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A Scarab Gem

from the Etruscan Artisans' Quarter
and Sacred Area
at Cetamura del Chianti

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A SCARAB GEM MADE OF CORNELIAN, carved in intaglio in the *a globolo* style generally designated as “Etrusco-Italic” (figs. 1–3), was discovered in 1993 in Structure H at Cetamura del Chianti (maps, figs. 4–7).¹ The gem has been published before² but recent discoveries on the site of Cetamura and a new publication on Etruscan scarab gems³ provide the opportunity for some significant new observations on the context of the object and a more searching inquiry into questions of typology, subject matter, craftsmanship and condition.

The stone was found in an area on the north side of Zone II of Cetamura, which has been conclusively identified in the past as an artisans’ quarter. But the object must be studied now in light of a major new insight in the interpretation of the site of Cetamura. An Etruscan sanctuary, Building L, has been discovered adjacent to the artisans’ quarter on the south and west of Zone II (maps, figs. 5–7; identification made in 2006–2007).

Much more will be related regarding the sanctuary, but it is best to begin with a fuller description of the artisans’ quarter (map, fig. 7). One of the major finds is a kiln, Structure K, for making brick, tile, and loom weights, dated to the first phase of activity on Zone II (300–150 BCE; fig. 8).⁴ A second, smaller feature, Structure J, is hypothesized to be a kiln as well, probably for making pottery, built up against the



Fig. 1. Cornelian scarab from Cetamura del Chianti, intaglio side. Castellina in Chianti, Museo Archeologico del Chianti Senese.



Fig. 2. Cornelian scarab from Cetamura, scarab side.

1. The excavations at Cetamura del Chianti, an Etruscan hilltop habitation located ca. 30 km northeast of Siena, take place with the support and supervision of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana, Florence, under Fulvia Lo Schiavo, Superintendent, and Silvia Goglioli, Functionary for Cetamura. Basic documentation of the site: *Cetamura Antica*, 2000. See also the website: <http://www.fsu.edu/~classics/cetamura/>. A number of objects discussed in this article were included in the exhibition, *The Sanctuary of the Etruscan Artisans at Cetamura del Chianti: The Legacy of Alvaro Tracchi*, June 13–July 12 at the Museo Casa Masaccio, San Giovanni Valdarno, Italy. References to the catalog, published by EDIFIR, Florence, with the same title will be included below, as *Sanctuary 2009*. Objects from the show discussed here, unless otherwise indicated, have been placed on display at the Badia a Coltibuono, Gaiole in Chianti, until further notice.

For scarabs of the *a globolo* style: Hansson 2005 and discussion below. I am grateful to Ulf Hansson for his constant support in this inquiry and for responding to numerous questions I have posed to him.

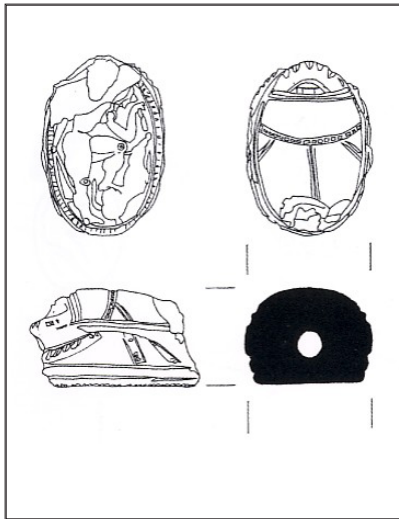


Fig. 3. Drawing of cornelian scarab from Cetamura.

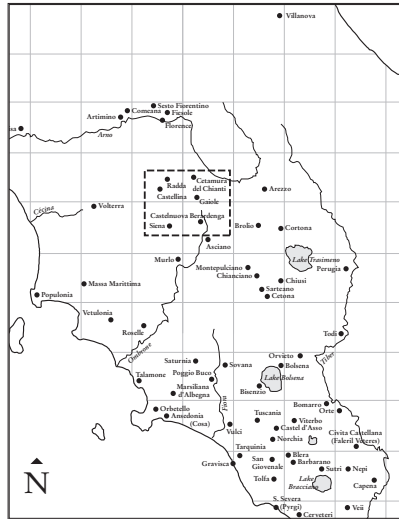


Fig. 4. Map of Etruria showing the Chianti area (in box), with location of Cetamura.

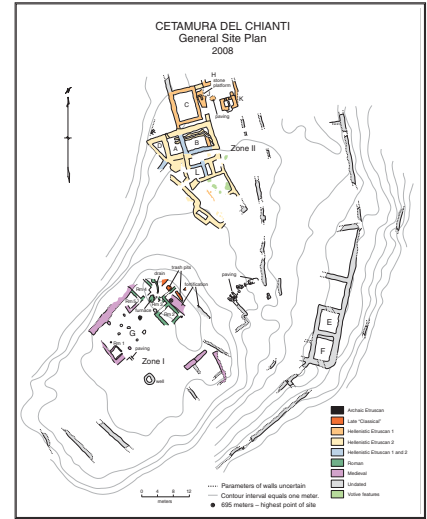


Fig. 5. Map of site of Cetamura, Zones I and II, 2008.

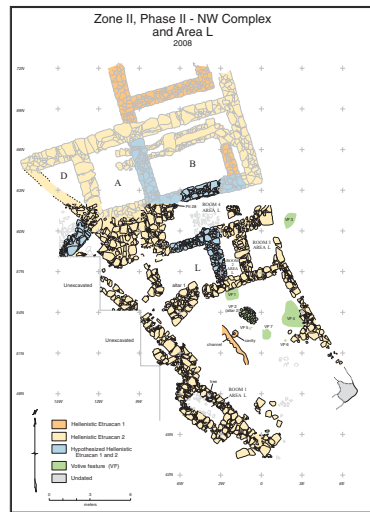


Fig. 6. Map of Zone II of Cetamura showing Building L, 2008.

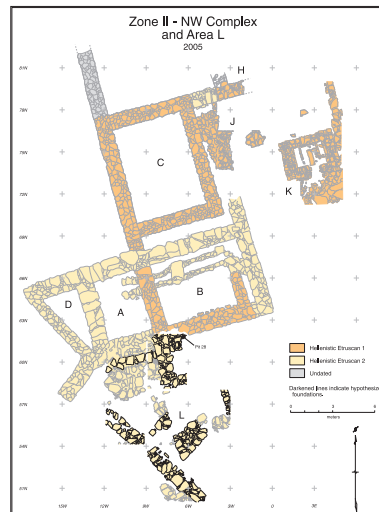


Fig. 7. Map of Zone II showing artisans' quarter of Cetamura, 2005.

