

QUADRIGA SCENES ON LATE ETRUSCAN FUNERARY URNS

THE ICONOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENT OF  
QUADRIGA SCENES ON LATE ETRUSCAN FUNERARY URNS

By  
ANNA BART, B.A.

A Thesis  
Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies  
In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts

McMaster University

© Copyright by Anna Bart, August 2001

MASTER OF ARTS (2001)  
(Classics)

McMaster University  
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: The Iconographic Development of Quadriga Scenes on Late Etruscan Funerary Urns.

AUTHOR: Anna Bart, B.A. (McMaster University)

SUPERVISOR: Dr. K.M.D. Dunbabin

NUMBER OF PAGES: x, 184

## ABSTRACT

The study of late Etruscan funerary urns has fascinated scholars for over a century. This topic has generated a large corpus of works, but much research remains to be done to better understand the meaning and place of these urns in Etruscan society. This thesis will examine the iconographic development of one motif, specifically those themes that employ a central quadriga. The study of the development of this motif, since it was adapted to mythological, exclusively funerary, and civic themes, is valuable because it reveals the artistic processes that Etruscan artisans may have employed when selecting and executing their works of art. An examination of the possible significance of each theme, furthermore, reveals that the selection of the individual themes, is, to some extent, influenced by the larger forces at play in the Mediterranean world between the third and first centuries BC. Consequently, a detailed iconographic analysis of this motif, and its changing role on the urns, can offer insight not only into the changing styles and tastes, but also into the deeper beliefs and mentalities of the society that produced them.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to express my gratitude particularly to my supervisor, Dr. Dunbabin, for her criticism, advice, and patience throughout the writing of this thesis. I would also like to express my appreciation to the members of my committee, Dr. Umholtz for her helpful insights and encouragement and Dr. Slater for his fresh perspective into the intricacies of this topic. I must also thank my family, who offered me unconditional support, even when they had no concept of what it was I was doing. And finally, thanks must go out to my friends for their unfailing ability to know when I needed encouragement to get things done and when I needed distraction to keep my sanity.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	vi
ABBREVIATIONS	x
CHAPTER 1-INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2-QUADRIGA SCENES: MYTHOLOGICAL VARIANTS	17
CHAPTER 3-THE JOURNEY OF THE DECEASED TO THE UNDERWORLD: THE SOLDIER	50
CHAPTER 4-THE PROCESSION OF THE MAGISTRATE ON A QUADRIGA	78
CHAPTER 5-CONCLUSION	120
CATALOGUE	124
ILLUSTRATIONS	143
BIBLIOGRAPHY	180

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Fig. 1 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 183: *CUV* 2, 233.
- Fig. 2 Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 92061: *CUV* 1, 287.
- Fig. 3 Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 92058: *CUV* 1, 286.
- Fig. 4 Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 92062: *CUV* 1, 290.
- Fig. 5 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 182: *CUV* 2, 232.
- Fig. 6 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 172: *CUV* 2, 231.
- Fig. 7 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 379: *CUV* 2, 234.
- Fig. 8 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 187: B-K II, 1, pl. XLIX, 1.
- Fig. 8a Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 187: Pairault-Massa (1975), fig. 6.
- Fig. 9 Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 78495: *CUV* 1, 138.
- Fig. 10 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 178: Pairault (1972), pl. 24.
- Fig. 11 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 176: B-K II, 1, pl. L, 3.
- Fig. 12 Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 584: Giglioli (1935), pl. 402.2.
- Fig. 13 Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 78519: *CUV* 1, 160.
- Fig. 14 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 177: Van der Meer (1977/1978), fig. 78.
- Fig. 14a Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 177: B-K II, 1, pl. LI, 6.
- Fig. 15 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 180: B-K II, 1, pl. LII, 7.
- Fig. 16 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 400: *CUV* 1, 54.
- Fig. 17 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 164: B-K III, pl. LXXXVIII, 4.

- Fig. 18 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 167: *CUV 2*, 217.
- Fig. 19 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 159: B-K III, pl. LXXXVIII, 5.
- Fig. 20 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 174: B-K III, pl. LXXXIX, 6.
- Fig. 21 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 455: B-K III, pl. LXXXIX, 7.
- Fig. 22 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 158: B-K III, pl. LXXXVII, 2.
- Fig. 23 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 166: *CUV 2*, 216.
- Fig. 24 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 184: *CUV 2*, 218.
- Fig. 25 Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 78514: Lambrechts (1959), p. 168, no. 31.
- Fig. 26 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 364: Lambrechts (1959), p. 166, no. 30.
- Fig. 27 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 168: Lambrechts (1959), p. 164, no. 28.
- Fig. 28 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 171: Lambrechts (1959), p. 166, no. 29.
- Fig. 29 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 169: Lambrechts (1959), p. 158, no. 22g.
- Fig. 30 Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 5513: Lambrechts (1959), p. 152, no. 22.
- Fig. 31 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum: Lambrechts (1959), p. 154, no. 22b.
- Fig. 32 Fiesole, Museo, inv. 10: Lambrechts (1959), p. 155, no. 22c.
- Fig. 33 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 165: Lambrechts (1959), p. 153, no. 22a.
- Fig. 34 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 483: Lambrechts (1959), p. 156, no. 22d.
- Fig. 35 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 173: Lambrechts (1959), p. 150, no. 21.
- Fig. 36 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 487: Lambrechts (1959), p. 151, no. 21a.
- Fig. 37 Pisa, Museo dell' Opera della Primaziale: Lambrechts (1959), p. 163, no. 27.
- Fig. 38 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 170: Lambrechts (1959), p. 159, no. 23.
- Fig. 39 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 161: Lambrechts (1959), p. 160, no. 24.



- Fig. 40 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 160: Lambrechts (1959), p. 161, no. 24a.
- Fig. 41 Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. 482: Lambrechts (1959), p. 162, no. 25.
- Fig. 42 Tarquinia, Tomb of Francesca Giustiniani, c. 470-450BC, rear wall: Brendel (1978), fig. 186.
- Fig. 43 Sea monsters, deceased on cart, Felsina Stele, beginning of fourth century BC: Giglioli (1935), pl. 237, 4.
- Fig. 44 Sea monsters, journey to Underworld, Etruscan horseman fighting Gaul, Felsina Stele, mid-fourth century BC: Brendel (1978), fig. 292.
- Fig. 45a Right side of the sarcophagus of Ramtha Visnai, wife of Arnth Tetnie, Vulci, mid-fourth century BC: Herbig (1952), fig. 40c.
- Fig. 45b Left side of the sarcophagus of Ramtha Visnai, wife of Arnth Tetnie, Vulci: Herbig (1952), fig. 40d.
- Fig. 45c Front panel of the sarcophagus of Ramtha Visnai, wife of Arnth Tetnie, Vulci: Herbig (1952), 40b.
- Fig. 46 Painting of Abduction of Persephone, Tomb of Persephone, Vergina: Andronicos (1984), fig. 49.
- Fig. 47 Frieze with Abduction of Leucippids, Heroon of Gjölbaschi-Trysa: Eichler (1950), pl. 24/25.
- Fig. 48 Mosaic of the Abduction of Helen by Theseus, Pella: Pollitt (1986), fig. 226.
- Fig. 49 Abduction of Chrysippus, Barberini Cista: Mansuelli, fig. 36.
- Fig. 50 Abduction of Persephone, Apulian volute krater: *RVAp* 1, pl. 60, 4.
- Fig. 51 Abduction of Persephone, Apulian volute krater: *LIMC* 4 (1988), s.v. Hades (Ruth Lindner), 85.
- Fig. 52 Abduction of Persephone, Apulian loutrophoros: *LIMC* 4 (1988), s.v. Hades (Ruth Lindner), 86.
- Fig. 53 Abduction of Persephone, Apulian volute krater: *RVAp* Suppl. 1, pl. 35.
- Fig. 54 Abduction of Persephone, Apulian hydria: Lindner (1984), pl. 5.

- Fig. 55 Abduction of Persephone, Apulian hydria: Lindner (1984), pl. 4.
- Fig. 56 Pelops and Hippodamia, Lucanian hydria: *LCS* pl. 27, 1.
- Fig. 56a detail: *LCS* pl. 26, 1.
- Fig. 57 Pelops and Hippodamia, Apulian hydria: *LIMC* 5 (1990), s.v. Hippodamia I (Maria Pipili), 25.
- Fig. 57a detail: Degrassi (1965), fig. 52.
- Fig. 58 Pelops and Hippodamia, Apulian loutrophoros: *LIMC* 5 (1990), s.v. Hippodamia I (Maria Pipili), 26.
- Fig. 59 Race of Pelops and Oenomaus, Apulian volute krater: Moret (1975) II, pl. 81, 2.
- Fig. 59a detail: Moret (1975) II, pl. 81, 2.
- Fig. 60 Race of Pelops and Oenomaus, Apulian amphora: Squarciapino (1952-1954), fig. 6.
- Fig. 61 Urn with Death of Myrtilus, Volterra: Laviosa (1964), pl. 18.
- Fig. 62 Sarcophagus, Vulci, c. 330BC: Herbig (1952), fig 42a.
- Fig. 63 Cinerary urn of a Journey to the Underworld on Horseback, Volterra: Laviosa (1964), pl. 34.
- Fig. 64 Cinerary urn of a Farewell Scene, Volterra: *CUV* 2, fig. 106.
- Fig. 65 Sarcophagus, Tuscania, late fourth or early third century BC: Felletti Maj (1977), fig.5.
- Fig. 66 Sarcophagus, Tomba Campanari, Vulci: Felletti Maj (1977), fig. 6.

## ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations used for modern works are those set out in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 90 (1986), 384-394. For ancient authors and their works, the abbreviations are those listed in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition).

- B-K            Brunn, E. and G. Körte. *I rilievi delle urne etrusche* I-III. Roma-Berlin, 1870-1916.
- CUV            Cristofani, M. et al. (eds.) *Urne volterrane. Corpus delle urne etrusche di età ellenistica* 1-2. Florence, 1975.
- LCS            Trendall, A.D. *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily* I II. Oxford: Clarendon Press: 1967.
- LIMC           *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Zürich, 1981-1990.
- RVAp I-II      Trendall, A.D. *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia* I-II. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.
- RVAp Suppl.   Trendall, A.D, and A. Cambitoglou. *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia*. Suppl. 1, 1983.

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Late Etruscan funerary urns, particularly those produced in Volterra in the Hellenistic period, present a rich field of study concerning a fundamental aspect of the life and culture of a people who gradually during the last three centuries BC were swallowed up by the expansion of Rome over the Italian peninsula. The more than one thousand urns in the Museo Guarnacci in Volterra, and the much smaller number in other museums, reveal a great deal of heterogeneity in terms of subject matter and style, which makes their comprehensive study a difficult task. In this thesis, an iconographic analysis will be undertaken of a limited sample of urns, which appear to be iconographically related through their employment of a central four-horse chariot. A systematic examination of the iconographic development of this motif from the mythical representations to funerary and civic depictions will be carried out. It will focus upon four different themes associated with quadriga scenes: the mythological scenes of the Abduction of Persephone and the Return of Pelops and Hippodamia from the Fatal Race, the Journey of the Deceased to the Underworld, and the Journey of the Deceased as a Magistrate to the Underworld in a Quasi-triumphal Procession. These diverse themes employ a fundamentally similar iconographic model; the analysis of their development and adaptation will offer insight not only into the changing styles and tastes, but also into the deeper beliefs and mentalities of the society that produced them.

## Volterra and its Funerary Practices

The city of Volterra, Etruscan Velathri and Roman Volaterrae, was located in the hinterland of Northern Etruria in the Cecina valley, about 20 miles from the western coast of Italy.<sup>1</sup> The city, which was the site of a settlement since the tenth century BC, does not appear to have become prosperous until the fourth century BC, when a major expansion seems to have taken place.<sup>2</sup> In this same period, the initial military contact also occurred with Rome; a war involving Volterra is recorded in 298 BC.<sup>3</sup> Most of the third century, thereafter, is marked by a gradual process of Romanisation, during which the city flourished mainly due to its fertile soil, cattle breeding, and commercial and manufacturing activities.<sup>4</sup> At this time relatively close ties were established with Rome; it can be assumed that the city became a *civitas foederata* by 205 BC, because of the contribution it made to Scipio's expedition to Africa.<sup>5</sup> Subsequently it was granted Roman citizenship by the *lex Iulia* in 90 BC when it became a *municipium*, only to be demoted ten years later when it was sacked by Sulla as one of the last Marian strongholds.<sup>6</sup> The city was finally restored to full rights, probably during the Civil Wars,

---

<sup>1</sup> Scullard (1967), 146.

<sup>2</sup> Terrenato (1998), 94-95; Scullard (1967), 148-149.

<sup>3</sup> Livy 10.12; Harris (1971), 61, 66.

<sup>4</sup> Pasquinucci and Menchelli (1999), 123.

<sup>5</sup> Pasquinucci and Menchelli (1999), 123; Terrenato (1998), 95. Cf. Harris (1971), 89-91, 96 for a general discussion of the status of Volterra as a Roman *civitas foederata*.

<sup>6</sup> Livy 28.45; Holliday (1990), 90; Terrenato (1998), 95; Felletti Maj (1977), 100. Harris (1971), 244 suggests that the city was placed into the Sabatina tribe after the Social War. Cf. Harris (1971) 257-259, 264-266 for the fate of the city under Sulla.

and acquired colonial status under Augustus.<sup>7</sup>

The most characteristic products of Volterra in this generally prosperous time were cinerary urns, in accordance with the northern regional funerary practice of cremation.<sup>8</sup> Volterra, along with Chiusi and Perugia, became one of the principal centres for the production of ash-urns.<sup>9</sup> These ash-urns were richly carved, usually on the front, and sometimes on the sides, and were similar to sarcophagi but no more than two feet in length. The lids of the urns often bore inscriptions, naming the deceased and frequently identifying their parents and official positions.<sup>10</sup> The urns were placed into underground family tombs by successive generations. Volterranean tombs were always hewn out of rock and generally had a circular form with a pillar in the centre that was also made from the bedrock.<sup>11</sup> The urns were placed on rock-cut shelves in these plain tombs, often along with various objects, especially vases and bronzes, as well as items made of ivory and bone, and numerous coins.<sup>12</sup> At Volterra the medium of the urns is generally stone. Tufa, excavated from the quarries at Pignano, is the first stone used almost exclusively up to the first half of the third century BC, at which time the Volterranean workshops appeared to

---

<sup>7</sup> Holliday (1990), 90; Terrenato (1998), 95, 107. Cf. Harris (1971), 276-284 for the restoration of the city to full citizen rights and Harris (1971), 318 for the establishment of Etruria as Regio VII.

<sup>8</sup> Brendel (1978), 420; Laviosa (1964), 12; Barker and Rasmussen (1998), 288.

<sup>9</sup> Nielsen (1993), 319. The site of Volterra was chosen for study, as opposed to Perugia or Chiusi, because it seems to provide the widest variety of finds, and it also appears to be the initiator in many instances of iconographic and stylistic changes.

<sup>10</sup> Terrenato (1998), 105; Small (1986), 88.

<sup>11</sup> Barker and Rasmussen (1998), 288; Laviosa (1964), 12. For example the Tomb of Inghirami.

<sup>12</sup> Barker and Rasmussen (1998), 288; Laviosa (1964), 12.

have been well structured and able to satisfy a demand for expansion. It is likely that the alabaster quarries were activated during this period, perhaps in response to this higher demand, and from the mid-third century this finer stone became the overwhelmingly favoured medium for the production of urns.<sup>13</sup>

### **Urn Forms and Lids**

The ash urns come in many forms and degrees of elaboration. The casket is rectangular and is rather narrow and elongated, usually made from a single block of stone hollowed out to obtain a space where the ashes of the deceased could be placed. The lid was made from a separate block that fits, although not always exactly, on the upper part of the casket.<sup>14</sup> The earliest urns, produced in the sixth and fifth century BC, are almost always plain, or decorated with shallow relief and more rarely with painted motifs. The lids are usually gabled, like roofs, perhaps as allusions to the house of the dead. The later urns, which will be the focus here, were simultaneously embellished with more accentuated and deeper relief on the casket, and with the representation of the deceased on the lid, beginning in the fourth century BC.<sup>15</sup> The reliefs and the figured lids were always painted in highly vivid colours, which rarely survive beyond minute traces.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> Laviosa (1964), 13; Maggiani (1985), 32; Barker and Rasmussen (1998); 288. Terracotta was also used, but it was rare in Volterra, although at other centres like Chiusi this medium was used on a wide scale.

<sup>14</sup> Laviosa (1964), 11.

<sup>15</sup> Laviosa (1964), 11; Maggiani (1985), 32.

<sup>16</sup> Laviosa (1964), 12-13. The backs of the caskets were not decorated because the urns were placed against the walls of the tombs or in niches.

## Chronology

An intensive discussion of the dating of the urns is beyond the scope of this thesis, but some preliminary remarks may be useful since there seems to be a chronological ordering to the appearance of some themes. In this way it will be possible to draw some correlation between the iconographic and stylistic development of the motif of quadriga scenes and the external influences that may have affected them. On the basis of data from excavations, especially due to the association with vases and coins whose dates are known, a period of production from about the beginning of the third century BC into the first century BC is suggested for the urn type with relief decoration on the casket and a reclining figure on the lid.<sup>17</sup> The problem of dating individual urns is more complex, however, since the tombs contain successive burials that have almost always been disturbed, and it is often impossible to identify the finds associated with each deposition.<sup>18</sup>

The principles for dating the individual Etruscan urns, therefore, rely on a number of different factors. The proposed chronological scheme takes into account urns from documented tombs with datable grave goods, especially coins within the urns, and reliefs bearing datable features. If these elements are lacking, a seriation of the typological elements of the reliefs may provide dates.<sup>19</sup> A general trend is clearly evident that gives, at least, a relative chronology. Initially the reliefs are comparatively flat, but

---

<sup>17</sup> Laviosa (1964), 13, Nielsen (1993), 319.

<sup>18</sup> Laviosa (1964), 14.

<sup>19</sup> Nielsen (1993), 325.



they increase in depth and in the elaboration of their details, especially seen in the decorative mouldings at the top and bottom of the frieze area, while the relief simultaneously becomes more plastic and depicts freer moving figures.<sup>20</sup> The urns, therefore, at least according to these criteria, can be ordered relatively, with a shallow relief with fewer figures placed before an urn with high relief and a complex placement of figures in a more dynamic composition. It should be borne in mind, however, that these comments seem only to apply to the early development of the urns, and they are not necessarily applicable to the later production, when the reliefs return to more static compositions, although they remain in high relief and display elaborate mouldings. Other criteria for establishing the dates of individual urns have included attempts to identify workshops and date urns through such groupings.<sup>21</sup> The lids, moreover, can be chronologically ordered more easily, but their usefulness is limited because their association with the urn reliefs is generally tenuous.<sup>22</sup>

### **The Reliefs**

Reliefs ornamented the urns, with the decoration usually focused upon the front of the container, although the sides at times bore subsidiary embellishment. The subject matter of these representations, although at first appearing to be rather homogeneous

---

<sup>20</sup> Small (1981), 177.

<sup>21</sup> Pairault-Massa has done extensive research into the establishment of workshops, basing her dates on various criteria. Cf. Pairault-Massa (1972), (1972a), (1973), and (1975).

<sup>22</sup> For an in-depth examination of the urn lids, their usefulness in dating, as well as their development see Nielsen (1975) and Maggiani (1976).

particularly on account of the frequency of copying, actually shows a wide range of motifs. Sometimes they depict ornamental motifs, or funerary and historical themes, but the majority portrays scenes from Greek mythology, by preference myths of tragic violence. Among the numerous images there are differences between simple motifs, scenes whose interpretation does not need any knowledge of mythology, and scenes that presuppose an intimate understanding of complex Greek legends.<sup>23</sup> A number of authors have attempted to categorize the subject matter of the urn reliefs, according to varying criteria. Nielsen has classified the subjects into four broad and often overlapping groups. These categories are neutral motifs, native Etruscan funerary motifs, themes based on Greek myths, and motifs derived from Etruscan and Italic sources. Neutral motifs, which will not be treated here in any great depth, refer to single elements in relief, like animals, monsters, dolphins, Gorgon heads, masks, vases, flowers and so on, that are interchangeable and have no narrative content.<sup>24</sup> These urn types were the earliest of those with a reclining figure on the lid, appearing circa 300 BC.<sup>25</sup> Native Etruscan funerary motifs that concern Etruscan funerary beliefs presuppose an Etruscan mentality, even when iconographic elements are borrowed from the Greeks.<sup>26</sup> These made their

---

<sup>23</sup> Pairault-Massa (1985), 81.

<sup>24</sup> Nielsen (1993), 321. In this group Nielsen also includes urns that imitate wooden prototypes, like couches and chests, as well as numerous undecorated urns and those with traces of paint or incision. These neutral motifs constitute 21% of the urns so far discovered.

<sup>25</sup> Nielsen (1993), 327.

<sup>26</sup> Nielsen (1993), 323. These funerary themes make up 30% of the urn reliefs.

entrance into the repertory of reliefs in the later third century BC.<sup>27</sup> The most frequent motifs in this category are Journeys to the Underworld and Farewell Scenes. Motifs derived from Greek myths make up the majority of the depictions on the urn fronts, chosen from about 50 different stories.<sup>28</sup> Most of these motifs were not new to the Etruscan context, in fact they were familiar in earlier Etruscan art, although they may be presented in different compositional form on the urns. Mythical themes made their appearance towards the end of the third century, around 200 BC.<sup>29</sup> Motifs derived from Etruscan or Italic sources may refer to local myth, history, contemporary events or public and private ceremonies.<sup>30</sup> These motifs often have connotations of reality and everyday life. This last category is not entirely clear in its definition, which even Nielsen admits is too heterogeneous and varied to belong to a single group.<sup>31</sup> The themes of this group appear throughout urn production, often overlapping with the other categories of urns. Small, on the other hand, divided the large group of urns according to slightly different criteria, whereby she identified the urns falling roughly into three categories: decorative motifs, daily life, and stories from Etruscan history and Greek mythology. The first group, decorative motifs, comprises urns with ornamental friezes, equivalent to Nielsen's first category. The second group consists of scenes from daily life, that is activities

---

<sup>27</sup> Nielsen (1993), 327.

<sup>28</sup> Nielsen (1993), 319, 323. They constitute 40% of the representations.

<sup>29</sup> Nielsen (1993), 327.

<sup>30</sup> Nielsen (1993), 324. This heterogeneous group, however, makes up only 9% of the whole body of evidence.

<sup>31</sup> Nielsen (1993), 324. This category incorporates those representations that have not been identified, although there is clear narrative context.

carried out by contemporary Etruscans. They include funerary processions of dignitaries, unspecified boar hunts, or unidentified battles. Often separating these scenes from the third category of myth is the contemporary dress that the participants wear. The last group includes themes that can be classified as “historical” in nature, although in the absence of texts and inscriptions the local heroes are difficult to identify. Urns, however, with scenes illustrating Etruscan history form only a small percentage of the whole output, and Small sets them within a larger group, those representing Greek myths. According to Small, these elements are often opposed too vigorously, since the two formed a continuous whole; to the Etruscans, tales about the Greek heroes were the earliest elements of their own history.<sup>32</sup>

### **Demons**

The presence of demons in a great number of these depictions, regardless of the subject matter, gives a genuinely Etruscan flavour to them.<sup>33</sup> There are various Etruscan demons connected with a funerary context, but only a few of them can be identified with certainty. Among these are the two demons most popular on Etruscan funerary urns, Charun and Vanth. The infernal demon Vanth appears on a large number of Etruscan urns. She is usually winged on her shoulders and sometimes at her temples, and wears high boots, a tunic folded over under her breasts, crossed straps over her exposed breasts, detached sleeves or double bracelets. Her attributes often vary; she may carry a sword, torch, spear and she may wear a necklace or a torque around her neck. However, this

---

<sup>32</sup> Small (1986), 87-92.

<sup>33</sup> The only demons that I discuss here are those that appear on the urns treated in this thesis.

standard iconography may deviate and she may be without wings, and wearing a full-length peplos or a belted tunic, and the crossed bands may be omitted.<sup>34</sup> Charun is the most common male demon on the urns.<sup>35</sup> He often has feral features, like a hooked nose, pointed ears, and an enormous mouth, as well as a beard and frequently wings. He usually carries a hammer, although he can be represented as a generic male figure, who frequently holds a torch. He most often serves a psychopompic function.<sup>36</sup> Another male demon who appears on the urns has an uncertain identification. He is usually bearded and winged and wears a tunic tied at the waist and sometimes boots. He also has some type of headdress, perhaps a diadem, fitted into his hair. He usually holds in both his hands objects, which have been identified either as small round shields, or alternatively as *paterae*.<sup>37</sup> He is most often called a τάράξιππος demon, probably because he often turns the objects in his hands towards the horses as if to bedazzle them.<sup>38</sup> He has, however, also been identified as a figure to ward off evil.<sup>39</sup> These infernal demons are often not necessary to the comprehension of the story or theme, but they should not be separated from their original context since they respond to Etruscan beliefs relating to the

---

<sup>34</sup> Small (1981), 182-183.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. De Ruyt (1934) for a full discussion of Charun.

<sup>36</sup> Small (1981), 184-185.

<sup>37</sup> For the purposes here the exact interpretation of this object does not seem significant.

<sup>38</sup> B-K III, 108 identify him as a demon who is interested in bedazzling the horses and call him *abbagliatore*. Pairault-Massa (1985a), 221.

<sup>39</sup> De Ruyt (1934), 70 discusses this figure in the context of an urn showing the journey in a *carpentum*.

world of the dead and the afterlife, and thus give funerary connotations to many of the scenes.<sup>40</sup>

### **Quadriga Scenes**

The investigation in this thesis will examine a representative sample of urns, focusing on motifs with a quadriga scheme. The mythological themes of the Abduction of Persephone and the Return of Pelops and Hippodamia from the Fatal Race will be examined in the Second Chapter as possible antecedents to the more exclusively funerary or civic themes employing the same central quadriga. The Journey of the Deceased to the Underworld will be discussed in the Third Chapter, particularly those examples with the deceased in military garb, and their variants. Finally, the Journey of the Deceased to the Underworld as a Magistrate will be investigated in the Fourth Chapter, where the funerary imagery has been imbued with specifically civic connotations of a quasi-triumphal procession. Each of these schemes seems to have made use of a basic iconographic model altered in different ways. Although the reliefs can be varied in the subsidiary figures they utilize, there is evident overlap in the compositional layout that links them, particularly by the employment of a central quadriga as the vehicle of conveyance. Therefore, the iconographic development and compositional manipulation of this theme will be explored in order to elucidate not only the possible selective process by which the Etruscans created such scenes, but also the larger forces that may have played a role in their formation.

---

<sup>40</sup> Pairault-Massa (1985), 82.

## Funerary Symbolism and the Antecedents of Quadriga Scenes

Some of the most common subjects that appear in an Etruscan funerary environment are generic and seem to reflect daily life without identifying the specific occasion. Throughout Etruscan sepulchral art, themes of such simple pleasures of life as banqueting, athletic games, and processions are highly favoured. According to Brendel, these very subjects become the dominant themes of all funerary art in Etruria in the Archaic period after the Tomb of the Augurs.<sup>41</sup> The difficulty with such subject matter arises, however, since these activities are not necessarily funerary, but could be part of everyday life. Their identification as part of the last rites in honour of the deceased often hinges only on the sepulchral context, and at times on the presence of infernal demons. The reading of such themes is often three-fold, without any clear distinctions; they may refer to the everyday joys of life, the funerary activities of the living in honour of a deceased, in which his soul participates, and finally the image held by the Etruscans of the afterlife. Such representations, therefore, indicate a basic Etruscan mentality and belief, according to which life continued, almost unvaried, after death.

These Etruscan beliefs about death and the afterlife, however, can only be deduced from iconographic and archaeological evidence, without any concrete proof about such beliefs in the form of written materials. The hypotheses that the Etruscans looked upon death as a journey are supported by the depiction of just such scenes throughout Etruscan history and across different media. These artistic representations seem to suggest that once the remains of the deceased were in the tomb, the journey did

---

<sup>41</sup> Brendel (1978), 182.

not end there, but the soul seems to have gone somewhere else, in fact to the Underworld. This netherworld was reached by a long journey that was located possibly beyond the sea, as the numerous sea-creatures featured in a funerary context indicate.<sup>42</sup>

In Italic art the idea of depicting the journey to the Underworld on stelae, tomb paintings, and sarcophagi was possibly introduced in the Po Valley in the late sixth century BC when Etruscan presence was strong in the region. From the fifth century BC the theme can be traced south of the Po Valley.<sup>43</sup> On these earlier depictions the journey could be carried out by various means including on foot, by horse, or by chariot. The chariots, which are the most significant for the purposes here, are drawn by two or three horses, but are rarely quadrigae. The appearance of a chariot with its charioteer painted on the wall of the Giustiniani Tomb at Tarquinia has been argued to represent the vehicle which awaits the deceased to transport him to the Underworld (fig. 42).<sup>44</sup> Stelae, particularly those from Felsina, also employ funerary symbolism; the journey is especially preferred (figs. 43, 44).<sup>45</sup> Such scenes also appeared on sarcophagi, showing the deceased riding on chariots and sometimes on wagons (figs. 45a-c).<sup>46</sup> This tendency to indicate the final journey of the dead suggests that the Etruscans had a long-standing belief that the individual after death had to embark on a long journey to the other realm.

---

<sup>42</sup> Barker and Rasmussen (1998), 239.

<sup>43</sup> Holliday (1990), 74-75.

<sup>44</sup> Brendel (1978), 271. This representation as well as all the subsequent examples will be examined in greater depth throughout the following chapters, when their discussion is most relevant and appropriate. Cf. Chapter 3, page 51.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Chapter 3, pages 51-52.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Chapter 3, page 52-53 and Chapter 4, pages 80-81.



This motif, therefore, was an appropriate and popular form of funerary symbolism that was widely employed for several centuries throughout the Etruscan world. These earlier scenes, therefore, possibly served as the antecedents to the three categories of quadriga scenes that will be examined in this thesis, because of the similarity in their iconography. The popularity of such motifs may have affected the urn reliefs, whether mythological, exclusively funerary, or civic in nature. The widespread use of the chariot form for different purposes seems to continue on the urn reliefs, only altering the number of horses that pull the vehicle. This new form, although it may be applied to scenes with different meanings, was an extension of the popular motif of two- or three-horse chariots as vehicles of transport.

### **Chronology of Quadriga Scenes**

Nielsen has proposed an overall chronology for the appearance of larger groups as well as individual themes, which will be followed in this thesis. More specifically, the absolute chronology established by her for the appearance of the scenes discussed in the subsequent chapters for the most part will be maintained.<sup>47</sup> This chronology will be supplemented by the hypotheses of other authors, who have attempted to date individual urns, or at least groups of close replicas. The urns showing the Abduction of Persephone and Pelops and Hippodamia Returning from the Fatal Race have been in a large part discussed by Pairault-Massa.<sup>48</sup> Concrete dates for the individual urns of the Abduction of

---

<sup>47</sup> Nielsen (1993), 322-323, table 1.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Pairault-Massa (1977), 159 and Nielsen (1993), table 1, no. 15, 331 for the Abduction of Persephone. Cf. Pairault-Massa (1972a), 62, (1975), 230-240, and (1977), 159 and 163 and Nielsen (1993), table 1, no. 49, 335 for Pelops and Hippodamia. Cf. Chapter Two, pages 23, 36, 39, 41-42 for a fuller discussion of dating.

Persephone have not been established, but the theme seems to be one of the earliest among the mythological series, introduced toward the end of the third century BC. The Pelops and Hippodamia urns seem to divide into at least two groups of replicas with one unique urn among them, which as a whole are dated from 180 BC into the first century BC. Furthermore, based on the similarity between the urns depicting the theme of Pelops and Hippodamia and that of the Journey of the Deceased in a quadriga, a range of possible dates may also be inferred for these latter urns.<sup>49</sup> The theme of the magistrate in a quadriga has enjoyed more attention from scholars, who have speculated upon the chronology of this group of urns. Nielsen, Lambrechts, and Felletti Maj among others have attempted to assign at least a general period of production for these urns.<sup>50</sup> It has been generally agreed that the date of this theme was late, possibly appearing toward the end of the second century BC and continuing into the first century BC, yet individual urns are not given dates. The great similarity between the individual urns of this group, however, may suggest that they were also close in their date of production. The overall problem of chronology, nevertheless, remains and creates difficulty when analysing the reliefs. Although the successive appearance of the general themes seems to be secure, the lack of absolute dates in a majority of cases for the individual urns hinders the establishment of a clear relationship between the themes, since each subject, once introduced, continued until the end of urn production. Consequently, there will be an attempt made to suggest dates for the majority of urns, or each closely related group of

---

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Chapter 3, pages 60-61 and 65-66 for the possible dates of the urns.

<sup>50</sup> Nielsen (1993), 340, (1989), 1003-1004 and (1985), 59; Felletti Maj (1977), 82; Lambrechts (1959), 149. Cf. Chapter Four, pages 83-84 for fuller discussion of chronology.

replicas, but in a number of cases this will be conjecture based on the stylistic and typological similarity to urns with better established dates.

## CHAPTER 2 QUADRIGA SCENES: MYTHOLOGICAL VARIANTS

Etruscan urns from Volterra depict a rich repertory of mythological representations; about 400 urns are displayed in the Museo Guarnacci with a variety of motifs based on known Greek mythological depictions.<sup>1</sup> The mythological themes seem to have appeared on the urns about 200 BC, and continued in the repertory for the remaining period of urn production into the first century BC.<sup>2</sup> The urns seem to set forth about fifty-two well-known literary themes from mythology and legend. A theme frequently appears as a series, which can be homogeneous with few variations, or heterogeneous, with many deviations. At times, however, only a single urn may represent a theme.<sup>3</sup> At least half of the mythological representations of the urn reliefs seem to have close iconographical parallels in a variety of media throughout the Greek world, but the precise inspiration for the reliefs remains uncertain. The Etruscan artists probably worked from second-hand illustrations of works, the archetype of which ultimately may have originated in the Greek world.<sup>4</sup> F.H. Pairault envisioned a likely mode of transmission, distinguishing three stages of visualization: Greek works of reference as the archetype, intermediate model as the transmitting model, and the urn

---

<sup>1</sup> Van der Meer (1977/1978), 57.

<sup>2</sup> Nielsen (1993), 327.

<sup>3</sup> Van der Meer (1977/1978), 57.

<sup>4</sup> Laviosa (1964), 15.

model as the prototype of an iconographical series.<sup>5</sup> It has been argued that in most cases the archetypes were monumental mural paintings.<sup>6</sup> However, the Volterranean artists did not rely on these designs directly since it is improbable that they would have ever seen these paintings. Instead these artisans would have depended upon a variety of other sources that may have at one point originated from these paintings. The transmission of models may have taken place in the form of copybooks, in which excerpts from myths were ready for replication and adaptation, although workshops of the minor arts may also have played an important role.<sup>7</sup> The role of ceramic objects of Greece and Magna Graecia, which were often widely disseminated, furthermore, may also have been great.<sup>8</sup> At least half of the Volterranean representations have antecedents in Italy before 200 BC. The earliest parallels are found in Southern Italy in the fourth century BC and slightly later in central Italy. The possible transmission of models then likely took place from south to north, between circa 400 and 200 BC.<sup>9</sup> Consequently, the Volterranean artists seem to have derived their mythological stock of about fifty-two different themes from a preexisting

---

<sup>5</sup> Van der Meer (1975), 180; Pairault (1972a), 173. The intermediate model is the form through which the Etruscan artisan came to know the original work, like copybooks and terracotta, and the urn model refers to the prototype of a series created by a master artisan, from which subsequent urns derived their composition.

<sup>6</sup> Van der Meer (1977/1978), 88. This notion of monumental paintings as the original model, however, is hypothetical since few such paintings exist for study.

<sup>7</sup> Brilliant (1984), 44; Van der Meer (1977/1978), 92. Mingazzini (1975), 387 also presents a hypothesis that vases from Attica and Magna Graecia represented scenes copied from pieces of papyri on which dramas were written. Consequently, he believes that urns also may represent the adornments of Greek dramatic texts, particularly scenes dealing with material that was not customarily depicted on stage. Laviosa (1964), 15 comes to the same conclusion regarding the urns.

<sup>8</sup> For a full discussion of the connection between the mythological themes on the urns and similar representations on pottery see Van der Meer (1977/1978).

<sup>9</sup> Van der Meer (1977/1978), 89.

iconography largely developed in the old Greek centres of Southern Italy that gradually from workshop to workshop moved up the Italian peninsula.<sup>10</sup>

Among the fifty-two mythological themes two themes have a quadriga as their central motif, namely the Abduction of Persephone and Pelops and Hippodamia Returning from the Fatal Race. Their popularity may have been due to their relationship to the older scenes showing the deceased in a funerary *biga*, although the basic motif of the quadriga scenes has an identifiable mythical context, as opposed to the funerary theme of the journey in a *biga*.<sup>11</sup> The popularity of this form of transport in other media and on earlier works may have played a role in the selection and adaptation of these Greek mythological scenes to an Etruscan funerary context.

### **The Abduction of Persephone<sup>12</sup>**

Seven urns are treated in this chapter that seem to depict the theme of the Abduction of Persephone (Cat. 1-7). The basic scheme of the urns with the depiction of this myth shows the gods of the Underworld, Hades and Persephone, standing in a chariot pulled by usually rearing horses moving toward the right. They are accompanied by other gods, demons, and monsters.

The Rape of Persephone and similar abduction schemes are repeated throughout the Mediterranean world in different media. Although often these sources are not the

---

<sup>10</sup> Brilliant (1984), 44.

<sup>11</sup> For a discussion of the Journey to the Underworld on a *biga* as the antecedents to quadriga scenes see Chapter One, pages 12-14.

<sup>12</sup> I will be using the Greek names for the mythological figures discussed in this thesis, although the Etruscans had their own different versions of these names.

direct inspiration for the Etruscan urns, they are nevertheless clearly influential on them. They indicate the popularity of this exchangeable motif, a popularity that could exert influence in Etruria, which was not immune to the currents of contemporary Greek culture. Mansuelli, among others, relates the Volterranean representations to a mural painting by Nicomachus of Thebes, who was active around the mid or late fourth century BC.<sup>13</sup> The painting itself does not survive, but Pliny confirms the existence of this depiction of the Abduction scene, stating “pinxit (Nicomachus) raptum Proserpinae, quae tabula fuit in Capitolio...”.<sup>14</sup> The large scale painting covering the long north side of the Tomb of Persephone at Vergina, dated to circa 340-330 BC, shows the abduction scene. Hades forcefully takes Persephone in a quadriga, with Hermes, who fulfills in Greek myth the role of the conductor of the dead, leading the horses (fig. 46).<sup>15</sup> Iconographically similar abduction scenes are also found in other contexts throughout the Greek and Mediterranean world. The frieze of the Heroon at Gjölbaschi-Trysa dated to circa 380-360 BC depicts the Abduction of the Leucippids (fig. 47), where four horses pull a chariot that carry two figures.<sup>16</sup> A pebble mosaic from Pella dated to 340/330 BC depicts the Abduction of Helen by Theseus. For the depiction of this relatively obscure myth, the mosaicist clearly took cues from monumental painting like the one at Vergina.

---

<sup>13</sup> Van der Meer (1977/1978), 82. Mansuelli (1950), 30-31 dates his activity around 400-350 BC. Moreno (1987), 106, dating him somewhat later, states that Nicomachus certainly executed a portrait of Antipater, who ruled Macedonia while Alexander was in the East (334-323), and that he was known to have been active for forty years.

<sup>14</sup> Pliny, *NH*, 35.108.

<sup>15</sup> Andronicos (1984), 88-95; Pollitt (1986), 193; Moreno (1987), 103-107.

<sup>16</sup> Van der Meer (1977/1978), 79; Eichler (1950), 66.

This is especially evident in the artist's attempt to capture the subtle shading and the foreshortening of large-scale painting.<sup>17</sup> At the left, four rearing horses, who pull the chariot to the left, are restrained by Theseus' charioteer, Phorbas. At the right, Theseus, who has just grabbed Helen, is about to jump on the chariot (fig. 48).<sup>18</sup> Even in Etruscan art similar abduction scenes are found, as illustrated by the Cista Barberini from Palestrina dated to the fourth century BC. This cista is incised with a depiction of the Abduction of Chrysippus, in which four rearing horses pull a chariot carrying a male, who forcefully pulls another figure to him (fig. 49).<sup>19</sup>

Vases of Southern Italy, especially those of Magna Graecia, provide numerous parallels to the Rape of Persephone with schemes similar to those of the urn reliefs. The scene of Persephone's abduction is not lacking on Apulian vases. An Apulian volute krater dated to 360 BC depicts the divine couple on a two-wheeled chariot pulled by four horses toward the right accompanied by Hermes following the quadriga and Hecate preceding it (fig. 50).<sup>20</sup> Another Apulian volute krater dated to 340/30 BC shows a similar composition with the gods in the chariot pulled by four rearing horses, but here Persephone glances back toward the pursuing figure, Hecate, while Hermes precedes the horses (fig. 51).<sup>21</sup> An Apulian loutrophoros also dated to 340/30 BC shows a similar

---

<sup>17</sup> Pollitt (1986), 215,

<sup>18</sup> Pollitt (1986), 215.

<sup>19</sup> Van der Meer (1977/1978), 79; Giglioli (1935), 291, 3.

<sup>20</sup> London F 277BM, *LIMC* 4 (1988), s.v. Hades (Ruth Lindner), 84; *RVAp* I, 193, 5 pl. 60, 4.

