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Gianna Schulp April 9th, 2025

A Forgotten Tradition: An Analysis of the Etruscan Practice of Using *Śuθina*

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2025

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a thesis submitted to the Faculty of Emory College of Arts and Sciences
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Abstract

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The Etruscans believed in the continuation of life after death. When people died and traveled into the afterlife, they needed their worldly possessions to continue with them and thus included them in tombs. Over 130 of these Etruscan objects have been inscribed with *śuθina*, meaning "for the tomb." This thesis seeks to explore the patterns of how *śuθina* was used and why in order to provide a better holistic understanding of the Etruscan burial beliefs. To do so, I have examined a variety of objects of different provenances and materials in hopes of establishing these patterns. This thesis considers the differences between inscribed and non-inscribed objects, and reflects on their underlying funerary purposes. I conclude that select pieces that were owned and used by the deceased in life, that were not originally acquired to be placed in a tomb, were later marked with śuθina. Objects that were meant for funerary rituals and burial practices did not need to be labeled as "for the tomb" because their production and use inherently implied this. Additionally, if non-funerary items were not personally owned and used by the deceased in their life, they were not inscribed with śuθina. Even though these pieces were not made to be used in funerary rituals and burial practices, if their only employment was being put in a tomb, then their secondary purpose was for these burial rites and thus did not need to be inscribed.

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Introduction

One of the unique features of the Etruscans in the ancient Mediterranean world was their practice of inscribing certain burial objects with a specific word. The Etruscans used *śuθina* or "for the tomb" between the sixth and second centuries BCE. While over 130 examples of the funerary notation are known, there are only a handful of published works that discuss the custom. As I was developing my research, I found that most sources that acknowledge *śuθina* only dedicate one sentence to its translation and nothing about its purpose and use. In writing this thesis, I aim to tackle these gaps in knowledge by collecting the known information and adding my own proposals. My main focus is on determining the pattern of which objects were inscribed and why. Even the leading scholars in this area such as Maristella Pandolfini, Paul Fontaine, and Richard De Puma tend to focus on why *śuθina* was used and not how it was employed.

After thorough object analysis and historical considerations, I have devised a set of guidelines for which objects were inscribed. First, select pieces that were owned and used by the deceased in life, that were not originally acquired to be placed in a tomb, were later marked with *śuθina*. Objects that were meant for funerary rituals and burial practices did not need to be labeled as "for the tomb" because their production and use inherently implied this. Additionally, if non-funerary items were not personally owned and used by the deceased in their life, they were not inscribed with *śuθina*. Even though these pieces were not made to be used in funerary rituals and burial practices, if their only employment was being put in a tomb, then their secondary purpose was for these burial rites and thus did not need to be inscribed.

The Etruscans

In the modern West of academics, it seems impossible for someone to have not heard of the ancient Romans and the Roman Empire. Names like “Julius Caesar” and the “Colosseum” will often be thrown around. Yet, when discussing the ancient world with my friends, family, and peers, I was struck by how few of them knew about one of the cultural predecessors to the Romans: the Etruscans. Who were the Etruscans and why have they remained hidden in mainstream ancient history? This chapter aims to provide a very brief introduction to the Etruscans and their influence. The topics in this chapter are tailored to provide the adequate context required for the rest of this thesis. With that in mind, there is much that could have been included here that was not. It is highly recommended to continue exploring the Etruscans outside of this paper.

The Etruscans occupied the northern and central portion of modern Italy from around 1000 BCE - c. the first century BCE, following a gradual decline of their land at the hands of the Roman Empire. The Etruscans were highly engaged in the trade of the Mediterranean. This aided in some of the cities being quite wealthy. Much of the excavation of Etruscan cities began in the 19th century and the findings, though not always well cataloged, ended up in museums around the world. Unfortunately, there are no surviving histories or books written by Etruscans. Therefore, most of the following information about the Etruscans comes from the objects found in excavations, inscriptions, artistic portrayals, and Roman reports.

