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Chiara Pilo* and Marco Giuman

Greek Myth on Etruscan Urns from Perusia: the sacrifice of Iphigenia

Abstract: The production of cremation urns of Perusia is one of the most important of North Etruria, and many of them were decorated with scenes of myth. The meaning of a myth is strictly related to its social and cultural context. Indeed, the reception of an iconographical theme depends on the specific cultural setting and each society perceives and re-elaborates the same image in different ways. This paper examines the use of the myth of the sacrifice of Iphigenia for the local Etruscan context of the second and first century B.C.E. The representation of that myth enjoyed in Perusia a success that is much greater than in Greek context, revealing the creative approach of the Perusian sculptors and the culture of their patrons.

Keywords: sacrifice of Iphigenia, Etruscan urns, Perusia, Greek myths, iconography

The use and re-elaboration of Classical mythological themes on the cinerary urns found in the cemeteries of the Etruscan city of Perusia provide an important tool for investigating the local community in the period following its political submission to Rome. We decided to focus our research in particular on the images of the sacrifice of Iphigenia.[1] Derived from Greek literature, but also well known in Latin literature, this subject is quite rare in Greek iconography. The popularity of this theme in the funerary contexts of Perusia, which has no comparison in the rest of the Italian peninsula, provides an interesting opportunity to study the mechanisms of selection and reworking of myths and images as a mirror of the vivacity of the local society.

The ancient city of Perusia, now Perugia (fig. 1), lies on a hill in a strategic position overlooking the Tiber, a natural means of communication between the

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[1] Bonfante 1984; Brunn 1965, 40–52, 106–12; Dareggi 1972, 34–5; Heurgon 1984; Pairault 1972; Krauskopf 1990.

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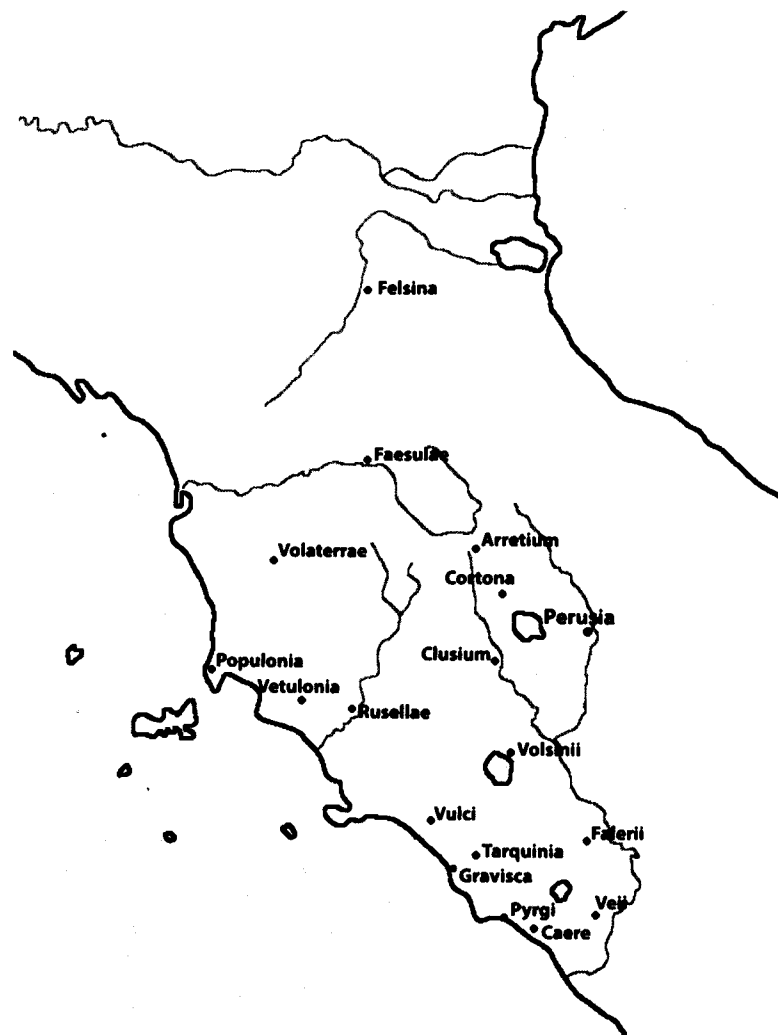
Fig. 1: Map of Etruria (authors).

Tyrrhenian coast and the trans-Apennine area as well as a physical border between Etruscans and Umbrians.[2] Apart from some impasto potsherds from the area of the cathedral[3] and a knife of the Celano type dating to the Final Bronze Age,[4] the

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2 For the history of the ancient city, see Bratti 2007, 25–36 with bibliography.
3 Cenciaioli 2012.
4 Bianco Peroni 1976, no. 248.

earliest evidence of permanent settlement dates back to the proto-Villanovan and Villanovan periods.[5] Five chamber tombs of the necropolis of Palazzone at Ponte San Giovanni,[6] near the Tiber, and two rich groups of bronzes from the environs, found at Castel San Mariano[7] and San Valentino,[8] document the existence in the sixth century B.C.E. of non-urban society led by *principes*: the formation process of the city seems to have begun only at the end of the same century. According to the tradition, Perusia was one of the twelve cities of the Etruscan League.[9]

The Roman conquest consisted of a sequence of military offensives and diplomatic agreements. At the end of the fourth century B.C.E., Perusia was probably one of the Etruscan cities of the hinterland that fought against Rome. In 310 B.C.E. the consul Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus won two victories over the Etruscans, one of them near Perusia, thereafter arranging a truce with Perusia, Arretium and Cortona.[10] After the Roman victory at Sentinum in 295 B.C.E., Perusia and Volsinii were involved in new conflicts, followed by the establishment of *foedera*.