<sup>21</sup> Berlin Staatl. Mus. 1984.40, *LIMC* 4 (1988), s.v. Hades (Ruth Lindner), 85.



scheme but with more numerous subsidiary figures (fig. 52).<sup>22</sup> Here the two gods in the chariot pulled by four horses are led by both Hermes and Hecate, while Persephone turns back and reaches out toward the figure of Demeter behind the chariot. Above the horses a winged figure flies. A volute krater dated to circa 320 BC also shows a similar motif with the god and goddess in a chariot pulled by rearing horses, but this time toward the left (fig. 53).<sup>23</sup> Hermes again precedes the horses, while Demeter pursues the chariot. An Apulian hydria dated to 320/310 BC again follows a similar scheme with the chariot carrying the divinities pulled by two horses to the left and escorted by Hermes and Hecate, preceding and following the chariot respectively (fig. 54).<sup>24</sup> Lastly an Apulian hydria dated to 320/10 BC depicts a beardless Hades carrying Persephone, with Athena and Artemis following the chariot. A winged Nike holds the reins of the horses (fig. 55).<sup>25</sup> To the right Eros and Aphrodite appear. In all but two of these depictions, only a fraction of the total group, the chariot is pulled to the right by a team of four horses that are usually rearing. The quadriga carries the divine couple, with Hades usually nude, and Persephone elaborately dressed and wearing a veil. Often she turns back toward her mother, Demeter, who pursues the chariot on a number of the vases. Other gods, particularly Hermes and Hecate, frequently escort the chariot with a winged figure,

---

<sup>22</sup> Port Sunlight 5040, *LIMC* 4 (1988), s.v. Hades (Ruth Lindner), 86; *RVAp* II, 501, 63.

<sup>23</sup> Basel Market, Palladion, *LIMC* 4 (1988), s.v. Hades (Ruth Lindner), 88; *RVAp* Suppl. I, 175, 117a pl. 35.

<sup>24</sup> Hamburg, Mus. KG 1982/4, *LIMC* 4 (1988), s.v. Hades (Ruth Lindner), 89; *RVAp* II, 871, 57a, *RVAp* Suppl. I, 183 E; Linder (1984), 23-24 pl. 5.

<sup>25</sup> Bari, Coll. Macinagrossa 26, *LIMC* 4 (1988), s.v. Hades (Ruth Lindner), 113; Lindner (1984) 17-18 pl. 4; *RVAp* II, 871, 57 pls. 331,4; 333, 2.

identified as Eros, flying above the horses also representing a common feature. A general iconography that preceded the reliefs existed, which was probably directly or indirectly influential on the urns themselves. Consequently, the Etruscan artists based their work on motifs that were popular in the Greek world at large and more specifically developed in the Greek centres of Southern Italy and transmitted up the peninsula in some form.

The hellenized motif of the Abduction of Persephone was introduced on the urns towards the end of the third and beginning of the second century BC, and it occasionally turned up until the end of urn production.<sup>26</sup> Although Van der Meer states that the date of the urns is uncertain, Pairault-Massa suggests that the Abduction of Persephone was one of the first important mythological series.<sup>27</sup> She dates the appearance of mythological scenes to the last quarter of the third century BC, or perhaps to the beginning of the second century BC.<sup>28</sup> The first urn depicts the same basic motif as those that appear on the Apulian vases (Cat. 1). The chariot, which is pulled by the four rearing horses, carries the divine couple. The god on the chariot, heroically nude except for a garment tied around his waist, pulls toward himself a young woman, Persephone in a chiton with detached sleeves, to take her to the Underworld. She seems to resist and turns away from him, in a gesture similar to that of Persephone on the Apulian vases, who turns back toward Demeter. She grasps her chiton with her left hand and raises her right to her head. The semi-nude figure guiding the horses can be identified as the Etruscan death demon

---

<sup>26</sup> Nielsen (1993), 331.

<sup>27</sup> Van der Meer (1977/1978), 83; Pairault-Massa (1977), 157.

<sup>28</sup> Pairault-Massa (1977), 156.

Vanth, who leads the deceased to the Underworld. She wears a tunic folded over beneath her breasts and is winged at both the shoulders and the temples. The space below the horses' hoofs is filled by the figure of a marine demon, a triton, floating in the air, whose lower body is in the shape of a fish, with acanthus leaves at his waist. The style of the urn is clearly influenced by the Hellenistic sculptural trends prevalent in the second century BC. The figures are deeply cut, releasing them from the background, which recedes and forms a dark space. The space is further deepened through the figures that emerge at oblique angles from the background. The figures are depicted in three-quarter view, and some of the poses of the figures compare to the postures of 'baroque' hellenism.<sup>29</sup>

Another urn from Volterra, which is now in the Archaeological Museum in Florence (Cat. 2), depicts the same motif. The form of this urn was rare in Volterra, but based upon comparisons with those from Chiusi, Pairault dates this urn no later than 150 BC.<sup>30</sup> The chariot, which is unnaturally condensed at the left side of the relief, carries the divine couple. Again a bearded Hades, nude save the garment around his waist, restrains Persephone, who, wearing a chiton with detached sleeves comparable to her costume on the previous urn, turns away from him in a similar way as the corresponding figure of Catalogue 1. The semi-nude female Vanth similarly guides the horses; she wears the usual tunic, exposing her upper body, although the straps across her breasts are

---

<sup>29</sup> Compare the body of the marine demon and the giants on the Great Altar at Pergamon, particularly the one fought by Athena. Cf. Pedley (1993), fig. 10.23.

<sup>30</sup> Pairault (1972a), 45. This form corresponds to Pairault's 2b (cf. Pairault (1972a), 40-41). Urns belonging to this form had a trapezoidal outline and an animal-footed base.

not visible, and she is winged only at the shoulders. On this depiction additional subsidiary figures have been included to fill the remainder of the relief. Besides the marine demon, who here similarly has a fish tail but who has a double upper body, two seated figures, one with a sword, have been added at either side of him to fill the space below the hoofs of the horses. A male demon, probably Charun, stands before the horses. He wears high boots and is semi-nude with only a short tunic below his waist.<sup>31</sup>

Although this urn still uses three-quarter view and is in deep relief with figures emerging from the background at oblique angles to create depth, it is far more schematized than the urn discussed above. The figures, for example the gods in the chariot, do not impart a sense of dramatic motion or action. They stand upright, without any sense of straining on the part of either. Furthermore, the depiction of the figures is done in a very unnatural way; the rearing horses are static and unconvincing, Charun's legs are too elongated, and Vanth's wings are frontal, although she is seen almost in profile.

There are a number of other urns that depict this same motif. Although the first example (Cat.3) is not well preserved, the usual motif of Hades and Persephone in the chariot can be distinguished with Vanth guiding the horses. The male demon, Charun, restrains the horses at the right of the relief and a marine demon, here with a double fish tail, fills the space below them. Another urn (Cat. 4), that recalls Catalogue 1, but is not well preserved, shows the divine couple in the chariot according to the same scheme, with Vanth guiding the horses and the marine demon with the single coiling tail filling

---

<sup>31</sup> Laviosa (1964), 25 states that this figure is an agglomeration of Hermes of Greek tradition and the Etruscan Charun.

the space below the hoofs of the horses. Unfortunately the bad preservation of these urns precludes a detailed analysis.

The last three urns, two of which are very fragmentary, show variants of this motif. The first still retains fragments of the rearing horses, but most of the figures in the chariot are missing (Cat. 5). Vanth, here seen frontally, semi-nude with straps crossed on her breasts, can be distinguished driving the horses. Another demon appears in front of the horses, who perhaps represents Charun or possibly Hermes, because of his boots which may be winged. Alternatively, he may be a combination of these two figures. The space below the horses, however, is not occupied by the marine demon, but instead by a small serpent. Another urn, which is even more fragmentary, especially on the left side, almost completely lacks the two primary figures of Hades and Persephone (Cat. 6). Behind the horses a Vanth figure, who is draped and holds an unidentified object in her left hand, is clearly visible, but she is inactive and is represented frontally. The horses are not rearing, but instead they calmly lift their left front legs. In front of them a nude male demon appears, wearing only boots and a *chlamys*. He can be identified as Charun by his pointed ears. The quality of the carving of this urn is poorer and the style of the relief is far more restrained than any of those discussed earlier. The deep cutting and Charun emerging at an oblique angle and the horses successively turning toward the viewer, however, show a restrained interpretation and employment of Hellenistic

techniques.<sup>32</sup>

On the last urn to be treated under this topic, the chariot is pulled by four rearing horses toward the right (Cat. 7). In the chariot two figures appear, a male and female, represented frontally. The male is semi-nude, covered from the waist down by the side of the chariot, and the female wears a tunic and mantle. They have been identified as Hades and Persephone, since his semi-nudity is indicative of a mythological scheme.<sup>33</sup> The usual winged Vanth figure, here fully clothed in a tunic, is depicted beside the principal figures. She softly touches the face of the male with her right hand. A male figure is standing in front of the horses. He is semi-nude and wears boots and a Phrygian hat, while he seems to bridle the horses, perhaps to lead them forward. He may possibly be identified as Charun. Below the horses there are three figures, who emerge from the ground. They do not seem to correspond to any of the figures in the previous mythical depictions. The two males at either side of the female are semi-nude. The one on the left has a hammer clearly identifying him as Charun, while the other male figure, although not actually holding a hammer, makes a similar gesture. The identification of the female, in a tunic and mantle, is uncertain, but her position indicates that she too may be a demon of some sort. These figures do not alter the meaning of the depiction, and if they do

---

<sup>32</sup> This urn, in my opinion, may alternately represent a funerary theme, namely the Journey to the Underworld, rather than Hades and Persephone. The more restrained style of the depiction that is similar to those found in other delineations of the journey theme, discussed in subsequent chapters, particularly suggests this conclusion. However, the bad preservation of the two primary figures inhibits any firm conclusions, since the compositional iconography is similar for both themes.

<sup>33</sup> This interpretation, however, seems to raise some questions, since beyond the heroic semi-nudity of the male there is no indication of an abduction taking place. The couple seems to stand peacefully beside each other with the male placing his arm around the shoulders of the woman. However, this urn seems to be of cheaper and of a poorer execution, which may explain the differences from the other reliefs depicting the Abduction of Persephone.

represent infernal demons, they add to the funerary connotations and the Etruscan nature of the relief. They may also act as filling elements, in a similar way to the marine demon on the previous urns. The quality of the execution and finish exhibited by this urn is poor. Stylistically, therefore, this urn is far from some of the Hellenistic precedents discussed in earlier examples. The relief is flat with no undercutting, whereby the figures are a part of the background with no element detached from it. The anatomy and proportions are depicted in an unnatural and unrealistic way, so that the figures appear bulky. Drapery is simply rendered, very schematized and patterned.

The myth of Hades and Persephone is clearly suited to the funerary context of these urns, as it represents the long journey that Persephone endured on her way to the Underworld, and in this way possibly served as an allegorical or symbolic allusion to the same journey that the Etruscan deceased had to face at the end of his life. In this way, this myth with its inherent funerary meaning was naturally suitable for the urns of the Etruscan patrons, for whom it could be equated with their own funerary and religious beliefs.

Iconographically the urn reliefs conform to the basic model of a quadriga pulled by four usually rearing horses, always toward the right. The iconography that was seen on the Apulian vases, also from a funerary context, has been employed by the Etruscans on the urns to represent the same myth of the Abduction of Persephone, but altered in a

way to suit their own sensibilities.<sup>34</sup> The principal figures of Hades and Persephone have been maintained in similar positions, usually with Hades holding Persephone who stands beside him, often turning to look back. He is similarly represented in heroic nudity, while she wears a tunic or chiton and sometimes a mantle. The subsidiary figures, however, have been altered. The attendant deities on earlier models were constituted by typically Greek gods like Demeter and Hermes, who were related to the story. Demeter as the mother of Persephone was part of the narrative while such figures as Hermes served in a psychopompic capacity. In the Etruscan version these Greek deities have been replaced by death demons like Vanth and Charun, who impart typically Etruscan funerary significance to the relief. These figures, in a fashion similar to Hermes, conduct the couple to the Underworld. The other subsidiary figures seem to fill the space below the horses; here it is usually a marine demon, although in one relief two nude male figures are added (Cat. 2), while in another the marine demon is replaced by a serpent (Cat.5). Most of these figures do not have a precise connection with the principal figures or the meaning of the story, although the marine demon may represent the sea that needed to be traversed before entering the Underworld.<sup>35</sup> In this way his position below the hoofs of the horses is justified. Consequently, this motif of the Abduction of Persephone, aptly suited to the funerary context because of its inherent connotations, has been adapted by the Etruscans, indirectly basing themselves on preexisting Greek models that could

---

<sup>34</sup> Funerary connotations are expected on these Southern Italian vases, since like the urns, they were destined not for use but for the tomb. Cf. Trendall (1989), 266.

<sup>35</sup> Laviosa (1964), 25. It perhaps serves as a reference to the Etruscan religious belief that the Underworld lay over the seas. Cf. Holliday (1990), 80; Barker and Rasmussen (1998), 239.



easily be altered without significant change to the meaning in order to apply them to an Etruscan sepulchral context.

### **Pelops and Hippodamia**

As an iconographic variant of the theme of the Abduction of Persephone another scene was introduced around the mid-second century BC, which is usually identified as the Return of Pelops and Hippodamia from the Fatal Race.<sup>36</sup> Eight urns (Cat. 8-15) will be treated here, which depict this theme. The basic scheme of this depiction is similar to that found on the urns with the Abduction of Persephone. The figures identified as Pelops and Hippodamia stand on a quadriga pulled by four sometimes rearing horses toward the right. The usual death demons are also present. Some important differences from the depictions of Hades and Persephone occur. The costume of the principal figures has been altered, which suggests a divergent interpretation of the scene. On these urns, furthermore, additional figures are added, who seem related to the story, tentatively identified as Myrtilus and perhaps Oenomaus on some urns. The lack of clear identification of the figures, however, creates some difficulties of interpretation.<sup>37</sup>

The iconography of the urns does not correspond exactly to other representations, although similar motifs can be found on some vases of an earlier period, particularly from Apulia and Lucania. The identification of the myth on these earlier works is not clear, but customarily they have been interpreted as Pelops and Hippodamia at various stages of the race. A Lucanian hydria dated to about 400 BC showed Pelops and Hippodamia, now

---

<sup>36</sup> Nielsen (1993), 323; Van der Meer (1977/1978), 79 dates the scheme to circa 160 to 25 BC.

<sup>37</sup> For a full discussion see pages 42-45.

almost completely missing, in a chariot pulled by four horses toward the left (fig. 56).<sup>38</sup> Eros flies over them, while on the left a woman, perhaps Aphrodite, appears. An Apulian hydria dated to around 390 BC shows Pelops and Hippodamia in a chariot moving toward the left (fig. 57).<sup>39</sup> The chariot clearly moves forward at a great speed, as indicated by the fluttering drapery behind Hippodamia. Lastly, an Apulian loutrophoros dated to around 320 BC shows Pelops and Hippodamia in a chariot pulled by four horses toward the right (fig. 58).<sup>40</sup>

A similar motif of the couple in the quadriga shows up as part of the chariot race with Oenomaus pursuing the couple, which is popular on South Italian vases. This scheme is represented by an Apulian volute krater attributed to the Darius painter from Ruvo dated to about 330 BC (fig. 59).<sup>41</sup> On the neck of the volute krater, Oenomaus and Myrtilus pursue Pelops and Hippodamia. A Fury appears between them, while Eros flies over the chariot of Pelops and Hippodamia. An Apulian amphora also from Ruvo dated to circa 330 BC shows the same basic motif; Oenomaus and Myrtilus, who is ready to jump off, move in a quadriga to the left pursuing Pelops and Hippodamia (fig. 60).<sup>42</sup> A winged Fury appears between the chariots.

---

<sup>38</sup> Taranto, *Mus. Naz.*, *LIMC* 5 (1990), s.v. Hippodamia I (Maria Pipili), 24; Trendall, *LCS* 57, 284 pl. 26, 1; 27, 1.

<sup>39</sup> Taranto, *Mus. Naz.* 4604, *LIMC* 5 (1990), s.v. Hippodamia I (Maria Pipili), 25; *RVAp* I, 164, 2; Degrassi (1965), 8 fig. 52.

<sup>40</sup> *LIMC* 5 (1990), "Hippodamia I" (Maria Pipili), 26.

<sup>41</sup> Naples, *Mus. Naz.* 81667, *LIMC* 5 (1990), s.v. Hippodamia I (Maria Pipili), 20; *RVAp* II 495, 40; Séchan (1926), 456; Moret (1975) I, 151, 181, no. 100; II pl. 81, 2.

<sup>42</sup> Naples, *Mus. Naz.* Stg. 697, *LIMC* 5 (1990), s.v. Hippodamia I (Maria Pipili), 21; *RVAp* II 525, 236; Séchan (1926), 457 k; Squarciapino (1952/1954), 138 fig. 6.

The lack of clear identification makes the interpretation of the figures difficult, which is dependent purely on the iconography on the vases. The naming of the figures and the identification of the legend are issues of some difficulty, particularly on those representations that show only the chariot of the man and the woman. There are no clear indications of who the figures are, but the combination of the iconography of the speeding chariot and a man in Eastern attire who abducts a woman, often wearing a veil, seems to fit the myth of Pelops and Hippodamia. Furthermore, the erotic nature of the story is often indicated by the presence of Aphrodite and Eros, again suggesting that this legend is the one represented. The compositional similarity with those depictions that are more certain, because they show not only the couple but also the pursuing father with his charioteer, further suggests the identification of these scenes as the myth of Pelops and Hippodamia. Other difficulties arise, however, even if the identification of the theme is accepted to be this myth. When only Pelops and Hippodamia appear, it is unclear whether they are shown during the race, with Oenomaus imagined behind them, or as a wedded couple after the race, although the speed of the horses and Pelops' gesture of looking back seem to indicate the former.

The motif of this myth on these earlier depictions, however, does not seem to correspond to the Etruscan urn reliefs, beyond the principal figures of a couple on a quadriga, with the man in oriental costume. The eight urns of this category that are treated in this chapter seem to depict a different part of the myth, variously identified as

either the departure for or the return from the race rather than the race itself (Cat. 8-15).<sup>43</sup> The accuracy of this classification, however, is not certain, and problems of interpretation arise in the identification of the figures and episode depicted on the urn reliefs.<sup>44</sup>

One urn seems to be unique in this series; it depicts the couple on a chariot pulled by four rearing horses toward the right (Cat. 8). This urn is assigned to the workshop of “petites patères” by Pairault-Massa, and is dated by her perhaps between 170 and 150 BC.<sup>45</sup> Hippodamia, standing at the right of the chariot, is nude except for a torque around her neck and a veil that wraps around her left forearm. Pelops stands next to her in a long tunic tied at the waist, *chlamys*, and a Phrygian hat. They both look at a semi-nude winged female figure, whose identification is uncertain. She is an anomaly who does not appear on any other urns of this subject. In front of the horses another winged figure is carved, this time a male demon wearing a long tunic tied at the waist, mantle, and boots; he most probably represents the death demon Charon in his generic form. Below the horses is a male youth who has fallen forward onto his knees; he wears a long tunic and *chlamys*. His identification is also unclear, but he perhaps serves a filler function similar to that of the marine demon on the Persephone urns or is depicted to suggest that the horses are trampling him in their speed.

---

<sup>43</sup> B-K, II (1), 122-124 after discussing other options believe that the scenes most closely fit the aftermath of the race, when the couple returns and Myrtilus attempts to collect his reward for his betrayal. Laviosa (1964), 146, on the other hand makes no clear identification, simply stating that the relief could variously show the departure for or return from the race.

<sup>44</sup> For a full discussion concerning the problems of interpretation and the various possibilities of identification see pages 42-45.

<sup>45</sup> Pairault-Massa (1977), 159. For a fuller discussion of this urn and its workshop cf. Pairault-Massa (1975), 230-244.

Stylistically, the relief exhibits signs of Hellenistic influence, particularly in the depiction of the drapery of the winged male figure. He clearly depicts motion that is reflected in his chiton, which flutters behind him and displays the bend of his right leg. Even the female winged figure seems to reflect a Greek prototype, perhaps a depiction of a Nike or Aphrodite type, as shown by her drapery and semi-nudity, rather than a strictly Etruscan deity or demon.<sup>46</sup>

The other urns with this myth seem to be divided into two basic groups. The first group (Cat. 9-10) adheres to the pattern of the previous urn in its basic composition, but the winged female figure behind the chariot is replaced by a male figure, who has been identified as Myrtilus.<sup>47</sup> A high quality urn is a primary example of this category (Cat. 9). Pelops is in Eastern garb, wearing a tunic and a *chlamys* tied around his neck. Hippodamia, appearing at the left side of the chariot, wears a tunic that exposes her breast, a mantle, as well as a torque and some sort of headdress, possibly a veil. Hippodamia bends down and grabs onto Myrtilus, who stands behind the chariot; he also has the same Eastern costume as Pelops, but in addition he wears anaxyrides, which could not be seen on Pelops because he stands behind the side of the chariot. A winged Vanth has been inserted behind the horses; she is semi-nude with bands crossed on her exposed breasts and she carries a lit torch, resting on her shoulder. The winged male demon from the previous relief is shown before the horses, but here he wears an *exomis*

---

<sup>46</sup> According to Small (1981), 183 Vanth could take on the features of other deities, like Nike and Aphrodite. Perhaps this is a variant since Aphrodite is often depicted in similar guise in Greek art. The Aphrodite of Melos of circa 150-100 BC depicts the same type of drapery and stance.

<sup>47</sup> Laviosa (1964), 146.

with boots, and is to be identified as Charun. He seems to bridle the horses to lead them forward. A dog, placed between his legs, is a new element in the composition. Below the hoofs of the horses appears a youth similar to that on Catalogue 8, who has fallen forward onto his knees, to fill the space or perhaps to indicate the speed of the horses. His costume is now varied; he is in Eastern garb wearing a short tunic tied at the waist, anaxyrides, a *chlamys*, and a Phrygian hat. Hellenistic influence is clear in this relief. The agitated drapery of the figures, particularly of Pelops' *chlamys* that forms a semicircular shell shape behind Hippodamia, framing her, and the similar fluttering of the *chlamys* of Myrtilus behind him all indicate this inspiration. Furthermore, the deep undercutting of the figures loosens them from the background, as do the oblique angles and three-quarter views. Moreover, the complex pose of Hippodamia, an accentuated twisted motion, also hints at these origins.

An almost identical depiction is found on another urn (Cat. 10). Hippodamia and Pelops, in the same costume, but with his head intact and so his Phrygian hat visible, appear on the chariot. He holds her while she bends down to grasp the neck of Myrtilus, who stands behind the chariot, again in the same Eastern garb. The winged Vanth, semi-nude with bands crossed over her breasts, here too is placed behind the horses, but she holds her lit torch before her body with both hands. A badly preserved winged male demon, Charun, in an *exomis* appears before the horses with the dog between his legs, and the conventional youth used to fill space or indicate speed is placed below the hoofs of the horses. This composition is also of high quality with the influence of the prevalent Hellenistic environment felt particularly in the mannerisms of the drapery, like the

fluttering drapery of Myrtilus and Pelops that form a shell shape and the twisted pose of Hippodamia.

These two urns, according to Pairault's argument, belonged to the workshop of rosettes and palmettes, and in fact constitute close replicas. She dates the individual urns and the group as a whole to about 170-150 BC, based upon the stylistic references to Pergamene art. The effects of chiaroscuro, the use of oblique angles, and the variations of body position, as well as some use of complex poses, all indicate this approximate date.<sup>48</sup>

The second basic category of these urns (Cat. 11-15) retains Pelops and Hippodamia in the chariot with Myrtilus standing on the ground behind them and Vanth behind the horses. The horses, however, are more static and are walking rather than galloping. Furthermore, the fallen youth below the hoofs of the horses and winged male demon at the right of the relief are varied. The first urn in this category shows Pelops and Hippodamia on the chariot and Myrtilus behind them (Cat. 11). Hippodamia is veiled, wearing a tunic tied at the waist, and she places her arms around the neck of Myrtilus, but her pose has been straightened and she stands erect rather than bending down toward him. The costume of Myrtilus in this particular urn is difficult to make out, but it is at least clear that he wears a tunic and a Phrygian hat. Pelops, who again appears to wear a tunic, *chlamys*, and Phrygian hat, places his right arm around Hippodamia's shoulders. Vanth remains in her conventional position behind the horses; she is winged

---

<sup>48</sup> Pairault (1972a), 67. B-K's II (1), XLIX, 2 (Cat. 9), 2a (Cat. 10), 2b, 2c all belong to this single series and thus are probably dated to this same period.

and carries a torch in both hands. Her costume, however, is varied from the previous urns as she wears a tunic tied at the waist or a peplos rather than being semi-nude with bands crossed over her chest. The major compositional divergence of this urn from the group discussed above is constituted by the figures at the right of the relief. The fallen youth below the hoofs of the horses from the earlier category has been replaced by a bearded man in a long tunic and mantle, who rests on his shield held in his left hand and wounds the first horse with the sword in his right. This figure has been identified as Oenomaus by Brunn and Körte.<sup>49</sup> In the place of the male demon before the horses, a winged female figure has been inserted in a long tunic with her left breast exposed. She holds a small shield in her left hand and probably in her right, which is now missing. The head of this figure, according to Brunn and Körte, does not belong to the figure, but was attached at a later date.<sup>50</sup> Her identification is uncertain, but it is possible that she is an agglomeration of Vanth and the winged male demon with small shields who is found in other reliefs of the same myth, to be discussed subsequently. This urn differs in this figure from the others of the series. The Hellenistic elements, as far as they can be identified in a drawing, have been downplayed. The mannerisms of the drapery are no longer agitated and the more complex poses of the figures have been simplified and schematized, as Hippodamia's erect stance indicates.

A similar urn maintains this same general motif (Cat. 12). Pelops at the right of the chariot, in his typical costume, holds Hippodamia with his right arm. She, in a tunic

---

<sup>49</sup> B-K II (1), 124.

<sup>50</sup> B-K II (1), 126.



that exposes her right breast, and a type of headdress, perhaps a veil, grabs Myrtilus, who wears his usual attire, but with his anaxyrides replaced by boots. Vanth, behind the horses, is winged at both her shoulders and temples and wears a peplos. She is clearly flying toward the right above the horses, carrying a rod, perhaps the shaft of a torch now partly destroyed. The female demon at the right of the previous relief, however, has been replaced by a bearded male demon, who is semi-nude and has an animal pelt tied around his neck in the form of a *chlamys*. He also wears boots, a bracelet, and some type of headdress.<sup>51</sup> This male demon is more typical than the female variant in this series of urns. He holds two small shields in his hands and directs them at the horses. Oenomaus, who is diminutive, appears in a varied costume of a long tunic tied at the waist, *chlamys*, and helmet. He holds his shield in his left hand, as in the previous urn, but does not actually wound the first horse, although he still lifts his right arm, which possibly once held a sword. The style of this relief is also schematized and the nuances of hellenism seem to be almost completely absent. The figures are represented in a patterned and stiff way and proportions are not realistic.

Another urn depicts this same basic scheme, but Oenomaus instead of lying down is kneeling (Cat. 13). The three principal figures remain the same, with Pelops in a tunic, *chlamys* and Phrygian hat, holding Hippodamia, who pulls away from him. She wears a tunic and possibly a veil and holds onto Myrtilus who stands in his usual position behind the chariot. He too wears a tunic, *chlamys*, Phrygian hat, and boots, and he grips Hippodamia with both hands. The customary winged Vanth, semi-nude with straps

---

<sup>51</sup> B-K III, 108 identify it as a diadem.

across her breasts, stands behind the horses and holds a torch. She also has a necklace and a type of headdress. Oenomaus, on his knees in a more vertical position, wears a tunic tied at the waist. He holds a shield and a sword, which he directs at the horses. The male demon with small shields appears behind him. He is bearded and wears a tunic as usual, but he is here winged both at his shoulders and temples. The execution of this relief is very pedestrian, with bulky figures that are static. The anatomy and drapery show schematization and the gestures of the figures are angular, while the movement is diminished. The figures, however, are still very detached from the background, almost standing in a hollowed, darkened space.

The last two examples of this myth maintain the same basic motif, but add an additional figure. The first example (Cat. 14) is the only urn in this series that has an inscription, here in Latin. It reads:

C.Caes[ius] S.F. IIIIvir iu[re dicun]do  
iter[um] vixsit annos LX [---].<sup>52</sup>

The urn belonged to a Latin-speaking magistrate, Gaius Caesius, who was a *quattuorvir iuredicundo*.<sup>53</sup> The Latin inscription gives the urn a *terminus post quem* of 90 BC when Volterra gained the status of Roman *municipium*.<sup>54</sup> Martelli suggests more specifically that this urn most probably dated after 70 BC, once Volterra was reintegrated again as a Roman *municipium*, after Sullan demotion in 80 BC. The principal couple of Pelops and

---

<sup>52</sup> Martelli (1977), 90; *CIL* XI, 1744.

<sup>53</sup> Nielsen (1993), 340; B-K II (1), 128, LI, 6.

<sup>54</sup> Martelli (1977), 90.

Hippodamia appear on the chariot in their usual pose with Myrtilus behind them standing on the ground. The two men both wear Eastern style attire, but the stance of Pelops has been slightly altered since now, instead of holding the reins with his left hand he places it on the hilt of his sword, which is also a new addition. Hippodamia's costume is also slightly varied. She is in a tunic that slips off her left shoulder, and she wears a torque, and according to the drawing of Brunn and Körte a headdress, possibly a veil, that no longer survives. A winged Vanth, in a tunic with long sleeves, and wearing a headdress, carries a torch in both hands as she flies towards the right. The winged male demon with the small shields in both hands is in a similar tunic and has a garment underneath with long sleeves, and he wears a headdress, like the corresponding figure on Catalogue 13. He appears at the right of the relief. Oenomaus, in a tunic, *chlamys*, and helmet, sits in front of the horses holding his typical shield and sword, with which he wounds the first horse. Behind him a new figure has been inserted. He stands in a tunic and *chlamys* and lifts his right arm, which possibly once held a sword. The quality of this urn is high, but its style is in keeping with that of the previous one. Although the relief is well executed and richly carved with great attention to detail, the figures lack a sense of motion, while their actions are uncoordinated and mechanical. The drapery is patterned, and the anatomy is schematized.

The last urn with the depiction of this myth retains the basic scheme with a few minor variations (Cat. 15). Pelops, in his usual Eastern type attire, stands in the chariot, encircling with his right arm a veiled Hippodamia in a long sleeved tunic with her left breast exposed. She places her right arm around Myrtilus' shoulders, but instead of

grasping his right hand she holds her tunic with her left hand. Myrtilus, in a long tunic, boots, *chlamys*, and hat, stands behind them on the ground and forcefully grabs Hippodamia's veil with his left hand. A bird sits on his head and pecks at the rim of his hat.<sup>55</sup> A winged Vanth, in a peplos and long sleeves and with a torch in both hands, flies toward the right. Oenomaus lies below the horses in a long tunic, *chlamys*, and Phrygian hat, and brandishes the usual shield in his left hand and a sword in his right, but does not wound the horse. The bearded male demon also appears before the horses in a tunic, *chlamys*, boots, and customary headdress, but he is without wings, probably because of the space constraints. He has been relegated to a position behind an armed youth, in Eastern dress and holding a shield and sword, who stands before him and threatens the horses, in a similar way to the corresponding figure on Catalogue 14, although this earlier figure was smaller and less overpowering. The figures here too are relatively static and the drapery, although elaborate, is schematized.

Pairault-Massa argues that this series of urns was treated in a new style that adheres closely to that of the magistrate urns, discussed in Chapter Four.<sup>56</sup> Those urns have generally been dated to the end of the second and especially the beginning of the first century BC.<sup>57</sup> The similar urns with Pelops and Hippodamia, therefore, can reasonably be dated to this late period of production. This is reinforced by the urn with

---

<sup>55</sup> B-K II (1), 124 hypothesize that the bird belongs to the realm of Etruscan divination and foreshadows Myrtilus' coming death.

<sup>56</sup> Pairault-Massa (1977), 163.

<sup>57</sup> Nielsen (1993), 340, (1989), 1003-4, (1985), 59; Felletti Maj (1977), 82; Lambrechts (1959), 149.

the Latin inscription, which must date after the enfranchisement of Volterra in 90 BC (Cat. 14).

The identification of the myth and even the classification of the figures found on these urns present uncertainties of interpretation. As on the vases of Southern Italy the figures are not named and the episode is ambiguous. The interpretation of the scene is particularly complicated, furthermore, by the Eastern attire of all the male figures, instead of only the abductor since the myth takes place in Elis. For Pelops, who was from the East, originally Paphlagonia, this garb can be explicable, but for Myrtilus, who was a native, it seems rather odd.<sup>58</sup> Although this may indicate a different episode or altogether different myth, the fact that Myrtilus also wears the same outfit on the urns that depict his death, which can be identified with certainty due to the inclusion of the wheel that was unique to his story, makes these objections appear unwarranted (fig. 61).<sup>59</sup> The iconography of the urns, furthermore, simply shows a basic abduction-like scene with a man and a woman on the chariot, with various subsidiary figures. The possible identification of the motif on these reliefs as Pelops and Hippodamia is based on the iconography of the woman taken by a man in Eastern attire. The erotic element of the

---

<sup>58</sup> There is a possibility that the clothing of the figures on these depictions, and on other mythological urns in general, reflect Greek stage costume as opposed to more practical dress. Cf. Bonfante (1975), 54, n. 6.

<sup>59</sup> The urns with the death of Myrtilus depict four figures. Myrtilus, who is dressed in oriental attire with long anaxyrides, tunic, mantle and Phrygian hat, kneels on an altar. He is attacked by Pelops with a sword from the right and by Hippodamia from the left, who tries to take his unique defensive weapon, a wheel, from him. A fourth bearded figure is at the right, perhaps to balance the relief or to represent the god of the altar at which the murder is taking place. Although this iconography does not exactly match the mythical version, where Myrtilus is flung into the sea by Pelops, the wheel is the fixed attribute of Myrtilus not only on the urns, but also on vases of Magna Graecia. The wheel, furthermore, serves as a visual connection to the scenes of the death of Oenomaus, also a popular theme on the urns. Laviosa (1964), 98.

myth is often introduced with the baring of Hippodamia's breast or shoulder, an action that fits with the role assigned to her by her father, Oenomaus, to distract the suitor during the race. The action and the costume of the principal figures, therefore, seem to suggest that the myth represented was in fact that of Pelops and Hippodamia.

Nevertheless, even if the identification of the figures is accepted as Pelops and Hippodamia, the actual episode of the narrative that is represented on these urns raises further uncertainties. Brunn and Körte admit that there is doubt about the actual episode that is taking place: whether Myrtilus is in the act of receiving Hippodamia as she descends from the chariot after the race, or if Pelops is about to lead her away by force and she takes leave of Myrtilus. In this last case further complications are introduced; whether they are leaving for the race or for the home of Pelops and the nuptials. To Brunn and Körte the first of these possibilities seems most likely, since the action of all three principal figures only fits the episode of the return from the race.<sup>60</sup> To Laviosa either the departure for or return from the race seems plausible.<sup>61</sup>

The most probable solution, in fact, seems to be the first alternative, the return of the victorious couple from the fatal race since the principal figures adhere most closely to this variant. All the urns but one (Cat. 8) show Myrtilus behind the chariot taking hold of Hippodamia, perhaps to help her descend from the quadriga and to collect his promised prize of spending a night with her. This reward was in return for Myrtilus' betrayal of his master and Hippodamia's father, Oenomaus, which allowed Pelops to beat Oenomaus in

---

<sup>60</sup> B-K II (1),123-124.

<sup>61</sup> Laviosa (1964), 146.

the race, and win the princess as his bride. Pelops in each tries to restrain Hippodamia from descending, suggesting his regret of the promise he made and his subsequent double-cross of Myrtilus, which led to the latter's death. Oenomaus is not directly related to the episode of the myth on the urns, since by this stage Oenomaus would have been dead. However, he could easily take on a symbolic meaning, reminding the viewer of the fate awaiting Pelops and his descendants.<sup>62</sup> Alternatively, the scene may represent a condensed version of the myth where Oenomaus is included as a reminder for the viewers of events that already occurred.<sup>63</sup> In this way the Etruscan artist may have condensed the story showing two distinct episodes, which were recognizable to the viewers and so would induce them to recall the entire narrative.<sup>64</sup> It is, moreover, possible that the two different variants, that is the one with the fallen youth and the one with Oenomaus, represent the departure for and return from the race respectively. In the first there is no hint of the death of Oenomaus, but the fiery horses instead give a sense of urgency, perhaps an indication of the race ahead. The figure of Myrtilus hints at the events which are about to unfold after the race. In the second group the principal figures remain similar, but the calmness of the horses, who are no longer rearing, and the addition of Oenomaus perhaps reflect the deadly aftermath of the race. In any case, it is clear that

---

<sup>62</sup> B-K II, 124.

<sup>63</sup> Although the depiction of Oenomaus stabbing the horses is not accurate, the fact that he is being trampled under the hoofs of the horses fits the story. The addition of the action of stabbing the first horse may reflect an Etruscan interpretation of the story. Alternatively, the addition of figures with swords, including this one, may be generic reflecting the militarization of the theme to enhance the concept of triumph over adversity. I must thank Dr. Slater for suggesting this possible reading of the theme.

<sup>64</sup> This type of narrative condensation can be seen on other urns, as in the depiction of the murders of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra.

the Volterranean artisans attempted to impart to the urn reliefs a sense of action and narrative. The stories were not meant to be seen as static, but rather as dramatic narratives, which not only communicated the events actually represented, but tried to convey what was to come and what had already passed. The identification of the figures, and the episode, however, remains tenuous, since each solution creates more uncertainties.

The significance of this myth to an Etruscan sepulchral context is not as clear as for the Abduction of Persephone. It could possibly be taken as a hortatory lesson not to defy divine or moral law, or as a more general message of the inevitability of Fate, and in turn of death. More importantly, however, perhaps the funerary connotations of Hades and Persephone have been transferred to some extent to this story for which they served as models, because of the similar composition and iconography needed for both. To an Etruscan perhaps the comparable chariot motif, indicative of death and destruction in both legends, signaled a funerary meaning, particularly since the notion of a journey was inherent in their funerary beliefs. More specifically, these scenes with quadrigae must at a fundamental level refer to the idea of triumph over death because of the vehicle involved.<sup>65</sup>

Iconographically, however, these urns do not seem directly related to any precedents or models of this mythic episode in other media. Mansuelli has argued that the Pelops and Hippodamia scheme is derived from the painting of the Abduction of

---

<sup>65</sup> These urns with four horse chariots may ultimately refer to the victory at the Olympics, the origins of which rest with this myth. I thank Dr. Slater for pointing out this interpretation.



Persephone by Nicomachus of Thebes, the same painting which he argues was the archetype of the urns depicting the Abduction of Persephone.<sup>66</sup> Any conclusion based on this, however, is speculative, since he argues from a painting that no longer exists and of which nothing is known beyond Pliny's remarks.<sup>67</sup> Regardless of whether this painting was in fact the archetype for these urns, it hints at a fundamental issue concerning these motifs on the urns, namely that the basic scheme was interchangeable. Although the iconography of the quadriga pulled by four horses carrying Pelops and Hippodamia appears in other media, the scenes of this myth on the urns are more closely related to the reliefs depicting the Abduction of Persephone, adapting this basic motif with minor alterations to portray a new, albeit similar, myth. Perhaps the Etruscan artists, using the basic scheme of the urns with the Abduction of Persephone, invented a new representation for this myth. By altering the subsidiary figures on these urns, the Etruscan artisans gave a wholly new meaning to the relief. The two principal figures have been maintained in a similar pose to indicate an abduction-like scene, along with the death demons that here too supply a funerary meaning to the urns. The marine demon was replaced either by the fallen youth, or by a bearded older figure to fill the space below the hoofs of the horses. The identification of the reliefs as the story of Pelops and Hippodamia relies on the costume of the two characters on the chariot and the figure behind the horses. The Eastern garb, especially of the man on the chariot, and the elaborate dress of the woman, who is often adorned with a veil, seems to be appropriate

---

<sup>66</sup> Van der Meer (1977/1978), 78; Mansuelli (1950), 31.

<sup>67</sup> *Supra* n. 14.

for the Eastern protagonist, Pelops and his new bride, Hippodamia. The actions of the figure behind the chariot, furthermore, fit the general storyline of the myth. These elements, therefore, have been added to imbue the reliefs with a new meaning.

## **Conclusions**

Etruscan art, in the period of urn production, was at the periphery of the Greek world, by which it was continuously inspired, and to which it reacted according to its own sentiments and temperament. Consequently, the combination of Greek hellenism and clearly indigenous inclinations, particularly in reference to a funerary context, can be felt on the urns. The reliefs, although reflecting the Hellenistic currents of the period, are restrained and less adequate renderings of the dynamic hellenism as best seen in the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamon. A majority of the Etruscan mythological urns, furthermore, go back to an already existing iconographical tradition, developed in large part in Southern Italy's Greek centres, and more distantly based on archetypes originating in Greece and the Mediterranean world. This seems to be the case in the two mythological themes examined here. The examples of the Abduction of Persephone and the Return of Pelops and Hippodamia from the Fatal Race may shed some light on the acculturation of Greek originals and their development under an Etruscan mentality. The Etruscan artisans, whether inspired by copybooks or actual vases that may have been distantly based on Greek mural paintings, worked from preexisting models. They adopted these models to depict the original myth they were intended for, that is the Abduction of Persephone, changing them in minor ways to correspond to their own belief structure, as for example by the addition of death demons. Furthermore, they often went beyond this

simple transference, adapting the same scheme by the simple exchange of some figures to represent other myths. Consequently, the Pelops and Hippodamia reliefs seem to have adopted and evolved the earlier scheme of the Abduction of Persephone. This was possible because of the standard iconography employed for abduction scenes. The theme of Pelops and Hippodamia, therefore, was probably influenced by the compositional layout of the theme of the Abduction of Persephone, since these urn reliefs were locally available to serve as models. The Etruscans used the same iconographical model for different purposes, changing its meaning to suit their own beliefs and sentiments.

From Etruscan works of art, furthermore, it can be extrapolated that the Etruscans must have been familiar with a large body of Greek myths and stories from which they formed their own corpus of themes, influenced stylistically and conceptually by prevalent Hellenistic currents. The urn reliefs, which constitute only excerpts from longer narrative stories, had to signal to the observer a deeper and more involved story behind these symbolic stock motifs, which they must have been able to recollect to understand the funerary connotations inherent in most of the reliefs. The comprehension of these mythical stories, like the Abduction of Persephone and the Return of Pelops and Hippodamia, required an intimate knowledge of Greek myths particularly in terms of their connection to the contemplation of death.<sup>68</sup>

A more basic level of comprehension, however, may have been present since the people of Etruria lived in such different surroundings from the Greeks. It is plausible that the mythical depictions, particularly those discussed here, were interpreted differently by

---

<sup>68</sup> Brilliant (1984), 47.

an Etruscan and Greek observer. To the Greeks these myths signaled their traditional stories, ingrained as part of their culture. To the Etruscans such depictions may have indicated variant readings. These were based more closely on their own culture and ideas of death and afterlife, like the journey to the Underworld, which was often carried out by chariot or wagon. Consequently, the mythological scenes with a quadriga could have been interpreted and equated in part with their own death rituals and notions of afterlife. The quadriga in each mythical episode was a vehicle of death and destruction, and so its identification with the final journey and with the actual medium of transport of an Etruscan deceased seems almost natural. This interpretation makes chariot scenes appropriate symbols to be placed on vessels intended for the tomb, and thus to be contemplated in a funerary context.

