

**Zeitschrift:** Cahiers d'archéologie romande  
**Herausgeber:** Bibliothèque Historique Vaudoise  
**Band:** 17 (1979)

**Artikel:** Greek models and Etruscan legends : Cacu and the Vibennae  
**Autor:** Small, Jocelyn Penny  
**DOI:** <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-835583>

### **Nutzungsbedingungen**

Die ETH-Bibliothek ist die Anbieterin der digitalisierten Zeitschriften auf E-Periodica. Sie besitzt keine Urheberrechte an den Zeitschriften und ist nicht verantwortlich für deren Inhalte. Die Rechte liegen in der Regel bei den Herausgebern beziehungsweise den externen Rechteinhabern. Das Veröffentlichen von Bildern in Print- und Online-Publikationen sowie auf Social Media-Kanälen oder Webseiten ist nur mit vorheriger Genehmigung der Rechteinhaber erlaubt. [Mehr erfahren](#)

### **Conditions d'utilisation**

L'ETH Library est le fournisseur des revues numérisées. Elle ne détient aucun droit d'auteur sur les revues et n'est pas responsable de leur contenu. En règle générale, les droits sont détenus par les éditeurs ou les détenteurs de droits externes. La reproduction d'images dans des publications imprimées ou en ligne ainsi que sur des canaux de médias sociaux ou des sites web n'est autorisée qu'avec l'accord préalable des détenteurs des droits. [En savoir plus](#)

### **Terms of use**

The ETH Library is the provider of the digitised journals. It does not own any copyrights to the journals and is not responsible for their content. The rights usually lie with the publishers or the external rights holders. Publishing images in print and online publications, as well as on social media channels or websites, is only permitted with the prior consent of the rights holders. [Find out more](#)

**Download PDF:** 02.10.2025

**ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, E-Periodica, <https://www.e-periodica.ch>**

## Greek Models and Etruscan Legends: Cacu and the Vibennae

Jocelyn Penny SMALL

The natural interest of "Greek" South Italians in mainland Greek culture, as well as the abundance of Greek material discovered on Italian, and especially Etruscan, soil, tends to obscure the differences between the two areas<sup>1</sup>. Because so many of the Italian artists chose Greek subjects rendered in a Greek manner, the similarities to Greek works become so overwhelming that the scholar may falsely interpret the Italian offshoots solely from a Greek stance. That is, the success of the work depends on how well it mirrors known or surmised Greek productions rather than on whether it reflects its own tradition. Yet within the *koine* of the classical period, and particularly the late fourth century B. C., Italian artists constantly and consciously expressed their regional interests.

Etruscan artists who decided to portray scenes from Etruscan-Roman legends faced one major obstacle: no models existed. Two solutions were possible: the creation of an entirely new form or the reuse of established types, so combined as to produce a new scene. Because no art in the classical period appeared *ex nihilo*, only the second choice was practicable. Moreover, the nature of iconography militates against a wholesale production of new types. While the style or manner of rendering figures can vary without altering the content of a scene, iconography is effective only when artist and viewer agree on specific interpretations for attributes and actions. For example, a draped woman with an aegis, helmet, and spear must be Athena or the symbols become meaningless. Poses similarly depend on the story. A warrior taking leave of his wife cannot take an attacking attitude without untoward implications. Artists employed figural types for periods far longer than those possible for styles, partly because they delighted in, not so much the creation of new forms, as the use of existing ones in novel contexts. Thus the figure of Aristogeiton from the Tyrannicides appears later as Theseus fighting the Lapiths on the Hephaisteion and as Jason stealing the Golden Fleece on an Apulian vase<sup>2</sup>. Individual figures, in turn, could be reduced to their component parts of stance, gesture, and expression; or two or more figures could make a transferable unit. In other words, well-established rules guided artists in the formation of new scenes. Here let us examine in detail how this process works on the one group of late Etruscan funerary urns with an Etruscan-Roman legend securely identified since the nineteenth century. Please note that this paper presents only one aspect of my research on Cacu, the Vergilian Cacus.

A late fourth century Etruscan bronze mirror from Bolsena and now in the British Museum<sup>3</sup> provides the crucial identification because of the inscriptions labelling the four main figures (*pl. 82, fig. 1 a-b*). A small, chubby boy with a pedum held in his right hand behind his head occupies the handle and has nothing to do with the main scene which forms a distinct unit enclosed by a border decorated with an undulating grapevine. The ground is stippled. In the center of the mirror between two trees in almost identical poses two figures, a youth and a young man, sit facing right with their heads slightly bowed, their feet gently crossed, and their drapery covering only their lower torsos. On the right, Cacu—the inscription appears by the crown of his head between the branches of the tree—plays a lyre, held in his left hand, with a plectrum in his right hand. He has long hair and wears a torque. In front, Artile—the inscription runs from top to bottom just behind his head—holds a diptych open in his hands on his lap. The letters on the diptych are not legible. In the upper middle section of the scene, a head peers over the rough rocks at the action taking place below him. He alone has no accompanying label, because his pointed ears identify him as a satyr or a sylvan being. On