2. Inv. no. C-93-71. The scarab is currently on display at the Museo Archeologico del Chianti Senese, Castellina in Chianti. See *Cetamura Antica* 2000: 27 (no. 32) and pl. XIX.32; de Grummond et al. 1999: 174; and *Sanctuary* 2009: 121 (cat. no. 134). The scarab was also the focus of a Master's thesis at Florida State University by Molly Vines: *An Etruscan Scarab from Cetamura del Chianti, Italy* (2000). All Florida State theses referenced in this article are available in PDF format on request to the author: ndegrummond@fsu.edu.
3. Hansson 2005.
4. For a fuller discussion of the identification of structures at Cetamura discussed in this paragraph and the interpretation of the phases, see *Cetamura Antica* 2000: 17–21 and *Sanctuary* 2009: 97–118.
5. Hackworth 1993 catalogs all of the weaving implements known up to 1993 and all the hand grinders as well. Weaving implements discovered after 1993 are included in *Cetamura Antica* 2000: 24, 27–31, along with others previously studied by Hackworth. Subsequent discoveries appear in *Sanctuary* 2009: 69–70, 74 (cat. nos. 51, 53 and 62).

wall of a large room with a paved floor, Structure C (figs. 9–10). Structure C was built in Phase I, but seems to have continued in use in Phase II (150–75 BCE) and Structure J may also belong to both phases. Within Structure C and all around the area have been found numerous weaving implements—loom weights, spindle whorls and spools—and in addition several stone hand tools for grinding, which may have been used in the weaving and dyeing process or perhaps for some aspect of the ceramic activities.⁵ In any case the tools are work related. Another craft or industry is represented by an abundance of iron slag found in the general area (no evidence for a forge or furnace has as yet been located). Rounding out the picture of a vigorous and busy artisans' quarter are Structures A and B, two structures (or rather the basements of two structures) connected with water management, with drainage features that indicate that Structure A was a cistern in Phase II, and that Structure B, which was built in Phase I, but shows signs of extensive reworking, was probably a cistern in Phase I.⁶

Religious activity was already hypothesized in the artisans' quarter before the discovery of the sanctuary. There is evidence of sacrificial ritual in Structure K, in which a black-gloss patera was shattered and the pieces scattered throughout the kiln.⁷ In fact, there were certainly two other vessels offered: a black-



Fig. 8. Structure K, Cetamura.



Fig. 9. Structure C, Cetamura, during excavation, 1978.

6. *Cetamura Antica* 2000: 18. See also de Grummond 1985: 33–36; de Grummond et al. 1994: 98–108.

7. Inv. no. C-96-30; *Cetamura Antica* 2000: 24 (no. 13); de Grummond 2001; *Sanctuary* 2009: 113 (cat. no. 121).



Fig. 10. Structure J, Cetamura.



Fig. 11. Cup from Structure K. Castellina in Chianti, Museo Archeologico del Chianti Senese.

gloss patera with a different diameter, of which 15 fragments were found inside the kiln, and a small black-gloss votive cup, mostly intact, placed in the *prae-furnium* of the kiln.⁸ The hypothesis is that these fine wares were offered to the gods so that they would bring good luck in the firing of the brick, tile and loom weights within the kiln. Review of the finds within Structure K suggests that even more ritual vessels may be identified. In particular, a small cup of local fabric, the only fully preserved vessel found in the kiln, was discovered near the bottom of the deposits near the back wall of the kiln (fig. 11),⁹ and in the light of other sacred activity in the zone is most likely to be interpreted as a foundation offering. In deposits in front of the stoking channels of the kiln other ritual items have been found, including two Etruscan inscriptions, naming the gods Lur and Leinth.¹⁰

The sacred nature of these activities at the kiln has now been confirmed and illuminated by identification of the sanctuary adjoining the artisans' zone (figs. 6, 12–13), dating to the period of Phase II (150–75 BCE).¹¹ Building L was a large trapezoidal structure facing southeast, featuring a courtyard with at least two altars, flanked by projecting wings. It has yielded a number of votive deposits and extensive evidence of Etruscan ritual practice. Many of the offerings bear a

8. Patera: Inv. no. C-96-104; *Sanctuary* 2009: 112 (cat. no. 122). Cup: Inv. no. C-96-85; de Grummond et al. 1999: 170; *Cetamura Antica* 2000: 24–25 (cat. no. 14); *Sanctuary* 2009: 113 (cat. no. 123).

9. Inv. no. C-97-105; *Cetamura Antica* 2000: 25 (cat. no. 15); *Sanctuary* 2009: 114 (cat. no. 125).

10. *Sanctuary* 2009: 116–117; Colonna & de Grummond (forthcoming). A discussion of ritual finds in and near the kiln is presented in *Sanctuary* 2009: 112–118.

11. For full discussion and presentation of numerous votive objects, see *Sanctuary* 2009: 39–98.



Fig. 12. View of Building L, with Altar I I foreground.



Fig. 13. View of Altar 2 (Votive Feature 2) in the courtyard of Building L.



Fig. 14. Spool from VF 2. Badia a Coltibuono, Gaiole in Chianti.



Fig. 15. Loom weight from VF 2. Badia a Coltibuono, Gaiole in Chianti.



Fig. 16. Miniature brick from VF 1B. Badia a Coltibuono, Gaiole in Chianti.

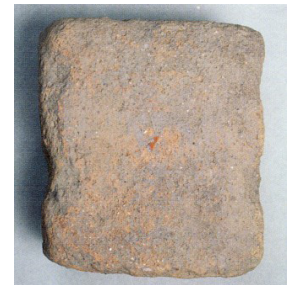


Fig. 17. Miniature brick, from VF 2. Badia a Coltibuono, Gaiole in Chianti.

direct relationship to the artisans' activities. Among these are a loom weight and spool, broken and burned (figs. 14–15), found in Votive Feature (VF) 2, a rock altar the surface of which was covered with carbon from sacrificial fires and offerings (fig. 13). A spindle whorl was found in the courtyard nearby.¹² Miniature bricks were found in VF 1B and VF 2 (figs. 16–17), and numerous iron objects, especially nails, have been found in five Votive Features: 1, 2, 3, 4, and 7 (fig. 18).¹³ Thus offerings in the sanctuary can be directly related to the crafts that were being practiced in the adjacent artisans' quarter: spinning and weaving, the firing of bricks, and the working of iron.