Origins: c. 1000 - 780 BCE

The proto-Etruscan civilization started around 1000 BCE in central Italy, from Rome to the Po River in northern Italy, in the land later known to the Romans as Etruria (fig. 1).[1] The true

[1] The British Museum, “Proto-Etruscan”

origin remains a debate of whether they were native to the Italian peninsula or if they came from Anatolia. In Etruria, the civilization started as the Villanovan culture, named after a cemetery near Bologna, and was the earliest Iron Age culture of Italy. Like many peoples during this time, they lived as farmers and warriors and were self-sustainable. During the Villanovan period (1000 - 780 BCE), the Villanovan people established a secure knowledge of mining and working with bronze and iron. This new development opened the doors for trading with the Mediterranean and served as the catalyst for the future gradual shift from small communities to a collection of city-states with a common language and similar governments and religions.

Already at this point, the dead were cremated and buried in pits with personal belongings (fig. 2). The earliest discovery of this is from 1853 BCE and this practice would continue throughout their history.[2] The shape of the urns is influenced by the Eastern European Urnfield culture (1300 - 750 BC), which had connections with the Early Iron Age Villanovan culture.[3] The common patterns are likely influenced by central Europe and Greece.[4] Sources disagree on a difference in objects found in tombs based on class, but there is an agreement of a general class distinction emerging at this time. Although there are no texts from the Villanovan period, many objects have been unearthed and Villanovan armor has even been found in Greek shrines in Olympia and Samos, possibly due to trade or trophies from Greek colonization.[5]

Orientalizing Period: c. 780 - 600 BCE

As trade increased and the Etruscan people became wealthier, cities started to develop with improved housing, militias, and organized governments. Advanced elements like roads,

[2] Caccioli (2011), 53
[3] Ibid.
[4] The British Museum, “Proto-Etruscan”
[5] White et al. (2002)

aqueducts, and shrines were built. An alphabet was introduced from the Euboean Greeks and the first written evidence of the autonym *Rasenna* or *Rasna* appears around 700 BCE.[6] Aristocratic families started to build more luxurious tombs with possessions. Inventions, like the pottery wheel, allowed for the greater production and spread of everyday ceramic objects. Metal ore mining began and served as a prime export to the Mediterranean. The Etruscans began to trade with major powers such as the Phoenicians, Greek colonies, and the Egyptians. As luxury increased, so did artistic styles as people could afford foreign materials and incorporate Near Eastern and Greek styles. The new inclusion of eastern styles and trade has marked the Orientalizing period from around 780 - 600 BCE. [7]

Archaic Period: c. 600 - 480 BCE

During the Archaic period, the Etruscans were at their prime power and expansion. It was during this period that Etruscan kings ruled over Rome in Latium until 509 BCE.[8] Etruria had colonies to the north in the lower Po Valley and to the south in Campania. Foreign influence also surged due to trade and war, especially with the Greeks. The Etruscans employed Greek elements in their architecture and art, but developed their own distinct styles. Town planning spread, as did burial organization. Tomb paintings became popular, particularly in Tarquinia. Other artistic techniques like gemstone carving began and the shift from ceramic to bronze started.[9] It is during this period that the first evidence of the marker *śuθina* "for the tomb" appears on burial objects.

[6] Bonfante & Bonfante (2002), 51
[7] White et al. (2002)
[8] Turfa (2013), 315
[9] The British Museum, "Archaic Period (Etruscan)"

Classical Period: c. 480 - 300 BCE

The Classical period saw the continuation of contact with external powers. As foreign trade introduced new technologies, new artistic methods like goldsmithing and glassmaking were explored. The Etruscans continued to expand their territory, taking over smaller communities, possibly including Greek colonies. Etruscan cities came to be specialized during these periods. Vulci was known for its wines and fine metal, Orvieto for its raw products and bucchero, and Chiusi for its pottery and stonework.[10] The presence of some of these goods in France, and Egyptian and Syrian products in Etruscan tombs shows how extensive the trade network was.[11]

