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(Not Only) Defeated and Enslaved. The Iconography of Captives in Etruscan Art and their Ambivalent Meaning

Abstract: *Bildliche Darstellungen von Gefangenen – erkennbar an der Fesselung bzw. dem Motiv der vor oder hinter dem Körper überkreuzten Arme – treten in Etrurien im Zeitraum vom späten 8. bis zum 1. Jh. v. Chr. in zahlreichen unterschiedlichen Objektgattungen auf und sind überwiegend im sepulkralen Kontext zu verorten. Das Ziel dieses Beitrags besteht darin, das äußerst heterogene Quellenmaterial erstmals in einem übergreifenden Zusammenhang vergleichend zu analysieren und dabei die unterschiedlichen Bedeutungskontexte der Bilder sowie die Ikonographie der Abhängigkeit zu untersuchen. Während Gefesselte in der Frühzeit meist sinnbildlich für Macht, sexuelle Potenz und einen hohen sozialen Status stehen, dominieren ab der Mitte des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. Darstellungen von Gefangenen, die in Szenen aus der (meist griechischen) Mythologie eingebettet sind. Letztere können bisweilen als moralische Handlungsempfehlung oder als Trost für die Angehörigen der Verstorbenen gedeutet werden. Davon abzugrenzen sind einige Objekte aus dem magisch-religiösen Kontext, bei denen das Fesselungsmotiv nicht in Verbindung zu Sklaverei oder Gefangenschaft steht, sondern eine metaphorische Bedeutung besitzt. Bei der sozialhistorischen Interpretation der Bildwerke sind die Intentionen der Auftraggeber sowie der Einfluss der griechischen Ikonographie und Mythologie zu berücksichtigen.*

1 Introduction

Slavery, captivity and other permanent and institutionalized forms of (strong) asymmetrical dependency were an integral part of Etruscan society.[1] Evidence from ancient Greek and Roman literary sources indicates that in Etruria, prisoners of war were often killed by the vanquishers. This is the case not only for some Greek warriors who were immolated after the Etruscan success in the naval battle of Alalia (ca. 540 BCE), but also for the 307 Roman captives who were sacrificed at Tarquinia in

1 On the newly developed theoretical concept of '(strong) asymmetrical dependency,' see Julia Winnebeck et al., "The Analytical Concept of Asymmetrical Dependency," *Journal of Global Slavery* 8, no. 1 (2023): 1–59. Concerning its application to archaeological research, see the remarks in the introduction to this volume.

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358 BCE.[2] However, due to the scarcity of written sources, it is not known if this was the common treatment for prisoners of war in Etruria or if there were other possibilities, too. The Roman historian Livy, for instance, reported that captives were often not killed, but either manumitted against payment or sold into slavery.[3] It is also probable that in Etruria, a lot of captives lost their personal freedom and were forced to labour just as slaves were.[4]

Pictorial representations of captives have appeared in Etruscan art in the period between the late eighth and the first centuries BCE, with more than fifty examples recorded. These images occur in a broad spectrum of object categories, which range from urns and sarcophagi to wall and vase paintings, up to relief plates, mirrors and figurines. Probably due to the above-mentioned thematic connection between captivity and death, most of these images derive from funerary contexts and were therefore part of the funerary ideology of the respective gens. While scenes of 'daily life' are very scarce, the majority of the depictions feature different narratives from (mostly Greek) mythology.

In the past, research on the iconography of captivity in Etruria had a strong focus on depictions of the Greek hero Achilleus sacrificing some wounded and defeated Trojan soldiers.[5] One of the main interests was to investigate how far the images had

2 The events after the battle of Alalia were reported by the Greek Historian Herodotus (1.167.1–3). For the sacrifice of Roman soldiers at Tarquinia, see Livy (7.15.9). A couple of years later, according to Livy (7.19.3) and Diodorus of Sicily (26.45.8–9), the Romans took revenge on this by decapitating 358 inhabitants of Tarquinia at the Forum Romanum in Rome. In addition, Callimachus (late fourth–third century BCE) mentioned in his *Aetia* (fragment 93 Pfeiffer) that Theodotus, the bravest man from the island of Lipari, had been sacrificed by Etruscans after being captured; for this, see Marie-Laurence Haack, "Apollon meurtrier en Etrurie," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité* 118 (2006): 241.

3 Livy 5.22.2; 10.31.3–4; 20.32.44–45; see also Karl-Wilhelm Welwei, *Sub corona vendere: Quellenkritische Studien zu Kriegsgefangenschaft und Sklaverei in Rom bis zum Ende des Hannibalkrieges* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2000): 39.

4 Petra Amann, "Society, 580–450," in *Etruscology*, vol. 2, ed. Alessandro Naso (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017): 995. Another indication for this is provided by the Roman-Carthaginian treaties, in which, according to Polybius (3.22.1–13; 3.24.1–16), the enslavement of the inhabitants of conquered coastal settlements in Central Italy was mentioned. Similar arrangements can be assumed for the Etruscan-Carthaginian treaties, which were addressed by Aristotle (pol. 3.9.6; 1280a 38) without explaining further details; for this, see Barbara Scardigli, *I trattati romano-cartaginesi* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 1991).

5 See, for example, Adriano Maggiani, ed., *Artigianato artistico: L'Etruria settentrionale interna in età ellenistica* (Milan: Electa, 1985): 208–12; Fausto Zevi, "Prigionieri Troiani," in *Studi in memoria di Lucia Guerrini: Vicino Oriente, Egeo – Grecia, Roma e mondo romano – Tradizione dell'antico e collezionismo di antichità*, ed. Maria G. Picozzi and Filippo Carinci, Studi Miscellanei 30 (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1996): 115–27; Dirk Steuernagel, *Menschenopfer und Mord am Altar: Griechische Mythen in etruskischen Gräbern*, Palilia 3 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1998) 19–28; Massimiliano Di Fazio, "Sacrifici umani e uccisioni rituali nel mondo etrusco," *Rendiconti dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 9, no. 12, 3 (2001): 435–99; Bernard Andreae, "Die Tomba François:

been influenced by Greek mythology and if there had been some kind of (Greek) archetype that served as a role model for the Etruscan artists. In contrast to this, the scope of the study presented here includes a comprehensive overview of the pictorial evidence for different types of captives in Etruscan art.[6] As the title of this contribution implies, shackles are not only attested in the case of defeated and enslaved victims, but can also be found (with a different meaning and function) in other contexts (for example, curse figurines). Another aim of this contribution is to analyse the iconographic conventions which have been used in the images to depict the dependency and inferiority of the captives.[7] Last but not least, the socio-historical aspect of the topic – in particular, the question as to whether the images reflect, in a realistic way, the social status and the living conditions of captives in Etruria – will be considered.

Anspruch und historische Wirklichkeit eines etruskischen Familiengrabes," in *Die Etrusker: Luxus für das Jenseits: Bilder vom Diesseits – Bilder vom Tod*, ed. Bernard Andreae et al. (Munich: Hirmer, 2004): 176–207; Cornelia Weber-Lehmann, "Überlegungen zum Bildprogramm der Tomba François," in *Pittura parietale, pittura vascolare: Ricerche in corso tra Etruria e Campania: Atti della Giornata di studio, Santa Maria Capua Vetere, 28 maggio 2003*, ed. Fernando Gilotta (Naples: Arte Tipografica Editrice, 2005): 103–14; Cornelia Weber-Lehmann, "Das Trojaneropfer in Etrurien: Ein griechischer Mythos und seine Inszenierung in der etruskischen Sepulkralkunst," in *Inszenierung des Todes: Hinrichtung, Martyrium, Schändung*, ed. Linda-Marie Günther and Michael Oberweis (Berlin: Europäischer Universitätsverlag, 2006): 19–32; Massimiliano Di Fazio, "Nuove riflessioni su sacrifici umani e omicidi religiosi nel mondo etrusco," *Scienze dell'antichità. Storia, archeologia, antropologia* 23, no. 3 (2017): 449–64.