During the Second Punic War Perusia remained loyal to Rome, providing supplies and troops to the Roman army. The Carthaginians passed through its territory, which they ravaged and plundered.[11] The city took part in the Civil War that began 91 B.C.E. In 90 B.C.E. as a result of the Lex Iulia it became a *municipium*, and its inhabitants were registered in the Tromentina tribe. Like other Etruscan cities, Perusia was involved in the war between Marius and Sulla, taking the side of the Marian forces. In 41 B.C.E. Lucius Antonius and Fulvia, supporters of Marcus Antonius, occupied the city, which was then conquered by Octavian after a siege. The city was seriously damaged. Many inhabitants were executed and their lands were given to veterans of the victorious army.[12]

The Roman conquest of Etruria in the third century B.C.E. brought about a period of flourishing economy for Perusia. The improvement of the road network made of Perusia a crucial crossroads in the trans-Apennine region.[13] Evidence for the rising fortunes of the city is a monumental building program, which had likely

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5 Bratti 2007, 26–7, with bibliography.
6 Cenciaioli 2002, 54–7; Berichillo 2004, 184–87; Feruglio 2011, 233.
7 Höckmann 1982; Bruni 2002; Bruschetti and Trombetta 2013.
8 Berichillo 2004, 189–90.
9 Strabo 5.2.2. See Torelli 1983.
10 Livy 9.41.5–7.
11 Livy 23.17.11; 28.45.18.
12 On the *bellum perusinum* see Harris 1971, 299–318; Sisani 2011 with bibliography.
13 The ancient relation with the trans-Appenine region is reflected in the foundation legends of Perusia and Felsina/Bologna or Mantua/Mantova. On this topic see Briquel 2002, 12–20.

began already in the fourth century B.C.E., when Perusia was surrounded with a circuit of walls,[14] completed in the following century with the reconstruction in new and monumental form of the main gates of the city, the "Arco Etrusco" and the "Porta Marzia," as part of the improved via Amerina.[15]

The cemeteries of this period are located along the via Amerina and the other main roads leading from the city gates (fig. 2).[16] Other burial grounds in the territory between the city and the Tiber seem to belong to autonomous rural settlements (a sort of *pagi*). The most relevant of them is the necropolis of Palazzone,[17] about 7 km southeast of the city, which includes about two hundred tombs, among them the famous hypogeum of the Velimna-Volumnii family.[18] This necropolis was probably used by the inhabitants of a settlement along the via Amerina that controlled a ford of the Tiber.
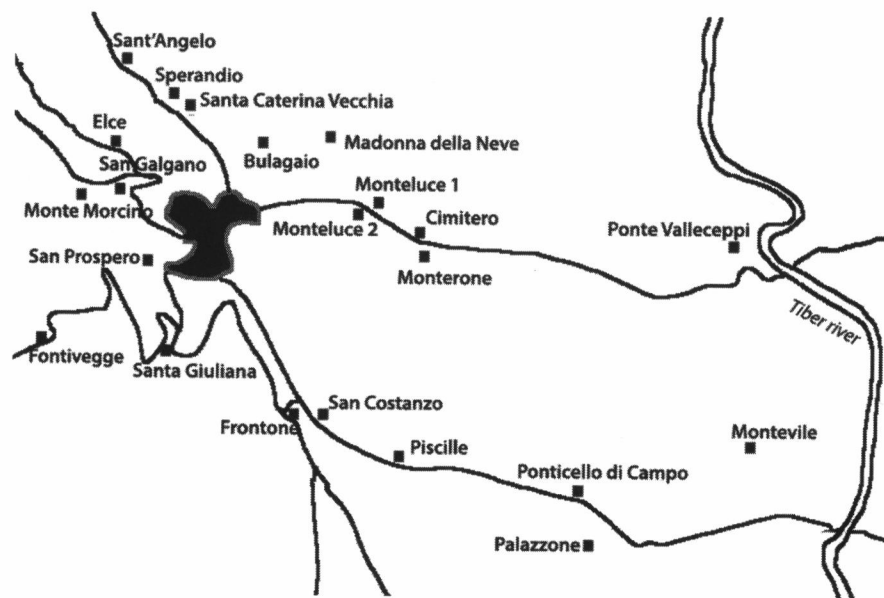

Fig. 2: Distribution of main cemeteries of Etruscan Perugia along the main roads (authors).

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14 Sisani 2006, 9–15; Bratti 2007, 37–52.
15 Sisani 2006, 14–15.
16 Nati 2008; Nardelli 2010. On the road towards Perusia see also: Matteini Chiari 2011.
17 Feruglio 2011: 231–34 with bibliography.
18 Cenciaioli 2011.

Between the third and the first century B.C.E. cremation was the standard funerary practice of Etruscan Perugia. The ashes were collected in a pot (an olla) or in an urn, which was buried in a pit or, more often, placed inside chamber tombs in use for several generations.[19]

The urns are made of local travertine, with a cubic or parallelepiped box and a lid that could be shaped as a gabled roof, a *pelta*, or a sculpture of the deceased reclining on a couch. Most of them feature an inscription with the name of the deceased. Many urns are plain or with basic decoration, but the higher quality products are decorated with figural scenes from Greek mythology or historical events, such as the victories of the Greeks over the Gauls and of Alexander the Great over the Persians. The figural scenes are usually on the front of the box, carved in bas-relief or, less frequently, high relief.

Among the mythological subjects on the urns in the National Archaeological Museum of Perugia (figs. 3–4), the tragic episodes of premature and unfair death, such as the ambush of Troilus and the sacrifice of Iphigenia, are particularly successful between the third and first century B.C.E. While the ambush of Troilus has a long iconographic tradition in Greece, the sacrifice of Iphigenia is rarely represented in Greek art. The popularity enjoyed by that theme on the Perusian urns is quite exceptional, with thirty-three identified examples.
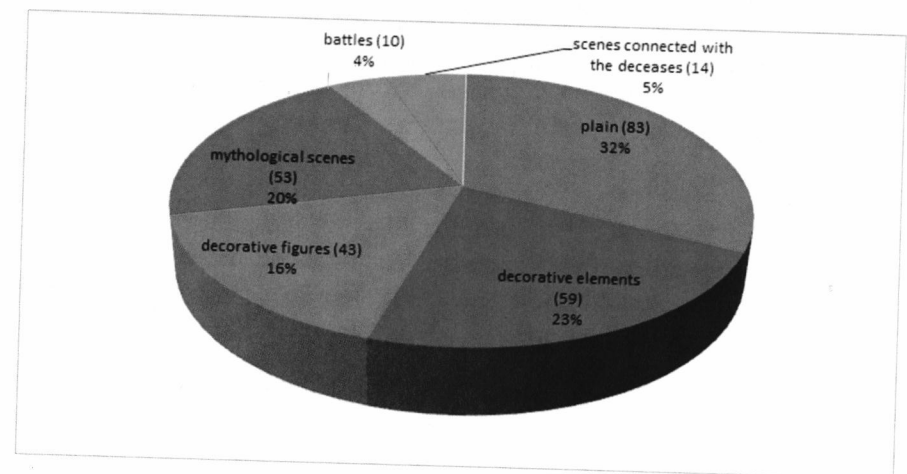

Fig. 3: Iconographical subjects on the urns of the Archaeological Museum of Perugia (authors).

