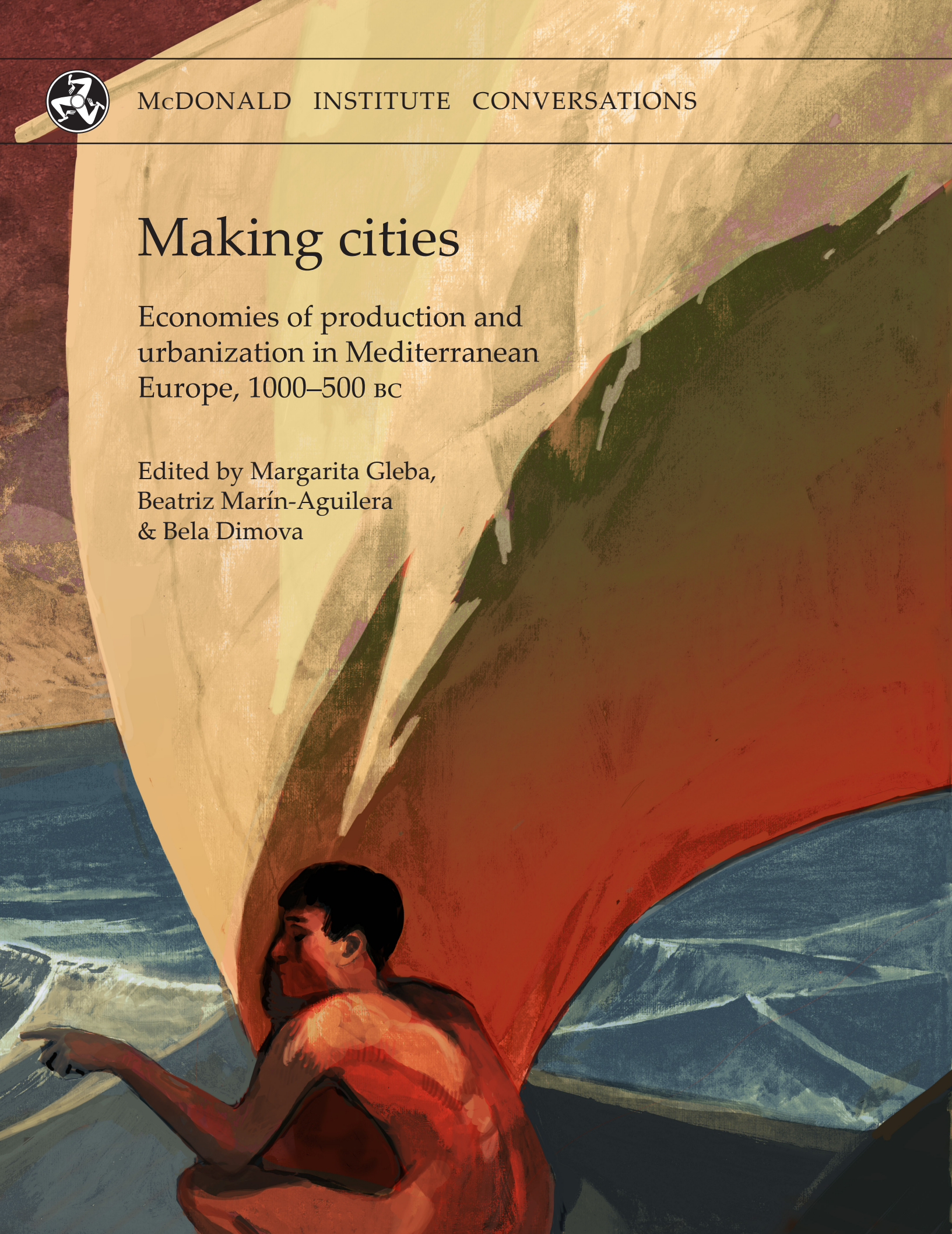

McDONALD INSTITUTE CONVERSATIONS

Making cities

Economies of production and urbanization in Mediterranean Europe, 1000–500 BC

Edited by Margarita Gleba,
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Contents

Contributors

David Alensio
Departament de Prehistòria, Història Antiga i Arqueologia, Universitat de Barcelona, C/ Montalegre 6-8, 08001 Barcelona, Spain
Email: davidasensio@ub.edu

Laura Álvarez Estapé
Independent scholar
Email: laura.alvarezestape@gmail.com

Giovanna Bagnasco Gianni
Dipartimento di Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Università degli Studi di Milano, via Festa del Perdono 7, 20122 Milano, Italy
Email: giovanna.bagnasco@unimi.it

William Balco
Department of History, Anthropology, and Philosophy, University of North Georgia, Barnes Hall 327, Dahlonega, GA 30597, USA
Email: william.balco@ung.edu

Lesley Beaumont
Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences, The University of Sydney, A18, Sydney, NSW 2006, Australia
Email: lesley.beaumont@sydney.edu.au

Jeffrey Becker
Department of Middle Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Studies, Binghamton University – State University of New York, 4400 Vestal Parkway East, PO Box 6000, Binghamton, NY 13902-6000, USA
Email: beckerj@binghamton.edu

Zisis Bonias
Ephorate of Antiquities of Kavala-Thasos, Erythrou Stavrou 17, Kavala 65110, Greece
Email: zbonias@yahoo.gr

Simona Carosi
Soprintendenza Archeologia Belle Arti e Paesaggio per l'area metropolitana di Roma, la provincia di Viterbo e l'Etruria meridionale, Palazzo Patrizi Clementi, via Cavalletti n.2, 00186 Roma, Italy
Email: simona.carosi@beniculturali.it

Letizia Ceccarelli
Department of Chemistry, Materials and Chemical Engineering 'G.Natta', Politecnico di Milano, Piazza Leonardo da Vinci 32, 20133 Milano, Italy
Email: letizia.ceccarelli@polimi.it

Bela Dimova
British School at Athens, Souidias 52, Athens 10676, Greece
Email: bela.dimova@bsa.ac.uk

Manuel Fernández-Götz
School of History, Classics and Archaeology, University of Edinburgh, William Robertson Wing, Old Medical School, Teviot Place, Edinburgh, EH8 9AG, UK
Email: M.Fernandez-Gotz@ed.ac.uk