6 This manuscript is a shortened and modified version of a chapter from my PhD thesis, see Patrick Zeidler, "Sklaverei und soziale Ungleichheiten in Etrurien: Eine Studie zur Ikonographie der Abhängigkeit in der etruskischen Bildkunst" (PhD diss., University of Bonn, 2023, publication in preparation). For a short overview on this research project, see Patrick Zeidler, "Starke asymmetrische Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse und soziale Ungleichheiten in Etrurien: Ein ikonographischer Ansatz," in *Gesellschaft und Familie bei Etruskern und Italikern: Akten des 18. Treffens der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Etrusker & Italiker (Wien, Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Papyrologie und Epigraphik, 6.–7. März 2020)*, ed. Petra Amann et al., WBAGon 4 (Vienna: 2022): 149–67, https://doi.org/10.25365/wbagon-2022-4-7.

7 There are also depictions in Etruscan art where prisoners are not explicitly characterized by shackles and/or the motif of the crossed arms, but can only be identified through the context and knowledge of the corresponding (Greek) myths. For some examples, see Steuernagel, *Mord am Altar*: 28–36 (Iphigenia), 42–44 (Polyxena), 44–47 (Cassandra, Helena). On an Etruscan sarcophagus from Tuscania that is often (probably incorrectly) interpreted as depicting the sacrifice of two Gallic captives, see Reinhard Herbig, *Die jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage*, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs 7 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1952): 48–49 no. 85, pl. 31; L. Bouke van der Meer, *Myths and More on Etruscan Stone Sarcophagi (c. 350–c. 200 BC)* (Louvain: Peeters, 2004): 54–57 fig. 27. Another example is the so-called Phersu game, which is documented on Late Archaic wall paintings in Tarquinia. These images depict a male person (probably a captive) who is forced to fight for his survival, presumably in the context of funerary rituals. On this, see Amalia Avramidou, "The Phersu Game Revisited," Etruscan Studies 12 (2009): 73–88.

2 The Iconography and Ambivalent Significance of Captives in Etruscan Art

2.1 Orientalizing Period

The earliest iconographic testimonies for prisoners of war in Etruria date back to the late eighth and early seventh centuries BCE, and they are strongly influenced by ideas of death, afterlife and sexual potency, which go back to the Villanovan period.[8] Two bronze figurines (Fig. 1), which were originally part of a vessel, were found near a circular tomb in the necropolis of Costiaccia Bambagini (Vetulonia).[9] One of them portrays a naked ithyphallic man whose arms have been replaced by two chains connected to the back of the neck of another naked but female figure standing in front of him. This can be interpreted as being the depiction of a warrior carrying off a woman as his booty after a successful raid.[10] Rather similar to this is a bronze pendant, which was found in a fossa grave in the necropolis of Poggio Gallinaro in Tarquinia; it shows a naked female figure wearing a chain around her neck.[11]

The famous bronze urn from the necropolis of Olmo Bello in Bisenzio can be considered as the earliest pictorial evidence of male captives.[12] On the vessel's shoulder, a naked ithyphallic figure who has his arms crossed in front of his body – a gesture that in later times developed into a common iconographic convention for the depiction of captivity – is standing in a circle together with several warriors armed with shields and spears. On the lid of the urn, numerous ithyphallic warriors are dancing in a circle around a demonic creature lying in chains.

Altogether, the use of ithyphallic figures (mainly warriors) and naked women with chains around their necks leads to the assumption that during the Orientalizing period, the depiction of captives was considered, amongst others, as a way to express the sexual potency of powerful male persons.

8 Petra Amann, *Die Etruskerin: Geschlechterverhältnis und Stellung der Frau im frühen Etrurien (9.–5. Jh. v. Chr.)* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000): 123.

9 On the figurines from Vetulonia, see Isidoro Falchi, *Vetulonia e la sua necropoli antichissima* (Florence: Successori Le Monnier, 1891): 194–97 pl. 17, 33; Emeline Hill Richardson, "The Recurrent Geometric in the Sculpture of Central Italy and its Bearing on the Problem of the Origin of the Etruscans," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 27 (1962): 153–98, 172–73 pl. 7, 25.

10 Maurizio Martinelli, *Religione e riti in Etruria* (Rome: Arbor Sapientiae, 2017): 315.

11 On the figurine from Tarquinia, see Hill Richardson, "Sculpture of Central Italy": 172–73 pls. 3, 7; 3, 8; Luciana Aigner-Foresti, *Der Ostalpenraum und Italien: Ihre kulturellen Beziehungen im Spiegel der anthropomorphen Kleinplastik aus Bronze des 7. Jhs. v. Chr.* (Florence: Olschki, 1980): 52–53 no. 12, pl. 12, 2.

12 On the urn from the necropolis of Olmo Bello in Bisenzio, see Aigner-Foresti, "anthropomorphe Kleinplastik": 48 no. 9, pls. 9, 3–5; Amann, *Die Etruskerin*: 123 pl. 9 e.

Fig. 1: Two bronze figurines from the surroundings of a circular tomb in the necropolis of Costiaccia Bambagini (Vetulonia): ithyphallic warrior leading an enchained woman.

2.2 Archaic Period

2.2.1 An Early Example of Captives in the Context of Greek Mythology

After a hiatus of about a century, the next pictorial evidence of captives in Etruscan art is provided by a fragment of a partially graded *nenfro* slab with relief-decorated metopes (Fig. 2), which was found together with two other pieces in tomb L in the Monterozzi necropolis of Tarquinia and can be dated back to the first quarter of the sixth century BCE.[13] The two preserved metopes on the left side of the fragment show:

13 See Stefano Bruni, *I lastroni a scala*, Materiali del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia 9 (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1986): 46–53 no. 13, pl. 17. Different hypotheses are being discussed in research for the function of those slabs: revetment plaques of the dromos in the area next to and above the tomb entrance, closure of the entrance to the chamber tomb, ceiling element of the grave

Fig. 2: *Nenfro* plate from Tarquinia, decorated in relief with a naked prisoner being led by a rope.

(above) a centaur moving toward the right, holding a branch in its right hand, and (below) a naked male person walking toward the right, with his hands bound by a rope behind his back. Behind him is another naked man holding the end of the rope with his right hand, while his left appears to be holding the prisoner's left arm. The interpretation of the scene is not entirely clear and its attribution to a particular

or part of stairs leading from outside to the top of the tumulus; on this, see Bruni, *I lastroni a scala*: 5–9 (with further bibliography).

Greek myth is very difficult to make as the image shows only a small section of a larger narrative and lacks specific attributes that could serve to identify the figures.[14]

The other four metopes are decorated with depictions of a panther, a winged human figure in the Archaic *Knielaufschema* pose, a billy goat and another centaur with a branch. The frieze running below the metopes shows a row of different figures – a standing naked person (the one on the left is not preserved due to spalling), a griffin, a horse with a naked male rider and a sphinx; these figures are mirrored symmetrically on each side from the middle of the frieze.

Thus, the picture program adopts different figures from Greek mythology and at the same time shows clear influences from Corinthian art.[15] It is the first time that the motif of a prisoner bound by a rope, which is explicitly depicted within the image, emerges in Etruscan art. Depictions of prisoners in the context of narratives taken from Greek mythology only reappear during the period from the fourth to the first century BCE.

2.2.2 Prisoners of War as a Prestigious Loot

Another pictorial representation of captives in Archaic Etruscan art can be found on the relief of a limestone sarcophagus (Fig. 3 a–b) from a workshop in Chiusi, which dates from around 510–500 BCE.[16] The sarcophagus derives from a warrior's chamber tomb in the necropolis of Sperandio in Perugia and contained several weapons. The relief on the front side shows what is probably the triumphal procession of warriors returning from a successful raid, and it is an isolated example of a depiction of high-ranking prisoners of war being carried away as a prestigious loot.[17] However, whether the image is to be understood as a scene from 'daily life' or as the representation of a local myth is still an open and debated question.[18] The captives are shown as bearded

14 For a summary of the different interpretations – Herakles and Cacus (Mengarelli), capture of Melampus by Iphiklos (von Brunn), Herakles and the bound herold of Erginos (Pottier), Apollo and the captured Hermes (Yalouris) – and references to the relevant literature, see Ingrid Krauskopf, *Der thebanische Sagenkreis und andere griechische Sagen in der etruskischen Kunst*, Schriften zur antiken Mythologie 2 (Mainz: Zabern, 1974): 21.