either side of Cacu and Artile two soldiers, with shields and in high boots, banded cuirasses, mantles, and helmets, stand poised in ambush. The left soldier, who lacks his head, holds his sword upright in his right hand which rests on his raised right thigh. His bearded companion grips his shield with his right hand. In the rim of the mirror the inscriptions, running from right to left, name the left warrior Caile Vipinas (Caeles Vibenna) and the right one Aule Vipinas (Aulus Vibenna). These same two figures are depicted along with Mastarna and Cneve Tarchu Rumach in the François Tomb in Vulci<sup>4</sup>; their family name, Vipinas, appears on a mid-sixth century bucchero vase from Veii and on a mid-fifth century Etruscan red-figured kylix<sup>5</sup>. They are local heroes who were once active in Southern Etruria. The mirror, then, obviously depicts an Etruscan event with Etruscan participants. Cacu's action and form and the diptych Artile holds have led scholars to interpret Cacu as a seer accompanied by a youthful assistant, Artile, to record or read from a prophecy. The Vibennae brothers may then be ambushing the seer and his companion to obtain an augury<sup>6</sup>.

The same scene occurs on late Etruscan funerary urns from Chiusi. Simplest and typical of the group in its treatment of the four protagonists is an urn in the Pellegrina Tomb in Chiusi<sup>7</sup>. The landscape has been reduced to a single tree placed to the left of Cacu and symmetrically balanced on the right of Cacu by a horse shown to its forequarters. The two brothers are more advanced in their action than on the mirror. Caeles now levels his sword for attack, as Aulus draws his from its sheath. A pot lies between the latter's feet. These three figures have all been pivoted into poses more frontal than those on the mirror, while Artile alone has been rendered in complete profile. He leans forward in a position of sorrow to rest his elbows on his knees so that he may hold his head in his hands.

The other urns repeat the scene with slight variations in the orientation of the figures, the precise moment chosen within the entire ambush, and the addition of subsidiary figures. Siena 734 is representative<sup>8</sup> (*pl. 83, fig. 2*). Artile turns to face outward. Because he holds a rectangular object, perhaps the diptych folded, in his right hand, only his left hand supports his head. Cacu has stopped playing the lyre and holds the plectrum in his upraised right hand. The vase now stands between Cacu and Artile. Four warriors have been added—two on each end, in virtually symmetrical poses. They may heighten the sense of conflict, but, because of their function as filler figures, they neither truly participate in the scene nor add to the basic meaning.

Characters, event, moment, action, and setting together place limits on an artist's search for motifs<sup>9</sup>. As the central actor and a precisely defined figure, Cacu was the logical starting point. While his age and attribute narrowed the field to handsome, young lyre-players, his profession of seer determined exactly which handsome, young lyre-player. Since no native Etruscan candidates existed, the Etruscan artist had no option other than to turn to the multitude of works imported from South Italy and Greece. Of the possibilities, only Apollo fit the requirements exactly. He too was a kind of seer who played a string instrument.

The choice of event in Cacu's life—the ambush by the Vibennae—decided the remaining participants. The Vibennae presented no special problem since warriors were quite common. Artile's main distinction appears to have been youth. Auxiliary figures were added to this nucleus of indispensable actors according to the tastes of the individual artists, as on Siena 734. The moment selected—the prelude to, as on the mirror, and the actual ambush, as on Siena 734—set the poses. To impart surprise, Cacu is completely involved in practising his profession—a specific, identifying attribute as recognizable as the aegis of Athena. He sits serenely strumming his lyre, as Artile, also calmly seated, assists with the diptych. To execute a plausible ambush, the two Vibennae surround, *i.e.* flank, their quarry—an arrangement that also suits the compositional preferences of the late fourth century Etruscan artists for strong, end verticals. Finally, the event obviously takes place outside.

Once Apollo became the type for Cacu, it was natural, and certainly simplest, for the artist to choose some scene from that god's cycle to be a model for the adventure of Cacu. As an early Apulian pelike from Ruvo and now in Naples<sup>10</sup> shows, the Etruscan artist did not have far to look (*pl. 83, fig. 3*). For its version of the musical contest between Apollo and Marsyas offers precisely all the elements essential for a pictorial rendering of the ambush of Cacu. Most importantly a similar unit of two figures forms the center of focus. Apollo, seated in the middle, inclines his head slightly, as he strums his lyre with both hands. His feet gently cross; his drapery, though pulled over his head, leaves his upper torso bare. Below Apollo a shaggy Marsyas sits on a rock. He leans forward to rest his head on his right hand in sad acknowledgement of his loss and perhaps with full comprehension of the fate awaiting him. In his left hand he holds his flutes; their case, in the form of a skin, lies behind the rock. The surrounding figures represent the divine witnesses to the event and the Muses as judges. The two central figures of Apollo and Marsyas correspond directly to Cacu and Artile on the Pellegrina urn in