Eric Gailledrat
CNRS, Archéologie des Sociétés Méditerranéennes, UMR 5140, Université Paul Valéry-Montpellier 3, F-34199, Montpellier cedex 5, France
Email: eric.gailledrat@cnrs.fr

Giovanna Gambacurta
Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici, Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Palazzo Malcanton Marcorà, Dorsoduro 3484/D, 30123 Venezia, Italy
Email: giovanna.gambacurta@unive.it

David Garcia I Rubert
Departament de Prehistòria, Història Antiga i Arqueologia, Universitat de Barcelona, Carrer Montalegre 6, 08001 Barcelona, Spain
Email: dgarciar@ub.edu

Margarita Gleba
Dipartimento dei Beni Culturali, Università degli Studi di Padova, Piazza Capitaniato 7, Palazzo Liviano, 35139 Padova, Italy
Email: margarita.gleba@unipd.it

Karina Grömer
Natural History Museum Vienna, Department of Prehistory, Burgring 7, 1010 Vienna, Austria
Email: karina.groemer@nhm-wien.ac.at

Javier Jiménez Ávila
Consejería de Cultura, Turismo y Deporte – Junta de Extremadura, Edificio Tercer Milenio, Módulo 4, Avda. de Valhondo s/n, 06800 Mérida, Spain
Email: jjimavila@hotmail.com

Rafel Journet
Departament de Prehistòria, Història Antiga i Arqueologia, Universitat de Barcelona, C/ Montalegre 6-8, 08001 Barcelona, Spain
Email: rafeljornet@ub.edu

Michael Kolb
Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Metropolitan State University of Denver, Campus Box 19, P.O. Box 173362, Denver, CO 80217-3362, USA
Email: mkolb5@msudenver.edu

Antonis Kotsonas
Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University, 15 East 84th St., New York, NY 10028, USA
Email: ak7509@nyu.edu

Emanuele Madrigali
Independent scholar
Email: e.madrigali@gmail.com

Beatriz Marín-Aguilera
McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge, Downing Street, Cambridge CB2 3DZ, UK
Email: bm499@cam.ac.uk

Matilde Marzullo
Coordinating Research Centre 'Tarquinia Project', Dipartimento di Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Università degli Studi di Milano, via Festa del Perdono 7, 20122 Milano, Italy
Email: matilde.marzullo@unimi.it

Francesco Meo
Dipartimento di Beni Culturali, Università del Salento, Via D. Birago, 64, 73100 Lecce, Italy
Email: francesco.meo@unisalento.it

Paolo Michelini
P.ET.R.A., Società Cooperativa ARL, Via Matera, 7 a/b, 35143 Padova, Italy
Email: paolo.mik@libero.it

Albert Nijboer
Groningen Institute of Archaeology, Poststraat 6, 9712 ER Groningen, The Netherlands
Email: a.j.nijboer@rug.nl

Robin Osborne
University of Cambridge, Faculty of Classics, Sidgwick Avenue, Cambridge CB3 9DA, UK
Email: ro225@cam.ac.uk

Phil Perkins
Classical Studies, School of Arts & Humanities, The Open University, Perry C Second Floor, 25, Walton Hall, Milton Keynes MK7 6AA, UK
Email: Phil.Perkins@open.ac.uk

Jacques Perreault
Université de Montréal C.P. 6128, Succursale Centre-Ville Montréal, QC, H3C 3J7, Canada
Email: jacques.y.perreault@umontreal.ca

Claudia Piazzi
Coordinating Research Centre 'Tarquinia Project', Dipartimento di Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Università degli Studi di Milano, via Festa del Perdono 7, 20122 Milano, Italy
Email: claudia.piazzi2@gmail.com

Karl Reber
Université de Lausanne, Anthropole 4011, 1015 Lausanne, Switzerland
Email: karl.reber@unil.ch

Carlo Regoli
Fondazione Vulci, Parco Naturalistico Archeologico di Vulci, 01014 Montalto di Castro (Viterbo), Italy
Email: caregoli@gmail.com

Corinna Riva
Institute of Archaeology, University College London, 31–34 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PY, UK
Email: c.riva@ucl.ac.uk

Andrea Roppa
Independent scholar
Email: roppaandrea@gmail.com

Marisa Ruiz-Gálvez
Departamento de Prehistoria, Historia Antigua y Arqueología, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Edificio B C/ Profesor Aranguren, s/n Ciudad Universitaria, 28040 Madrid, Spain
Email: marisar.gp@ghis.ucm.es

Joan Sanmartí Grego
Departament de Prehistòria, Història Antiga i Arqueologia, Universitat de Barcelona, Carrer Montalegre 6, 08001 Barcelona, Spain
Email: sanmarti@ub.edu

Christopher Smith
School of Classics, University of St Andrews, Fife KY16 9AL, UK
Email: cjs6@st-and.ac.uk

Simon Stoddart
Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge, Downing Street, Cambridge CB2 3DZ, UK
Email: ss16@cam.ac.uk

Despoina Tsiafaki
Culture & Creative Industries Department, 'Athena': Research & Innovation Center in Information, Communication & Knowledge Technologies. Building of 'Athena' R.C., University Campus of Kimmeria, P.O. Box 159, Xanthi 67100, Greece
Email: tsiafaki@ipet.gr

Anthony Tuck
Department of Classics, University of Massachusetts Amherst, 524 Herter Hall, 161 Presidents Drive Amherst, MA 01003, USA
Email: atuck@classics.umass.edu

Ioulia Tzonou
Corinth Excavations, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Ancient Corinth 20007, Greece
Email: itzonou.corinth@ascsa.edu.gr

Massimo Vidale
Dipartimento dei Beni Culturali, Università degli Studi di Padova, Piazza Capitaniato 7, Palazzo Liviano, 35139 Padova, Italy
Email: massimo.vidale@unipd.it

Jaime Vives-Ferrándiz Sanchez
Museu de Prehistòria de València
Email: jaime.vivesferrandiz@dival.es

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Chapter 16

Commodities, the instability of the gift, and the codification of cultural encounters in Archaic southern Etruria