15 Bruni, *I lastroni a scala*: 52.

16 On the Sperandio sarcophagus, see Jean-René Jannot, *Les reliefs archaiques de Chiusi* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1984): 42–44, 284 fig. 155–159; Armando Cherici, "Per una lettura del sarcofago dello Sperandio," *Xenia antiqua* 2 (1993): 13–22 fig. 1–4.

17 This basic and very convincing interpretation goes back to George Dennis, but it has also recently been advocated by Armando Cherici.

18 There are many different interpretations, for example, as a *ver sacrum* (Giuseppe Melchiorri), as a festive procession in a funeral context (Heinrich Brunn), as a departure scene, which is thematically connected to the colonization of *Etruria padana* by some heroic persons from Perugia (Mario Torelli; Giovanni Colonna), or as the triumphal return of a member of Perugia's aristocracy from a successful

(a)

(b)

Fig. 3 a–b: Relief of limestone sarcophagus from the necropolis of Sperandio (Perugia): warriors returning from a successful raid with enchained captives of high rank and other kinds of prey (cattle, furniture, vessels).

raid in Umbrian territory (Francesco Roncalli). For a summary of the different hypotheses and the corresponding bibliography, see Cherici, "sarcofago dello Sperandio": 13; Petra Amann, *Die antiken Umbrer zwischen Tiber und Apennin unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Einflüsse aus Etrurien* (Vienna: Holzhausen, 2011): 151, 416.

and dressed in long garments and are wearing neck rings connected with iron chains. They are carrying vessels and pieces of furniture and appear next to some warriors as well as a herd of stolen cattle and goats and two donkeys loaded with prey. The captives' bearded appearance is rather untypical for late Archaic reliefs from Chiusi, which indicates that they might represent prisoners of war with a high social status.[19]

The two narrow sides of the sarcophagus are decorated with banquet scenes. Each of them shows three figures resting on clines, who are attended to by a small and naked male person with short hair, holding a jug in the right hand and a sieve or another object in the left. The choice of the topics of war and banquet for the pictorial decoration of the sarcophagus, as well as the weapons found within the sepulture, shows that the deceased wanted to portray himself as militarily successful and wealthy.[20] The depiction of domestic servants and military followers, and the display of prey, cattle and prisoners were intended to increase the prestige of the deceased and emphasize his position of power.

2.3 Late Classical and Hellenistic Period (Fourth–First Century BCE)

After a hiatus in the fifth century BCE, when no depiction of bound captives is known to have emerged in Etruscan art, the motif becomes relatively popular in the period from the fourth to the first century BCE. Most of these images do not show scenes from 'daily life', but are rather embedded in mythological narratives, which are often of Greek origin.

2.3.1 The Liberation of Caelius Vibenna by Mastarna

Probably some of the best-known examples are the wall paintings from the Tomba François in Vulci, which date back to 330–310 BCE.[21] One of the paintings (Fig. 4 a–b)

19 Cherici, "sarcofago dello Sperandio": 14.

20 Cherici, "sarcofago dello Sperandio": 16; Tina Mitterlechner, *Das Bankett: Ein Bildmotiv zwischen Diesseits und Jenseits im vorrömischen Italien (8.–2./1. Jh. v. Chr.)*, Phersu. Etrusko-italische Studien 2 (Vienna: Holzhausen, 2020): 118.

21 On the Tomba François, see Filippo Coarelli, "Le pitture della Tomba François a Vulci: Una proposta di lettura," *Dialoghi di archeologia* 1/2 (1983): 43–69; Francesco Buranelli, *La tomba François di Vulci* (Rome: Quasar, 1987); Dirk Steuernagel, "Der Freskenzyklus der Tomba François: Versuch einer Deutung," *Das Altertum* 44 (1998): 31–46; Andreae, "Tomba François"; Francesco Buranelli, "Die Kopien des Gemäldezyklus der Tomba François von Carlo Ruspi im Museo Gregoriano Etrusco des Vatikan," in *Die Etrusker: Luxus für das Jenseits: Bilder vom Diesseits – Bilder vom Tod*, ed. Bernard Andreae et al. (Munich: Hirmer, 2004): 168–75. On the inscriptions, see ET^2 Vc 7.8–35. The tomb walls are decorated with large-scale figurative paintings, predominantly depicting mythological scenes: Ajax the

(a) (b)

Fig. 4 a–b: Tomba François, Vulci, wall painting: liberation of the captured Caelius Vibenna by Mastarna.

shows a naked, bearded man with his hands tied in front of his body; he is denominated epigraphically as *Caile Vipina* (Caelius Vibenna) from Vulci. The person is being freed from his shackles by another naked, bearded man, who bears the inscription *Macstrna* (Mastarna) and can therefore be identified as Servius Tullius, one of the mythological kings of early Rome.[22] The rest of the frieze depicts a battle scene in which warriors, apparently from Vulci, kill their unarmed enemies in a surprise attack; according to the inscriptions, those enemies come from Volsinii, Sovana and Rome.[23]

The paintings obviously refer to the struggles for supremacy in Rome, which are supposed to have taken place in the middle of the sixth century BCE between the later Roman king Servius Tullius, supported by the brothers Vibenna from Vulci, and the previously dominant Tarquinians and their Etruscan allies.[24] The choice of this topic for the decoration of a family tomb was presumably intended to enhance the tradition and status of the grave owner's gens.

Lesser threatening Cassandra; the fight between the two brothers Eteocles and Polynices; the threat of Gneve Tarchunies Rumach (from Rome) by the Etruscan Marce Camitlnas; the wise men Nestor and Phoenix as well as the tomb founder Vel Saties with his son Arnza; see Andreae, "Tomba François": 188–203.

22 The equation of Mastarna to Servius Tullius is based on a speech of the Roman emperor Claudius, which is fragmentarily known through two bronze plaques from Lyon (CIL XIII 1668 = ILS 212); on this, see Vittorio E. Vernole, *Servius Tullius* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2002): 167–69. Another indirect record of the speech can be found in the work of Tacitus (Tac. ann. 2.23–25); see Andreae, "Tomba François": 203–5.

23 Stephan Steingräber, ed., *Etruskische Wandmalerei* (Stuttgart: Belser, 1985): 386. The translation of the term *plsaxs* into *Falerii* is not certain; see Andreae, "Tomba François": 197–98.

24 Steingräber, *Wandmalerei*: 386.

2.3.2 The Sacrifice of Trojan Prisoners by Achilleus

The paintings on the opposite wall of the Tomba François show the sacrifice of Trojan prisoners. According to the description in Homer's Iliad, the Trojans were captured along the river Xanthos by the Greek hero Achilleus in order to take revenge on the death of his comrade Patroclus.[25] In the centre of the frieze, we can see the youthful, beardless Achilleus wearing a short chiton, a cuirass and greaves. His upper body is bent slightly forward, and his left hand is holding a Trojan prisoner by the hair while his right is thrusting the sword into the prisoner's carotid artery. The beardless[26] and naked Trojan is sitting on the ground and is bleeding from the wounds on his leg and neck.[27] In the background stands the Etruscan underworld demon Charun. Next to him are two Greek warriors. Each of them is leading a naked, beardless prisoner, who is bleeding from a wound on his leg and whose hands are tied behind his back. The left part of the frieze shows Agamemnon, the shadow of Patroclus – a young male person with a blue coat and a white bandage covering the wound on the upper part of his body[28] – as well as the Etruscan death demon Vanth, who is observing the sacrifice.