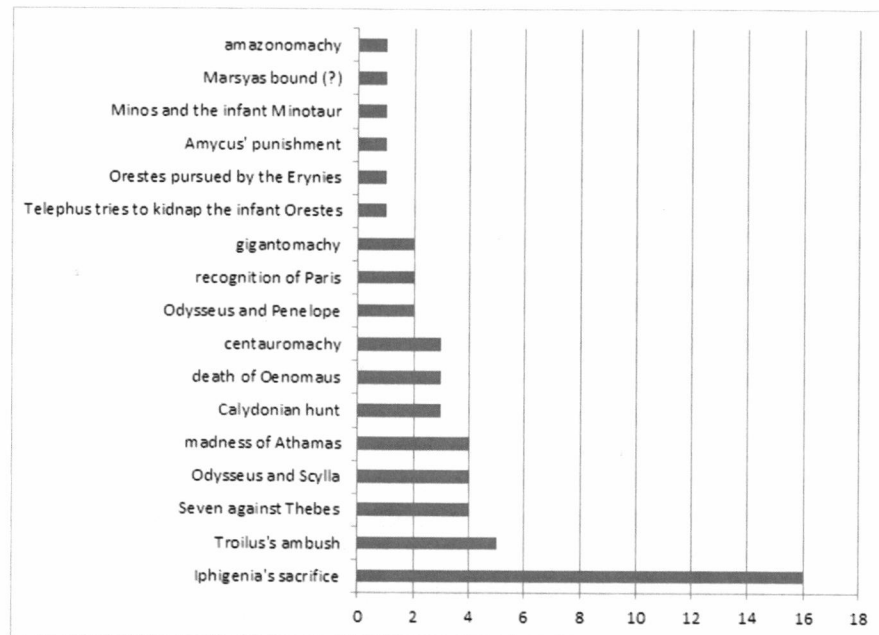19 Dareggi 1972; Maggiani 1985, 35–6; Sannibale 1984, 158–59.

Fig. 4: Mythical themes on the urns of the Archaeological Museum of Perugia (authors).

The iconographic construction of the scene of the sacrifice of Iphigenia presents many variants, although there are some recurring elements. The number of figures ranges from a minimum of five (figs. 5–6)[20] to a maximum of thirteen.[21] A more complex and unusual construction in which some figures are placed on the short sides of the box is found on the urn of *Aule Ruchu* in the Archaeological Museum of Perugia (figs. 7–8),[22] on an urn in Villa Giulia Museum[23] and on a third partially preserved urn.[24] Three figures are usually found in the center of the scene, in emphatic position:[25] a bearded warrior wearing a *pileus* holding a maiden on the altar and, on the opposite side, a man with a *patera* and sometimes a sword. Another character who is usually represented is a female figure in a short chiton holding a deer. Her position is not fixed, but she is usually found on the left side of the central group.

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20 Catalogue nos. 1–11.
21 Catalogue nos. 30–31.
22 Catalogue no. 32.
23 Catalogue no. 33.
24 Catalogue no. 24.
25 Only few urns show two men carrying the maiden to the altar: Catalogue nos. 24, 30, 32.

Fig. 5: Perugia, Archaeological Museum, inv. com. 236, Catalogue no. 7 (Giuman, with permission of Mibact – Soprintendenza Archeologia dell'Umbria).

The simplest construction consists of five figures arranged side by side.[26] With the exception of an urn on which the central group is framed by two warriors with

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26 Catalogue nos. 1–10.

Fig. 6: Perugia, Archaeological Museum, inv. com. 46, Catalogue no. 2 (Giuman, with permission of Mibact – Soprintendenza Archeologia dell'Umbria).

spears (fig. 9),[27] the image usually consists of, from left to right, the female figure with a deer, the central group and, on the right, a woman with her left hand raised, wearing a short chiton with a distinctive fold across her chest. This basic composition can be expanded with the addition of other characters: two kneeling

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27 Catalogue no. 11.

Fig. 7: Perugia, Archaeological Museum, inv. com. 49, Catalogue no. 31 (Giuman, with permission of Mibact – Soprintendenza Archeologica dell'Umbria).

or laying figures, a warrior on the left and a woman on the right in a posture of beseeching (fig. 10),[28] or sometimes two men.[29] Some urns also feature an upper row of figures including musicians, figures carrying offerings (fig. 11), and sometimes a mourning woman in a frontal position tearing at her hair (fig. 12).[30] The more complex scenes combine most or all of these components (fig. 13).[31]

There are no inscriptions declaring the names of the characters, but the comparison with the literary tradition of the sacrifice of Iphigenia leaves no doubt about the identification of the subject.[32]

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28 Catalogue nos. 13–16, 20–22, 24, 28–29, 32–33.
29 Catalogue nos. 17, 31.
30 Catalogue nos. 18–20, 22–33.
31 Catalogue nos. 24–33.
32 For a summary of literary citations and iconographic evidences on the sacrifice of Iphigenia see also Gantz 1993, 582–88.

Fig. 8: Perugia, Archaeological Museum, inv. com. 49, Catalogue no. 32. Left side (Giuman, with permission of Mibact – Soprintendenza Archeologia dell'Umbria).