Corinna Riva

Tyrrhenian southern Etruria between the seventh and sixth centuries BC is often characterized as a growing urban society in a phase of transition between a prestige, elite-centred and a commercial economy, which consequently led to deep social change and a more complex social fabric (Perkins 2012, 422–3; Torelli 2016). While scholars recognize variations from city to city in the modes, timing and consequences of this transition, this picture for Archaic Etruria has crystallized and gone unchallenged for two interrelated reasons: firstly, the data available undoubtedly indicate growing mobility and trade in the region, from the establishment of *emporia* or trading posts where mixed trading communities thrived, to the movement of goods, largely detected through the distribution of Etruscan and non-Etruscan fine and coarse ware within and beyond the region (Gori 2006; Gran-Aymerich 2013), as well as a burgeoning productive economy visible in the ceramic record and in the growth of rural sites in the cities' hinterland (Rendeli 1993; Cifani 2015; also see Perkins in this volume). Indeed, this scenario of growing connectivity is common to the broader central Mediterranean region, and has been long recognized by scholarship (e.g. Gras 1985; 1993; 2010; Capdetrey & Zurbach 2012). However, and this is the second reason, much of the evidence in Etruria is of a specific nature and somewhat inadequate to understand this transition in depth: the monumental or simply non-domestic context and fine ware are often the evidence of choice for analysis; archival documentation, especially of older excavations, is often poor and limited to tomb contexts, as strikingly noted for Vulci where not so long ago the contextual information for imported Archaic Attic fineware was limited to fifty tomb groups over thousands of excavated other tombs (Reusser 2002, 148–9; 2004, 148); and aside from rare exceptions (Perkins 1999; cf. Neri 2014 for the Tyrrhenian region as a whole), transport, storage containers and other coarseware are still awaiting systematic examination across sites within Etruria, while the application of scientific methods to these containers or other vessels is limited despite the widely acknowledged benefit of scientific analysis to archaeological problems (e.g. Villing & Mommsen 2017). Our knowledge on the rural economy, furthermore, is largely landscape-based: while archaeological surveys have given us some key insights, the number of excavated farm sites is minimal and certainly insufficient to understand the workings of and changes in local production across the region and beyond the Albegna River valley, the only valley that has received serious scholarly attention in this respect (Perkins 1999; Zifferrero *et al.* 2010). We are ultimately unable to adequately assess the changes in local production in relation to the impact it had upon social relations.

That relations changed in southern Etruscan society is apparent particularly from the epigraphic evidence (Maras 2009; Torelli 2016, 31–2), and while we await results from more studies that gather and systematically analyse other archaeological – organic and inorganic – material to reconstruct the Archaic economy in detail as the *PROCON* project has done (Gleba & Laurito 2017; Gleba *et al*. forthcoming), I would like to devote this chapter to problematizing the current picture of urban growth in the (economic) transition in Archaic southern Etruria. Building on a previous article (Riva 2017), I wish to explore further the relationship between gift and commodity and therefore value (*sensu* Graeber) in order to contribute to our understanding of changing social relations and exchange. By value I mean the relationship between the values of objects and the 'social value' or worldviews of groups whose social production and reproduction is linked to material production; hence, objects' values are not simply created in exchange, but are also

conditioned by that social value that gives meaning to social relations (Graeber 2001). My suggestion, based on the acknowledgement that there is no such thing as a pure gift or commercial economy (Bourdieu 1977, 171–2; Appadurai 1986, 11–13; Munn 1986; Graeber 2001), is that the sixth century BC in Etruria is characterized by an acute oscillation between gift and commodity, itself a result of growing agricultural exploitation and the reconfiguration of social relations, rather than solely burgeoning trade. Neo-Maussian anthropology has repeatedly emphasized the instability of the gift, that is, the constant potential fluctuation of the status of objects between gift and commodity as they are used by social actors in exchange, whether with other fellow humans, the dead or the deity (Keane 1994; Miyazaki 2010, 251–4); where the nature of the exchange is ambiguous or uncertain, social action is geared towards drawing clear distinctions between the two (Gregory 2015, xxxix).

I have previously argued (Riva 2017) that, as this fluctuation was enhanced by cross-cultural exchange at the *emporia*, commensal sociality, whether in funerary, religious or domestic contexts, underwent codification, visible in the material culture of drinking. Codification, in turn, crystallized cultural difference: one has to be aware of cultural difference in order to understand cultural codes, particularly in multicultural spaces such as emporic sanctuaries. Commensality offers the most appropriate occasions for displaying that awareness, which was socially exclusive and thus a marker of social distinction. Furthermore, commensality was closely intertwined with agricultural production and surplus exploitation: the latter provided at once the means of ritualized drinking and of social power that was communicated in cultic and funerary ritual. This is seen primarily, but not exclusively, in the merging of a rural deity, *Fufluns*, into the Greek Dionysos, whose cult was itself socially restricted after being introduced in Etruria and the Tyrrhenian region more broadly (Cristofani & Martelli 1978; Baglione 1998, 88; Maras 2000, 132–3; Cerchiai & Cuozzo 2016). This is also the moment, as we shall see, when violence expands from the 'cultural other' to the 'social other': figurative evidence shows a shift from the depiction of violence in cross-cultural encounters to the depiction of hospitality and its norms, knowledge of which established and maintained barriers against the social other. This shift, itself related to the oscillation of different regimes of value, had to do with symbolic violence; whether that corresponded with physical violence we can only surmise due to the lack of bio-archaeological data (cf. Perego 2016 for a study on the potential of these data), but these social changes have to be understood within the growth of Etruscan cities and their economies.

My argument and the structure of this chapter revolve around three sets of evidence in order to defend my proposition: first, the funerary deposition of locally produced transport *amphorae*, a phenomenon seen largely at Vulci and its hinterland, which indicates an evolving funerary ideology in relation to the production and movement of agricultural surplus. Secondly, the production and use of large and oversize drinking and libation cups that points to the ritualization of these vessels and the oscillation of their gift and commodity status, which is related to novel forms of cult, including that of Dionysos, promoted by transcultural emporic worship. Thirdly, the iconographic evidence of mythological narratives that stress knowledge of cultural difference and norms, and the violence ensuing from transgressing these norms.