What is of particular interest for the study of the cornelian scarab is that two rings have recently been found as offerings in Building L, each with a carved intaglio gem (figs. 19–22). C-06-341,

12. Loom weight and spool: Sanctuary 2009: 69–70 (cat. nos. 51, 53). Spindle whorl: Sanctuary 2009: 74 (cat. no. 62)

13. Miniature bricks: Sanctuary 2009: 63 (cat. no. 34), 70 (cat. no. 52). Iron nails: Sanctuary 2009 (cat. nos. 54–59).



Fig. 18. Iron nails from VF 2. Badia a Coltibuono, Gaiole in Chianti.



Fig 19. Iron ring with chalcedony (sard?) intaglio (2 birds?) from VF 1A. Badia a Coltibuono, Gaiole in Chianti.

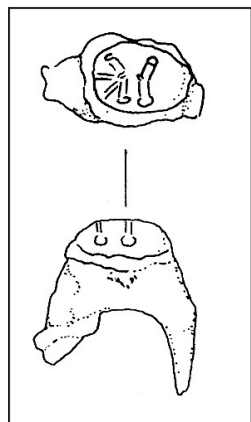


Fig. 20. Drawing of iron ring with chalcedony (sard?) intaglio (2 birds?) from VF 1A.

with stone of chalcedony, perhaps sard, was found in VF 1A; C-07-164, with cornelian stone, was found in Room 3 of Building L. In addition, a vitreous disc, best interpreted as a glass “ringstone,” C-06-99, was found on the south wall of Room 4 of Building L.¹⁴ Two other similar vitreous discs have been found in the immediate area of Structure K.¹⁵ A number of polished stones of jasper, serpentine, quartz and other materials have also been excavated in the votive features, in the courtyard and near the kiln. Finally, an iron ring with a plain oval setting of iron was found by Alvaro Tracchi, the discoverer of the site of Cetamura, evidently in or near Structure D and thus in the same area as the sanctuary and the artisans’ quarter.¹⁶ In short, it is evident that the cornelian scarab may be part of a pattern of the usage and offering of rings, gems, ringstones and polished stones in the sanctuary of the artisans at Cetamura. It is important to recognize this possibility even though thus far only a corner of Structure H, where the scarab was discovered, has been excavated and it is not yet possible to identify this structure as belonging to either the artisans’ activities or to the sanctuary.

The context at Cetamura is of the greatest interest for the study of Etruscan scarabs of the *a globolo* style. According to the research of Ulf Hansson,

14. Rings: Sanctuary 2009: 58 (cat. no. 19) and 122–123 (cat. no. 135). Vitreous disc: Sanctuary 2009: 124 (cat. no. 139). I am grateful to Pasquino Pallechi of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana for a preliminary report on the materials of the stones mounted on the rings. Conservation of the rings was carried out by Renzo Giachetti and Nòra Marosi of Studio Art Centers International (SACI).

the great majority of such gems lack a specific provenance.¹⁷ Of the 1471 gems he studied, a total of 167 had indication of provenance, of which 81 were from Etruscan and Latin sites; some of these were from very specific contexts, but more were of “generic” provenance, i.e., only the locality was recorded. Of the known “specific” provenances, most were from burials, and only two were certainly from sanctuary-related contexts: at Castiglion Fiorentino (fig. 23)¹⁸ and Castelsecco-S. Cornelio,¹⁹ both of which are in the immediate vicinity of Arezzo, and thus close to Cetamura. Hansson has also pointed out to me a recent report on a third Etrusco-Italic *a globolo* scarab from a sanctuary, found in a votive deposit on the acropolis at Satricum in Latium.²⁰ Finally, there is possibly a fourth item, said to have been found at Capena, possibly from the sanctuary at Lucus Feroniae, but the circumstances of the find are unknown.²¹ Also important is a scarab, much damaged, found at Poggio La Croce, near Cetamura (fig. 24),²² a site that has not yielded evidence that it may be a sanctuary, but is of significance because it is a habitation rather than a funerary context, and because of its proximity to Cetamura.

Before drawing comparisons with other gems, it



Fig. 21. Iron ring with cornelian intaglio (two-headed bird or birds?) from Room 3, Building L. Badia a Coltibuono, Gaiole in Chianti.

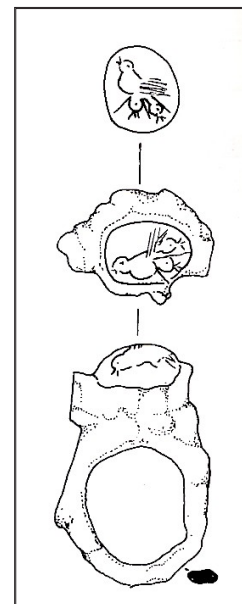


Fig. 22. Drawing of iron ring with cornelian intaglio (two-headed bird or birds?) from Room 3, Building L.