The sacrifice of Iphigenia is not mentioned by Homer, who knows of a daughter of Agamemnon named Iphianassa,[33] but it was included in the *Cypria*, a lost epic poem of perhaps the late seventh century B.C.E. attributed to Stasinos of Cyprus.[34] A summary in prose by Proclus reports the story:[35]

> *Agamemnon, out hunting, shot a deer and asserted that he had outdone even Artemis. The goddess was angered and sent storms to prevent them from sailing. And when Kalchas declared the anger of the goddess and said that Iphigenia should be sacrificed to Artemis, they sent for her on the pretext that she was to be married to Achilles and attempted to sacrifice her.[36] But Artemis snatched her away and took her to the Tauroi, making her immortal; and she set a deer at the altar in place of the girl.*

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33 Hom. *Il.* 9. 145. See also Ambrosetti 1961, 93.

34 Dowden 1989, 10.

35 Procl., *Chr.* 135–143 (translation by K. Dowden in Dowden 1989, 10). See also Séchan 1931, 380–82.

36 On the role of Achilles in the saga of Iphigenia see Roussel 1915.

Fig. 9: Perugia, Archaeological Museum, inv. com. 281, Catalogue no. 11 (Giuman, with permission of Mibact – Soprintendenza Archeologia dell'Umbria).

In the summary of the *Cypria* all the main elements of the myth are present: the place (the Beotian beach of Aulis)[37], the *aetion* (the *hybris* of Agamemnon), the prophesy of Chalcas, the fake wedding, the sacrifice and the substitution. In the

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37 On the functional significance of Aulis as the place of the myth see Wassermann 1949.

Fig. 10: Perugia, Archaeological Museum, inv. com. 330, Catalogue no. 13, (Giuman, with permission of Mibact – Soprintendenza Archeologia dell'Umbria).

Cypria, the myth ends with Iphigenia being granted immortality.[38] There is no reference to Iphigenia's being swept off to Tauris, to her recognition by the brother Orestes and to her return to her homeland. On the contrary, the grant of immortality by Artemis appears to be the conclusion of the story.[39] However, it

38 A different version of the myth is proposed by the *Ehoeae* of Hesiod. Here the daughter of Agamemnon, named Iphimedeia, is sacrificed by all the Acheans. See also Solmsen 1981; Lübeck 1993, 12–14.

39 On the relationships between Artemis and Iphigenia see Lloyd-Jones 1983.

Fig. 11: Perugia, Archaeological Museum, inv. com. 329, Catalogue no. 25 (Giuman, with permission of Mibact – Soprintendenza Archeologica dell'Umbria).

seems likely that the Taurian episode was already known in the first half of the sixth century B.C.E., when Stesichorus wrote the lost play *Oresteia*.[40] The tragedians of the fifth century B.C.E. further developed the plot. In addition to

40 Stesich. fr. 215. See also Séchan 1931, 381.

Fig. 12: Perugia, Archaeological Museum, inv. com. 348, Catalogue no. 22 (Giuman, with permission of Mibact – Soprintendenza Archeologica dell'Umbria).

Agamemnon, Aeschylus wrote an *Iphigenia* of which only a few fragments survive.[41] Also preserved only in fragments is the *Iphigenia* of Sophocles.[42] Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* contains the earliest concise description of the sacrifice of Iphigenia.[43]

> Her pleas, her cries of "father!"
> and her maiden years, were set at naught
> by the war-loving chieftains.
> After a prayer, her father told his attendants
> to lift her right up over the altar
> with all their strength, like a yearling goat,
> face down, so that her robes fell around her,
> and by putting a guard
> on her fair face and lips to restrain
> speech that might lay a curse on his house.

Clearly, in the version by Aeschylus the maiden is sacrificed against her will,[44] lifted up over the altar "like a yearling goat" by men eager for war. In the Euripidean play *Iphigenia at Aulis*, on the other hand, the maiden—like Polyxena[45]—offers herself as a victim willingly to bring glory to Greece:[46] taking off the nuptial dress, she offers her neck. A new element in the Athenian tragedy is the role played by complementary characters, in particular by Odysseus, who is involved in the conspiracy and goes to Argos to persuade Agamemnon, Clytaemnestra and Menelaus.

In the Greek world, the mythical sacrifice of a virgin and the prenuptial rites are strictly connected.[47] In relation to Iphigenia, this link between death and wedding is clear in the Attic religious tradition.[48] The "tomb of Iphigenia" was located in the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, the main venue for the prenuptial rites of the Athenian girls.[49] In the Attic sanctuary Iphigenia was the *kleidouchos* (the key-holder) and to her widowers offered the *peploi* left unfinished in their

41 Lübeck 1993, 17.
42 Lübeck 1993, 20–1.
43 Aesch. *Ag.* 228–237 (translation by A.H. Sommerstein).
44 Masaracchia 1983, 46.
45 Eur. *Hec.* 345–373.
46 Hulton 1962. On the unsolicitous sacrifice of Iphigenia see also Roussel 1922.
47 Loraux 1987, 23. In general, see Hughes 1991.
48 Lübeck 1993, 68–69; Giuman 1999, 162–72. On the general relationships between wedding and funeral, especially in a symbolic perspective, see Redfield 1982, 188–90. On the abduction theme in vase paintings representing the Athenian wedding ceremony see Jenkins 1983 (in particular for Iphigenia 140).
49 Giuman 1999, 165–70.

homes by young women who had died giving birth,[50] as we know from a passage of the Euripidean *Iphigenia among the Taurians*:[51]

> And you, Iphigenia, in the holy meadows of Brauron must serve this goddess as her temple warder. When you die, you will lie buried here, and they will dedicate for your delight the finely woven garments which women who die in childbirth leave behind in their house.

