

**STUDIES IN ANCIENT ART
AND CIVILIZATION**

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ET CIVILISATIONE
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IN ANCIENT ART
AND CIVILIZATION**

14

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Ewdoksia Papuci-Władyka

Krakow 2010

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Photo of Professor Joachim Śliwa on page 7 by Jakub Śliwa

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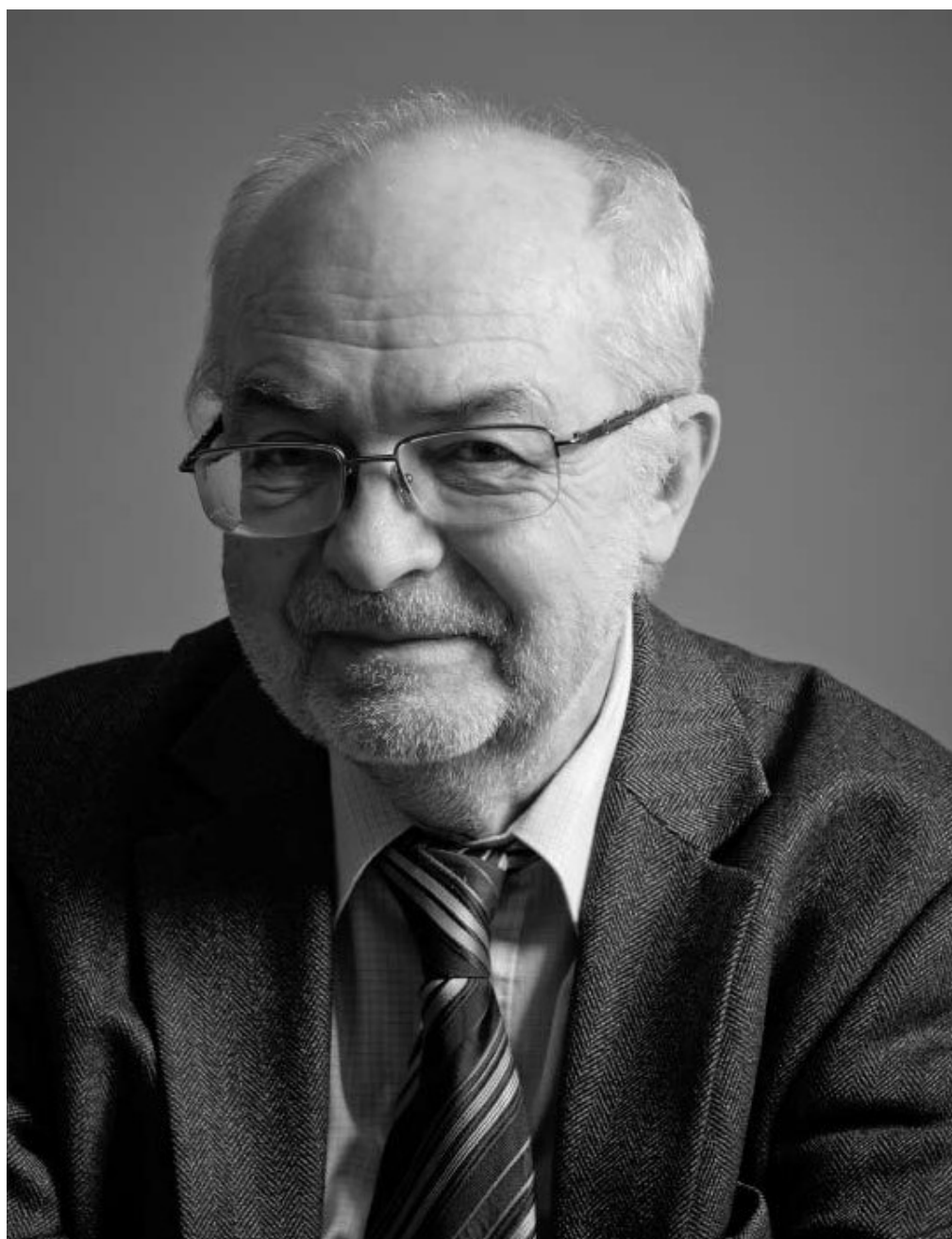
THE 14TH VOLUME OF *STUDIES IN ANCIENT ART AND CIVILIZATION*
IS DEDICATED
TO PROFESSOR JOACHIM ŚLIWA ON HIS 70TH BIRTHDAY

The first issue of *Studies in Ancient Art And Civilization* was published in 1991. The initiator of the series, as well as its creator and the editor of 12 volumes, was Professor Joachim Śliwa. The 14th issue is intended by the current editors as a homage to Professor, and expression of thanks for his activity so far.

Professor Śliwa is an excellent expert on archaeology and art of ancient Egypt and Middle East, as well as a prominent scholar in the field of the history of collections of antiquities and Mediterranean archaeology in Poland; he is the author of numerous books and several hundred articles. His whole career, starting with the studies under the supervision of Professor Maria L. Bernhard, up to now is connected with the Jagiellonian University. He defended his doctoral thesis here in 1969, in 1975 presented his habilitation dissertation, and in 1988 received professor's title. For many years (since 1978) he had been head of the Department of Mediterranean Archaeology, and after the reorganisation of the Institute of Archaeology became head of the Department of Egyptian and Near Eastern Archaeology; the latter post he holds until now.

The scientific activity of Professor Joachim Śliwa comprises four main topics. The first covers research on ancient Middle East and Egypt. It was in the land of the Nile, where he went for the first time in 1966 on a scholarship funded by the Egyptian government, that he made his most important discoveries. The excavations which he conducted in Qasr el-Sagha (1979-1988) resulted in the discovery and investigation of a so far unknown workers' settlement dating to the time of the Middle Kingdom. The art and culture of Egypt and Middle East became the most important topics of Professor Śliwa's books, textbooks and scientific articles.

His teaching activity is connected with this research, and he became the tutor and example of academic excellence for many generations of graduate and doctoral students. He promoted countless master's theses, more than ten doctoral dissertations, and several of his students are today professors themselves.



Professor JOACHIM ŚLIWA

Professor Śliwa's third passion is the research on history of Mediterranean archaeology and collections of antiquities in Poland. Apart from numerous articles on this subject one should recall the book *Egipt, Grecja, Italia... Zabytki starożytne z dawnej kolekcji Gabinetu Archeologicznego Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego* (Kraków 2007), of which he was originator, editor, and for which he prepared the majority of texts. Thanks to his interest in the subject and Benedictine patience he restored the memory of many forgotten early researchers and collectors. He has always emphasized their achievements in the context of times in which they lived, and it would not be an overstatement to say that many of them owe their 'second lives' to the Professor.