### **CHAPTER 3**

## **THE JOURNEY OF THE DECEASED TO THE UNDERWORLD: THE SOLDIER**

The theme of a Journey of the Deceased to the Underworld is a popular motif on the Volterranean urns. This may be carried out by various means, but here the focus will be the variant that employs the quadriga as its vehicle of conveyance. The compositional form of this scene with its central quadriga is possibly based upon the iconographically similar mythological urns. The significance of the scenes, however, can no longer be explained by mythological narratives, but instead their meaning has been invested with indigenous funerary symbolism. This imbues the reliefs with a new context, which must reflect to some extent contemporary society.

### **Funerary Symbolism and Journey Scenes**

Many of the themes of Etruscan funerary art must have had specific relevance for the sepulchral setting of the monuments, a meaning that is often no longer apparent to a modern observer. Funerary symbolism, and even the funerary significance of the depictions, are not easily distinguished due to the frequently ambiguous character of the theme depicted. This difficulty usually stems from the nature of the representations; when a clear mythological context or narrative is absent, the meaning of the activities of the figures is usually difficult to identify. The theme of the journey to the Underworld seems only to have made its appearance tentatively in the early to mid fifth century BC

and presents such difficulties of interpretation.<sup>1</sup> Death was apparently seen as a journey from this world to the next.<sup>2</sup> In reliefs on numerous urns and on sarcophagi as well as funerary stelae and tomb paintings the dead appear as if alive, walking, riding a horse, or in a chariot or cart, making the last journey to the netherworld, and often bidding farewell to relatives and friends.<sup>3</sup> A *biga* with a charioteer appears on the wall of the Giustiniani Tomb at Tarquinia, dated to circa 470-450 BC (fig. 42). The presence of this vehicle with its rider has been explained as referring to a participant in the funeral games, but its inactivity seems to suggest an alternate reading. The chariot and its driver appear to be awaiting their passenger. This suggests a different funerary metaphor that sees death as a journey, revealing a change in the mentality of Etruscans about the nature of death. This concept with its more somber allusions to the ultimate fate of death was destined to become a popular subject of funerary art.<sup>4</sup> The means of the journey vary; it may be carried out on foot, by horse, by chariot, and even by boat. The Felsina stelae from their earliest inception in the fifth century BC hint at the idea of death as a journey. The earliest stelae most often reveal this concept through the image of a lonely horseman. At this date these monuments offer the most overt and numerous examples of the interpretation of death as a journey in the Classical period. Later stelae from Felsina into the fourth century continued to prefer the journey as their image of death. The means of

---

<sup>1</sup> Brendel (1978), 271.

<sup>2</sup> Barker and Rasmussen (1998), 239.

<sup>3</sup> Toynbee (1971), 17.

<sup>4</sup> Brendel (1978), 271.

travel, however, are more varied; the dead may journey on foot, on horseback, and by cart or chariot usually drawn by two or three horses, sometimes winged (figs. 43, 44).<sup>5</sup> The journey to the Underworld also becomes explicitly shown on sarcophagi, beginning with a Caeretan sarcophagus from the fifth century.<sup>6</sup> The subject is clearly a journey on foot, although new, politically status conscious iconography has made its appearance. The motif of a journey by chariot or wagon becomes common on such sarcophagi, as on two examples from Vulci.<sup>7</sup> On the first, the two ends of the sarcophagus show a man and a woman as they begin their journey on a *biga* and wagon respectively (figs. 45a and 45b).<sup>8</sup> The front panel represents the culmination of the journey, when the husband and wife meet in a *dextrarum iunctio* (fig. 45c). The other sarcophagus, circa 330 BC, depicts a similar theme on its front panel, with a man in a *biga*, accompanied by two equestrian figures as his retinue, making his way to the Underworld (fig. 62).<sup>9</sup> The deceased is met by Charun and three unidentified female figures on a wagon, perhaps the three Fates. Both monuments clearly indicate a journey to the Underworld is taking

---

<sup>5</sup> Brendel (1978), 374.

<sup>6</sup> Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, inv. 14949. Cf. Holliday (1990), 76-78, fig. 1, Felletti Maj (1977), 87-88; Brendel (1978), 324-325, fig. 246; Herbig (1952), 46-47, no. 83, pls. 1-2. Only those elements of the scenes on this and subsequently discussed sarcophagi that concern the journey to the Underworld will be examined here. For their images of a procession see Chapter 4, pages 80-82.

<sup>7</sup> Brendel (1978), 381-383.

<sup>8</sup> Boston Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 1975.799; Holliday (1990), 79, figs. 2-4; Felletti Maj (1977), 88, fig. 4 a-c; Richardson (1964), 145-6. This sarcophagus will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four.

<sup>9</sup> Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Brendel (1978), 383; Herbig (1952), 31-31, no. 49, pl. 41-42.

place, but the new iconography of a procession is beginning to emerge. Although the new focus of these reliefs places them into another category that will become relevant for the subject of the next chapter, the journey of the deceased as a magistrate, these monuments are, nevertheless, important for their images of a journey.

Funerary symbolism also played a role within the decoration of Volterrann urns from their earliest existence, beginning in the later third century BC, and continued to be significant for the remaining period of production.<sup>10</sup> Nielsen classifies this group of subjects as native Etruscan funerary motifs, since they do not have an identifiable mythological context, but rather they presuppose an Etruscan mentality. Among the numerous funerary motifs on the urns, the most frequent were the Journey to the Underworld and Farewell scenes (figs. 63, 64).<sup>11</sup> Some funerary motifs, however, did not long endure after their inception, as Nielsen states for the Journey to the Underworld in a Wagon, which was quickly abandoned.<sup>12</sup> According to her account, this scene, also found in other media, was among the earliest motifs on the urns, but in very small numbers. Once experiments with this theme were abandoned, the motif only reappears about a century later and in such a radically altered form that she assigned it a new category, that is the Journey of the Deceased in Quadriga.<sup>13</sup> Nielsen's classifications suggest a fundamental difference between the iconography of the two themes; the vehicle

---

<sup>10</sup> Nielsen (1993), 327.

<sup>11</sup> Nielsen (1993), 321-323.

<sup>12</sup> Nielsen (1993), 327.

<sup>13</sup> Nielsen (1993), 327.



in the former is usually a two-horse *biga* or a wagon in accordance with the earlier treatment of this theme in other media, while it is a quadriga in the latter. The group of urns that Nielsen categorizes as the journey in a wagon, however, was not available in the published material; all the reliefs found in the catalogues clearly depict quadrigae, which negates their identification as wagons.<sup>14</sup> Consequently, Nielsen may have had access to earlier urns showing such wagon scenes, which were not accessible in the limited material available in the research of this thesis. Alternatively, she may have classified some of the urns with a deceased in a quadriga as wagons, in opposition to the later treatment of the theme where the deceased is depicted as a magistrate, in which case her criteria for what constitutes a wagon and a quadriga differ from my own.

### **The Urns**

On the nine urns (Cat. 16-24) examined in this chapter the journey of the deceased is made in a quadriga. The mythological urns, like the Abduction of Persephone and the Return of Pelops and Hippodamia from the Race, probably served as catalysts for the revitalization of this old Etruscan funerary theme around the mid second century BC.<sup>15</sup> In the use of the quadriga on these urns, instead of the earlier wagon or *biga*, perhaps the influence of the two mythological variants may be glimpsed. The basic scheme of the mythological reliefs is readily adaptable to this new funerary motif, particularly because of the similar iconography necessary for the depiction of the mythological chariot scenes and for the scenes with a deceased in a quadriga

---

<sup>14</sup> I only came across one urn that shows a wagon; a female deceased sits atop a stool set on a four-wheeled vehicle being pulled by two horses. Cf. B-K III, pl. LXXXIII, 10.

<sup>15</sup> Nielsen (1993), 335.

triumphantly making his final journey. In the basic scheme of the subsequent funerary themes, the central group of the chariot with the four horses is maintained, but the principal figures of Hades and Persephone or Pelops and Hippodamia are replaced by the deceased in the chariot.

The first example of the journey scene to be treated is dated to circa 180 BC on a stylistic basis (Cat. 16).<sup>16</sup> The deceased, a single male in a tunic, mantle, and an unidentified covering on his head, appears in the chariot. He holds an object horizontally in his right hand, a whip or maybe a sceptre as a symbol of his authority.<sup>17</sup> The rest of the relief is familiar. The chariot is pulled by four rearing horses toward the right. Vanth, although without wings, can be identified behind the horses by her other distinguishing characteristics like her semi-nudity, the crossed bands over her chest, bracelets, and torque. She takes the reins of the horses to guide the chariot to the Underworld, and gestures with her left hand rather than carrying a torch. Before the horses a male demon appears, whose wing with a large eye in the centre is not seen on the front of the urn but wraps around the left side. He serves a psychopompic function, exhibiting some of the characteristics of the Greek deity Hermes in his nudity and winged boots. Nevertheless, he is clearly an Etruscan demon, identified as Charun by his other attributes. He is bearded and winged, and he has feral features such as pointed ears. He holds a serpent in his left hand that winds around his arm, and he lifts his right hand holding a rod, or perhaps the shaft of a hammer. Below the horses the marine demon

---

<sup>16</sup> Pairault-Massa (1977), 158.

<sup>17</sup> This object probably does not indicate the reins of the horses since Vanth clearly guides the horses by grasping the reins. B-K III, 4 identify this as a sceptre.

appears, with his tail coiling toward the left to fill space; he perhaps adds to the meaning of the relief the extra element of the arduousness of the journey to the Underworld, specifically the necessity of traversing the sea. The style of this relief hints at Hellenistic influences, like the mythological scenes discussed in the previous chapter. The urn front is carved in deep relief, with the figures often emerging from the background at oblique angles and shown in three-quarter view. The figures, furthermore, are relatively well executed and proportioned.

The iconography on this urn relief differs from the earlier depictions of a journey in other media, discussed above. The urn, instead, parallels more closely the mythological urns of the previous chapter, perhaps drawing upon their compositional layout as models, since they were locally available. The scene of this urn is specifically based on the Abduction of Persephone, which is especially suitable for this alteration since it deals with a journey to the Underworld itself. The main scheme of a quadriga pulled by four rearing horses is maintained, as well as the subsidiary figures of Vanth and the marine demon. The alteration of the protagonist, who replaces the mythological couple, was used to imbue the whole representation with a non-mythological meaning. This urn, however, has no parallels in the funerary series to be examined presently, but perhaps represents a transitional stage between urns with mythological scenes and those depicting more exclusively sepulchral themes.

The other urns treated in this chapter (Cat. 17-24) conform to a more sober pattern, where the nuances of mythical representations are almost completely absent. These are probably closer to the earlier funerary themes than the mythological, but

nevertheless their motif might have been revived by the popularity of the mythical quadriga scenes. The quadriga carrying the deceased remains a constant throughout; variants are created by the addition of various subsidiary figures. These variations break into three categories. In the first (Cat. 17- 19) the chariot is pulled by four walking horses, and the deceased is accompanied by figures who can only be explained as members of his household. The second group (Cat. 20-21) retains the central chariot, but here it is pulled by four galloping horses, who ride over fallen warriors. The last group (Cat. 22-24) is heterogeneous, but various common traits and the central quadriga link these urns to the other two categories.

A crowded urn (Cat. 17) depicts an elongated and enlarged chariot pulled by four horses with their left front legs raised. In the chariot, a charioteer appears at the right in an *exomis*, holding the reins and inciting the horses, possibly with a whip of some type. Presumably a woman stands beside him enveloped in her mantle, although her head is largely destroyed, making a positive identification difficult. The man at the left appears in military garb, and most probably can be identified as the deceased. He is beardless and wears a tunic tied at the waist, a *chlamys* fastened at the neck, a covering on his head, and he holds an unsheathed sword in his right hand. He is clearly meant to be a soldier. He looks back at another man in a tunic, mantle, and Phrygian hat, who places his left arm around him. Before the horses two figures appear. One is a smaller figure wearing only an *exomis* and holding the reins of the horses. Behind him a bearded male figure stands in a long tunic and a type of headdress placed in his hair.<sup>18</sup> He holds two small shields in

---

<sup>18</sup> B-K III, 108 identify this as a type of diadem.

his hands, which he directs towards the horses. He is probably a demon of some type, like those who appear on a number of the urns with the theme of Pelops and Hippodamia.<sup>19</sup> On these this figure can be winged or wingless. As a result, it is possible to identify the similar figures on the urns treated presently with this one, even though here he appears consistently without wings.

Another urn (Cat. 18) follows this basic scheme. Three figures stand in an elongated chariot pulled by four rather static horses, walking toward the right. The relief is worn so details are difficult to distinguish, but nonetheless the main motif is clear. The charioteer, who wears an *exomis*, incites the horses with a whip held in his right hand. The figure beside him is presumably a woman, as the identification of corresponding figures on other urns indicates. Her attire is too worn to be identified, but it seems that her head may have been covered. The male figure beside her to the left is also worn, but can be conventionally identified as the deceased. He probably wore a tunic and *chlamys*, which is visible around his neck. His head is clearly covered with a round cap. If he originally held a sword, it is no longer visible. Behind the chariot a male figure stands, similar to the previous urn. He is almost completely destroyed, but a sword can be distinguished held out in front of him in his right hand. He no longer places his arm around the man in the chariot. Before the horses another, almost completely indistinguishable figure appears. By the small shield held in his hand, however, he can be identified as the demon with shields of the previous urn. Stylistically the urn is not

---

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Chapter One, page 10.

well executed, but its deep relief is significant in indicating that it was probably of a later date.

The next urn of the series has an even larger number of figures depicted (Cat. 19). The chariot group remains the same; four static horses, walking toward the right, pull an elongated chariot that carries the charioteer, the woman, and the deceased. The charioteer is beardless and wears an *exomis*. He incites the horses with his raised right hand, although the object he was grasping is now lost. The woman beside him is in a tunic and mantle and looks toward the man beside her at the left. He wears a tunic tied at the waist, as well as a round covering on his head. He brandishes an unsheathed sword in his right hand and grasps a shield in his left. He looks straight ahead instead of turning to his companion behind the chariot. This figure is similarly a soldier in a tunic tied at the waist with a round covering on his head and an unsheathed sword in his right hand. The figure, however, appears to be emerging from the ground, which makes his identification or function in the relief difficult to decipher. This figure was depicted in this way possibly to fit him into an already crowded relief, and so to make room for the new addition of a male demon figure behind him. The demon is beardless and wears a tunic tied at the waist. He is winged and carries a long torch in his right hand. These features probably identify him as Charun. In front of the horses four figures appear. The two in the front, a man and a woman, are diminutive. The woman wears a long tunic tied at the waist and turns her head toward the male figure beside her. He is dressed in an *exomis* and grasps a torch in his right hand, while he holds out his left as if to grasp the reins. He seems to be leading the deceased to the Underworld and lighting the way. The other two

figures are depicted on a higher plane to indicate their position behind. This convention is a typical characteristic of local Italic art that becomes increasingly prominent with the advance of Rome. The bearded male at the right, wearing a tunic and holding small round shields, is another demon like the figure on the two previous urns. Beside him another man appears in a tunic. One further figure is depicted in the middle of the relief. He too is diminutive and stands with his back to the viewer. He is nude with no attributes.

Compositionally these reliefs recall the urns of Pelops and Hippodamia, on which the horses are walking and the demon with shields is present (Cat. 11-15). The conspicuous pairing of these elements, which rarely appear separately, suggests that these three urns were picking up the basic layout specifically of the second category of Pelops and Hippodamia reliefs. The chariot with walking horses is maintained as central. The demon with the shields in his hands appears at the right of the urn, in front of the horses, although consistently without wings. A single male figure, who may wear a Phrygian hat, seems to correspond to the character of Myrtilus on the Pelops and Hippodamia urns at the left of the chariot, imitating a part of his Eastern costume. Such compositional parallels reveal a general reliance upon the motif of the myth of Pelops and Hippodamia as a model, yet the alteration of the other figures indicate an expansion and adaptation of its basic iconography that imbue the reliefs with a new meaning and setting. The compositional and iconographic similarity between these two themes, moreover, may suggest that this group of journey urns can be dated approximately to the same period of production as the second category of Pelops and Hippodamia reliefs (Cat. 11-15). The

presence of the demon with shields on these reliefs further suggests this late date, since this demon figure appears primarily in themes that chronologically belong at the end of urn production. The second category of Pelops and Hippodamia urns have been discussed in Chapter Two as dating to the end of the second century or to the beginning of the first century BC.<sup>20</sup> The demon with shields also appears on the theme of the Journey of the Deceased in a *carpentum* which is generally dated to this late period, around the middle of the first century BC.<sup>21</sup>

This group of urns maintains the motif of the deceased in a quadriga setting out on or already in the process of making his last journey. The subsidiary figures add a domestic aspect to the relief. The woman in the chariot may be identified as the wife of the deceased because of her proximity to him, but whether she is dead and is now rejoined with her husband, or is still alive and stands as an allegorical companion to her husband in death, is unclear. Nevertheless, her presence in either case is a clear indication of the importance placed on family, both in this world and in the next. Moreover, she also hints at a more fundamental Etruscan belief, shared by many other societies; the Etruscans seemed to believe in the continuance of life after death, and reunion with their loved ones in the next life. Other figures in these reliefs may also represent close relations, but their particular identification is difficult to determine beyond the general statement that they are relatives, friends, or servants of the deceased. Most have no identifiable marks or attributes, other than the *exomis* worn by some of the

---

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Chapter Two, pages 39 and 41-42.

<sup>21</sup> Nielsen (1993), 340. Cf. Moscati (1997) for a discussion of the treatment of the theme of the Journey to the Underworld in a *carpentum*.



figures, probably indicating their servile status. The only other figure in the reliefs who allows any conjecture about his role is the man standing behind the chariot, attested in all three of the urns (Cat. 17-19). This figure in each case appears in military garb, similar to the deceased. In the first one (Cat. 17) he actually embraces the deceased, attempting to detain him or more appropriately bid farewell to him. Although the possibility exists that in the last two urns discussed (Cat. 18-19) this figure is an opponent of the deceased because of his unsheathed sword, it is more likely that here too he represents a close friend or relative. He does not appear to attack the man in the chariot in any of these reliefs, and so his identification as an armed enemy is not likely. The swords and other military implements may have been included to enhance the triumphant nature of the journey. The subsidiary figures on these urns clearly indicate the importance of death among friends and family, bringing the meaning of the relief into the domestic realm. Furthermore, the numerous servants depicted on these urns not only contribute to this sense of familial harmony, but also serve as status symbols. The deceased was clearly affluent enough to employ such labour, indicating his wealth and social standing in society. The reliefs on these urns, therefore, depict the deceased as if alive making his final journey among his closest friends and relatives, and aided by his trusted servants. His military dress, furthermore, adds a new meaning to the relief; the warrior in a triumphant quadriga clearly has undertones of victory, possibly over death, or referring to the success attained in life.

The next two urns to be treated under this category of soldier urns again maintain the basic chariot group, but introduce new elements that place greater emphasis

on the idea of triumph over death (Cat. 20-21). In these reliefs the horses are rearing, riding over fallen warriors. The first urn (Cat. 20) depicts a chariot pulled by four galloping horses. In the chariot are the three familiar figures. The charioteer wears a tunic and holds the reins in his left hand while he has a whip or a rod in his right. Beside him a presumably female figure appears in a tunic and mantle, but her gender is not certain since her head is missing. At the left of the chariot is the deceased in military garb. He wears a tunic, and is equipped with a helmet, a shield, and possibly a sword in his upraised right hand, now destroyed. He turns back towards two other warriors. Both are dressed in short tunics fastened at the waist. The one on the left has a sword in his right hand, a shield in his left, and wears a helmet. The figure beside him is in large part destroyed, but he raises his right hand, which probably held a sword. They appear to be attacking the man in the chariot, who reciprocates, and attempts to fight them off. In front of the horses a figure appears, who does not correspond to the figure of the bearded male demon with shields depicted on most of the other urns in this series. This demon is clearly female. She is winged and wears a long tunic tied at the waist or a peplos, which slips off her left shoulder. She also has a necklace around her neck. Her attire and wings probably identify her as Vanth. She holds the nose of the first horse with her left hand. Even more striking new elements are introduced on this urn by the two fallen figures below the hoofs of the horses. The one at the left is in a long tunic and helmet; he props himself up on his shield held upright in his left hand, while he holds an unsheathed sword in his right, lowered to the ground. Beside him to the right another warrior appears; he is in an *exomis*, high boots, and a helmet or perhaps a Phrygian cap. He rests his elbow on a

pile of rocks behind him, but otherwise he appears dead. His head is slumped forward with his eyes shut, and his left arm falls lifelessly before his body. Next to him a shield is depicted upright, perhaps belonging to him, but now discarded.

The next urn of the series unfortunately is partly damaged (Cat. 21). The basic motif, however, of the three figures in a chariot riding over fallen warriors has survived. The horses, whose upper bodies are lost, are rearing. They pull an elongated and enlarged chariot carrying the usual three figures. The charioteer is in an *exomis* and holds the reins in his left hand. A woman to the left of him is in a tunic and holds an unsheathed sword in her right hand.<sup>22</sup> At the left of the chariot a male figure appears in military garb. He wears a tunic tied at the waist, a round covering on his head, and holds a shield in his left hand, and an unsheathed sword in his right. He looks back as if he was being pursued, but no other subsidiary figures are depicted behind the chariot. Below the hoofs of the horses are three fallen figures. The two to the right are similar to the previous urn. One is in a short tunic tied at the waist, a *chlamys*, and a helmet. He is on his knees and supports himself on his shield held upright in his left hand, while he grasps an unsheathed sword in his right. The figure to the right of him is in an *exomis* and high boots, as well as a helmet or a Phrygian cap. He rests his right elbow on a pile of rocks behind him. His head, however, is slumped forward and his eyes are shut with his left arm fallen loosely before his body. He is clearly dead. The shield again is represented upright at the right of him. The third additional figure to the extreme left is nude save a

---

<sup>22</sup> It seems unusual for a woman to be holding a sword. Since this urn was only available to me in the form of the reproduction drawing of Brunn and Körte, their identification of this figure's gender must be accepted. Cf. B-K III, 110.

*chlamys* tied around his neck and wrapping around his left leg. He appears to be trying to push himself up on the rocks to his left.

The composition of these urns links them to the previously discussed funerary theme by the depiction of the quadriga carrying the same three figures, who appear in similar positions. Other constituting elements of the two reliefs, however, reveal variant sources of influence. These urns seem to incorporate aspects of the iconography of those depictions of Pelops and Hippodamia where the horses are galloping and riding over a youth in Eastern dress, and the demon with shields is not present in front of the horses (Cat. 8-10). Similarly on these urns of the deceased as a soldier the horses are rearing, riding over figures below their hoofs, and the demon with shields is absent. The Phrygian cap of the figure below the horses, furthermore, is not part of local costume. This Eastern element was probably inspired by the costume of the figure below the hoofs of the horses on the Pelops and Hippodamia scenes. Again a basic model was available both for the patrons and the artisans, which they could follow in its general arrangement, keeping the central quadriga with rearing horses. This mythological iconography was then imbued with funerary meaning by the substitution of the deceased with his wife and charioteer for the mythological couple. The similarity with the first category of depictions of Pelops and Hippodamia (Cat. 8-10), furthermore, may suggest that these urns predate the previously discussed group of journey scenes (Cat. 17-19), which seem to rely on iconography that was primarily popular toward the end of urn production.<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>23</sup> For the dating of this second group of Pelops urns and consequently my proposal for the possible dates of the journey urns where the horses are walking see Chapter Two, pages 41-42 and pages 60-61 of this chapter.

Consequently, this group of journey urns that incorporate galloping horses riding over fallen figures may date close to the period of 170-150 BC or relatively soon after, in accordance with the dating of the similar Pelops and Hippodamia urns.<sup>24</sup>

By introducing the elements of a military victory, whereby the deceased is fighting off living enemies or riding over defeated ones, these two urns are imbued with a more dominant triumphal significance. The indications of death in familial circumstances are reduced to the depiction of the deceased's wife and the charioteer, while the symbols of military preeminence and victory come to the forefront. The deceased prevails over enemies who outnumber him, riding over those defeated and holding the others back. He appears victorious in his triumphal chariot. The meaning of these additional warrior opponents is manifold. They could refer to the actual victories won in battle by a man who counted among his greatest attributes his military abilities and achievements. Furthermore, they can be interpreted as allegorical references to the conquered obstacles the deceased must have faced either on his way to the afterlife or during his time among the living. In either case, they celebrate the achievements of the deceased, and indicate his social standing and status. These urns may have served the purposes of those individuals who did not attain political preeminence, and therefore did not get an urn showing processions of magistrates (discussed in the next chapter). They instead may have opted for a theme that had a triumphant flavour, but no political overtones. If the deceased was in fact a soldier, these urns would have had particular resonance.

---

<sup>24</sup> For the dating of my first category of Pelops urns see Chapter Two, page 36, and n. 48.

The urns with such military imagery appear to indicate the use of chariots in battle. The extent to which these reliefs reflect the realities of warfare, however, is uncertain. There is little evidence, literary or otherwise, that allows a visualization or understanding of Etruscan organization in war.<sup>25</sup> There is a general consensus among modern scholars, however, that chariots were probably not used in war.<sup>26</sup> Although chariot burials are known in the early periods of Etruscan history, and chariot scenes seem to be a common feature of Etruscan art, they seem to have a ceremonial or funerary focus, revealing more about burial customs and the status of the deceased than about military practices.<sup>27</sup> The depiction of the quadriga on the urn reliefs particularly seems to support this notion, since this type of chariot pulled by four horses inherently evokes the ceremony of triumph, as opposed to actual battle.

The last three urns (Cat. 22-24) to be treated differ from the previous series (Cat. 17-21). They are included, however, within this group because they share various common traits with the urns of this category. The first urn differs from the usual delineation of the figures by depicting only two individuals in the quadriga (Cat. 22). The chariot is again pulled by four horses walking toward the right; they raise their left front legs. A man stands at the left in the chariot. He is beardless and wears a tunic tied at the waist, a *chlamys*, and a helmet and holds the reins with his left hand. He is clearly

---

<sup>25</sup> Macnamara (1973), 131.

<sup>26</sup> Macnamara (1973), 136 states that although elaborate chariots were produced in Etruria in the sixth century BC, and they are often depicted in art, it is unlikely that they were ever used in military combat. They, however, may have been used by kings and later generals to ride to war and they seem to have been important in victory processions. Barker and Rasmussen (1998), 261 state that there is uncertainty about the use of chariots in battle.

<sup>27</sup> Barker and Rasmussen (1998), 26; Spivey and Stoddart (1990), 129.

meant to be a warrior, as indicated not only by his cloak but by his helmet as well.

Beside him to the right is a woman in a tunic, mantle, and a type of headdress. In front of the horses another beardless male figure appears. He wears a short tunic tied at the waist with short sleeves. He probably depicts a servant who restrained the horses, although the reins are now missing. At the right of the chariot, standing behind the horses, with his legs clearly indicated, a winged male demon appears. He is bearded and clad in a short tunic and boots. His pointed ears, wings, and beard as well as the torch held presumably in his left hand indicate that he is the demon Charun. Although the urn is published only in the form of a drawing in Brunn and Körte, it is clear that it was carefully executed with fine detail. Although the military garb of the deceased, as well as the woman in the chariot and possible servant, link this urn to the larger group, its composition is a variant. There are only two figures in the chariot as opposed to the usual three, and the Charun figure standing behind the horses is a unique feature of this urn.

The next urn (Cat. 23) in its composition conforms to the basic iconography of the previous series (Cat. 17-19). The typically elongated chariot holds the usual three figures. A charioteer appears at the right of the chariot in a tunic, bending over the side of the chariot and holding the reins. Beside him is a woman in a tunic and mantle with her head possibly covered, although the state of preservation of the urn inhibits certainty. She embraces the deceased to the left. He is represented frontally and is enveloped in his mantle; in this civic costume he is without parallel in the series, in which each relief

shows a principal male figure in military garb.<sup>28</sup> Before the horses a male figure appears in a short tunic and *chlamys*, depicted from the back; he perhaps represents a household servant there to accompany his master on his journey. Infernal demons are completely absent from the scene. The urn front is executed in high relief, with finely carved but disproportionate figures, represented from various angles.

The last urn depicts the usual chariot pulled by four horses toward the right (Cat. 24). The horses are not rearing, but simply raise their front left legs. The chariot, however, carries a single figure; he holds the reins of the horses. He wears a covering on his head, possibly a Phrygian hat, as well as a tunic and a *chlamys*. His costume, particularly the military cloak around his neck, identifies him as a soldier.<sup>29</sup> The relief has no other subsidiary figures accompanying the deceased. The lack of detail, partly a result of the less durable material, tufa, that was used for its construction, makes a stylistic analysis difficult. Nevertheless, it can be said that the overall style of the urn, executed in deep relief, is restrained with figures that are bulky and disproportionate, and drapery that is mechanical. This urn can be connected to the series particularly by the costume of the deceased, but in all other aspects, like the lack of subsidiary figures, the depiction is unusual.

---

<sup>28</sup> The other figures of the series do not wear a costume that is strictly identifiable as military garb (including such things as a breastplate, greaves and the like), but instead they are usually in a tunic or in the case of some of the defeated in an *exomis*. The depiction of them variously in a helmet, *chlamys* and often with a shield and sword, however, alludes to their military activities.

<sup>29</sup> Conversely, this figure may be another man in civic garb, since the simple depiction of a *chlamys* is not sufficient to make a clear distinction, but his general appearance seems to correspond to other figures, who are clearly in military attire.



Compositionally, these three urns do not closely correspond to any of the mythological precedents. The use of the quadriga, particularly since the horses are walking, however, indicates that they may have taken the Pelops and Hippodamia urns as their basic model, making more substantial alterations to its iconography. The varied features they employ seem to reveal that they were drawing inspiration from a number of sources, combining features of other urn reliefs. In this way they maintain the quadriga of the mythological urns in all three reliefs. The other variations of figures they derive from diverse sources. A winged demon behind the horses in the first urn (Cat. 22), recalls the composition of the mythological urns, both the Abduction of Persephone and Pelops and Hippodamia. The insertion of the servant and the military garb of the deceased are clearly taken from the funerary variants discussed in this chapter. The next urn (Cat. 23) still maintains the central quadriga, but in the depiction of the deceased with his companions and the servant is closer to the funerary motif. The last example (Cat. 24) is an anomaly. The central quadriga is still preserved, but the single deceased with no subsidiary figures is a new feature, only attested on the first urn (Cat. 16), which draws its inspiration from the motif of the Abduction of Persephone. The relative poorness of this urn, however, may be a result of financial considerations, whereby the patron could only afford a limited number of figures, choosing to imitate such quadriga scenes but in a constrained manner.

This group of three urns, nevertheless, presents wider variants of the same recognizable theme. The meaning of the first example is clear due to the presence of Charon, who imbues the relief with a funerary significance (Cat. 22). The deceased as a

warrior is making his last journey, possibly accompanied by his wife and servants. The position of the woman beside the deceased in the chariot identifies her as his wife, as she affectionately embraces him. The second urn omits the demons, but the theme is clearly funerary because of the sepulchral context (Cat. 23). The deceased appears making his last journey possibly in the company of his wife and servants. The last urn shows a single male deceased, in an urn of poor quality and cheap medium (Cat. 24). Its identification as a journey scene is possible because there does not seem to be any narrative involved, and because such journey scenes, albeit in different compositional form, were popular throughout Italic, and particularly Etruscan funerary art.

Some uncertainties, however, may arise with the basic identification of the principal figures on the urn reliefs. Thus far it has been assumed that the deceased is the man in military garb atop the chariot. This seems reasonable because of the subject of the relief; it is a military theme with a chariot as the vehicle of conduct. These elements all seem to support the notion that it is meant to be the final resting-place of a man. Nevertheless, there is a possibility that in those urns that depict a couple the deceased is the woman on the chariot, and she is accompanied by an armed escort, most probably her husband. Furthermore, if the theme can be applied alike to male and female dead, it is a probability that this was a generic theme employable for either gender. Although the provenience of the lids is uncertain, whereby the lids do not necessarily belong with the urns in question, their presence is still worth mentioning. Nielsen discusses some of the lids currently associated with these urns (Cat. 16, 17, 18, 20, 23, 24), a number of which

unexpectedly portray women (Cat 17, 18, 24).<sup>30</sup> The reliefs on two of them (Cat. 17, 18) depict the couple in the chariot, while the other female lid (Cat. 24) covers an urn with a single male making his journey, perhaps indicating the generic nature of the scene.<sup>31</sup> In this case, particularly when applied to a female deceased, the relief loses connotations of actual battle and military glory. Nevertheless, the more appropriate familial message and the notion of triumph over death are maintained, making this appropriate to the sepulchral context. Firm conclusions, however, cannot be put forth with certainty, because of the ambiguity of the original groupings of lids and caskets. Consequently, logic dictates that the motif of a soldier on a chariot, regardless of the accompanying figures, most probably indicates that the deceased was a male.

Furthermore, even the conventional demon figures present some uncertainties on these urns. The usual Vanth and Charun figures are conspicuously absent from the majority of these reliefs, as opposed to the mythological urns where they seem to have an almost invariable position. The easily identifiable demons may be constants in the mythological themes because these themes do not necessarily have a funerary application. The absence of the more distinguishable demons on these urns with a journey scene could be a result of funerary significance and symbolism being inherent in the motif itself, thus making the demons unnecessary and expendable. Yet, the infernal

---

<sup>30</sup> Nielsen (1975), 292-5; 373, n. 24, 377, 385, 387; 347, n. 49, 349; 323, n. 2; 304; 347, n. 49, 349.

<sup>31</sup> The lid sculptures of two of these urns offer a date in the first century BC on stylistic grounds since Roman veristic influences can be felt in the portraiture. One lid (Cat. 18) can be dated later than the forties BC, based on the hairstyle of the woman, the *nodus* coiffure, which came to prominence under the women of the second triumvirate. Cf. Nielsen (1975), 349. The lid of Catalogue 17 may be dated to an even later date, approximately between the years 20BC and AD 10/20, since the classical knot coiffure is later than the *nodus* hairstyle. Livia wore this style after the death of Augustus, but it is also possible in the Augustan period. Cf. Nielsen (1975), 377.

demons in these reliefs are often replaced by the male figure with the small round shields, who appears in a few of the urns with Pelops and Hippodamia. He is almost certainly a demon, when associated with the similar winged figure of these earlier urns. According to Pairault-Massa this demon, along with the marine demon in the first urn discussed (Cat. 16), enhances the connection of these themes with the earlier mythological urns.<sup>32</sup> His function and identity, however, remain conjectural. His role as a figure to ward off evil with his round shields, nevertheless, is attractive, given the sepulchral context of the urns. This figure then would possess some funerary significance because of his capacity to safeguard the deceased's passage into the next life.

### **Conclusions**

Stylistically, the reliefs are more restrained than the mythological subjects treated in the previous chapter. Their execution is more pedestrian, with a minimal denotation of emotion and movement. The disparity between the styles of themes with a mythological and those with a funerary nature could be a result of the more sober content that the latter treated. The dramatic style of the mythological subjects may have been considered inappropriate for the solemn representation of the deceased on his last journey. Here the Etruscans may have been making a distinction between two styles of art, both prevalent during this period. One was influenced by the currents of Greek hellenism and was thus appropriate for mythological scenes, while the other was more influenced by local styles, and was therefore appropriate for the depiction of serious journeys to the Underworld.

---

<sup>32</sup> Pairault-Massa (1985a), 221.

Consequently, the artisans may have executed the urns with indigenous motifs in a style that was more compatible with the subject matter and was locally attested. These urn reliefs in terms of style drew greater inspiration from earlier funerary depictions, as opposed to the possible theatrical antecedents of some of the mythological urns.

Compositionally, however, the mythological quadriga scenes leave their mark in the employment of the triumphant chariots as vehicles of transport for the deceased on the funerary urns. Although the motif of a journey to the Underworld was a crucial element of long-standing funerary beliefs and practices, maintaining a recognizable iconography throughout, even this theme was not completely immune to the tastes and fashions of the period of production. The mythological and funerary scenes that adopt the quadriga as their central vehicle, although divergent in meaning and style, could make use of the same motif because of the similar iconography needed for both. Consequently, the urns examined in this chapter reveal a process whereby the core idea behind the journey of the deceased was preserved, but was initially influenced or at least revitalized by the iconographically similar mythological depictions that were prevalent in this phase of urn production. This process is particularly exemplified by Catalogue 16. On this urn the exuberance and layout of the mythological theme of the Abduction of Persephone is maintained, but the theme of a journey is introduced by the sole male figure in the chariot. Other depictions of the same theme reduce further the mythological connotations, yet the compositional inspiration of mythic iconography is still apparent. This is especially evident in those reliefs that draw a direct link with the two variants of the Pelops and Hippodamia motif; the one shows an invariable combination of the

walking horses and the demon with shields, while the other depicts galloping horses and the conspicuous absence of this demon figure. The funerary urns maintain some remnants of the mythological reliefs; the use of the quadriga as the mode of transportation, hitherto rarely attested in journeys to the Underworld, and the remnants of the demon with shields especially highlight the influence of mythical depictions. The greater diversity of the subsidiary figures, however, reveals a stronger funerary impetus. Overall almost all indications of mythological nuances are absent, whereby the urns present a sedate rendering of the final journey embarked by a deceased to his next life.

On a basic level of comprehension, the motif of the Journey of the Deceased in a Quadriga did not require any knowledge of mythology; its funerary meaning was a part of Etruscan life and religion, readily comprehended by any native observer, clearly indicating its appropriateness to a sepulchral context. In these reliefs the deceased appears as if alive, carrying out a journey that could have been part of his daily life. Often the only indication that this journey has a funerary significance is its sepulchral context, and the presence of infernal demons. This ambiguity or lack of distinction between life and death reveals to the modern observer some of the most fundamental beliefs of the Etruscans. Clearly, the Etruscans must have seen death as a new undertaking, but one which was in some ways indistinguishable from life.

The reliefs, furthermore, contain insightful revelations, at least at a basic level, about the priorities of the Etruscans who commissioned them. The glorification of the family and household is ever present, illustrated by the inclusion of relatives and servants

in such triumphant scenes.<sup>33</sup> The appearance of such elements of the domestic realm both reveals the importance of family and hints at the social standing of the deceased. The reliefs in general, moreover, probably belonged to an individual who had some connection with a military way of life, or at least claimed to be ultimately connected to the military aristocracy that once held positions of power.<sup>34</sup> Consequently, their funerary monuments celebrated those aspects of their lives that gave them at least some level of preeminence.

The urns by their very iconography, furthermore, indicate a more traditional level of understanding. Even if the deceased cannot be identified as a warrior *per se*, the allusion to the triumph, immediately evoked by the quadriga, suggests a deceased who was a member of the ruling oligarchy. Etruscan states, until their final incorporation into the Roman Empire, remained separate entities, which were based on a tightly knit system of extended families or *gentes*.<sup>35</sup> This gentilician structure solidified in the seventh and sixth centuries BC, continuing into the Roman period.<sup>36</sup> The ruling nobles seemed to have formed the governing class, maintaining a deep gulf between themselves and their dependent populations.<sup>37</sup> These Etruscan societies maintained armies raised by

---

<sup>33</sup> Although Pairault-Massa discusses this concept in association with the scenes of journeys on horseback, I think that it is equally applicable to these quadriga urns as well. Cf. Pairault-Massa (1985a), 216.

<sup>34</sup> It is, however, a possibility that here, as on the urns with Pelops and Hippodamia, the imagery may also recall the triumph in the chariot race at the Olympics, because of the employment of the quadriga. Cf. Chapter 2, page 45 and note 65.

<sup>35</sup> Macnamara (1973), 167.

<sup>36</sup> Spivey and Stoddart (1990), 134.

<sup>37</sup> Scullard (1965), 224-226; Harris (1971), 114-129; Spivey and Stoddart, (1990), 134.

individual states, or more probably by individual families, where ruling members probably held the highest positions of command.<sup>38</sup> Patrons of the urns by their very iconography, therefore, were probably asserting their own membership in this traditionally military upper class, since triumphs and victory processions were only celebrated by the highest echelons of society. The representation of these victory scenes in a familial context, furthermore, is appropriate due to the important role the *gens* played in municipal activities, whereby any endeavour, military or otherwise was dependent on it. In this way the family and household can be construed as the origin and destination of all triumphs, with the status of the deceased rooted in this familial context. These urns, therefore, at the most fundamental level were expressions of aristocracy, asserting the high rank and social dignity of the deceased and his family.

---

<sup>38</sup> Barker and Rasmussen (1998), 260. Some artistic representations as well as ancient authors (Livy 1.43, Diod. Sic. XXIII.2), who suggest that the Romans learned the use of hoplite armour and the phalanx from the Etruscans, indicate that the Etruscans fought using hoplite tactics. Yet the application of this formation in battle, where citizen militias fought in phalanx formation, is debated. This type of military organization implies a level of social equalization since it was necessary for a sufficient number of citizens to be able to afford equipment. This egalitarian move, however, never seems to have taken place in Etruria. Cf. Macnamara (19), 137-138. Archaeology, furthermore, does not support the claim that the Etruscans fought using the phalanx, even if in some instances hoplite armour was present. Instead, for an oligarchic society that developed from a warrior aristocracy the most reasonable model of warfare can be defined by models of medieval Italy, based on individual warriors and their clans. Cf. Spivey and Stoddart (1990), 127-136.