Agricultural surplus and a new funerary ideology

The impact of the production and exploitation of agricultural surplus upon changing social relations is visible in the funerary deposition of Etruscan transport *amphorae*, a custom that, as far as we can tell from the published evidence, is mostly restricted to Vulci and its hinterland, with some examples coming from Cerveteri, Chiusi and Orvieto (Nardi & Pandolfini 1985, 61; Rizzo 1990). Unpublished and newly excavated examples at Vulci confirm this pattern (Regoli pers. comm.), and the concentration of tomb groups with these *amphorae* to one of the main urban cemeteries, the Osteria necropolis (on the latest finds: Carosi & Regoli 2013 and in this volume), is notable. In the published tomb groups, particularly those from Vulci and its hinterland, the *amphorae* are associated with a banqueting set normally composed of low-handled cups, mostly *kylikes*, and mostly of Ionian type (in a couple of cases, a *bucchero* version), high-handled cups, *kantharoi* more often than *kyathoi*, although they are sometimes deposited together, *bucchero* chalices, *olpai* and *oinochoai* of various ceramic type and ware (Etrusco-Corinthian, *bucchero* and Corinthian), oil containers (Corinthian and Etrusco-Corinthian), and rarely *lekythoi*, *impasto ollae* and plates (Rizzo 1990, 93–157). It is difficult to ascertain whether this is a regular set of contextual associations given that many of these tomb groups were looted, but it is likely. Indeed, there is a notable exception at the Osteria *necropolis*: this is a slightly later tomb group (date: 520–510 BC), a small chamber tomb within a Vulcentean *cassone*-type tomb, Tomb 47, currently unpublished, the Tomba del Guerriero, so called for the amount of weaponry which is unmatched in other contemporary *cassone* tombs. The tomb holds a typically Vulcentean, if somewhat exceedingly rich, banqueting set with Attic imported

fineware, frequent in tomb groups from the middle of the sixth century, and oversize drinking cups, to which I will return, but, untypically for that date, a locally produced transport *amphora* (Hoffmann 2004, 42, 106–7, Kat. I/133; Bundrick 2015, 316–18).

The custom of depositing storage/transport containers for agricultural produce in tombs is not new: from the first decade of the seventh to the first half of the sixth century BC, imported transport *amphorae* were deposited in tombs, mostly, from the published record, at Vulci and Cerveteri, with two examples coming from Veii (Rizzo 1990, 22–3); some of these *amphorae* were inscribed (Cordano 2007). This custom is suggestive of the ability, of the social group to whom the deceased belonged, to import new foodstuffs that was integrated with the adoption and ostentation of new eating and drinking practices at the tomb, which I have previously interpreted as new body technologies (Riva 2010, 146–50). Seventh-century BC lavish tomb groups also feature *impasto* storage jars of various types, from the heavily decorated *pithoi* at Cerveteri (Serra Ridgway 2010), to the rather plain ones and the very large *ollae* decorated with vertical ribs and painted decoration found at Vulci and elsewhere (Medori 2012; Regoli 2014, 75). The difference between these storage containers, however, and the transport *amphorae* that were purposely shaped and manufactured for exchange and redistribution, is notable. Considering the inscriptions that some examples of both types of containers bear helps us further elucidate this difference. Examples of the former come from the coastal hilltop settlement of La Castellina del Marangone, north of Cerveteri, where a homogeneous group of *ollae* and *pithoi* of 670–640 BC date was found in a specific sector of the *acropolis* of the settlement; many of these containers were inscribed after being fired, leading to the hypothesis that the inscriptions were functional to the containers' content, particularly because the jars were stocked in a storage room probably associated with a space destined for wine consumption such as a banqueting room (Gran-Aymerich & Hadas-Lebel 2011, 893–904). By contrast, the few, so-called 'speaking' inscriptions of Etruscan transport *amphorae* deposited in tombs, which are dated from the end of the seventh century BC, mostly display the linguistic formula *mi* + gentilicial name that indicates ownership, which we also find emphasized by the Attic inscriptions on the imported transport *amphorae* (Cordano 2007, 27), except for one, from Montalto di Castro near Vulci, which displays the word *mulu*, reference to gift giving (Bagnasco Gianni 1996, 215–18). These inscriptions, in other words, turned a vessel that, by virtue of its shape and function, was an object for redistribution and exchange, into a personal possession or gift.

Significantly, most inscribed Etruscan *amphorae* from tombs come from Vulci and its environs, except for one from the Maddaloni necropolis of Calatia in Campania, which may have also come from Vulci (Gras 1985, 359; Pellegrino 2017, 229). Furthermore, all but one inscription are painted, that is, they were placed at the pre-firing stage; only one, from Tomb 132 at the Osteria necropolis, was engraved (Martelli 1982, 287). The inscriptions, in other words, fixed, so to speak, the status of the object at the point of manufacture; yet, they also raise the question for our interpretation about what the object of personal possession and gift was – either the container, its content, or both – and whether, in fact, the inscription put the vessel, rather than the content, out of a commodity regime (Robb 2018 on the relationship between container and content). Whichever the case, whether the content or the container was the subject of these 'speaking' inscriptions, the oscillation between gift and commodity of the Etruscan transport *amphora* is noteworthy, as is the message underlying a new funerary ideology that matched urban growth and denser trade networks in the broader region. Social power was emphasized at the tomb not solely in the advertisement of the production of agricultural surplus, as is the case with the deposition of storage containers, but, more crucially, in the ability to produce and move that surplus near or long distance. That the custom of depositing locally produced transport *amphorae* began at the same time as their earliest export to southern France (Dedet & Py 2006, 130), and had ended by the time large farm installations were established (Riva 2017, 242) with the sole exception, as far as I know, of the aforementioned Tomba del Guerriero and the later Tomb 61 bis, also at Osteria and unpublished (Riccioni 2003, 15), gives support to this interpretation. The example of Panathenaic *amphorae* with ownership inscriptions and evidence of the sale and or gift of the oil from them in the Greek world offers an interesting parallel, which can throw further light upon the fluctuating status of objects in Archaic Etruria since, aside from a few isolated pieces, the presence of these *amphorae* across Etruria – 16 according to Bentz (1998, 226, 228) – is exclusively restricted to Vulci where some examples bear so-called commercial graffiti (Bentz 1998, 92, 111–12, 116–18).