The fourth area of Professor Śliwa's activity lies in the field of publishing. His first experience in this field was the editorial work for *Studia z Archeologii Śródziemnomorskiej* published as part of *Prace Archeologiczne*. He had redacted for many years the *Recherches Archéologiques* series, which presents in the first place field research of the Institute of Archaeology of the Jagiellonian University. Professor Śliwa also edited or co-edited many books, but *Studies in Ancient Art And Civilization* became his 'most beloved child'. This periodical is an important forum for the exchange of scientific ideas; it also provides Professor's many students, as well as other scholars beginning their career, with the opportunity to publish their first scientific papers. Being always a demanding editor, Professor Śliwa never refused anyone his help and advice.

For all this we owe Him our deepest gratitude.

Krzysztof M. Ciałowicz
Janusz A. Ostrowski
Ewdoksia Papuci-Władyka

Kraków, October 2010

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Marta Korczyńska-Zdąbłarz

Kraków

THE PURPOSE OF THE IMPORTATION
OF ATTIC RED-FIGURED VASES
INTO ETRURIA

The reason for the importation of an enormous number of Greek vases into Tyrrhenian Etruria and the Po Valley remains in the sphere of more or less probable supposition. The reason for their importation is based on their archaeological context. The aim of this paper is to introduce and verify theories connected with the title subject.

H. B. Walters (1905, 70-71), the famous researcher of ceramics who lived in the early 20th century, wrote that the number of Greek vases from Italy was sufficient to cover the whole history of Greek vase painting. Several years after the publication of Walters' works, Sir J. D. Beazley claimed that the most important source of Attic vases was Vulci, followed by Tarquinia, Caere, Orvieto and Clusium (Cook 1960, 325; Beard and Robertson 1995, 1; Spivey 1995, 132; Spivey 1999, 15). The antiquities from ancient Greece discovered in Etruria undoubtedly provide information about the techniques and the style of many Attic workshops and they enable us to identify their chronology.

The oldest vases found in Etruria come from the 8th century BC. In the next century Etruscans imported vases from Corinth and Asia Minor. Although these vases fulfilled local needs to a great extent, the Etruscan workshops made imitations, which are called Etruscan-Corinthian ceramics. At the beginning of the 6th century BC Attic black-figured vases started to flood into Etruria. In c. 550 BC their number was the same as the number of competing ceramics from Corinth and in the late 6th century they

dominated the Etruscan market (Bernhard 1966, 25; Boardman 1980, 200; Scullard 1998, 181).

The first red-figured vases appeared in Athens in c. 530 BC and perhaps a little later in Etruria. In c. 500 BC the new Attic pottery was already more prevalent than black-figured vases in Italy, but over the next 30 years black- and red-figured pottery were still found together within the furnishing of tombs (Alfieri and Arias 1955, 11; Richter 1958, 1-2; Pallottino 1968, 272; Haynes 2005, 204). This phenomenon occurred because of two reasons: firstly, black-figured pottery was still imported and used in daily life; secondly, it was still produced in Athens and sold with red-figured vases. Evidence of the second reason is that some black-figured vases date back to the end of the 6th century or the beginning of the 5th century. In cities like Vulci or Tarquinia they still outnumbered ceramics made in the new style. It is impossible, however, to determine when the first red-figured vase came into Etruscan hands. I suppose that it can neither be affirmed on the basis of the date of the vase, nor on the basis of the date of the tombs, because the furnishing of Etruscan tombs often contained objects that came from different time periods. We can only determine the length of this process – from the moment of vase production to the time of funeral.

A lot of red-figured vases arrived in Tyrrhenian Etruria before the third quarter of the 5th century BC. However, after 457 BC, probably due to the failure of the Etruscan fleet in the battle of Cumae in 474 BC, an economic crisis occurred there. The lost battle was the cause not only of the decrease in the number of imported goods, but also of a change in architecture – buildings were constructed in a simpler style. This phenomenon, however, did not occur in the whole region. In Clusium or Orvieto, for instance, the recession was noticeable in the second half of the 5th century BC and only for a short period of time. The defeat of the Etruscan fleet by Syracuse led to the loss of control of the trade routes running alongside the coast to Southern Italy. Etruscan littoral cities drew most of their income from the route running into Greece since their economy was based on foreign trade. Clusium, a city located in Northern Etruria, had an agricultural background and furthermore it was connected economically with the Po Valley. The route running across the Adriatic Sea and the Ionian Islands gained more significance after the blockage of the way across the Strait of Messina by southern Italian colonies. As a result of this, after the first half of the 5th century BC, the cities of the Po Valley took part in the importation of goods from Greece. The next decrease in the number of Attic vases took place at the end of the 5th century BC and there are various reasons for that.

One of them was the Peloponnesian War, which limited Athenian activity on the Mediterranean Sea, especially after the unfortunate expedition to Sicily. At that time, Athenian outlets in Central Italy were overtaken by the cities of Magna Graecia. Moreover, the popularity of Etruscan and Faliscan red-figured vases increased. For instance, the workshop in Faleri also sold its products in the territories of Sabinia and Umbria and the vases made in Volaterrae were not only used as the furnishing of tombs in the closest areas to the city, but were also exported to the cities of the Po Valley (Sassatelli 1995, 193-195; Torelli 2005, 203, 207).

Beazley (1959) took on a mammoth task by cataloguing and describing more than 1700 vases found in the Po Valley.¹ They date back to the period between the end of the 6th century and the middle of the 4th century BC. As research has shown, Attic importation to the necropoleis (especially those of Spina and Felsina) was at its highest between 480 and 375 BC. Later on, the importation decreased. Single prototypes date back to 350-325 BC and some of them were made in the Kerch style (Alfieri and Arias 1955, 27; Alfieri and Aurigemma 1961, 5-8; Mansuelli 1966, 16, 31; Boardman 1988, 236; Sassatelli 1995, 190-195; Scullard 1998, 218).