The prenuptial status of Iphigenia is highlighted in the myth; in *Agamemnon* and in *Iphigenia among the Taurians* Iphigenia is sacrificed in her wedding dress after the celebration of the *proteleia*, the preliminary rites of the wedding ceremony.[52] In this way, as verse 461 of *Iphigenia at Aulis* specifies, Hades will be the bridegroom of Iphigenia,[53] a theme that has a long literary tradition beyond the specific myth; for example, an epigram of Meleager in the *Anthologia Palatina*[54] addresses the young Clearista, who died shortly before her wedding, as "Hades' spouse"

> No husband but Death did Clearista receive on her bridal night as she loosed her maiden zone. But now at eve the flutes were making music at the door of the bride, the portals of her chamber echoed to knocking hands. And at morn the death wail was loud, the bridal song was hushed and changed to a voice of wailing. The same torches that flamed round her marriage bed lighted her dead on her downward way to Hades.

It is clear that in Greek literary tradition the figure of Iphigenia represents the *parthenos* who, like Clearista, died before her wedding, without ever becoming a *gyne* and then a mother. Her social and biological coming of age was suddenly interrupted, and so the condition of the young daughter of Agamemnon, like that of the girl who died shortly before her wedding, remains undetermined and ambiguous.[55] As Davide Susanetti aptly wrote, "Ifigenia patisce la condizione di

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50 This offering, precisely because of its ritual peculiarity, cannot be considered Euripides' invention. On the contrary, it must have been a well-established tradition that was explained by the aetiologial story of the tragedian (Brelich 1969, 243).

51 Eur. *IT* 1462–1467 (translation by D. Kovacs).

52 Aesch. *Ag.* 227; Eur. *IA* 432–434. In *Iphigenia at Aulis* the theme of the sacrifice of the young girl as a *proteleia* rite is confirmed by the dialogue between Agamemnon and Clytaemnestra (718–719): Clyt. "Have you made the early offering (*protelaia*) to the goddess?" Agamn. "I shall. That is the business I'm upon." See also Foley 1982, 161; Seaford 1987, 109; Rehm 1994, 43; Dillon 2002, 218.

53 Eur. *IA* 461. Similarly in Eur. *IA* 540 and 1278, respectively enunciated by Agamemnon and by Clytaemnestra. Even Iphigenia claims (Eur. *IT* 369-371): "the husband you promised me in the chariot as you ferried me deceitfully to my blood-stained marriage was Hades, not the son of Peleus." See also Bonnechere 1994, 268–69.

54 *Ant. Pal.* 7.182 (translation by W.R. Paton).

55 Rose 1925.

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ogni figura e di ogni simulacro che è e al contrario non è, in un orizzonte di sospensione dove morte e vita, demoni e uomini si confondono in un'ambiguità contagiosa."[56]

Despite the popularity in Greek literature of the mythical episode of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, its iconographical representation is extremely rare. This sharp difference between the literary fortune of a mythical theme and its figural representation is not exceptional: another typical example is the myth of Phaidra and Hyppolitus. In the ancient world there are many factors that determine the iconographical success of a myth or a character, such as the changing political and/or social conditions in the places where the images were produced, their perception by their users, especially if they are foreigners, their diffusion by the way of commerce, the possible change of the semantic meanings of the subjects. Nevertheless it is clear that in the case of Iphigenia the disparity between literary fortune and iconographical success is particularly strong. We know of very few monuments of Greek art with the image of Agamemnon's daughter. The interpretation of the scene represented on a fragmentary proto-Attic krater as the sacrifice of Iphigenia is only hypothetical.[57] Inscriptions make the identification sure in the cases of an Attic red-figured *oinochoe* of the Shuvalov painter (ca. 430 B.C.E.)[58] and a white-ground *lekythos* by Douris (ca. 470 B.C.E.).[59] In both cases, the images agree with the literary version of Euripides, as the maiden is apparently led to a voluntary sacrifice.[60] The same tradition seems to appear on Apulian pottery.[61]

It is likely that the myth of Iphigenia reached central Italy from Magna Graecia and Sicily, as in other cases of myths treated in Greek drama.[62] Ennius wrote a play on this subject. The few verses preserved do not allow for an understanding as to what version of the story was followed by the Latin author, even though many scholars suggest that he followed Euripides.[63] However, Aeschylus'

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56 Susanetti 2007, 187.

57 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 6.67 (Kahil 1990, 709, no. 2).

58 Kiel, Univ. B 538 (Kahil 1990, 709, no. 1).

59 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale NI 1886 (Kahil 1990, 709, no. 3). The Douris vase comes from Selinous.

60 A maiden labelled as *Iphigeneia* appears also on a *pixys* by a follower of Douris (London, British Museum E773), in a gynaeceum scene together with other women all named as Argive characters. This is not properly a representation of a myth related to Iphigenia, but a transposition of an everyday life scene to a mythological level. See Reeder 1995, 97–8, figs. 9–12; Lissarrague 2003, 156–58, fig. 18a–b.

61 See, e.g., the Apulian red-figured amphora once in the Buckingham Collection (Kahil 1990, 715, no. 20).

62 van der Meer 1991.

version of the cruel sacrifice also circulated in central Italy, as attested by Lucretius' poem.[64] The urns of Perusia clearly follow the tradition that the maiden was sacrificed against her will: the figure of Iphigenia held up over the altar with raised arms is in an obvious attitude of despair. It appears that the Etruscan workshops represented a version of the episode for which there was virtually no prototype in Greek figurative repertoires.

The theme of the sacrifice against Iphigenia's will is also attested in Roman art in the House of the Tragic Poet of Pompeii[65]—possibly a copy of a fourth-century B.C.E. painting by Timanthes —where the maiden is raising her hands as she is carried to her death.[66]

The comparison between the images on the Perusinian urns and the extant literary sources makes it easy to identify most of the figures: Odysseus is the warrior carrying Iphigenia, as confirmed by the *pileus*, the usual hat of the hero, also found in other Etruscan representations;[67] Agamemnon is the man with sacrificial tools; Artemis is the female figure with the deer, which will replace the human victim. The two kneeling figures are probably Achilles and Clytaemnestra. In particular, the heroic nudity of the man on the left on the urn of Aule Ruchu, in the same position of the suppliant kneeling man, seems to support the identification.[68]

Together with the characters of the Greek myth, the urns include figures and elements from the Etruscan tradition. The woman with raised hand, often located on the right side of the scene, is slightly reminiscent of the image of Vanth, the Etruscan demon of death.[69] Although her typical attributes, such as the wings and the torch, are usually missing, the high boots and the short chiton with the fold across the breast might recall the images of the Etruscan demon. In three cases the female figure also holds a torch,[70] used by Vanth to make light during the journey of the deceased to the Underworld. In the most complex scenes, the characters from the myth are associated with figures performing a ritual: people carrying offerings, musicians[71] and mourners. On two urns, a man seems to be reading from

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63 Warmington 1961, 299: "That Ennius followed Euripides' Iphigenia at Aulis is certain; but instead of a chorus of maidens, Ennius most fittingly makes his chorus of warriors. This like certain other divergences may have been based on a Sophoclean version." See also Vahlen 1967, 155–56.

