volume, and the conference from which it was born, opens up reciprocal discussion of these two distinct regions.<sup>1</sup>

## 1.2 A (Very) Short History of Etruscan and Anatolian Studies

Massimo Pallottino in the early 1960s stressed the influence that Near Eastern cultures had on the Mediterranean world from the end of the eighth to the beginning of the sixth century BCE (Pallottino 1963a) (Figure 1.1). This influence was mostly artistic, and it was seen especially through the distribution of some categories of objects, including bronze cauldrons from Urartu and North Syria, Phoenician bronze cups, and tridacna shells. Based on the diffusion of the iconography of warriors' funerary stelai in the sixth century BCE, Pallottino stressed that the influences on Etruria were both Greek and Anatolian, and he proposed that some skilled workers came to Etruria from East Greece, bringing to the West the model of East Greek stelai (Pallottino 1963b). This theorized itinerary was influenced by the proposal of Bernhard Schweitzer in the 1950s for Aristonothos, potter and painter of the well-known krater from Caere, who, Schweitzer believed, had traveled from the Cyclades via Athens and Syracuse to Caere (Schweitzer 1955; recently Harari 2014 and Guggisberg 2017). The hypothesis about artisan mobility was very successful in the following years (e.g., Brown 1960: 1–2, 5, 27), and in the 1970s several scholars presumed that Near Eastern skilled workers in the first half of the seventh century BCE came to Etruria and worked for Etruscan elites: New working techniques in the fields of ivory carving and gold jewelry were introduced to the far western Mediterranean, and they were further developed in Etruria by immigrant artisans and their Etruscan apprentices (Strøm 1971: 113–115, 202; von Hase 1975: 140–142).

This chapter explores evidence for such mobility in particular classes of monuments and artifacts but places this early view of influences from the eastern to western Mediterranean within broader theories of cultural

<sup>1</sup> As happened with the New York conference devoted to Cyprus and Italy in the Bronze and Iron Age (Bonfante and Karageorghis 2001). I wish to thank the Miletus Museum for authorizing and Giorgio Trojsi for conducting scientific analyses of the Etruscan bucchero sherds from Miletus, and Volkmar von Graeve for kindly showing to me some new finds from Miletus in 2012 and for allowing me to publish them here. I wish to thank also Vincenzo Bellelli, Michael Kerschner, Laura Michetti, Gerald Schaus, and Udo Schlotzhauer, who kindly provided me with information. I am deeply grateful to the editors, Elizabeth P. Baughan and Lisa C. Pieraccini, for improving my English and for their patience.



Area di diffusione della civiltà orientalizzante. - 1. Area di elaborazione primaria di un'arte orientale composita; 2. principali rotte commerciali marittime; 3. probabili direttrici di trasmissioni e contatti culturali per via di terra. - Distribuzione di alcune tipiche categorie di oggetti orientalizzanti: 4. "sirene"; 5. patere metalliche con figurazioni a sbalzo; 6. conchiglie di tridacne decorate e imitazioni.

Figure 1.1 Map showing the spread of items from Near East to West according to M. Pallottino (after Pallottino 1963a)

contacts. Christoph Ulf suggests a model of cultural contacts based on producers, transmitters, and recipients in a bidirectional process: “In the course of cultural contact, producers and transmitters can and do become recipients as well” (Ulf 2014: 514). This theoretical model encourages us to recognize that the main producers accepted some ideas by the recipients. For our purposes, it means that although Greek, Anatolian, and Near Eastern influences on Etruscan art and society are prominent, we can also look for Etruscan influences in the cultures of the eastern Mediterranean, among Greeks and non-Greeks.

### 1.3 Tumuli

Tumuli are the most widespread form of monumental tombs in the ancient world. The general distribution and detailed description of these characteristic funerary monuments with special reference to the eastern Mediterranean regions find an invaluable source of data in a recent volume (Henry and Kelp 2016). The developments of funerary customs for aristocratic groups (elites) through the centuries in different areas of the Mediterranean share striking parallels. In some cases it is quite clear that the adoption of similar solutions in different regions was completely unrelated, while in other cases connections among various regions can be seen.

At least two general patterns were established in Anatolia by the Phrygian tumuli and transmitted as legacies to the ensuing ages: firstly, the monumental dimension and, secondly, the idea that this dimension can reflect the power of a deceased people. Three particular building characteristics of Phrygian tumuli – off-center positioning of the burials beneath the mounds, radial walls, and timber chambers – occurred not only in the barrows at Gordion, Ankara, and Kerkenes Dağı in modern-day Turkey, but also in Iran at Sé Girdan and on Cyprus at Salamis (see Map 3; Naso 2016: 11 for references). In the necropolis of Salamis such barrows are rare, but Tomb 3 has these characteristics. In order to explain such similarities, one can presume the activity of Phrygian skilled workers outside Phrygia in the years around 600 BCE, when the tombs in Iran and in Cyprus were built.

One can also suggest comparisons between Phrygian and Etruscan tomb furniture (see also Simpson, Chapter 6). For instance, in Tumulus MM at Gordion, two wooden inlaid serving stands with three rings on the top surface were found. Both stands likely held round-bottomed bronze vessels,

probably small cauldrons with ladles (Young 1981: 176–181; Simpson and Spirydowicz 1999: 39–43, figs. 15–31; 2010; Chapter 6). Three similar cavities are also visible on the top of the altar carved in tuff in the main chamber of the Campana 1 tomb in Caere, dated to about the middle of the seventh century BCE (see Figure 15.1b). In this representation of a wooden altar in the form of a monumental chair, the cavities were probably meant to hold metal bowls, as on the serving stands in Gordion (Naso 1996: 35–38).

Similarities have often been noted between Etruscan and Lydian tumuli, which both shared general traits (monumentality and outward appearance) with the Phrygian tumuli but were inwardly distinct. More than 600 tumuli have been recorded in Lydia dating from around 600 BCE onwards; of these, around 115 are in the necropolis of Bin Tepe near Sardis, identified with the Lydian royal cemetery mentioned by Hipponax, Herodotus, and Strabo (Roosevelt 2009: 144–151; Baughan 2010; Zwingmann 2016: 391–395). Unlike in Phrygian tumuli, Lydian tomb chambers are normally in or near the center of the tumulus; they are not made of timber but of limestone masonry, and most have doors and entranceways, or dromoi (Roosevelt 2009: 146). The earliest Lydian tombs were probably intended for single burials, while tombs with multiple burial locations became more frequent in the Achaemenid era (Roosevelt 2009: 150; Baughan 2013: 169–170).

In Etruria, the best-known cemeteries with tumuli are found at Caere, modern-day Cerveteri. The exact number of tumuli is difficult to estimate. Early aerial photos showed more than 2,000 mounds in the Banditaccia and Monte Abatone cemeteries, both of which are larger than 150 hectares (Bradford 1957: 111, 120, 128, pl. 34), but recently identified aerial photos reveal as many as 10,000 tumuli in the territory around Caere from the sea to the mountains (Tartara 2003: fig. 287, pl. III; 2018: figs. 1 and 3). As in most of the Lydian tumuli, Etruscan tumulus chambers, cut out of bedrock, have dromoi and doors, but from the start they seem to have been intended for several generations, with multiple rooms imitating house plans (Gunter 2016: 344). Another distinction from Lydian tumuli is the presence of a ramp or a staircase leading to the highest point of the tumulus, as with the earliest tombs in the Banditaccia cemetery; the ramps may have served several purposes, including kinship rituals and maintenance (Prayon 1975: 81–85). While the ramp is a genuine Etruscan feature, other elements of Etruscan tumuli may have some relationship with non-Etruscan architecture. According to Giovanni Colonna, stone moldings on the crepis wall are the most ancient decoration of Italic architecture, and, from the earliest

examples, they fit perfectly in the general aspect of the tumulus. The lack of any apparent connection of the style and format of the crepis walls with earlier forms of local architecture suggests a foreign impulse. The moldings are comparable to the stone moldings of some North Syrian artifacts, like column bases and throne legs. As with goldsmiths and ivory carvers, it has been presumed that some architects came from the eastern Mediterranean, probably North Syria, and they introduced into Etruria the stone molding in the crepis walls of the tumuli (Colonna 1986: 397–398).

This idea of the stone molding was successful, and later stone moldings were adopted by several generations of tomb-cutters in Caere and elsewhere in southern Etruria. The crepis wall built with tuff blocks in the Sorbo Tumulus at Caere was 62 m in diameter (Figures 1.2a and 1.3a). A strong resemblance can be found in the marble crepis wall of the inner tumulus enclosed in the huge Karniyarik Tepe at Bin Tepe in Lydia (Figures 1.2b and 1.3b), but this tomb was later than the Etruscan examples in Caere (Naso 2003, 2005a; see also Gunter 2016: 344). The similarities are so striking that one can presume derivation from similar prototypes – that is, in both Etruria and Lydia some aspects of tumulus decoration seem to derive from North Syrian decorative forms.

Other differences, as well as some similarities, are found in the markers set atop Etruscan and Lydian tumuli: In Etruria they include cones and column drums (Romano 2009) and in Lydia so-called phalloi and stelai (Roosevelt 2009: 151–164; Baughan 2010: 277–278). In both regions stone statues of lions have been found in association with tombs (Greenewalt et al. 1986: 22–23, figs. 32–33; Roosevelt 2009: 165–171; van Kampen 2009; Cahill 2010: 413, nos. 13–14). And in both regions tomb markers can reach monumental dimensions: The marker at the top of the Alyattes tumulus at Bin Tepe is 2.15 m high (Figure 1.4a–b; Greenewalt et al. 1986: 20–21, figs. 30–31), and the group of cones from Vetulonia in northern Etruria includes one marker with a height of 1.20 m (Figure 1.4c–d; see also, Falchi 1891: 93). The weight of both markers is estimated at several tons. Finally, symbolic door imagery alluding either to the house or to a symbolic transition to the afterlife is found in both tomb traditions, though in different ways: False doors are carved or painted on tomb walls in Etruria (Naso 1996: 43–44, fig. 15), while door stelai were set up outside tumuli in Lydia (Roosevelt 2006, 2009: 153–155; Baughan 2010: 278, fig. 4).

To sum up: Several common points among tumuli in Etruria and Anatolia are historically related, while others seem to result from the adoption of similar solutions in different societies according to similar cultural models. Further research on these similarities is needed.