The importation intensity was different in each of the sites. At a glance we can notice the difference between Tyrrhenian Etruria and the Po Valley. Most vases from the Archaic period can be found in the South while in the North there are only single potsherds. Initially, the cities located near the Tyrrhenian Sea, such as Tarquinia, Caere and Vulci, had the lead in trade because the harbour infrastructure was well developed there (Pallottino 1968, 100, 114-115; Maggiani 1997, 20). In Vulci, for instance, the following was found: 230 neck amphorae and 180 amphorae of other types, 130 hydriai, 120 cups, 80 oinochai, 25 kyathoi, some lekythoi, stamnoi, kantaroi, olpai, fialai and alabastroa (Werner 2005, 50). Not all of them are Attic masterpieces. Some of them come from Corinthian and Pontic workshops and some are from Chalcis – the town of the island of Euboea. The number of vases shows of how great importance the city was which acted as a distributor of goods to the sites of Central and Northern Etruria. Most vases, however, were provided by ad hoc excavations guided at the beginning of the 19th century by Luciano Bonaparte, the prince of Canino (Moretti 1983, 59; Scullard 1998, 123; Bianchi Bandinelli and Giuliano 2005, 174). In the 7th century BC only Caere was ahead of Vulci with regard to the number of imported Corinthian vases. Most masterpieces that come from

¹ There were only decorated vases but we should remember that vases of other types also exist.

the necropoleis of the city were made before the middle of the 5th century BC. In Caere, two oinochai made by Goluchow Painter were found, which can now be seen at the National Museum in Warsaw (inv. nos 142308, 142463). The pictures on them present athletes, which could indicate that they were made as a set (Bulas 1931,18). Among the pottery discovered in Caeretan tombs, the best records of investigation results concern the vases excavated by the Leric Foundation from the cemeteries of Monte Abbatone and Banditaccia. Many unrobbed tombs like T. 54, T. 248 or T. 610 (so-called Tomba Martini-Marescotti) were found at the time. The latter consisted of three chambers filled only with things of foreign origin, namely 27 Greek black- and red-figured vases (Lerici 1966). The third great importer of Attic vases to this area was Tarquinia. Many masterpieces come from the necropolis of Monterozzi and they were probably brought to the city thanks to the activity of the harbour in Gravisca. The dating of vases from Tarquinia is analogical to the dating of vases from Vulci and Caere mentioned above.

The cities located near the coast, like Rusellae or Vetulonia, bartered with Greek poleis for a long time. These two centres are two of the oldest sites that bought many Corinthian and early Attic vases and sometimes bought red-figured ones (Scullard 1998, 139; Haynes 2005, 197). A few examples of Proto-Corinthian pottery and many Corinthian and Attic vases (both black- and red-figured) were found in the tombs of Populonia. In this harbour, Etruscans probably bartered vases for metallic ore. Even after the middle of the 5th century importation did not decrease and foreign trade flourished on a large scale. This was an extraordinary phenomenon in Tyrrhenian Etruria. Certainly the most famous vases from that site are two hydriai of Meidias Painter, which are now the pride of the Archaeological Museum in Florence (inv. no. 81948) (Marini and Razeto 1985, 40; Scullard 1998, 144; Gilotta 2000, 194-195; Bianchi Bandinelli and Giuliano 2005, 221).

Generally, it should be noted that the farther from the coast a site is located, the fewer imported goods are found there. Some examples are Veii, Arettium and Perugia where Attic vases are not particularly numerous. Apart from the large cities, importation is also found in the chora area. For instance, Populonia, which bought high quality products of Athenian Kerameikos during the whole of the 5th century BC, distributed vases to the nearest regions. Examples of this activity of Populonia are antiquities from Val di Chiana and from the area near Volaterrae.

As I have mentioned before, Beazley described over 1700 Attic vases that were found in Etruscan cities of Northern Italy. Among them only 15

came from Misano (under 1%), 311 came from Felsina (less than 20%) and over 1400 were discovered in Spina (over 80%, most of them were found in the necropoleis of Valle Treba and Valle Pega) (Beazley 1959, 193-195). Moreover, the Greek pottery is present in the surroundings of Modena and Reggio, in the region north of the Po River and also in Mantua, Mincio and near Lake Como. Its incidence is in fact the same as the incidence of *bucchero nero* pottery and bronzes from Tyrrhenian Etruria, but Greek ceramics are just represented by single examples in those areas. Thus, in the Po Valley it can be also noted that there was dependence between the scale of importation and the distance to the sea. When we compare *chora* of the cities of Tyrrhenian Etruria and the farming background of centres of the Po Valley we can see that Greek vases practically did not appear in the latter areas. The difference is noticeable, for instance, in Adria. In the city many fragments were found, both of black- and red-figured vases, but 15km away, on the site of San Cassiano, there are not many Greek vases (D'Aversa 1986, 32; Guzzo 2000, 13). Only the city took part in the trade. For instance, in the 6th century BC the city bartered black-figured vases delivered from Tyrrhenian Etruria for amber brought from the North.

After analysing the chronology and the scale of Greek importation one question comes to mind – why did the Etruscans buy so many Greek vases? There are two possibilities: they either bought vases because of their contents or the vases themselves were precious trade objects for these people (Bernhard 1966, 25).

The artistic level of vases found in Etruria is very different. It is possible to discover masterpieces of the most famous Athenian craftsmen, like the vases of Euphronios (as a painter): three of them came from Caere, four from Vulci and the other ones from Tarquinia, Vierbo, Arretium and Perugia (Arias 1962, 323). One of the most beautiful masterpieces is a calyx krater found in Caere and kept in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. no. 187/1972.11.10) (Esposito and Guidotti 1999, 70). There are also, however, more average vases. Most of them were made by anonymous painters. Their decorations are very conventional, like scenes with ephebes or two or three people conversing, tightly covered with coats. These types of vases were discovered in the necropoleis of Valle Trebba and Valle Pega and in the cemeteries near Felsina. They were also present in Tyrrhenian Etruria. A kylix with similar decoration (inv. no. 63722), made by Sabouroff Painter and dating back to c. 460 BC, comes from Vulci (Tomba LXIbis). The scene is typical; on the external sides young men in discussion are painted while inside the kylix there are two figures – one of them is sitting and one

is covered with a coat (Riccioni and Serra Ridgway 2003, 15-16). Some imported vases could have been used as the containers for olive oil, wine or perfumes (Bulas 1933, 15-16), but they were probably of poorer quality and their decoration was not well-made (if it was even made). Moreover, they must have had closed shapes because only then it was possible to transport something inside. If they had had some contents, presumably it would have been olive oil or wine (from the Hellenistic period). There are no sources which can provide information about when the Etruscans started to produce olive oil themselves, but we know that they learned to grow olive trees from the Greeks during the reign of Tarquinius Priscus (Scullard 1998, 65; Torelli 2005, 126). Etruscan wine was mentioned in the works of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.37) and it was popular in the time of Alexander the Great. It is difficult to imagine, however, that the most famous and beautiful examples of Attic red-figured vases served only as a container for wine or olive oil – as trade amphorae. It is worth mentioning that the kylikes, kraters and vases used in symposium were the most frequently discovered pottery in Etruria. This means that only several imported vases could be used in the transportation of goods.