## CHAPTER 4 THE PROCESSION OF THE MAGISTRATE ON A QUADRIGA

The depiction of the magistrate in procession on Volterrann urns makes its appearance at a late date toward the end of urn production, in the late second and into the first century BC. This new theme can be identified as a member of the larger group of journeys to the Underworld, which fall into both of Nielsen's categories of funerary motifs and motifs derived from Etruscan or Italic sources.<sup>1</sup> The processional form, like other funerary themes, is usually generic and has no narrative context, yet its public meaning and intent, particularly its focus on the status of the deceased, are more overt than in the earlier journey scenes. The urns of this category (Cat. 25-41) fundamentally differ from the simpler journeys (Cat. 16-24) by their employment of the processional form. A procession is constituted by a formal sequence of the figures, usually arranged according to some hierarchical or ritualistic order, as opposed to a simple succession of figures.<sup>2</sup> Processional imagery on the Volterrann urns appears in two forms: the procession can be carried out either on foot or with the deceased riding in a four-horse chariot. The latter, the focus here, employs the usual central quadriga pulled by four horses toward the right, thus maintaining the basic iconography of the mythological and journey scenes. The deceased, represented as a magistrate, replaces the mythological figures and the soldier of the previously discussed urns, with his

---

<sup>1</sup> Nielsen (1993), 340.

<sup>2</sup> Holliday (1990), 73.

companions now constituting members of his staff, who are indicative of his political office. The basic funerary meaning is still inherent, but the new focus upon the political preeminence of the deceased is indicative of the changing environment in Etruria. The rise of Rome, and more specifically the incorporation of Etruscan cities, among them Volterra, into the formal structure of the Roman state especially by means of granting citizenship, must have had profound consequences on Etruscan municipal organization, and more personally on the mentality of the individual inhabitants.<sup>3</sup> The effects this process had on the urn reliefs, however, are not straightforward. Their examination, nevertheless, allows a glimpse of the Etruscans, who, despite the impact of Roman dominance, managed to maintain some of their own convictions, at least in their most fundamental institutions.

### **From Journey to Procession**

Journeys to the Underworld, as indicated earlier, were a crucial part of Etruscan funerary art throughout the long history of this civilization.<sup>4</sup> A major innovation, however, seems to have occurred in the late fifth and early fourth centuries BC, when, in several Etruscan centres, civic iconography of ceremonial processions began to appear in traditional funerary scenes.<sup>5</sup> The deceased is portrayed as a magistrate and is escorted to the Underworld by a retinue of attendants, who are accorded to his office and rank.<sup>6</sup> At

---

<sup>3</sup> Livy 28.45; Holliday (1990), 90; Pasquinucci and Menchelli (1999), 123; Terrenato (1998), 95. Volterra was placed into the Sabatina tribe after the Social War. Cf. Harris (1971), 244.

<sup>4</sup> Holliday (1990), 74. Cf. Chapter 1, pages 12-14.

<sup>5</sup> Holliday (1990), 76.

<sup>6</sup> The earliest example is a sarcophagus, carved in Caere, dating to the last quarter of the fifth century BC. The deceased is depicted on foot in a procession, with musicians and attendants. The

times, a psychopompic demon accompanies the deceased and his entourage, indicating not only the funerary significance, but also the Etruscan nature of the scene.<sup>7</sup> This type of iconography was applicable both to journeys on foot and to those in a chariot, although the latter type, which will be the focus henceforth, seems to have appeared at a later date in the third century BC.<sup>8</sup> The earliest known examples seem to have been depicted on sarcophagi, which have been collected by Lambrechts in his work on Etruscan magistrates. Seven of these sarcophagi are inscribed, specifying the deceased as a magistrate, usually the Etruscan *zilaθ* or *purth*.<sup>9</sup> The combination of this inscription and the processional depiction cannot have been accidental. Here the deceased rides on a *biga*, preceded or followed by officials and attendants, such as lictors with the *fasces*. A sarcophagus from Vulci, belonging to Ramtha Visnai, wife of Arnth Tetnie, dates to circa 300-280 BC (fig. 45).<sup>10</sup> This object represents one of the earliest examples in Etruscan art of the fusing of the scheme of a journey to the Underworld with civic and religious iconography of a procession. Although the front panel (fig. 45c) of this relief depicts the culmination of the procession with the *dextrarum iunctio*, an appropriate

---

attention given to the magistrate's retinue and his symbols of office, enhances the effect of the relief (Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, inv. 14949). Cf. Felletti Maj (1977), 87; Brendel (1978), 324-325, fig. 246.

<sup>7</sup> Holliday (1990), 83; Felletti Maj (1977), 87.

<sup>8</sup> Holliday (1990), 83; Felletti Maj (1977), 87.

<sup>9</sup> Lambrechts (1959), 187. Cf. Lambrechts (1959) for inscriptions (nos. 10, 29, 30, 35, 36, 41, 42) and corresponding monuments (nos. 2, 15, 4, 1, 7, 3, 6).

<sup>10</sup> Boston Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 1975.799; Holliday (1990), 79, figs. 2-4; Felletti Maj (1977), 88, fig. 4 a-c. Holliday suggests that it is a possibility that, although the sarcophagus belonged to Ramtha Visnai, it may also commemorate her husband, Arnth Tetnie, who died far from Vulci. Cf. Holliday (1990), 79 and Richardson (1964), 145-6.

theme for the female occupant of the sarcophagus, who is shown on the right side beginning her journey seated on a wagon (fig. 45b), the left side panel shows a male, probably her husband or son, departing for his journey on a *biga* (fig. 45a). He is accompanied by an attendant, who carries the *lituus*. An examination of the complex nature of this sarcophagus is beyond the scope of this discussion, but it is enough to note that the journey to the Underworld was invested with elements of Etruscan ceremonial life. A sarcophagus from Tuscania, dating to the late fourth or early third century BC, shows the journey of the magistrate in a *biga* (fig. 65).<sup>11</sup> He is accompanied by attendants, among whom are two lictors with the *fasces*. There is an ambiguous initial figure who carries a staff; he may be a psychopompic demon or a subordinate official.<sup>12</sup> According to Holliday, he serves as a reminder that despite the incorporation of civic and ceremonial iconography, the motif is adapted to serve a funerary function.<sup>13</sup> The last example to be cited is of a later date, from the Tomba Campanari in Vulci, dated to the middle of the second century BC (fig. 66).<sup>14</sup> The deceased here too rides on a *biga*, followed by three lictors and a musician. A winged psychopompic demon leads, guiding the chariot of the deceased. The fusion of the funerary motif of a journey to the Underworld and ritual iconography is apparent on this object as well. As these sarcophagi indicate, the motif of a journey to the Underworld was combined with

---

<sup>11</sup> Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, inv. 14950; Holliday (1990), 84, fig. 9; Lambrechts (1959), 126, no.1, pl.2; Felletti Maj (1977), 88-89, fig.5.

<sup>12</sup> Holliday (1990), 84.

<sup>13</sup> Holliday (1990), 84.

<sup>14</sup> London, British Museum; Holliday (1990), 84-85, fig. 10; Lambrechts (1959), 133-135, no. 7, pl.7; Felletti Maj (1977), 89-90, fig. 6.

ceremonial iconography prior to the urn reliefs. Consequently, although these sarcophagi were probably not directly influential on the urn reliefs, it still must be kept in mind that the theme of a magistrate in a procession that is found on the urns did not develop in isolation. The similar themes on the sarcophagi and the urns, therefore, may indicate a similar impetus in different areas in Etruria that were elaborated based upon local customs.<sup>15</sup> More importantly for the purposes here, those depictions of a procession on the sarcophagi which are inscribed allow the main figure to be identified on the urn reliefs, since the basic concept is the same.

The processional theme on the urns diverges in its basic composition, even though it shares a similar spirit with the depictions on the earlier sarcophagi. The journey on the urn reliefs is carried out on a triumphant quadriga as opposed to a two-horse *biga*, with standard attendants in conventional positions, varying only their number. The centrality of the customary quadriga reveals that these new scenes of a magistrate seem to be a development and expansion of the earlier funerary theme of a journey of the deceased on a quadriga, discussed in the previous chapter. Furthermore, the mythological quadriga scenes, which were still produced in this period, may have also served as models for these urns. The figures of the later reliefs were altered to invest the depiction with a new meaning, but the basic iconographic arrangement remained the same.

---

<sup>15</sup> The divergent position of the attendants on the urns and the sarcophagi may be an example of the local interpretation of the scene; the sarcophagi seem to be more flexible in the deployment of the attendants, whereas on the urns they appear in essentially standard positions.

## The Urns

The seventeen urns examined in this chapter which depict the Journey of a Magistrate in a Quadriga share a standardized iconography (Cat. 25-41). The deceased appears alone on the central quadriga. He wears civic attire, usually a tunic with a toga-like mantle, and often a foliate crown or wreath. He is preceded by lictors and often, but not always, by musicians, who vary in number from two to six. Two other attendants follow the chariot, one carrying a large sack on his shoulder and the other often holding a small rectangular object in his hand. This larger group of urns falls into two basic categories. Urns in the first category (Cat. 25-28) include infernal demons, especially Vanth figures, who were common in the mythological representations of the Abduction of Persephone (Cat. 1-7) and of Pelops and Hippodamia (Cat. 9-15). The second group omits all familiar demons and replaces the usual Vanth figure, who appears behind the horses, with a man on horseback (Cat. 29-41). This latter group incorporates a sub-category which makes minor variations to the preceding attendants, replacing some by a depiction of the *sella curulis* (Cat. 39-41).

The theme seems to have been introduced in the late second century BC.<sup>16</sup> According to Lambrechts most of the urns exhibit features of late Hellenistic art, but the meticulous rendering of details and the solemnity of the depiction indicate influences of Roman art. He therefore dates these urns in the period that saw the final moments of Hellenistic art, when it increasingly mingled with Roman features, toward the end of the

---

<sup>16</sup> Nielsen (1993), 340; Lambrechts (1959), 149; Felletti Maj (1977), 82.

second and especially into the first century BC.<sup>17</sup> The majority of these urns, more specifically, belong to the workshop identified by Nielsen as the idealizing group, particularly the phase of rigid drapery, and its direct tradition. According to her the subject of the procession of a magistrate in a quadriga was probably invented by this workshop, which was active from circa 110 BC to 50 BC, but the contemporaneous workshop identified by her as the realistic group also made a minor contribution to this theme.<sup>18</sup>

### Urns with Demons

The first urn to be discussed is unparalleled within this series (Cat. 25). Its peculiarities are probably to be explained by the realistic workshop executing this urn as opposed to the workshop of the idealizing group, responsible for the majority of the urns. Although its upper section is damaged, the key elements of its scheme are sufficiently preserved to make an analysis possible. The deceased stands atop a chariot, which bears a griffin in relief, pulled by four horses that successively turn toward the viewer. He is possibly bearded and wears a tunic tied at the waist and a mantle.<sup>19</sup> According to Brunn and Körte, he held a sceptre in his right hand, which has been lost. They identify this as the *scipio eburneus*, and state that it is indicative of his position and power.<sup>20</sup> A female demon appears at the right of the deceased behind the horses. She is winged and semi-

---

<sup>17</sup> Lambrechts (1959), 149.

<sup>18</sup> Nielsen (1989), 1003-4; Nielsen (1985), 59. For the discussion of the development of the workshops and their date see Maggiani (1985), 32-34 and Nielsen (1985), 52-54.

<sup>19</sup> B-K III, 101 state that he is bearded, but the preservation of his face is too damaged to make a certain determination possible.

<sup>20</sup> B-K III, 101.

nude, with bands crossed over her chest and a piece of cloth draped over her left shoulder. Although the object she held in her left hand is no longer preserved, she probably brandished her customary torch. Her attributes and conventional position identify her as the infernal demon Vanth. The position of these two figures corresponds to the other urns of this category, but in all other features it is unique. A male demon stands behind the chariot of the deceased. He wears a tunic and boots, and is winged both at the shoulders and the temples. He grasps in his left hand a scroll, or *volumen*, held before his chest, and an unidentified object in his right, which according to Lambrechts is a part of his drapery.<sup>21</sup> Although his wings at the temples and his attribute of a scroll are unusual, he probably can be identified as the male demon Charun in his generic form. Below the body of the horses two other demon figures appear, emerging from the ground. These elements are unique to this urn, although a similar concept was employed on an urn depicting the Abduction of Persephone (Cat. 7). The one at the left is a winged female, wearing a tunic with short sleeves, and the other to the right is a winged male with a nude torso. It is possible that these too are a Vanth and Charun figure respectively, although this cannot be ascertained without doubt. Two male figures, who constitute another unusual feature, appear at the right of the chariot in front of the horses. They appear in short-sleeved tunics tied at the waist. They, however, depict soldiers, as indicated by the *chlamys* each has tied around his neck and the sheathed daggers or swords they grasp in their left hands. Although they are depicted frontally, both figures look at the deceased, with the one on the right gesturing toward him. The

---

<sup>21</sup> Lambrechts (1959), 169.



details of this urn are rich and its quality is high, but the theatricality and the bold movements of some of the mythological urns are absent. The spirit of this depiction is more appropriate for the sober theme of the journey of the deceased as a magistrate.

Iconographically, the urn does not adhere strictly to the processional form that is characteristic of all the other urns of this chapter. There is no hierarchical progression to the arrangement of the figures. The deceased appears alone in the quadriga in civic attire, and possibly with the *scipio eburneus* in his hand as a symbol of his status. The *volumen* may also be representative of his civil and administrative power,<sup>22</sup> although the demon figure who carries it is an unusual choice for this task. The function of the figures who precede the quadriga is more difficult to decipher. They possibly indicate soldiers to accompany or even guide the deceased to the Underworld. Their identification as friends or relatives of the deceased, who bid farewell to him, is another likely possibility. In this they perhaps refer back to the depictions of a journey in familial circumstances. The presence of demons, as in all the other urns examined, indicates not only the funerary significance of the motif, but also the Etruscan flavour of the depiction. This urn, although not truly a procession, represents a magistrate by infusing the theme with status symbols that become increasingly prominent in the subsequent reliefs.

The other three urns classified under this category conform to a more standardized scheme (Cat. 26-28). The first urn depicts the usual deceased in a quadriga, wearing a tunic and a toga-like mantle with an arm-sling, which envelops his right arm (Cat. 26). This type of costume becomes fairly standard for the figures on all the urns, but its

---

<sup>22</sup> Lambrechts (1959), 196.

identification is not straightforward. Heurgon simply calls it a sort of toga, Lambrechts identifies the deceased as wearing a “tunique et un manteau, véritable toge”, while Holliday and Felletti Maj are more specific, distinguishing the costume of the deceased as the toga *brachium cohibens*.<sup>23</sup> The difficulty of identification may stem from the similarity of form between the characteristic Etruscan semicircular *tebenna* and its ultimate successor, the Roman toga. According to Bonfante, in fact, the rounded *tebenna* survived into the Roman period as the toga.<sup>24</sup> The traditional Etruscan mantles, therefore, resembled in form the later Roman toga.<sup>25</sup> For the present purposes, the outer costume of the deceased will be referred to as toga-like, since in appearance, especially the arm-sling, its similarity with Roman togas cannot be denied. The urns, however, do not allow a clear enough distinction, and therefore to call it a proper toga may imply a specifically Roman meaning that was not yet present, since Roman and Etruscan costume in this period were similar. The usual Vanth figure appears to the right behind the horses, represented frontally but turning her head back toward the deceased. She is winged and holds a torch in front of her with both hands. She wears a tunic, although her costume is difficult to distinguish because of its poor preservation. Two male public servants, probably to be identified as the equivalent of the Latin *apparitores*, precede the chariot at the right, wearing tunics and mantles.<sup>26</sup> The *fasces*, which they carry on their left

---

<sup>23</sup> Heurgon (1961), 54; Lambrechts (1959), 190; Holliday (1990), 88; and Felletti Maj (1977), 79.

<sup>24</sup> Bonfante (1975), 45.

<sup>25</sup> Stone (1994), 15-16.

<sup>26</sup> According to Felletti Maj (1977), 79 they are togate. The similarity of the costume between the attendants, especially the lictors, and the deceased is undeniable.

shoulders, identify them as lictors.<sup>27</sup> Two further servants follow the deceased's chariot. The one in the back carries a sack on his left shoulder, most probably to be identified with the Roman *mantica*, to hold the deceased's baggage for his journey, while he places his right hand on the shoulder of the figure in front of him. This figure carries a rectangular case in his right hand, which seems to depict the equivalent of the Roman *pugillares*.<sup>28</sup> The *pugillares* were small records that recounted the military achievements of an individual, in this case the deceased.<sup>29</sup> Another interpretation of the *pugillares* is as small writing tablets, the equivalent of large rectangular *tabulae* on sarcophagi, which are used to record the public acts of the magistrate.<sup>30</sup> Both meanings indicate the dignity of the deceased as an official. These last four figures employ a specific perspective scheme that becomes commonly used on the urns of this type. According to this the figures in the first row, who are meant to be in front, are smaller, while the figures in the second row, who are meant to be behind, tower over them.<sup>31</sup> The figures are all bulky and their drapery is rendered in a linear fashion, yet the richness of the urn is clearly visible in the elaboration of the chariot and the embellishment of the horses.

The next urn depicts a similar motif, increasing the number of attendants who lead the chariot (Cat. 27). This urn is of a higher quality, elaborately carved with intricate detail. The deceased, in the same costume but wearing a wreath of some kind, appears in

---

<sup>27</sup> For a discussion of the *fasces* and their meaning in Etruscan and Roman society see page 99-100.

<sup>28</sup> Lambrechts (1959), 167.

<sup>29</sup> Holliday (1990), 86.

<sup>30</sup> Lambrechts (1959), 194.

<sup>31</sup> Holliday (1990), 87.

an ornate chariot, richly decorated with a griffin. The four horses that pull the chariot successively turn toward the viewer. Vanth again appears behind the horses at the right of the deceased. She is frontal, but looks back at the deceased in the conventional way. She is winged and her costume is typical; she is semi-nude, with only bands crossed over her chest. She also wears jewelry, a torque around her neck and bracelets on her upper arms and wrists. She grasps a torch with both hands. The number of the initial group of attendants has been increased to six on this urn. The two lictors, with the *fasces* resting on their left shoulders, are preceded by four musicians; two horn players at the extreme right are followed by a citharist, and a double pipe player. The lictors are shown following the perspective type of the previous urns. The musicians, however, employ a different perspective scheme, whereby the figures in the back stand on a podium, which, although visible behind the central figures, is not meant to be interpreted as a real object in the relief. These figures, who are higher up, are intended to be standing further back than the figures on the first plane. The two other conventional figures, the carriers of the *mantica* and the *pugillares*, appear behind the chariot. The figure in the back towers over the smaller figure in the front. The execution of the urn is of high quality, with intricate detail elaborated in a careful way. The style of the urn, however, is in no way reminiscent of high Hellenistic Greek style; the aim is not to convey the emotional or mental state of the figures, but instead the focus is on the factual details of the event portrayed.<sup>32</sup>

Another urn, although not well preserved (Cat. 28), shows a similar scene, but

---

<sup>32</sup> Holliday (1990), 93.

decreases the initial figures to four by eliminating the citharist and the double pipe player. The horn players and the lictors with the *fasces* are maintained, positioned in pairs. The two figures in the back are again taller. The deceased stands in the decorated chariot and is pulled by four horses that successively turn toward the viewer. He is wreathed and dressed in the customary way. The two usual figures appear behind the chariot, with their conventional attributes of a *mantica* and *pugillares*, although this latter object is difficult to identify. The larger figure at the back, however, is also equipped with an axe. This axe may have a sacrificial significance, since such implements were a part of any religious rite, whether triumphal or funerary.<sup>33</sup> Lastly, Vanth appears in her conventional position behind the horses to the right of the deceased. She is frontal and her upper body is exposed, with crossed bands over her chest. She looks toward the deceased gesturing in the same direction with her right hand, while she grasps a torch lowered onto her shoulder in her left hand. The urn must have been embellished with intricate detail, the majority of which is now worn. It is, however, clear that the focus here again was on the depiction of the facts of the event; the figures and attributes, although rendered in a linear and schematized manner, convey the features and details of the episode.

### **Urns without Demons**

The thirteen urns to be examined in this category represent the more standard variation of the processional theme. These urns also make minor alterations to the iconographic motif, particularly in the number of the deceased's entourage, but these differences can be attributed to practical concerns like the space available, the wealth of

---

<sup>33</sup> Ryberg (1955), 16.

the patron, and even the artistic license of the craftsman who executed each relief. More significant for the meaning of the relief, however, is the omission of the recognizable demon figures. On these urns, as in those discussed previously, the deceased rides alone in a quadriga, generally decorated with a griffin in relief. He usually wears a tunic and toga-like mantle with an arm sling. He is preceded and followed by a varying number of attendants, musicians, and servants. The Vanth figure, who appears behind the horses at the right of the deceased in the previously discussed group, however, is no longer present. In her exact position a man on horseback has been substituted.

The first urn is dated to the beginning of the first century BC, specifically to sometime after 90 BC and the enfranchisement of Volterra.<sup>34</sup> The urn is of high quality, although some of the details are not preserved (Cat. 29). The deceased appears in the chariot pulled by four horses that successively turn toward the viewer. Two lictors and two horn players lead the procession. The two musicians are superposed, while the lictors follow them disposed side by side on the same plane. The two usual figures follow the chariot; the larger figure at the back carries the bag for the journey, while the smaller figure in front carries the *pugillares*, and here places his left hand on the corner of the chariot. A man on horseback, wearing a tunic and mantle, appears behind the horses that draw the chariot. He rides toward the deceased and raises his right hand, saluting him. His gesture may be alternatively interpreted as a greeting or farewell. Stylistically the urn is elaborate. The figures are not correctly proportioned, yet they are carefully

---

<sup>34</sup> Nielsen (1985), 83, fig. 61.

rendered. The drapery is schematized, and the unnaturalistic perspective of stacking figures is employed.

The following group of five urns includes close replicas of one basic motif, although the quality of execution may differ. The first urn (Cat. 30) is of high quality and good execution, following similar standards as the previous urn. The deceased rides in an elaborate, albeit condensed, quadriga. He is wreathed, and wears the typical costume. Four figures, two lictors with the *fasces* and two horn players, lead the procession. They are disposed on two planes, with the rear figures standing on a platform that is clearly visible between the two in the front. They too wear a tunic and toga-like mantle, similar to the deceased. Two servants appear at the rear of the procession in tunics and mantles; the larger figure carries the *mantica*, while the smaller figure holds the *pugillares*. The rider again approaches the deceased from the right, wearing a tunic and *chlamys*. His open right hand, scarcely visible behind the neck of his horse, is held out in front of him, as if to greet or bid farewell to the deceased. His clenched left hand probably held the reins. The interpretation of the scheme is detailed and factual, focusing on the depiction of the particulars of the event.

The subsequent urns (Cat. 31, 32, 33, 34) present compositional replicas of the previous. They all depict the deceased in a decorated chariot, wearing a tunic and toga-like mantle with an arm-sling. He is preceded by two lictors with the *fasces* and two horn players, and followed by two servants carrying the *mantica* and a small rectangular object, probably the *pugillares*, although on one (Cat. 32) this has been lost. In two cases (Cat. 31 and 32) the two groups of attendants employ different perspective schemes. The

servants who close the procession use the greater stature of the figure in the back to indicate his position behind, while the four figures in the front are superposed on two planes, although a podium is not visible on Catalogue 31. The other two urns (Cat. 33 and 34) depict both groups of attendants using the former perspective scheme, depicting the figures on the same level, but with those in the back towering over their companions in front. In each urn the same male rider in a tunic and *chlamys* approaches from the right, although in the last urn (Cat. 34) the majority of this figure is lost. He usually holds the reins, but on these reliefs does not salute the deceased. Although the quality of execution varies in each case, the general style remains similar. The figures are usually disproportionate and the drapery is schematized, yet the reliefs also illustrate intricate detail that hints at the status and wealth of the deceased.

The next four urns make modifications to this established and popular motif, but do not alter the basic scheme and meaning of the relief (Cat. 35, 36, 37, 38). A detailed and beautiful urn (Cat. 35) reveals the same motif of those previously discussed, making only minor variations in the number and position of the attendants. The deceased, wreathed and dressed in the customary manner, stands in the chariot. The two usual figures follow the chariot. The larger figure carries the *mantica*, while the exaggeratedly smaller figure in front carries the *pugillares* in his right hand and places his left on the chariot. The man on horseback, although largely destroyed, can be seen to approach from the right. He seems to wear a tunic and mantle, and holds out an object in his left hand toward the deceased. Lambrechts identifies this as the reins of the horse,<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> Lambrechts (1959), 150.



but it seems more like a closed scroll, or *volumen*, because of the thickness of the object. The attendants who precede the chariot have been increased in number to six, and are deployed irregularly on three planes. Four musicians playing their instruments include two horn players, one citharist, and a double pipe player. Two lictors appear with the *fasces*, which they rest on their left shoulders. The style of the urn conforms to the earlier examples, although this urn is of exceptional quality. The details of the portrayal are intricately rendered, with careful attention paid to the factual elements of the theme. Another urn (Cat. 36) follows this same motif, but the six attendants are placed with more regularity than in Catalogue 35. Much of the upper section of the urn has been damaged, but the theme is clear. The six leading figures are disposed on two planes, with those in the back placed on a platform. Two horn players are followed by a double pipe player, a citharist, and finally by two lictors with the *fasces*. The man on horseback wears a tunic and *chlamys*, and holds the reins of the horse in his left hand and salutes the deceased with his out-held right hand. He approaches the deceased, who stands in the chariot. He is too destroyed to allow a determination of his costume, but it can probably be assumed that he was similarly dressed to the corresponding figures on the other urns. The figures who customarily follow the deceased are almost completely destroyed, but extrapolating from the few extant pieces they are probably conventional. Stylistically the urn is consistent with previous examples.

The next two urns also make minor alterations to the attendants of the deceased (Cat. 37, 38). The first urn is small and modest (Cat. 37). The motif has been reduced, omitting the initial lictors and musicians. The remaining figures conform to the pattern

of the other urns. The deceased stands in the chariot in his usual attire. He is approached by a man on horseback, wearing a tunic and mantle and grasping the reins of his horse. The two conventional figures follow the chariot, disposed on the same plane. The diminutive figure in the front carries the *pugillares*, but the larger figure in the back is without attributes. The second urn (Cat. 38) incorporates greater variation, but maintains the basic compositional layout. The deceased appears in a chariot, that lacks the griffin in relief. He is approached from the right by a man on a horse, who wears the customary attire. The iconography of the attendants, however, is varied not only in the position of the initial musicians and lictors, but also in the figures, who follow the chariot. The initial figures conform to the more standard number of four figures, but they are disposed on the same plane without making distinction in the size of the figures to depict perspective. The first figure is without attributes, and so without identification. The subsequent two figures are the usual horn players, who are followed by a single lictor, who carries not only the *fasces*, but also another stick in his right hand, possibly used to clear the way. The procession is closed by four identical figures disposed on two planes. They are all in tunics and mantles with their right arms in a sling, held before their chest. Three of them carry no attributes, while the second on the first plane rests the *mantica* on his left shoulder. Apart from this last figure, the identification of these three companions is unclear. They are a part of the deceased's retinue, but it is uncertain whether they are his servants, friends, relatives, or colleagues. Stylistically this urn, however, is unusual. Although the four figures who close the procession are superposed, employing the usual perspective scheme, the execution of all the characters is unparalleled. The difference

may be attributed to the execution of this urn by the workshop of the realistic group as opposed to the idealizing group of the majority of the urns.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, Holliday and Felletti Maj both make the suggestion that this urn especially was influenced by the neo-classicism that was growing in popularity in the late Republic in Rome, culminating under the Emperor Augustus.<sup>37</sup> Although the proportions of the figures are more successfully rendered, the schematic way in which the figures stand in repetitive poses still seems to reflect the Italic nature of the depiction. The horses again successively turn toward the viewer indicating a possible mixing of influences in an environment where Hellenistic, Classicising, and Italic art freely intermingled.

The last three urns to be examined in this chapter make a more substantial alteration to the standard motif (Cat. 39-41). According to Felletti Maj these urns are the last of the series, continuing a motif that would soon be abandoned.<sup>38</sup> Most of the theme remains identical to the previous categories, except that here the musicians are eliminated and replaced by a curule chair.<sup>39</sup> The first two urns appear to be nearly identical replicas (Cat. 39 and 40). Both urns are detailed and elaborate, although one (Cat. 40) is fragmentary and worn. In both the deceased appears in his usual costume; he also wears

---

<sup>36</sup> Nielsen (1985), 59.

<sup>37</sup> Holliday (1990), 92; Felletti Maj (1977), 82; Hanfmann (1945), 56.

<sup>38</sup> Felletti Maj (1977), 100.

<sup>39</sup> This chair may alternatively be identified as a *bissellium*, because its iconography on this photograph does not appear to be a folding stool. Cf. Schäfer (1989), plate 7, 2. However, due to the difficulty of distinguishing the carving on the photograph, in combination with the possible parallel on a scene of a journey on foot where the same iconography of the chair appears and is clearly identifiable as the *sella curulis* (cf. Schäfer (1989), plate 8, 2 and 3), the chair on these urns may still be a *sella curulis*. I must again thank Dr. Slater for pointing out the ambiguity of the carving and this alternate reading of the depiction.

a wreath on one of the depictions (Cat. 39). He is attended by two figures, who follow the chariot, both wearing a tunic and mantle. On the one (Cat. 39) the larger man at the back is without attributes, although he places his right hand on the shoulder of the very diminutive, almost miniscule, figure in front of him, who carries the *pugillares*. On the other urn (Cat. 40) the larger figure carries a sack for the journey, the *mantica*, while the smaller figure, standing in front of him, is without attributes. The customary rider approaches from the right on both urns; he wears a tunic and mantle and holds the reins with his left hand on one (Cat. 39), but on the other he is too fragmentary to allow a clear identification of his costume or gestures (Cat. 40). The initial figures, however, have been altered on both urns from the motif established in the earlier category (Cat. 29-38). The lictors with the *fasces* have been maintained, although their execution, especially of the awkwardly depicted *fasces*, is not successful. The new element of a small chair, possibly identifiable with the Roman *sella curulis*, is added at the right side of the urns.<sup>40</sup> It is covered with a cushion on one (Cat. 39), which is not visible on the other urn (Cat. 40). A small stool is placed between the legs of the chair in both instances. Although difficult to distinguish on Catalogue 39, at the right on both urns rests a cylindrical *scrinium*, which held scrolls, indicative of the deceased's administrative function.<sup>41</sup> Although intricate detail was clearly delineated in these representations, the execution of the figures and their attributes is pedestrian. The figures are bulky and disproportionate, at times unsuccessfully rendered. There is a static and cartoon-like quality to the urns

---

<sup>40</sup> For a discussion of the *sella curulis* and its significance see pages 100-101.

<sup>41</sup> Heurgon (1961), 54.

that is distinctive of Italic strands of art. Yet, by the focus on the rendering of detail and attributes, the status conscious message is made amply clear.

The last urn (Cat. 41) in its central motif seems to be a close variant of the two preceding urns. The deceased and the approaching rider are depicted in the customary way as on all other urns. In front of the horses of the chariot, two lictors with the *fascēs* lead the procession. There is no sign of other figures or the *sella curulis*, but this is due to the bad state of preservation. Much of the right side of the urn is damaged, and so it is impossible to determine if this urn corresponded to the variation with musicians or the curule chair. The latter is more likely, however, since the section of the urn that is destroyed corresponds, in size and place, to the position of the *sella curulis*. Another variation on this urn appears in the figures who close the procession. As in Catalogue 38, four figures appear, although here they are not uniform in size. On this urn two larger figures appear behind two diminutive figures. The two left figures are badly damaged, and so their attributes are difficult to determine. It is, however, clear that the smaller figure is in a short tunic and carries the *pugillares* in his right hand. The larger figure behind him is in large part lost, but he seems to preserve fragments of his right foot, tunic, and the *mantica* he carried on his shoulder. A similar pair precedes them, but here the smaller figure has no attributes. He instead simply places his right arm, which is enveloped in his mantle, in front of his chest. The larger figure stands behind him, also without attributes, and he places his left hand on the shoulder of the figure in front of him. Stylistically, the figures are rendered in a static and schematic way, while the proportions are bulky and cartoon-like.

## Context and Significance

The iconography on the majority of these urns is fairly stereotyped in form and composition. The procession is usually led by musicians, most often a pair of horn players, but occasionally also by a citharist and double pipe player. They are usually followed by two lictors with the *fasces* without axes on their shoulders. The deceased rides on a two-wheeled chariot drawn by four horses. He is dressed in a tunic and a toga-like mantle, frequently wearing a wreath. Behind the horses, there is either a Vanth figure, or more often a man on horseback, who frequently raises his hand in salutation. The procession is usually closed by two *apparitores*; one generally carries the *pugillares* and the other the *mantica*. Occasionally the *sella curulis* appears with a cylindrical *scrinium*.

The identification of most of these elements is straightforward. The musicians, particularly the horn players, are easily identifiable by their instruments. The lictors similarly are distinguishable by the *fasces* they carry on their shoulder. Originally in Etruria the *fasces* were constituted by a bundle of rods with an axe in the centre, symbols of the royal right to punish and execute.<sup>42</sup> These objects, both in the Etruscan states and at Rome, after the decline of monarchies, became the prerogative of men of magisterial rank, as the traditional insignia of their *imperium*.<sup>43</sup> From the third century BC, lictors

---

<sup>42</sup> Barker and Rasmussen (1998), 89. The *fasces* were taken over by the Roman consuls via the Etruscan kings at Rome, but their Etruscan origin is attested both by literary and archaeological evidence. An iron model of *fasces* dating to circa 600 BC has been discovered in Vetulonia, where an axe was found in a bundle of iron rods. Cf. Scullard (1967), 223 and Richardson (1964), 67.

<sup>43</sup> Heurgon (1961), 53.

with the *fasces* were the regular attributes of civil officials in artistic representations.<sup>44</sup> The omission of the axe on the Etruscan urns seems to indicate the limited power of the Etruscan magistrate. This could be a result of Roman dominance, which would curb the power of local officials. Alternately, perhaps it reflects a constitutional development, as at Rome, whereby the absolute power to execute has been made obsolete by the introduction of the right of appeal.<sup>45</sup> The representation of the curule chair on some of the reliefs does not significantly change the meaning of the theme. The *sella curulis* seems always to have been the seat of officeholders in Etruria attested from the seventh century BC.<sup>46</sup> The nature of this emblem in this period, however, significantly differs from its later version on the urn reliefs. In this early period, when Etruria was still under dynastic rule, the *sella curulis* served as an attribute of the king, and highlighted the sacral and municipal role of aristocrats, without signifying specific official rank. This emblem, which in the Etruscan context had a less standardized meaning, was adopted by the Romans in the sixth century BC, and was reinterpreted to serve as a symbol for specific rank and status. Although iconographic evidence is lacking in Rome until the first century BC, it is clear that the *sella curulis* was the prerogative of men of magisterial rank. Around the time of Sulla, the *sella curulis* receives a precise iconographic delineation, when it becomes part of the decoration on Roman grave reliefs of municipal officials. It is the depiction of this *sella curulis*, with its inherent connotations, that

---

<sup>44</sup> Schäfer (1989), 204.

<sup>45</sup> Scullard (1967), 229-230; Heurgon (1961), 53. Axes were no longer carried in the bounds of the city of Rome after the right of appeal was granted traditionally in 509 BC, possibly in 300 BC.

<sup>46</sup> Schäfer (1989), 43.

influences the Volterranean urn reliefs in the first century BC. The empty curule chair of Roman reliefs, only flanked by lictors with the *fasces*, is incorporated into the iconography of the traditional Etruscan procession. Although the *sella curulis* has been attested since the fourth century BC in representations of Etruscan processions, usually carried by an attendant on his shoulder, in these later reliefs it acquires a new, more specifically Roman significance.<sup>47</sup> The *sella curulis* symbolizes the power and privilege of high ranking magistrates, since they would sit on this ivory folding stool when dispensing justice or carrying out administrative duties.<sup>48</sup> The alteration of the motif probably occurred in order to stress the importance of the deceased through the exhibition of his high position in the city.<sup>49</sup> The *pugillares* further hint at the standing of the deceased. This object can be defined as the records either of the deceased's military achievements or of his public acts as a magistrate.<sup>50</sup> The employment of the quadriga, furthermore, is also significant. The chariot is a traditional vehicle of conveyance on Etruscan funerary art, yet, as on the urns of the previous chapter, the use of the four-horse chariot introduces new connotations of triumph. The Vanth figure that appears on some of the urns has the same familiar funerary connotations as on the urns of the other categories. She not only indicates that this is the deceased's last journey, but reveals the Etruscan mentality behind even these representations. This sepulchral meaning is clearly

---

<sup>47</sup> Schäfer (1989), 43-45.

<sup>48</sup> Heurgon (1961), 44.

<sup>49</sup> Felletti Maj (1977), 100.

<sup>50</sup> Holliday (1990), 86; Lambrechts (1959), 194.



the intent that the depiction of the servant with the *mantica* is also meant to achieve.<sup>51</sup> It must be noted, therefore, that funerary symbolism is still present in these reliefs, although subdued.

The rider on horseback, however, creates more difficulties of interpretation. His costume or attributes do not offer any clear explanation of his identification or function. He has been classified simply as a passerby, who witnesses the procession of a man of high rank, sometimes saluting him, almost to represent the farewell of the deceased.<sup>52</sup> He may also represent an official, like the Roman *cursor*, who directs the procession to its destination.<sup>53</sup> He may also be explained as a friend or relative, who greets or bids farewell to the deceased. This may be supported by the specific practice of one or more of the young kinsmen of the general traditionally riding near the quadriga in a triumph.<sup>54</sup> His position in the exact location of the Vanth figure of other urns, however, may be significant in his elucidation. In this context he may be a psychopompic demon depicted as an equestrian figure.<sup>55</sup> He has, therefore, been rationalized as an otherworldly outrider, who meets the deceased to lead him to the Underworld, or alternately a figure who indicates the arrival of the deceased at this final destination, usurping the role of

---

<sup>51</sup> Holliday (1990), 86 identifies this object on the urns he discusses as the *sella curulis*, which the servant carries on his shoulder. It is, however, not convincing because the form of the object does not fit with that of the *sella curulis*, but in fact looks like a large sack.

<sup>52</sup> Holliday (1990), 88; Felletti Maj (1977), 82.

<sup>53</sup> Holliday (1990), 88. Wilpert (1924-1925), 61 examines the journey to the Underworld in a *carpentum*, where the same figure appears, with the same inherent significance.

<sup>54</sup> Felletti Maj (1977), 82.

<sup>55</sup> Holliday (1990), 88; Felletti Maj (1977), 82.

infernal demons.<sup>56</sup> If this netherworldly explanation is accepted, he further adds to the funerary nature of the depiction. It is, however, significant that although he takes the role of infernal demons, he does not take their form. This clearly indicates the more civic nature of these depictions. The function of conventional demons has now been usurped by a figure who, in dress and appearance, fits into a more general figural type, enhancing the civic nature of the theme.

Some uncertainties of analysis arise, furthermore, since the nature of the ritual depicted on the urns is unclear. The iconography of the reliefs seems to exhibit features that can be connected with emblems of native processional forms. This is possibly confirmed by the commonly held belief that the Roman triumph came from Etruscan antecedents. Literary information about Etruscan triumphal iconography comes from Roman and Greek writers, who describe the institution of the Roman triumphal procession, or *pompa triumphalis*. Literary sources like Appian and Dionysius of Halicarnassus speak of the Etruscan origins of the triumph and of its similarity with the solemn Etruscan procession.<sup>57</sup> In these sources, it is intimated that this Roman military ritual took on some of the insignia of Etruscan processional form. Such paraphernalia of the triumph originated in Etruria and were transported to Rome by the Etruscan kings who ruled there until the end of the sixth century BC. The king was distinguished among other trappings by a purple robe, an eagle topped sceptre, and an ivory throne.<sup>58</sup> The

---

<sup>56</sup> Scullard (1967), 229; B-K III, 95.

<sup>57</sup> Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.61; App. *Pun.* VIII, 66.

<sup>58</sup> Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.61

most striking symbol of the king's sovereignty was the *fascēs* discussed above, since they showed the king's power to execute and scourge.<sup>59</sup> The lictors appeared in the Etruscan procession as in the Roman triumph, revealing in both the magisterial rank of the man celebrated. The Etruscans are also credited with introducing or transforming music in all phases of life including in the triumph.<sup>60</sup> The musicians on the urns, therefore, can be construed also as native features of Etruscan ceremonials. The triumphal chariot, furthermore, was the vehicle of Etruscan nobles in an honorary procession, which was brought to Rome by the Etruscan kings who ruled there.<sup>61</sup> Florus states that "Inde fascēs, trabeae, curules, anuli, phalerae, paludamenta, praetextae, inde quod aureo curru, quattuor equis triumphatur, togae pictae tunicaeque palmatae, omnia denique decora et insignia, quibus imperii dignitas eminet, sumpta sunt".<sup>62</sup> Although in the Roman context the victory celebration was given a more standard form and was more specifically military, the indication of Etruria as the source of many of the elements of a Roman triumph suggests that some type of processional victory celebration and triumphal iconography must have had a long history in Etruria. Consequently, in such descriptions of later writers, elements of Etruscan ceremonial may be glimpsed. In turn, although the knowledge of Etruscan regalia comes from outside sources and generally pertains to the paraphernalia of Etruscan kings, it can be assumed that these were maintained as part of

---

<sup>59</sup> Scullard (1967), 223; Barker and Rasmussen (1998), 89. Florus 1.1.5.6 and Sil. *Pun.* 8.483 ff. mention their Etruscan origins.

<sup>60</sup> Bonfante (1970), 62.

<sup>61</sup> Bonfante (1970), 51, 58.

<sup>62</sup> Florus I.1.5.6

the Etruscan emblems of power, constituting part of the local heritage that was perpetuated but not originated by the rise of Rome. The urn reliefs, therefore, may reflect this native form of a triumphant procession sharing elements with Roman ceremonials, since these seem to be loosely based on Etruscan antecedents.