15. Inv. C-90-202 and C-95-06; Cetamura Antica 2000: 27 (cat. nos. 34 and 35); Sanctuary 2009: 123 (cat. nos. 136, 138).
16. Sanctuary 2009: 165 (cat. no. 222). Now in the Museo Paleontologico of the Accademia Valdarnese del Poggio, Monteverchi.
17. Hansson 2005: 43–68. For tallies of gems from different areas of Etruria and elsewhere, see 48, 50, 54, 57 and 62.
18. Castiglion Fiorentino: Hanson 2005: 45; Zamarchi Grassi 1995: 22, figs. 3–4, and Hansson 2002: 33–34. Cornelian scarab measuring 1.65 x 1.2 cm. Length of stone 0.9 cm. Wt. 2.6 g. The scarab was found in Ambiente A of the Piazzale del Cassero of Castiglion Fiorentino, in a locus with architectural terracottas and a small votive bronze, showing the likely connection with a sanctuary. The theme carved on the intaglio side is that of a hero, probably Heracle, on a raft supported by amphoras. Date, late 4th–early 3rd century BCE.
19. Hansson 2005: 45. Now in Arezzo, Museo Nazionale Archeologico Mecenate. Funghini (1896: v, 44 and pl. v.9) reproduces an image of the intaglio side of the stone, but it is scarcely legible. Here is his description: “Uno scarabeo di corniola rossa, ove sembra inciso un Ercole armato di due clavi, invece di uno, secondo il consueto, cui è mutilato un poco sul capo e nelle gambe.” I am most grateful to Ulf Hansson for sharing with me his own notes on this stone, which yield the following information: cornelian scarab measuring 1.3 x 0.9 cm. Length of stone 0.75 cm. Sporadic find without context from the sanctuary-theater at Castelsecco. Image of a male figure, walking right,

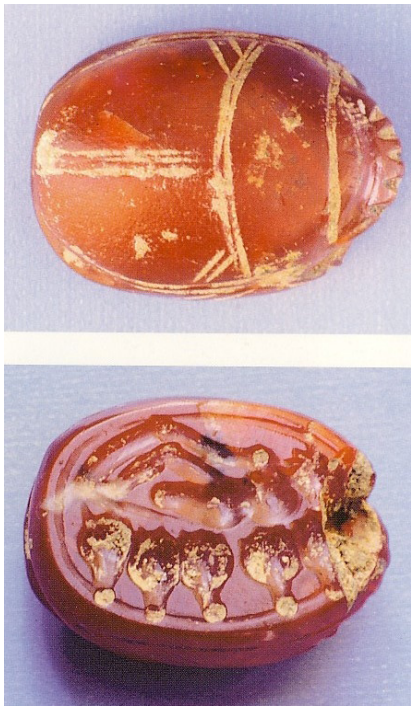


Photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana.

Fig. 23. Etruscan cornelian scarab with intaglio image of Heracle on the Raft. From Castiglion Fiorentino (Arezzo).



Photo: Marzio Cresci.

Fig. 24. Scarab with two pairs of male legs from Poggio La Croce, Radda-in-Chianti. Castellina in Chianti, Museo Archeologico del Chianti.

is appropriate to give a full description of the *Cetamura cornelian*.²³ The stone measures 1.5 x 1.25 cm, with a height of 0.8 and a weight of 2 g.²⁴ The coloration generally matches the Munsell color 10R 3/6, “dark red,” with a few patches of a lighter color. Like many Etruscan scarabs, it is perforated with a channel running on the long axis of the gem, which will have served to hold the stone on a swivel or wire. When the gem was excavated, there was observed a tiny filament of bronze wire still within the channel.

The *Cetamura* beetle is strongly convex in profile. The upper side on such ancient scarab gems is sufficiently close to the actual insects that the zoological terminology can be used to describe the examples from art (fig. 25).²⁵ Beginning at the front end of the insect, the scarab features a clupeus with five triangular incised grooves; there is no evidence of the two antennae that occur on some stones. The vertex is vaguely articulated with simple grooves (3 are visible) running parallel from front to back, creating rectangular divisions. A double incision separates the clupeus and vertex from the prothorax, which is lacking in decoration. In between the prothorax and the elytra (wings)

holding twigs (?) in his hand, possibly Heracle. Date uncertain, context generally of 4th century BCE.

20. Gnade 2007: 182 (no. 537). Scarab of cornelian (not amber, as in text), measuring 0.6 x 1.2 x 0.9 cm, from votive deposit III, a cistern utilized for dumping in the 3rd century BCE. The theme is of an “animale fabuloso.”
21. Hansson 2005: 48. No data about the stone is available.
22. Hansson 2005: 47. Now in the Museo Archeologico del Chianti, Castellina in Chianti. Max. h. preserved 1.1 cm. W. 1.2 cm. Wt. 1 g. Only about one-half of the intaglio side survives, showing the bare legs of two standing figures, presumably male. The scarab side is chipped away. Found in context with a skyphos of the Ferrara T. 585 Group, late 4th-early 3rd century BCE. For the fullest treatment of the site of Poggio La Croce, see Cresci & Viviani 1995 and Cresci et al. 1995. I thank the director of excavations, Marzio Cresci, for providing me with a color photograph and giving permission to publish it here.
23. For the sake of completeness here, the description incorporates matter from the entry in *Cetamura Antica*, 2000: 27 (cat. no. 32) and the entry in *Sanctuary 2009*: 121 (cat. no. 134).

is a curved band of tiny rectangles. Three grooves divide the elytra down the middle—one deep one in the center and two shallow ones on the sides. On the sides triangular winglets (humeral collosities) are set off from the elytra by two incised grooves.²⁶ The stone is chipped rather heavily in the area of the elytra. In the profile of the scarab the legs are visible, three on each side, carved in relief with irregular incised grooves (“whiskers”), especially on the forelegs. At the bottom is a plinth, plain except for a ridge running horizontally around the gem, with a groove above and below the ridge.

The Cetamura beetle combination of elements is quite particular, and though its individual features can be found generally in a number of stones, it is difficult to find a precise match. The astonishing variety in the combinations of shape, size and especially details of a *globolo* scarabs is evident from the catalogue of gems in the Ashmolean Museum by J. Boardman and M.-L. Vollenweider, where every gem is illustrated by drawings of the scarab on the top as well as the plinth and legs as seen from the side.²⁷ The gem closest to the Cetamura scarab is a specimen in the Ashmolean (fig. 26; strongly convex profile; curved band with rectangles dividing prothorax and elytra; triangular winglets; legs in relief, plain plinth; size 1.5 x 1.1 x 0.8 cm), which shows on the intaglio

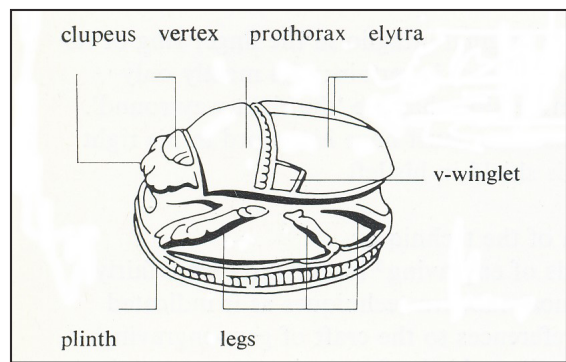


Fig. 25. Diagram of typical Etruscan scarab indicating anatomical parts. After M. Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: 60, Fig. 1.