Oversize vessels and fixing the gift

A second set of material that demonstrates the instability of the gift-commodity status of exchange objects is the distinctly Archaic Etruscan (and Greek) practice of producing and using oversize drinking cups, namely cups whose diameter is equal or above 25 cm. In

Athens, the production of oversize *kylikes* and *phialai*, which is small in proportion to that of other vessels of similar shapes, is also a sixth- and fifth-century BC phenomenon (Tsingarida 2020). Importantly, the distribution of Attic oversize drinking vessels, from *kantharoi*, to cups to *kylikes*, shows a particular preference for these vessels, particularly the cups and the *kantharoi*, in Etruria, especially at Vulci and Tarquinia (Tsingarida 2011, 65–7). In her studies on this Athenian production, Athena Tsingarida (2009; 2011; 2020) sees these vessels as unfit for drinking by humans given that some of them could reach 56 cm in diameter, and links them to cult, particularly the feasts of the *Theoxenia* where their use was reserved to heroes and gods. In Etruscan social settings, she argues, later examples from tomb groups at Foiano and Spina may have to do with the heroization of the deceased (Tsingarida 2014, 67–9; 2020, 259), and perhaps the gods' participation in the funerary banquet: two cups and three *phialai* bearing Etruscan inscriptions of deities and heroes come from tomb contexts, including the renowned cup at Tarquinia signed by Oltos and Euxitheos and dedicated to the *Dioskouroi* (Tsingarida 2009, 196–7; 2020, 264–6).

It seems reasonable to assume, along with Tsingarida (2020), that the practice of dedicating oversize cups to deities was a result of religious interaction at the sanctuaries of Etruscan *emporia* Gravisca and Pyrgi: of the few oversize cups or *phialai* that do not come from tombs – five out of 54, according to Tsingarida's analysis – four come from sanctuaries, and specifically from areas where the epigraphic and archaeological evidence points to Greek worshippers; these are the *sacellum* to Aphrodite at Gravisca and the 'area sud' of Pyrgi (Fiorini 2005; Baglione & Gentili 2013; Tsingarida 2020, 251). Epigraphic evidence at Pyrgi 'area sud' points to cults associated with *Fufluns*, Etruscan Dionysos, which, by the middle of the fifth century BC, was worshipped at urban sanctuaries in Bacchic mysteries (Tsingarida 2020, 263). These emporic sanctuaries, in fact, were not only the religious cross-cultural spaces where new practices were adopted, but also where cultural difference was enhanced, as mentioned earlier, by virtue of the multicultural environment that promoted new reciprocity relations with the deities as well as other members of the trading community (Riva 2017, 248).

That must be only one part of the story, however; another part, which we see in the Etruscan production of *bucchero* drinking cups, may have to do with the oscillation between gift and commodity that these vessels were subjected to as they acquired a commodity status in commercial transactions. *Bucchero kantharoi* and *kyathoi* were also produced as large or oversize vessels for the grave, particularly at Vulci (Belelli Marchesini 2004, 110–14), and again, with a striking concentration at the Osteria *necropolis* (Rizzo 1990, 97), from the last quarter of the seventh to the first half of the sixth century BC, namely the period that saw the beginning of the overseas export of the *bucchero kantharos*, Rasmussen type 3e (Rasmussen 1979, 104). This suggests that these vessels' transactional value did not diminish, but, on the contrary, reinforced their ritual value in drinking ceremonies (cf. Thomas 1991, 199–200), and that their large shape highlighted this ritual function, which had characterized these vessels since their appearance in earlier Iron Age *impasto* and buccheroid ceramic production (Rasmussen 1985, 35; Tonglet 2013, 42–3). Significantly, large or oversize *bucchero kantharoi* from Vulcentean tomb groups that contained Etruscan or imported transport *amphorae* were associated with a high number, up to 11 in the case of Tomb 81 from the Osteria *necropolis*, of other bucchero *kantharoi* of regular size (Rizzo 1990, tomb groups with locally produced *amphorae*: XIII, XVII, XVIII; with imported *amphorae*: XIV). The production of *bucchero kyathoi* at Vulci continues beyond the middle of the sixth century BC, even in the version that comes apart (Belelli Marchesini 2004, 114). Indeed, the association between oversize *bucchero* high-handled drinking cups and Etruscan transport *amphorae* is notable at the Tomba del Guerriero where two oversized *bucchero kyathoi* were deposited together with an Etruscan transport *amphora* and an oversize Attic eye-cup (Bundrick 2015, 317).

As mentioned above and argued by Sheramy Bundrick (2015), however, the Tomba del Guerriero is striking for other reasons, but the evidence so far examined demonstrates the entanglement that objects went through in exchange, the instability of their status that this entanglement generated, and the role that ritual had in fixing the gift and pulling out the object and/or its contents from the commodity network. This does not exclude the role of cult, as Tsingarida argued, in the use and function of these oversize vessels: in fact, religion was the very means through which those vessels became gift – dedicated to the gods or the deceased – and their status was stabilized. However, this was by no means the adoption of an Athenian practice; the oversize cups and *phialai* that Athenian potters and painters produced for the Etruscan market may have, in fact, responded to an already established (Etruscan?) practice.