Signatures appear on the imported vases, but they are not numerous and they date back to the Archaic period (Richter 1958, 3). The hypothesis is that the signature development is connected with the export of vases mainly to Etruria. At that time the painter's signature meant the same as a trademark (Bernhard 1966, 23, 25). I believe that the weak point of these suppositions is that in c. 470 BC. the number of vases with signatures decreased unlike the number of vases found in Etruria, which grew. After this turning point in c. 470 BC the names of only several painters were known. One of them was Hermonax (Cook 1960, 256; Beard and Robertson 1995, 5-6). One of his ten signed vases is kept in the Archaeological Museum in Florence (inv. no. 3995). This is a stamnos which presents the story of Eos and Tithonos. Another signed stamnos was found in Orvieto (inv. no. 2413). It presents a woman and a seated man with a sceptre in his hand (Richter 1958, 108). Another stamnos of Hermonax, discovered in Vulci and without a signature (inv. no. 2413) presents the birth of Erechtheus and it is kept in the Antiker Kleinkunst Museum in Munich. This vase doesn't differ from those from Florence or Orvieto. A valuable and unsigned fragment of a lekane (inv. no. 3095) with a picture of gigantomachy and some less successful vases, for example two oinochoai with trefoil mouth from Valle Trebba (T. 377 and T. 733), come from Spina. All of them have no signature and they all were attributed to Hermonax (Alfieri and Arias 1955, 39;

Arias 1962, 358). The reverse situation is also possible – we know only lower quality vases that have signatures and the better ones do not. For instance, there is a poorly made column krater from the Athenian Acropolis (inv. no. 2.806, the National Museum in Athens) which is signed by Myson, but his excellent amphora with Cresus on a pyre from Vulci (today in Louvre, inv. no. G197) is not signed by him. It is worth mentioning that the krater from the Acropolis is the only known vase with Myson's signature and it was not used for export (Richter 1959, 16; Arias 1962, 332; Barbotin *et al.* 1993, 221). The examples of Myson and Hermonax's vases show that signatures did not determine whether vases were to be exported or not and they did not influence the attitude of Etruscans towards those vases. If the signature had raised the price of vases, why would craftsmen like Hermonax have deprived themselves of extra earnings and signed chosen vases while the others (of the same quality or better) not? This question, of course, will not be answered, but I think that it significantly undermines the theory about signature as a way to raise the price of ceramics.

The Attic workshops, which made vases that were to be exported especially to Etruria, worked very efficiently. One of these was the atelier of Codrus Painter which was in action in the second half of the 5th century BC. On Greek territory only two pieces of approximately a 100 vases from his workshop were found – one at the Athenian Acropolis and the other in Brauron – while in Etruria 22 vases were discovered (mainly in Vulci and Spina). His eponymous cup with King Codrus comes from Felsina. The other masterpieces were sold to the centres of Magna Graecia, Spain, France and to the centres of the Black Sea. Codrus Painter was the decorator of cups and the painter of stemless cups and some skyphoi. Most of them were decorated with Athenian mythological or Dionysian scenes or figures of athletes which means that the painter chose shapes and scenes that were preferred by foreign customers. The craftsmen living at the same time also gained recognition among Tyrrhenians. They were, for instance, Marlay Painter or Eretria Painter. Over half of the vases of the latter (22 of 41) were discovered in Etruria (Maggiani 1997, 29; Avramidou 2006, 565-566).

The value of vases is unknown. A. Johnston (1995, 226-228) states that it varied depending on the size and decoration of the vase but first of all depending on the time when they were sold, which seems to be obvious. Moreover, on the basis of *TI* inscriptions that are under the stems Johnston (1995, 226-228) and G. M. A. Richter (1959, 18) think that it is the abbreviation of the word 'price' – ἡ τιμή). Johnston (1995, 226-228) estimates that at the beginning of the 5th century BC huge vases cost around

4-6 oboloi. In c. 440 BC this price rose to 12-28 oboloi and later dropped again to 3,5-7 oboloi (Boardman 1979, 34). In all likelihood, attempts to determine even hypothetically the prices of Attic pottery will always cause a great deal of controversy, especially because of the lack of ancient sources concerning this subject (apart from the humorous mention in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes (1234-1236) where a lekythos cost one obolos. Perhaps the only hint which shows that those vases were very important to Etruscans is the fact that they took care of Greek pottery and repaired it when it was damaged or used for a long time (Johnston 1995, 216-219; Spivey 1995, 143). It seems that Etruscans looked after them much more than after Athenian vases (Boardman 1988, 236). One of the most famous specimens is a cup kept in the Louvre Museum (inv. no. G104) presenting Theseus and Athena in front of Amphitrite. It was found in Caere and was made by Onesimos. This cup has signs of ancient repair because a bronze rivet was found within it. Similar signs of repair were found in an amphora with Dionysian scenes, made by Kleofrades Painter (Antiker Kleinkunst Museum in Munich, inv. no. 2344). It was discovered in Vulci and was part of the Canino Collection (Arias 1962, 329-330, 334-335). Vases from the necropolis of Valle Trebba were also repaired. Among them there were kraters found in tombs T. 311 and T. 749. The first one, dating back to c. 460 BC is a bell krater 48cm high, made by Altamura Painter (T. 311, inv. no. 2738). It has nine holes for metal grasps which joined broken elements. The krater is decorated with a sport scene on one side and Dionysos sitting between two women or Zeus holding a child – Oinopion – on the other. The vase from the other tomb is a volute krater 63cm high, probably with the figure of Theseus chasing Helen and with a banquet scene and animal frieze on the neck. It is attributed to Boreas Painter (T. 749, inv. no. 2739) and dates back to c. 460 BC (Alfieri and Arias 1955, 57-58; Alfieri and Aurigemma 1961, 30). We should note that these antiquities come from the period when many Attic imports were being taken by Etruscan customers. Perhaps pottery made in Kerameikos was not a highly valued product because of its function or contents. The reason was probably decoration because vases with scenes painted carelessly or with standard scenes were repaired very rarely. I think the decision what to do with a damaged vase was made by the owner of the vase.