The conspicuous appearance of such themes on the urns precisely at the time of the final integration of Etruria into the Roman state, however, cannot be by chance. The contemporary Roman *pompae* may have played a role in the revitalization of the processional theme, until now unattested on the urns, precisely as a result of the period of production around the enfranchisement of the city. The type of *pompa* depicted, however, is a more difficult question. The representations exhibit a distinct funerary character. The demon on some of the urns and the outrider on the majority accompany the deceased on his way to the afterlife. The attendant with the *mantica* indicates the scene is a journey, in the funerary Etruscan context, the deceased's last journey. Consequently, it has been associated with the Roman *pompa funebris* by a number of authors.<sup>63</sup> Nevertheless, the triumphant nature of the scenes is also undeniable. There are elements of the *pompa triumphalis* present; the quadriga was the traditional vehicle in a victory celebration, and the gilded wreath that adorns many of the deceased may also indicate a triumphant nature.<sup>64</sup> Many of the other features present on the urns, however,

---

<sup>63</sup> Ryberg (1955), 6, 16; Bonfante (1970), 62.

<sup>64</sup> Bonfante (1970), 51, 58; Richardson (1964), 167; Holliday (1990), 86. Although gilding is no longer visible on the urns in the photographs available to me, other authors indicate that the urns originally preserved some gilding. Cf. Heurgon (1961), 54; Lambrechts (1959), 190; Scullard (1967), 229.

seem to be the standard equipment of *pompae* in general, both triumphant and funerary.<sup>65</sup> Music was part of both the *pompa triumphalis* and *pompa funebris*. Horns especially were sounded in both types of processions.<sup>66</sup> Lictors with the *fasces* were also standard features of both celebrations, in each case revealing the rank of the protagonist, whether triumphant general or deceased.<sup>67</sup> The representations on the urns, therefore, present similar characteristics found in both types of processions, yet the reliefs cannot be categorically identified with either of these rituals, since the identifying features, like the soldiers and booty of the *pompa triumphalis* and the death masks of the *pompa funebris*, are lacking. It is, therefore, a likely possibility that the Etruscans developed a processional form of their own to commemorate their leading men, which was adapted to the funerary context of the urns. They possibly drew on the form and equipment shared by *pompae* in general, which appeared in the different Roman processions, including the *pompa funebris* and *pompa triumphalis*. The adoption of elements of these Roman institutions was aided by the essentially native character of many of their features.

#### **Magistrates: Etruscan or Roman**

The reliefs, furthermore, are imbued with more exclusively civic connotations. The procession, which exhibits some of the standard features of *pompae*, is clearly that of a civic official. The suggestion that the depictions represent the magistrate's installation

---

<sup>65</sup> Versnel (1970), 129.

<sup>66</sup> Versnel (1970), 128.

<sup>67</sup> Versnel (1970), 127.

or entrance into office is a likely possibility.<sup>68</sup> The precise interpretation of the nature of the official on the reliefs, however, is more complex. Issues concerning the identification of the magistrate, either a traditionally Etruscan official or a Roman style magistrate, are uncertain. This is particularly due to the date of the urns, which are placed approximately between 110 and 50 BC, that is immediately before and after Volterranean enfranchisement following the Social War.<sup>69</sup> Once citizenship was granted in 90 BC by the *lex Iulia*, the communities affected became self-governing *municipia* with *quattuorviri* as their highest magistrates.<sup>70</sup> One urn, which depicts the Race of Pelops and Hippodamia, bears an inscription in Latin stating that the deceased was a *quattuorvir* (Cat. 14). This clearly indicates that this urn must be dated after 90 BC and the granting of Roman citizenship.<sup>71</sup> Pairault-Massa states that the Pelops and Hippodamia series, to which this urn belongs, is treated in a new style.<sup>72</sup> These urns appear to be roughly contemporary with the magistrate urns, because their composition and general traits are analogous.<sup>73</sup> This similarity of execution, in connection with the Latin inscription found on the urn with the theme of Pelops and Hippodamia, therefore, suggests a late period of production for the scenes of the magistrate in a procession. Nielsen, furthermore, suggests that the Latin

---

<sup>68</sup> Versnel (1970), 128; Schäfer (1989), 205.

<sup>69</sup> *Supra*, 83-84 for dating of the urns.

<sup>70</sup> Scullard (1963), 67-68; Felletti Maj (1977), 100; Holliday (1990), 90.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Martelli (1977), 90 for the dating of the urn.

<sup>72</sup> This series corresponds to the second category of Pelops urns (Cat. 11-15) treated in Chapter Two.

<sup>73</sup> Pairault-Massa (1977), 163 and n. 205.

speaking magistrate of the urn with the scene of Pelops and Hippodamia must have desired an urn with the procession of the magistrate in a quadriga, but had to be content with an iconographically similar scene.<sup>74</sup> This raises the question whether the quadriga urns of this chapter depict just such Roman style officials. The lack of any concrete evidence, however, in the form of inscriptions, does not allow a definite solution. Furthermore, the possibility exists that the office of traditional Etruscan magistrates survived into this late period and were represented on the urns.

It is certain that the Etruscans had a complex system of their own magistrates, independent of the Roman, which continued unaltered during the period of allied status, at least from 205 BC.<sup>75</sup> Funerary inscriptions, dating to the time of Roman conquest, give the names of some of the Etruscan public officials. The *purth*, *zilaθ*, and *maru* were assumed to have formed some sort of college or hierarchy of magistracies, but their precise significance is unknown.<sup>76</sup> The *zilaθ*, however, is usually considered as the chief magistrate.<sup>77</sup> The *purth* may have referred to the president of the *zilaθs*, while the *maru* was a priestly office.<sup>78</sup> The magistracies were usually annual and they could be held more than once, suggesting that political power rested in the hands of the few.<sup>79</sup> The

---

<sup>74</sup> Nielsen (1993), 340.

<sup>75</sup> Harris (1971), 189. In 205 BC, a number of Etruscan allies, among them Volterra, made contributions to Scipio Africanus' expedition. Cf. Harris (1971), 89-91, Livy 28.4.13-20.

<sup>76</sup> Macnamara (1973), 166; Barker and Rasmussen (1998), 99; Scullard (1967), 226.

<sup>77</sup> Barker and Rasmussen (1998), 100; Scullard (1967), 227; Lambrechts (1959), 188.

<sup>78</sup> Barker and Rasmussen (1998), 100; Scullard (1967), 228.

<sup>79</sup> Barker and Rasmussen (1998), 100; Harris (1971), 125.

seven inscribed sarcophagi collected by Lambrechts identify the deceased as a *zilaθ* or *purth* and present an analogous pictorial representation of this magistrate in a procession.<sup>80</sup> The urn reliefs, although divergent in their composition, present similar subject matter. Consequently, because of the recognizable theme, even these depictions without inscriptions may be identified as the same type of monument.<sup>81</sup> The deceased on the urns may also be represented in the guise of a magistrate, specifically the *zilaθ* or *purth*, who is identified on the sarcophagi.<sup>82</sup>

The deceased on the urns is distinguished as a magistrate by his costume. He is dressed in civic attire, wearing a tunic and a mantle, which is like a sort of toga, and a crown or wreath that, in many instances, maintains touches of gilding. Such insignia indicate the high honours the deceased has attained, as well as his political status. His rank is further enhanced by the attributes and attendants that accompany him. He is preceded by lictors carrying the *fascēs*, which indicate his *imperium*, in some instances by the *sella curulis*, which is a privilege of men of magisterial rank, and writing materials, which are symbols of his judicial office.<sup>83</sup> Livy records that he believed that Romulus had followed Etruscan custom in assuming the regal dignity of the twelve lictors, and also stated that the ivory stool and *toga praetexta*, which were both the

---

<sup>80</sup> Lambrechts (1959), 187-188; supra. n. 9.

<sup>81</sup> Scullard (1967), 229; Felletti Maj (1977), 81.

<sup>82</sup> Lambrechts (1959), 187; Felletti Maj (1977), 81.

<sup>83</sup> Macnamara (1973), 166. The *pugillares* may be interpreted simply as small writing tablets recording the public acts of the magistrate. The *scrinium*, furthermore, was a cylindrical box, designed to hold scrolls, thus also revealing administrative functions (cf. Cat. 39).



insignia of Roman magistrates, came from Etruria.<sup>84</sup> He further elaborates that the lictors in the Republic carried the *fasces* before the consuls, suggesting that these symbols of authority were attributed to the Etruscans. The Etruscan origins of such emblems of power, therefore, remain clear. It is thus reasonable to assume that such insignia remained customary for the local Etruscan magistrates as well, particularly supported by inscribed identifications of just such officials on the sarcophagi. Consequently, the magistrates on the urns need not be identified as *quattuorviri* simply because their emblems of authority resemble those of Roman magistrates. There is a possibility that the deceased on the urns is represented as a *zilaθ* or *purth* at the height of his power, and distinguished by local emblems of his authority, which were essentially parallel to those of their Roman rulers.

### **Romanisation**

Romanisation, the process by which local inhabitants came to be and to think of themselves as Romans,<sup>85</sup> is a complex and tangled issue. There is a "growing realization that the process of Romanisation, all over the Empire, exhibits a very heterogeneous and dialectic character, so much so that the appropriateness of the very term has often been put in question".<sup>86</sup> Local variables must be considered; as Terrenato suggests, this phenomenon can only be measured on an individual basis, region by region and even city by city. The comments here, therefore, will encompass and pertain only to the city of

---

<sup>83</sup> Livy I, 8.

<sup>85</sup> Harris (1971), 147.

<sup>86</sup> Terrenato (1998), 94.

Volterra, and more specifically to the affluent classes of the urban environment, who could afford funerary luxury items.<sup>87</sup>

The period of production of this group of urns roughly corresponds to the period of complete Roman domination, and granting of Roman citizenship. In a short span of time, ties between Volterra and Rome became strong; the city was granted citizenship in 90BC.<sup>88</sup> It was demoted by Sulla in 80 BC from full citizen status, yet maintained close ties with Rome, particularly seen through its relationship with its patron, Cicero.<sup>89</sup> The city was finally restored under Augustus when it became a city in Region VII.<sup>90</sup> In this period the process of Romanisation must have accelerated, yet the extent to which this closer relationship with Rome involved a complete acculturation of the local peoples in the period immediately following the Social War is a complex question.

The deceased on the urns appear as magistrates in the midst of a procession that exhibits some triumphant and funerary elements. This is a civic rite that focuses on the municipal offices and emblems of the deceased in a context of a ceremonial procession. The combination of civil and triumphal imagery reveals the preeminence of the deceased and indirectly confers status upon his surviving family and future descendants through their association with him. According to Holliday in this late period, especially during the first century BC, the symbols of Volterran and Roman magistrates were the same,

---

<sup>87</sup> Terrenato makes it clear that Roman influence was greater in the city than in its surrounding countryside, and on elite as opposed to non-elite populations. Cf. Terrenato (1998).

<sup>88</sup> Holliday (1990), 90; Terrenato (1998), 95; Felletti Maj (1977), 100; Harris (1971), 244; Livy 28.45.

<sup>89</sup> It was reduced to *ius Ariminensium*. Cf. Terrenato (1998), 95, 106; Harris (1971), 265-266.

<sup>90</sup> Holliday (1990), 90; Terrenato (1998), 95, 107; Harris (1971), 318.

since the Etruscans modeled their magistracies on those at Rome. This process explains not only the ease with which Etruscan magistrates adopted Roman attributes, but also the facility of Etruscan artists to use Roman compositional form.<sup>91</sup> The Romans, however, shared with the Etruscans the basic iconography and insignia of magistrates and solemn processions, adopted from the latter at an early period in their history. The attributes of Etruscan magistrates, therefore, could have developed concurrently in Etruria, since they were the traditional insignia of Etruscan kings, while the artistic representation in these scenes may have been an expansion of earlier quadriga scenes on the urns.

There is, however, a significant shift in focus from the familial and domestic of the other themes on earlier urns to a clearly public context, which must be a result of larger social developments. The depiction of such political self-consciousness is not a native feature on the Volterranean urns. In this Roman influence is amply apparent. Although the individual iconographic elements of the scene can all be traced back to native institutions, the focus on the accomplishments of the deceased in the public arena as the measure of worth in life is a Roman characteristic. In remote times, the Etruscans may have given Rome the solemn procession and the apparatus associated with their magistrates, but it was the Romans who gave the processional form a definite structure and form and construed each emblem of power as a symbol of specific rank.<sup>92</sup> The figurative representation of this, furthermore, made its appearance in Volterra in a time of Roman predominance, in the late second and especially in the first century BC. The

---

<sup>91</sup> Holliday (1990), 90.

<sup>92</sup> Bonfante (1970), 62.

appearance of such political self-consciousness, therefore, at this specific period of Etruscan history was probably the direct result of Roman control over the area.<sup>93</sup> In this, the Volterranean urns and their patrons were not completely immune to the forces of Romanisation. The elite classes depicted on the reliefs must have adopted the outward manifestations of *Romanitas* to maintain their authority in their local communities.<sup>94</sup>

Nevertheless, although such superficial marks of Romanisation are visible, acculturation even at this point was not complete. The Volterranean elite emulated the fashions and outward appearance of their Roman overlords, but they strongly clung to their fundamental beliefs in their most traditional cultural activities, like burial practices.<sup>95</sup> The elite funerary ritual of cremating the dead and encasing the ashes in richly decorated cinerary urns, which were then placed in rock-cut tombs, reflects a marked continuity between pre- and post-Roman conditions.<sup>96</sup> This constancy suggests the survival of indigenous customs and practices in the most fundamental and traditional aspects of life. Furthermore, the concept of a journey, inherent in the reliefs since the ultimate destination of the procession was the Underworld, also hints at this lingering of local Etruscan beliefs and traditions. The funeral imagery of a journey, therefore,

---

<sup>93</sup> Holliday (1990), 84.

<sup>94</sup> It must be kept in mind, however, that although some aristocratic families from the pre-Roman period, like the Caecinae, maintained their positions of power, it is also possible that those families who adhered to Roman standards, but were not necessarily of the traditional elite, may have attained a higher status because of their loyalty to and support of Roman expansion into Volterra.

<sup>95</sup> Terrenato (1998), 102.

<sup>96</sup> Terrenato (1998), 105.

although it has taken on a new appearance, is never forgotten. The deceased is represented in a new type of pomp, but the journey to the Underworld is made evident by the infernal demon Vanth, the servant who carries the *mantica*, and possibly by the man on horseback who may be an outrider, replacing infernal demons.

The achievements of the deceased, represented by his attributes and retinue, bestow status and rank since he has conquered the obstacles of life. At the most fundamental level, however, he has triumphed over death itself and is about to embark on a new existence in the afterlife, similar to the theme of the simple journey of the deceased discussed in the previous chapter. In this way, the triumphal theme may have a mystical interpretation, that is a triumph over death, represented in a civic-minded way. A measure of fantasy is thus maintained, as in all rites of passage, but is here represented with a concentration on the everyday language of political prominence.<sup>97</sup> In this way, the old theme of the journey to the Underworld on a quadriga has been altered in its iconography, but has maintained its basic funerary nature. The new orientation of the reliefs befits a period when the adoption of such iconography was a way for the local nobility to show alignment with the Roman power, but still maintain some of its own fundamental beliefs and convictions. The deceased is carrying out his last solemn act, but now in a more triumphal and status conscious context. The character of the urns, therefore, seems to reveal the ambivalent nature of the local aristocracy at this early stage of unification with Rome, when Roman features and fundamental Etruscan concepts intermingled to reflect the new political reality in Volterra.

---

<sup>97</sup> Holliday (1990), 88.

## Conclusions

Stylistically the urns closely resemble the more sober scenes of the journey to the Underworld of the previous chapter. The nuances of high Hellenistic art with its exuberance are not present, although some urns may incorporate the developments of late Hellenism, particularly in the perspective scheme employed in the depiction of the horses. According to Holliday, the contrived arrangement of the horses may have been inspired by late Hellenistic art that was imported into Italy by foreign artisans.<sup>98</sup> The chariot is represented in profile, while the horses successively turn toward the viewer with the first appearing almost frontal. This perspective scheme, nevertheless, even if it is a distant following of a Hellenistic prototype, has been long employed and interpreted by local craftsmen. As in the journey scenes of the previous chapter, a more reserved and locally acceptable style, therefore, was selected to depict a realistic, albeit generic scene. These reliefs call upon the local conventions that many of the Italic peoples shared to represent a theme that is essentially indigenous. The urns, therefore, probably reflect the resurgence of typically Italic art. This can clearly be seen in the perspective schemes used on the urns, the linear and schematized rendering of the disproportionate figures, and the overall static and cartoon-like style of the reliefs. The Italic style is employed for the representation of a real life event, even if this is generic.<sup>99</sup> This indigenous, matter-of-fact style, as in the earlier discussed journey to the Underworld as a soldier, was

---

<sup>98</sup> Holliday (1990), 87; Hanfmann (1945), 56.

<sup>99</sup> This convention is continued by the Romans, especially in the Imperial period, when there was a clear preference to show real life activities using the Italic style, while mythological subjects were executed with Greek inspiration.

deemed suitable to show the deceased's last journey in the guise of a magistrate. This allows the factual details and attributes that indicate his public position to be clearly delineated. The minor variations of style on individual urns are not significant for the meaning of the reliefs. The stylistic differences, if closely examined, are not distinct enough necessarily to signify a divergence. These deviations are possibly indicative of the personal preferences and tastes of the patron or even of the artisan. They both had access to urns with mythological quadriga scenes as well as journey scenes, and so they could be drawing on these models, combining those elements that appealed to them, while maintaining the basic iconographic model. More probably, however, the stylistic divergences are due to the different hands executing the same motif, since compositionally the urns of the magistrate are very similar, often almost identical. In this way, different hands may be using a common model, but the distinction in the execution of the resulting reliefs was a consequence of the diverging taste and capabilities of the individual artisan.

Iconographically, the urn reliefs seem to have developed the earlier scenes of the journey to the Underworld in a quadriga, and the mythological scenes with a triumphal chariot. The quadriga in all of these remains central, while the figures are varied to give a new meaning to the picture. The initial urn (Cat. 25) still maintains a closer link with both the mythological and funerary quadriga urns, combining elements from both. The other urns with demons (Cat. 26-28) retain the traditional position of Vanth, revealing their dependence on the mythological model. They, however, preserve the more sober style of the journey urns, indicating the connection between fundamentally similar

themes. The more standard group of urns eliminates all the demons, replacing Vanth with a man on horseback (Cat. 29-41); he may maintain a subtle infernal meaning, but is represented in a civic-minded manner. The alteration of the other figures, which are consistent on the majority of the urns, imbues these reliefs with a new meaning. The deceased is now represented alone in the quadriga on his way to the afterlife, particularly indicated by the *mantica*, as opposed to in the company of his wife, relatives, friends, and servants. The deceased stands in the quadriga in a dignified pose and civic attire. There is a hint of triumphal garb in the wreath some of the protagonists wear. He is accompanied by attendants accorded to his status, including the lictors who clear the way and indicate his *imperium*. These figures take the place of the psychopompic demons of the mythological urns, giving the reliefs a specifically political context. The *sella curulis* and *scrinium* on some of the urns add another dimension to the meaning of the reliefs, indicating the administrative and judicial authority of the deceased. Other attendants and attributes have the same function, including the carrier of the *pugillares*, who appears in the position of the comrades of the deceased who bid farewell to him or his military opponents on urns with the journey of the deceased as a soldier. Here again the focus is no longer on the familial context or personal victories, but instead on the public achievements of the deceased, perhaps incorporating a dual meaning, both military and administrative. The role and position of the deceased, furthermore, is now presented in a clearly processional form. Although the basic composition of these reliefs resembles that of other quadriga scenes, whether mythological or funerary, the figures accompanying the deceased are no longer arranged in an insignificant way, but in a clearly hierarchical



manner.<sup>100</sup> The quadriga remains central and is indicative of the triumphal nature of the journey to the Underworld, but the new formal arrangement of the subsidiary figures, who are no longer of the private realm, fundamentally alters the meaning of the reliefs. The processional form further imbues the reliefs of such magistrates with a clearly official context, making the public nature of these depictions amply apparent. For a magistrate, the procession was a symbol itself of his power and authority, while the attributes displayed would have indicated his specific status and rank.<sup>101</sup> The new urns clearly indicate that the rank and preeminence of the deceased were now achieved in the public arena.

The processional form served both religious and secular purposes, but often the similarity in their constituting elements makes their distinction difficult. Etruscan processions incorporate the iconography of everyday official and religious ritual. The deceased appears as if alive with the facts of his position and activities depicted accurately, but the context is not a specific event in his life, but a symbolic procession that leads to the Underworld.<sup>102</sup> These very observations hint at the complex nature of these reliefs. Despite the incorporation of elements of Etruscan and even Roman ceremonial iconography, the scene has been adapted to serve funerary purposes. The reliefs on the urns were meant to memorialize the deceased and his achievements, albeit

---

<sup>100</sup> The reliefs have a sense of progression from attendants carrying various attributes to the culminating figure of the magistrate, who appears usually at the centre and is marked by his larger stature. Holliday (1990), 73.

<sup>101</sup> Holliday (1990), 92.

<sup>102</sup> Holliday (1990), 93.

in a generic way, encompassing those elements that were deemed most significant to indicate his eminence in his local community. Consequently, they preserve for posterity the achievements and privileges of the deceased, which now in the more status conscious world of Roman domination came to mean everything for the survival of an Etruscan aristocracy. The ideals of nobility were no longer expressed in terms of private activities, but in the public arena, since in newly enfranchised Etruscan cities, as at Rome itself, symbols of status were acquired by holding public office. The depiction of the journey of the magistrate to the Underworld in a quadriga as part of a quasi-triumphal procession was a reflection of the realities of Etruscan society at the end of the Hellenistic period, when Rome came to dominate the entire Italian peninsula. Although such scenes maintained their essentially Etruscan flavour, since journey themes reveal a fundamentally Etruscan religious belief in the continuation of life in some form after death, their overtly political and public nature was a novelty that can only be elucidated as part of the local response to the changing role of the inhabitants under the foreign rule of Rome.

## CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

This thesis has studied a group of urns dating from the third to the first century BC, whose common theme is a central quadriga. The iconography of quadriga motifs was popular from the beginning of urn production, whether employed to convey a mythical, exclusively funerary, or civic meaning. An examination of these urns provided a glimpse not only of the changes in iconography and style, but also of the greater forces that caused them, particularly the changing cultural and political situation in Etruria during the last three centuries BC. This group of urns presented a unique opportunity to study an aspect of Etruscan life and society, albeit in a limited but revealing funerary context, which revealed a rich and cultivated civilization. This culture, although influenced by the wider currents of the Mediterranean basin, maintained its own fundamental convictions in some way late into the period of Roman dominance and final acculturation.

Some general trends may be detected in the iconographic development of quadriga scenes. The Etruscan artisans reused and adapted stock types, maintaining the central quadriga along with standard features and minor details in each of the variations. In this way, a basic motif was used as a model and was repeated, retaining typical elements like the grouping of the galloping horses and fallen figure or the walking horses and the demon with shields. The first set of urns included quadriga scenes that had an identifiable mythical narrative, yet their funerary meaning was made clear by their

employment in a sepulchral context. The examination of the themes of the Abduction of Persephone and Pelops and Hippodamia Returning from the Fatal Race, the latter a rare subject in the Greek world, revealed their adoption from an originally Greek iconographic tradition, and their adaptation to an Etruscan context. The Etruscan artisans seem to have relied on a stock type with a central quadriga, which was the standard imagery of abduction scenes. This was adopted for both mythological themes on the urns, changing key features to reveal in each scene a distinct story. The meaning of these themes must have been twofold, encompassing both the mythical significance and the funerary ideology of a journey, which often involved a similar iconography. These urns must have been catalysts in the revitalization of the old funerary motif of a journey on the urns, now carried out on a quadriga. Quadrigae were previously rare in the funerary art of the journey, and so in their use on the urns the influence of the mythological iconography of the Persephone and Pelops reliefs is plausible. The Volterranean artisans must have adapted the basic iconographic motif of the different mythical quadriga scenes to a more exclusively indigenous funerary theme. Compositionally, therefore, the motif of the urns depicting the journey of the deceased in a quadriga was an intrinsic extension of the earlier mythological motifs, since the iconography necessary for each was essentially the same. The significance of these reliefs, however, is more exclusively funerary, primarily concerned with the representation of the deceased's journey to the Underworld in familial circumstances, revealing his aristocratic status. The last group of urns discussed, those showing the journey of the magistrate to the Underworld in a quasi-triumphal procession, is also based on the stock motif of a central quadriga, further

elaborating upon the theme of a journey. Compositionally, this theme draws on both the mythological and journey urns, combining various elements of these familiar scenes. The meaning of the theme, however, is invested with more politically self-conscious connotations by the introduction of a hierarchically disposed retinue. The focus is now on the rank and status of the deceased in the public arena; his position as magistrate has become the overall message of the relief.

The presence of Etruscan demons in a range of scenes of varying significance is an important feature on the urns. These demons, including Vanth, Charun, and the demon with shields, remain a key feature of the depictions, frequently in unalterable positions. They reveal not only the funerary context, but also the Etruscan nature of the reliefs. Their eventual disappearance on the magistrate urns, therefore, must indicate a fundamental alteration of ideology possibly as a result of the greater influence of Rome.

The thematic development of the urn reliefs generally seems to correspond to the changing environment in Etruria and Italy as a whole, although a firm chronological delineation is lacking. The theme of the quadriga as part of the mythological representations began initially under strong Hellenistic influence, possibly due to the direct contact with the Greek East and Magna Graecia, achieved through Roman imperialism. The mythological themes examined initially appeared at the beginning of this period, at the end of the third and beginning of the second century BC when Greek influence is clearly perceptible. As Roman power and dominance increased, the significance of the reliefs seems also to have been altered accordingly. Initially, the imagery of the Journey of the Deceased as a Soldier, therefore, seems to reconfirm the

survival of the traditional local aristocracy, and the standing of nobility in native society. Although firm dates are lacking, tentatively the appearance of this theme may be dated to the mid second century BC, when Etruscan states were increasingly subjugated to Rome. The emphasis is on indigenous customs and institutions, therefore, perhaps as a reaction to the growing power of Rome. This concentration, however, seems to change with the introduction of the theme of the journey where the deceased is depicted as a magistrate in a quasi-triumphal procession. The initial appearance of this theme toward the end of urn production, in the late second and especially in the first century BC, is more secure, and suggests the final integration of the Etruscan states into the Roman empire. Although Etruscan mentality remains fundamentally embedded in the depiction of a journey to the Underworld, the imagery employed reveals a desire to conform to the social and political changes that must have been occurring under the increasing presence of Rome in this period. Local standing and prominence were now dependent on and measured by participation in the newly established Roman political system, which was thus reflected in the funerary symbolism of the Volterrans. Funerary commemoration, consequently, shifted to memorializing the achievements of the deceased in the public arena, which was now the definer of his status and wealth. In conclusion, although the compositional layout of the urns maintained a recognizable form throughout, revealing some of the artistic processes of selection and execution, the development of the thematic content and significance of these reliefs reflects the larger cultural, social, and political changes that Etruria underwent in the approximately three centuries that ultimately culminated in the absorption of this civilization into the growing Roman empire.

## CATALOGUE

This catalogue contains all the urns discussed in the text. The urns are arranged by subject matter in order of their treatment in the text. Each entry will take the following order: location, material and dimensions, mouldings, condition, covers, tomb complex (if known), bibliography, inscription (if any). The bibliography given includes only the pertinent catalogues, in which the urns appear. Additional bibliography is given when illustrations or dates have been extracted from these works. The present location of the urns has also been included, but all urns discussed originated in Volterra. The decoration of the shorter sides have also been indicated, when they appear, after the description of the long front side. The lids, which have been grouped with the caskets in the museum collections, have been included, although the provenience of the lids, except possibly in one case, is generally unknown. The dates of the individual urns where possible have also been noted at the end of each entry. The dates suggested for the urns depicting the Procession of the Magistrate have been derived from Lambrechts (1959), with other sources that discuss the possible dating of these urns treated only in the text. The sources that suggest dates for other urns have been given in parentheses after each reference. The description of the main reliefs on the front of the urns have been limited to their essentials because of their extensive discussion within the text.

### Quadriga Scenes: Mythological Variants

1) Volterra, inv. 183.

**Figure 1**

Alabaster. Height: 0.44m. Length: 0.75m. Width: 0.23m.

Crowning moulding: None.

Base moulding: Band of egg-and-dart.

Condition: The relief is well preserved with some details and figures worn.

Lid: Female with a mirror.

Bibliography: B-K III, pl. I, 1; *CUV* 2, 233.

Two figures, a bearded and semi-nude male to the right and a draped female to the left, appear in the chariot, pulled by four galloping horses. To the right of the chariot is a semi-nude, winged female demon, who guides the horses. Below the raised front legs of the galloping horses, a marine demon appears. He is beardless and brandishes an unsheathed sword in his right hand, while he seems to hold an unidentifiable object to his left side.

On the left side a winged female demon appears. She wears boots and a tunic, but her upper body is nude with straps crossed over her chest. She grasps a torch in her right hand and points with her upraised left hand toward the front panel of the urn.

On the right side fragments of another figure appear. He seems to wear high boots.

2) Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 92061, from Volterra.

**Figure 2**

Alabaster. Height: 0.46m. Length: 0.68m. Width: 0.29m.

Crowning moulding: None.

Base molding: Animal-footed cask.

Condition: Relief well preserved with some projecting parts missing.

Lid: Male with patera.

Origin: Barberino Val d'Elsa, Tomb XXXII-XXXIII.

Bibliography: *CUV* 1, 287.

Two figures, a bearded and semi-nude male to the right and a draped female to the left, appear in the chariot, pulled by four galloping horses. To the right of the chariot is a semi-nude, winged female demon, who guides the horses. At the right of the horses is a semi-nude male figure, wearing high boots. Below the raised legs of the horses is a double-bodied marine demon. At each side of him a nude male figure appears, seated each with his legs bent. The one at the left holds a dagger.

On the left side two winged demons appear, wearing boots and short tunics, with their upper bodies nude. They both hold a torch turned toward the ground.

On the right side, at the left a bearded male figure appears, winged at the shoulders. He wears boots and a short tunic, with his chest bare. At the right another bearded male figure appears in the same attire. He lifts his right hand to his head.

The urn is dated to no later than 150 BC (Pairault (1972a), 45).



3) Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 92058, from Volterra.

**Figure 3**

Alabaster. Height 0.44m. Length: 0.75m. Width: 0.22m.

Crowning moulding: None.

Base moulding: None.

Condition: The relief is worn and fragmentary, with the principal figures missing almost completely.

Lid: Male.

Origin: Barberino Val d'Elsa, Tomb XXXII-XXXIII.

Bibliography: *CUV* 1, 286.

Two figures, a male wearing only a *chlamys* to the right and a draped female to the left, appear in the chariot, pulled by four galloping horses. A winged demon, whose sex is uncertain, appears to the right of the chariot and guides the horses. A marine demon with a double fish tail occupies the whole space below the horses. He raises both his arms until his fists touch the horses above. At the right of the horses is a male figure dressed in a short tunic and boots who places his left hand on the neck of the closest horse.

On the left side a winged demon appears, stepping toward the right. He holds a torch in his right hand and a hammer in his left.

On the right side an identical demon, but static appears.

4) Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 92062, from Volterra.

**Figure 4**

Alabaster. Height: 0.56m. Length: 0.59m. Width: 0.30m.

Crowning moulding: None.

Base moulding: Square-footed cask, with two plain fillets separated by a flat groove.

Condition: The relief is fragmentary with many projecting parts missing and figures worn.

Lid: Male with patera.

Origin: Barberino Val d'Elsa, Tomb XXXII-XXXIII.

Bibliography: *CUV* 1, 290.

Two figures, a nude male at the right and a draped female at the left, appear in the chariot, pulled by four galloping horses. A winged female demon appears at the right of the chariot and guides the horses. Below the horses a marine demon appears and holds a shield in his left hand and raises his right toward the horses.

5) Volterra, inv. 182.

**Figure 5**

Alabaster. Height: 0.47m. Length: 0.755m. Width: 0.36m.

Crowning moulding: None.

Base moulding: Square-footed cask, with two bands of dentils between.

Condition: The relief is fragmentary with the principal figures almost completely missing.

Bibliography: B-K III, pl. II, 3; *CUV* 2, 232.

Two figures, a nude male at the right and a draped female at the left, appear in the chariot pulled by four galloping horses. To the right of the chariot a semi-nude, winged female demon appears and guides the horses. Below the front raised legs of the horses is a serpent. To the right of the horses a nude male figure, only wearing a *chlamys* and boots, appears. He is in a distinctive pose; he stands on his left leg, which is bent, and he raises his right.

On the left side a centaur appears with a *chlamys* around his neck. At the left of him is a male figure in a short tunic, *chlamys*, and a helmet.

On the right side a seated figure appears, with a sword in his right hand. Most of this figure is damaged.

6) Volterra, inv. 172.

**Figure 6**

Alabaster. Height: 0.31m. Length: 0.47m. Width: 0.23m.

Crowning moulding: Band of egg-and-dart.

Base moulding: None.

Condition: The urn is fragmentary on the left side, particularly the lower corner; the main figures are missing as well as some of the projecting parts.

Lid: Male with tablets in his right hand.

Bibliography: B-K III, pl. II, 4; *CUV* 2, 231.

The chariot, now lost, is pulled by four horses with their front left legs raised. Of the two figures in the chariot very little can be distinguished, a left arm that is draped and the arm that at one time must have held the reins of the horses. A draped female demon, with one wing visible, appears at the right of the chariot. Preceding the horses a male demon with pointed ears appears, wearing a *chlamys* and high boots.

7) Volterra, inv. 379.

**Figure 7**

Alabaster. Height: 0.47m. Length 0.70m. Width: 0.29m.

Crowning moulding: None.

Base moulding: None.

Condition: Plain borders are chipped.

Lid: Male with an undetermined object in his right hand.

Bibliography: B-K III, pl. I, 2; *CUV* 2, 234.

Two figures, a bearded, semi-nude male with a covering on his head at the right and a draped female at the left, appear in the chariot, pulled by four galloping horses. To the right of the chariot a winged female demon appears in a tunic. Preceding the horses at the right is a bearded, semi-nude male figure in high boots and a Phrygian hat. Below the horses' raised front legs are three figures, two males, both bearded and semi-nude, and a draped female. The male figure at the left holds a hammer with both hands. All three of these figures emerge from the ground.

8) Volterra, inv. 187.

**Figures 8, 8a**

Alabaster. Length: 0.83m.

Crowning moulding: Beads, egg-and-dart, beads, figured frieze with tree, hunter, and prey (stag) alternating.

Base moulding: Rosettes alternating with nodi.

Condition: Base moulding fragmentary and relief is missing many of its projecting parts.

Bibliography: B-K II, 1, pl. XLIX, 1; Pairault-Massa (1975), fig. 6.

Two figures, a male to the left and a female to the right, appear in the chariot pulled by four galloping horses. The woman at the right is nude except for a mantle or perhaps a veil wrapped around her extended right arm, a torque, and a headdress. The male figure wears a long tunic tied at the waist, a *chlamys*, and a Phrygian hat. A winged female demon stands at the left of the chariot. She is semi-nude with a mantle wrapped around her lower half. Below the front legs of the horse is a male figure in a long tunic and *chlamys*. At the right side of the relief is a winged male demon, dressed in a long tunic, mantle, and boots.

The urn has been dated between 170 and 150 BC (Pairault-Massa (1977), 159).

9) Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 78495, from Volterra.

**Figure 9**

Alabaster. Height: 0.44m. Length: 0.675m. Width: 0.275m.

Crowning moulding: Cavetto, fascia, dentils, concave band with crowning and base fillet, frieze of rosettes and pendant leaves.

Base moulding: Central frieze of triglyphs and rosettes flanked on either side by cavetto and beads.

Condition: Mouldings are chipped; relief is well preserved with some projecting parts missing.

Lid: Female with patera.

Origin: Tomba Inghirami (XIX).

Bibliography: B-K II, 1, pl. XLIX, 2; CUV 1, 138; Laviosa, fig. 30; Pairault (1972), pl. 23.

Two figures, a male in a tunic and *chlamys* at the right, and a female in a tunic with her right breast exposed and a type of headdress at the left, appear in the chariot, pulled by four rearing horses. A male figure appears behind the chariot in a tunic, *chlamys* and a Phrygian hat, as well as anaxyrides. Between his legs on the ground is a large Phrygian hat. To the right of the chariot is a semi-nude, winged female demon with a torch. Before the horses a winged male demon stands in an *exomis* and high boots. Between his legs a dog appears. Below the raised front legs of the horses is a male figure in a tunic, *chlamys*, and Phrygian hat.

The urn has been dated between 170 and 150 BC (Pairault-Massa (1972a), 67).

10) Volterra, inv. 178.

**Figure 10**

Alabaster. Length: 0.62m.

Crowning moulding: Cavetto, fascia, dentils, concave band with narrow crowning and base fillet, frieze of rosettes and pendant leaves.

Base moulding: Central frieze of egg-and-dart flanked on either side by cavetto and beads.

Condition: Mouldings are chipped; some figures are worn with projecting elements missing.

Bibliography: B-K II, 1, pl. XLIX, 2a (not illustrated); Pairault (1972), pl. 24.

Two figures, the male at the right and the female at the left in the same costume as the previous urn, appear in the chariot, pulled by four galloping horses. Behind the chariot the male figure of the previous urn appears in the same attire. Between his legs on the ground is a large Phrygian hat. To the right of the chariot is a semi-nude, winged female demon with a torch. Before the horses is a winged male demon, possibly dressed in an *exomis*. Between his legs a dog appears. Below the raised front legs of the horses the same male figure appears. Between the heads of the two central horses, the head of a griffin has been inserted.

The urn has been dated between 170 and 150 BC (Pairault-Massa (1977), 67).

11) Volterra, inv. 176.

**Figure 11**

Alabaster. Length: 0.75m.

Crowning moulding: Beads, fascia, cavetto, dentils, beads, fascia.

Base moulding: Beads, cavetto, fascia, egg-and-dart.

Condition: Mouldings are fragmentary and chipped; relief is fragmentary and chipped especially on left side.

Lid: Female.

Bibliography: B-K II, 1, pl. L, 3 (drawing only).

Two figures, a man to the right wearing a tunic, *chlamys*, and Phrygian hat and a woman to the left in a tunic and mantle as well as a veil, appear in the chariot, pulled by four horses, who lift their front left legs. A male figure appears behind the chariot, who seems to be wearing a tunic, *chlamys*, and Phrygian hat. To the right of the chariot is a winged female demon holding a torch. In front of the horses another winged female demon appears in a tunic with her left breast and shoulder exposed, holding a small circular shield with a boss in the centre in her left hand. Below the raised hoofs of the horses a bearded male figure is lying on the ground, wearing a long tunic and a mantle. He supports himself on his shield held upright in his left hand, while he wounds one of the horses with a sword raised in his right.

12) Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 584, from Volterra.

**Figure 12**

Alabaster. Length: 0.88m.

Crowning moulding: Beads, cavetto, torus, dentils, beads.

Base moulding: Beads, wide band of three concentric triangles alternated with pendant leaves.

Condition: Relief is worn with some projecting parts missing.

Bibliography: B-K II, 1, pl. L, 4; Giglioli (1935), pl. 402.2.

Two figures, a male wearing a tunic, *chlamys*, and a Phrygian hat at the right and a female in a headdress and a tunic with long sleeves that exposes her right breast and shoulder at the left, appear in the chariot, pulled by four horses, who lift their front left legs. A male figure appears behind the chariot wearing a tunic, *chlamys*, Phrygian hat, and boots. To the right of the chariot a winged female demon is depicted in a peplos. In front of the horses a bearded, winged male demon is depicted in boots and an animal pelt that is tied around his neck. In his hair a kind of headdress can be distinguished. He holds a small circular shield with a boss in the centre in each hand. In front of him, lying on the ground, a bearded male figure appears. He wears a tunic, *chlamys*, and helmet, and rests on his shield held upright in his left hand.

13) Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 78519, from Volterra.

**Figure 13**

Alabaster. Height: 0.42m. Length: 0.775m. Width: 0.255m.

Crowning moulding: Beads, double torus, dentils, beads.

Base moulding: Central band of bead-and-reel with a line of beads above and below.

Condition: The relief is worn.

Lid: Male with a diptych in his right hand.

Origin: Tomba Inghirami (XIX).

Bibliography: B-K II, 1, pl. LI, 5; *CUV* 1, 160.

Two figures, a male in a tunic, *chlamys*, and Phrygian hat at the right and a female in a tunic and mantle with her right breast and shoulder exposed, as well as a torque and a veil at the left, appear in the chariot, pulled by four horses, who raise their front left legs. A man appears behind the chariot dressed in a tunic, mantle, Phrygian hat, and boots. To the right of the chariot is a semi-nude, winged female figure with a torch. A winged male demon stands in front of the horses, wearing a tunic, boots, and a headdress and holding a small circular shield with a boss in the centre in his right hand. In front of him a bearded male figure kneels, wearing a tunic. He holds a shield in his left hand and raises a sword in his right hand.

14) Volterra, inv. 177.

**Figures 14, 14a**

Alabaster. Length: 0.85m.

Crowning moulding: Beads, fascia, torus, dentils, beads.

Base moulding: Beads, cavetto, fascia with inscription, cavetto.

Condition: Mouldings are chipped and fragmentary; relief, especially central part, is worn and corroded.

Bibliography: B-K II, 1, pl. LI, 6; Van der Meer (1977/1978), fig. 78.

Inscription: CIL XI, 1744. C. Caesi[us] S.F. IIII vir iu[re dicun]do  
iter[um] vixsit annos LX [---].

Two figures, a male in a tunic, a *chlamys*, and a Phrygian hat to the right and female in a tunic and mantle with her left shoulder exposed and a headdress to the left, appear in the chariot, pulled by four horses toward the right, who lift their front left legs. The man

places his left hand on the hilt of his sheathed sword. A male figure appears behind the chariot wearing a tunic, *chlamys*, Phrygian hat, and boots. To the right of the chariot a winged female demon is depicted in a peplos and with a torch. At the right of the relief, a bearded, winged male demon appears in a tunic and headdress. He holds a small circular shield with a boss in the centre in each hand. Beside him to the left another figure appears, smaller in stature, and wearing a tunic and *chlamys*. He lifts his right arm against the approaching horses. In front of him a bearded, seated figure appears wearing a tunic, *chlamys*, and Phrygian hat. He holds a shield, upright, in his left hand while he wounds one of the horses with a sword held in his right.

The urn has been dated to after 90 BC and more probably toward 70 BC (Martelli (1977), 90).

15) Volterra, inv. 180.

### Figure 15

Alabaster. Length: 0.93m.