64 Lucr. 84–100.

65 Naples, MN 9112. Charbonneaux et al. 1978, 329–30; Tomei 2010, 81–2.

66 Cic. *Brut.* 18.70.

67 Compare e.g. Cateni and Fiaschi 1984, fig. 50.

68 Catalogue no. 32.

69 On the iconography of Vanth see Spinola 1987.

70 Catalogue nos. 10, 32–33.

71 For musicians in Etruscan funerary context see e.g. Cateni and Fiaschi 1984, fig. 30.

Fig. 13: Perugia, Archaeological Museum, inv. com. 279, Catalogue no. 28 (Giuman, with permission of Mibact – Soprintendenza Archeologia dell'Umbria).

a scroll (fig. 13) and in three examples, a woman in frontal position pulls her hair in a gesture of mourning (fig. 12). The snake at the foot of the altar has no role in the Greek myth. The chthonian animal *par excellence* generically may stress the funerary nature of the scene, but it may also have eschatological and oracular implications, as demonstrated by the myth of the death and resurrection of Glaukos.[72] Those connotations could be a point of contact with the Etruscan symbolic world, where the snake could represent the oracular *prodigium*.[73]
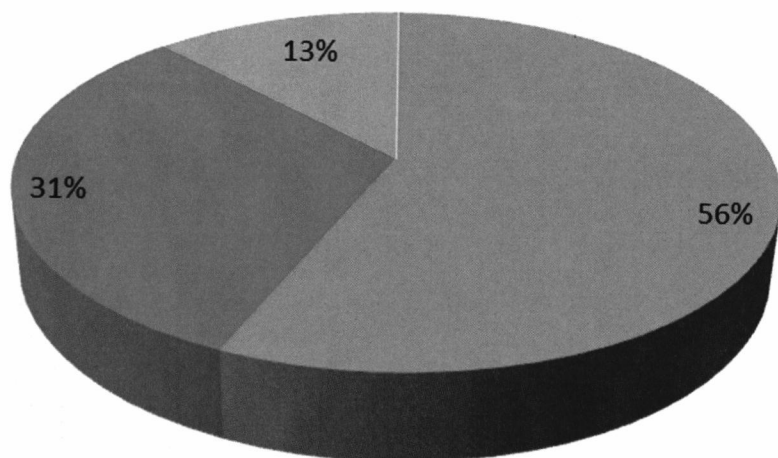
Fig. 14: Gender and marital status of the individuals buried in the urns of Perugia decorated with Iphigenia's sacrifice authors.

The inscription recording the identity of the deceased may give clues to the meaning of the sacrifice of Iphigenia in the Perusinian funerary context. Surprisingly, there is no specific connection between the myth and the gender or marital status of the deceased. The subject appears on urns containing the remains of men and women, and most of the women were married (fig. 14). That means that, contrary to Greek tradition, in the Etruscan context the theme completely lost its virginal/prenuptial connotation. The focus does not lie on the sacrifice of a

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72 Giuman 2014.
73 See for example Plin., *NH* VIII 153.

maiden, but generally on death and salvation:[74] at the moment of her death, Iphigenia is replaced with a deer by Artemis and becomes immortal.

The number of Perusinian urns featuring the sacrifice of Iphigenia has no comparison in Etrusco-Italic context. There are only a few other representations of this subject, on four urns from Volterra[75] and on one from Chiusi.[76] In comparison to the Perusinian urns, they present a different composition and a different placement of the characters.

The creation and modification of the iconography of the sacrifice of Iphigenia in Perusia shows the vitality of the local workshops, which, at the end of the third century B.C.E., introduced into funerary sculpture, likely after painted models, a Greek mythical episode that was not represented before, and represented it with different variants in the second century B.C.E. up until the beginning of the first century B.C.E. The lack of sources both literary and visual makes it difficult to identify the causes and modes of the development of the iconography of the sacrifice of Iphigenia in Perusia and to explain its exceptional success. There is definitely room for further investigation. However, this case study clearly shows that Perusia was anything but in a phase of general decline after its political submission to the expanding Roman power. Even though many aspects still remain unclear, the funerary record of the city document the presence of a wealthy middle class of servile origin, organized in familial groups, which at this point achieved full political rights. Among these families some, such as the Volumni-Velimna[77] and the Cai Cutu,[78] stand out by virtue of their wealth.

Catalogue of the urns decorated with the sacrifice of Iphigenia

Five figures on a line (Artemis, Odysseus with Iphigenia, Agamemnon, woman).
1) Perugia, MN inv. 18 (once Church of San Pietro). From Perugia.
Brunn 1965, 41, pl. 36.3; Krauskopf 1990, 729, no. 3.

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74 See also van der Meer 1991, 133–35.
75 Brunn 1965, 50–1, pls. 46.22–24, 47.25; van der Meer 1977–1978, 71, fig. 48. On the production of urns of Volterra see also Cateni and Fiaschi 1984.
76 Brunn 1965, 51–2, pl. 57.26.
77 Cenciaioli 2011.
78 Feruglio 2002.