There is a conviction that Attic vases met the needs mainly of the aristocracy because they were luxury articles. Local pottery was designed for the poorer population (Bernhard 1966, 52; Bareiss and Bareiss 1983, 7; Scullard 1998, 204). This view can be verified a little. Firstly, Attic

vases are very numerous in this area. Secondly, Etruscan red-figured vases appeared later and in lesser quantity. It could mean that there were more rich citizens than poor ones in Etruscan society, but this is obviously not true. Some researchers claim that Attic imports hampered the development of local workshops because the imports were commonly available and met the demand for pottery (Cook 1960, 193). This idea is much more probable. However, the fact that the consumers of some vases came from the higher class is also true. They bought them because some vases made in an early severe style had gold crumbs in the decoration (Cook 1960, 163; Papuci-Władyka 2001, 176). I suppose that gold crumbs were made probably on request of customers who could pay for them. Gold elements can be seen, for example, in the vases of Euphronios and Brygos Painter (Beard and Robertson 1995, 5-6). It is worth taking into account that the number of such vases is not great in proportion to the number of all Greek vases found in Etruria. The example of Spina shows how tombs were furnished differently – some of them contained numerous and perfect Attic vases of high quality and other ones had a smaller amount (with two to three vases), but they also contained pottery which was probably a measure of comfort available to the middle classes because it was found in the tombs of craftsmen and merchants (Avramidou 2006, 575). To better illustrate this situation we should consider some sites, for instance those in the Po Valley. The first one is Marzabotto-Misano where Attic red-figured vases were exported mainly through the Adriatic trade route – from Spina. The number of vases and their parts is meagre, which could mean that imports were regarded as a luxury in centres located far away from the sea. Pottery made in Etruscan workshops was probably designed for daily use (Bianchi Bandinelli 1976, 49-50; Sassatelli 1995, 193; Scullard 1998, 204, 208). The Etruscan capital of the Po Valley – Felsina – was a typically commercial city. The evidence of that can be seen in the name of the city. The word Felsina comes from the word ‘felz’ or ‘fels’ which means ‘to sell’. Most pottery that was found here – about one thousand specimens – came from numerous tombs located around the city. One third of the vases were made in Kerameikos. One necropolis that dates back to the 6th-4th centuries BC is Certosa. In almost all the tombs from this period items used in banquets were found – huge vases, bronze containers, ladles for serving wine (usually two ladles of different size), cups and forms for mixing wine with water (D’Aversa 1986, 24-25; Sassatelli 1987, 15; Sassatelli 1995, 193-194). They were probably not luxury products in Felsina and were commonly available. Furthermore,

the price of Greek pottery was probably different in Felsina and Marzabotto. To sum up, the viewpoint concerning the luxurious nature of Attic vases is exaggerated and must be verified further.

There is no doubt that in the barter between Etruria and Greece Etruria was the buyer. The number of Etruscan products found in Greece (and in Attica) doesn't equal the number of Greek products found in Etruria (Mansuelli 1966, 20; Pallottino 1968, 100). Merchants, however, did not have to be either Athenians or Greeks. All that needed to be done was to order vases in Athens and bring them to Etruria. During the voyage they were packed in rubbish and sawdust or in baskets. They could also be stuffed as in the kiln during the burning process. Some smaller vases were probably placed in larger ones. Such a method allowed space to be saved (Boardman 1988, 235). It is impossible to determine whether they were the only goods on the ship sailing to the Etruscan harbour or if they were taken as an additional weight with some other goods (Beard and Robertson 1995, 19). It is worth mentioning that there is a huge possibility that Attic pottery was imported by middlemen from the centres of Magna Graecia from the end of the 5th century BC (Haynes 2005, 235).

Some vases found in Etruria have so-called trademarks (marks of merchants) engraved or painted under the stems. We do not know who made them – the merchant or the potter – but some of them were made before burning. We can see them on different types of vases: amphorae, hydriai, kraters, cups and oinochai. Moreover, they are similar to each other so they are probably not dependent on the shapes of vases. They were usually made under stems, although sometimes they were letters and at other times figural symbols. Perhaps they indicated who the buyer of a vase was, as most of them are written in the Ionian dialect. The presence of Ionian merchants in Etruscan harbours, for example in Gravisca, is certified by archaeological excavations (Richter 1959, 19-20; Guzzo 1995b, 84; Scullard 1998, 181). It is worth adding that the mark 'SO' is connected with the merchant Sostratos, the son of Laodamas from Egina (Gras 1987, 147; Johnston 1995, 200-222; Scullard 1998, 184), mentioned by Herodotus (4.152). What results from this is that the presence of Attic imports does not signify that Athenians visited this area. Vases were instead transported by Ionians and Aeginetans.

I have mentioned that ceramic products could have been ordered in Athens, but another possibility also exists – that some vases were 'second-hand' articles with their first owner being a Greek. J. Boardman (1979, 33-39) proves and supports the hypothesis of T. B. L. Webster, described in *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens* (1973). This text mentions that

the holder of a vase was a favourite of the painter. His name can usually be found on vases with the word *kalos* (Boardman 1979, 34; Boardman 1988, 179; Spivey 2006, 659). There are many inscriptions of this type in contrast to the number of inscriptions on the Greek vases saying 'I belong to...' (Cook 1960, 259). Such a hypothesis could be wrong because the names of favourites appear only in the case of a few painters (and are usually the same on the vases of the same master, like Leagros on the masterpieces of Euphronios). For instance, we can find ten names of favourites on the vases of Douris, but they are different in each period of the painter's activity (apart from a few exceptions). Moreover, sometimes the names came from Attic drama – a comedy or tragedy that dates back to 460 BC. Meanwhile, the favourites' names didn't exist in the case of some other painters, like Pan Painter (Arias 1962, 340, 347). Today we know approximately 200 favourites' names (Cook 1960, 258). I suppose that their only function was to glorify the beauty of popular Athenian citizens or as anonymous inscriptions like '*ho pais kalos*', which are more often present. It is worth emphasising that most vases imported to Etruria do not have any Greek inscriptions. It is possible that some vases had a different owner in Greece but the name of a favourite is not any evidence for that. Pottery used before in Athens was probably part of the cargo of new articles, because Etruscans were more interested in shapes or decorations than in the name of the first owner. Some of the used vases were Panathenaic amphorae found in Etruria, like those from Vulci made by Berlin Painter. They are kept in the National Museum in Warsaw (inv. no. 142346) and in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano (inv. no. 375). Although the inscription from Delphi, which mentions an Etruscan athlete, is well known, I do not suppose that Etruscans took part in the Panathenaic Games. However, black-figured amphorae were discovered on their territory. They were probably the prizes in games held in honour of Athena. An explanation of their presence is the hypothesis that when a winner ran out of olive oil he decided to sell a vase. Aside from these types of amphorae it is difficult to distinguish between new and second-hand pottery (Johnston 1995, 216-219; Malnati 1995, 152-156; Spivey 1995, 143).