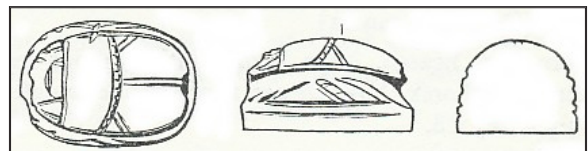


Fig. 26. Diagram of cornelian scarab in Fig. 27. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. After Boardman and Vollenweider 1978: Fig. II, no. 249.

24. It is therefore slightly larger than the average for scarabs calculated by Hansson (2005: 82): 1.36 x 1.03 x 0.73 cm.

25. Excellent description of the anatomy of the actual creature in Wilkinson 2008: 7–8. Hansson (2005: 79–82) applies the terms as he discusses the typology of Etruscan a *globolo* gems.

26. A different shape for the winglet, with one side in a V, is shown in fig. 3.



Fig. 27. Etruscan cornelian scarab with intaglio image of a centaur holding a rock. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. After Boardman and Vollenweider 1978: pl. XLI, no. 249.

side the image of a centaur with a boulder (fig. 27), in a style that is comparable to that of the Cetamura gem.²⁸ Unfortunately the provenance of the stone is unknown. It is quite believable that these two gems come from the same workshop, even though the linear frame on the Oxford intaglio differs from the cable pattern on the Cetamura stone.

The Castiglion Fiorentino gem, also close in size, has a similar appearance at first glance, but also with some important variants: the 5-grooved clupeus has antennae; the vertex is not articulated; the dividing line between prothorax and elytra is not a band with rectangles, but two grooves; the legs are mainly incised, with little relief. It also has a linear border on the intaglio side.

The intaglio side of the Cetamura gem is carved with a device set in an oval surrounded, as noted, by a cable pattern, one of the most typical of framing designs on *a globolo* gems. The device features a hero figure, a powerful nude male facing right, his proper left leg placed on the back of an animal of medium size.²⁹ The two figures of the man and the animal fill the field and leave very little blank space. The limbs of the hero are muscular and rounded, with the joints especially showing the circular or globular depressions that are typical of the style. He bends toward the creature, dangling over its head from

27. Boardman & Vollenweider 1978: 56, 61 and 64, figs. 10–12. Unfortunately very few publications on scarabs are so thorough as this one in publishing the view of the upper side and the plinth.

his proper left hand an elongated object, evidently some kind of bait for the animal. His right shoulder is missing, but the arm can be seen placed behind his back, and it, too, seems to hold something that dangles loosely. It could be a weapon or more likely a snare made of rope. The head of the male figure is damaged and shows only two triangular projections on the face, which may be read as the chin and nose of the hero. The animal has a muscular body, with roundness in the front shoulders above the legs and in the rear haunches, and a narrowing in the abdominal area. The muzzle is rather long, and one pointed ear is visible on the left of the head. Of the legs, very little is visible: only part of one of the front feet and part of one of the rear feet. The tail is of medium length.

Speaking in generic terms, the scene belongs with Hansson's *a globolo* subject matter group 1.2, "Human and/or mythic figures with animals." But the scene does not fit tidily in either of his sub-categories, "Figures riding or kneeling on animals," or "Figures bending over animals," because neither of these seems to include placing a foot on the animal. The identification of the subject of the scene, which must be mythological since it features a nude male, hinges upon the identity of the animal. It is not large enough, nor does it have any identifying attributes, to suggest that it is a horse or, even less, a lion, but it could be a



Fig. 28. Attic black-figure oenochoe with Herakles offering bait to Kerberos. Hamburg, Museum. After LIMC 5, no. 2568.

28. Boardman & Vollenweider 1978: 60, no. 249, fig. 61, pl. XLI; Hansson 2005: 192, no. 834, pl. 5.15.

29. The descriptions of right and left of the gem would of course be reversed when the intaglio gem was used as a seal or stamp creating an image in relief and the mirror image of the actual carving.

30. Newly restored: Torelli & Moretti Sgubini 2008: 201–202 (cat. no. 3). I thank Sybille Haynes and Shirly J. Schwarz for offering their opinions that the Cetamura gem showed this theme (personal communications).



Fig. 29. Attic black-figure hydria with scene of Herakles offering bait to Kerberos. Photograph © 2010 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. After LIMC 5, no. 2556.

deer or a large dog. A tantalizing comparison may be made with the well-known sculpture from the Portonaccio temple at Veii of Heracle subduing the Kerynitian deer, where the subject matter is agreed upon by all.³⁰ There the hero stands with his leg upon the trussed deer, and is thought to be waving his club in his upraised right arm, to ward off Aplu, who lunges toward him to retrieve the deer. The left arm is missing. The Cetamura gem would arguably show the moment before this, and one would have to suppose that Heracle caught the deer by baiting it. The lack of antlers need not be a concern, since the Kerynitian deer was sometimes shown without them. The main problem is that nowhere in Etruscan art or in Greek art or literature is there evidence that the hero caught the deer by luring it; he always takes it by force, usually by chasing it or wrestling it; in the latter action he seizes the antlers, the muzzle or an ear.³¹ Hansson notes that the struggle with the deer is one of the most popular devices on other *a globolo* gems, but the examples he gives show Heracle either striding beside the deer or kneeling on it and grabbing it, rather than luring it. Further, an objection may be made to the identification of the animal as a deer on the grounds that the tail is rather long.³²

31. Schwarz, LIMC 5 (1990), s.v. "Herakles/Hercle," 221–222, nos. 213–224. I thank Dr. Schwarz for sharing with me her forthcoming supplement to the LIMC article, which likewise does not include any examples of the luring of the deer.

32. I thank Erika Simon (personal communication) for her admonition that "you must look at the tail!" For other *a globolo* scarabs identified as Heracle with the hind, which indeed show a stump of a tail as well as antlers, see Schwarz, LIMC 5 (1990), s.v. "Herakles/Hercle," 221–222, nos. 213, 213c, 216, 217. See also Hansson 2005: 175, no. 332; 201, no. 1137; 190, no. 765, pl. 6.18–20, with two examples that lack the antlers.