The reason for depicting not only the sacrifice of Trojan prisoners, whom the Romans regarded as their mythological ancestors, but also the liberation of Caelius Vibenna by Mastarna within the same tomb has often been claimed to be anti-Roman propaganda as a result of the increase in military conflicts between Rome and Etruria in the fourth and third centuries BCE.[29] Following other opinions, the liberation scene should not be understood as a historical picture connected to specific incidences, but as a mythological narrative that refers to the Trojan sacrifice and other episodes from

25 Hom. Il. 21.26–32; 23.22–23; 23.114–176.

26 The copies of the frieze made by Carlo Ruspi mistakenly show the Trojan captive with a beard; on this, see Buranelli, "Tomba François": 169.

27 The injuries are probably meant to prevent the captives from escaping or to mark them as persons doomed to die; see Steuernagel, *Mord am Altar*: 20 no. 54. The motif of the bleeding wound on the thigh is also known from Paestum's tomb paintings; on this, see Bernard Andreae, "Katalog der Gräber und Grabbeigaben aus dem Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Paestum," in *Malerei für die Ewigkeit: Die Gräber von Paestum*, ed. Bernard Andreae (Munich: Hirmer, 2007): 60–75 with figs.

28 The iconographic convention of depicting deceased persons with mortal wounds was introduced in Etruscan art in the fourth century BCE, probably due to the influences of Apulian red-figure vase painting; see Larissa Bonfante and Nancy Th. de Grummond, "Wounded Souls: Etruscan Ghosts and Michelangelo's 'Slaves'," *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 17/18 (1989): 103.

29 See Coarelli, "Tomba François": 55–57, 68–69; Andreae, "Tomba François": 196. There is also the attempt to connect the emergence of the motif with literary evidence by *Livy* (7.5.10), which indicated that in 358 BCE, several Roman prisoners of war were sacrificed at the forum of Tarquinia. For a critical assessment of this approach, see Weber-Lehmann, "Tomba François": 108; Weber-Lehmann, "Trojaneropfer": 25–26.

Greek mythology, which are continued with a local legend.[30] However, a sharp distinction between myth and history is not possible in such cases.

The wall paintings in the Tomba François are part of a series of monuments depicting the sacrifice of the Trojans by Achilleus. The motif emerged in the middle of the fourth century BCE, rather simultaneously in Etruria,[31] Latium,[32] the Faliscan

30 Weber-Lehmann, "Tomba François": 108; Weber-Lehmann, "Trojaneropfer": 25–26. For comparisons between the different friezes in the Tomba François, see also Francesco Roncalli, "Caile vipinas in vinculis: Una uccisione rituale mancata?" *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo Claudio Faina* 20 (Orvieto: Quasar, 2013): 339–42.

31 Apart from the wall paintings in the Tomba François, another complete depiction of the scene is represented on the painted marble sarcophagus of Laris Part(i)unus (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia, inv. RC 9871, 350–330 BCE; see Steuernagel, *Mord am Altar*: 19 pl. 2, 1–3). A *peperino* sarcophagus from Torre San Severo (Museo Claudio Faina di Orvieto, second half of the fourth century BCE; see Steuernagel, *Mord am Altar*: 19 pl. 1, 2–3; 3, 2–4) shows the sacrifice of the Trojans in front of a cube-shaped tomb, which is typical for the funerary architecture of the nearby city of Orvieto. At the feet of Achilleus, one deceased captive is lying on the ground with his intestines bursting out of his stomach. A similar motif with two naked, dead Trojans lying on the ground can be found on an ash urn from Volterra (Museo Etrusco Guarnacci, inv. 202, late third or early second century BCE; see Steuernagel, *Mord am Altar*: 19 pl. 3, 1, and here, Fig. 5). However, there are also some representations where the sacrifice of the Trojans by Achilleus is not depicted in a complete version, but only in small excerpts, which are slightly modified and in some cases also included in various other mythological scenes. Examples for this are a *nenfro* sarcophagus from the Tomba delle Bighe in Tarquinia (British Museum, London, inv. D 21, ca. 300 BCE; see Herbig, *Steinsarkophage*: 36–37 no. 63, pl. 29), a limestone sarcophagus from Massa Martana (mured into the church of S. Maria, Pantano, second century BCE; see Steuernagel, *Mord am Altar*: 22 no. 6; Monika Verzár, "Archäologische Zeugnisse aus Umbrien," in *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien: Kolloquium in Göttingen vom 5. bis 9. Juni 1974*, ed. Paul Zanker [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1976]: 137 fig. 9) and a red-figure calyx crater from Vulci (Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, inv. 920, last quarter of the fourth century BCE; see John D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947]: 136 pl. 31, 1–2).

32 In the Latin city of Praeneste, two bronze *ciste* were found, which can be dated to the second half of the fourth century BCE. The so–called *Cista Révil* (British Museum, London, inv. 59 8–16 1; see Gabriella Bordenache Battaglia, *Corpus delle ciste Prenestine*, vol. 1 [Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1979]: 112–15 no. 29, pls. 135–39) comprises a funeral pyre on which weapons and military equipment are laid out. Achilleus cut his hair short as a symbol of mourning. Six Trojans (two of them with beards) are waiting for their fate: three are sitting on the ground, one is tied to a tree, two are being led by Greek warriors by a rope. The so-called *Cista Napoléon* (Louvre, Paris, inv. 1663) was, in the past, sometimes suspected of being a falsification due to the existence of several modern revisions of the object (addition of missing parts and some new engravings). However, an invoice from 1861 proves that these traces are the result of a modern restoration and that the object itself is antique; on this, see Gabriella Bordenache Battaglia and Adriana Emiliozzi, *Corpus delle ciste Prenestine*, vol. 1, 2 (Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1990): 181–86 no. 59, pls. 257–66; Steuernagel, *Mord am Altar*: 19 no. 50. The frieze does not depict the sacrifice itself, but a scene, which takes place at a slightly earlier moment and shows Achilleus sitting, while two Trojan captives, guarded by several Greek warriors, are awaiting their fate. A bronze *cista* at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (inv. 93. 1439 a–b), which is decorated with a relatively mazy version of the sacrifice of the Trojans by Achilleus, is suspected by many researchers to be a falsification; on this, see Bordenache Battaglia, *ciste*

area[33] and southern Italy;[34] this led to the establishing of an iconographic tradition that remained prevalent in Etruria until about 200 BCE. The centre of all complete depictions is the Greek hero Achilleus, who is about to kill a captured Trojan sitting on the ground in front of him. Depending on the dimensions of the object and the availability of space, several other figures – like Patroclus and Agamemnon, or groups of Trojan prisoners guarded by Greek warriors – are also depicted. The Trojan captives are all portrayed naked, sitting or standing, as they await their fate. Prisoners that have already been killed appear in only two Etruscan representations (see, for example, Fig. 5).

The inspiration for the topic as well as some iconographic conventions – such as the depiction of the souls of the deceased as wearing bandages, the representation of the dead with an open abdominal cavity or injured persons with heavily bleeding wounds – can be traced back to influences from Greek visual art. In contrast, the inclusion of the underworld demons Charun and Vanth can be regarded as a genuine Etruscan creation. Funeral pyres, such as the ones portrayed on the Praenestinian *cista* in the British Museum and on the Apulian red-figure volute crater from Canosa, do not appear in the Etruscan depictions. In two cases, due to local influences, the pyre was replaced by a cube-shaped tomb or a tumulus. Consequently, the Etruscan images cannot be seen as exact copies of a hypothetical (Greek?) archetype, but have to be regarded as an adaption of the subject to Etruscan preferences and customs.[35]

The emergence and dissemination of the motif in Central Italy from the middle of the fourth century BCE onwards can probably be explained by the increase in military

Prenestine: 66–68 no. 10, pls. 74–77; Steuernagel, *Mord am Altar*: 19 no. 15. In contrast to this, Mary B. Comstock and Cornelius Vermeule regard the object as authentic, see Mary B. Comstock and Cornelius C. Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston* (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1971): 376 fig. 523.