The Etruscans put their inscriptions on imported vases, so many Attic ceramics have Etruscan graffiti, for example two antiquities from the Molly and Walter Bareiss Collection, which are kept in the J. Paul Getty Museum. The first one is a neck amphora attributed to Richmond Painter (inv. no. 86.Ae.189) with the picture of a satyr chasing a young boy. The second one is a neck amphora of Berlin Painter (inv. no. 86.Ae.187), which dates

back to c. 480 BC and which has a picture of a young man in the company of his barbarian servant (Bareiss and Bareiss 1983, 32, 75). Sometimes, inscriptions contain only one name. However, in the case of Etruscan vases we do not know whose name is on them – the potter's, the painter's or the owner's (Niemirowski 1990, 126-127). In my opinion, these names are the shorter version of inscriptions known well from cups, oinochai or kraters coming from different sites: Clusium, Caere, Tarquinia, Populonia, Vulci and Orvieto. These vases give some clues about their owners. For instance, there is an inscription on an oinochoe from Caere that says: '*Mi atīal plavtans*' ('I belong to Attiae Plautania'); or an inscription on cups found in Clusium: '*Mi mukis Papanaiā*' ('I belong to Mucia Papania') (Georgiev 1970-1971a, 6-7, 13, 24, 26; Georgiev 1970-1971b, 41, 78-79, 81). Another example of graffiti which is a dedication to a god is inscribed on the cup of Penthesileia Painter, kept in Munich (inv. no. 2688) and discovered in Vulci. It has a picture inside with the scene of Apollo killing Tithios and the picture outside presents talking and sitting boys. There is an inscription under the stem: *fūfluns paχ[ies--]*. Fūfluns is the Etruscan name of Dionysos (Arias 1962, 353; Maggiani 1997, 22). We know the names of gods from the Greek pantheon, which are mentioned on both Attic and Etruscan vases. For instance, the inscription on an oinochoe found in Orvieto declares: '*Aplu ep arus is*' (I'm the worshipper of Apollo) (Georgiev 1970-1971a, 6-7, 13, 24, 26; Georgiev 1970-1971b, 41, 78). Only a few examples consist of the whole sentence composed of a giver's name, a god's name and the word: 'to donate'. Usually we meet single teonims under the stem, but sometimes they are preceded by the Etruscan pronoun '*mi*'. On the site of one of the most famous sanctuaries in Etruria – Gravisca – 49% of pottery dating back to the 6th century BC contained Etruscan graffiti. 20% of them have dedications containing one word – the name of a god, 15% contain both the name of a god and a giver, the remaining 14% contain all sentences (Bareiss and Bareiss 1983, 7; Maggiani 1997, 38). These inscriptions came from different sites, which means that Greek pottery could have been imported as votive objects.

The vases found in the area of temenos were votive objects. They are broken, incomplete and not as well preserved as the vases from the necropolis. Some sanctuaries were located in the cities, for instance the sanctuaries of Minerva and Fūfluns which are located in the area of Belvedere in Orvieto. The excavations in 1926-1934 uncovered many fragments of Attic pottery which probably was used during banquets as most of them are cups and oinochai (Maggiani 1997, 49). Greek vases were also discovered in favissa

in Caere, in Gravisca and in the sanctuary of Pyrgi where, apart from red-black vases, some cups of Oltos, Douris and Onesimos were also found (Heurgon 1966, 8; Spivey 1995, 149). Places of cult were also located in cemeteries. One example is in Osteria at Vulci where a votive deposit that is not connected with any of the tombs was discovered. Two Attic oinochai resembling the female head (inv. nos 64040, 64041; Museo Archeologico di Vulci) and dating back to 440-420 BC were found there, as well as a coaster for the rython resembling the sphinx and dating back to c. 470-460 BC. The oinochai had trefoil mouths but they did not survive. The stand was black and the white sphinx had been put on it. The sphinx could be reconstructed on the basis of a vase kept in the British Museum and attributed to Sotades Painter (Riccioni and Sera Ridgway 2003, 17).

There is a belief that vases were left in sacred places as evidence that their givers had visited a sanctuary and that they perhaps had taken part in an initiation. Some dedicatory inscriptions and the decoration of Attic vases indicate which god was celebrated in this place, as in the case of the Minerva sanctuary at Covignano near Rimini or the sanctuary of Heracles in Contarina near Adria (Maggiani 1997, 48).

Gravisca is one of the most important places of cult. The Greek gods were probably celebrated there because many Greek imports were found there. There is a possibility that in this case the giver of a votive object came from Greece. It could provide the answer to the question of double inscriptions on the fragment of an Attic red-figured skyphos found in Gravisca. Under the stem there is Etruscan graffiti: '*mi turnus*' and also Greek: '*Δείακος*'. The latter is probably the giver's name (Maggiani 1997, 38). The site of Peccioli-Ortaglia had a much more Etruscan character. There were no Hellenic influences there. The site probably developed at the beginning of the 6th century BC and functioned to the end of the 4th century BC. Research has been conducted on this site since the 1990s but the foundations of the temple have not even been discovered yet, which may signify that the temple was totally destroyed because of agricultural work. The fragments of around 130 Attic red-figured vases, many black vernice and Apulian vases were discovered in two areas: in the sacrificial well, *favissa* (so-called Area A) and at the foot of the hill (Area B). The list of fragments mentioned indicates that votive objects were chosen on the basis of shapes and function because huge vases like stamnoi, kraters or amphorae are very rare whereas there are many plates, cups and skyphoi. They were made in different workshops: in those of Makron, Marley Painter, Eretria Painter, Jena Painter, Meleager Painter, The Fat Boy Group, Group from Vienna

116 and from the circle of Penthesileia Painter. An especially precious vase is the kylix found in a favissa, decorated by Makron and bearing his signature: 'ἱερὸν ἐποίησεν' (inv. no. 244410, Museo Archeologico di Peccioli). The cup was an extraordinary thing in the sanctuary because it was treated in a special way – the cup was repaired twice (the signs are on the stem and in the middle of the calyx) (Bruni 2004, 26-46, 55-56; Bruni 2007, 226-229; Cateni 2007, 114, 118, 120-121, 125).