Another possibility is that the gem shows Heracle capturing the underworld dog Kerberos; this identification, too, raises some doubts. The size of the animal is not a problem, since the proportions are similar to those of Kerberos on several gems;³³ the main objection is that the creature has neither multiple heads nor snake appendages to secure its identity as Kerberos. Images of a one-headed Kerberos are rare, but they do occur in Etruscan, Greek and Roman art, as well as Kerberos dogs that have only two heads.³⁴ Images of Kerberos without serpents are also quite numerous.³⁵ The motif of Heracle with his foot on the animal occurs on a scarab of the 5th–4th century BCE, in which the dog’s identity is secured by the presence of three heads.³⁶ On a cornelian scarab in Paris, Heracle stands with both feet on the back of the two-headed dog.³⁷ The idea of Heracle luring the dog is consistent with literary evidence according to which Pluto insisted that Herakles was not to use weapons on the hound;³⁸ accordingly he is frequently shown leading the dog on a leash. Further, Greek images sometimes show the hero approaching Kerberos with one hand extended as if to stroke or lure the animal. A black-figure oenochoe in Hamburg (early 5th century BCE; fig. 28) shows precisely the motif on the Cetamura scarab of the hero extending one hand with dangling bait, while the other holds a snare, in this case a chain.³⁹ Another black-figure vase, a hydria in Boston (fig. 29; 520–510 BCE), shows Herakles approaching the dog with club and chain hanging down in the right hand while the left hand is extended toward the muzzle of one of the heads; it contains an object between the thumb and fingers, evidently a small treat for the dog.⁴⁰

A fitting comparison for the Cetamura gem, as indicated by Hansson, is provided by an intaglio in Malibu that shows a nude male figure approaching a dog, holding an elongated object dangling behind his back in his left hand (fig. 30).⁴¹ The item in his hand, which is identical to the one held behind the back by the Cetamura hero, has been identified variously as a *pedum* (shepherd’s crook), sword, or cleaver. But it has no curvature, as a *pedum* normally does, and it seems to enlarge as it moves downward. Further, if this is indeed a weapon, it is not at all in position to be utilized. I propose instead that both gems show the hero hiding a snare for the

33. Schwarz, LIMC 5 (1990), s.v. “Herakles/Heracle,” 224–225, no. 250–252; Hansson 2005: 194, no. 884, pl. 7.8 and 194, no. 878, pl. 7.32.

34. One head: Woodford & Spier, LIMC 6 (1992), s.v. “Kerberos,” Greek: 25, nos. 1–5, poss. 6–10; Roman: 28, nos. 54–55. For an Etruscan image of the one-headed Kerberos, see Schwarz, LIMC 5 (1990), s.v. Herakles/Heracle,” 225, no. 251. Two heads: Woodford & Spier, LIMC 5 (1990), s.v. “Kerberos,” Greek: 26, nos. 11–24; Etruscan: 27, nos. 41–42; Roman: 28, nos. 56–58. For the Etruscan two-headed dog, see also Schwarz, LIMC 5 (1990), s.v. “Herakles/Heracle,” 224, no. 249. The number of heads of Kerberos varies from 100, 50 and 3 in literary accounts to 3, 2 and 1 in artistic images. Hansson (2005: 113) cautions that the two-headed creature could also be Othros (Orthos), the brother dog of Kerberos and the watchdog of Geryon. If the beast has serpent appendages, it is surely Kerberos.

35. Woodford & Spier, LIMC 6 (1992), s.v. “Kerberos.”

36. Schwarz, LIMC 5 (1990), s.v. “Herakles/Heracle,” 224, no. 248 (present location unknown); Furtwängler 1900: vol. 1, pl. 18.15; vol. 2, 88. Here Heracle places his foot on the neck of Kerberos.

37. Schwarz, LIMC 5 (1990), s.v. “Herakles/Heracle,” 224, no. 248a; Hansson 2005: 194, no. 878, pl. 7.32.



Fig. 30. Cornelian scarab with nude hero (Hercle?) approaching a dog (Kerberos?). Photograph © 2010 Getty Museum, Malibu. After Hansson 2005: pl. 7.31.

animal behind his back, as he cautiously approaches. It could be a rope or a chain or perhaps some kind of sack or net that will be thrown over the dog.

In sum, I propose to recognize the scene on the Cetamura scarab as Hercle baiting and snaring the hound Kerberos, represented here with one head and no snakes. This gem then depicts a rather rare theme, with a parallel example, it is argued, in the Malibu stone. The presence of Hercle himself on a *globolo* scarabs is not at all unusual. In fact, according to Hansson, he is far and away the most popular subject on the devices. Of the gems in which the identity of the mythological figure is certain, Hercle appears on 189, or 59% of the total. The number of securely identified representations of Hercle with Kerberos is small (only 4), but the dog itself, with identifying characteristics such as multiple heads or snakes, is popular.⁴² It is worth noting that Hercle predominates on the few known instances of a *globolo* scarabs in sacred contexts: joining the Cetamura Hercle are the Castiglion Fiorentino gem, which shows the theme of Hercle on the amphora raft, and the Castelsecco scarab, which depicts a hero identified with Hercle by Funghini.⁴³ Of considerable interest in this regard is a fifth-century gem from the sanctuary of Juno at Latin Gabii, a scarab — though not of the *a globolo*

38. Smallwood, LIMC 5 (1990), s.v. "Herakles," 86.

39. Smallwood, LIMC 5 (1990), s.v. "Herakles," 87–88, nos. 2554–8, 2566, for the hero approaching the dog with carefully extended hand. On the Hamburg oenochoe (no. 2568), the right hand holds out the bait while the left hand holds the chain in a circle as if to slip it over the head. In my opinion, the motif is misinterpreted by Smallwood, who thinks that the bait is one end of the chain. But there is a gap between the bait and the head of Kerberos, where one would expect the chain to continue. Further the chain may be seen circling back into the left hand of the hero.

40. Smallwood, LIMC 5 (1990), s.v. "Herakles," 87, no. 2556. Smallwood notes only that Herakles extends his hand and that the dog is sniffing it. The composition is exactly that of someone giving a dog a treat.