pose, placement, and relative proportions. The Etruscan artist altered only minor details: the two figures now assume the same groundline; Artile obviously holds no flutes; and Cacú's legs are uncrossed. Furthermore the placement of the Vibennae corresponds compositionally to the two Muses flanking Apollo and Marsyas on the pelike. It cannot be claimed that the Etruscans in ignorance took over and misinterpreted the motifs associated with the musical contest, because they knew Apollo and Marsyas as Apollo and Marsyas. Several objects, contemporaneous with the Naples pelike and the mirror, portray the contest. For example, the tondo of a Faliscan kylix in Berkeley shows the familiar seated Apollo approached by a somewhat gangly Marsyas, who delicately waves about his long arms<sup>11</sup>.

To express their individuality, artists frequently made minor adjustments to their models. A remarkable number of the variations on the vases with Apollo and Marsyas also appear in the scenes with Cacú and Artile. For example, on an urn from the Purni tomb and now in Florence<sup>12</sup>, Cacú leans back with his right arm over his head and his lower legs crossed in a pose resembling Olympus, the pupil of Marsyas, on an Attic pelike in Leningrad<sup>13</sup>. Although their bodies extend in opposite directions and the position of their left arms differ somewhat because Olympus lacks a lyre, the conception of the pose remains the same. Moreover, the intently listening Marsyas needed only a slight movement in the tilt of his head and his hand which supports it to produce the woeful Artile on the Siena urn. In fact, that precise adaptation occurs on another Attic representation of Marsyas in Sarajewo<sup>14</sup>. The flutes this Marsyas holds become Artile's diptych.

A Lucanian volute-krater in the Louvre<sup>15</sup> demonstrates that a composition, once established, can force variants in the story to adhere to its pictorial format (*pl. 83, fig. 4*). While the arrangement and attitude of four of the five figures conform to the four figures in the center of the Naples vase<sup>16</sup>, the characters filling two of the positions have been changed. Marsyas is not the gloomy satyr, but now stands on a rise in the ground to the right. The flute-case, held behind his back in his left hand, and the knife in his right hand securely identify him as the contestant. The krater, then, portrays a moment previous to that on the Naples pelike. Marsyas has not yet had his turn, but leans forward to listen to Apollo. The morose satyr either tries to block out the music of the kithara by holding his ears or else sadly realizes that Apollo's skill is just too great for Marsyas to overcome. At the same time the vase indicates that a different version of the contest was current in Lucania, for nowhere else does Marsyas grasp the knife<sup>17</sup>—an action which implies that the punishment of flaying for the loser had been agreed upon in advance by both contestants and not just at the end of the trial by Apollo. Finally, the vase specifically relates to the iconography of Cacú ambushed in the close parallel between Caeles Vibenna (waiting on the left on the mirror) and Marsyas. Both raise their left thighs to support their right arms. Only the angles of the sword and knife are varied. Cacú and Apollo also closely correspond to each other. Both cross their draped legs, incline their heads at the same angle, and raise their right hands, though at different levels.

Once the types drawn from representations of Apollo and Marsyas came into the repertory of the Etruscan artist, he could and did apply them to other scenes.

The second set of adaptations appears on urns interpreted by Heinrich Brunn, among others, as Orestes and Pylades in Tauris<sup>18</sup>—an identification which I do not accept, but unfortunately do not have time to discuss here. For convenience the figures in this second group will be referred to by their types, as established for the first group. While on Siena 730<sup>19</sup> the Cacú and Artile figures retain their basic poses, central position, and relationship to each other with "Cacú" on the right and "Artile" on the left, the action has changed from an ambush to the imprisonment of the Cacú figure (*pl. 84, fig. 5*). A nude man removes "Cacú's" sword with his right hand, as with his left hand he grasps the rope binding the prisoner's hands. On the far right a warrior draws his sword, and on the other end a female demon holds a sword and a dish raised high. A second female demon in the middle, to the left of "Cacú", assumes a pose related to "Artile"; she differs only in being portrayed in a frontal view and kneeling on the left, not the right, knee. On the left a nude woman leans, presumably against a pillar, to rest her head in sadness on her crossed arms. She comes from the same source as the other figures. On an Apulian oinochoe in Melbourne<sup>20</sup> Marsyas stands, on the left, with crossed legs and leans against a pillar, while Olympus sits on the right with his head cradled sadly on his hands, the one lying on top of the other. When the stance of Marsyas is combined with the position of the head and hands of Olympus, her figure results.

The Cacú of this group has less of a lap than in the first set. That is, he balances himself between sitting and standing. The same effect would be achieved by placing a support under the lightly stepping Apollo on the Melbourne oinochoe.

A Paestan flask in Paestum<sup>21</sup>, conversely, portrays Marsyas in a similar halfway position. This Marsyas and the second Cacú share one other characteristic: they are both bound.