When we began the analysis of the ceramics from temenos, one thing became problematic: the selection of decoration on votive vases. We do not know whether the scene was chosen by accident (depending only on the giver's choice) or if it was imposed by the rules of a sacred place. In my opinion, we should consider the possibility of the existence of a connection between decorations and the fact that the vases were sacrificed to an Etruscan god. Generally, there are not many artifacts which we can classify as votive objects. Most red-figured products from Athenian Kerameikos were found in Etruscan tombs. They date back to the period between the 6th and the 4th century BC. They were well examined so they were often used as a clue to the chronology of tombs (Nogara 1936, 53; Bianchi Bandinelli 1976, 28).

The Etruscans gave their deceased relatives many more things than the Greeks. Apart from benches for ashes and bodies they left rich offerings (not only ceramic but also bronze articles and jewellery). As an example we can take all the sets from the tombs in the necropoleis of Spina: Valle Trebba and Valle Pega. In Tarquinia the number of vases is highest when the aristocracy decided to build chamber tombs for their families. The tombs are decorated with wall paintings and date back to the 5th and the 4th century BC. They not only used the vases to decorate the tombs but they also used them as urns (Spivey 1995, 147-148; Scullard 1998, 114). During the 6th century BC the black-figured amphorae were used in this way. Later, red-figured vases also had this function but to a lesser degree. From the 4th century BC, the inhabitants of Volaterrae treated red-figured column kraters as urns. The kraters were made in local workshops and were decorated with heads in profile or with Dionysian scenes (Maggiani 2007, 139). In Caere, a Nolan amphora, which dates back to the late Archaic period, and two pelikai from the middle of 5th century BC were discovered. Both types of vases were used as urns. It is worth mentioning that pelikai had a similar function in Attica, in the south-eastern part of Sicily, in Puglia and in Naples (De la Genière 1987, 204-206). Another example is the magnificent amphora of Phintias with a scene of struggle for a tripod between Heracles and Apollo

(now kept in Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale di Tarquinia, inv. no. RC6843) (Arias 1962, 318). It was also a container for ashes. Usually Attic vases – urns – come from tombs with many chambers built for a whole family. Unfortunately, they were discovered and researched in the 18th and the 19th century, so much information about the function of vases has disappeared irretrievably. If we assume that some vases were used as urns then we face the problem of the nationality of a dead person who could be a Greek *metoikos* in Etruria, like Demaratus from Corinth. As ancient sources say, Demaratus married an Etruscan woman (Plin. *HN* 35.152) and was probably buried in her family tomb, but in the Greek traditional way (De la Genière 1987, 204-206). Theoretically, such situations could have happened a few centuries later when many Greek citizens immigrated to Etruria.

The fact that the majority of Attic vases were discovered in Etruscan tombs could have one simple reason – the state of research. In Tyrrhenian Etruria around 60% of Attic pottery was found in tombs (in the Po Valley this number reaches almost 80%) (Cook 1960, 218; Spivey 1995, 149; Werner 2005, 50). There is a hypothesis that some vases were made as gifts for the deceased (Brun and Williams 1995, 126; Johnston 1995, 214; Spivey 1995, 138). Some researchers consider the possibility of imports (for instance from Greece to Spina) of sets of vases as gifts for tombs. There is no doubt that Spina possesses the largest agglomeration of red-figured vases in Northern Italy. The city was not only an intermediary for other sites but it also bought vases for its citizens (Alfieri and Arias 1955, 11; Johnston 1995, 214; Guzzo 1995b, 84; Scullard 1998, 210).

In the necropoleis of Spina – Valle Trebba and Valle Pega – over 4000 tombs were discovered. We know that Etruscans, Greeks and Veneti lived in the city but it is impossible to distinguish who a buried person was. The tombs which contained atypical shapes of vases are probably Hellenic because their contents is analogous to that discovered on Greek territory. These types of vases are white-ground lekythoi from T. 136C and T. 1049 in the cemetery of Valle Pega and lebes gemikos from T. 1166 in Valle Trebba (Malnati 1995, 175). On the other hand, it could be the tomb of a person who was interested in Greek customs. The possibility that a buried person came from Greece is also real in tombs where Greek inscriptions were found. The majority of these graves date back to the period between 475-350 BC and the Greek inscriptions represent only a quarter (over 24%) of graffiti present on vases from Spina (Alfieri and Aurigemma 1961, 17; Colonna 1995, 135).

The furnishing of tombs was constantly changing. First of all, the size of vases was reduced. In the first days of the use of the necropolis, the tombs contained one or two bigger vases and a few smaller cups. In the next century there were smaller vases like askoi, oinochoai and plates. In the earliest tombs, apart from red-figured vases, black figured ones made in the period between 500-470 BC were found. There are also so-called bilingual vases which were made using both techniques. They came from Spina, for instance from T. 125. Among the red-figured vases dating back to the 5th century BC are the antiquities of the most famous craftsmen, like the pelike of Berlin Painter with the figure of a lion and a lioness on the neck (inv. no. 1234, Museo Archeologico di Spina, Ferrara), the calyx-krater of Niobid Painter with the Dionysian scene and gigantomachy (inv. no. 2891, Museo Archeologico di Spina, Ferrara) or the cup of Penthesileia Painter with a picture of Zeus kidnapping young Ganymede (inv. no. 9351, Museo Archeologico di Spina, Ferrara) (Alfieri and Aurigemma 1961, 17, 19, 21; D'Aversa 1986, 29). As I have noted, they came from different tombs and they were not part of sets left in the tombs. In the latest graves, vases made in the same workshop were found; they were possibly made as sets. In the first half of the 4th century BC the Alto-Adriatic workshops, which imitated the Attic style, started to function. The tombs dating back to the end of the 4th century BC were equipped with both types of pottery – local and Attic red-figured vases. As the chronology of vases shows the latter were imported earlier and were probably used in daily life before they were put in tombs. In the 4th and the 3rd century BC Faliscan and South Etruscan products were imported to the Po Valley. The conquest of these areas by Gauls led to the end of economic development and trade with Greece (Sassatelli 1995, 216; Dräger 2000, 110; Gilotta 2000, 158, Torelli 2005, 210).