Crowning moulding: Frieze of egg-and-dart, cavetto, dentils, beads, fascia with triangles. Base moulding: Beads, band with two concentric triangles alternated with pendant leaves. Condition: The relief is well preserved.

Bibliography: B-K II, 1, pl. LII, 7 (drawing only).

Two figures, a male in a tunic, *chlamys*, and Phrygian hat to the right and female in a tunic with long sleeves that exposes her left breast and a veil to the left, appear in the chariot, pulled by four horses, who lift their front left legs. A male figure appears behind the chariot wearing a tunic, *chlamys*, and boots. A bird perches on his hat and seems to peck at its rim. To the right of the chariot a winged female demon appears in a tunic and a headdress, and carries a torch. A bearded male demon stands at the extreme right in a tunic, *chlamys*, boots, and a headdress, and holds small circular shields with a boss in the centre in his hands. Beside him on the left is another male figure wearing a tunic, *chlamys*, and Phrygian hat. He grasps a shield in his left hand and raises an unsheathed sword in his right. In front of him a bearded, seated figure appears wearing a long tunic, *chlamys*, and Phrygian hat. He seems to support himself on his shield held upright in his left hand, while raising a sword in his right.

### The Journey of the Deceased to the Underworld: The Soldier

16) Volterra, inv. 400.

### Figure 16

Alabaster. Height: 0.43m. Length: 0.68m. Width: 0.33m.

Crowning moulding: Double torus (lower is ribbed), with central concave band, fascia with paterae alternating with double rosettes disposed vertically.

Base moulding: Frieze of rosettes and bullheads decorated with garlands.

Condition: The relief is well preserved, slightly worn and mouldings chipped.

Lid: Male.

Origin: Necropoli del Portone-Tomb IV.

Bibliography: B-K III, pl. III, 5 and fig. 2; *CUV* 1, 54.

A man in a tunic and mantle, with a round shaped covering on his head, appears in the chariot, pulled by four galloping horses. In his right hand he holds an unidentified rod-like object horizontally stretched out toward the right. A female demon without wings appears at the right of the chariot. Preceding the horses to the right appears a bearded and nude male demon whose wing with a large eye in the centre is not seen on the front of the urn, but wraps around the right side. He has pointed ears, and a serpent wraps around his left arm, while he raises the right holding a shaft or a rod. Below the raised front legs of the horses a winged marine demon with pointed ears appears.

On the right side a female winged demon appears, wearing boots and a short tunic, with bands crossed over her bare chest. She holds a sceptre in her right hand and she places her left hand on her knee, while resting her left foot on a small podium.

On the right side, to the right of the wing that curves around from the front panel, a figure appears completely enveloped in his mantle.

The urn is dated to circa 180 BC (Pairault-Massa (1977), 158).

17) Volterra, inv. 164.

**Figure 17**

Alabaster. Length: 0.61m.

Crowning moulding: Band of egg-and-dart, fascia, dentils, beads.

Base moulding: Destroyed.

Condition: Lower part of urn damaged with some details of the preserved relief worn.

Lid: Female.

Bibliography: B-K III, pl. LXXXVIII, 4 (drawing only).

The chariot is pulled by four horses with their front left legs raised. Three figures appear in the chariot: a man at the left in a tunic, *chlamys*, and a round shaped covering on his head with an unsheathed sword in his right hand, a woman in the centre wearing a mantle, and a charioteer in an *exomis* at the right. A male figure appears behind the chariot wearing a tunic, mantle, and Phrygian hat. In front of the horses at the right is a male figure dressed in an *exomis*. Behind him stands a bearded figure, wearing a long tunic and a headdress. In each hand he holds a small shield, segmented and with a boss in the centre.

18) Volterra, inv. 167.

**Figure 18**

Alabaster. Height: 0.24m. Length: 0.315m. Width: 0.15m.

Crowning moulding: Fascia, fillet, dentils.

Base moulding: None.

Condition: Details are completely worn, with both sides of the urn corroded.

Lid: Female holding a small fan by its handle in her right hand.

Bibliography: B-K III, pl. LXXXVIII, 4a (not illustrated); *CUV* 2, 217.

The chariot is pulled by four horses with their left front legs raised. Three figures appear in the chariot: at the left is a man in a tunic, mantle, and a round covering on his head, and with a shield in his left hand, at the centre is a woman in a mantle with her head covered, and at the right is the charioteer dressed in an *exomis*. A male figure appears

behind the chariot enveloped in a mantle and holding a sword in his right hand. Before the horses to the right a demon appears with a small shield with a raised boss in the centre in his hand.

19) Volterra, inv. 159.

**Figure 19**

Alabaster. Length: 0.56m.

Crowning moulding: Band of egg-and-dart, fascia, dentils, fillet, beads.

Base moulding: Fillet, fascia, fillet.

Condition: Mouldings are chipped with some of the finer details of the relief worn and some projecting parts missing.

Bibliography: B-K III, pl. LXXXVIII, 5, (drawing only).

The chariot is pulled by four horses. Three figures appear in the chariot: at the left is a man wearing a tunic, a round covering on his head, and brandishing an unsheathed sword in his right hand and a shield in the left, in the centre is a woman in a tunic and mantle, and at the right is the charioteer in an *exomis*. Behind the chariot is a winged female demon in a tunic, holding a torch. At her feet is a figure in a tunic and with a round covering on his head, brandishing a sword. Before the horses are four figures. There are two male figures at the back. The one to the right is the bearded demon figure with the small shields, while the other, to the left, is a man also in a tunic but without attributes. A male and female appear in front. The male figure to the left wears an *exomis*, who guides the horses by the reins with his left hand, while holding a lit torch with his right. Beside him to the right is a woman wearing a tunic. A nude figure appears close to the centre of the urn, depicted from the back.

20) Volterra, inv. 174.

**Figure 20**

Alabaster. Length: 0.56.

Crowning moulding: Band of bead-and-reel, plain fascia, dentils.

Base moulding: Rosettes alternating with nodi.

Condition: Mouldings are chipped, details of relief in large part worn and projecting elements missing.

Lid: Male.

Bibliography: B-K III, pl. LXXXIX, 6 (drawing only).

The chariot is pulled by four galloping horses. In the chariot are three figures: at the left is a man in a tunic, helmet, and holding a shield, in the centre is a woman in a tunic and mantle, and at the right is a charioteer. Two male figures stand at the left of the chariot, both wearing tunics and armed with helmets, swords and shields. Preceding the horses at the right is a winged female demon in a long tunic, which slips down exposing her left shoulder, and a torque around her neck. Below the front raised legs of the horses are two wounded figures lying on the ground. The one on the left wears a long tunic and helmet, while holding an unsheathed sword in his right hand and propping himself up by his shield, held in his left hand. The other fallen warrior wears an *exomis*, high boots, and a Phrygian hat on his head. A shield is seen upright at the right corner of the relief.



21) Volterra, inv. 455.

**Figure 21**

Alabaster. Length: 0.87m.

Crowning moulding: Fascia.

Base moulding: Fascia.

Condition: Most of the upper right part of the urn is damaged.

Bibliography: B-K III, pl. LXXXIX, 7 (drawing only).

The chariot is pulled by four galloping horses. In the elongated chariot three figures appear: at the left is a man in a tunic and a helmet or hat, equipped with a shield and sword, in the centre is a woman wearing a tunic and mantle and holding a sword in her right hand, and at the right is a charioteer in an *exomis*. Below the front raised legs of the horses are three figures. The figure on the left is nude except for a *chlamys*. The figure in the centre is in a tunic and *chlamys*. He also has a helmet, a sword in the right hand, and is on his knees, supporting himself on his shield in the left hand. The figure on the right wears an *exomis*, high boots, and a Phrygian hat. An upright shield is seen to the right of him at the corner of the relief.

22) Volterra, inv. 158.

**Figure 22**

Alabaster. Length: 0.48m.

Crowning moulding: Band of bead-and-reel, band of egg-and-dart, band with triangles, band of bead-and-reel, dentils with circle in centre.

Base moulding: Band of bead-and-reel, wide band of four concentric triangles alternated with pendant leaves, band of bead-and-reel.

Condition: The relief is well preserved with the mouldings chipped.

Bibliography: B-K III, pl. LXXXVII, 2 (drawing only).

The chariot is pulled by four horses with their front left legs raised. In the chariot are two figures: at the left is a man in a helmet, tunic, and *chlamys*, and at the right is a woman in a headdress and a tunic and mantle. A winged male demon stands at the right of the chariot. He is bearded with pointed ears and wears high boots and a short tunic. He holds a torch. Before the horses is a male figure, also in a short tunic.

23) Volterra, inv. 166.

**Figure 23**

Alabaster. Height: 0.28m. Length: 0.44m Width: 0.16m.

Crowning moulding: Double fillet, torus, fascia.

Base moulding: Wreath of laurels alternated with double file of dentils, within a cyma.

Condition: Mouldings are chipped; relief is preserved with some projecting parts missing and some finer details worn.

Lid: Male with patera.

Bibliography: B-K III, pl. LXXXVII, 3; *CUV* 2, 216.

The chariot is pulled by four horses with their front left legs raised. Three figures appear in the chariot: at the left is a man in a mantle, in the centre is a woman in a tunic and

mantle, and at the right is a charioteer in a tunic. Before the horses is another male figure in a short tunic and *chlamys*, who is shown from the back.

24) Volterra, inv. 184.

**Figure 24**

Tufa. Height: 0.55m. Length: 0.615m. Width: 0.38m.

Crowning moulding: Fillet, cyma, fillet.

Base moulding: Central band of egg-and-dart with fillets above and below.

Condition: The relief is preserved, but finer details are worn.

Lid: Female with an uncertain object in her right hand.

Bibliography: B-K III, pl. LXXXVII, 1; *CUV* 2, 218.

The chariot is pulled by four horses with their front left legs lifted. In the chariot a male figure appears in a tunic and *chlamys* and with a covering on his head.

### The Procession of a Magistrate on a Quadriga

25) Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 78514, from Volterra.

**Figure 25**

Alabaster. Height: 0.485m. Length: 0.81m. Width: 0.24m.

Crowning moulding: Band of egg-and-dart, fascia, torus, dentils, band of bead-and-reel, band of flowers.

Base moulding: Beads, fillet, frieze of rosettes and triglyphs, two fillets.

Condition: Central upper part of urn is missing, some details are worn, and some projecting parts are missing.

Lid: Male with patera.

Origin: Tomba Inghirami (XIX).

Bibliography: B-K III, pl. LXXXIV, 1; *CUV* 1, 155. Lambrechts (1959), p. 168, no. 31.

The chariot is pulled by four horses with their left front legs raised. A bearded male figure in a tunic and mantle appears in the chariot. Behind the chariot to the left is a winged male demon. He wears a tunic and boots, and carries an open scroll in his right hand and another unidentified object in his left. A winged and semi-nude female demon appears to the right of the chariot. Below the horses appear two other demon figures emerging from the ground. The female to the left is winged and wears a tunic, and the male to the right, also winged, is nude. In front of the horses two youths appear in a tunic and a *chlamys*, and they carry sheathed daggers in their hands.

Second or more probably first century BC (Lambrechts (1959), 149).

26) Volterra, inv. 364.

**Figure 26**

Alabaster. Height: 0.31m. Length: 0.55m. Width: 0.17m.

Crowning moulding: Fillet, torus, dentils, fascia with beads.

Base moulding: Beads, band of bead-and-reel, beads.

Condition: Urn is preserved with some details worn and some figures corroded.

Lid: Male holding a rhyton ending in a horse's head (possibly belongs to the urn).

Bibliography: B-K III, LXXXIV, 2b (not illustrated); *CUV* 2, 227; Lambrechts (1959), p. 166, no. 30.

A man in a tunic and mantle appears in the chariot, pulled by four horses with their left front legs raised. Behind the chariot are two figures: a man carrying a sack on his shoulder and a smaller figure in a tunic and mantle with a rectangular object in his right hand. To the right of the chariot a winged female demon appears in a tunic carrying a torch. In front of the horses two superposed lictors in a tunic and mantle appear carrying the *fasces* on their left shoulders.

End of Hellenistic period (Lambrechts (1959), 167).

27) Volterra, inv. 168.

**Figure 27**

Alabaster. Height: 0.40m. Length: 0.85. Width: 0.24m.

Crowning moulding: Beads, fillet, torus, dentils, fascia with beads.

Base moulding: Beads, double torus, two concentric triangles alternating with pendant leaves, double torus, beads.

Condition: Mouldings are chipped; the relief is well preserved with finer details worn and some projecting parts missing.

Lid: Male with rhyton ending in horses' head and patera.

Bibliography: B-K III, pl. LXXXIV, 2; *CUV* 2, 222; Nielsen (1985), fig. 47;

Lambrechts (1959), p. 164, no. 28.

A wreathed man in a tunic and mantle appears in the chariot, pulled by four horses with their left front legs raised. At the right of the chariot is a semi-nude winged female demon. She holds a torch. Behind the chariot are two figures. The man at the back wears a tunic and carries a sack on his left shoulder, while the other figure, in a tunic and mantle, has an unidentified object in his right hand. Six figures precede the horses; two horn players are at the extreme right, followed by a citharist and a double pipe player, and finally by two lictors carrying the *fasces* on their left shoulders.

Late Hellenistic period (Lambrechts (1959), 165).

28) Volterra, inv. 171.

**Figure 28**

Alabaster. Height: 0.415m. Length: 0.78m. Width: 0.25m.

Crowning moulding: Beads, double torus with concave groove between, dentils, fascia with beads.

Base moulding: Beads, band of bead-and-reel, beads.

Condition: The mouldings are chipped; the upper central part of the urn is damaged with some elements of the relief worn and projecting elements in some part missing.

Lid: Male with a rhyton ending in a horse's head and a patera.

Bibliography: B-K III, pl. LXXXIV, 2a (not illustrated); *CUV* 2, 225; Lambrechts (1959), p.166, no. 29.

A wreathed man, enveloped in his mantle, appears in the chariot, pulled by four horses with their left front legs raised. At the right of the chariot is a semi-nude winged female

demon. She holds a torch in her left hand. Behind the chariot are two figures: a male in a tunic with a sack on his left shoulder and an axe in his right hand, and a smaller figure in front of him also in a tunic and mantle, holding an unidentified object. Preceding the horses are four figures in tunics and mantles. Two lictors carrying the *fascēs* on their left shoulders follow two musicians playing the horn.

Late Hellenistic period (Lambrechts (1959), 165).

29) Volterra, inv. 169.

### Figure 29

Alabaster. Height: 0.47m. Length: 0.78m. Width: 0.23m.

Crowning moulding: Beads, fillet, torus, dentils, fillet, beads, fascia.

Base moulding: Beads, frieze with alternating shields and bullheads connected by a taenia (ribbon).

Condition: The mouldings are chipped; the relief is well preserved with the finer details worn.

Lid: Female with mirror.

Bibliography: B-K III, LXXXV, 3; *CUV* 2, 223; Laviosa fig. 31; Pairaul-Massa (1985), fig. 61; Lambrechts (1959), p. 158, no. 22g.

A man in a tunic and mantle appears in the chariot pulled by four horses with their front left legs raised. Two figures appear behind the chariot: a man in a tunic and mantle carries a sack on his left shoulder, while another figure of smaller stature, also in a tunic and mantle, carries in his right a rectangular object. To the right of the chariot, a horseman appears wearing a tunic and mantle and raising his right hand. Preceding the horses at the right are four male figures all in a tunic and mantle. Two musicians, who are superposed, play their horns and are followed by two lictors, represented on the same plane, carrying not only the *fascēs* on their left shoulders, but also another staff in their right hands.

First century BC (Lambrechts (1959), 159).

30) Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 5513, from Volterra.

### Figure 30

Alabaster. Height: 0.405m. Length: 0.84m. Width: 0.23m.

Crowning moulding: Band of egg-and-dart, double torus with groove between, dentils, fillet, beads on fascia.

Base moulding: Frieze of egg-and-dart with a row of beads above and below.

Condition: Mouldings are slightly chipped; the relief is well preserved with some projecting elements missing.

Bibliography: B-K III, pl. LXXXV, 3c; Lambrechts (1959), p. 152, no. 22.

A man wearing a tunic, mantle, and wreath appears in the chariot, pulled by four horses with their left front legs raised. Two figures follow the chariot, both in a tunic and mantle. The one in front carries a small rectangular object in his hand and the other carries a sack on his left shoulder. To the right of the chariot a horseman appears, wearing a tunic and *chlamys*. Four figures, disposed on two planes, precede the chariot wearing tunics and mantles. The figures in the back stand on a podium. The two

musicians playing the horn are followed by two lictors carrying the *fasces* on their left shoulders.

End of Hellenistic period (Lambrechts (1959), 153).

31) Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, from Volterra.

**Figure 31**

Tufa. Height: 0.36m. Length: 0.60m.

Crowning moulding: Beads, torus, dentils, fillet, beads, fascia.

Base moulding: None (or none preserved since base is very fragmentary).

Condition: The relief is worn, especially the finer details.

Bibliography: B-K III, pl. LXXXV, 3d; Lambrechts (1959), p. 154, no. 22b.

A man in a tunic and mantle appears in the chariot, pulled by four horses with their left front legs raised. Behind the chariot are two figures, each in a tunic and mantle. The figure in the front is smaller and carries an unidentified rectangular object in his right hand. The larger figure behind him carries a sack on his left shoulder. To the right of the chariot a horseman appears in a tunic and *chlamys*. Four figures disposed on two planes precede the horses. Two musicians, playing the horn, lead the two lictors with the *fasces*. Late Hellenistic period (Lambrechts (1959), 155).

32) Fiesole, Museo, inv. 10, from Volterra.

**Figure 32**

Alabaster. Height: 0.51m. Length: 0.88m. Width: 0.25m.

Crowning moulding: Beads, fillet, torus, dentils, fascia with beads.

Base moulding: Band of egg-and-dart with beads above and below.

Condition: Mouldings are chipped; the relief is worn especially on the left of the urn with many projecting elements missing.

Bibliography: B-K III, pl. LXXXV, 3f; Lambrechts (1959), p. 155, no. 22c.

A man in a tunic and mantle appears in the chariot, pulled by four horses with their left front legs raised. Behind the horses are two figures in a tunic and mantle depicted on the same plane. The one in the back seems to carry a sack on his left shoulder. To the right of the chariot a horseman appears in a tunic and *chlamys*. Four figures precede the horses: two musicians lead two lictors carrying the *fasces*. These figures are disposed on two planes.

Late Hellenistic period (Lambrechts (1959), 155).

33) Volterra, inv. 165.

**Figure 33**

Alabaster. Height: 0.40m. Length: 0.725m. Width: 0.245m.

Crowning moulding: Fillet, torus, dentils, fascia with beads.

Base moulding: None.

Condition: The mouldings (especially the base) are worn; the left figures are almost completely destroyed and some projecting elements are missing.

Lid: Male with open diptych and a scroll.

Bibliography: B-K III, pl. LXXXV, 3b (not illustrated); *CUV* 2, 221; Lambrechts (1959), p. 153, no. 22a.

A wreathed male figure in a tunic and mantle appears in the chariot pulled by four horses with their left front legs raised. Behind the chariot two figures appear in a tunic and mantle. The larger figure in the back carries a sack on his shoulder. To the right of the chariot is a man on a horse, wearing a tunic and *chlamys*. In front of the horses are four figures, each in a tunic and mantle, including two musicians playing the horn and two lictors carrying the *fasces* on their left shoulders. They are disposed on two planes. Late Hellenistic period (Lambrechts (1959), 154).

34) Volterra, inv. 483.

### Figure 34

Alabaster. Height: 0,525m. Length: 0.83m. Width: 0.27m.

Crowning moulding: Band of bead-and-reel, fascia, band of bead-and-reel, dentils, fascia with beads.

Base moulding: Beads, double torus, frieze of alternating triglyphs and rosettes, double torus, beads.

Condition: Urn is cracked in half with most of the upper part of the urn missing and some elements and details damaged.

Lid: Male.

Bibliography: B-K III, pl. LXXXV, 3a (not illustrated); *CUV* 2, 229; Lambrechts (1959), p. 156, no. 22d.

A man in a tunic and a mantle appears in the chariot, pulled by four horses with their left front legs raised. Behind the chariot are two figures: a man carrying a sack on his shoulder and a smaller figure holding a rectangular object in his hand. To the right of the chariot a horseman appears. In front of the horses are four figures disposed on two planes; two musicians playing the horn are followed by two lictors carrying the *fasces* on their left shoulders. All wear a tunic and mantle.

Second or first century BC (Lambrechts (1959), 156).

35) Volterra, inv. 173.

### Figure 35

Alabaster. Height: 0.44m. Length: 0.825m. Width: 0.22m.

Crowning moulding: Band of egg-and-dart, fillet, band of bead-and-reel, dentils with small beads below, frieze of concentric triangles alternating with pendant leaves.

Base moulding: Row of beads, fillet, band of three concentric triangles alternating with pendant leaves, fillet, row of beads.

Condition: The relief is well preserved with projecting elements and some figures missing.

Lid: Female.

Bibliography: B-K III, pl. LXXXV, 4; *CUV* 2, 226; Lambrechts (1959), p. 150, no. 21.

A wreathed man in a tunic and mantle appears in the chariot pulled by four horses. Behind the chariot are two figures: a male carrying a sack on his left shoulder stands behind a smaller figure with an object in his right hand. To the right of the chariot a horseman in a tunic and mantle appears and carries an object in his left hand. In front of

the horses are six figures each wearing a tunic and mantle, disposed on three planes, with those in the first also smaller in stature. Four musicians playing their instruments include two horn players, a citharist, and a double pipe player. They precede two lictors carrying the *fasces* on their left shoulders.

Late Hellenistic period, probably second or first century BC (Lambrechts (1959), 151 n. 2).

36) Volterra, inv. 487.

**Figure 36**

Alabaster. Height: 0.555m. Length: 0.93m. Width: 0.26m.

Crowning moulding: Band of bead-and-reel, dentils, fascia with beads, band of triangles alternating with pendant leaves.

Base moulding: Beads, double torus, frieze of triglyphs with wide metopes containing from the left the head of a woman, a gorgon, a nodus, a head of a bull, a rosette, a nodus, a head of a bull, a gorgon, a nodus.

Condition: Most of the upper part and left side of the urn is missing as well as many of the projecting elements.

Lid: Female with mirror.

Bibliography: B-K III, pl. LXXXV, 4a (not illustrated); *CUV* 2, 230; Lambrechts (1959), p.151, no. 21a.

A male figure appears in the chariot, pulled by four horses with their left front legs raised. The figures that follow the chariot are almost completely lost, although the smaller one in front is visible. A horseman appears at the right of the chariot in a tunic and *chlamys*. Six figures precede the chariot, disposed on two planes and in pairs; four musicians, playing their instruments, and two lictors with the *fasces* can be distinguished. Second or more probably first century BC (Lambrechts (1959), 152).

37) Pisa, Museo dell' Opera della Primaziale, from Volterra.

**Figure 37**

Alabaster. Height: 0.245m. Length: 0.40m. Width: 0.165m.

Crowning moulding: Not preserved.

Base moulding: Not preserved.

Condition: The details and relief are worn and damaged.

Bibliography: B-K III, pl. LXXXV, 3g; Lambrechts (1959), p. 163, no. 27.

A male figure in a tunic and mantle appears in the chariot, pulled by four horses with their front left legs raised. Two figures follow the chariot disposed on the same plane, but with the one in front smaller. The figure in front carries a rectangular object in his right hand. To the right of the chariot a horseman appears wearing a tunic and mantle. Not dated before first century BC (Lambrechts (1959), 164).

38) Volterra, inv. 170.

**Figure 38**

Alabaster. Height: 0.46m. Length: 0.965m. Width: 0.23m.

Crowning moulding: Double torus with groove between, dentils, fillet, beads, frieze of pendant leaves.

Base moulding: Beads, fillet, frieze of alternating nodus and rosettes, torus.

Condition: The urn is well preserved with some of the projecting elements missing.

Lid: Male with rhyton ending in horse's head.

Bibliography: B-K III, pl. LXXXVI, 5; *CUV* 2, 224; Lambrechts (1959), p. 159, no. 23.

A man in a tunic and mantle appears in the chariot pulled by four horses with their left front legs raised. Behind the chariot are four male figures each in a tunic and mantle, disposed on two planes. The left one in the front row carries a sack on his left shoulder. To the right of the chariot a horseman appears in a mantle. In front of the horses are four figures wearing tunics and mantles. The one immediately preceding the horses is a lictor carrying the *fascēs* on his left shoulder and holding another staff in his right hand. The next two figures are musicians playing the horn.

First century BC (Lambrechts (1959), 160).

39) Volterra, inv. 161.

### Figure 39

Alabaster. Height: 0.34m. Length: 0.72m. Width: 0.18m.

Crowning moulding: Beads, fillet, torus, dentils, fillet, fascia with beads.

Base moulding: Beads, fillet, beads, frieze of alternating triangles and pendant leaves, fillet.

Condition: Mouldings are chipped; the relief is preserved but some of the finer details are worn.

Lid: Female.

Bibliography: B-K III, pl. LXXXVI, 6; *CUV* 2, 220; Lambrechts (1959), p. 160, no. 24.

A wreathed man in a tunic and mantle appears in the chariot pulled by four horses with their left front legs raised. Behind the chariot are two figures: a male in a tunic and mantle and a smaller figure, standing in front of him, who holds an unidentified object in his right hand. To the right of the chariot a horseman appears in a tunic and mantle. In front of the horses appear two lictors with the *fascēs*, each in a tunic and mantle. In front of the extreme right figure a small chair appears. It is covered with a cushion and represented along with a stool in front and a small round chest to the right.

Second or first century BC (Lambrechts (1959), 161).

40) Volterra, inv. 160.

### Figure 40

Alabaster. Height: 0.355m. Length: 0.695m. Width: 0.225m.

Crowning moulding: Beads, double torus with central groove, dentils, fascia with beads.

Base moulding: Beads, band of bead-and-reel, beads.

Condition: The whole relief is worn and corroded.

Lid: Male with patera.

Bibliography: B-K III, pl. LXXXVI, 6a (not illustrated); *CUV* 2, 219; Lambrechts (1959), p. 161, no. 24a.

A wreathed man wearing a tunic and mantle appears in the chariot pulled by four horses with their left front legs raised. Behind the chariot two figures can be distinguished: a



male with a sack on his shoulder stands behind a smaller figure in a long tunic. To the right of the chariot a horseman appears. Preceding the horses are two lictors who are of diminutive stature, carrying the *fasces* on their left shoulders. Before the extreme right figure is a chair with a stool in front and circular chest to the right.  
Second or first century BC (Lambrechts (1959), 161, n. 2).

41) Volterra, inv. 482.

**Figure 41**

Alabaster. Height: 0.385m. Length: 0.62m. Width:0.24m.

Crowning moulding: Band of egg-and-dart, torus, dentils, fillet, beads, band of small triangles with points alternatively turned, fillet.

Base moulding: Beads, fascia carved as wreath, beads.

Condition: The whole urn is fragmentary and worn.

Lid: Male.

Bibliography: B-K III, pl. LXXXVI. 6b (not illustrated); *CUV* 2, 228; Lambrechts (1959), p. 162, no. 25.

A wreathed man wearing a tunic and mantle appears in the chariot pulled by four horses with their left front legs raised. Behind the chariot are four figures disposed on two planes, each in a tunic and mantle. The two at the left have attributes: the smaller figure in front carries a rectangular object in his right hand, and the figure behind him seems to preserve fragments of the right foot, the tunic and the sack for the voyage placed on the shoulder. To the right of the chariot a horseman appears and carries in his left hand an object. At the right of the urn are two lictors carrying the *fasces* on their left shoulders and wearing a tunic and mantle.

Second or first century BC (Lambrechts (1959), 163, n. 1).