33 On a Faliscan red-figure stamnos from Sovana (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. V. I 5825; Marcioni painter; ca. 340 BCE), the funeral pyre for Patroclus is replaced by a tomb pillar and a tumulus. The Trojan killed by Achilleus is bearded. On this, see Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*: 87–92 pl. 20, 2; Cornelia Weber-Lehmann, "Die Tomba François: Anspruch und historische Wirklichkeit eines etruskischen Familiengrabes: Katalogtexte," in *Die Etrusker: Luxus für das Jenseits: Bilder vom Diesseits – Bilder vom Tod*, ed. Bernard Andreae, Andreas Hoffmann and Cornelia Weber-Lehmann (Munich: Hirmer, 2004): 208 cat. no. II/45, figs. on the left and in the middle.

34 On an Apulian red-figure volute crater from Canosa (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. H 3254; Darius painter, 340/330 BCE), see Arthur D. Trendall and Alexander Cambitoglou, *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia* 2: *Late Apulian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982): 495 no. 39; Weber-Lehmann, "Die Tomba François: Anspruch und historische Wirklichkeit eines etruskischen Familiengrabes: Katalogtexte": 208–9 cat. no. 2/46. The focus is on a pyre, on which Patroclus' weapons and cuirass are laid out. The Trojan prisoners are not depicted naked, but are characterized as strange barbarians by their colorful oriental costumes. The Trojan victim in the central group receives the fatal sword thrust on his knees (and not sitting or standing like in the Etruscan images).

35 A large-sized Greek panel painting or some kind of Etruscan 'national monument' has been proposed to be the hypothetical archetype for Etruscan representations of the sacrifice of the Trojans by Achilleus; on this, see Maggiani, *Artigianato artistico*: 211; Francesco Roncalli, "La decorazione pittorica," in *La tomba François di Vulci*, ed. Francesco Buranelli (Rome: Quasar, 1987): 86–89; Andreae,

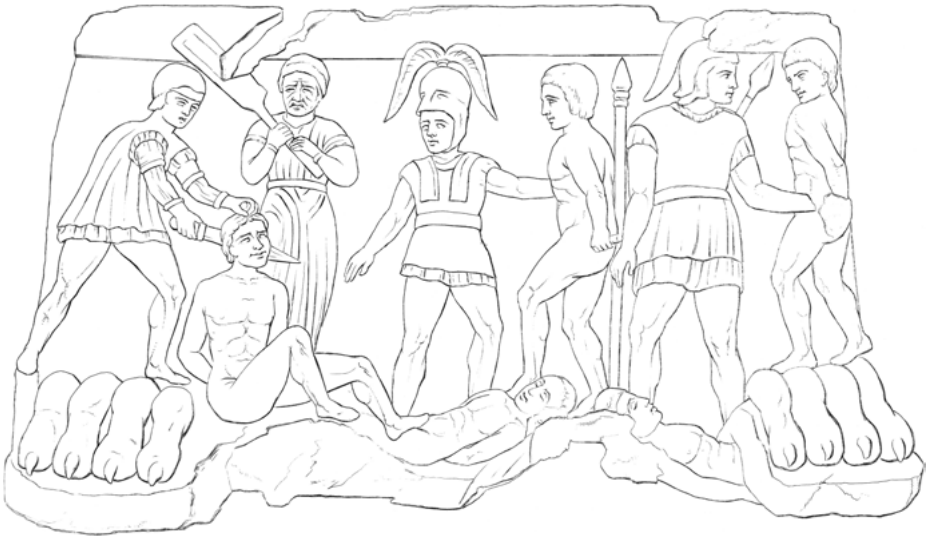


Fig. 5: Relief of an alabaster urn from Volterra: sacrifice of Trojan prisoners by Achilleus, the bodies of two killed captives are lying on the ground.

conflicts between Rome and Etruria, the common interest in depicting topics connected to death (such as demons or the journey into the underworld) and the popularity that episodes from the Trojan legend generally had during this time. The latter hypothesis is supported by the observation that pictorial representations of the sacrifice of Trojan captives are often combined with other scenes from Trojan mythology, such as the threat of Cassandra by Ajax the Lesser, the two wise men Nestor and Phoenix, the sacrifice of Polyxena, Odysseus and Circe as well as the Amazonomachy.[36]

2.3.3 Marsyas Bound to a Tree

Aside from the depictions of Trojan prisoners of war, there are numerous other examples in Etruscan art where captives are portrayed in different episodes of Greek mythology. One theme, which is documented in Etruscan and also Praenestinian art from the fourth to the first century BCE, shows Marsyas in the role of a prisoner after losing his musical duel against the god Apollo. The earliest example is a bronze thymiaterion in New York, which can be dated to the late fourth or early third century BCE and has a manifold figurative decoration, including a naked Marsyas, who is

"Tomba François": 196. For a critical perspective on these proposals, see Weber-Lehmann, "Tomba François": 108.

36 See Weber-Lehmann, "Tomba François": 107.

shown to be youthful and beardless and can only be recognized as a Silenus by the horns on his head.[37] The figure is wearing boots, a cloak is slung over one shoulder, the head is turned sharply to the right and the hands are tied behind the back. The stand of the thymiaterion is designed in the shape of a tree trunk with a snake coiled around it. Several flutes hang about Marsyas. The Etruscan inscription *suthina* indicates that the object was used as a grave good.[38]

A rather late iconographic evidence for the captured Marsyas can be seen on a travertine urn found in Perugia (Fig. 6).[39] It bears a Latin inscription and can be dated to the first half of the first century BCE.[40] The centre of the relief shows the naked, beardless Marsyas sitting on a rock in front of a tree, with his arms crossed behind his back. Behind him stands a young man with a short garment, probably Apollo, who is holding the captive with his right hand. To the left of Marsyas, a person wearing a long chiton and a himation drawn over the head is holding the left hand in front of the face in a gesture of mourning. Beside this person, relatively poorly preserved, there is a man with a Phrygian (?) cap sitting on the ground. With his outstretched hands, he is sharpening a knife and thus seems to be preparing to peel off Marsyas' skin.

37 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. 1972.118.87; see Laura Ambrosini, *Thymiateria etruschi in bronzo di età tardo classica, alto e medio ellenistica* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2002): 276 no. 319; 437 fig. 13, pl. 85, 319; Richard D. De Puma, *Etruscan Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Yale University Press, 2013): 22 fig. 24.4.

38 Ambrosini, *Thymiateria etruschi:* 433.

39 The urn was found in Perugia (S. Maria Maddalena, Strada di Montevile) and derives from the Ipogeo dei Velchei. Today, it is located in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, inv. 54; see Matilde Cante et al., *Perugia: Museo Archeologico Nazionale Dell'Umbria: Chiostro maggiore, Lapidario* (Perugia: Volumnia, 2004): 31 fig. 54. A partially damaged urn in Chiusi (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Chiusi) from the second century BCE might provide further evidence. It shows a naked, bearded man seated at the foot of a tree or rock, with his hands tied behind his back. In front of him are a large crater and a male figure, probably a satyr, pointing in the direction of the prisoner with his outstretched left arm. However, the interpretation is not clear as the captive was identified by Gustav Körte as Amykos, but by L. Marchese as Marsyas; see Gustav Körte, *I rilievi delle urne etrusche*, vol. 3 (Berlin: Reimer, 1916): 241–42; L. Marchese, "Il mito di Àmico nell'arte figurate: Fortuna di un mito greco nell'arte etrusca," *Studi Etruschi* 18 (1944): 58, 60 no. 21; Guntram Beckel, "Amykos," in *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, vol. 1, ed. L. Kahil (Zurich: Artemis, 1981): 741 no. 18. Due to the crater, the latter interpretation seems to be more plausible, even though the image does not have many iconographical parallels to other depictions of the captured Marsyas and could therefore also represent another mythological figure; on this, see Anne Weis, "The Motif of the Adligatus and Tree: A Study in the Sources of Pre-Roman Iconography," *American Journal of Archaeology* 86, no. 1 (1982): 36 no. 33.

40 On the inscription, see Giulio Buonamici, "Rivista di epigrafia etrusca," *Studi Etruschi* 8 (1934): 355 no. f.

Fig. 6: Relief of a travertine urn from the Ipogeo dei Velchei near Perugia: Marsyas sitting on a rock in front of a tree, with his arms crossed behind his back.