The manner of their binding, however, differs. Marsyas' hands are tied behind his back, while Cacú holds his crossed hands in front of him. As to be expected, the majority of ancient prisoners adhere to the type of Marsyas, for the more immobilized a prisoner the less likely his escape. The alternative used for Cacú is almost exclusively Etruscan<sup>22</sup>, and even then limited in its occurrence<sup>23</sup>. Once Marsyas appears so bound on a mirror in the Villa Giulia<sup>24</sup> where he raises his hands toward Apollo, testing the sharpness of his knife on his left palm. The most notable example comes from the François Tomb<sup>25</sup> where Mastarna is freeing, not imprisoning, Caeles Vibenna. He extends his fettered hands toward Mastarna who pulls the two ends of the rope taut with his left hand, as he severs the section joining the wrists.

Because "Cacú" the prisoner, like the unit of Cacú and Artile ambushed, is distinctive, its genesis could be determined. Unlike Cacú and Artile it is not a direct borrowing, but represents an amalgamation of local and imported types. The derivation of the Vibennae of the first group, however, is not as clear. While it has been shown that they work compositionally like the two Muses on the Naples pelike and in one case (the mirror) Caeles takes the stance of Marsyas on the Louvre krater, they also function as a pair on other Etruscan funerary urns. For example, Deiphobus and Hector, in the same places and in the same attitudes as the Vibennae, prepare to attack Paris seeking refuge at an altar on urns from Volterra<sup>26</sup>. Only the dress of Deiphobus, on the left, has been altered from full armor to heroic nudity. Similarly these two warriors occur in scenes from Chiusi, but the omission of the victim results in the depiction of a duel, as the left warrior advances with sword held ready against the right warrior still drawing his<sup>27</sup>. Although the ultimate origin of the two may have been Greek, the Etruscan artist would have selected them from stock Etruscanized types. Likewise on another urn with "Cacú" the prisoner and now in Copenhagen<sup>28</sup> (*pl. 84, fig. 6*), the dead man, to the right of center, with his right hand over his head may derive either from related wounded figures on the urns<sup>29</sup> or from Cacú on the Florence Purni urn and hence from the Leningrad pelike. The insertion of a column on Florence 98<sup>30</sup> presents the same situation. Does it indicate an Etruscan sanctuary, as on urns with the death of Myrtilos<sup>31</sup>, or does it refer to the vases with the musical contest which offer a tripod on a column as a reward to the winner<sup>32</sup>?

The use of stock types has another facet. While the group of the Vibennae, which represents other characters in Volterra and Chiusi, can be considered a universal Etruscan type, others enjoy a more limited circulation. The unit of Cacú and Artile occurs only on Chiusine urns<sup>33</sup>. Similarly, different forms of the same figures were preferred by the artists of each area. In Chiusi horses, limited to the head and a portion of the chest, were frequently located among the figures as on, for example, Siena 734 and 730, while in Volterra the tendency was to move the horse, with the forequarters completely portrayed, to the edge of the frieze<sup>34</sup>. The nude woman of the second group mourns by leaning against a pillar, but the Volterranean artist generally opts for a tearful woman cushioning her face on her left hand, and resting that elbow on the hand of her right arm held across the chest<sup>35</sup>. The four subsidiary figures on Siena 734 with only minor adaptations often function together on Chiusine urns and almost always as a frame to the main scene<sup>36</sup>.

The same principles apply to the mirror. The head of the woodland creature, who peers over the rocks at the action below, takes a position regularly reserved for onlookers on mirrors, like Silenus viewing a woman's toilet<sup>37</sup>. Because the frieze area on the Chiusine and Volterranean urns is laid out horizontally<sup>38</sup>, such vertical compositions as on the mirror were generally impracticable. Nonetheless, the landscape chosen for the mirror is repeated with only slight modifications on urns from Volterra with Philoctetes on Lemnos<sup>39</sup>. Both put the protagonist(s) between two trees, almost forming an arbor, against a rocky background, and have the ambushers flank this central unit. This kind of setting, especially with its symmetrical balance, reflects Etruscan preferences, for the Greek and South Italian scenes with Apollo and Marsyas limit their landscape to the rocks on which the contestants sit, as on the Naples pelike, with a lone tree sometimes behind it, as on the Louvre krater.