## **Illustrations**



Figure 1: Cat. 1-Volterra, inv. 183

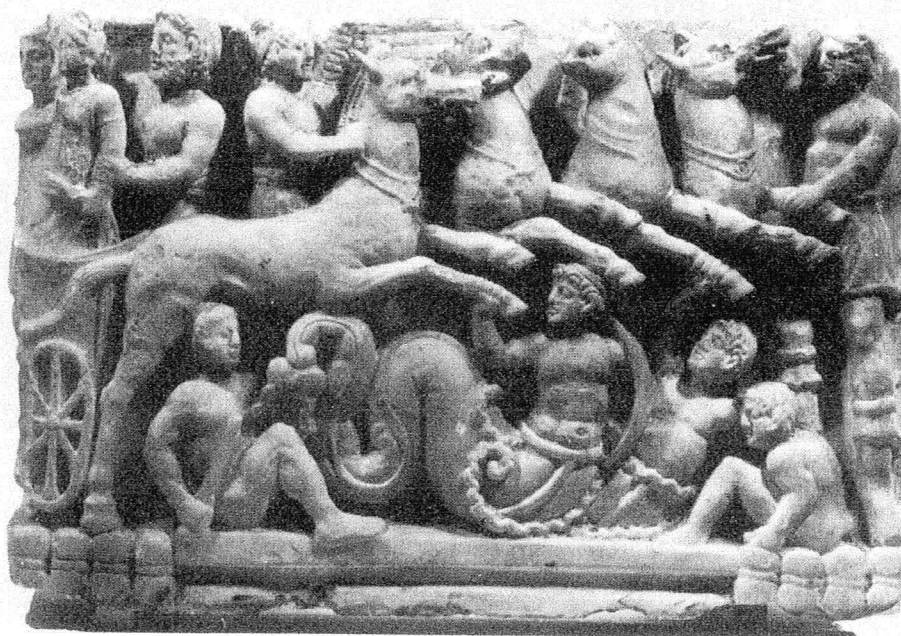


Figure 2: Cat. 2-Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 92061



Figure 3: Cat. 3-Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 92058



Figure 4: Cat. 4-Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 92062

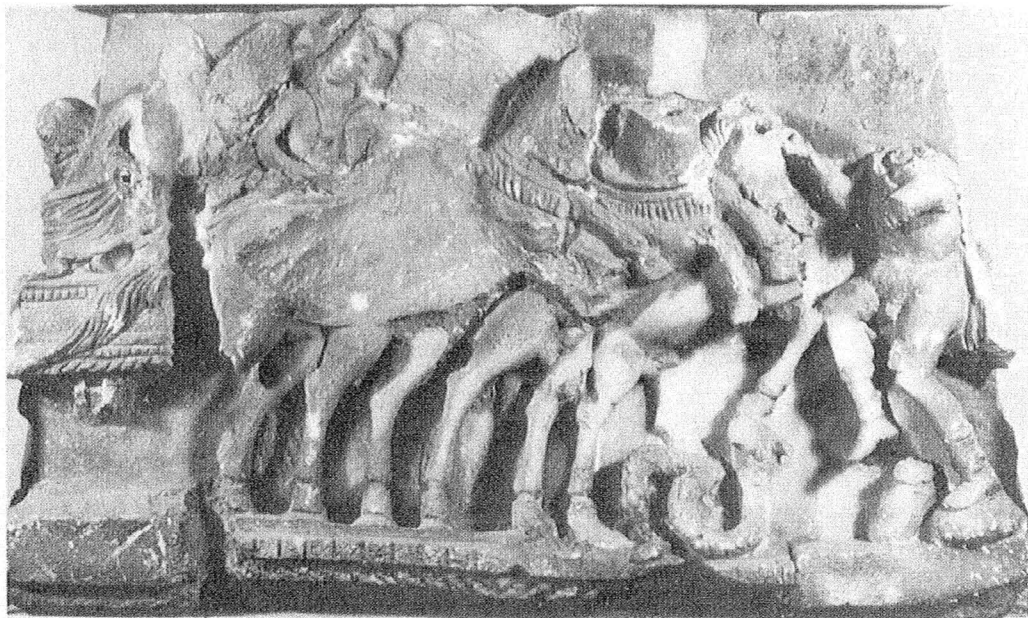


Figure 5: Cat. 5-Volterra, inv. 182



Figure 6: Cat. 6-Volterra, inv. 172



Figure 7: Cat. 7-Volterra, inv. 379

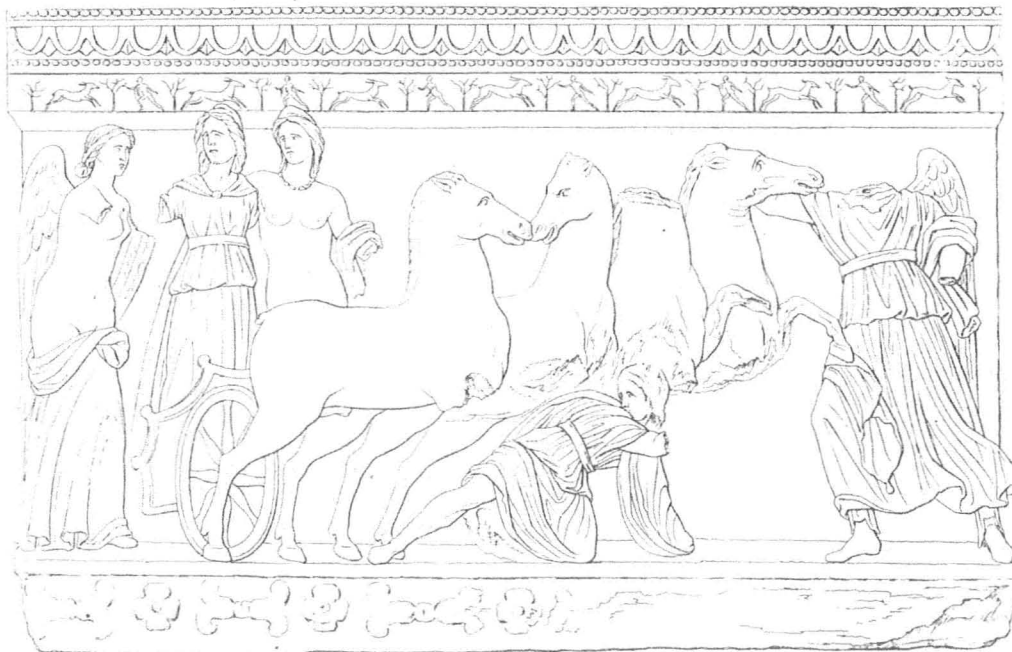


Figure 8: Cat. 8-Volterra, inv. 187



Figure 8a: Cat. 8-Volterra, inv. 187

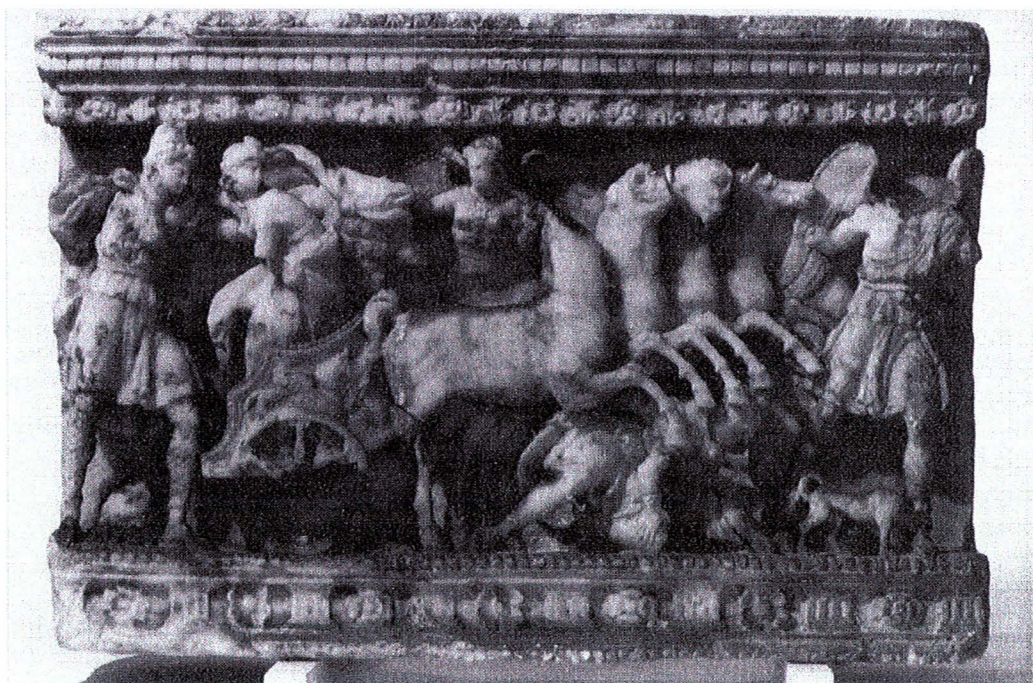


Figure 9: Cat. 9-Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 78495



Figure 10: Cat.10-Volterra, inv. 178

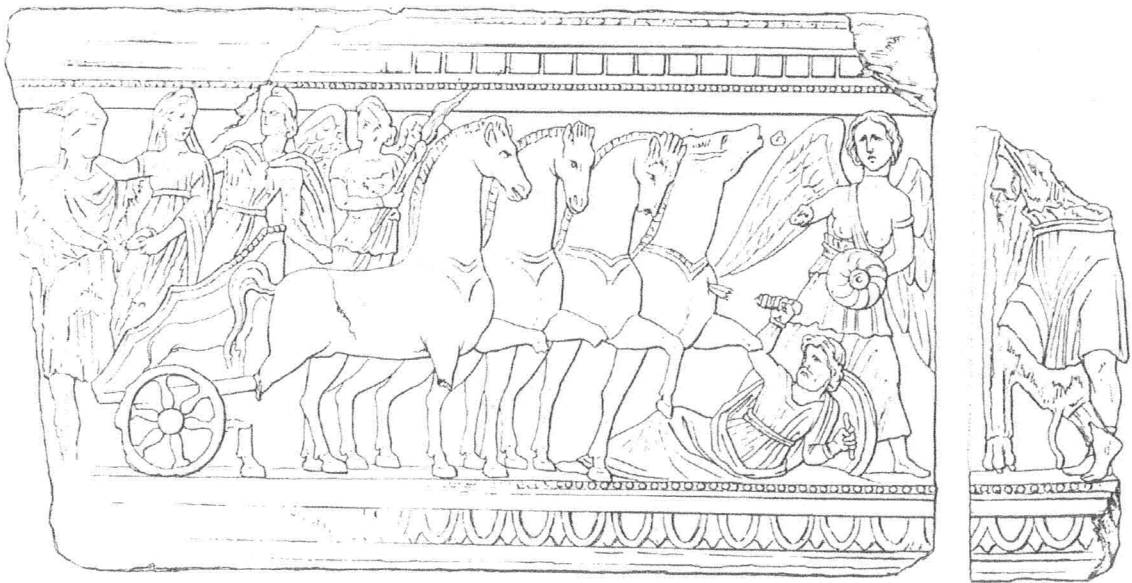


Figure 11: Cat. 11-Volterra, inv. 176





Figure 12: Cat. 12-Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 584

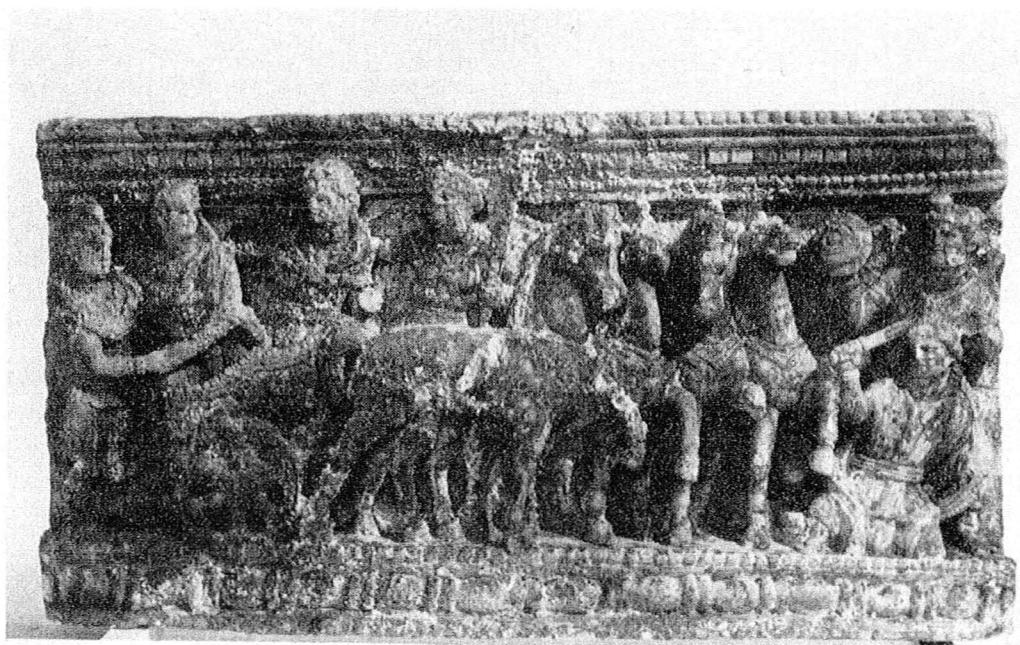


Figure 13: Cat. 13-Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 78519



Figure 14: Cat. 14-Volterra, inv. 177



Figure 14a: Cat. 14-Volterra, inv. 177

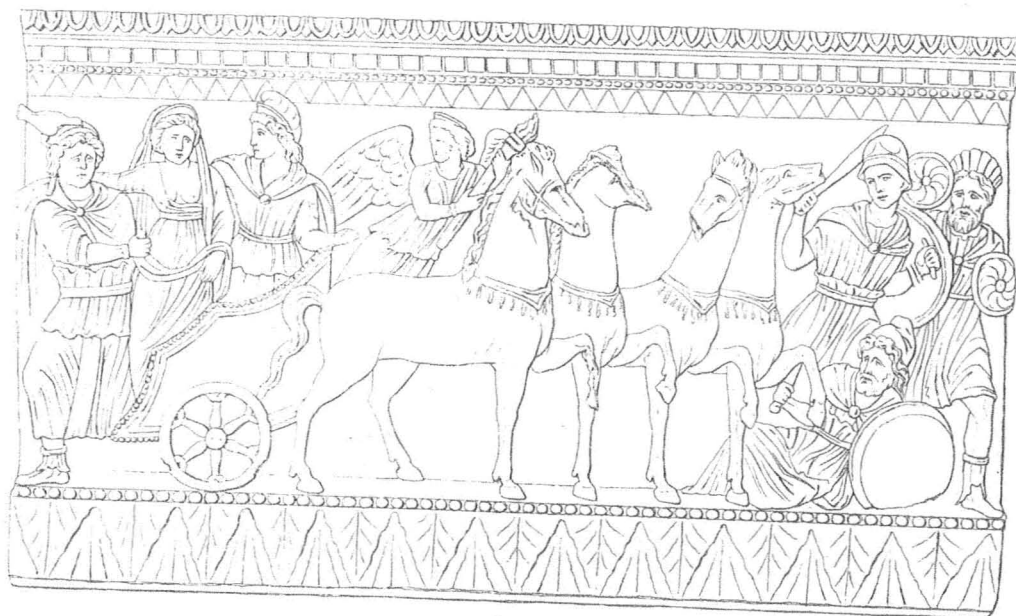


Figure 15: Cat. 15-Volterra, inv. 180



Figure 16: Cat. 16-Volterra, inv. 400

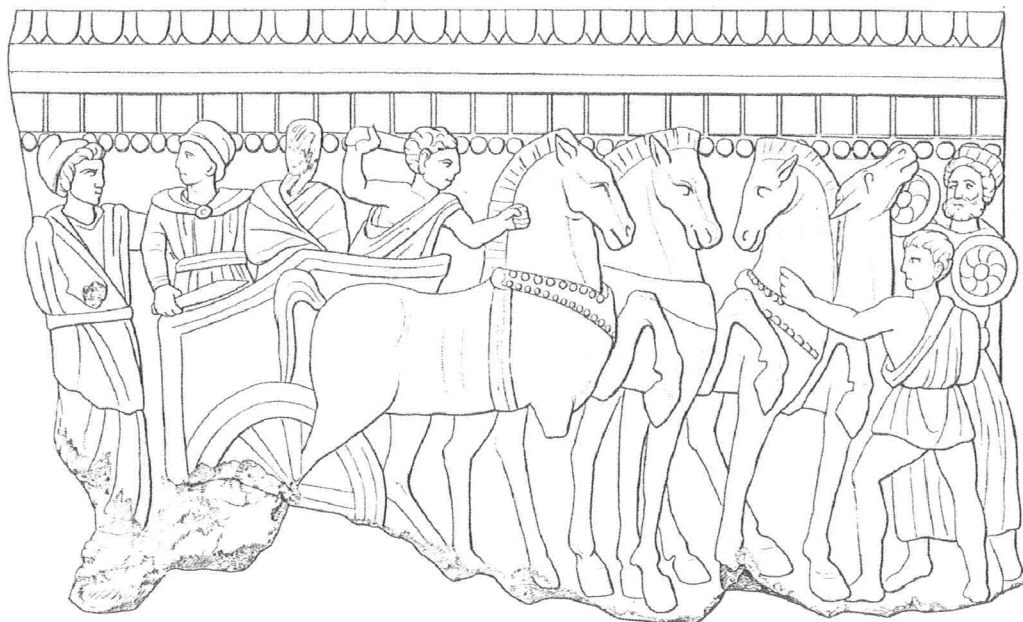


Figure 17: Cat. 17-Volterra, inv. 164

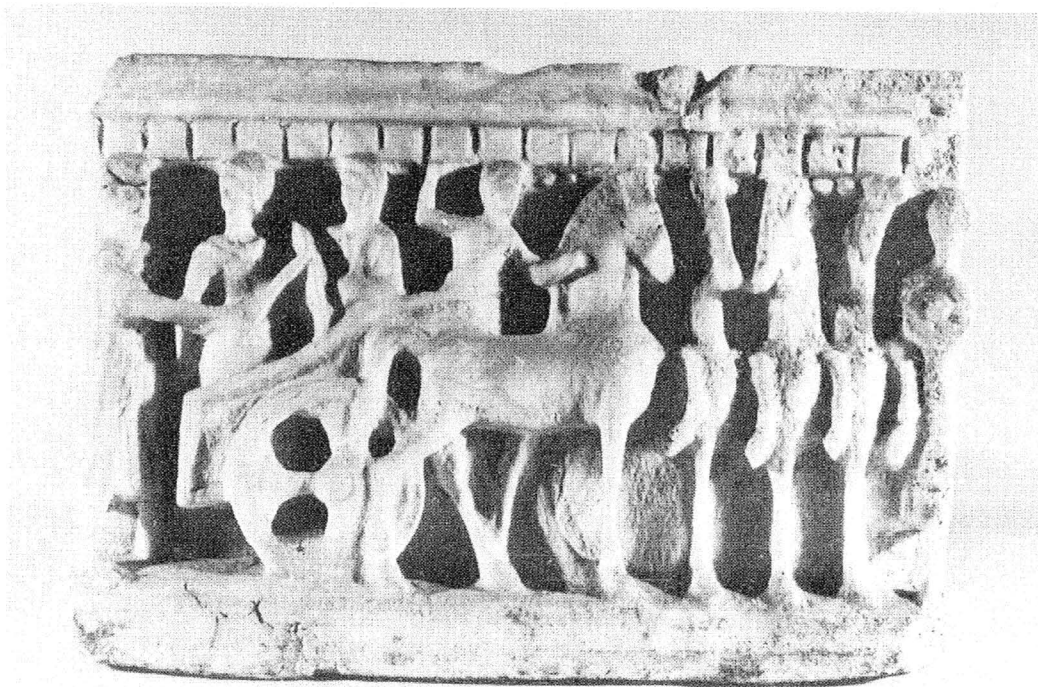


Figure 18: Cat. 18-Volterra, inv. 167

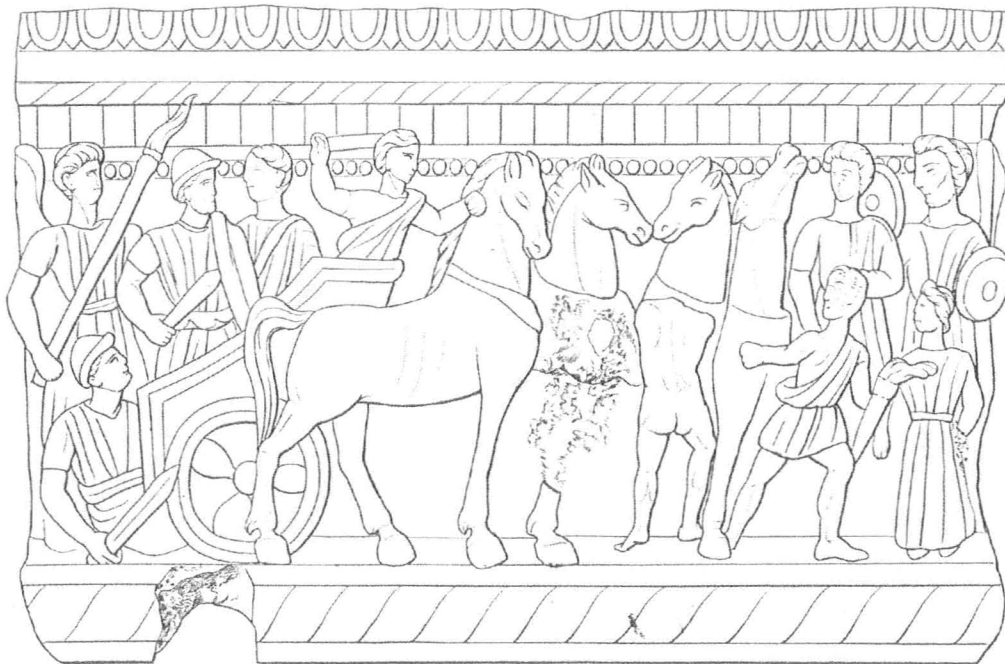


Figure 19: Cat. 19-Volterra, inv. 159

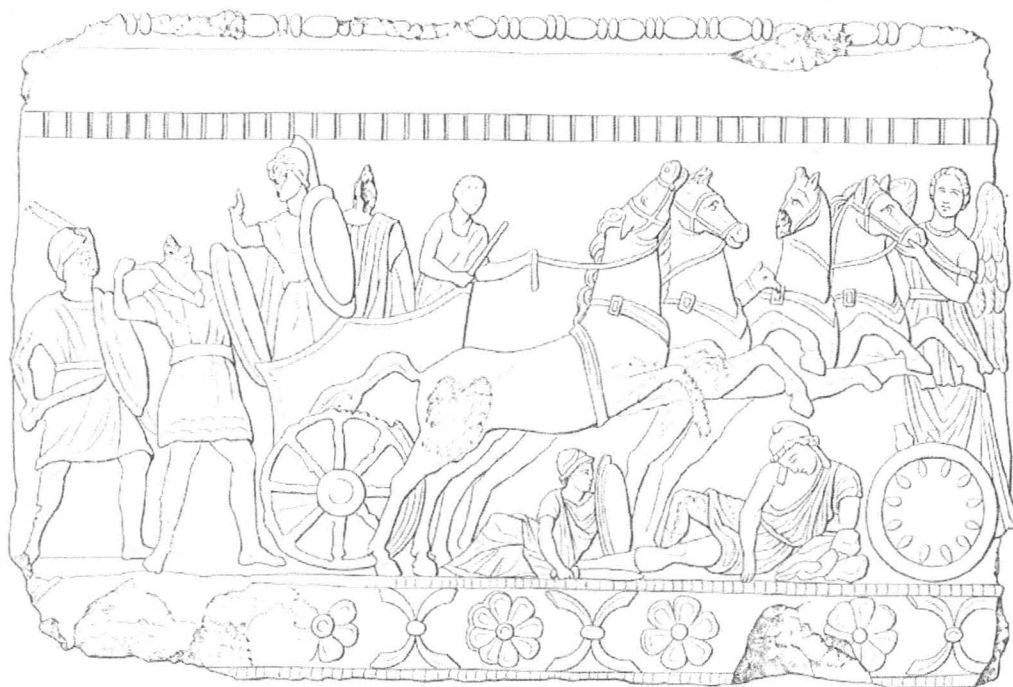


Figure 20: Cat. 20-Volterra, inv. 174



Figure 21: Cat. 21-Volterra, inv. 455

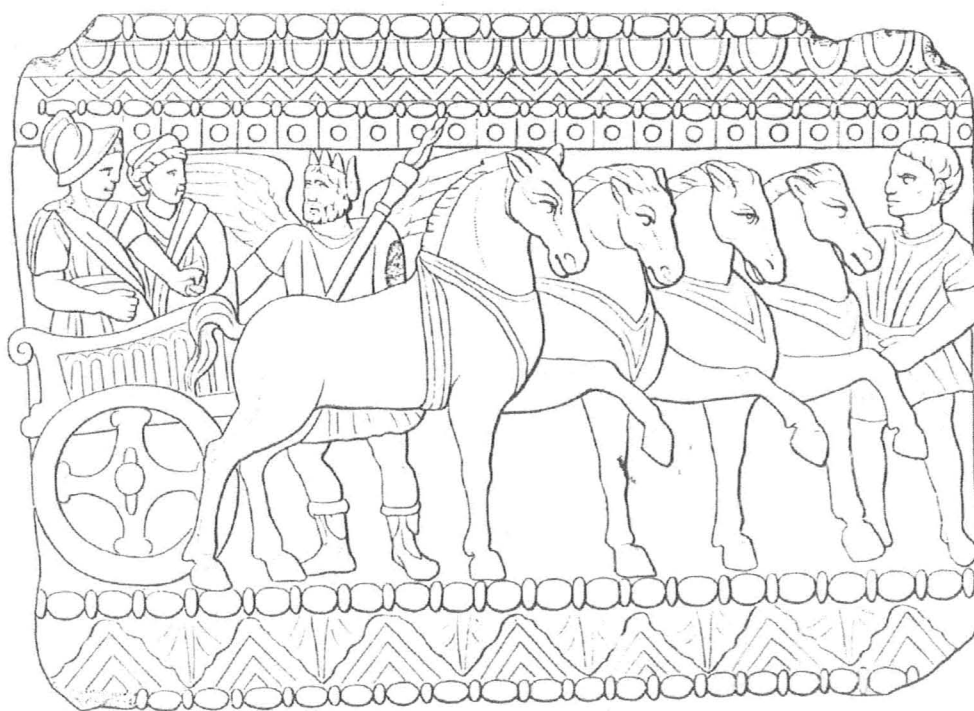


Figure 22: Cat. 22-Volterra, inv. 158

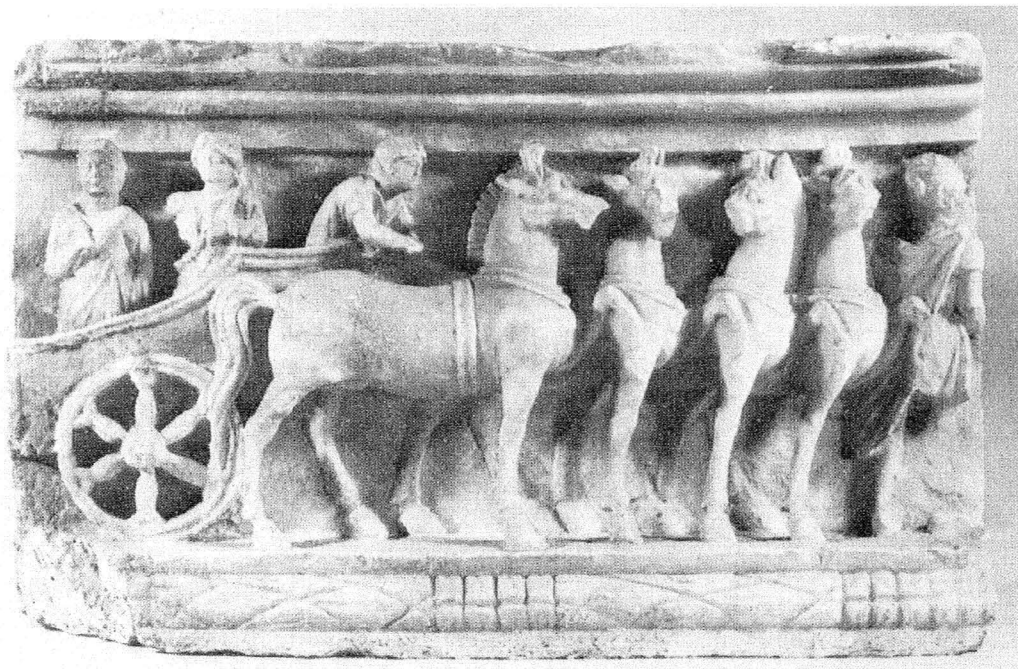


Figure 23: Cat. 23-Volterra, inv. 166

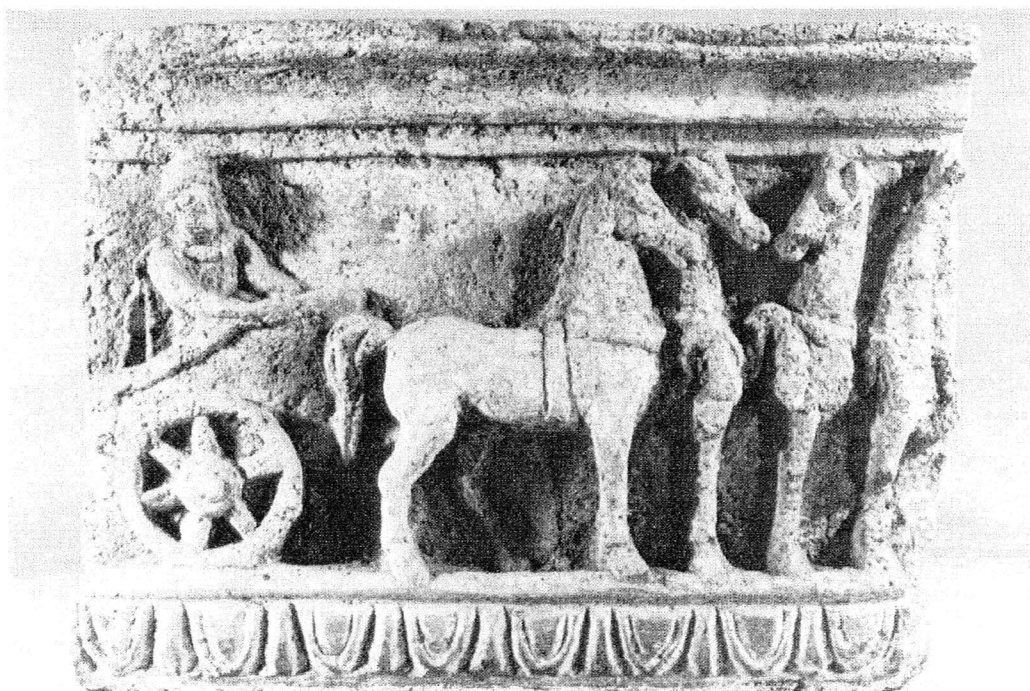


Figure 24: Cat. 24-Volterra, inv. 184

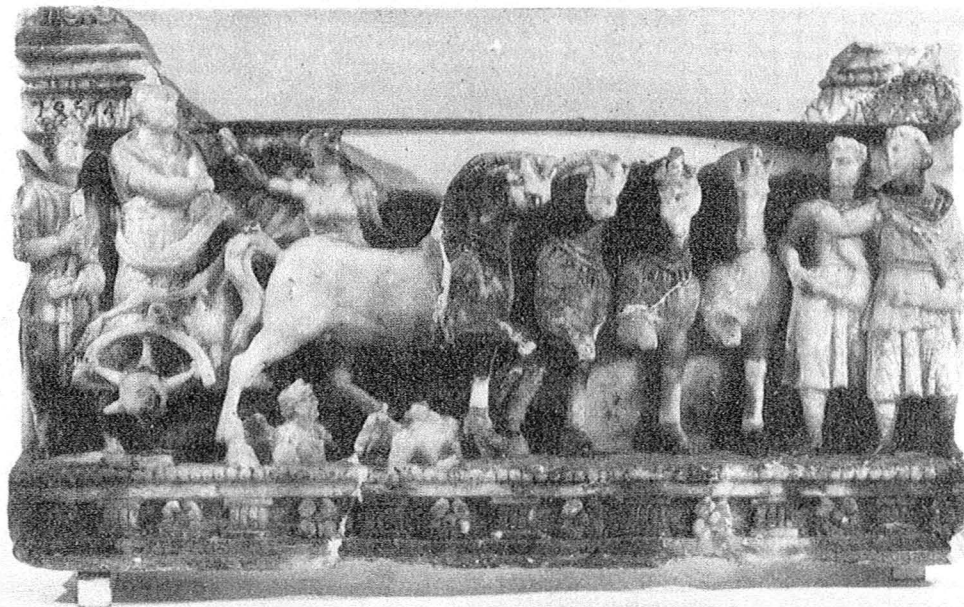


Figure 25: Cat. 25-Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 78514

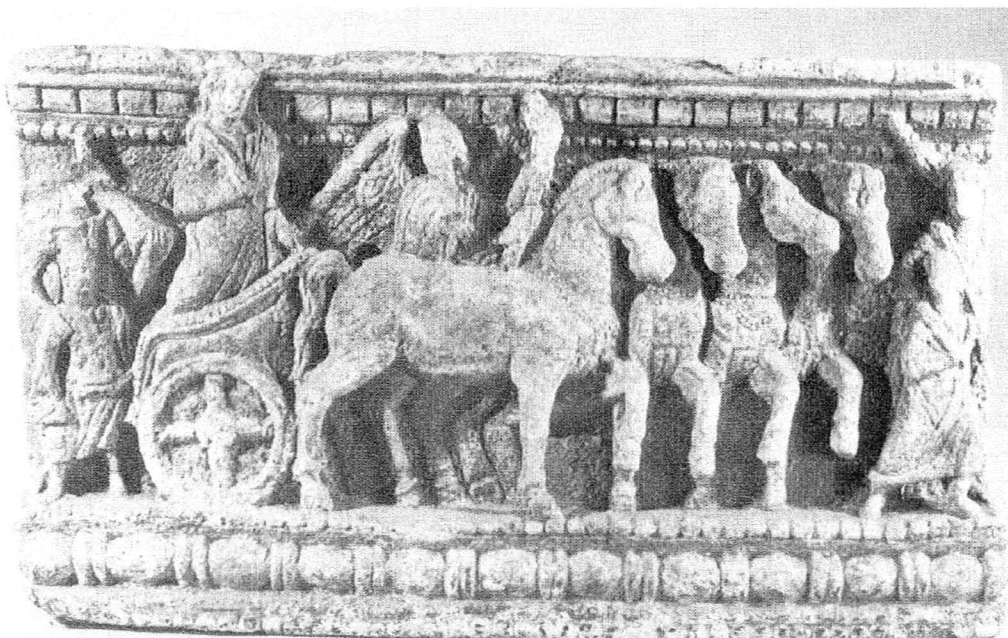


Figure 26: Cat. 26-Volterra, inv. 364



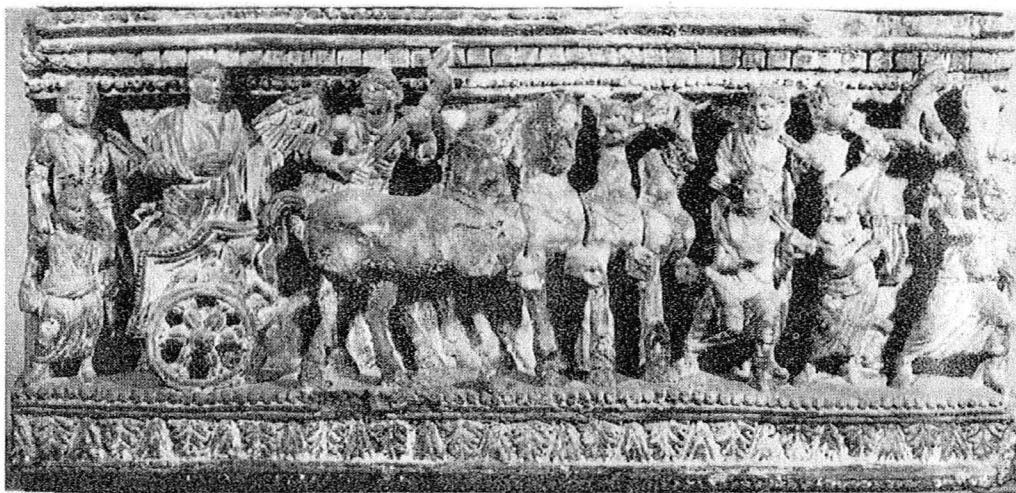


Figure 27: Cat. 27-Volterra, inv. 168

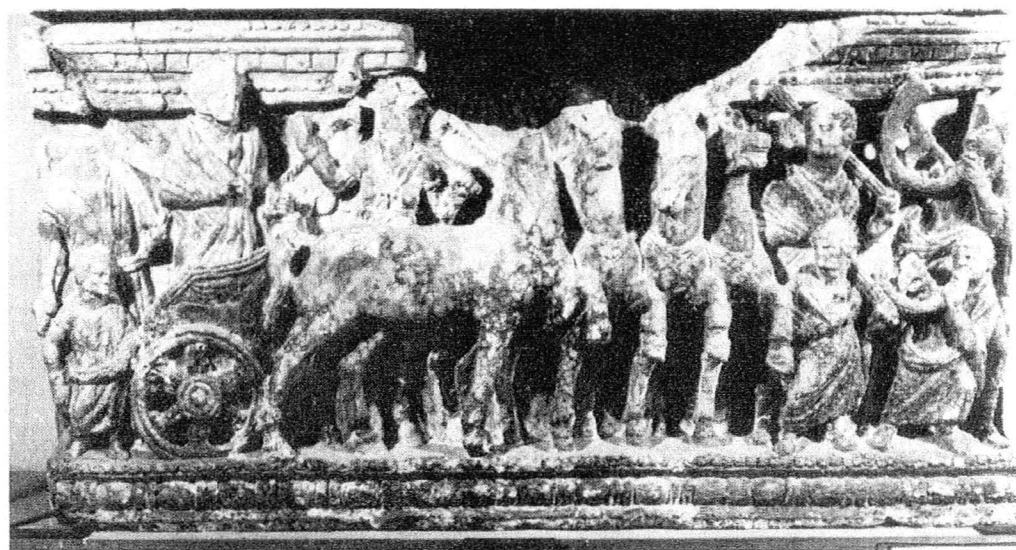


Figure 28: Cat. 28-Volterra, inv. 171

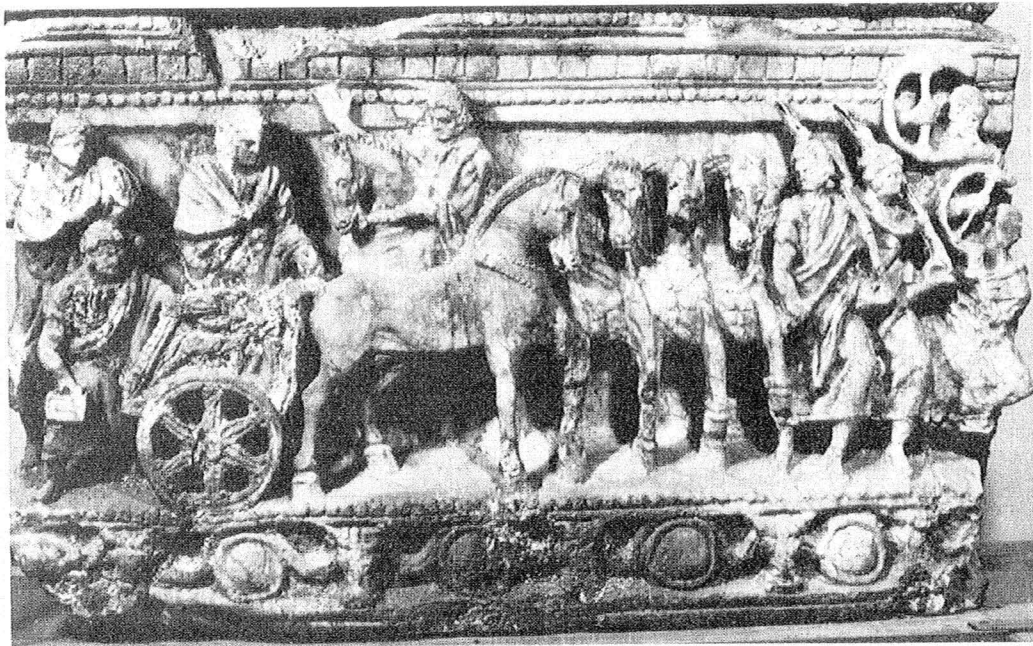


Figure 29: Cat. 29-Volterra, 169

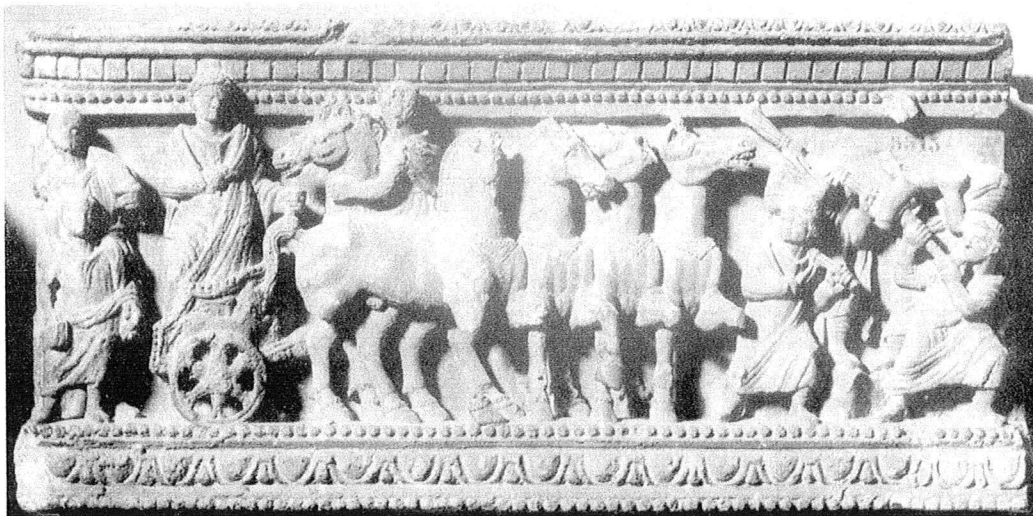


Figure 30: Cat. 30-Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. 5513

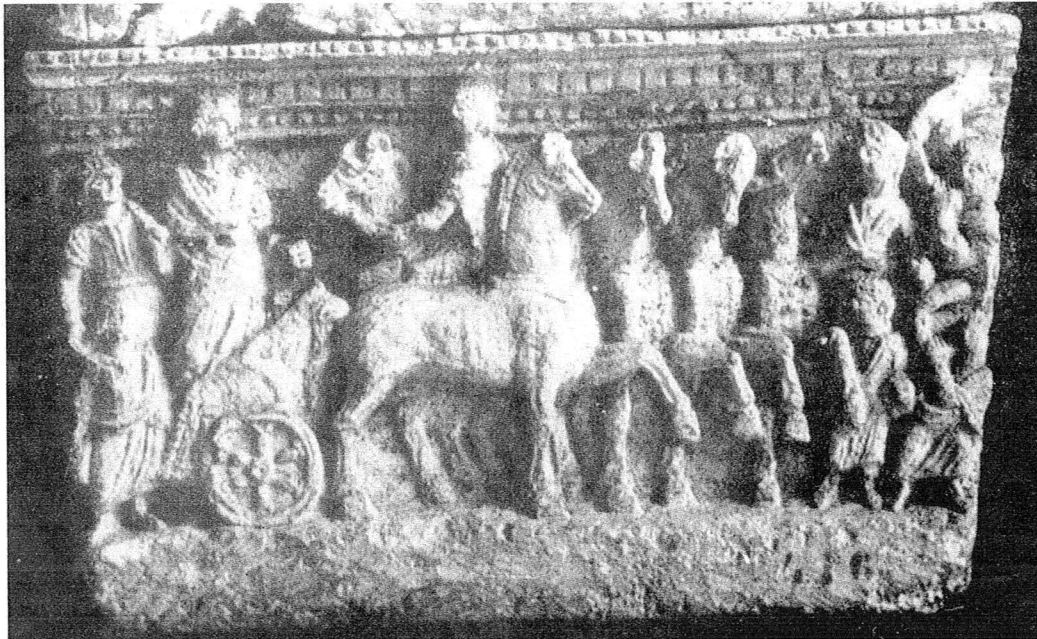


Figure 31: Cat. 31-Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



Figure 32: Cat. 32-Fiesole, Museo, inv. 10

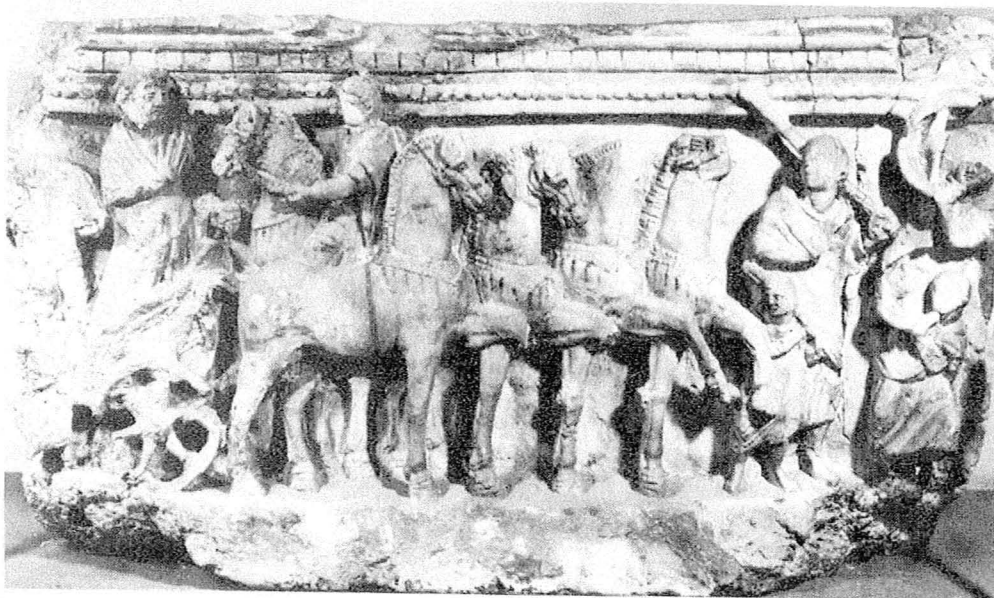


Figure 33: Cat. 33-Volterra, inv. 165

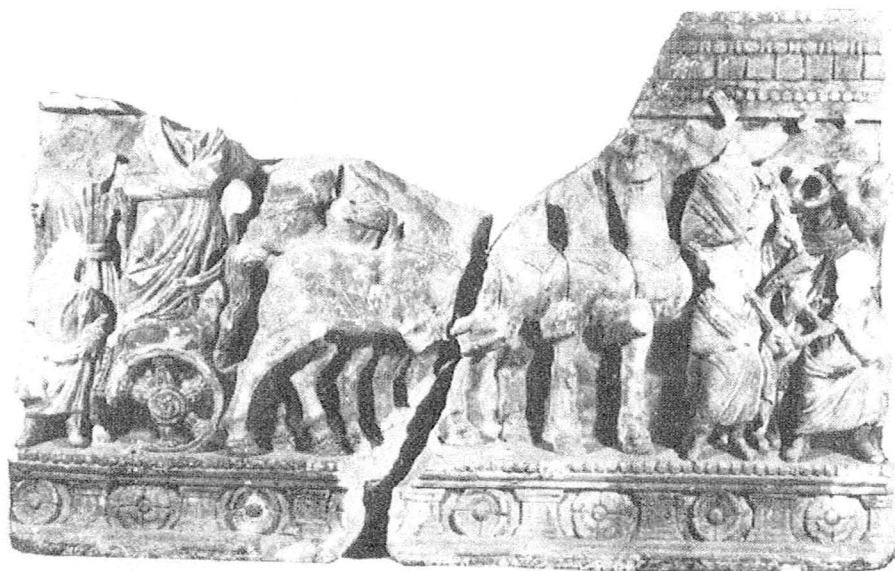


Figure 34: Cat. 34-Volterra, inv. 483

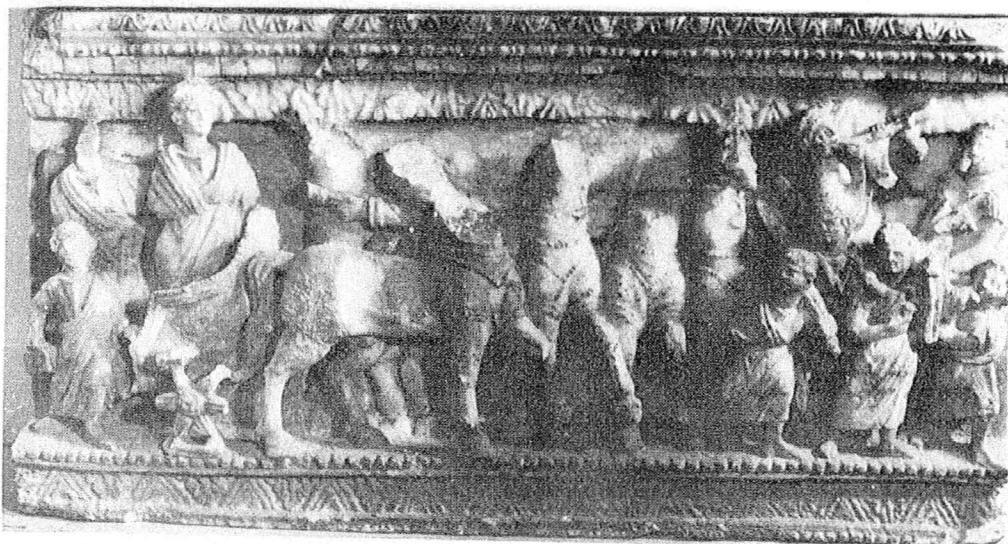


Figure 35: Cat. 35-Volterra, inv. 173

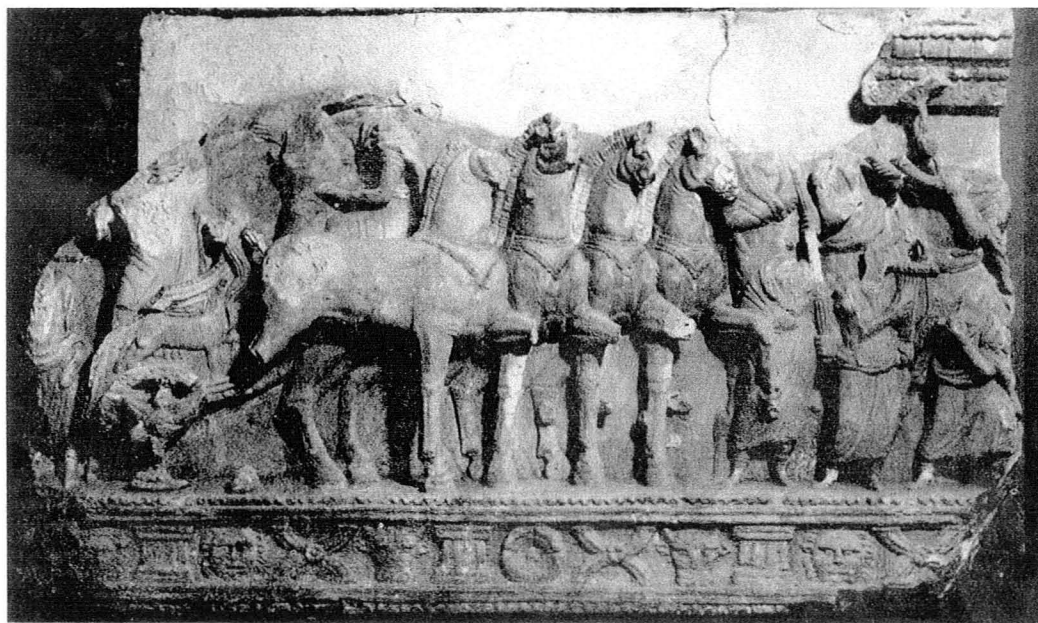


Figure 36: Cat. 36-Volterra, inv. 487

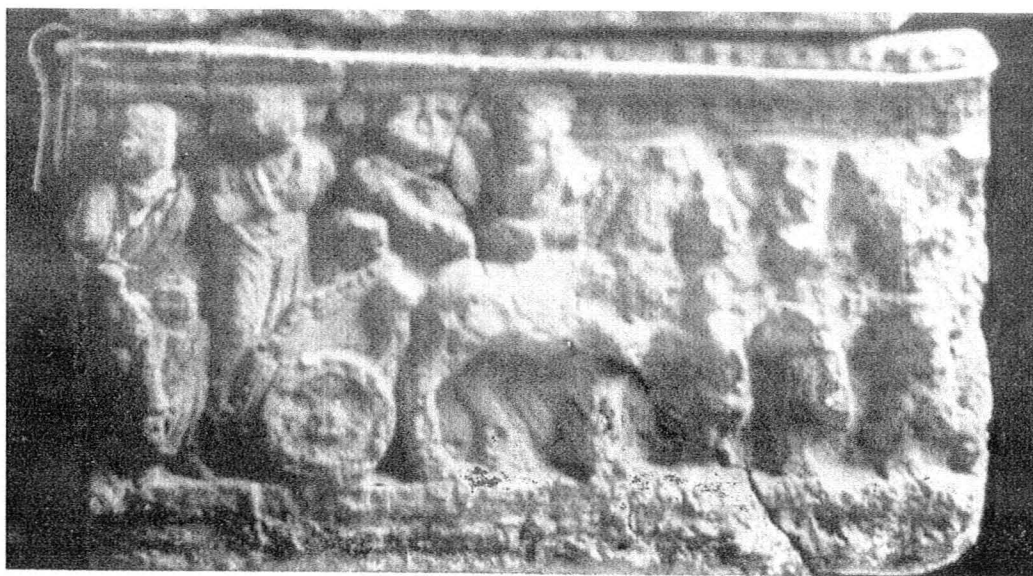


Figure 37: Cat. 37-Pisa, Museo dell' Opera della Primaziale

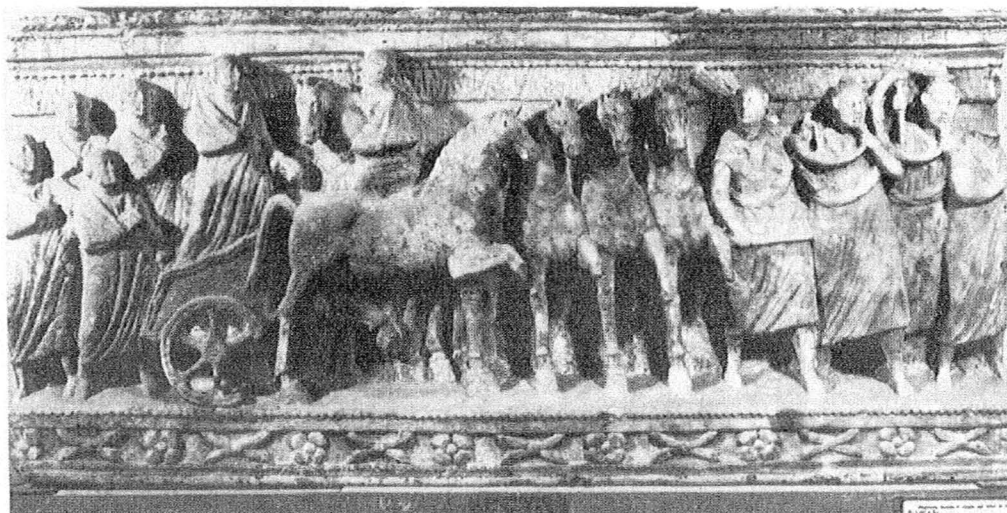


Figure 38: Cat. 38-Volterra, inv. 170

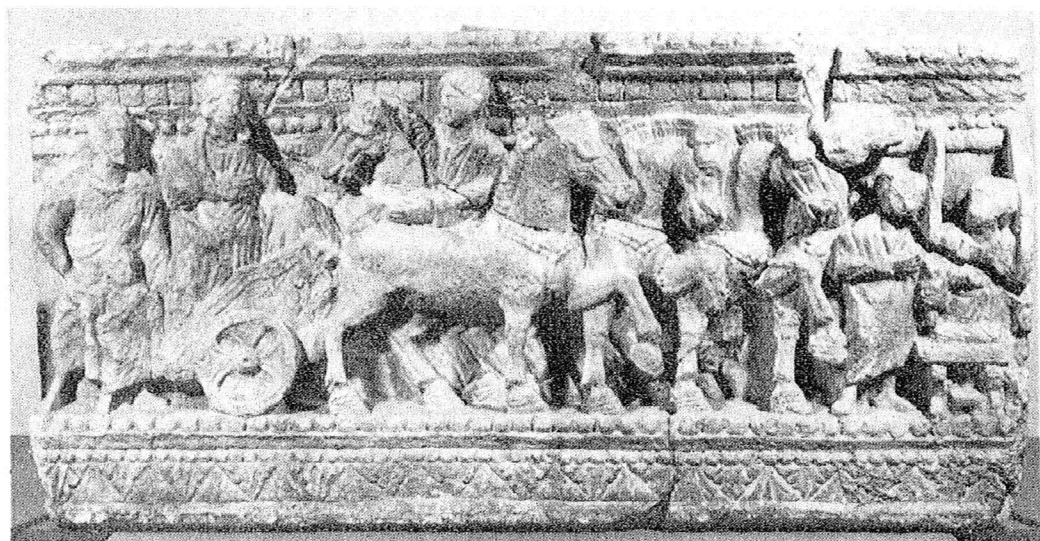


Figure 39: Cat. 39-Volterra, inv. 161

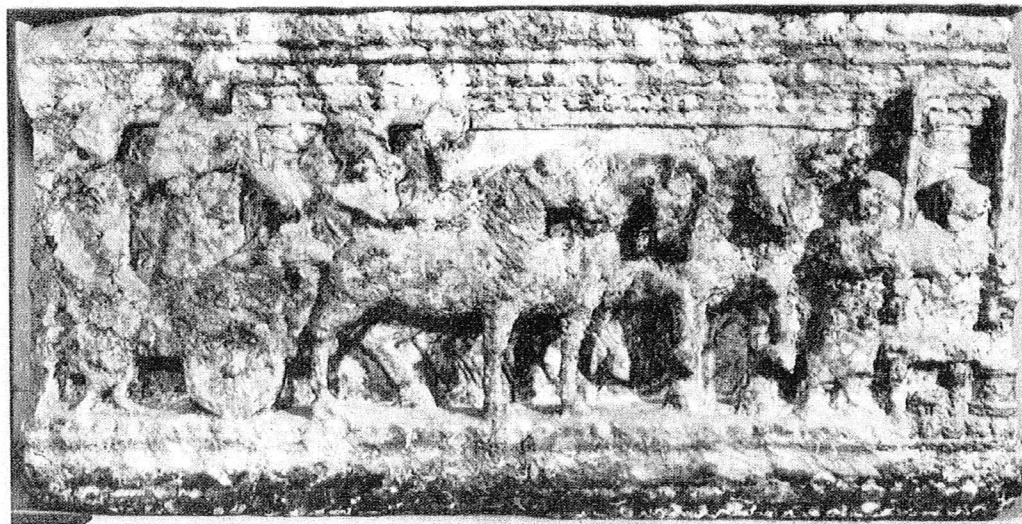


Figure 40: Cat. 40-Volterra, inv. 160

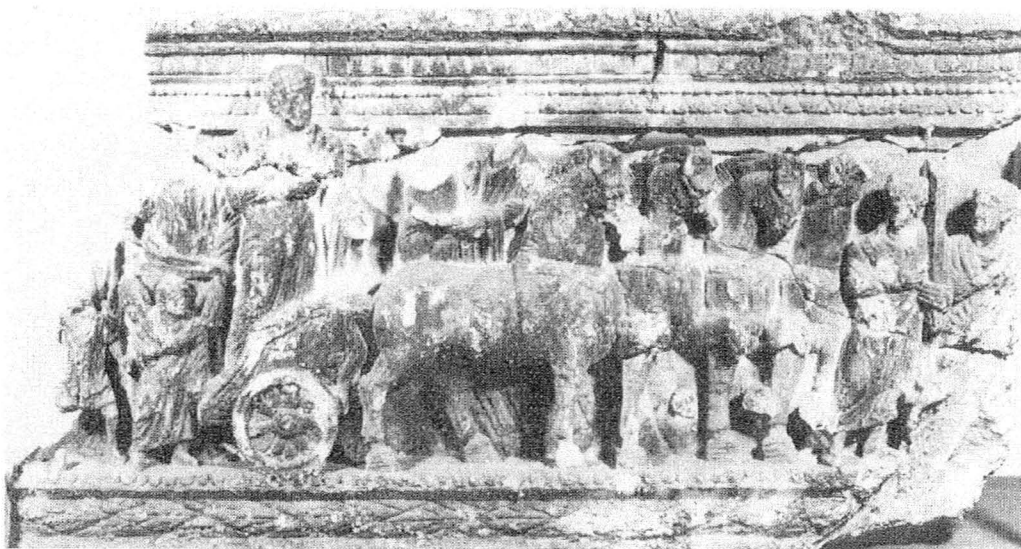


Figure 41: Cat. 41-Volterra, inv. 482

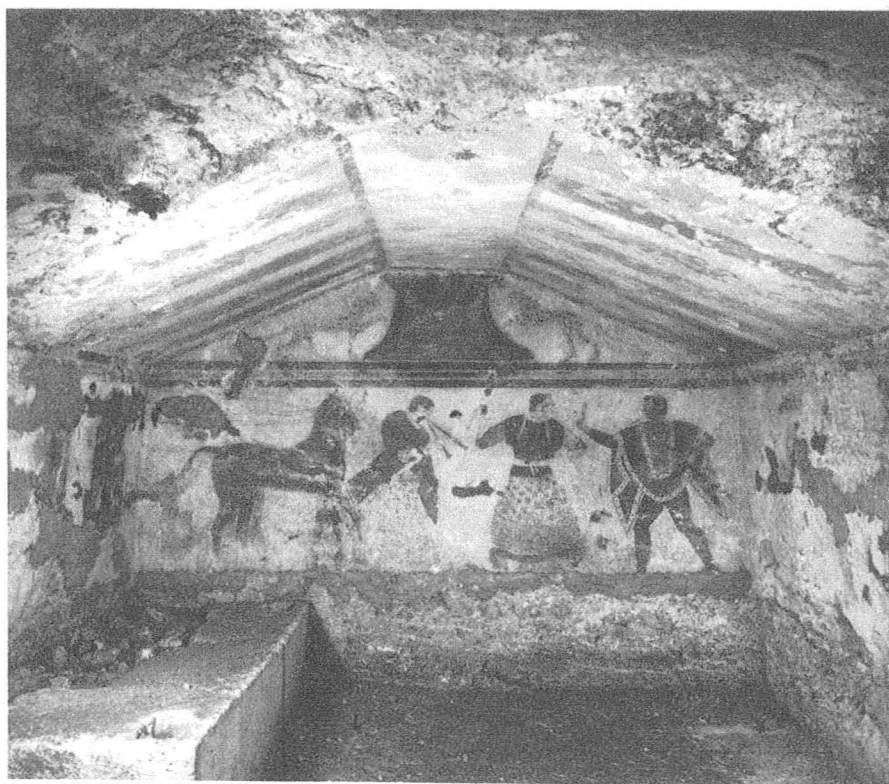


Figure 42: Tomb of Francesca Giustiniani, c. 470-450BC





Figure 43: Felsina Stele



Figure 44: Felsina Stele



Figure 45a: Left side of Sarcophagus,  
Vulci



Figure 45b: Right side of Sarcophagus,  
Vulci



Figure 45c: Sarcophagus of Ramtha Visnai and Arnth Tetnie, Vulci

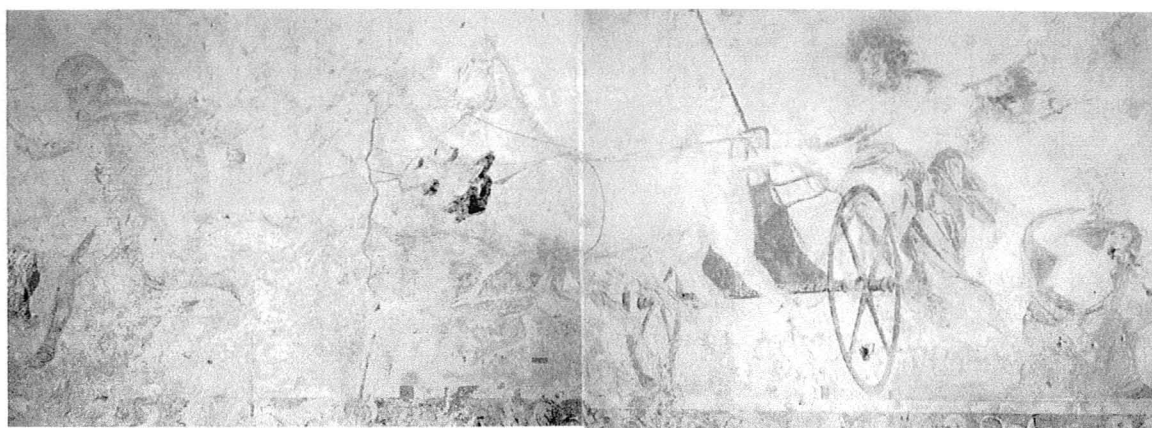


Figure 46: Abduction of Persephone, Tomb of Persephone, Vergina

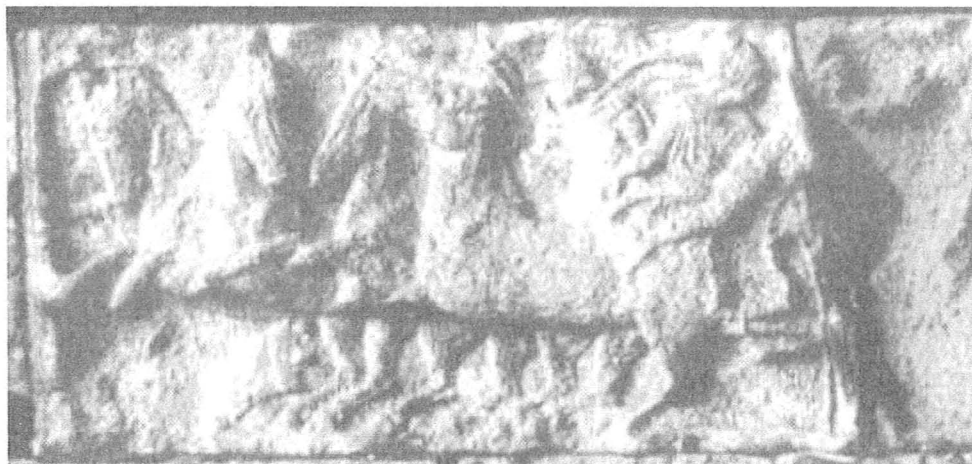


Figure 47: Abduction of Leucippids, Heroon of Gjölbaschi-Trysa

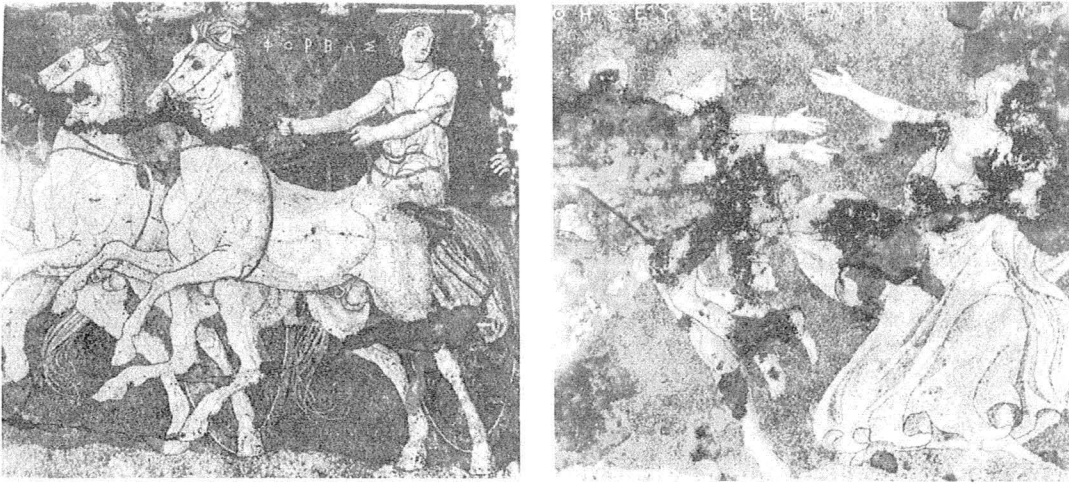


Figure 48: Abduction of Helen by Theseus, Pella

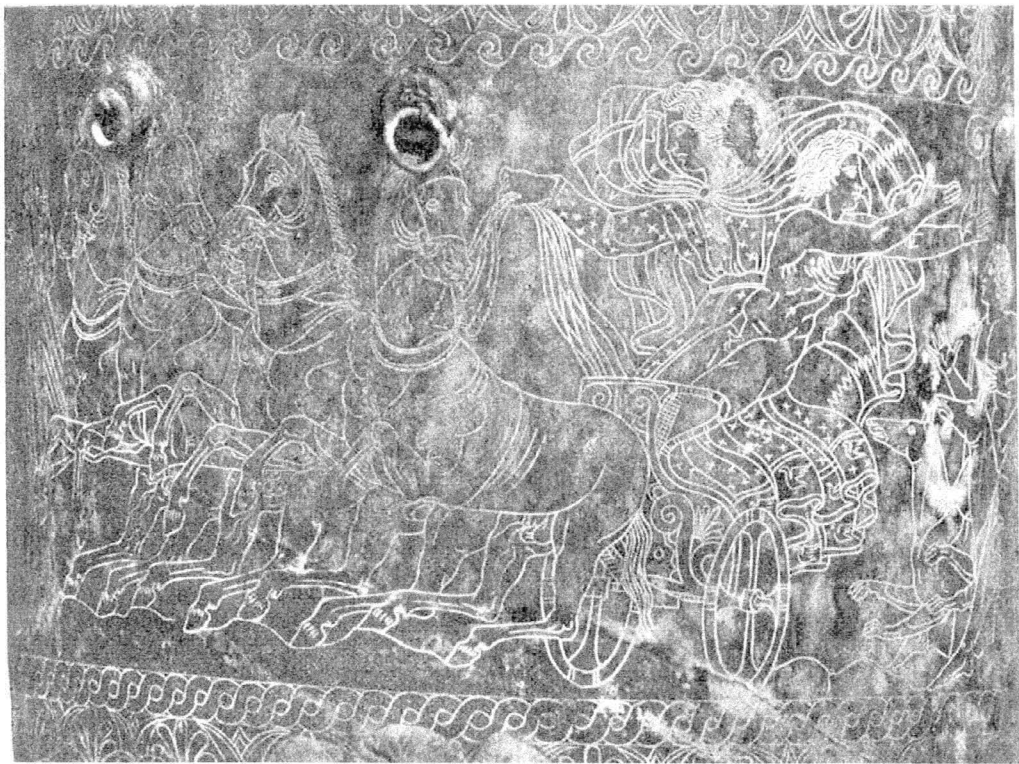


Figure 49: Abduction of Chrysippus, Barberini Cista



Figure 50: Abduction of Persephone, Apulian volute krater



Figure 51: Abduction of Persephone, Apulian volute krater

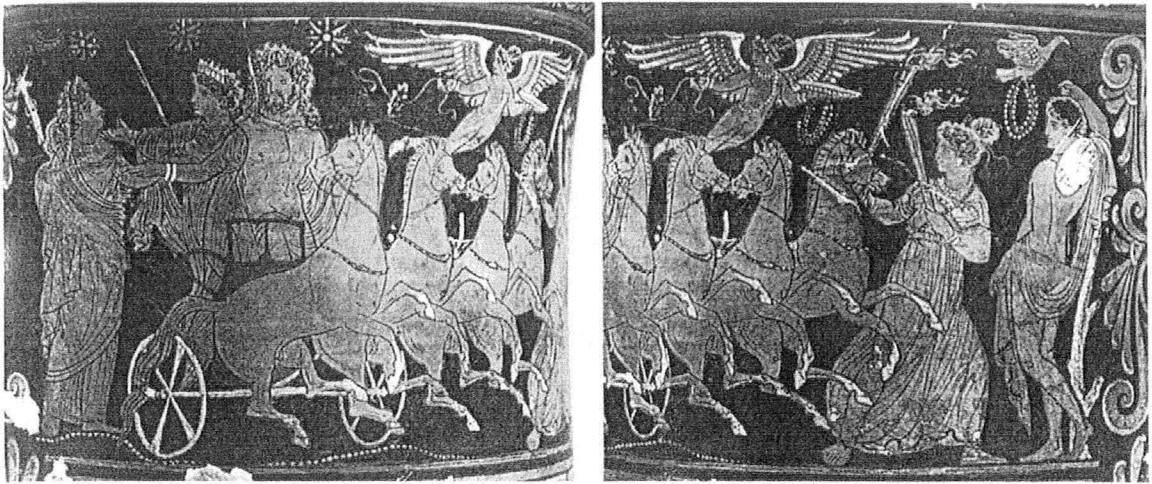


Figure 52: Abduction of Persephone, Apulian loutrophoros

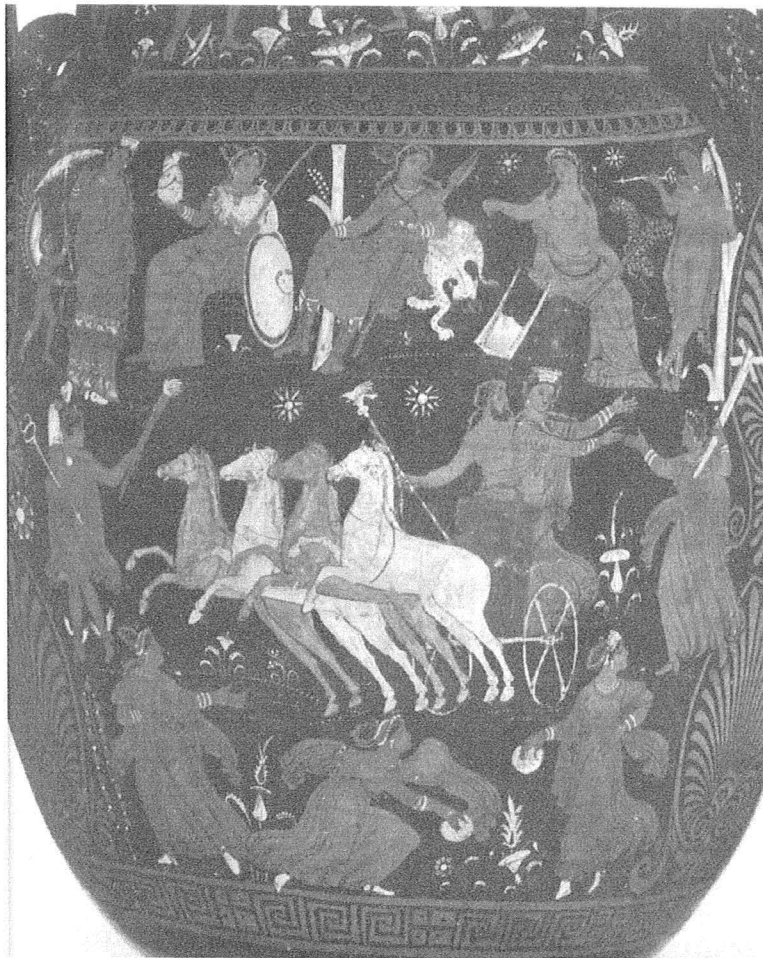


Figure 53: Abduction of Persephone, Apulian volute krater

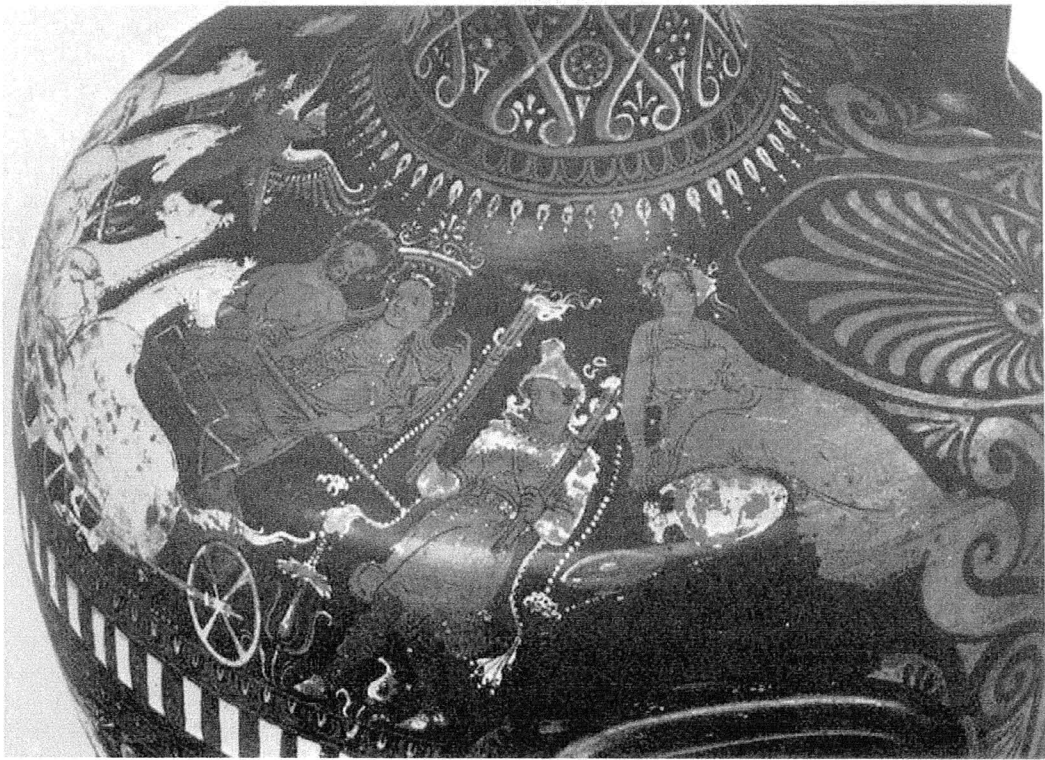
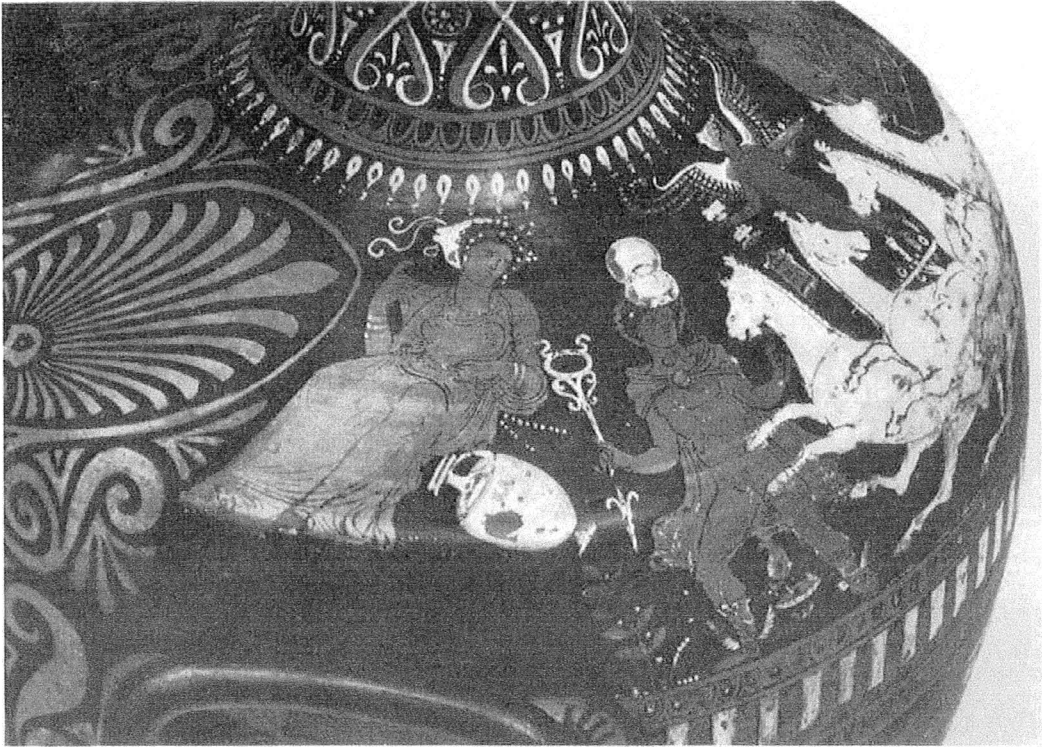


Figure 54: Abduction of Persephone, Apulian Hydria

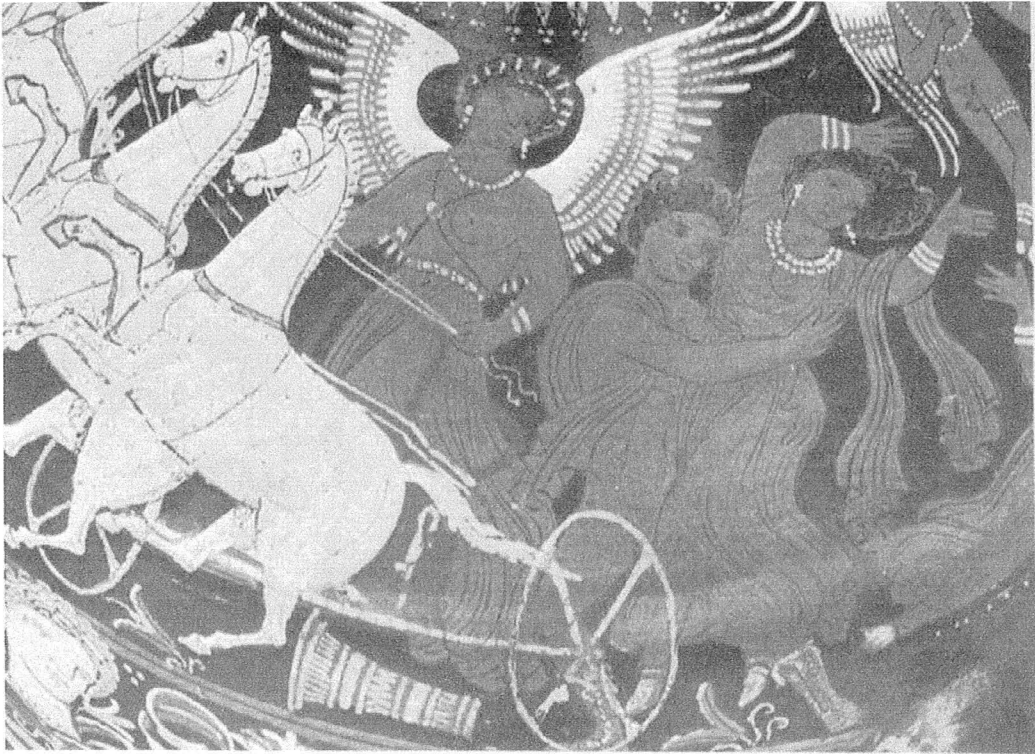


Figure 55: Abduction of Persephone, Apulian hydria



Figure 56: Pelops and Hippodamia, Lucanian hydria



Figure 56a: Pelops and Hippodamia, detail





Figure 57: Pelops and Hippodamia,  
Apulian hydria



Figure 57a: Pelops and Hippodamia, detail

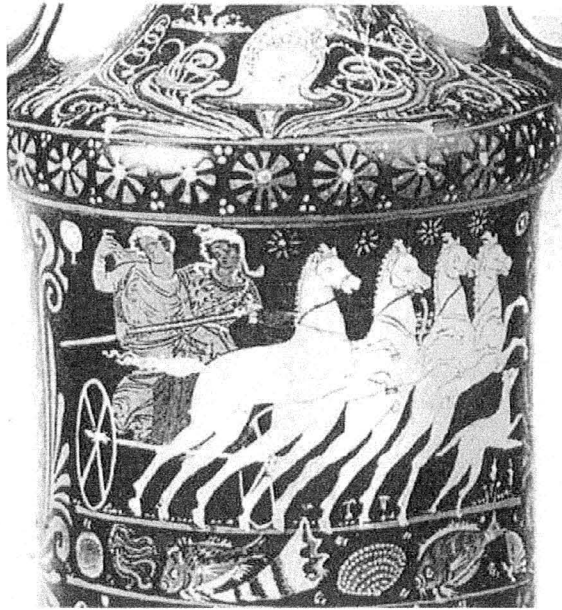


Figure 58: Pelops and Hippodamia,  
Apulian loutrophoros



Figure 59: Race of Pelops and Oenomaus,  
Apulian amphora



Figure 59a: Race of Pelops and Oenomaus, detail



Figure 60: Race of Pelops and Oenomaus, Apulian amphora

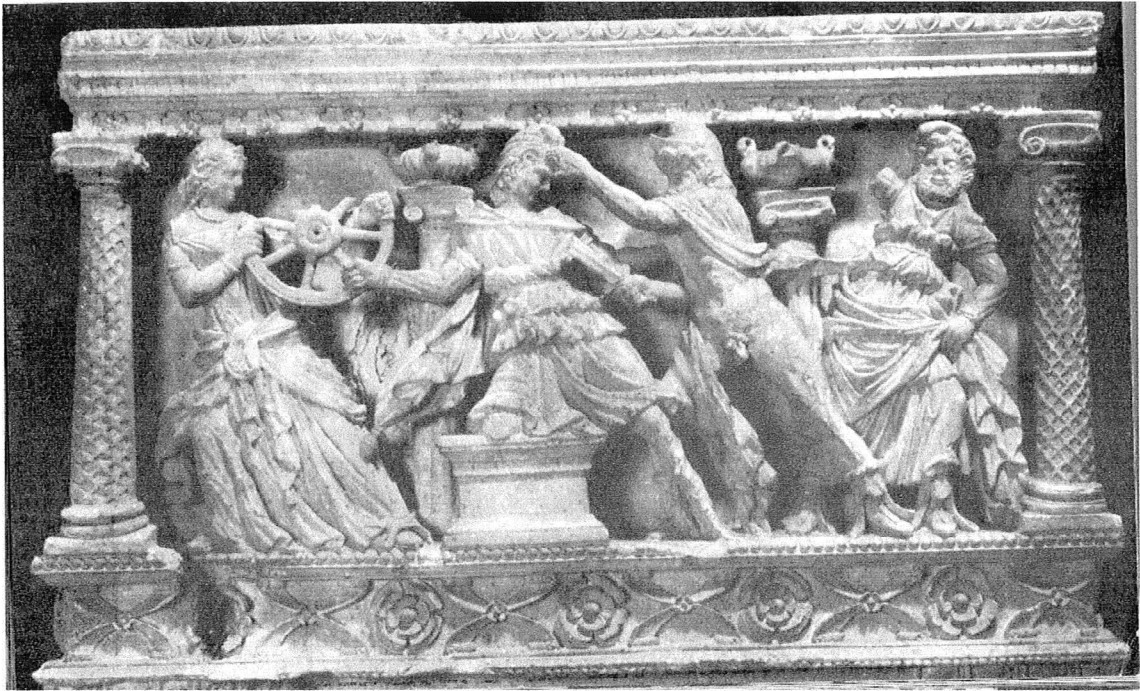


Figure 61: Urn with Death of Myrtilus, Volterra



Figure 62: Sarcophagus, Vulci

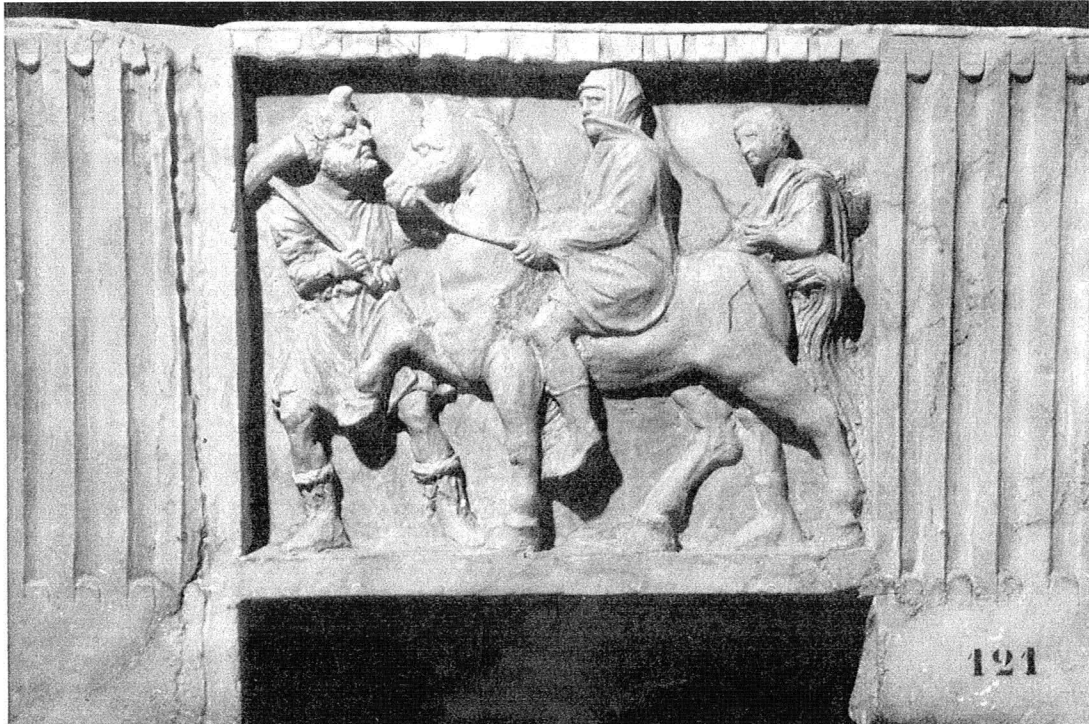


Figure 63: Cinerary urn of a Journey to the Underworld on Horseback, Volterra



Figure 64: Cinerary urn of a Farewell Scene, Volterra



Figure 65: Sarcophagus, Tuscania



Figure 66: Sarcophagus, Tomba Campanari, Vulci

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Andronicos, M. *Vergina. The Royal Tombs and the Ancient City*. Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1984.
- Barker, G. and T. Rasmussen. *The Etruscans*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998.
- Bonfante, L. *Etruscan Dress*. Baltimore: John Hopkins Univ. Press, 1975.
- Bonfante, L. "Roman Triumphs and Etruscan Kings: The Changing Face of the Triumph" *JRS* 60 (1970), 49-66.
- Brendel, O. J. *Etruscan Art*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1978.
- Brilliant, R. *Visual Narratives: Storytelling in Etruscan and Roman Art*. Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1984.
- Brunn, E. and G. Körte. *I rilievi delle urne etrusche I-III*. Roma-Berlin, 1870-1916.
- Degrassi, N. "Il Pittore di Policoro e l'officina di ceramica protoitaliota di Eracle Lucana" *BdA* 50 (1965), 5-37.
- De Ruyt, F. Charun. *Démon Étrusque de la Mort*. Rome: Institut Historique Belge, 1934.
- Eichler, F. *Die Reliefs des Heroon von Gjölbashi-Trysa*. Wien: Franz Deuticke, 1950.
- Felletti Maj, B.M. *La tradizione italica nell'arte romana*, Roma, 1977.
- Giglioli, G.Q. *L'Arte Etrusca*. Milano: S.A. Fratelli Treves, 1935.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A. "Etruscan Reliefs of the Hellenistic Period" *JHS* 65 (1945), 45-57.