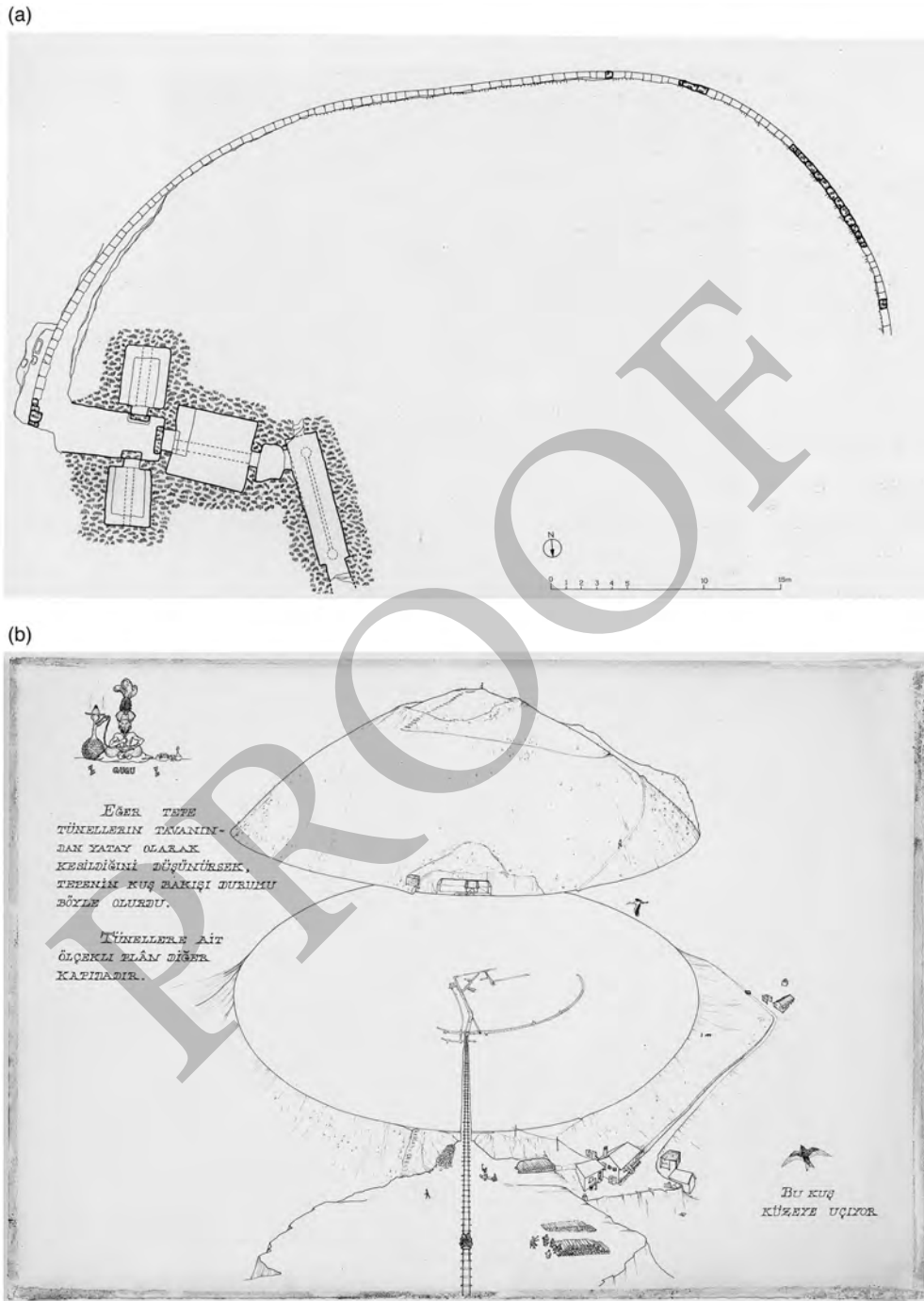


Figure 1.2 Comparison of the Sorbo Tumulus at Caere (a) and Karniyarik Tepe at Bin Tepe, Lydia (b) ([a] after Naso 1996; [b] ©Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/President and Fellows of Harvard College)

(a)

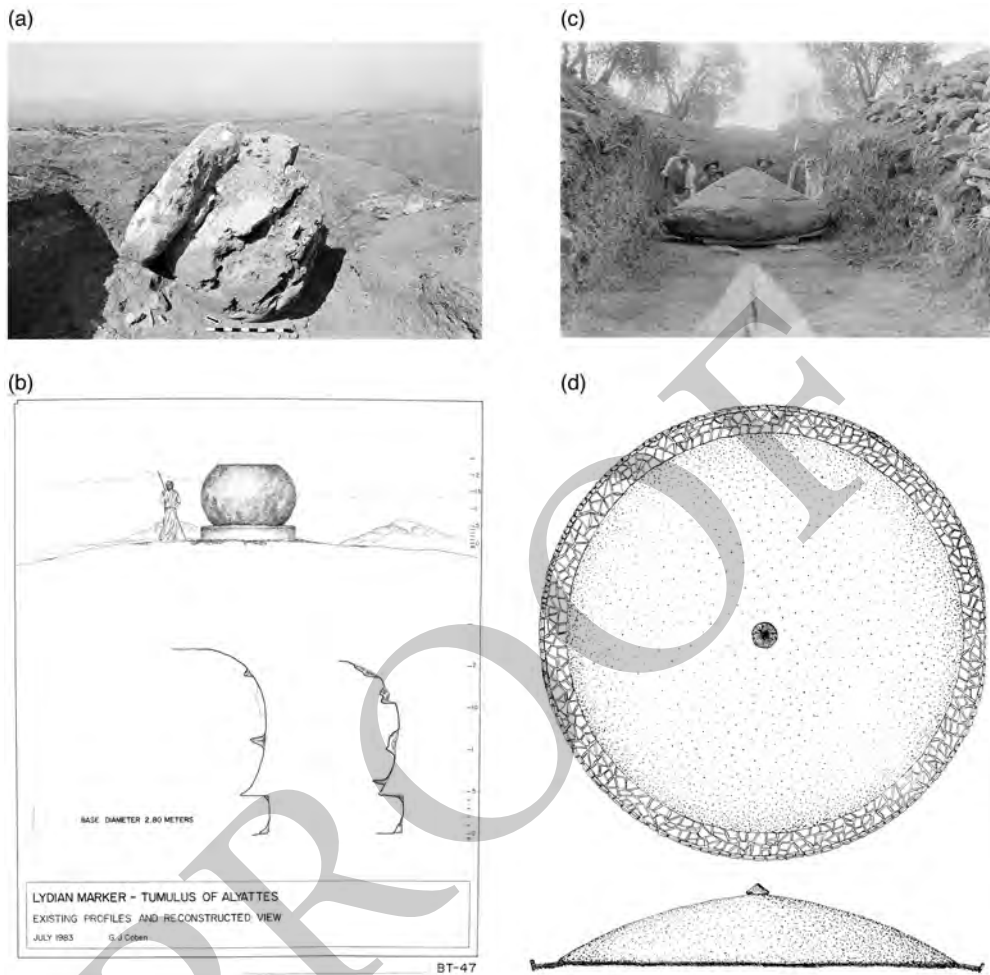


(b)



**Figure 1.3** Comparison of crepis walls in the Sorbo Tumulus at Caere (a) and Karniyark Tepe at Bin Tepe, Lydia (b) ([a] photo by author; [b] ©Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/President and Fellows of Harvard College)





**Figure 1.4** Comparison of the Tumulus of Alyattes at Bin Tepe, Lydia (a–b) and the Circolo delle Pellicce, Vetulonia (c–d): (a) stone marker atop the Tumulus of Alyattes (©Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/President and Fellows of Harvard College); (b) reconstruction drawing of the top of the Tumulus of Alyattes (©Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/President and Fellows of Harvard College); (c) stone marker from Circolo delle Pellicce (after Zifferero 2011: fig. 27); (d) reconstruction drawing of the top of the Circolo delle Pellicce (after Zifferero 2011: fig. 29)

#### 1.4 Etruscan and Ionian Connections in Painting and Pottery

Already in the 1970s, Mauro Cristofani noted the similarities between Etruscan tomb paintings in Tarquinia dated to the third quarter of the sixth century BCE and the vase paintings from several East Greek cities, stressing

the influence of painters from Phocaea, Samos, and North Ionia on archaic tomb painting in Tarquinia. He presumed that skilled painters from those cities arrived in Gravisca, the harbor near Tarquinia (Cristofani 1976, 1978: 87–91; 2001: 474–475 and 481). Also the painted frescoes from Gordion (Berndt, Chapter 12) were assigned by Cristofani to East Greek artisans, following Pallottino’s theory for the stone stelai. In the same years, Antonio Giuliano identified the Swallow Painter, usually judged as an immigrant from East Greece to Etruria, probably at Vulci, at the end of the seventh century BCE (Giuliano 1975; Cook 1981, 1989, 1998a; Giuliano 2000; Conti 2019; Mazet 2020). Regarding the style of the paintings in the well-known Tomb of Hunting and Fishing in Tarquinia, dated around 530 to 520 BCE, Cristofani noted particular similarities with the Ionian Little Masters, especially the Vineyard cup now in the Louvre, but probably found in Etruria (Paris, Louvre, no. F 68; *BAPD* vase no. 1007343). One has to ask where these cups were painted. Robert Manuel Cook wrote in 1960: “The places where these cups have been found are first Samos and Naucratis; isolated examples come from Miletus, Smyrna, Apollonia Pontica, Aegina, Perachora perhaps and Italy . . . Their home is generally thought to be Samos though connections with Fikellura then need explaining” (Cook 1997: 123). Cook later revised his view, including Etruria among the list of findspots and adding that “the connection of some early pieces with Fikellura suggests Miletus as the work place of their painter or painters” (Cook 1998b: 94). Probably following Cook’s early opinion, Cristofani identified an influence emanating also from Samos in the tomb painting at Tarquinia precisely because of this comparison.

After several years of intense work on East Greek painted pottery, we can now slightly modify the opinion of both scholars: We know the Fikellura vases were produced at Miletus (Waschek 2008), and we must remember that the finds from Samos and Naucratis were votive offerings, which can be gifted by people of various origins. In the excavations directed by Volkmar von Graeve at Miletus since 1985, huge quantities of pottery have been discovered that shed new light on the role of the city in the seventh and sixth centuries BCE, when Miletus was one of the most important centers in Greece, if not the most important. Among the finds of the extraurban sanctuary of Aphrodite at Zeytintepe, Udo Schlotzhauer was able to identify part of an exact copy of the Vineyard cup (Schlotzhauer 2001: no. 597, Miletus Museum storeroom, no. Z 91.52.8). The floral decoration of the cup in the Louvre includes a chain of ivy leaves along the rim, which occurs in identical fashion also on East Greek plastic head-kantharoi, found also in Etruria at Vulci and Chiusi. Other unprovenanced head-kantharoi have

reasonably been assigned to Etruscan contexts (Schlotzhauer 2006). Schlotzhauer's stylistic and archaeometric analyses of plastic head-kantharoi indicate their production at Miletus, thus closing the circle, localizing the production of the Vineyard cup to Miletus instead of Samos, and explaining the stylistic connections with Fikellura vases.

What are the consequences of the identification of Miletus instead of Samos as the production center for such cups for our understanding of Etruscan culture and its connections with the eastern Aegean? Can one presume an active Milesian role in Etruscan tomb painting at Tarquinia? In the search for further links between Miletus and Tarquinia, we must remember that in the territory of Tarquinia the illuminating finds from the Greek sanctuary at Gravisca are also a valuable source of information. Greek inscriptions from Gravisca suggest a general Ionian presence, with a strong Samian component (Johnston 2000: 24), and, among the Ionian vases from the same site, imports from Aeolis, Chios, North Ionia, Samos, and Miletus have been identified (Boldrini 1994: 256–264). Even an Attic cup from Gravisca points to an Ionian presence: Two seals incised on the foot of the cup (Figure 1.5a–b; Valentini 1993: no. 555) are very similar to the animal painted on a well-known Caeretan black-figured hydria (Figure 1.5c–d). Seals were used on the coins of Phocaea as a symbol of the city for many centuries (Jenkins 1990: 16, fig. C 6; Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 1090–1091). As a symbol of Phocaea, the incised seals on the kylix from Gravisca may indicate the origin of the donor. If we accept this interpretation, we have a North Ionian votive offering on an Attic vase found in a Greek sanctuary in Etruria – a fine example of materials connections and artistic exchange between different cultures of the eastern and western Mediterranean.

The painted seal on the hydria may likewise allude to a Phocaeen origin of the potters and painters responsible for the well-known workshop of the Caeretan hydriae. Their arrival in Caere has been connected to the battle in the Sardinian Sea between Greeks from Phocaea against the allied Etruscans and Carthaginians around 540 to 535 BCE (Martelli 1981). Many Greeks were captured and were stoned to death at Caere (Bernardini et al. 2000; Bernardini 2001). It has been suggested that some of them survived and worked for Etruscan customers as potters and painters (Hemelrijk 1956, 1984, 2000, 2009; Bonaudo 2004; on further consequences of Phocaeen arrival to Etruria, see also Winter, Chapter 7).