Codification in the encounter

The third set of evidence, which I would like to discuss, is iconographic and highlights the socio-cultural context in which the gift-commodity fluctuation so

Figure 16.1. *White-on-red* pithos *with lid, Cerveteri (courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program).*

far examined took place. In this context, as mentioned above, commensal politics emphasized codified behaviour, which in turn promoted the occasions for controlling the status of the gift. This emphasis is seen in a shift in the iconography of cross-cultural encounters, which, in the seventh century BC, is represented largely by reference to violence and danger, primarily, in the surviving evidence, through the depiction of the blinding of Polyphemos by Odysseus and his companions, visible on the renowned Aristonothos krater (Bagnasco Gianni 2007) and the Getty white-on-red *pithos* (Fig. 16.1) (Micozzi 2005). Reference to this episode, paradigmatic of the violation of hospitality or *xenia* relations, is indirectly found on the two equally renowned Pania *pixides* (Cristofani 1971): the fragmented so-called second Pania *pyxis* displays the escape of Odysseus and his companions from the cyclops' cave, and, above, on a very poorly preserved middle frieze, unarmed Geryon leading his cattle (Cristofani 1971, pl. XXXV), a reference to Herakles' theft of the cattle that was one of the hero's labours narrated in the *Geryoneis*, the lyric poem composed by Archaic Sicilian poet Stesichorus (Finglass & Davies 2014, 230–98). The better-preserved earlier Pania *pyxis* displays the same escape scene moving towards a ship, itself directed towards a three-headed monster (Menichetti 1994, 85; d'Agostino 1995, 206). The stealing of Geryon's cattle is arguably another mythical narrative of cultural encounter steeped in violence. However, recent studies of Stesichorus' poem have argued that the poem's portrayal of Geryon is not in distinct opposition to Herakles, but is rather one of a tragic hero modelled on the Homeric epic (Franzen 2009; Fantuzzi 2013; see Finglass & Davies 2014, 34). In whichever way the characterization of Geryon *vis-à-vis* his encounter with Herakles may have been perceived, therefore, it is very unlike the characterization of Polyphemos.

Indeed, Stesichorus' characterization of Geryon as an armed hero with helmet and shield (Noussia-Fantuzzi 2013, 250) recurs in figurative depictions, the earliest ones of which, dating from the mid- to late seventh century BC, are few and mostly from the Aegean (Brize 1988; Moore 2013, 42; Finglass & Davies 2014, 231–3). Later Archaic depictions, on the other hand, are more frequent, and a significant number comes from Etruria, from the early sixth-century ivory *pyxis* mentioned above, to an isolated unprovenanced late sixth-century BC bronze statuette (Brize 1988, 187, no. 5), and scenes painted on several imported black-figure Attic *amphorae*, a few *hydriae*, a couple of cups (Brize 1990, 74–8, 81–4 for the list of material), and two inscribed Chalcidian *amphorae* (Brize 1988, 188, no. 15–16). In fact, the earliest black-figure Athenian depiction, dated to *c*. 560–550 BC on a *hydria*, comes from Cerveteri (Villa Giulia 50683; Brize 1990, 74, no. 2463; Moore 2013, 42).

An even earlier depiction, the Etrusco-Corinthian so-called Gobbi krater from Tomb 1 of Tumulus 1 of the Banditaccia necropolis of Cerveteri and dated to the first decades of the sixth century BC, is a locally produced vessel displaying, among other scenes, Herakles taking aim at Geryon holding the shield in front of his cattle; the composition is comparable to the earliest Greek depiction of Herakles and Geryon on a proto-Corinthian *pyxis* from Phaleron (Fig. 16.2) (Brize 1988, 188, no. 11). On the krater, moving in the opposite direction and next to Herakles is a centaur holding a *kantharos*, whom Marina Martelli long ago identified as the centaur Pholos; above him a siren is flying towards Herakles (Martelli 1987, 289–91). The Gobbi krater, in fact, points to an evolution in, and

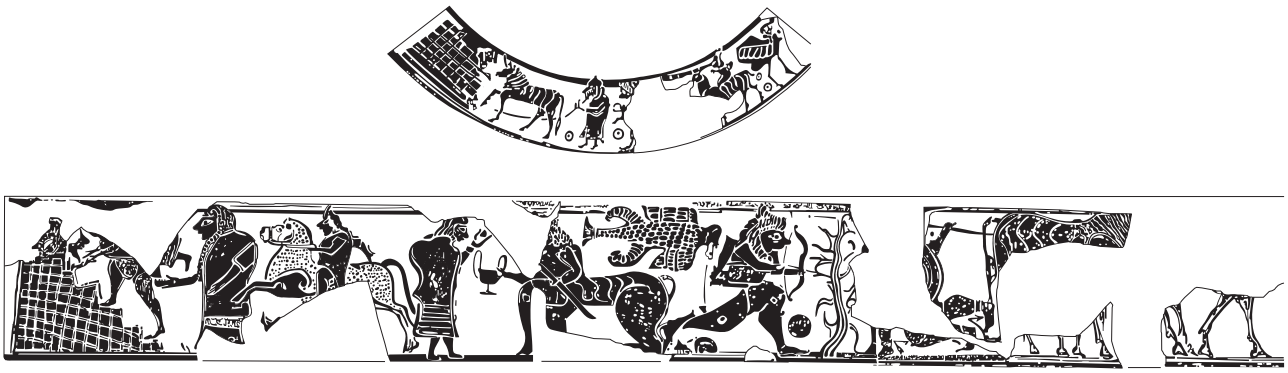

Figure 16.2. *Figurative decoration of the Gobbi krater (adapted from Martelli 1987).*