From the field of Praenestinian art, several bronze mirrors depicting the captured Marsyas have been preserved.[41] One of them is located in the Villa Giulia in Rome and can be dated to the third quarter of the fourth century BCE.[42] A naked male figure – clearly

41 There is also a Praenestinian bronze mirror from Monterotondo (current repository not known, formerly part of the collection *Casali*, 400–350 BCE), see Eduard Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, vol. 4 (Rome: Edizioni Ardita, 1866): 28–29 pl. 295; Weis, "Adligatus and Tree": 35 no. 18. Another example is in Rome (Museo Nazionale Romano, 325–300 BCE), see Mariella Maxia, "Gli specchi etruschi e romani del Museo Nazionale Romano," in *Roma repubblicana fra il 509 e il 270 a.C.*, ed. Lucrezia Campus et al. (Rome: Quasar, 1982): 130–31 no. 51, pl. 51, 1.

42 Villa Giulia, Rome, inv. 12983, 350–325 BCE; see Maria P. Baglione and Fernando Gilotta, eds., *Corpus speculorum Etruscorum, Italia* 6: *Roma – Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia*, vol. 1 (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2007): 61–64 no. 20, pls. 20 a–b.

recognizable as a Silenus owing to his lengthy beard, long and mazy hair, bald head, elongated and pointed ears and his tail – is sitting on a small elevation with his hands tied in front of his body. His arms as well as his sight are directed toward Apollo, who is standing in front of him and is holding a large knife in his right hand. At the latter's feet sits a small satyr with long locks of hair and a tail. At Marsyas' feet lie a flute and the straps used to attach an aulos to the head (*phorbeia*), which, like the oversized kithara depicted next to Apollo, have to be understood as a reference to the preceding events. To the right of Marsyas stands a luxuriously dressed and adorned female figure, which can probably be interpreted as being Minerva or a muse.[43]

In general, the captured Marsyas is shown naked or wearing only a cloak and is usually tied to a tree trunk, either sitting or standing, with his upper body bent slightly forward and his arms crossed behind his back. Etruscan images normally depict Marsyas as being youthful and beardless, and they do not express his character as a Silenus at all or only do so in a very restrained way. In contrast to this, Praenestinian objects represent Marsyas with a long beard and long hair and clearly characterize him as a Silenus with a tail or, more rarely, a bald head and long, pointed ears. Marsyas' dependency and inferiority is expressed in the images through his nudity, the motif of his arms crossed behind his back as well as the depiction of Apollo or the Scythian threatening him with a knife. The depiction of Marsyas in the role of a prisoner, who faces a horrible death by being skinned alive, clearly indicates the punishment that awaits those persons who possess the hubris to challenge a deity.

2.3.4 Andromeda Chained to the Rock Face

A scene from Greek mythology depicting Andromeda, the princess of Aethiopia, bound to a rock can be found on three alabaster urns from Volterra, which date back to the second half of the second century BCE.[44] Apart from the aforementioned bronze figurines from the Orientalizing period, these representations are the only known evidence for enchained female captives in Etruscan pictorial art.[45] Remarkably, the

43 Baglione and Gilotta, *Villa Giulia*: 62.

44 One of them is still in Volterra (Museo Etrusco Guarnacci, inv. 330; see Gustav Körte, *I rilievi delle urne etrusche*, vol. 2, 1 [Rome: Reimer, 1890]: 102 pl. 39, 1; Gabriele Cateni et al., *Urne volterrane* 2: *Il Museo Guarnacci: Parte seconda*, *Corpus delle urne etrusche di età ellenistica*, vol. 2, 2 [Pisa: Pacini Editore, 1986]: 20–21 no. 15, fig. above right). The other two urns are now located in Florence – Palazzo Aldobrandini: Körte, *rilievi 2, 1*: 103 pl. 39, 2; Mauro Cristofani et al., eds., *Urne volterrane* 1. *I complessi tombali*, *Corpus delle urne etrusche di età ellenistica*, vol. 1 (Florence: Centro Di, 1975): 30–31 no. 11, fig. below left; Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 78486: Körte, *rilievi 2, 1*: 103 no. 1 a; Cristofani et al., *Urne volterrane*: 92–93 no. 128, fig. below left.

45 On a Faliscan pedimental sculpture (Villa Giulia, Rome, inv. 26776) from Falerii Veteres (today Civita Castellana), which dates back to the third century BCE, see Arvid Andrén, *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples*, *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska institutet i Rom: Opuscula archaeologica* 6

motif does not appear to have been used in a gender-specific manner, as two of the urns bear male name inscriptions and all of the lids are decorated with plastic male figures.[46] The urn reliefs (see Fig. 7 as an example) show Andromeda as a woman of high rank with rich clothing (long and belted chiton, chlamys, boots) and jewellery (diadem or torque). She is standing or sitting within a cave, and her arms are chained by iron clamps to the rock face. To the right, we can see the female Etruscan death demon Vanth and a seated male person wearing a cloak, probably Cepheus, the father of Andromeda.[47] From below, *ketos*, a sea monster, is approaching. The left part of the frieze contains the Greek hero Perseus, who is naked apart from a cloak and winged shoes and is holding the severed head of Medusa in his hands as well as a sword or a vessel attached to a strap.

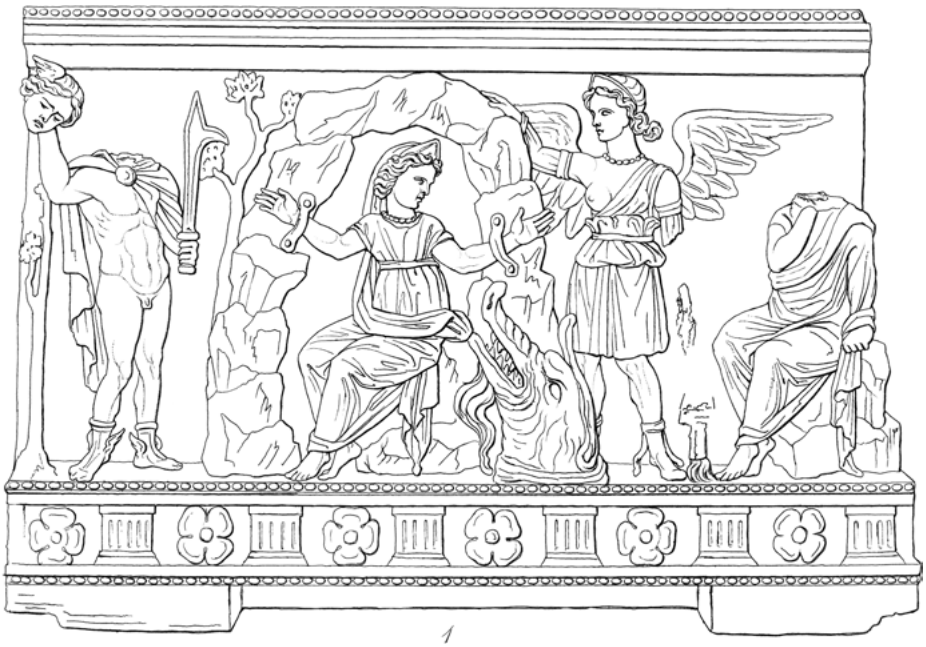


Fig. 7: Relief of an alabaster urn from Volterra: Andromeda sitting in a cave with her arms chained to the rock face.

(Lund: Gleerup, 1940): 147–48 pl. 56, 184; L. Bouke van der Meer, "Etruscan Urns from Volterra: Studies on Mythological Representations," vol. 1–2 (PhD diss., University of Groningen, 1978): 28. The figure is seated, wearing only a torque and a cloak, while her arms are chained to the rock face with iron clamps.