Coming back to the search for possible links between Miletus and Tarquinia, we have to admit that clear Milesian imports are rare in the finds from Tarquinia. Milesian archaic trade amphoras have been found in



**Figure 1.5** Seals incised on the foot of an Attic short-stemmed cup from Gravisca ([a–b] Gravisca no. 76/4989; Johnston 2000: 31 no. 164, pl. 6) and painted on a Caeretan black-figured hydria ([c–d] Stavros S. Niarchos collection; Hemelrijk 2009: no. 29, pl. 10–13)

Etruscan tombs in Tarquinia and in the sanctuary at Gravisca (Slaska 1985; Di Miceli and Fiorini 2019), but these amphoras reflect large-scale trade connections (Dupont 1998: n. 202). Etruscan finds from Miletus offer a different view. The Etruscan bucchero finds from Miletus amount to 112 sherds, with 103 from the Aphrodite sanctuary at Zeytintepe (Naso 2009). The sherds belong mostly to kantharoi (90 sherds from Zeytintepe and 9 from other sites), but also present are cups (5 sherds), kyathoi (2 sherds),

and closed forms such as oinochoai or olpai (6 sherds). The bad preservation of the sherds, which are – as is usual for the pottery from Zeytintepe – very tiny, makes it difficult to estimate the real number of the vases offered in the Aphrodite sanctuary, especially for the kantharoi: Careful analysis suggests that there were between 33 and 42 kantharoi, 1 giant-kantharos, at least 4 cups, 1 kyathos, and 4 closed forms. With a conservative estimate of 43 to 52 bucchero vases, Miletus has become the richest Etruscan bucchero findspot in the eastern Mediterranean. The votive offerings of Etruscan bucchero in the Aphrodite sanctuary at Miletus started at the end of the seventh century BCE and continued until at least the first half of the sixth century BCE. The devotees were very probably Milesian traders: No inscription has yet been identified on bucchero vases from Miletus, but the few inscribed bucchero kantharoi found in mainland Greek sanctuaries (Perachora – Shefton 1962: 385, no. 4126), in East Greece (Rhodes – Martelli 1988: 114–115, fig. 14), and in Italy (Lentini in Sicily – Rizza 2003: 546–548, figs. 7–8, pl. VI; Grasso 2008: 69, nos. 281–282; Selinunte in Sicily – Colonna 2004; Pithekoussai – Docter 2006: 236 fig. 2a; Gravisca – Johnston 2000, 20 nos. 68–69; with some inscriptions reproduced by Naso 2017: 1685–1687 fig. 4) always show Greek names. If our hypothesis is right, the bucchero kantharoi should be an example of reciprocal exchange derived from Milesian trade to Italy.

With which Etruscan cities did Miletus have trade connections? To answer this question, analyses such as thin section, X-ray diffraction, and X-ray fluorescence have been carried out on eighteen Etruscan bucchero samples from Miletus – more than 10 percent of the finds. The kinds of analysis have been chosen to allow comparisons with the results of the considerable research carried out by Klaus Burkhardt on the mineralogical–petrographical composition of Etruscan bucchero, in which almost 350 bucchero samples from many sites in Etruria were analyzed and classified (Burkhardt 1991). Three groups and two singles resulted from this analysis on Etruscan bucchero from Miletus. The characteristics of the first group – formed by ten kantharoi and two cups – fit very well in the group assigned to Caere/Cerveteri by Burkhardt. Both the second and third groups – formed by four kantharoi – show a mineralogical composition similar to the bucchero from Tarquinia. Two further kantharoi are single examples (Naso 2009). From an archaeological point of view, one can observe that the provenance from Caere for more than half of the analyzed samples confirms the existence of particular connections between Caere and Miletus, which were both among the most important centers of archaic trade in the western and eastern Mediterranean, respectively. The Etruscan archaic trade amphora found in

Miletus (Colivicchi 2017: 211, fig. 1) and classified as type Py 4A (Py 1985: fig. 2), probably came from Caere after the Persian destruction of Miletus in 494, judging from its findspot in Miletus: As a single object, one can interpret it as the product of a gift made in Caere to a Milesian, who brought it back to Miletus (Naso 2005b: 77–78). It is useful to emphasize the probable provenance from Caere of the already mentioned giant-kantharos, a particular vase type larger than the usual kantharoi, with the height reaching 35 cm and the diameter exceeding 30 cm. The provenance is suggested by mineralogical–petrographical analyses, which fit in the group assigned to Caere by Burkhardt and are important because giant kantharoi were attributed to Vulci by Tom Rasmussen – perhaps with an overestimation of the examples found at Vulci (Rasmussen 1979: 103–104, 155). The absolute leadership of Caere in bucchero production makes it unlikely that such a peculiar vase as the giant kantharos was produced exclusively at Vulci (Gilotta 2015: 44 with literature). Thus, one can obtain new perspectives about Etruscan bucchero from overseas finds. The origin of Tarquinia for at least four kantharoi found in Miletus is a new result, which confirms our search for possible connections between Miletus and Tarquinia. The bucchero kantharoi from Miletus may be slightly earlier than the Ionian Little Master cups, dated about 550 BCE. All this information seems to corroborate the hypothesis of direct relationships between Tarquinia and Miletus around the middle of the sixth century BCE and later. Probably these relationships were characterized by personal connections between Etruscans and Milesians, which may also be reflected in the pots dedicated in the Aphrodite sanctuary at Miletus. Further Etruscan trade amphoras have been found in several contexts at Phocaea (types Py 1–2 and 3A–3B, probably from Vulci: see Okan 2014 for the sherds and Zifferero 2017 for wine and amphora production in the Albegna valley).

Close and direct connections between southern Etruria and Miletus are missing in the literary sources: One can note only the passage by Timaeus from Tauromenion mentioning that inhabitants from Sybaris and the Etruscans were both customers of highly appreciated wool textiles from Miletus (Athenaeus 12.16–17 Kaibel 519 b–c = *FHG* 566 F 50: Briquel 1984: 620; see also Şare Ağtürk, Chapter 17). The mention of Sybaris allows us to date the Milesian wool trade in Etruria still within the sixth century BCE (Röhlig 1933: 40–45; Heurgon 1966).

In the relationships between South Ionia and Etruria a special role has been played by Samian handcraft, as evidenced by the diffusion in Etruria of painted vases from Samos, including a rare shape – the dinos with compressed body. The earliest examples of such dinoi have been found in the Samian Heraion and belong to the first half of the sixth century BCE



**Figure 1.6** Dinoi from Etruria: (a) black-figured dinos in Rome, Villa Giulia no. 50600; (b) Attic black-figured dinos signed by Nikosthenes, Venice, Ligabue Centre of Research no. 128; (c) Etruscan bucchero dinos from Pian della Conserva, Caere [a] courtesy Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma-Lazio; [b] after De Min 1998: no. 51; [c] photo by author)

(Rizzo 1988: 90 *ad.*, no. 53). Some pieces from Etruscan grave-groups of the second half of the sixth century have been connected to these vases as probable locally made products by Samian potters who immigrated to Etruria (Figure 1.6a; Rizzo 1988: 90, no. 53; De Lucia Brolli 2000: 78-). An Attic black-figured example from the workshop of Nikosthenes, a potter who specialized in the Etruscan vase trade with particular reference to Caere (Figure 1.6b; De Min 1998: 148-149 no. 51; Tosto 1999; Lyons 2009), and a rare example in bucchero from the Pian della Conserva cemetery in the Tolfa hills near Caere (Figure 1.6c; Naso 2010: 149, fig. 15; Gilotta 2018: 134) testify to the acceptance of this shape respectively in Attica and in Etruscan handcraft in the second half of the sixth century BCE. Further Attic black-figured pieces from Etruria are attributed to the workshop of the Antimenes Painter (Brownlee 1997; Baglione 2001).

Samian influence in central Italy includes other fields: According to Filippo Coarelli, Samian hydraulic engineers worked to drain the Latial lakes of Albano and Nemi, using techniques similar to those developed in the excavation of the tunnel of Eupalinos at Samos (Grewe 1989; Coarelli 1991; Kienast 1995). The new Samian settlement founded in 531 BCE during the tyranny of Polycrates by some dissidents at Dikaiarchia (Puteoli) in the bay of Naples certainly played an important role in the relationship between Samos and central Italy. Nor was the traffic all one way: Around the middle of the sixth century BCE, one Leukios dedicated a marble kouros to Apollo in ~~the Heraion of~~ Samos (Freyer-Schauenburg 1974: 69-73 no. 35, pl. 20-22). In the same period, a man named Leukios offered a bucchero kantharos at Lentini in Sicily (Rizza 2003: 546-547, fig. 7; Grasso 2008: 69, no. 281; Brugnone 2009: 711).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> "Leukios" is the Greek spelling of Latin Lucius, as John Barron noted (Barron 2004). This author suggested relations between Samos and Tarquinia.

Some years ago Nicholas Coldstream presumed the existence of mixed marriages between Greeks and Indigenous peoples of Italy, namely Etruscans (Coldstream 1993). In Etruria the case of the Corinthian Demaratus, who married an Etruscan woman, is well known (Saltini Semerari 2016: 79). Although more research on this topic is necessary, mixed marriages could well have resulted from East Greek contacts with Etruria.

### 1.5 Wine Culture: Drinking Vases and Serving Utensils

Other finds allow us to suggest Etruscan influence on East Greek and West Anatolian handcraft. From the early sixth century, bucchero vases were largely distributed within the framework of archaic trade in both the western and eastern Mediterranean and contributed substantially to the diffusion of an Etruscan identity, bucchero being probably identified as the national pottery of the Etruscans (Figure 1.7). A drinking vase, the kantharos, was the most popular: In the last quarter of the seventh century BCE, a particular shape of kantharos was developed in southern Etruria, was classified as 3e by Rasmussen (Rasmussen 1979: 104, pls. 31–32), and until the middle of the sixth century BCE was the most popular bucchero vessel in both the western and eastern Mediterranean. Its distribution area reaches from Huelva in Spain to Ras-el-Bassit in Syria, from southern France to North Africa, and beyond (Gran-Aymerich 2017: 238–250). Unpublished bucchero kantharoi sherds have been discovered in Israel at Mezad Hashavyahu.<sup>3</sup> The peculiar shape of the kantharos includes an accentuated carination that made this vase functional to gather a beverage's eventual sediments, as is presumed for Assyrian bronze cups (Botto 2013: 115–116). Several scholars noted that the form of Etruscan kantharoi was imitated in Greece by both smiths and potters, at least from the first quarter of the sixth century BCE. The earliest Attic black-figured kantharoi, dating from 585 to 580 BCE, offer the best term of reference. Hermann Brijder stressed the possibility that Etruscan metal models were the source of inspiration, based on the four bronze Etruscan kantharoi that were known to him and whose forms are closer to the early Attic products than to the bucchero examples (Brijder 1988). Recently the number of metal examples from central and northern Italy has increased to twenty-six (Naso 2006: 261–264; Camporeale 2014: 86,

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Daniel Ein Mor, the director of renewed excavations on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority, and to Alexander Fantalkin, who identified the Etruscan bucchero.