perhaps a local re-interpretation of, the iconography of the encounter that we see in the course of the sixth century. A figurative narrative that indicated a cultural model, the excessive drinker cyclops, to the viewer-drinker, about the consequences of the lack of (knowledge of) norms in cross-cultural encounters is replaced by one that pivots around precisely the knowledge of those rules of drinking and hospitality across cultural boundaries and hence the practice of *xenia*. This is exemplified by the peaceful meeting between Herakles and Pholos on Mount Pholoe, to which the Gobbi krater refers, that saw the centaur host offering the hero mixed wine from his *pithos*. This is an episode in Herakles' tenth labour, also narrated by Stesichorus, whose popularity is attested by its figurative representations on Attic black- and red-figure and other pottery from Etruria to Sicily post-dating the Gobbi krater (Finglass & Davies 2014, 238–9, 290–3). The mythical episode is not without violence: Pholos is accidentally killed by one of the arrows that the hero used to defend himself from the violence of centaurs who, attracted by the sweet smell of the wine, ran to it (Bremmer 2012, 40–1). However, most depictions of this episode, between the last third of the sixth and the early decades of the fifth century BC, on Attic black-figure vessels, isolated the peaceful encounter from the violence. These vessels included several *amphorae*, a couple of Etruria-provenanced *oinochoai* and one *kyathos* from the Vulcentean hinterland (Canino) (Brommer 1973, 178–82; the *kyathos*: British Museum 1843,1207.4), all probably intended for Etruscan users (Riva 2017, 252). That this depiction may have been the preference of Etruscan viewers is suggested by the fact that, outside this Attic production, the only isolated scene of the encounter pared down to its essential signifiers, Pholos and the *kantharos*, the vessel given to Herakles for drinking that was to become Dionysos' drinking cup *par excellence*, is painted on the earlier Gobbi krater. Furthermore, in associating Herakles with two other scenes, painted on the main body and shoulder of the krater respectively, that refer to sacrifice, D'Agostino and Cerchiai (1999, 160–1) have highlighted the civilizing role of Tyrrhenian Herakles in the institution and codification of sacrifice, namely a highly ritualized practice like wine drinking itself: emphasis on codification here corresponds well with the themes conjured up by the encounter with Pholos. In fact, we may deem the Gobbi krater as being a junction between seventh- and sixth-century BC iconographies of encounter not only in the choice of myth depicted – the meeting between Pholos and Herakles on the one hand, and the violent theft of Geryon's cattle on the other; it is also a junction *vis-à-vis* the choice of narrative technique by the painter who was experimenting with narrative compositions (Bellelli 2010, 27, footnote 4), which, in turn, may partly explain Pholos' isolated figure.

On the other hand, the later scenes of the Pholos encounter on the aforementioned black-figure Athenian *amphorae* either refer to the encounter itself, showing the host and guest shaking hands (Herman 1987, 52), the opening of the *pithos*, or the feasting which follows a highly standardized composition (Verbanck-Piérard 1982, 147). The earliest feasting scene, on a belly *amphora* from Florence, is mirrored on the other side of the vessel by the feasting of Dionysos (Schauenburg 1971, 46–7, table 33); in this and other such scenes, Herakles is often depicted holding an oversize *kantharos*, reflecting closely the hero's act of drinking from a cup that measures 'as much as three flasks' as described in the *Geryoneis* (the fragment preserved by Athenaeus translated and commented upon by Finglass & Davies 2014, 291–2). A similarly oversized *kantharos* is held by Pholos on the Gobbi krater. Far from alluding to Herakles' proverbial appetite and its comical effect (Finglass & Davies 2014, 291), the representation of Herakles' oversize cup, by these vessels' painters may in fact, have provided

further reference to the ritualization of the *kantharos*, as examined earlier, to the Etruscan viewers of these scenes.[1] Some time ago, Daniel Noël argued that the representation of the two banquets emphasizes the contrast between the established rules of drinking and the lack of those very rules: Pholos drinks wine pure and draws it from a *pithos* rather than a krater (Noel 1983, 142–4). But as Nazarena Valenza Mele (1986, 339–40) rightly asserted, Pholos offers Herakles diluted wine, and in so doing, like the good centaur Chiron, follows a culturally specific code of practice, while maintaining the limits of his own world, which he knows he cannot trespass. The scene of Herakles feasting with Pholos does not last in Attic imagery. The opening of the *pithos* is instead more frequent on such imagery later on and in red-figure decoration: it is never a standardized composition as are the feasting images and is often paired with violent centaurs, but after 470 BC no Attic painter depicts Mount Pholoe's centaurs (Verbanck-Piérard 1982, 147–8, no. 16).

The centaurs' violence resulting from Pholos' opening of the *pithos* occurs on other painted vessels from Corinthian to Attic, including Tyrrhenian *amphorae*, but it is also transferred onto the sculptural decoration of some Archaic Greek sanctuaries, frequently on small-scale friezes of sanctuaries in western Anatolia, most notably at the temple of Athena at Assos (Wescoat 2012), and on the renowned metopes at the Heraion of Foce del Sele, the only example known so far west of the Aegean (Greco 2012). In regards to these metopes, scholars (Masseria & Torelli 1999; Greco 2012, 234) have argued that Herakles' centauromachy depicted there, along with Achilles represented on other Archaic metopes displaying Trojan themes, served the need to display the aristocratic core values that both heroes embodied and that would have been instantly recognizable to the Etruscan elites settled on the other side of the Sele. At the same time, these values were being flagged up in a distinctly religious space, that is to say, the space for the encounter with the gods. In this space, narratological and theological demands drove the choice of images and of their place in the sanctuary's decorative programme beyond artistic conventions and craftsmen's decisions (Osborne 2009). These images thus acted as a medium for that religious encounter. These demands encompassed the values and traditions underlying the cult of Hera, from guest-friendship values to social norms more generally (Greco 2012, 234–5). Within these values and traditions, Herakles' centauromachy must have also alluded to ritual drinking as a religious act, as well as to the transgression of social norms of hospitality. To the sanctuary's visitor at Foce del Sele, however, the centauromachy also signalled knowledge of those norms across cultural boundaries; to the eyes of those who had that very knowledge, the myth showed the thus preventable, though seemingly inevitable refusal to – and thus decision not to – follow those norms (cf. Osborne 2009, 11). Hence, the presence of the *pithos* below Pholos' belly on one of the metopes – if this is indeed an accurate reconstruction as proposed by Greco 2012 – did not so much signal the wild world of the centaur, but it rather, or also, hinted at that knowledge of sociality and its codes *vis-à-vis* drinking and the possible positive outcome of the exercise of that knowledge during the encounter, so well-illustrated by the feasting of Herakles and Pholos on the Attic *amphorae* that isolated the scenes from the violent aftermath to the Etruscan owners of those *amphorae*.