## Conclusion

The earliest representations of the musical contest between Apollo and Marsyas appear during the last quarter of the fifth century B. C. in Athens, from where the type spread shortly thereafter to Italy. In both areas the subject remained popular throughout the fourth century B. C., the end of which period marks the introduction of the Etruscan series with Cacú. Crucial for the establishment of the transfer of the iconography from the Greek musical contest to the Etruscan Cacú is the appearance in both model and adaptation of the identical pair:

the Greek Apollo and Marsyas become the Etruscan Cacu and Artile. Although the two figures can be traced to two separate Greek originals, they work as an indivisible unit in both the Greek and Etruscan examples considered here. Furthermore, except for the stock Etruscan figures, the variations the Etruscans used for Cacu ambushed and "Cacu" the prisoner come only from the Greek variations of the musical contest between Apollo and Marsyas. The Etruscan borrowings of the Greek forms were culled from Attic and the entire range of South Italian wares; no one area can be singled out as the sole influence. In addition to the stock Etruscan figures, such as the Vibennae brothers, which occurred throughout Etruria, some types were limited to one Etruscan area. For example, only Chiusi of the major urn centers portrays the adventures of Cacu; certain types, such as the horses and the mourning woman, varied from city to city. Finally, disparate kinds of objects made of different materials can share the same iconography. In this case, a late fourth to early third century Etruscan bronze mirror documents the transmission of Greek motifs from Greek and South Italian vases to Etruscan funerary urns. The abundant survival of objects with the contest between Apollo and Marsyas attests that the Etruscans had no dearth of models, whatever their original form or ultimate provenience might have been, and that with discrimination their artists selected each component, be it a single gesture or a many-figured group, from the contemporary repertory. In fact, it is this very amalgamation of *all* the elements—Attic, South Italian, and Etruscan—available to the Etruscan artist that makes the mirror and the urns truly Etruscan.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> This paper is based on a chapter in my forthcoming book, which, in turn, arose from an earlier investigation, Cacu and Marsyas: An Iconographical Study, presented at the Special Session, Etruscan Finds in Non-Etruscan Museums, at the Archaeological Institute of America meetings in December 1975. For the purposes of this paper I have kept references and comparisons to a minimum; for fuller citations and a discussion of all the urns belonging to the two groups considered here, the appropriate chapter in the book should be consulted. I thank the Research Council of Rutgers University for its generous grant to obtain the photographs necessary for this study and for its subvention of my trip to the Conference. I am also extremely grateful to the Division of Research Tools of the National Endowment for the Humanities for its general encouragement of my research at the U. S. Center of Documentation of the Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae and for its support of my attendance at the Conference.

<sup>2</sup> The basic study of the Tyrannicides is S. Brunnsåker, *The Tyrant-Slayers of Kritios and Nesiotes*<sup>2</sup> (1971). For illustrations, see G.M.A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*<sup>4</sup> (1970) fig. 608-15. For Theseus on the East and West friezes of the Hephaisteion: C.H. Morgan, *The Sculptures of the Hephaisteion 2: The Friezes*, *Hesperia* 31, 1962, pl. 82a (East frieze), 82b (Aristogeiton), 82c (West frieze), and 82d (Harmodios). For Jason, see the lower register on the body of Munich 3268, Apulian volute-krater by the Sisyphus Painter: A. Cambitoglou-A.D. Trendall, *Apulian Red-Figured Vase-Painters of the Plain Style* (1961) 9 nr. 1 (15); and A.D. Trendall, *Early South Italian Vase-Painting* (1974) pl. 19.

<sup>3</sup> London, British Museum 633, from Bolsena. G. Körte in: *Etruskische Spiegel* 5 (1884-1897) 166-72, pl. 127. F. Münzer, *Caelis Vibenna und Mastarna*, *RhM* 53, 1898, 598f. H.B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman, and Etruscan, in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (1899) 99-100 nr. 633. C. Robert, Cacus auf etruskischen Bildwerken, in: *Festgabe Hugo Blümner* (1914) 76 fig. 1. F. Messerschmidt, Probleme der etruskischen Malerei des Hellenismus, *JDAI* 45, 1930, 77 fig. 12. R. Bloch, *Les prodiges dans l'antiquité classique* (1963) 105 fig. 1. Photograph: Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

<sup>4</sup> F. Messerschmidt, Nekropolen von Vulci, *JDAI* Erg. 12, 1930, 137-52, 141 fig. 95. A. Momigliano, *Claudius—the Emperor and His Achievement*, trans. by W.D. Hogarth (1934) 13, 85-6 n. 30 (with extensive bibliography). On the date of the tomb to the fourth century B.C.: M. Cristofani, Ricerche sulle pitture della Tomba François di Vulci, I fregi decorativi, *DArch* 1, 1967, 186-219, with bibliography on 186-7. A. Hus, *Vulci étrusque et étrusco-romaine* (1971) 103-6, 124-5, 192 (with bibliography), pl. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Bucchero vase from Veii, now in the Villa Giulia: J. Heurgon, La coupe d'Aulus Vibenna, in: *Mélanges d'archéologie, d'épigraphie et d'histoire offerts à J. Carcopino* (1966) 517; M. Pallottino, *Etruscologia*<sup>6</sup> (1968) 152, pl. 12. Etruscan red-figured kylix from Vulci, now in the Musée Rodin, Paris, Inv. Tc. 980 (formerly Inv. 1943): Heurgon *l. c.* 527-8 fig. 1-3; J.D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting* (1947) 3, 25-27, pl. 4 fig. 1-3.