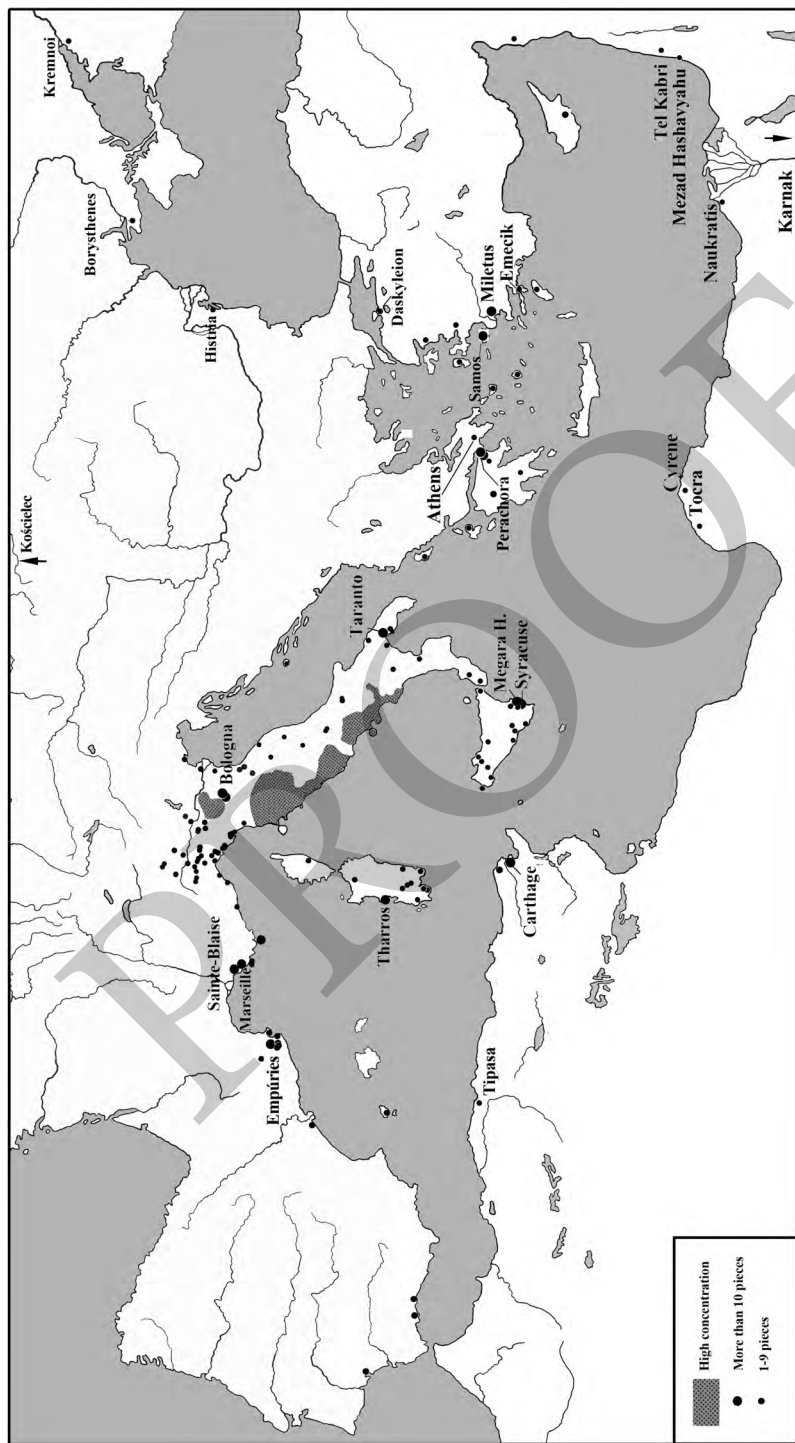
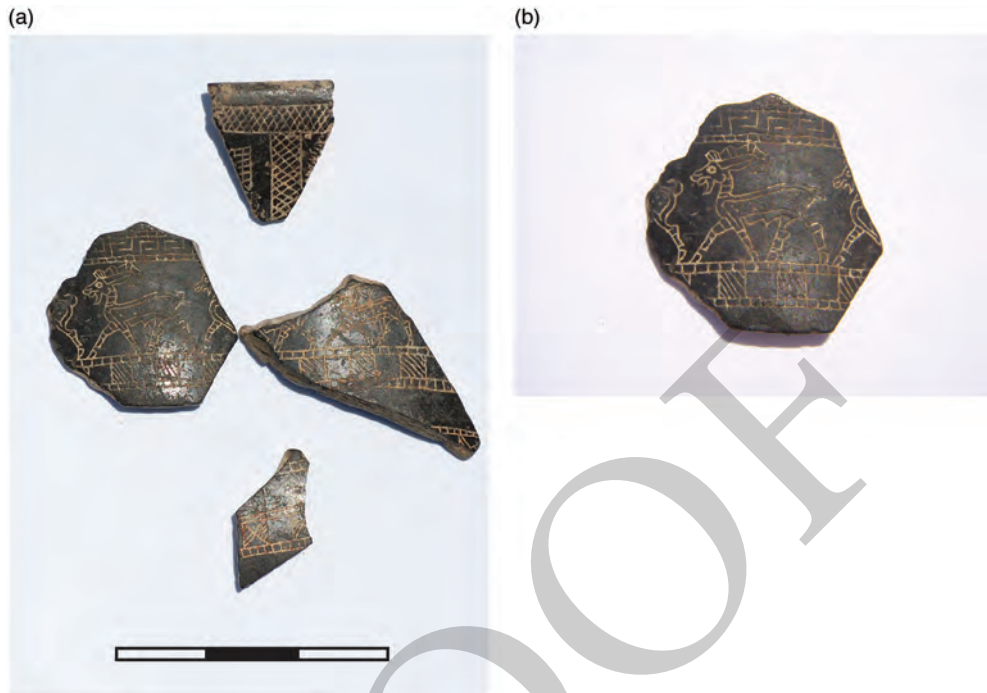


Figure 1.7 Distribution map of Etruscan bucchero in the Mediterranean, seventh to sixth centuries BCE (drawing by L. Attisani, Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche)

n. 21, adds one piece from Vetulonia; Naso in press a adds three further examples from central Italy). The wider distribution of bronze vases, which includes Didyma, seems to corroborate Brijder's proposal. It is notable that around the end of the seventh century BCE the iconography of Dionysus holding a kantharos in one hand was developed in Greece: Could it be that the wild Dionysus was deliberately represented holding a so-called barbarian vase from the Far West, namely, an Etruscan kantharos?

A silver kantharos from Camirus in Rhodes – classified as a local product of the early sixth century BCE under the influence of Etruscan models – shows that the southeastern Aegean had an active role in the reception process. The incised geometric decoration on the ribbon handles seems to declare that the model in this case was an Etruscan bucchero kantharos (Paris, Louvre S 1211/Bj 2165 – Treister 2001: 29–30, no. 113, 121; Coulié and Filimonos 2014: 274–275, no. 125). To support this hypothesis, one can add a quite neglected silver kantharos from Olympia showing an upright closed fan just at the lower root of the handle (Athens, Mus. Nat. 6330/Met. 215 – Naso 2009: 136, fig. 1). The fan is very similar to the usual type impressed on Etruscan bucchero, which is not common on kantharoi and not at all in this position. When fans occur on bucchero kantharoi, they are usually below the rim in a horizontal position (or, rarely, in a vertical position) (Regter 1999). On the grounds of the material and the unusual positioning of the decoration, the silver kantharos from Olympia should be classified as a (Southeast) Greek product of the early sixth century BCE, strongly influenced by Etruscan craftsmanship.

Reception of Etruscan prototypes in Ionian or West Anatolian workshops is corroborated by a new find from Miletus, still unpublished. The bothros explored from 2008 in the extraurban sanctuary of Aphrodite at Zeytintepe yielded precious votive offerings, such as jewels, faience, amber, rock crystal, glass ornaments, and huge quantities of pottery, which Cornelius Neeft, using Protocorinthian vases, dated from 680 to 630 BCE (von Graeve 2013). Using the bird bowls found in the bothros, Michael Kerschner suggested a slightly later date, until 610 BCE (Kerschner, pers. comm.). Among these exceptional finds, which shine important new light on the material culture of this period, are four tiny sherds of dark-brown pottery belonging to the same vase, probably a skyphos or kotyle (Schaus 1992: 170–171, nos. 45–47), showing an incised frieze of wild goats – common animals on painted East Greek pottery (Figure 1.8). The Milesian skyphos is fired in a reducing atmosphere, using a similar process to the Etruscan one, but the pottery is dark brown, not entirely black as Etruscan bucchero is. Therefore it is not an Etruscan product. The incised



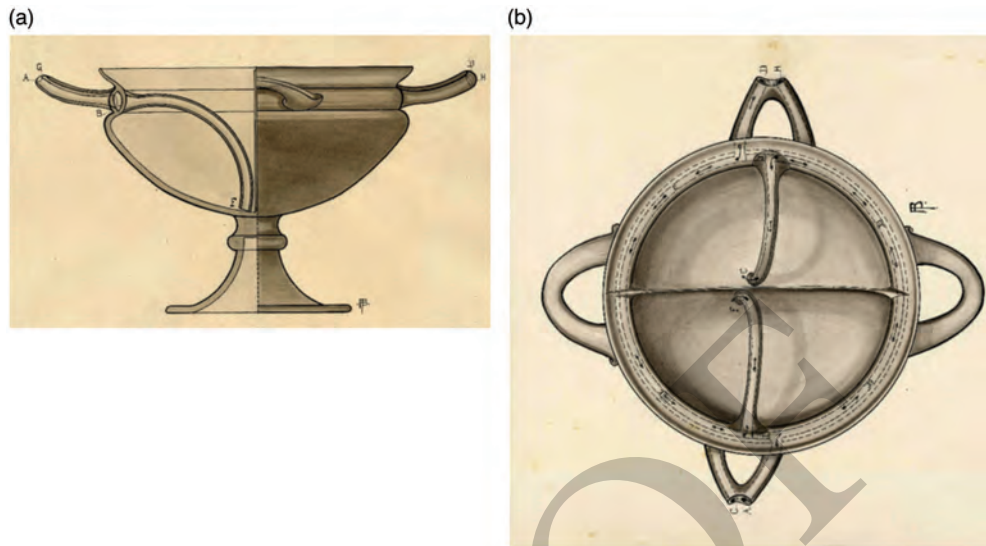
**Figure 1.8** Fragments of a [bucchero-like](#) cup with incised frieze from the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Zeytintepe, Miletus Museum, nos. Z 08.425 and Z 08.453 (photos by author)

frieze, not otherwise documented in Milesian or West Anatolian pottery, seems to have been inspired by the figured friezes on Etruscan bucchero vases, which were produced particularly in southern Etruria, especially in Caere workshops (Bonamici 1974; Gilotta 2015). One can assume that these vessels were made mostly for local consumption because until now they have been found outside Etruria only in Sicily on two kantharoi, respectively one from Naxos and one from Megara Hyblaea (Gras 1985: 494–496; Gran-Aymerich 2017: 232–233). The style of the wild goat on the new vase from Miletus is unique, as one can note from the legs of the animals. Some parallels for the filling motifs and for the ornamentation of the goats may be found in some fabrics of painted West Anatolian pottery – such as so-called Ephesian ware, which was made in Lydia (Kerschner 1997, 2005, 2010) – and of black-on-red pottery, as well as other fabrics (as for instance that of the Polledrara cup: Walters 1912: 256–257, pl. XXI). In the seventh century BCE Aegean, incised friezes on pottery are documented on Crete at Kommos (Shaw 1983; Shaw and Shaw 2000: 237,

nos. 239–240, pls. 4.9, 4.47) and in East Greece at Old Smyrna (Cook 1965: 137, no. 138, pl. 40). Incised figured friezes with animals are also known on Lydian silver vases (Özgen et al. 1996: 124–125, no. 78; 238–239, no. 228). The bowl with an incised wild goat decoration, probably a skyphos or a kotyle, was probably made as a local product in Ionia or West Anatolia under the influence of Etruscan bucchero both in the firing technique and in the incised frieze. We still do not know exactly how Etruscan bucchero vases with figured friezes were imitated in Ionia or West Anatolia: Were they perhaps imported and not yet found? Can one presume other ways of diffusion? Did the potter have direct knowledge of Etruscan bucchero? Similar circumstances of evidence on painted vases from the eastern and central Mediterranean dated to the early seventh century BCE suggest contact among cultures in Anatolia, East Greece, Greece, and Etruria (Gilotta 2017).

Drinking and drinking culture were so important in the ancient world that special vases and utensils were created for these activities. In bucchero there are some distinctive shapes (Ger. *Sonderformen*) that very probably were special commissions: for example, cups of the unique Caere–Satricum series, which represent technical masterpieces in the field of pottery. In this series, the basin of the bowl is divided into two parts by an internal wall, probably contained two different liquids such as wine and water, and has a double suction system, with spouts and tubes. Two tubular ducts are superimposed, and the two liquids are mixed only at spout-base level. Two line drawings are clearer than a minutious description (Figure 1.9). Four or perhaps five suction bucchero cups are known from central Italy (Etruria and Latium), two of which are inscribed with the name of the same Etruscan person, Laris Velchaina, and usually linked to Caere by the writing style and the form of the letters. Recently it has been clarified that suction vases are well known in Israel, on Cyprus, in the Aegean, and in the Italian peninsula from the Late Bronze Age onwards (Cerasuolo 2013, with literature also on the Caere–Satricum cups). The double-suction system seems actually an Etruscan invention, but the ancient Near Eastern tradition on which it is based offers good perspectives for future finds in Anatolia.

Around the end of the seventh century BCE in Etruria a new implement was developed as part of the wine-drinking set. Modern scholars named it conventionally with the Latin word “infundibulum” (Naso 2015). An *infundibulum* is a very elaborate funnel, consisting of a hammered cup with several holes and a cast solid tube, and a solid cast bronze horizontal handle; the cup is decorated with horizontal lines on the exterior. A strainer, joined with rivets, was attached to the handle by a hinge so



**Figure 1.9** Bucchero drinking bowl, Brussels, Musée du Cinquanteaire, no. R 135 (drawings courtesy of the Musée du Cinquanteaire and conservator Cecile Evers)

that it could be raised backwards when the cup was used as a funnel alone. The long handles of infundibula often end in a duck's head with a long bill; more rarely they end in a ram's head. Infundibula were used to pour wine, for instance from a krater into an oinochoe or from an oinochoe into a kantharos. Before the development of this specialized funnel type, other bronze implements were used to pour wine, as shown by the rare bronze strainer-bowl from the Near East now in the British Museum, which was probably found in Italy (London, BM 124591 – Sciacca 2005: 407, fig. 349), and the unique silver strainer from Praeneste in central Italy (Rome, Villa Giulia, 61588 – Canciani and von Hase 1979: 41, no. 27).