41. Hansson 2005: 184, 237, pl. 7.31.

42. Hansson 2005: 99: "There are numerous devices showing this dog-monster alone."

43. See notes 15 and 16 above.

type — which shows a hero with a dog (fig. 31). Almagro-Gorbea stops short of calling the male figure Hercules, though he notes that an astral symbol in the field is one frequently associated with him, continuing down to scarabs of the *a globolo* type.⁴⁴ He also calls the object dangling from the hero's hand a *falcata* or short *machaira*, but the pose of the hero hardly implies any forceful application of such a weapon. Could this rather be a leash or noose? To read the object it is preferable to look at a photograph of the actual gem rather than the drawing, which tends to interpret details.

What is also remarkable is that the context at Cetamura del Chianti suggests another link for the iconography and/or cult of Heracle, with the Etruscan deity Leinth. These Etruscan mythological figures appear together on an Etruscan mirror found in Perugia (fig. 32), where Heracle, attended by a docile Kerberos, receives a crown from Mean, a victory goddess, and is attended by Leinth, a female deity who perhaps also celebrates his success, even as she looks away from the main scene.⁴⁵ In 2006, an inscription was discovered at Cetamura, reading *mi lein...*, just to the north of Structure K, which may be described as the only inscription known so far with a dedication to this deity.⁴⁶ The inscription was found only a few meters away from the find spot of the gem. This connection suggested between Heracle and Leinth at Cetamura, though tantalizing, for now must remain conjectural.

For one thing, some qualifications must be made concerning the find spot of the Cetamura gem. It was excavated within a corner of Structure H, a building thus far little explored and not completely understood (fig. 33). Judging from its masonry, the structure dates to around 300 BCE, the beginning of Phase I, that is, the same time when the kiln Structure K was first used. Its plan is uncertain, but it seems to extend toward the north, being separated from the kiln area by a thick and deep wall. The scarab gem was found within the angle formed by the two walls of Structure H, at a depth of about 40 cm below ground level in a thin stratum ca. 10 cm deep of a dark reddish clay (Munsell soil color 2.5 YR 3/4) containing a good bit of broken tile and stone rubble.⁴⁷ Within the same locus as the gem and also in the locus beneath it were found numerous examples of the ceramic ware known as “Internal Red-Slip Ware (IRS),” or “Pompeian Red-Ware,”

44. Almagro-Gorbea 1982: 251–252.

45. Frascarelli 1995: 21–23, no. 1.

46. Colonna & de Grummond 2008; Sanctuary 2009: 116 (cat. no. 126).

47. Unpublished field notebook by Barry Moore, Cetamura del Chianti, 1993, Unit 78.5N/2W, 9-14.



Fig. 31. Engraved scarab gem from Gabii with figure of a hero and a dog. After Almagro Gorgea 1982: pl. XL.I.

a fabric confidently dated to the 2nd century BCE.⁴⁸ That is, the locus of the gem most likely belongs to Phase II at Cetamura. The Lein(th) inscription, on the other hand, was found in a deep and complicated deposit of debris from the kiln that more likely dates to Phase I. So the gem and the inscription, found near to each other in terms of distance, were actually found in spaces separated from one another and possibly of different periods of activity in the artisans' zone.

Can the stratigraphy of Structure H be of any relevance in dating the Cetamura scarab? Beyond the IRS that provides a terminus post quem or at best a co-terminus with the gem, it does not help. Instead better indication is provided by stylistic analysis linking it to the scarabs of the *a globolo* style, which belong mainly to the second half of the 4th century or the 3rd century BCE.⁴⁹ The type of band with a series of small rectangles used to divide the prothorax from the elytra is rather more typical of the late 4th century.⁵⁰

What the stratigraphical context does tell us about the scarab is nevertheless quite interesting. For some time, I was puzzled by the evidence that seemed to indicate a second-century date as the context for an object certainly datable stylistically to around 300 BCE, found in a structure with masonry of Phase I, and associated with an artisans' zone that showed

48. Peña 1990.

49. Hansson 2005: 42.

abundant evidence of activity in the third century. The discovery of the sanctuary in Building L, with its votive offerings securely dated to the second century, has helped to clarify the situation. As noted above, the inventory of relevant objects from the sanctuary and the artisans' quarter now comprises the cornelian Hercle scarab, the ring with a carved cornelian stone (birds), the ring with a carved chalcedony (birds), Tracchi's iron ring, three glass "ringstones," four specimens of polished serpentine, one example of red jasper and one of white quartz.⁵¹ The two rings, the jasper and one of the serpentine pieces were all in contexts firmly dated to the second century BCE. I hypothesize that the Hercle scarab could be part of a pattern of such items that may be associated with the craftsmen at Cetamura, possibly as specimens of their work, possibly as their offerings in some cases.

For ancient artisans who worked with polishing and engraving gemstones, there is evidence that they would assemble and handle items of different materials and different dates. For example, the cache of gems at the house of Pinarius Cerealis at Pompeii included unengraved polished stones as well as carved stones of varying materials, in varying styles and of different dates.⁵² The 14 stones in two boxes in the House of the Gemmarius on the via Nocera at Pompeii, uniformly high in quality, were also various



Fig. 32. Engraved bronze Etruscan mirror with Hercle victorious over Kerberos, crowned by Mean, attended by Leinth. Perugia, Archaeological Museum. After CSE Italia 2. I. I, drawing by Alba Frascarelli.

50. Hansson (personal communication).

51. All the items mentioned appear in Sanctuary 2009. In addition to those listed above, found in the sanctuary and artisans' quarter, other stones have been found on Zone I at Cetamura: one glass "ringstone," one white quartz stone and two serpentine stones. See Sanctuary 2009: 123–124 (cat. nos. 137, 140, 142–143). One simple iron ring without a setting (C-91-368) and a small, simple bronze ring (C-82-643; Cetamura Antica 2000: 41 (cat. no. 148)) have also been found on Zone I. Evidence for cult activity on Zone I remains spotty, but should not be ruled out. Yet another simple iron ring (C-88-104) was found in the transitional zone between Zone I and Zone II.

52. Pannuti 1975: 187; Lapatin 2009: 40. There is conclusive evidence that gems were worked in the establishment, provided by several sharp-pointed tools (Pannuti 1975: 188). The gem carver evidently kept a stock of materials he created himself, but owned other objects he might sell or reuse in some way.