<sup>6</sup> See *supra* n. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Chiusi, Tomba della Pellegrina, still *in situ*. *NSA* 1931, pl. 13a. D. Levi, La tomba della Pellegrina a Chiusi, *RIA* 4, 1932-33, 29 nr. 1, 28 fig. 24. J. Thimme, Chiusinische Aschenkisten und Sarkophage der hellenistischen Zeit, *SE* 23, 1954, 104-8, 132, 105 fig. 48.

<sup>8</sup> H. Brunn-G. Körte, *I rilievi delle urne etrusche* 2 (1890-1896) 254, pl. 119 nr. 1. Robert *op. c.* (*supra* n. 3) 76 fig. 2. L. Hamburg, *Observationes Hermeneuticae in Urnas Etruscas* (1916) 13, 38. Messerschmidt *op. c.* (*supra* n. 3) 79 fig. 14.

<sup>9</sup> Obviously an outline of an artist's thought processes can only be tentative, but a reconstruction based on the objects themselves should result in limited, but reasonable conclusions.

<sup>10</sup> Naples 3231, from Ruvo. According to A.D. Trendall the vase is "near in style to the Ariadne Painter", as quoted in K. Schauenburg, *Marsyas*, *MDAI(R)* 65, 1958, 50 n. 55 (with bibliography). H. Froning (*Dithyrambos und Vasenmalerei in Athen* [1917] 42 nr. 31) dates it to the end of the fifth/beginning of the fourth century B.C. C.W. Clairmont, *Studies in Greek Mythology and Vase-Painting—Apollo and Marsyas*, *YCIS* 15, 1957, 166 nr. 21. For illustrations: *Archäologische Zeitung* 27, 1869, pl. 17; A. Fürtwangler-K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* 3 (1932) 341; *JDAI* 32, 1917, 54 fig. 27.

<sup>11</sup> Faliscan kylix, Berkeley 8.935. Beazley *op. c.* (*supra* n. 5) 107, pl. 25 fig. 1. Froning (*op. c.* [*supra* n. 10] 43 nr. 40) dates the vase to the beginning of the fourth century B.C. Clairmont *op. c.* (*supra* n. 10) 168 nr. 32.

<sup>12</sup> Florence 74233, from Città della Pieve, Purni Tomb. Brunn-Körte *op. c.* 2 (*supra* n. 8) 254-5 nr. 1a (255 with photograph). Robert *op. c.* (*supra* n. 3) 77 fig. 3. Messerschmidt *op. c.* (*supra* n. 3) 79 fig. 15. J. Thimme, *Chiusinische Aschenkisten und Sarkophage der hellenistischen Zeit*, *SE* 25, 1957, 122-3 nr. 3, pl. 4 fig. 1, 3.

<sup>13</sup> Leningrad 1795, from Kertch, Marsyas Painter. Beazley, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1475, 3. Clairmont *op. c.* (*supra* n. 10) 168 nr. 24. Fürtwangler-Reichhold *op. c.* (*supra* n. 10) pl. 87. H. Metzger, *Les représentations dans la céramique attique du 4<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1951) 162 nr. 18, pl. 21 fig. 3 (detail). Froning *op. c.* (*supra* n. 10) 42 nr. 29 (c. 335 B.C.).

<sup>14</sup> Sarajewo 39, fragment of calyx-krater, unattributed. Clairmont *op. c.* (*supra* n. 10) 166 nr. 20. Schauenburg *op. c.* (*supra* n. 10) pl. 36 fig. 2. Froning *op. c.* (*supra* n. 10) 42 nr. 24 (early fourth century B.C.).

<sup>15</sup> Louvre K 519, Brooklyn-Budapest Painter, Side A. A.D. Trendall, *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania, and Sicily* (1967) 114 nr. 594. Schauenburg *op. c.* (*supra* n. 10) 51 nr. 5, pl. 32. Froning *op. c.* (*supra* n. 10) 43 nr. 42 (380-360 B.C.). I thank Dr. Marie-Françoise Briguet for her assistance in obtaining this photograph.

<sup>16</sup> Apollo and the satyr retain their general positions, as do the flanking figures. The two maenads (the right one holds a thyrsus) on the left recall the two Muses in their stance.

<sup>17</sup> Only two other Lucanian examples of this type survive. (1) New York 12.235.4, skyphos fragment, Palermo Painter; Trendall *op. c.* (*supra* n. 15) 53 nr. 273, pl. 23 fig. 1. (2) Taranto 20305, oinochoe, Schwerin Group; *ibid.* 69 nr. 351, pl. 32 fig. 9.

<sup>18</sup> Brunn in Brunn-Körte *op. c.* 1 (1870 [*supra* n. 8]) 106-12.