Foreign contact also resulted in battles. Veii, the wealthiest Etruscan city, about 10 miles from Rome, was captured by Rome in 474 BCE and the struggle for power continued. The Romans continued to attack Etruria through the next couple of centuries. At the same time, the Italian peninsula faced the threat of the Gauls in the north. Naval battles also occurred between the Etruscans and Greek forces.[12]

The overwhelming threats from all angles and the relative absence of peaceful external influence ensured that the Archaic style continued. The British Museum notes "The loss of direct contact with Greece meant that Etruscan art sometimes had a provincial appearance. The Etruscans were slow to accept the severe Classical Greek style or red-figure vase painting."[13] Art forms started to evolve slightly in the fourth century as they became more fluid and naturalistic, following Greek changes.

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[10] White et al. (2002)
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.
[13] The British Museum, "Classical Period (Etruscan)"

The turn of the fourth century to the third century BCE resulted in an escalation of the use of *śuθina* on primarily bronze pieces from the Volsinian territory. It is possible that this marker increased due to external pressures and a worry about possessions being stolen. This will be explored in Chapter Three.

Hellenistic Period and Romanization: c. 300 - 100 BCE

Rome is widely considered to have been founded in 753 BCE, meaning that the civilization progressed in Latium alongside the Etruscans in Etruria to the north, whom they called *Tusci*.[14] Origin stories do not tie Rome's foundation to the Etruscans, but the Romans believed that the fifth, sixth, seventh/final kings of Rome, Lucius Tarquinius Priscus (r. c. 616 - 578 BCE), Servius Tullius (r. c. 578 - 535 BCE), and Lucius Tarquinius Superbus (r. c. 534 - 509 BCE) were of Etruscan descent.[15] The downfall of Etruria was a slow and painful one. In the fourth century, the Romans started attacking the city-states, starting with Veii. The land became incorporated into Rome and the people became Roman citizens or were enslaved. Around the same time to the north, the Gauls were marching into the peninsula from the Alps. The two powers of the Gauls and Romans from either side were tough for the individual city-states to match. Rome ended up defeating the Gauls and much of Etruria remained independent, but after revolts in the third century, Rome forced most of the city-states to become subject-allies.[16] Etruria remained known as a region, but as with many other civilizations, the Etruscans eventually became swallowed by Rome's power and the Etruscan people became Romans. Etruscans served in the Roman army and learned Latin. After the Social War of 91 - 89 BCE, the

[14] Turfa (2013), 355
[15] Ibid.
[16] The British Museum, "Hellenistic Period (Etruscan)"

Etruscans became Roman citizens.[17] Even after the fall of Etruria, their culture and language continued to influence the Romans. Etruscan styles, like tiled roofs and gold jewelry, continued to prevail. Some of Rome's mythological names, like *Minerva* and *Neptune,* came from the names of their Etruscan counterparts, *Menrva* and *Nethuns.* Even the Emperor Claudius studied the language and script and compiled his own history of the civilization, which has since been lost.[18]

Language

Much of the mystery surrounding the Etruscans stems from their language. The oldest evidence of Etruscan writings dates to the early seventh century, during the Orientalizing period. As contact with the Greeks increased, the Euboean Greek alphabet was introduced and adapted.[19] Despite being written right to left (following Euboean), this new Etruscan alphabet laid the foundation for the Latin alphabet, which kept some of the same letters. Although many written words have been deciphered, typically those from religious contexts, the spoken language remains undeciphered.[20] There are some extensive Etruscan texts like the *Liber Linteus Zagrabiensis*, however, there is no surviving literature, limiting the context from which to interpret. Another difficulty is that Etruscan has been tentatively labeled a language isolate.[21] Therefore, there is no evidence of related (modern) languages that can be used to determine the morphology or phonology. One of the words that has been decoded is *śuθina*, meaning "for the tomb," which will be the focus throughout this paper.[22]

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[17] The British Museum, "Hellenistic Period (Etruscan)"
[18] Huntsman (2017)
[19] Ibid.
[20] Bonfante & Bonfante (2002), 5
[21] It is tentative as some debate that Etruscan falls into the Tyrsenian language family established by Rix in 1998.
[22] Bonfante & Bonfante (2002), 151