The most popular type of Etruscan infundibulum is lyre-handled, and it always has a hinge attached to the strainer of the handle. The hinge, which has a cross-hole and a cut-away to fit a tang, can have the shape of a T, or, if it is figured, of an animal such as a couchant lion, a frog, or a sphinx. Bronze hinges in animal form are very rare but are documented in the sixth century BCE in Lydia on an incense burner (Özgen et al. 1996: 118–119, no. 73; Cahill 2010: 536, no. 173), and one can suspect they may have an older origin in Lydia.

In the second half of the sixth century BCE, Etruscan funnel-strainers of this shape were the most widespread Etruscan bronze objects in the Mediterranean, distributed from Spain to the northern shore of the Black

Sea, from Switzerland to North Africa, with the highest concentration in the Italic peninsula. Several examples have been found in Greek sanctuaries: one in Cyrene, four in Olympia (one with a Greek inscription: Olympia, store-room no. B 4574 – Siewert 1991: 82, no. 7, pl. 9, 2–3), one in Thasos, one in Argos, one in Ialysos on Rhodes, two in the Heraion of Samos, and one in the sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma. A particular funnel belonging to a different Etruscan shape has been found in Pantikapaion on the Black Sea, with a Greek inscription mentioning the Artemis of Ephesus (Naso 2015) (Figure 1.10). We can consider infundibula in the second half of the sixth century BCE to be the counterpart in bronze of the Etruscan bucchero kantharoi in the first half of the same century: The funnels are a real marker of Etruscan culture, one of the *tyrrhenoi chalkoi* celebrated in ancient Greek literature (Mansuelli 1984). Some local imitations of Etruscan bronze funnels are known in Greece as well as in the Iron Age culture of what is now modern-day Serbia. Lion-shaped hinges found in the Greek sanctuaries at Olympia and Samos are stylistically different from the Etruscan ones, so that one can presume the existence of Greek infundibula imitating the Etruscan prototypes (Naso 2015). The hinges of the Etruscan and Greek infundibula and the hinge of the incense burner from Lydia are a further common point between handcrafts in Etruria, Greece, and Anatolia.

Recently a clay sherd from the area of the Athena temple at Miletus decorated with stamped figures (a gorgon mask, a sphinx, two geese, and filling ornament) and dated stylistically to the middle of the sixth century BCE or later has been connected to the stamped friezes on Caeretan impasto pottery and used to presume an East Greek or Milesian influence on Etruscan and Caeretan workshops (Donati 2014: 194–195, fig. 1). Michael Kerschner and Udo Schlotzhauer – experts in Milesian pottery – confirm that such a find is absolutely rare in Miletus (pers. comm.). Stamped pottery was particularly developed in the seventh century BCE in Corinth, then in the sixth century BCE in Thasos and North Ionia, particularly at Chios, Clazomenae, Phocaea, Smyrna, Erythrai, and Teos, as recent studies clarify (Simantoni-Bournia 2004; Cevizoğlu 2010: 51–54). Stamped pottery had no native tradition in South Ionia and at Miletus is actually known only through a few vases probably imported from Clazomenae in the sixth century BCE (Panteleon 2005: 37, no. 2 fig. 5; Cevizoğlu 2010: 26–27, pl. 44.4). The perirrhanterion, or brazier, to which the sherd from the Athena temple of Miletus belongs, may be an import from North Ionia, probably from Clazomenae, where sphinxes are reproduced on stamped pottery in the second half of the sixth century BCE (Cevizoğlu 2010: 31–33, Beil. 1). In that case the eventual influence on

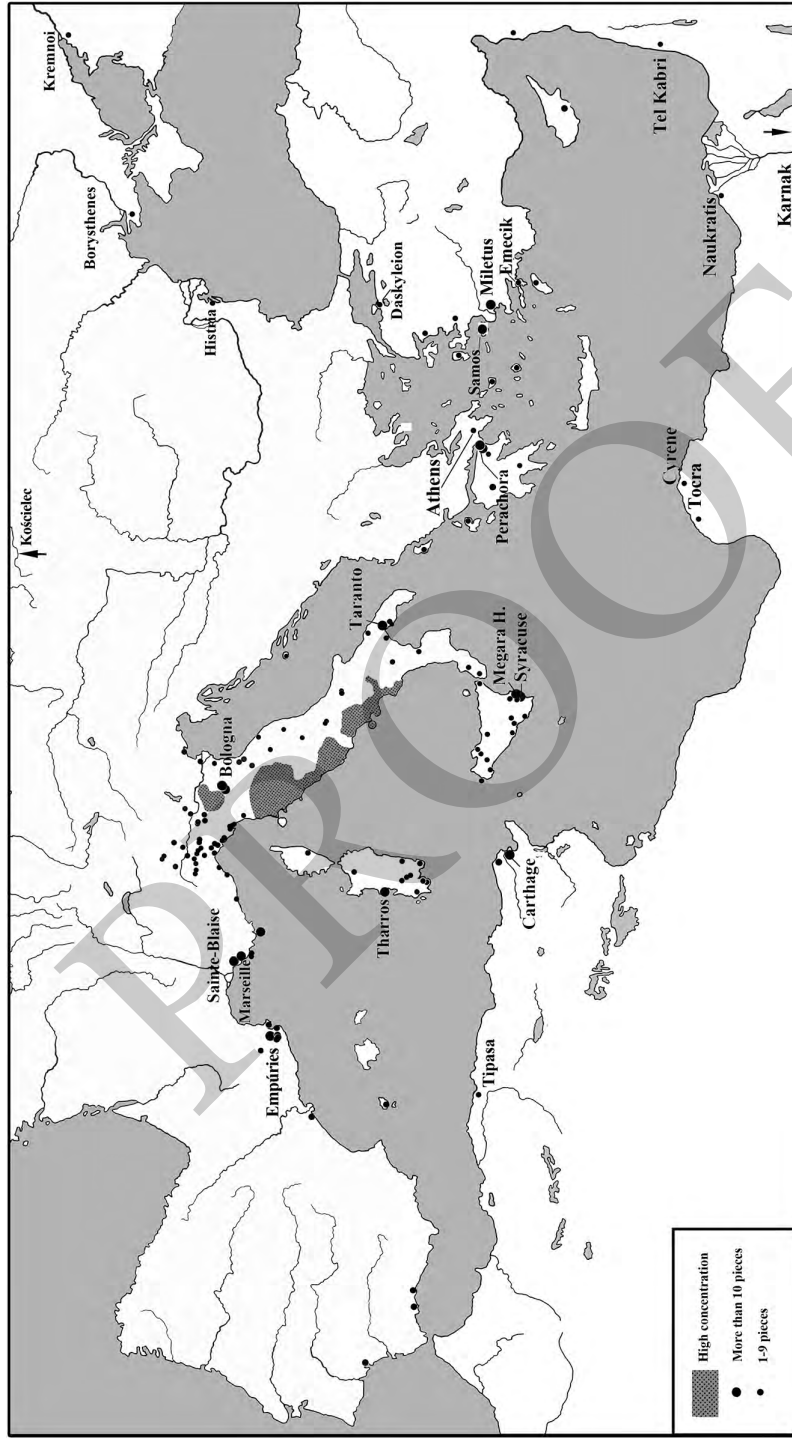


Figure 1.10 Distribution map of bronze strainer-funnels in the Mediterranean (drawing by L. Attisani, Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche)

Etruscan stamped pottery should derive from North Ionia, but the suggested chronology of the sherd opens further questions that will require further study.

## 1.6 Etruria and Lydia

Connections between Ionia and Etruria have been discussed (Sections 1.4 and 1.5) because East Greek craftsmen working in both Etruria and Anatolia may have been natural links between the two regions. This is true particularly for the seventh and sixth centuries, when the so-called Orientalizing phenomenon was a mixture created by craftsmen of different origins, developing a new style of life and new expressions. In this period did relationships exist between Etruria and non-Greek cultures in Anatolia, in particular Lydia? A list of Lydian imports to Etruria is still missing (e.g., preliminary research in Paoletti 2003; Gilotta 2018: 135–136; see also Gilotta, Chapter 10, and below), but a special find informs us how much Lydia was known in Etruria. I refer here not to the work of the black-figure Attic vase-painter Lydos but to the well-known red-figured amphora in Paris attributed to Myson and painted in Athens around 480 BCE, which offers a unique representation of Croesus on the pyre (Paris, Louvre, no. G 197 – Denoyelle 1995: 120, no. 55). The last king of Lydia (reigned ca. 560–546) was renowned for his great wealth and for the number of rich gifts made to the oracle at Delphi (Dorandi 2006: 458–460). It is worth mentioning here that the find-spot of the amphora was the cemetery of Vulci, one of the richest findplaces of Attic vases in Etruria. Developing Mario Torelli's (Torelli 1987: 399) and Juliette de La Geniére's (pers. comm.) suggestions, one can presume that the amphora was used in Vulci as a cinerary urn. The consequences of this hypothesis go very far and raise several questions impossible to answer here. As the only known pictorial representation of this subject, was the amphora a special commission made in Athens by a wealthy Etruscan customer of Vulci? In the Kerameikos workshops in the sixth and fifth centuries BCE the taste of the Etruscans was so well known that different shapes of vases for different cities in Etruria were produced and exported only in those cities (Malagardis 2007, 2018). Did this Etruscan identify himself with the Lydian king? From an Etruscan point of view, these questions may have a positive answer: We know that Etruscan elites of the sixth and fifth centuries BCE were strongly influenced by Greek customs and that some aristocrats preferred cremation to inhumation (Torelli 1987, 1997). The Lydian king was highly celebrated for both the precious votive offerings he made in Delphi

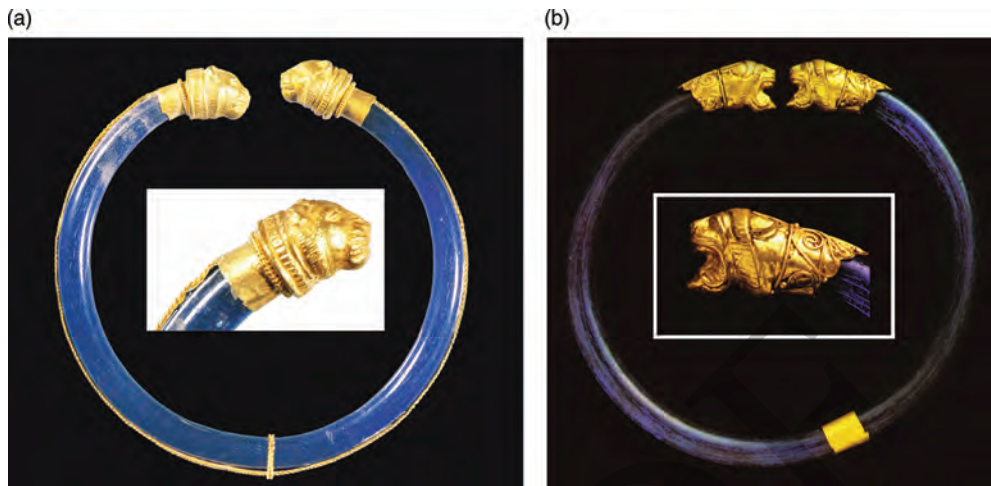


and the columns he offered for the temple of Artemis at Ephesus (Rumscheid 1999: 28–31, figs. 4–5). Recently Michael Kerschner has proposed that not only the columns but the entire temple of Artemis at Ephesus may have been sponsored by Croesus (Kerschner 2020: 235–237 and pers. comm.). So it is not surprising that Croesus became a symbol in Etruria, too.