2) Perugia, MN inv. com. 46. From the environs of Perugia.
Brunn 1965, 41, pl. 35.2; Pairault 1972, 39; Krauskopf 1990, 730, no. 1b; Cipollone 2004, 8, no. 4.
3) Perugia, MN
Brunn 1965, 41, no. 35.2a.
4) Perugia, Monte Luce, Casino Vitiani.
Brunn 1965, 41, no. 35.2b.
5) Perugia, Exhibition "Tesori ritrovati." From Perugia, Elce, hypogeum of the Cacni.
Cifani 2014, 182, no. 17.
6) Perugia, Exhibition "Tesori ritrovati." From Perugia, Elce, hypogeum of the Cacni.
Cifani 2014, 182, no. 14.
7) Perugia, MN inv. com 236. From Perugia, Ponticello di Campo, hypogeum of the Petui.
Pairault 1972, pl. 37; Krauskopf 1990, 730, no. 1c; Cipollone 2004, 24, no. 20.
8) Perugia, MN inv. com. 343. From Perugia, San Sisto, Gualtarella, Costanzi vineyard, hypogeum of Tite Vesi.
Pairault 1972, pl. 41; Krauskopf 1990, 730, no. 1d; Cipollone 2004, 48, no. 150.
9) Papiano, private collection.
Dareggi 1969, 34–5, no. 3, pl. 2.1; Krauskopf 1990, no. 1e.
As above (woman on the right with torch).
10) Perugia, MN inv. 16 (once Church of San Pietro).
Brunn 1965, 41, pl. 35.1; Pairault 1972: pl. 38; Krauskopf 1990, 730, no. 1f; Tomei 2010, fig. 18.

Five figures on a line (Odysseus with Iphigenia and Agamemnon between two men holding a spear).
11) Perugia, MN inv. com. 281. From Perugia, northern environs (Sperandio or Corciano), tomb of the Rafi.
Brunn 1965, 42, pl. 37.5; Pairault 1972, pl. 40; Krauskopf 1990, 730, no. 1g; Cipolloni 2004, 36, no. 90.

Six figures (Artemis, Odysseus holding Iphigenia, Agamemnon, woman (?); woman kneeling on the right side).
12) Roma, Villa Giulia inv. 50313. From Perugia, Palazzone, hypogeum of the Afle.
Brunn 1965, pl. 41.11; Krauskopf 1990, 730, no. 4.

Seven figures on two levels (Artemis, Odysseus with Iphigenia, Agamemnon, woman; on lower row, on the left Achilles and on the right Clytaemnestra).

13) Perugia, MN inv. com. 330 (127). Perugia, Ponticello di Campo, hypogeum of the Pumpu Plaute.
Pairault 1972, pl. 42; Sannibale 1984, 175, fig. 2; Krauskopf 1990, 730, no. 7; Cipollone 2004, 46, no. 143.
14) Perugia, MN inv. com. 394 (187). Perugia, environs.
Brunn 1965, 42, pl. 37.6; Krauskopf 1990, 730, no. 7a; Cipollone 2004, 55, no. 187.

Nine figures (Artemis, man, Odysseus with Iphigenia, Agamemnon, man, woman; lower row, on left side Achilles and on right side Clytaemnestra, both kneeling).
15) Roma, Villa Giulia inv. 50312. From Perugia, Palazzone, hypogeum of the Afle.
Brunn 1965, 48, pl. 45.20; Krauskopf 1990, 730, no. 7b.
16) Exhibition "Tesori ritrovati." From Perugia, Elce, hypogeum of the Cacni.
Cifani 2014, 182, no. 13.

Nine figures (warrior, Artemis, Odysseus holding Iphigenia and Agamemnon, woman; behind Iphigenia, an attendant; lower level, on each side, a warrior kneeling).
17) Perugia, MN inv. com. 28. Perugia, environs, hypogeum of the Rafi.
Brunn 1965: 43, pl. 38.8; Krauskopf 1990: 730, no. 7d; Cipollone 2004: 10, no. 13.

Nine figure (Artemis, Odysseus with Iphigenia, Agamemnon, woman; upper row, procession with musicians and frontal mourning woman).
18) Perugia, MN inv. com. 34. From Perugia, Valiano, hypogeum of the Veti.
Brunn 1965, 46, tav. 42. 13; Rebuffat 1972, 530–31, fig. 9b; Krauskopf 1990, 730, no. 5a; Cipollone 2004, 8, no. 1.
19) Perugia MN inv. com. 344. From Perugia, San Sisto, Gualtarella, Costanzi vineyard, hypogeum of Tite Vesi.
Cipollone 2004, 48, no. 252.

Nine figures (Artemis, Odysseus holding Iphigenia and Agamemnon; upper line, a musician and a woman; lower level, on left side Achilles and on right side Clytaemnestra, both kneeling).
20) Perugia, Ponte San Giovanni, Antiquarium of Palazzone. From Perugia, Palazzone.

Nine figures (Odysseus holding Iphigenia and Agamemnon; upper level, Artemis, two attendants, man; lower level, on the left side Achilles and on right side Clytaemnestra, both kneeling).
21) Perugia, MN inv. com. 31. From the environs of Perugia.
Brunn 1965, 43, pl. 38.7; Krauskopf 1990, 730, no. 7c; Cipollone 2004, 8, no. 5.

Nine figures on three levels (Odysseus holding Iphigenia and Agamemnon; upper level, Artemis, woman mourning in frontal position, attendant and flute player; lower level, on left side Achilles and on right side Clytaemnestra, both kneeling).

22) Perugia MN inv. com. 348. From Perugia, San Galigano, hypogeum of the Calisna Memru.

Pairault 1972, pl. 44; Dareggi 1972, pl. 46; Krauskopf 1990, 730, no. 9, Cipollone 2004, 49, no. 158/2.

Ten figures in two rows (Artemis, Odysseus with Iphigenia, Agamemnon, woman; upper level, two men, one with double axe, a frontal woman mourning, a flute player and a tympanon player).

23) Perugia, MN inv. 43 (Meniconi Garden). From Piscille, hypogeum of the Venete.

Lowy 1929, 26–8, fig. 20; Brunn 1965, 46, pl. 42.14; Rebuffat 1972, 530–33, figs. 10a, 11; Krauskopf 1990, 730, no. 5; Barbanera 1990, 162–64, no. 3, figs. 11–12; Cipollone 2004, 14, no. 34.

More than ten figures (two men holding Iphigenia, a naked man lying on the left, a woman kneeling, at least four other figures not well preserved; on the left short side, a knight).