- Harris, W.V. *Rome in Etruria and Umbria*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.
- Herbig, R. *Die jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage*. Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1952.
- Heurgon, J. *Daily Life of the Etruscans*. J. Kirkup (trans). London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1961.

- Holliday, P.J. "Processional Imagery in Late Etruscan Funerary Art" *AJA* 94 (1990), 73-93.
- Lambrechts, R. *Essai sur les Magistratures des Républiques Étrusques*. Bruxelles: Palais des Académies, 1959.
- Laviosa, C. *Scultura tardo-etrusca di Volterra*. Firenze: La Strozziina, 1964.
- Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Zürich, 1981-1990.
- Lindner, R. *Der Raub der Persephone in der antiken Kunst*. Germany: Konrad Tritsch, 1984.
- Macnamara, E. *Everyday Life of the Etruscans*. London: B.T. Batsford, 1973.
- Maggiani, A. "Lineamenti di uno sviluppo" in *Artigianato Artistico*. (Exhibition Volterra-Chiusi). ed., A. Maggiani. Milan: Electa Editrice, 1985, 32-51.
- Maggiani, A. "Contributo alla cronologia delle urne volterrane: i coperchi" *MemLinc*, 8, 19, 1 (1976).
- Mansuelli, G. *Ricerche sulla pittura ellenistica. Riflessi della pittura ellenistica nelle arti minori*. Bologna, 1950.
- Martelli, M. "Definizione cronologica delle urne volterrane attraverso l'esame dei complessi tombali" in *Caratteri dell'ellenismo nelle urne etrusche*. (Atti dell'incontro di studi, Università di Siena, 1977). eds., Cristofani, M. and M. Martelli. *Prospettiva Suppl.* 1, Firenze, 1977, 86-92.
- Meer, L.B. van der. "Etruscan Urns from Volterra. Studies on Mythological Representations" *BABesch* 52-53 (1977-1978), 57-131.
- Meer, L.B. van der. "Archetype-Transmitting Model-Prototype. Studies of Etruscan Urns from Volterra" *BABesch* 50 (1975), 179-186.
- Mingazzini, P. "Su una fonte d'ispirazione dei rilievi di alcune urne etrusche" in *Archaeologica. Scritti in onore di Aldo Neppi Modona*. Firenze, 1975, 387-393.
- Moreno, P. *Pittura Greca. Da Polignoto ad Apelle*. Milano: Arnoldo Mondadori, 1987.
- Moret, J.M.. *L'Ilioupersis dans la céramique italiote. Les mythes et leur expression figurée au IVe siècle I-II*. Rome: Institut Suisse, 1975.



- Moscato, P. "Un gruppo di urne volterrane con rappresentazione del 'viaggio agli inferi in *Carpentum*'" in *Etrusca et Italica. Scritti in ricordo di Massimo Pallottino 2*, 1997, 403-423.
- Nielsen, M. "Cultural Orientation in Etruria in the Hellenistic Period: Greek Myths and Local Motifs on Volterranean Urn Reliefs" in *Aspects of Hellenism in Italy*. eds., Pia Guldager Bilde et al. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum, 1993, 73-93.
- Nielsen, M. "Scultori Perugini a Volterra nel I Secolo A.C.?" in *Congresso Internazionale Etrusco 2* (1989), 1001-1023.
- Nielsen, M. "La bottega e l'organizzazione del lavoro" in *Artigianato Artistico*. (Exhibition Volterra-Chiusi). ed., A. Maggiani. Milan: Electa Editrice, 1985, 52-61.
- Nielsen, M. "The Lid Sculptures of Volterranean Cinerary Urns" in *Studies in the Romanization of Etruria* (Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae) Roma: Bardi Editore, 1975, 263-404.
- Pairault-Massa, F.H. "Soggetti e committenza" in *Artigianato Artistico*. (Exhibition Volterra-Chiusi). ed., A. Maggiani. Milan: Electa Editrice, 1985, 81-88.
- Pairault-Massa, F.H. *Recherches sur l'Art et l'Artisanat Étrusco-Italiques à l'Époque Hellénistique*. Rome, 1985a.
- Pairault-Massa, F.H. "Ateliers d'urnes et histoire de Volterra" in *Caratteri dell'ellenismo nelle urne etrusche*. (Atti dell'incontro di studi, Università di Siena, 1977). eds., M. Cristofani and M. Martelli. Prospettiva Suppl. 1, Firenze, 1977, 154-167.
- Pairault-Massa, F.H. "Nouvelles études sur des urnes de Volterra" *MEFRA* 87 (1975), 213-286.
- Pairault-Massa, F.H. "Un nouvel atelier de Volterra; autour du 'Maître de Myrtilos'" *MEFRA* 85 (1973), 91-135.
- Pairault, F.H. "Un aspect de l'artisanat de l'albâtre à Volterra: quelques visages d'ateliers" *DialArch* 6 (1972), 11-35.
- Pairault, F.H. *Recherches sur quelques séries d'urnes de Volterra à représentations mythologiques*. Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1972a.
- Pasquinucci, M. and Simonetta Menchelli. "The Landscape and Economy of the Territories of *Pisae* and *Volaterrae* (coastal North Etruria)" *JRA* 12 (1999), 122-141.

- Pedley, J.G. *Greek Art and Archaeology*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993.
- Pollitt, J.J. *Art in the Hellenistic Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1986.
- Richardson, E. *The Etruscans. Their Art and Civilization*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1964.
- Ryberg, I. S. "Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art" *MAAR* 12, 1955.
- Schäfer, T. *Imperii Insignia. Sella Curulis und Fasces. Zur Repräsentation Römischer Magistrate*. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1989.
- Scullard, H. H. *The Etruscan Cities and Rome*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1967.
- Séchan, L. *Études sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique*. Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1926.
- Small, J.P. "Choice of Subject on Late Etruscan Funerary Urns" *BCH Suppl.* 14 (1986), 87-92.
- Small, J.P. *Studies Related to the Theban Cycles on Late Etruscan Urns*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1981.
- Spivey, N. and Stoddart, S. *Etruscan Italy*. London: B.T Batsford, 1990.
- Squarciapino, M.F. "Pelope ed Ippodamia nel fronte orientale di Olimpia", *ASAtene* 30-32 (1952-1954), 131-140.
- Stone, S. "The Toga: From National to Ceremonial Costume" in *The World of Roman Costume*. eds., J.D. Sebesta and L. Bonfante. Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1994, 13-45.
- Terrenato, N. "Tam Firmum Municipium: The Romanization of Volaterrae and its Cultural Implications" *JRS* 88 (1998), 94-114.
- Toynbee, J.M.C. *Death and Burial in the Roman World*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1971.
- Trendall, A.D. *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily. A Handbook*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1989.
- Trendall, A.D., and A. Cambitoglou. *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia*. Suppl. 1, 1983.

- Trendall, A.D. *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia I-II*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.
- Trendall, A.D. *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily I-II*. Oxford: Clarendon Press: 1967.
- Urne volterrane. Corpus delle urne etrusche di età ellenistica 1-2*. eds., M. Cristofani et al. Florence, 1975.
- Versnel, H.S. *Triumphus. An Inquiry into the Origin, Development and Meaning of the Roman Triumph*. Leiden: E.J Brill, 1970.
- Wilpert, G. "L'Ultimo Viaggio nell'Arte Sepolcrale Classico-Romana" *RendPontAcc III* (1924-1925), 61-72.