Lydian products were indeed known and appreciated in central Italy. Distinctive vases for Lydian perfume or cosmetics, now called *lydia*, have been found in central Italy as both Lydian imports, like the ones from the Tomb of the Greek Vases at Caere dating to the first half of the sixth century BCE (Rome, Villa Giulia, no. 20836 – Greenewalt 2010: 206 fig. 3) and those from an unknown tomb at Caere (Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, no. 1962, 40 –Hoffmann 1969: 340–341, no. 23), and as East Greek and Greek imitations of the Lydian shape (Poletti Ecclesia 2002; D’Acunto 2012: 215–221; Gilotta 2018: 135 f). Also in Etruscan tomb-groups are other fabrics of clay oil-flasks that originally contained different perfumes from the Near East, Greece, and Etruria itself. Emerging methods of chemical analysis of ancient perfume residues could reveal further connections and perhaps their modes of use (Bodiou et al. 2008; Verbanck-Piérard et al. 2008; Carannante and D’Acunto 2012; Frère and Hugot 2012; Frère et al. 2018).

Reflections of linkages between Etruria and Lydia may be found in other parallel handcrafts in both regions, such as phialai adorned with human faces on the exterior. Bucchero examples are known from Caere, dating to the seventh century BCE (Proietti 1980: figs. 155–156; Zindel 1987: 38–44, no. 5; Genève 1993: 208–209, no. 108). Strikingly similar in form are two silver phialai from the tumulus of İköztepe, part of the “Lydian Treasure” looted from the Uşak region in the 1960s, acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, then returned to Turkey in the 1990s (Özgen et al. 1996: 90–91, nos. 36–37; Cahill 2010: 533, no. 168). Dated 520 to 480 BCE, the İköztepe bowls are too late to suggest a direct link with the older Etruscan cups, but at least they attest to the sharing of a common decorative vocabulary.

The “Lydian Treasure” also offers some striking parallels with Etruscan jewelry. One can identify some relations and suggest connections between gold finds from Lydia and Etruria at least from the late sixth century BCE (Williams 2015). Glass bracelets with gold lion-head terminals in the “Lydian Treasure” (Özgen et al. 1996: 160–161, no. 111) are closely paralleled in Etruria, in a chamber tomb at Monte Auto near Vulci, dated to the last quarter of the sixth century BCE (Rome, Villa Giulia, no. 59791 – Rizzo 1983; Adembri 1985) (Figure 1.11). The objects are so similar that one can postulate that the bracelet from Vulci was an import to Etruria: The value attributed in Etruria to this glass bracelet is evidenced by the fact that it



**Figure 1.11** Glass bracelets with gold finials from Lydia (*left*) and Caere (*right*), with details of lion-head terminals (*left*, after Özgen et al. 1996: no. 111; *right*, after Rizzo 1983: no. 174)

had been repaired with a gold band (as documented in the Celtic culture for Attic pots: Böhr 1988). The solid bronze formers found in the “Lydian Treasure,” probably belonging to the grave of a goldsmith and used to form gold lion heads for such bracelets, show roaring lions exactly like the Vulci lion (Özgen et al. 1996: 61, fig. 140; 227, no. 213), and they attest to the making of such objects in Lydia. Gold or silver bracelets with lion heads were used by several cultures of the ancient world (Özgen et al. 1996: 161), and recently a silver bracelet with lion heads has been found at Vulci (Angelini and di Giovanni 2016: 76, figs. 23–25). In contrast, glass bracelets are very rare in Etruria: Two sherds of a further blue glass bracelet have been found at Caere, in the Martini-Marescotti tomb (without gold traces), dating to the late sixth century BCE (Rizzo 1983; Adembri 1985), and a glass bracelet with gold finials dating to the Hellenistic age in Bologna is linked to the Celtic tradition (Morigi Govi and Vitali 1988: 180, no. 304).

In the field of jewelry one also has to mention amber – a special substance coming mostly from the Baltic Sea – which has a long tradition in Italy dating back to the Neolithic and Copper Ages: Finds in several Ionian sanctuaries, mostly concentrated in Ephesus, also show the acceptance of this exotic material in the East Greek and West Anatolian worlds, probably through trade connections coming from central and southern Italy (Naso 2013, in press b). Further connections in this field can be established by comparing Ephesian jewelry and artifacts from southern Italy (Jacobsthal 1956: 34, fig. 133; Osanna and Guzzo 2015: 9–12).

## 1.7 Conclusions

The relationships between different regions of Anatolia and Etruria show movements and trade from east to west, but they also demonstrate objects and styles going the other way, from west to east. We can find elements of the first group in several classes of monuments, such as tumuli, tomb paintings, and vase paintings. The second group is more difficult to identify, but indirect evidence suggests the eastward circulation of bronze kantharoi and strainer-funnels. Ceramic cup fragments from Miletus, furthermore, show the result of the reception of Etruscan prototypes in Ionia or West Anatolia. The exchange was made in several ways, including trade in goods and substances, as well as the immigration of skilled workers. Mixed marriages can be presumed. Votive offerings in Greek sanctuaries played an important role. It may be difficult for us to distinguish details between East Greek and other non-Greek cultures, but we now have a good foundation for future studies. Greek literary sources about lands, such as Anatolia and Etruria, inhabited by so-called barbarian peoples must be understood as biased statements; the archaeological record provides the best evidence for increasing knowledge in this field. One needs to build new steps based on entire sequences of similar finds, as Nancy Winter does in her research regarding architectural friezes in East Greece and Etruria (Winter, Chapter 7): Systematic comparisons among sequences of the same classes of finds chronologically ordered can truly contribute to a better understanding of the relationships between the eastern and western Mediterranean in the seventh and sixth centuries BCE.

## Works Cited

- Adembri, B. 1985. "Braccialetto," in *Civiltà degli Etruschi*, exhibition catalogue, ed. M. Cristofani, 174, No. 6.45.4. Milan: Electa.
- Angelini, M., and di Giovanni, A. 2016. "La realizzazione dei gioielli: i metodi, le tecniche e gli strumenti," in *Tesori per l'aldilà. La tomba degli Ori di Vulci. Dal sequestro al restauro*, ed. B. Davide Petriaggi and S. Carosi, 75–77. Rome: Gangemi.
- Baglione, M. P. 2001. "No. I.F.6.11," in *Veio, Cerveteri, Vulci. Città d'Etruria a confronto*, exhibition catalogue, ed. A. M. Moretti Sgubini, 277–278. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Barron, J. 2004. "Go West, Go Native," in *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean. Papers in Honour of Brian Shefton*, ed. K. Lomas, 259–266. Leiden: Brill.

- Baughan, E. P. 2008. "Lale Tepe: A Late Lydian Tumulus near Sardis 3; The Klinai," in *Love for Lydia. A Sardis Anniversary Volume Presented to Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr.*, ed. N. D. Cahill, 49–78. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
2010. "Lydian Burial Customs," in Cahill (ed.), 273–304.
2013. *Couched in Death: Klinai and Identity in Anatolia and Beyond*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Bernardini, P. 2001. "La battaglia del Mare Sardo. Una rilettura," *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 29: 135–158.
- Bernardini, P., Spanu, P. G., and Zucca, R. (eds.) 2000. *Máchē: La battaglia del Mare Sardonio*. Oristano: La memoria storica.
- Bodiou, L., Frère, D., and Mehl, V. (eds.) 2008. *Parfums et odeurs dans l'antiquité*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.
- Böhr, E. 1988. "Die griechischen Schalen," in *Das Kleinaspergle: Studien zu einem Fürstengrabhügel der frühen Latènezeit bei Stuttgart*, ed. W. Kimmig, 176–178. Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss.
- Boldrini, S. 1994. *Gravisca. Scavi nel santuario greco 4: Le ceramiche ioniche*. Bari: Edipuglia.
- Bonamici, M. 1974. *I bucheri con figurazioni graffite*. Florence: Olschki.
- Bonaudo, R. 2004. *La culla di Hermes. Iconografia e immaginario delle hydriai ceretane*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Bonfante, L., and Karageorghis, V. (eds.) 2001. *Italy and Cyprus in Antiquity, 1500–450 BC*, Proceedings of an International Symposium. Nicosia: Leventis.
- Botto, M. 2013. "The Phoenicians and the Spread of Wine in the Central West Mediterranean," in *Patrimonio cultural de la vid y el vino. Vine and Wine Cultural Heritage*, ed. S. C. Pérez and J. Blázquez Pérez, 103–131. Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.
- Bradford, J. 1957. *Ancient Landscapes. Studies in Field Archaeology*. London: G. Bell & Sons.
- Brijder, H. 1988. "The Shapes of Etruscan Bronze Kantharoi from the Seventh Century B.C. and the Earliest Attic Black-Figure Kantharoi," *Bulletin antieke beschaving: Annual Papers on Classical Archaeology* 63: 103–114.
- Briquel, D. 1984. *Les Pélasges en Italie. Recherchs sur l'histoire de la légende*. Paris: École Française de Rome.
- Brown, W. L. 1960. *The Etruscan Lion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brownlee, A. B. 1997. "Antimenean Dinoi," in *Athenian Potters and Painters. The Conference Proceedings*, ed. J. H. Oakley, W. D. E. Coulson, and O. Palagia, 509–522. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Brugnone, A. 2009. "Ancora sugli alfabeti arcaici delle poleis siceliote," in *Immagine e immagini della Sicilia antica e moderna e delle altre isole del Mediterraneo*, Atti delle seste giornate internazionali di studio sull'area elima, Erice 12–16.10.2006, ed. C. Ampolo, 709–720. Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore.

- Burkhardt, K. 1991. *Petrographische und geochemische Untersuchungen an etruskischer Bucchero-Keramik von den Fundorten Chiusi, Orvieto, Vulci, Tarquinia, Allumiere, Tolfa, Cerveteri, Ceri, Veji und Rom*, Munich Geologische Hefte 5. Munich: B. Lammerer and H. Miller.
- Cahill, N. D. (ed.) 2010. *The Lydians and Their World*. Istanbul: Yapi-Kredi Yayinlari.
- Camporeale, G. 2014. "Canthares métalliques et canthares d'impasto: modèles et/ou répliques," in *Les potiers d'Étrurie et leur monde: contacts, échanges, transferts. Hommages à Mario A. Del Chiaro*, ed. L. Ambrosini and V. Jolivet, 81–95. Paris: Armand Colin.
- Canciani, F., and von Hase, F. W. 1979. *La tomba Bernardini di Palestrina*. Rome: CNR.
- Carannante, A., and D'Acunto, M. (eds.) 2012. *I profumi nelle società antiche. Produzione, commercio, usi, valori simbolici*. Paestum: Pandemos.
- Cerasuolo, O. 2013. "Suction Vases with Tubular Rim in Eastern Mediterranean and Central Italy," in *SOMA 2012. Identity and Connectivity. Proceedings of the 16th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Florence, Italy, 1–3 March 2012*, ed. L. Bombardieri, A. D'Agostino, G. Guarducci, V. Orsi, and S. Valentini, 743–753. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Cevizoglu, H. 2010. *Reliefkeramik archaischer Zeit aus Klazomenai*. Langweissbach: Beier & Beram.
- Coarelli, F. 1991. "Gli emissari dei laghi laziali: tra mito e storia," in *Gli Etruschi maestri di idraulica*, ed. M. Bergamini, 35–41. Milan: Electa.
- Coldstream, J. N. 1993. "Mixed Marriages at the Frontiers of the Early Greek World," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 12: 89–107.
- Colivicchi, F. 2017. "Banqueting and Food," in *Etruscology*, ed. A. Naso, 207–220. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Colonna, G. 1986. "Urbanistica e architettura," in *Rasenna. Storia e civiltà degli Etruschi*, ed. G. Pugliese Carratelli, 371–532. Milan: Scheiwiller.
2004. "Selinunte," *Studi Etruschi* 70(56): 336–337.
- Conti, A. 2019. "Il Pittore delle Rondini. Due recuperi del Comando Carabinieri Tutela Patrimonio Culturale," *Mediterranea* XVI: 103–134.
- Cook, J. M. 1965. "Old Smyrna. Ionic Black Figure and Other Sixth-Century Figured Wares," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 60: 114–142.
- Cook, R. M. 1981. "The Swallow Painter and the Bearded Sphinx Painter," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*: 454–461.
1989. "East Greek Influences on Etruscan Vase Painting," *La Parola del Passato* 44: 161–173.
1997. *Greek Painted Pottery*, 3rd ed. London, New York: Routledge.
- 1998a. "Etruria (The Swallow Painter)," in Cook and Dupont, 68–70.
- 1998b. "Ionian Little Masters," in Cook and Dupont, 92–94.
- Cook, R. M. and Dupont, P. 1998. *East Greek Pottery*. London: Routledge.