Given the religious context of these messages communicated by the Pholos' metopes, that knowledge is not, however, simply about the act of drinking as a form of sociality within a social group. It is also about the drinking feast at the sanctuary in honour of the gods, which required and promoted, at the same time, a form of sociality that entailed precisely the encounter with the divinity. For the Greek world, 'the encounter with wine was also an encounter with the gods' (Osborne 2014, 40); an analogous integration between libation, the cultic act that allowed contact with the divinity, and the communal consumption of wine has been noted at the so-called Edificio delle Venti Celle opposite Temple B at the sanctuary of Pyrgi. Here, the ostentation and reiteration of the *phiale*, the vessel for sacred libation *par excellence*, is highlighted by the terracotta architectural decoration of the building that hosted communal banquets (Gentili 2015, 107–9). That the Heraion at Foce del Sele, also a meeting point of culturally diverse communities, fulfilled an emporic function on the river (Greco 2012, 234–5) may in fact explain the tension manifested in Herakles' centauromachy between knowledge of drinking rules and transgression of those rules. This tension appears all the more significant if we compare and contrast the metopes with the similar depiction of Herakles' centauromachy at the Temple of Athena at Assos, where the sanctuary visitor viewed the centauromachy against a scene of a banquet-*symposion* of men in a religious setting, both of which decorated the eastern epistyle blocks of the temple (Wescoat 2012, 151–73). Bonna Daix Wescoat, in the latest study of the site, characterizes the depiction of Pholos as 'a failed symposion' (2012, 158) because of its juxtaposition with the scene of the religious *symposion*: however, we must read it as such only at Assos, a religious setting inside the urban community where the polarity between transgressing the rules of hospitality and those very rules could not have been more explicit, and where wine

was a medium not simply of human sociality but also sociality between humans and gods.

At the emporic sanctuary located on cultural boundaries at Foce del Sele, wine similarly acted as a medium of both types of sociality, but that polarity was not made explicit because – I would like to suggest – the reading of that polarity and tension was only possible to those who had knowledge of the rules of both human and religious drinking rituals, such as the users of the Attic black-figure *amphorae* discussed above. Importantly, that knowledge was not simply culturally specific, but was also restricted to certain social groups. Archaic elite mobility, well attested across Tyrrhenian central Italy (Ampolo 1976–1977), guaranteed access to that knowledge; hence, awareness of cultural difference was ultimately a tool for the expression of social distinction in private as in public contexts of social commensality, while violence, no longer a threat to the forming of new exchange relations with the outside world, was directed to establishing and maintaining social barriers.

Conclusion

Addressing the contextual meaning of images and objects, from transport *amphorae* to drinking vessels, as I have tried to do here, can help towards building a more nuanced picture of Archaic urbanism in Etruria at a moment of transition. This evidence must be situated within the broader scenario of increasing agricultural production and surplus redistribution that led to changing social relations. Commensal politics provided, here as elsewhere (Dietler & Hayden 2001), the space where social power was played out, where knowledge of cultural codes and difference signalled social distinction and, thus, exclusion. In this space, centaurs, so ubiquitous in Archaic iconography, were not simply communicating specific mythological narratives borrowed from the Greek world, but became the vehicle for symbolic violence, in which the control of the imaginary, from worldviews to the communication with the divine, became as key to the maintenance of social hierarchy as the control

Figure 16.3. *Black-figure* amphora, *Vulci, side A (British Museum 1837, 0609.42, © The Trustees of the British Museum).*

Figure 16.4. *Black-figure* amphora, *Vulci, side B (British Museum 1837, 0609.42, © The Trustees of the British Museum).*

of material wealth (Godelier 2015; cf. Cuozzo 2016 on this for funerary contexts in Iron Age Tyrrhenian central Italy). Dionysos, in this respect, emblematically linked these two forms of control: while his worship contributed to the construction of that imaginary (Riva 2017), the integration of the god into the Etruscan pantheon occurred through a rural deity, *Fufluns* (Cristofani & Martelli 1978; Baglione 1998, 88), who belonged to the world of that 'new' material wealth, agricultural surplus that was exported across Etruria and beyond (cf. Perkins in this volume). The Attic black-figure *amphora* from Vulci, now at the British Museum (British Museum 1837, 06-09.42; Figs. 16.3–16.4), too, eloquently flaunted the control of surplus production on the one hand, and of the imaginary in relation to knowledge in exchange on the other, by displaying an image of the hand-shake between Pholos and Herakles (Herman 1987, 52). While the few *amphorae* that carry this image depicted Dionysos or other deities on the other side of the vessel's body, this *amphora* conspicuously showed, on its other side, the olive harvest.

In this chapter, I have used a wide variety of evidence in order to deconstruct the *communis opinio* that urbanism in Tyrrhenian southern Etruria led to a transition from a prestige-driven to a commercial economy. Drawing from post-Maussian anthropological theory, I have focused upon the oscillation of value of objects and their use in different contexts, from tombs to sanctuaries, at a time of social change, which I traced in shifts in burial ritual, religious worship and the iconography of cross-cultural encounters. This change went hand in hand with complex economic transformations: both were integral to the growth of cities in Etruria and the wider central Mediterranean.

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Notes

1 Note the interesting juxtaposition, in the Athenaeus fragment, between the measure of Herakles' drinking and the word *σκυφιον* referring to a small vessel (Finglass & Davies 2014, 291). Might have this juxtaposition been picked up by Etruscan viewers during the oral performance of the Stesichorean poem (cf. Carey 2015, 61–2)?

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Making cities

Large and complex settlements appeared across the north Mediterranean during the period 1000–500 BC, from the Aegean basin to Iberia, as well as north of the Alps. The region also became considerably more interconnected. Urban life and networks fostered new consumption practices, requiring different economic and social structures to sustain them. This book considers the emergence of cities in Mediterranean Europe, with a focus on the economy. What was distinctive about urban lifeways across the Mediterranean? How did different economic activities interact, and how did they transform power hierarchies? How was urbanism sustained by economic structures, social relations and mobility? The authors bring to the debate recently excavated sites and regions that may be unfamiliar to wider (especially Anglophone) scholarship, alongside fresh reappraisals of well-known cities. The variety of urban life, economy and local dynamics prompts us to reconsider ancient urbanism through a comparative perspective.

Editors:

Margarita Gleba is a Professor at the University of Padua and Honorary Senior Lecturer at University College London.
Beatriz Marín-Aguilera is a Renfrew Fellow at the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge.
Bela Dimova is a A. G. Leventis Fellow in Hellenic Studies at the British School at Athens.

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