<sup>19</sup> Siena 730, from Sarteano. Brunn-Körte *op. c.* 1, 107-8, pl. 84 nr. 2. Messerschmidt *op. c.* (*supra* n. 3) 78, 80 fig. 18. Thimme *op. c.* (*supra* n. 12) 120 n. 20, 149 nr. 2, pl. 3 fig. 2 (detail).

<sup>20</sup> National Gallery of Victoria 90/5, Felton Painter (370-350 B.C.). *Fasti archaeologici* 14, 1962, 10, pl. 1 fig. 1-2. A.D. Trendall, *The Felton Painter and a Newly Acquired Apulian Comic Vase by His Hand*, in: *In Honor of Daryl Lindsay, Essays and Studies* (1964) 45-52, pl. 27. A.D. Trendall, *Phlyax Vases*<sup>2</sup> (*BICS* Suppl. 19, 1967) 86 nr. 195 (106), pl. 13 a.k. Schauenburg, *Der besorgte Marsyas*, *MDAI(R)* 79, 1972, 318f. pl. 130 fig. 1-2, 131 fig. 1.

<sup>21</sup> No inventory number, in Case 33, from the area of *Loc. IV*. A.D. Trendall, *Paestan Post-script*, *PBSR* 21, 1953, 163-4 (forerunner of developed Apulianizing). Schauenburg *op. c.* (*supra* n. 10) 51 nr. 6, pl. 35 fig. 1-2. Froning *op. c.* (*supra* n. 10) 44 nr. 51.

<sup>22</sup> To my knowledge, not one of the extant Greek or Greco-Italian representations of Marsyas bound, or the related types of the captured Silenus led before Midas, Amycus punished, and the sacrifice of the Trojan Captives, portray the victim with his hands tied in front. Two Apulian column-kraters, however, do show a prisoner, perhaps Lykaon, kneeling or seated with his hands bound in front. (1) London, British Museum F 173. K. Schauenburg, *Achilleus in der unteritalischen Vasenmalerei*, *BJ* 161, 1961, 225-6, pl. 49 fig. 3. (2) Ruvo J 1709. *Ibid.* 225 nr. 1 (note that he identifies both vases as Lucanian). H. Sichtermann, *Griechische Vasen in Unteritalien aus der Sammlung Jatta in Ruvo* (1966) 46 nr. 65 (as Apulian Ornate, related to the Iliupersis Painter, according to A.D. Trendall).

<sup>23</sup> A related type appears on Etruscan urns. The two prisoners in a sanctuary sometimes do sit with their hands crossed, but lack the rope (Volterra 208, Brunn-Körte *op. c.* 2 [*supra* n. 8] pl. 76 nr. 4); at other times one hand grasps the wrist of the other (Florence 5773 and 5772, *ibid.* pl. 75 nr. 1-2 respectively). The latter seems to be a modification of the seated Paris, patiently awaiting Helen before sailing, where his right hand rests gently on his left wrist (Volterra 430, Brunn-Körte *op. c.* 1 [*supra* n. 18] pl. 18 nr. 3).

<sup>24</sup> Villa Giulia 12983, ex Barberini Collection, from Praeneste. E. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel* 4 (1867) pl. 296.

<sup>25</sup> See *supra* n. 4 for references. This detail also appears in A. Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins* (1971) pl. 8.

<sup>26</sup> For example, Milan, Museo Archeologico Civico, and Volterra 240, Brunn-Körte *op. c.* 1 (*supra* n. 18) pl. 3 nr. 6-7 respectively.

<sup>27</sup> For example, Chiusi 950 and Copenhagen 1215d, Brunn-Körte *op. c.* 2 (*supra* n. 8) pl. 10 nr. 5 and 2, 261-2 (with photographs) respectively. The same type also occurs on Volterran urns, such as Volterra 163 and 393. Volterra 163: No Brunn-Körte; G. Ronzitti-Orsolini, *Il mito dei Sette a Tebe nelle urne volterrane (Studi dell'Ateneo Pisano* 2, 1971) 80-1 nr. 10. Volterra 393: Brunn-Körte *op. c.* 2, 31 nr. 5a (no drawing); Ronzitti-Orsolini *op. c.* 78-9 (top) nr. 9.

<sup>28</sup> Copenhagen H 298, from Città della Pieve, Purni Tomb. Brunn-Körte *op. c.* 1 (*supra* n. 18) 108 nr. 2a. F. Poulsen, *Katalog der etruskischen Museums (Helbig Museum) der Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek* (1927) 145-6, pl. 136. Messerschmidt *op. c.* (*supra* n. 3) 81 fig. 19. Thimme *op. c.* (*supra* n. 12) 120 nr. 1, 134. I thank Dr. Flemming Johansen for the photograph published here.

<sup>29</sup> For example, both dying warriors on Siena 731 collapse with their right arms over their head. From the Sentinate-Cumeresa Tomb, Sarteano; ex Palazzo Bargagli. Brunn-Körte *op. c.* 2, pl. 16 nr. 4. Thimme *op. c.* (*supra* n. 12) 149-50 Urn nr. 3.