- Coulié, A., and Filimonos, M. (eds.) 2014. *Rhodes. Une île grecque aux portes de l'Orient, exhibition catalogue*. Paris: Somogy Editions.
- Cristofani, M. 1976. "Storia dell'arte e acculturazione: le pitture tombali arcaiche di Tarquinia," *Prospettiva* 7: 2–10. Reprint 2001, Pisa: *Scripta selecta. Trenta anni di studi archeologici sull'Italia preromana*, IEPI, 467–483.
1978. *L'arte degli Etruschi. Produzione e consumo*. Turin: Einaudi.
- D'Acunto, M. 2012. "I profumi nella Grecia alto-arcaica e arcaica: produzione, commercio, comportamenti sociali," in *Carannante and D'Acunto 2012*, 191–233.
- De Lucia Brolli, M. A. 2000. "Dinos a figure nere," in *La collezione Augusto Castellani*, ed. A. M. Sgubini Moretti and R. Barbiellini Amidei, 78. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- De Min, M. (ed.) 1998. *Documenti inediti dell'Italia antica*. Treviso: Canova.
- Denoyelle, M. 1995. *Chefs-d'œuvre de la céramique grecque*. Paris: Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux.
- Di Miceli, A., and Fiorini, L. 2019. *Le anfore da trasporto del santuario greco di Gravisca*. Pisa: ETS.
- Docter, R. 2006. "Etruscan pottery. Some cases studies in chronology and context," in *Gli Etruschi da Genova ad Ampurias, Atti del XXIV Convegno di Studi Etruschi e Italici, Marseille-Lattes*, 26.09–1.10.2002, 233–240. Pisa: IEPI.
- Donati, L. 2014. "Aux origines de la technique de l'estampage au cylindre à Caere," in *Les potiers d'Étrurie et leur monde: contacts, échanges, transferts. Hommages à Mario A. Del Chiaro*, ed. L. Ambrosini and V. Jolivet, 191–199. Paris: Armand Colin.
- Dorandi, T. 2006. "Stranieri e non cittadini nei santuari: qualche esempio nella tradizione letteraria greca e latina," *Stranieri e non cittadini nei santuari greci*, Atti del convegno internazionale, Udine, 2–22.11.2003, ed. A. Naso, 458–471. Florence: Le Monnier.
- Drews, R. 1992. "Herodotus 1.94, the Drought ca. 1200 BC, and the Origin of the Etruscans," *Historia* 41: 14–39.
- Dupont, P. 1998. "East Greek Trade Amphoras," in Cook and Dupont, 142–222.
- Falchi, I. 1891. *Vetulonia e la sua necropoli antichissima*. Florence: Le Monnier.
- Frère, D., Garnier, N., and Hugot, L. 2018. "La Chambre des Chenets de Cerveteri. Les rituels parfumés d'après les analyses chimiques de contenus," in *Caere orientalizzante. Nuove ricerche su città e necropoli*, ed. A. Naso and M. Botto, 367–387. Rome: CNR–Musée du Louvre.
- Frère, D. and Hugot, L. (eds.) 2012. *Les huiles parfumées en Méditerranée occidentale et en Gaule, VIIIe siècle av.–VIII siècle apr. J. C.* Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.
- Freyer-Schauenburg, B. 1974. *Bildwerke der archaischen Zeit und des strengen Stils, Samos 11*. Bonn: Habelt.
- Genève. 1993. *L'art des peuples italiques, 3000 à 300 avant J.-C.–Collections suisses*, Catalogue de l'exposition, Genève, Musée Rath, 1993–1994. Naples: Electa.

- Gilotta, F. 2015. "Una 'nuova' oinochoe di bucchero graffito nel quadro dell'Orientalizzante recente ceretano," *Studi Etruschi* 78: 33–51.
2017. "Frammenti di una cerimonia in musica a Gordion," *Annali dell'Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli, Sezione di archeologia e storia antica* 21–22 (2014–2015): 31–46.
2018. "Dialoghi etrusco-anatolici," *Orizzonti* 19: 129–141.
- Giuliano, A. 1975. "Il Pittore delle Rondini," *Prospettiva* 3: 4–8.
2000. "Ancora sul Pittore delle Rondini," in *Damarato. Studi di antichità classica offerti a Paola Pelagatti*, ed. I. Berlingò, H. Blanck, F. Cordano, P. G. Guzzo, and M. C. Lentini, 126–129. Milan: Mondadori Electa.
- Gran-Aymerich, J. 2017. *Les vases de bucchero. Le monde étrusque entre Orient et Occident*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Gras, M. 1985. *Trafics tyrrhéniens archaïques*. Paris: École Française de Rome.
- Grasso, L. 2008. *La stipe del santuario di Alaimo a Lentini. Un'area sacra tra la chora e il mare*. Catania: CNR.
- Greenewalt, C. H., Jr. 2010. "Lydian Cosmetics," in Cahill (ed.), 201–216.
- Greenewalt, C. H., Jr., Rautman, M. L., and Meriç, R. 1986. "The Sardis Campaign of 1983," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* Suppl. 24: 1–30.
- Grewe, K. 1989. "Etruskische und römische Tunnelbauten in Italien," *Mitteilungen. Leichtweiss-Institut für Wasserbau der Technischen Universität Braunschweig* 103: 131–142.
- Guggisberg, M. 2017. "Polyphem und der Käse. Anmerkungen zum Krater des Aristonothos von Cerveteri," in *Fragmenta Mediterranea. Contatti, tradizioni e innovazioni in Grecia, Magna Grecia, Etruria e Roma. Studi in onore di Christoph Reusser*, ed. L. Cappuccini, C. Leypold, and M. Mohr, 91–103. Sesto Fiorentino: All'Insegna del Giglio.
- Gunter, A. 2016. "The Etruscans, Greek Art, and the Near East," in *A Companion to the Etruscans*, ed. S. Bell and A. A. Carpino, 339–352. Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons.
- Hanfmann, G. M. A. 1936. *Altetruskische Plastik I. Die menschliche Gestalt in der Rundplastik bis zum Ausgang der orientalisierenden Kunst*. Diss. Würzburg.
1972. *Letters from Sardis*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hanfmann, G. M. A. and Mierse, W. (eds.) 1983. *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times. Results of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis 1958–1975*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hansen, M. H., and Nielsen, T. H. (eds.) 2004. *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Harari, M. 2014. "Les stratégies d'Aristonothos. Boire à la grecque en Étrurie: nouvelles considérations", in *Les potiers d'Etrurie et leur monde: contacts, échanges, transferts. Hommages à Mario A. Del Chiaro*, ed. L. Ambrosini and V. Jolivet, 33–50. Paris: Armand Colin.

- Hemelrijk, J. M. 1956. **De Caeretaanse Hydriae**. Ph.D. diss., University of Amsterdam.
1984. *Caeretan Hydriae*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
2000. "Three Caeretan Hydriae in Malibu and New York," in *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 6, 87–158. Malibu, CA: The J.P. Getty Museum.
2009. *More about Caeretan Hydriae. Addenda et Clarificanda*. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum.
- Henry, O., and Kelp, U. (eds.) 2016. *Tumulus as Sema. Space, Politics, Culture and Religion in the First Millennium BC*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Heurgon, J. 1966. "Sur le manteau d'Alkisthène," in *Mélanges offerts à Kazimierz Michalowski*, ed. M. L. Bernhard, 445–450. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawn, Naukowe.
- Hoffmann, H. 1969. "Erwerbungsbericht des Museums für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, 1963–1969," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*: 318–377.
- Jacobsthal, P. 1956. *Greek Pins and Their Connexions with Europe and Asia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jenkins, G. K. 1990. *Ancient Greek Coins*. London: Seaby.
- Johnston, A. 2000. "Greek and Latin Inscriptions," in *Gravisca. Scavi nel santuario greco 15: Le iscrizioni*, ed. A. Johnston and M. Pandolfini, 13–66. Bari: Edipuglia.
- Kerschner, M. 1997. "Ein stratifizierter Opferkomplex des 7. Jhs. v.Chr. aus dem Artemision von Ephesos," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes* 66, Beiblatt: 85–226.
2005. "Die Ionier und ihr Verhältnis zu den Phrygern und Lydern. Beobachtungen zur archäologischen Evidenz," in *Neue Forschungen zu Ionien, Asia Minor Studien*, ed. E. Schwertheim and E. Winter, 54, 113–146. Bonn: Habelt.
2010. "The Lydians and Their Ionian and Aiolian Neighbours," in Cahill (ed.), 247–265.
2020. "The Archaic Temples in the Artemision of Ephesos and the Archaeology of the 'Central Basis'," in *White Gold. Studies in Early Electrum Coinage*, ed. P. van Alfen and U. Wartenberg, 191–262. New York: The American Numismatic Society and the Israel Museum.
- Kienast, H. 1995. *Die Wasserleitung des Eupalinos auf Samos*, ~~Samos, Vol. 19,~~ Bonn: Habelt.
- Lyons, C. 2009. "Nikosthenic Pyxides between Etruria and Greece," in *Athenian Potters and Painters*, Vol. II, ed. J. H. Oakley and O. Palagia, 166–180. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Malagardis, A. N. 2007. "Un Étrusque dans les ateliers du Céramique vers 520 avant J.-C. Autoportrait d'un étranger," in *Il greco, il barbaro e la ceramica attica. Immaginario del diverso, processi di scambio e autorappresentazione degli indigeni*, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Vol. IV, Catania 14–19.5.2001, ed. F. Giudice and R. Panvini, 27–43. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.



2018. "Athéniens et Étrusques à l'époque archaïque, le temps du récit-Nikosthénès, Théozotos et les autres," *Mediterranea XV*: 101–122.
- Mansuelli, G. A. 1984. "Tyrrhenoi philotechnoi. Opinioni degli antichi sull'arte etrusca," in *Studi di antichità in onore di Guglielmo Maetzke*, 355–365. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider.
- Martelli, M. 1981. "Un askos del Museo di Tarquinia e il problema delle presenze nord-ioniche in Etruria," *Prospettiva 27*: 2–14.
1988. "La stipe votiva dell'Athenaion di Ialysos: un primo bilancio," in *Archaeology in the Dodecanese. Proceedings of the International Symposium*, ed. S. Dietz and I. Papachristodoulou, 104–120. Copenhagen: The National Museum of Denmark.
- Mazet, C. 2020. "Nota sui fenomeni di ibridazioni iconografiche nell'Etruria orientalizzante: la sirena del Pittore delle Rondini," in *Incontrarsi al limite. Ibridazioni mediterranee nell'Italia preromana*, ed. M. P. Castiglioni, M. Curcio, and R. Dubbini, 311–320. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Morigi Govi, C., and Vitali, D. (eds.) 1988. *Il Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna*. Bologna: University Press.
- Naso, A. 1996. *Architetture dipinte. Decorazioni parietali non figurate nelle tombe a camera dell'Etruria meridionale (VII–V sec. a.C.)*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
1998. "I tumuli monumentali in Etruria Meridionale: caratteri propri e possibili ascendenze orientali," in *Archäologische Untersuchungen zu den Beziehungen zwischen Altitalien und der Zone nordwärts der Alpen während der frühen Eisenzeit Alteuropas*, Regensburg, 3–5.11.1994, 117–157. Bonn: Habelt.
2003. "Nuovi dati sulla pittura funeraria di età orientalizzante in Etruria meridionale," in *Pittura etrusca: problemi e prospettive*, Sarteano-Chiusi, 26–27.10.2001, ed. A. Minetti, 13–35. Siena: Protagon.
- 2005a. "Il tumulo del Sorbo a Caere," in *Dinamiche di sviluppo delle città nell'Etruria meridionale: Veio, Caere, Tarquinia, Vulci*, Atti del XXIII Convegno di Studi Etruschi e Italici, Rome and elsewhere, 1–6.10.2001, 193–203. Pisa: IEPI.
- 2005b. "Funde aus Milet XIX. Anfore commerciali arcaiche a Milet: rapporto preliminare," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*: 73–84.
2006. "Anthemata etruschi nel Mediterraneo orientale," *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo Claudio Faina 13*: 351–416.
2009. "Funde aus Milet XXII. Etruscan Bucchero from Miletus: Preliminary Report," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*: 135–150.
2010. "Qui sunt Minionis in arvis (Verg., Aen. 10, 183). Gli Etruschi sui Monti della Tolfa dall'VIII al V sec. a.C.," in *L'Étrurie et l'Ombrie avant Rome. Cité et territoire*, Actes du colloque international, Louvain-la-Neuve, 13–14.02.2004, ed. P. Fontaine, 131–154. Brussels: Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome.