46 On the inscriptions, see CIE 65 = ET^2 Vt 1.101; CIE 154.

47 Cateni et al., *Urne volterrane*: 20.

Its differences from the images of captives discussed so far are extremely striking as Andromeda is not presented as an inferior, helpless victim doomed to die, but as a person of high social status who only temporarily fell into captivity due to adverse circumstances. In contrast to other cases like the Trojans or Marsyas, who have to face a violent death, Andromeda's situation is threatening but not hopeless, as Perseus is about to kill the creature.

2.3.5 The (Attempted) Sacrifice of Orestes and Pylades

Another example from the context of Greek mythology that depicts prisoners as having a high social rank and not as inferior victims in a hopeless situation contains the two companions Orestes and Pylades. The two were captured after their arrival on the island of Tauris and were supposed to be sacrificed to the goddess Artemis. Only due to the intervention of Iphigenia were they able to escape. The myth is represented on a large series of urns from Volterra, which dates back to the period from the second quarter of the second century to the first quarter of the first century BCE (see, for example, Fig. 8).[48] An *aedicula*, which locates the event in a sacred space, is usually placed at the centre of the relief. In some cases, the *aedicula* contains an *omphalos* with a snake weaving around it, which probably has an eschatological meaning.[49] There is a group of two persons on each side. The first person is a beardless youth, with his body turned to the left but his head looking to the right. He is sitting on a *diphros* and wearing a chiton, a chlamys held together by a fibula as well as boots. His hands are tied together in front of the body and are resting on his lap, while his feet are slightly raised on a rock. The second person, who can be identified as a priestess, is wearing a long, belted chiton with a flap (*kolpos*) and often also a himation. She is holding a phiale with her right hand over the head of the prisoner and, in the course of a libation, is pouring wine or another liquid from it, while the other hand is holding a sword with a scabbard.

The two comrades, who cannot be distinguished from each other in the images, are clearly characterized as prisoners by means of the motif of the arms crossed in front of the body. However, in comparison to other types of captives, like the Trojans or Marsyas, they are not devalued by negatively connoted iconographic features such as nudity, bleeding wounds, a reduced body size or the motif of sitting on the ground. Instead, the two youths are richly clothed, they are seated on a *diphros* instead of a simple stool and they are shown with a significantly larger body size than the two priestesses, who are actually in a position of superior power. Here, too, we can see prisoners of high rank who only temporarily fell into captivity due to unfortunate cir-

48 The series from Volterra is attested by 17 examples, see Steuernagel, *Mord am Altar*: 40. In addition, there are two smaller and slightly earlier series of urns coming from Chiusi, which show the myth in a different way; on this, see Steuernagel, *Mord am Altar*: 37–40.

49 Steuernagel, *Mord am Altar*: 40.

Fig. 8: Relief of an alabaster urn from Volterra: Orestes and Pylades sitting on a *diphros*, with their hands tied together in front of their bodies.

cumstances and do not have much in common with the naked, wounded and humiliated Trojan captives.

2.3.6 Shackles in Religious and Magical Contexts

Finally, it has to be considered that shackles do not only appear in the context of captivity in the common sense, but they can also be charged with a metaphorical magical or religious meaning. A well-known example for this are two lead figurines from Sovana (Fig. 9 a–d), which were found at the entrance of an Archaic chamber tomb and can be dated from 330 to 270 BCE.[50] They depict a couple, with each person being naked and with their arms crossed behind their backs. Both figurines bear name in-

50 Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence, see Lucio Mariani, "Osservazioni intorno alle statuette plumbee sovanesi," *Ausonia* 4 (1910): 39–47; Bartolomeo Nogara, "Due statuette etrusche di piombo trovate recentemente a Sovana," *Ausonia* 4 (1910): 31–35 fig. 1–4; Riccardo Massarelli, "Le defixiones nel mondo etrusco," in *Forme e strutture della religione nell'Italia mediana antica: 3. Convegno internazionale dell'Istituto di ricerche e documentazione sugli antichi Umbri, 21–25 settembre 2011, Perugia – Gubbio*, ed. Augusto Ancillotti et al. (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2016): 526–27 fig. 13–18.

scriptions on the right leg.[51] Due to the specific type of material, the find context and the name inscriptions, these objects have to be seen in the context of *defixiones*.[52] In such cursing practices, the concerned persons are depicted plastically in the form of a doll.[53] As the two figurines represent a man and a woman, a love curse can be supposed.[54] The deposition of the two figurines in a funerary context may have even included a magical intent to kill.[55] Thus, the motif of the crossed arms behind the back, which is a common iconographic convention indicating captivity, has in this case a magical denotation and probably represents, in a metaphorical way, in how far the free will of the cursed person is constrained.[56]

A rather similar case can be found in a small series of relatively simple terracotta urns from Chiusi dating back to the second century BCE.[57] Two of the reliefs show a naked man whose hands are tied behind his back and who is standing in front of a monumental gate, which probably represents the entrance to the underworld (Fig. 10). Another person wearing a short chiton is holding the captive's arm or is leading him with a rope.[58] Thus, the image reflects the moment in which the deceased is accompanied by the Etruscan demon Charun into the underworld.[59] In this specific context, the motif of the arms crossed behind the back probably takes on a metaphorical meaning to symbolize that there is no chance of escape from death.

51 The male person bears the name *zertur cecnas*, while the female is named *velia satnea*; see ET^2 AV 4.3; 4.4 = CIE 5234; 5235.

52 Mariani, "statuette plumbee"; Ambros J. Pfiffig, *Religio etrusca* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1975): 365–66. In contrast to this, Bartolomeo Nogara interpreted the figurines as relicts of archaic practices of human sacrifices; see Nogara, "statuette etrusche di piombo": 34.

53 On cursing practices in antiquity, see Christopher A. Faraone, "Binding and Burying the Forces of the Evil: The Defensive Use of 'Voodoo Dolls' in Ancient Greece," *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 10 (1991); John G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Fritz Graf, "Fluch und Verwünschung," in *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*, vol. 3, ed. Jean C. Balty (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2005).

54 Massarelli, "defixiones": 528.

55 Pfiffig, *Religio etrusca*: 366.

56 Gager, *Curse Tablets*: 14–15.

57 Anna Rastrelli, "La produzione in terracotta a Chiusi," in *Artigianato artistico: L'Etruria settentrionale interna in età ellenistica*, ed. Adriano Maggiani (Milan: Electa, 1985): 100–101, 112.

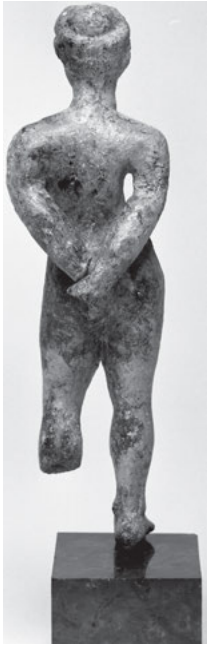
58 On the two urns in Chiusi (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Chiusi, inv. 1065) and Florence (Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 5525), see Körte, *rilievi 3*: 118 pls. 99, 15; 99, 15 a; Rastrelli, "La produzione in terracotta": 112–13 fig. 130, 131; Marina Sclafani, *Urne fittili chiusine e perugine di età medio tardo ellenistica* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2010): 205 pl. 31 F IIId/H I. Cl 100; 229 pl. 31 F IIIb/H I. Fl 25. Another urn in Chiusi (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Chiusi, inv. 92) depicts the captured man not naked, but vested with a short chiton and a cloak. At the entrance to the underworld stands a horse. The left part of the frieze contains Charun, who is wearing a short chiton and holding his characteristic hammer, as well as a stool, which probably represents the elevated social status of the deceased; see Körte, *rilievi 3*: 115 pl. 96, 9.

59 Körte, *rilievi 3*: 115, 118.

(a)

(b)

(c)



(d)

Fig. 9 a–d: Two lead figurines from Sovana: naked couple with name inscriptions on their legs and their arms crossed behind their backs.