<sup>30</sup> Florence 98 (5777). Brunn-Körte *op. c.* 1, 106-7, pl. 84 nr. 1. Messerschmidt *op. c.* 81 fig. 20. Thimme *op. c.* 120 n. 20, pl. 3 fig. 1 (detail).

<sup>31</sup> For example, on an urn from Volterra: Florence 93484, Brunn-Körte *op. c.* 2, pl. 53 nr. 2. Similarly two such columns appear in another killing at an altar, but on an urn from Chiusi, now in Palermo (Inv. nr. 8456, Brunn-Körte *op. c.* 2, pl. 82 nr. 2).

<sup>32</sup> For example: (1) Attic volute-krater by the Kadmos Painter, Ruvo J 1093; Beazley, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1184, 1, Side A; Clairmont *op. c.* (*supra* n. 10) 165 nr. 8; Sichtermann *op. c.* (*supra* n. 22) 20-1 nr. 10, pl. 13. (2) Apulian volute-krater by the Lycurgus Painter, Rome, Museo Barracco; Schauenburg *op. c.* (*supra* n. 10) 51-2 nr. 9, pl. 33 fig. 2.

<sup>33</sup> The motif of *Cacu* and *Artile* occurs in one more Chiusine scene in addition to the two groups discussed here. On an urn from Cetona, now in Copenhagen, the two figures similarly form the focus of attention. The *Cacu*

of the second group has been converted into a woman who holds an axe upright in her left hand, while she drapes her right arm around her male companion to the left. Compositionally he works like the mourning woman. The equivalent of Artile weeps at the base of the altar. To the right of the central group sits a demure, draped woman with crossed hands. From either side two archers approach in a manner reminiscent of the Vibennae except for the substitution of weapons. The beard and pilos of the archer on the right has led to an identification of him as Ulysses and the scene as drawn from the Trojan cycle. Brunn interprets it as Ulysses and the Suitors, V. Poulsen as Achilles and Penthesilea. Only this urn survives with this particular representation. Copenhagen H 296 (H.I.N. 59). Brunn in Brunn - Körte *op. c. 1* (*supra* n. 18) 129-30, pl. 98 nr. 8. V. Poulsen, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Den etruskiske Samling* (1966) 58 (with bibliography). F. Poulsen, *Bildertafeln des etruskischen Museums der N. C. G.* (1928) pl. 134.

<sup>34</sup> For example, two urns with a banquet scene: Volterra 195, Brunn - Körte *op. c. 2* (*supra* n. 8) pl. 101 nr. 3; and Florence 78523, from the Tomba Inghirami, Volterra, *ibid.* pl. 102 nr. 6.

<sup>35</sup> For example, the woman on the left end of Volterra 342 (meeting between mother and son?), *ibid.* pl. 106 nr. 1.

<sup>36</sup> For example, Achilles just after beheading Troilus on Palermo 8461, Brunn - Körte *op. c. 1*, pl. 54 nr. 14; and then taking refuge at an altar on Chiusi 667*bis*, *ibid.* pl. 65 nr. 36 and Thimme *op. c.* (*supra* n. 7) 113 fig. 51. Also the motif appears in general battle scenes, as on an urn in Turin, Matusni urn nr. 2, *ibid.* 75 fig. 22.

<sup>37</sup> Private collection of E. Gerhard, now?—Gerhard *op. c. 2* (1845 [*supra* n. 24]) pl. 212, and *op. c. 3* (1863) 202-3. Compare also a satyr watching Poseidon's abduction of Amymone (Vatican, Museo Gregoriano, Gerhard *op. c. 1* [1840-43] pl. 64).

<sup>38</sup> Perugia, however, used casks which were taller than they were wide, but vertical compositions even there were a rarity. An example is Perugia 235 red (321 green) with an attack on a city gate. Brunn - Körte *op. c. 3* (1916) 240-1, with fig. 58; AA 1948-49, 231-2 fig. 22.

<sup>39</sup> For example, Volterra 332. Brunn - Körte *op. c. 1*, pl. 69 nr. 2.

## List of illustrations

Pl. 82, fig. 1a: London, British Museum 633. After E. Gerhard *et al.*, *Etruskische Spiegel* 5 (1884-1897) pl. 127.

Pl. 82, fig. 1b: London, British Museum. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Pl. 83, fig. 2: Siena 734. After H. Brunn - G. Körte, *I rilievi delle urne etrusche* 2 (1890-1896) pl. 119 nr. 1.

Pl. 83, fig. 3: Naples 3231. After *Archäologische Zeitung* 27, 1869, pl. 17.

Pl. 83, fig. 4: Paris, Louvre K 519. Museum photograph.

Pl. 84, fig. 5: Siena 730. After H. Brunn - G. Körte, *I rilievi delle urne etrusche* 1 (1870) pl. 84 nr. 2.

Pl. 84, fig. 6: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek H 298. Museum photograph.