2013. "Amber for Artemis. Preliminary Report on the Amber Finds from the Sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesus," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes* 82: 259–278.
2015. "Brian Benjamin Shefton and the Etruscan Bronze Funnels," in *On the Fascination of Objects. Greek and Etruscan Art in the Shefton Collection*, ed. J. Boardman, A. Parkin, and S. Waite, 155–172. Oxford: Oxbow.
2016. "Tumuli in the Western Mediterranean, 800–500 BC. A Review before the Istanbul Conference," in Henry and Kelp (eds.), 9–32.
2017. "Greece, Aegean Islands and Levant," in *Etruscology*, ed. A. Naso, 1679–1693. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- in *press*. "Kantharoi in Pre-Roman Central Italy," in *New Approaches to the Kantharos, Papers in Memory of Larissa Bonfante. BABesch Supplements Series*, ed. F. de Angelis and D. Tonglet, Amsterdam: Peeters.
- in *press*. *Amber for Artemis. Amber Finds from the Artemision at Ephesus*. Vienna: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut.
- Okan, E. 2014. "Phokaia'da ele geçen etrürk ticari amphoralari," *Cedrus* 2: 27–40.
- Osanna, M., and Guzzo, P. G. 2015. "Monili in materiale prezioso dall'anaktoron di Torre di Satriano," *Bollettino d'Arte* 28: 1–14.
- Özgen, İ., Öztürk, J., and Mellink, M. J. (eds.) 1996. *Heritage Recovered. The Lydian Treasure*. Istanbul: Bosphoros Books.
- Pallottino, M. 1963a. "Orientalizzante," in *Enciclopedia Universale dell'Arte*, X, 223–237 (= 1965. "Orientalizing Style," in *Encyclopedia of World Art*, cols. 782–796. New York: McGraw-Hill).
- 1963b. "Uno schema iconografico greco-anatolico in Etruria," in *Études Étrusco-Italiques*, 145–153. Louvain: Université de Louvain.
- Panteleon, I. A. 2005. "Funde aus Milet XVI. Zum Schicksal der am Ort verbliebenen Funde der Wiegandschen Grabung nach 1914," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*: 27–39.
- Paoletti, O. 2003. "Appunti su un gruppo di anfore arcaiche a decorazione lineare dall'Etruria," in *Miscellanea Etrusco-Italica*, III, 127–135. Rome: CNR.
- Poletti Ecclesia, E. 2002. "Lydia," in *Cerveteri. Importazioni e contesti nelle necropoli ceretane*, Quaderni di Acme 52, ed. G. Bagnasco Gianni, 571–579. Milan: Vita e Pensiero.
- Prayon, F. 1975. *Frühetruskische Grab- und Hausarchitektur*. Heidelberg: Kerle.
1995. "Ostmediterrane Einflüsse auf den Beginn der Monumentalarchitektur in Etrurien?," *Jahrbuch des Römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz* 37: 501–519.
2001. "Near-Eastern Influences on Early Etruscan Architecture?," in Bonfante and Karageorghis (eds.), 335–350.
- Proietti, G. (ed.) 1980. *Il Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia*. Rome: Quasar.
- Py, M. 1985. "Les amphores étrusques de Gaule meridionale," in *Il commercio etrusco arcaico*, Atti dell'incontro di studio, Rome 5–7.12, 73–94. Rome: CNR.

- Ramage, A., and Ramage, N. H. 1983. *Twenty-Five Years of Discovery at Sardis*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ramage, N. H. 1970. "Studies in Early Etruscan Bucchero," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 38: 1–61.
- Rasmussen, T. 1979. *Bucchero Pottery from Southern Etruria*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Regter, W. 1999. "Forever Fascinating Fans," in *Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, ed. R. F. Docter and E. M. Moormann, 323–324. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum.
- Ridgway, D. 1993. "The 'Lydian Origins' of the Etruscans (Review of Briquel 1991)," *Classical Review* 43: 109–110.
- Rizza, G. 2003. "Scoperta di un santuario dei Dioscuri a Lentini," *Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* s. 9, Vol. XIV, fasc. 4: 537–568.
- Rizzo, M. A. 1983. "Braccialetto," in *L'oro degli Etruschi*, ed. M. Cristofani and M. Martelli, 297, no. 174. Novara: De Agostini.
1988. "Dinos greco-orientale," in *Un artista etrusco e il suo mondo. Il Pittore di Micali*, exhibition catalogue, ed. M. A. Rizzo, 90, no. 53. Rome: De Luca.
- Röhligh, J. 1933. *Der Handel von Milet*. Diss., Christians.
- Romano, S. 2009. *I cippi funerari e votivi dell'Etruria propria dal villanoviano al tardo arcaismo*. Diss. Archeologia (Etruscologia), Rome-Sapienza, XXI ciclo.
- Roosevelt, C. H. 2003. "*Lydian and Persian Period Settlement in Lydia*." Ph.D. diss., Cornell University.
2006. "Symbolic Door Stelae and Graveside Monuments in Western Anatolia," *American Journal of Archaeology* 110: 65–91.
2009. *The Archaeology of Lydia, from Gyges to Alexander*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Rumscheid, F. 1999. "Vom Wachsen antiker Säulenwälder. Zu Projektierung und Finanzierung antiker Bauten in Westkleinasien und anderswo," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 114: 19–63.
- Saltini Semerari, G. 2016. "Greek-Indigenous Inter-marriage: A Gendered Perspective," in *Conceptualising Early Colonisation*, ed. L. Donnellan, V. Nizzo, and G. J. Burgers, 77–89. Brussels: Institut Historique Belge de Rome.
- Schaus, G. P. 1992. "Imported West Anatolian Pottery at Gordion," *Anatolian Studies* 42: 151–177.
- Schlottzauer, U. 2001. *Die südionischen Knickrandschalen. Eine chronologische Untersuchung zu den sog. Ionischen Schalen in Milet*. Diss., Bochum.
2006. "Ostgriechische koroplastisch gestaltete Gesichts- und Kopfgefäße aus milesischen Werkstätten," in *Maiandros. Festschrift für Volkmar von Graeve*, ed. R. Biering, V. Brinkmann, U. Schlottzauer, and B. F. Weber, 229–256. Munich: Biering & Brinkmann.
- Schweitzer, B. 1955. "Zum Krater des Aristonothos," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 62: 78–106.

- Sciacca, F. 2005. *Patere baccellate in bronzo. Oriente, Grecia, Italia in età orientalizzante*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Shefton, B. B. 1962. "Etruscan Bucchero," in *Perachora II*, ed. T. J. Dunbabin, 385–386. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Shaw, J. W., and Shaw, M. C. (eds.) 2000. *Kommos IV. The Greek Sanctuary*, Part 1. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Shaw, M. 1983. "Two Cups with Incised Decoration from Kommos, Crete," *American Journal of Archaeology* 87: 443–452.
- Siewert, P. 1991. "Staatliche Weihungen von Kesseln und anderen Bronzegegeräten in Olympia," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 106: 81–84.
- Simantoni-Bournia, E. 2004. *Les céramique grecque à reliefs: ateliers insulaires du VIIIe au VIe siècle avant J.-C.* Genève: Droz.
- Simpson, E. 2010. *The Furniture from Tumulus MM. The Gordion Wooden Objects*, Vol. 1. Leiden: Brill.
- Simpson, E. and Spirydowicz, K. 1999. *Gordion Wooden Furniture: The Study, Conservation and Reconstruction of the Furniture and Wooden Objects from Gordion, 1981–1998*. Ankara: Museum of Anatolian Civilizations.
- Slaska, M. 1985. "Le anfore da trasporto a Gravisca," in *Il commercio etrusco arcaico*, Atti dell'incontro di studio, Rome 5–7.12.1983, 19–21. Rome: CNR.
- Strøm, I. 1971. *Problems Concerning the Origin and the Early Development of the Etruscan Orientalizing Style*. Odense: Odense University Press.
- Tartara, P. 2003. "Ortofotopiano storico IGM 1930 del territorio tra Cerveteri e la costa," in *Lo sguardo di Icaro. Le collezioni dell'Aerofoteca nazionale per la conoscenza del territorio*, *exhibition catalogue*, ed. M. Guitoli, 157–166. Rome: Campisano.
2018. "Territorio di Caere: viabilità e distribuzione delle necropoli attraverso la fotografia aerea," in *Caere orientalizzante. Nuove ricerche su città e necropoli*, ed. A. Naso and M. Botto, 123–153. Rome: CNR–Musée du Louvre.
- Torelli, M. 1987. "Problemi storici e metodologici alla luce del confronto tra ellenizzazione in Italia e in Iberia," *Revue des Études Anciennes* 89: 397–400.
1997. "Limina Averni. Realtà e rappresentazione nella pittura tarquiniese arcaica," in *Il rito il rango e l'immagine. Alle origini della rappresentazione storica romana*, ed. M. Torelli, 122–151. Milan: Electa.
- Tosto, V. 1999. *The Black-Figure Pottery Signed NIKOSTHENESEPOIESEN*. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum.
- Treister, M. 2001. *Hammering Techniques in Greek and Roman Jewellery and Toreutics*. Leiden: Brill.
- Ulf, C. 2014. "Rethinking Cultural Contacts," in *Kulturkontakte in antiken Welten: vom Denkmodell zum Fallbeispiel*, *Proceedings des internationalen Kolloquiums aus Anlass des 60. Geburtstages von Christoph Ulf*, *Innsbruck 26.–30.1.2009*, ed. R. Rollinger and K. Schnegg, 507–564. Leuven: Peeters.

2017. "An Ancient Question: The Origin of the Etruscans," in *Etruscology*, ed. A. Naso, 11–34. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Valentini, V. 1993. *Gravisca. Scavi nel santuario greco 9: Le ceramiche a vernice nera*. Bari: Edipuglia.
- van Kampen, I. 2009. "Stone Sculpture in the Context of Etruscan Tombs: A Note on Its Position," in *Votives, Places and Rituals in Etruscan Religion. Studies in Honor of Jean MacIntosh Turfa*, ed. M. Gleba and H. Becker, 135–155. Leiden: Brill.
- Verbanck-Piérard, A., Massar, N., and Frère, D. (eds.) 2008. *Parfums de l'antiquité: la rose et l'encens en Méditerranée*. Mariemont: Musée Royal de Mariemont.
- von Graeve, V. 2013. "Das Aphrodite-Heiligtum von Milet und seine Weihgaben," in *Sanktuar und Ritual. Heilige Plätze im archäologischen Befund. Forschungscluster 4 Heiligtümer: Gestalt und Ritual, Kontinuität und Veränderung*, ed. I. Gerlach and D. Raue, 5–13. Rahden: Leidorf.
- von Hase, F. W. 1975. "Zur Problematik der frühesten Goldfunde in Mittelitalien," *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie* 5(2): 99–191.
- Walters, H. B. 1912. *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*, Vol. I, Part II. London: British Museum.
- Waschek, F. 2008. "Fikellura-Amphoren und -Amphoriskoi von Milet: Ein Gefäßlager am Kalabaktepe?," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*: 47–83.
- Williams, D. 2015. "Lydian Gold to Newcastle," in *On the Fascination of Objects. Greek and Etruscan Art in the Shefton Collection*, ed. J. Boardman, A. Parkin, and S. Waite, 131–141. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Young, R. 1981. *Three Great Early Tumuli, The Gordion Excavations Final Reports, 1*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
- Zifferero, A. 2011. "L'Etruria settentrionale," in *Tumuli e sepolture monumentali nella protostoria europea*, Atti del convegno internazionale, Celano, 21–24.09.2000, ed. A. Naso, 77–113. Mainz: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum.
2017. "Le attività artigianali nel territorio vulcente: la valle dell'Albegna e Marsiliana," *Scienze dell'Antichità* 23(2): 311–329.
- Zindel, C. 1987. *Frühe etruskische Keramik*. Zurich: Universitätsverlag.
- Zwingmann, N. 2016. "Tumuli as Points of Interest in Greek and Latin Sources," in Henry and Kelp (eds.), 387–406.

PROOF