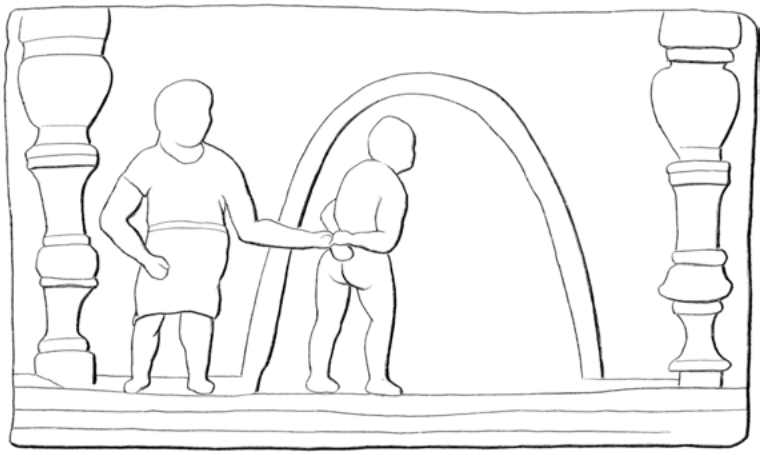


Fig. 10: Relief of a terracotta urn from Chiusi: a deceased person with his arms crossed behind his back is being led by Charun to the symbolical entrance into the underworld.

3 Conclusion

After a few isolated examples from the Orientalizing and Archaic Periods as well as several epochs (for example, the fifth century BCE), which have been proven to have a lack of any iconographical evidence, pictorial representations of captives became relatively numerous in Etruscan art from the middle of the fourth century BCE onwards. This phenomenon coincided with a period of increasing military conflicts between Rome and Etruria as well as a rising interest in depicting topics connected to death, such as demons or the journey into the underworld.[60] Images of captives can be found in many different object categories, ranging from urns, sarcophagi, wall and vase paintings, to relief plates, mirrors and figurines. These predominantly come from funerary contexts and thus have to be considered as an integral part of the grave ideology of the respective gens.

In the beginning, the bondage was usually illustrated through iron neck rings and chains. Since the middle of the fourth century BCE, the tying of hands crossed in front of or behind the body with the use of a rope, a means that is not always shown explicitly, became the common convention for depicting captives. Prisoners were visualized naked unless they were mythological heroes like Andromeda or Orestes and Pylades. Apart

60 Dirk Steuernagel, "Die Geburt der Dämonen: Zum Wandel der etruskischen Grabikonographie im 5./4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.," in *Metamorphosen des Todes: Bestattungskulturen und Jenseitsvorstellungen im Wandel der Zeit: vom alten Ägypten bis zum Friedwald der Gegenwart*, ed. Andreas Merkt (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2016): 23–43.

from some specific exceptions (for example, Marsyas), captives were usually rendered beardless and youthful. The addition of bleeding wounds, the motif of a prisoner being led by a rope or held by the arm as well as being threatened with a weapon even more clearly demonstrate the dependency relationship between the different actors.

As Etruscan imagery is often constructed as a non-violent space in which negative aspects of slavery and other forms of dependency are deliberately hidden,[61] scenes with captives who are explicitly threatened, violated or killed have to be considered as exceptional cases, which then provides valuable insights into the social norms at the time. The question concerning how far the capture and punishment of specific persons are justifiable is not given attention in the images.

Pictures showing the 'daily life' of the aristocratic elite (at least in an idealized, emblematic way) occur relatively seldom in Etruscan art. It can be assumed that prisoners of war were only found to be worth depicting because of their attributive value – similar to other kinds of prestigious loot, such as luxury goods or livestock, they increased the prestige of socially high-ranking people and symbolized their wealth and power.

The vast majority of the images is embedded in narratives from (mainly Greek) mythology. These narratives reflect certain historical and social processes on an abstract level and thus provide valuable information about social norms and hierarchies as well as gender-related role models in Etruria.[62] Depictions of the captured Trojans and Marsyas,[63] who are shown in a rather pejorative way as naked and partially wounded victims about to be killed in a cruel way without any chance of escape, refer, on a metaphorical level, to the possible negative consequences of challenging social norms and/or the divine order.[64] Accordingly, these images can be seen as an implicit advice to adhere to the prevailing norms. On the other hand, there are some examples, mainly deriving from the second and the first centuries BCE, which neglect

61 Similar patterns can be detected in Greek art; on this, see Susanne Moraw, "Bilder, die lügen: Hochzeit, Tieropfer und Sklaverei in der klassischen Kunst," in *Die andere Seite der Klassik: Gewalt im 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, ed. Günter Fischer and Susanne Moraw (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2005): 79, 85, 88.

62 A similar research discourse exists with regard to the representation of Greek myths in Roman art; on this, see the summary by Ruth Bielfeldt, *Orestes auf römischen Sarkophagen* (Berlin: Reimer, 2005): 13–25 (with further literature). Accordingly, these images do not simply re-narrate episodes from Greek mythology, but they also symbolize virtuous behaviour and outstanding achievements and thereby contribute to the self-representation of the social elite. Apart from this, mythological scenes can also serve to express emotions such as mourning or pain.

63 Rather similar to the iconography of Marsyas are representations of the captured Amykos. For some examples, see Marchese, "Il mito di Àmico": 54–55 pl. 9, 3 (bronze mirror from Tarquinia; last quarter of the fourth century BCE): 55–56 pl. 10, 2 (travertine urn from Perugia; first quarter of the second century BCE).

64 The punishment of persons who had the hubris to violate the divine order is a popular motif in ancient art; on this, see Frank Rumscheid et al., eds., *Göttliche Ungerechtigkeit? Strafen und Glaubensprüfungen als Themen antiker und frühchristlicher Kunst* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2018).

the harsh and cruel conditions of captivity in favour of conveying an idealized, almost romanticized view. Andromeda, or Orestes and Pylades, for example,[65] are characterized by noble clothing, jewellery and other symbols of high social status; in the end, they are able to escape a life-threatening situation unviolated due to the intervention of protagonists such as Perseus or Iphigenia. As these depictions almost exclusively occur on urn reliefs, they could have served as a kind of metaphorical consolation to the relatives of the deceased persons. One of the very rare cases of prisoners in the context of local myths can be seen in the wall paintings in the Tomba François, which depict the liberation of Caelius Vibenna from Vulci by Mastarna and refer to the struggles for supremacy in Rome in the middle of the sixth century BCE – a motif probably meant to indicate the allegedly long tradition and elevated social status of the grave owner's gens.

Finally, it has to be mentioned that during the late fourth and early third centuries BCE, in some cases which are connected to magical or religious contexts (for example, curse figurines), the use of the shackle motif is not linked to slavery or captivity, but rather has to be understood in a metaphorical way.

In terms of the socio-historical interpretation, it is important to note that images of captives do not convey the perspective of the dependent persons themselves and cannot be regarded as 'realistic' and unbiased reproductions of 'daily life'. Instead, they have to be considered as idealized and ideologically distorted constructions reflecting the point of view of (predominantly male) members of the Etruscan upper class, who commissioned most of the objects and had the aim of visualizing their wealth and power.[66] The conscious selection of specific (Greek or local) myths based on the preferences and intentions of the clients and/or artists, as well as the artistic adaption of foreign motifs and iconographic conventions to the cultural peculiarities of Etruria, allows for interesting insights into the self-perception and self-representation of the Etruscan elite and the marginalization of (dependent) members of the lower class.

65 Comparable to this group are depictions of Daidalos as a captive. On two alabaster urns from Volterra (Museo Etrusco Guarnacci, inv. 434, 435; late second–early first century BCE), see Adriano Maggiani, ed., *Urne volterrane* 2: *Il Museo Guarnacci*: *Parte terza*, *Corpus delle urne etrusche di età ellenistica*, vol. 2, 3 (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2012): 52–53 no. 45, fig. at the bottom; 54–55 no. 46, fig. above left.

66 On the construction of images, see Ralf von den Hoff and Stefan Schmidt, "Bilder und Konstruktion: Ein interdisziplinäres Konzept für die Altertumswissenschaften," in *Konstruktionen von Wirklichkeit: Bilder im Griechenland des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, ed. Ralf von den Hoff and Stefan Schmidt (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001): 1–25.

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