24) Perugia, Villa Antinori at Monte Vile.

Brunn 1965, 49, pl. 45.21; Krauskopf 1990, 731, no. 12.

Eleven figures (Odysseus with Iphigenia and Agamemnon between a youth and a man; a woman kneeling on the left; upper level, Artemis, a figure, a woman pouring a libation, two musicians).

25) Perugia, Villa Sorbello at Pischiello.

Brunn 1965, 47, pl. 43.16; Krauskopf 1990, 730, no. 9a.

Eleven figures on two levels (woman, Artemis, Odysseus with Iphigenia, Agamemnon, woman; upper level, procession of three figures holding offerings, two musicians).

26) Perugia, MN inv. com. 329. From Perugia, Ponticello di Campo, hypogeum of the Pumpu Plaute.

Brunn 1965, pl. 43.17; Krauskopf 1990, 730, no. 5b; Cipollone 2004, no. 141.

Eleven figures (Odysseus with Iphigenia and Agamemenon; on the left, Artemis and a woman behind her; on the right, a flute player and a woman kneeling).

27) Perugia, Villa di Compresso.

Brunn 1965, 45, pl. 41.12.

Twelve figures on three levels (in the center, Odysseus with Iphigenia and Agamemnon, between Artemis and a woman; on the lower level, a man on the left side and a woman on the right side beseeching; on the upper row, musicians and attendants)

28) Vaticano, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco inv. 13902. Perugia, Casaglia.

Brunn 1965, 47, 18; Pairault 1972, pl. 45; Sannibale 1984, 70–176, no. 29.3; Krauskopf 1990, 730, no. 8b.

29) MN inv. com. 279 (50). Perugia, Sperandio or Corciano, hypogeum of the Rafi.

Brunn 1965, 48, no. 44, 19a; Pairault 1972, pl. 43; Krauskopf 1990, 730, no. 8a; Cipollone 2004, 37, no. 91.

Thirteen figures (Artemis, two men holding Iphigenia, Agamemnon, two women; upper level, offering figures, a mourning woman, musicians)

30) Palazzone inv. 55. From Perugia, Palazzone, hypogeum of the Tite Petruni.

Brunn 1965, 47, pl. 43.15; Galli 1921, 54, 57, fig. 27; Cenciaioli 2011, 27–28.

Thirteen figures on three levels (Odysseus with Iphigenia and Agamemnon, between a man and Artemis on the left and a man with spear on the right; two men kneeling; on the upper level, five musicians and attendants)

31) Perugia, Casa del Cuore (ex Villa Monti) 14.

Brunn 1965, 48, pl. 44.19; Dareggi 1969, 472, no. 11, pl. 118a; Sannibale 1984, 175, fig. 3; Krauskopf 1990, 730, no. 8.

Fourteen figures (two men carrying Iphigenia, Agamemnon; on the left, a naked man lying and a figure behind him; on the right, a woman kneeling and a warrior standing; behind them, a man carrying a vessel and a Vanth-like figure with a torch; on the left short side, Vanth and a warrior; on the right one, two warriors).

32) Perugia, MN inv. com. 49. From Perugia.

Brunn 1965, 43, pl. 39.9; Pairault 1972, 46, no. 3; 102, pl. 18; Dareggi 1972, pl. 45; Krauskopf 1990, 730, no. 6a; Cipollone 2004, 10, no. 16.

Fourteen figures (in the middle, Odysseus with Iphigenia and Agamemnon; on the upper level, Artemis, a figure carrying an offering vessel, a woman with a torch, three men; on the lower level, on the left, a naked man kneeling and a man; on the right, a woman kneeling and a youth) + seven figures on lateral sides (a knight, a man and a Vanth-like woman with torch; two Vanth-like women with torch, a woman with a knife and a warrior)

33) Roma, Villa Giulia inv. 50311. From Perugia, Palazzone, hypogeum of the Afle.

Lowy 1929, 25, fig. 19; Brunn 1965, 44–5, tav. 40.10; Pairault 1972, 46, nota 3, 102, tav. 15–17; Krauskopf 1990, 730, no. 6; van der Meer 1990, figs. 1–2.

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DE GRUYTER

The Etruscan Foundation is pleased to acknowledge The University of Texas at Austin's support of Michael L. Thomas for the exceptional professional service he provides the organization in his capacity as Editor-in-Chief of *Etruscan Studies*.

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**Special Issue: Etruria in the Third to First Century B.C.E.:
Political subordination and cultural vitality**
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Etruria in the Third to First Century B.C.E.: Political Subordination and Cultural Vitality

Forward to Volume 18.2

We are happy to present the publication of "Etruria in the Third to First Century B.C.E.: Political subordination and cultural vitality" in Volume 18.2 of Etruscan studies. Originally a colloquium at the Annual Meetings of the Archaeological Institute of America in January 2015, this collection of essays offers a significant starting point for continued study and discussion about the late years of Etruscan culture. We invited Fabio Colivicchi of Queens University in Canada, the colloquium organizer, to serve as guest editor of this volume of the journal. We owe our sincerest gratitude to Professor Colivicchi, not only for the original conception of this intriguing panel of Italian and American scholars, but also for his tireless work during the editing of these essays.

Much too often, scholars have a tendency to overlook the later period of the Etruscans for the allure of what many consider the highpoint of that civilization, the era that comprises the Orientalizing, Archaic, and to a certain extent, Classical periods of Etruscan culture. Utilizing a broad methodological spectrum, the papers in this volume engage this important Etruscan period and contextualize the archaeological evidence of third to first century Etruria during the time that Italic peoples are contending with Rome's power and influence. As we listened to the presentation of these papers, and later read them as essays, we found one common topic that united the work of each author. Whether the approach was epigraphical, iconographical, or archaeological, each paper stressed the theme of identity.

The focus on self or cultural identity is not surprising during these years of intense interaction between Romans and Etruscans. Perhaps what is surprising is the breadth of evidence that this collection of work employs to give a voice to these Etruscans. The study by Enrico Benelli utilizes epigraphic evidence to

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