Fig. 33. View of Structure H, Cetamura, under excavation (1993).

in their materials, subject matter and style; some were carved and others were not.⁵³

But were the gem-related materials at Cetamura being offered by votaries who had obtained the polished stones, glass ringstones or rings with gems from the craftsmen, or were they offered by the craftsmen themselves? Would gem carvers have made offerings to the gods for success in their craft? I have cited the evidence that the weavers offered spindles, spools and weights, the brick makers offered miniature bricks, and the iron workers offered nails, slag and lumps of iron, presumably to bring good fortune for the labors they were performing. First of all, the problem with the small polished stones and glass “ringstones” is that they could have served as good luck pieces for anyone, given their resemblance to (and perhaps original identity as) gaming pieces.⁵⁴ Further, fine carved gems and special stones were frequent offerings in Greek and Roman sanctuaries, but offered, as far as we can tell, by the owners of the objects rather

53. Sodo 1988: 200, 202, note 12; D’Ambrosio & De Carolis 1997: 48–51; Lapatin 2009: 40–41. Here, too, there was evidence of equipment for a gem carver, notably three burins and a wooden box within which was pitch, a substance used to hold a gem firm during carving.

54. Comparanda for gaming pieces from Greece and Rome abound, from the games called *petteia*, “pebbles,” and *latrunculi*, “little soldiers.” See Salza Prina Ricotti 1995: 108, n. 16 for helpful bibliography. For tombs with polished pebbles, see Cianferoni, De Marinis & Goggioli 1984: 95, no. 133 and De Marinis 1977: 57, note 23. A striking Etruscan example is found in the set of glass gaming pieces from an Etruscan tomb at Chiusi, very similar to the glass pieces from Cetamura: Eldridge 1918: 293. For further discussion of gaming pieces from Cetamura, see *Cetamura Antica*, 2000: 27 (cat. nos. 34–35; glass), 41 (cat. nos 160–167; stone, ceramic and bone), and Sanctuary 2009: 120.

than the craftsmen. Plantzos has made an extensive useful survey⁵⁵ of the offerings of gems and rings in Greek temple inventories, covering a chronological arc from the 5th century to the 2nd century BCE. When the names of donors are known, they seem to be persons of higher status; there is no evidence of craftsmen making donations. In Rome, whole cabinets might be donated (*dactyliothecae*, as for example, the collection offered by Julius Caesar at the temple of Venus Genetrix) or single large items like the 150-pound rock crystal donated by Livia on the Capitoline (Plin. *Nat.* 37. 11 and 27).

What we would like to know more about is whether craftsmen in this profession were present at Cetamura, but so far there is no area in which the stones were collected together, nor have any tools been identified (as at the house of Pinarius Cerealis). And would they have made modest donations of this type in order to secure success in their craft? Very little is known about the lives of gem carvers, let alone their religious activities.⁵⁶ There is at least one item that speaks to this question, a Roman votive altar with an inscription of donation to the Genius of the guild (*decuria*) of *gemmaarii*,⁵⁷ showing that those who handled gems (perhaps as artisans, perhaps as dealers, and very likely as both at the same time) had their patron divinity. It is worth noting, too, that the cache of gems in the House of the Gemmarius was evidently found in the vicinity of the house *lararium*, and that a statue of the goddess Fortuna was included.⁵⁸ This could be mere coincidence, of course, considering the ubiquity of *lararia* at Pompeii. One other aspect of the Cetamura scarab must be investigated relative to activities in the sanctuary. As noted earlier, there are significant parts of the stone missing both on the scarab side and the intaglio side. Offerings in the sanctuary are frequently found broken, surely the result of a ritual that rendered the objects fit for the gods alone, in the true sense of the word sacrifice. For example, both the spool and the loom weight from Votive Feature 2 (figs. 14–15) were broken in half vertically and only one-half of each item was found on the hearth altar. There are numerous other examples of similar ritual breakage at Cetamura.⁵⁹ Could the damage to the Cetamura gem have been made intentionally, so that the stone was then committed to the gods? The gem from the sanctuary at Gabii (fig. 31) certainly shows only about one-half of the original stone. An Etruscan scarab

55. Plantzos 1999: 12–17.

56. Calabi Limentani 1958.

57. The donation was made by Stratonice, the wife of the gemmarius Anthus (CIL VI 00245): Stratonice Anthi gemmari | aram Genio huius decuriae d(onum) d(edit). I thank Francis Cairns for assistance with researching this inscription.

58. Sodo 1988: 200.

59. E.g., the ceramics in Votive Feature 1: Sanctuary 2009: 52–55.

gem in the Hague, of unknown provenance, seems to have been intentionally sliced vertically.⁶⁰ That said, unfortunately other evidence seems to be lacking for Etruscan gem offerings that were intentionally broken.⁶¹ The gem from Poggio La Croce (fig. 24) is broken horizontally and quite irregularly, and in any case, there is no evidence that it was in a sacred or ritual context. In addition, as Ulf Hansson has pointed out to me, the breakage pattern on the Cetamura gem — around the ends close to where the channel runs through the stone — is in fact a typical one, found on a number of stones in graves as opposed to sanctuaries, and more likely has to do with how the gem was manufactured or how it was handled (or mishandled) rather than some kind of ritual.⁶² So we must say that there is as yet no convincing evidence that the scarab or other stones were intentionally broken or damaged in order to offer them to the gods.

Cetamura had its brickmakers, weavers and ironworkers all laboring in the same area and worshipping in the sanctuary. For now it can only be a working hypothesis that another craft was represented in ritual—that of jewelers who handled a stock of glass ringstones, rings and polished and engraved stones.⁶³

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60. Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978: 90 (no. 44).

61. I thank Stephen Elliott for surveying information on the presence of gemstones as offerings and in graves, in particular in the volumes of *Notizie degli Scavi*.

62. Hansson 2005: 178, no. 407, pl. 2.12; 186, no. 634, pl. 3.14; 198, no. 1018, pl. 4.13; 187, no. 667, pl. 5.11; 165, no. 45, pl. 11.2; 190, no. 767, pl. 11.22, etc.

63. Further investigation of Structure H could, of course, provide new considerations.

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