A number of arguments support the hypothesis of the importation of vases to furnish tombs. The first of them is the decoration of Attic vases found in Etruria. Frequently occurring motifs are the Dionysian scene, *thiasos*, satyrs chasing maenads, banquet scenes and women surrounding Dionysos. These types of decorations were made because Etruscans took over the cult of Dionysos and regarded him not only as the god of wine and fecundity but also as the patron promising the resurrection to his believers. Dionysos played a similar role in the Greek cities of Southern Italy (Spivey 1999, 166; Papuci-Władyka 2001, 335; Avramidou 2006, 572). It could explain why vases with Dionysian scenes and vases used during funeral banquets were left in tombs. In recent years G. Collonna (1999, 120) has formed a hypothesis based on material from the cemeteries in Vulci. The researcher supposed that

in the cities where Dionysos was worshipped, Etruscans preferred to import vases which they could use during the banquet called *mystai* – the initiation to the Dionysian mysteries. After the religious ceremony, believers took their pots, which could then become their tableware in the hereafter. It was a kind of ‘souvenir’, which attested to their participation in the mysteries and gave them a pass to eternity. In an analogical way, scenes with the triad from Eleusis could be explained. Persephone and Demeter (Etruscans took over the cults of both goddesses) are connected with the Underground in Greek mythology (Haynes 2005, 356). Other popular scenes on Greek vases found in Etruria are fights – gigantomachy, amazonomachy, *Ilioupersis*, struggles between heroes or scenes from palestra, connected with sport. They could be understood as the fights during Etruscan funerals. The Panathenaic amphorae mentioned earlier could prove this thesis. They very often had the Etruscan inscriptions: ‘*suthina*’/‘*suthia*’, which means ‘belonged to the tomb’ (Richter 1959, 20; Johnston 1995, 216-217; Spivey 1995, 143; Avramidou 2006, 575). On one side they were decorated with sport scenes which resembled the funeral fights on the wall paintings in Etruscan tombs. The next argument that could prove the idea about using vases as the furnishing of tombs is the graffiti ‘*Xarus*’ on the stem of a bilingual cup of Onesimos (inv. no. F 126, Louvre). The dedication is read as ‘for Charun’, Etruscan demon of death. On this basis the next hypothesis is formed: that ceramics were not gifts for the deceased but were a kind of Greek obolos for Charon. The dedications to Hermes as Psychopompos could be similarly interpreted (Malnati 1995, 165; Maggiani 1997, 41). However, the problem is that the cup of Oltos is the only inscription of this type amongst hundreds of other examples of graffiti on vases from tombs. We do not even know the site where the cup was found. Due to the lack of information the cup is not a convincing piece of evidence. A strong counter-argument is the existence of fees for transport to the hereafter in many tombs. There were *aes rude* in the right hand of the deceased and they were usually found in the necropoleis of Spina (Guzzo 1995a, 224; Malnati 1995, 169). At first glance the hypotheses could be interesting but there are also many flaws in them. Firstly, in Etruria, not only vases used during banquets or the vases with Dionysian battle or sport scenes were discovered. Secondly, this interpretation of decoration assumes that Etruscans completely misunderstood what was painted on the Greek pottery if they interpreted amazonomachy or *Ilioupersis* as funeral fighting. It is worth mentioning that a lot of figures painted on vases are described, such as Heracles. It is difficult to imagine that Etruscans would not be aware of the story

of Heracles, especially considering that they accepted him in their pantheon as Heracle. Another argument proving that Etruscans knew what was painted on the vases is the decoration of Etruscan red-figured pottery on which we can see the *Ilioupersis*, the death of Ajax, the quarrel for Attica between Athena and Poseidon, the expedition of the Argonauts or the grappling of Peleus with Thetis. Moreover, Etruscans also described the figures on their vases but they did it very rarely. They probably adopted this idea from Attic vases (Cook 1960, 255). There is also the possibility that Etruscans did not understand some myths, as we cannot guess their significance even today.

The author of the first Polish work on Greek pottery, K. Bulas (1933, 15-16), claimed that from the middle of the 6th century BC Attic imports to rich Etruria were used as the decoration of residences, as containers for perfumes and oils and finally they were taken to tombs. Although it is an old work, I think that Bulas was right in his explanation of the purpose of importing ceramics. A strong argument against the use of Attic ceramics as tomb furnishing is, as I have just mentioned, the custom of repairing damaged vases (Alfieri and Arias 1955, 11; Burn and Williams 1995, 126; Johnston 1995, 241; Spivey 1995, 138). If they were damaged it could mean that they were used in daily life. Moreover, they could be used for a long time because in particular tombs in both parts of Etruria we can discover vases made during different time periods. Perhaps they were used in the home before they were left in tombs. Banquet vases could be used on every occasion when their owner decided to host a party, not only during the funeral banquet of the owner.

Little vases were found in the tombs of children. Among them there were small *lekythoi*, *aryballoi* or *choes* with a trefoil mouth. Most of them have decorations connected with infant games and they come, for instance, from Adria (inv. no. 32012) and from Spina (T. 564, inv. no. 16163). On the *chous* from T. 564 there is a picture of a naked child hauling a wheeled toy. The vase dates back to c. 420 BC. Toys were also found in the graves of children (for instance in tombs T. 425, T. 457, T. 671, T. 1024) (Alfieri and Arias 1955, 24-25; Alfieri and Aurigemma 1961, 22; Berti 1995, 44). I think that the primary aim of these *choes* was similar to the aim of analogical jugs in Athens where they were used during the *Antesteria* feasts and they were connected with the initiation of three-year-old children (Richter and Milne 1935, 19; Kanowski 1984, 110). Perhaps when a child died before this moment, the *chous* was left in his or her tomb. The undecorated *kernoi* also had a ritual character. One of them was found in T. 3A in Valle Trebba.

It was popular in the Po Valley. In Athens it served during rituals connected with chthonic cults, for instance the cults of Demeter and Kore in Eleusis. There is a possibility that the cults of both goddesses were popularised in Etruria by Greeks and they were also popular in the Po Valley. This could be the reason for the purchase of these atypical vases (Malnati 1995, 169-173).

Many questions arise during the analysis of vases from Northern and Central Italy. Why was the majority of Attic pottery found in tombs? Were the vases imported as a ballast or were they imported specially? How long was pottery used before it was left in tombs? Was it perhaps imported for funeral ceremonies? (Beard and Robertson 1995, 19). All these questions have no clear answers. We can only speculate on them and form personal opinions. Mine has been presented within this article.

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