General Life

The Etruscans were quite advanced in personal hygiene as seen with the excavation of mirrors, combs, perfume bottles, sponges, strigils, and toilet boxes. Wall paintings exhibit the Etruscan's typical ceremonies including state dinners, games, weddings, funeral rituals, and religious worshipping. As usual, much of the daily life of the common people remains a mystery, but likely included farmers, miners, merchants, and artisans. A social class system was also present.[23] There was naturally the elite, the working class, and unfortunately the common slavery system. External sources have recorded widespread and contained slave revolts through Etruria and freedperson names have been included on altar dedications.[24]

Government

Roman sources note that in the middle of the eighth century BCE, Etruscan heads of *gentes* (clans), joined together to become kings of city-states.[25] The sixth-century Brontoscopic Calendar, a Greek translation of a Latin version drawn from an Etruscan calendar, presents multiple scenarios of omens tied to kings.[26] The specific warnings and hopes related to the kings exhibit the close ties of religion and the monarchy and how the people deeply respected the power of both. Sources around 500 BCE and at the end of the Archaic period mark a hazy shift from kings to magistrates. A clear change is challenging to determine due to the word *zilath* being used for both positions.[27] It is notable that this shift is around the same time as the last king of Rome and resembles a common system in Greece. Due to the twelve city-states running independently of each other, the shift was not uniform and both systems existed simultaneously

[23] White et al. (2002)
[24] Turfa (2013)
[25] Ivi., 231
[26] Turfa (2012)
[27] Turfa (2013), 351–363

for some time. In the city of Veii, they went from a monarchy to a republic and back to a monarchy, something that was disapproved of by the other Etruscan city-states. *Zilaths* (magistrates) are recorded to have participated in ceremonial processions, administered and judged games, minted coins, and religiously influenced tasks like managing the calendar.[28] Lower *zilaths* may have dealt with more local tasks like organizing roads. Smaller settlements, such as property, were the responsibility of the people, potentially including women. The *Tabula Cortonensis* was a contract regarding land ownership between a man, his wife, and a different family. The inclusion of women in a legal matter was quite a big step for this era, especially if they could own property.[29]

Religion

The Etruscans had a system of gods and goddesses and in the sixth century started to construct buildings for purely religious practices. Individual burials, outside of necropoli, near-religious and regular buildings alike suggest a practice of human sacrifice that started in the early Villanovan period and lasted through at least the fourth century.[30] Although the Etruscans had native religious beliefs, they quickly adopted many characteristics of Greek religions. Mystery cults offered the promise of an afterlife, something that the Etruscans thoroughly supported. Greek influences are widely seen in funerary art, such as Greek symposia and stories being depicted on tomb walls, sarcophagi and urns depicting the Elysian fields, and similar origin stories for some mythological beings. Etruscans, like many ancient cultures of the Mediterranean, believed in an afterlife. Tombs served as a *locus medius*, a medium state between

[28] Turfa (2013), 351–363
[29] Becker (2013), 351–372
[30] Bonfante (2016), 166

the world of the living and the world of the dead.[31] These spaces were decorated accordingly where the front entrance wall was the world of the living and as one moved through the tomb, a niche in the back for the cinerary urn represented a door to the Underworld. Self-referential imagery shows a variety of voyages to the Underworld, such as the dead being carried on a hippocamp across the ocean to the Isle of the Blessed (fig. 3). This decoration established the tomb as a transitional space between the two realms. There is also evidence that essential items were placed in tombs with the belief that they would be carried to the next life.[32] Status symbols like armor for men and jewelry for women were included, alluding to success in the afterlife. More details on burial items will be included in the following chapters.

General Artistry

Some of the most studied objects from the Etruscans are their bronze mirrors. They have been regularly found in women's tombs and are decorated with mythological stories and inscriptions of the beings included.[33] They were clearly skilled craftsmen, known for their granulation, a practice where tiny gold balls were formed and welded to the main body of gold (fig. 4). When this practice was rediscovered in the 19th century, it led to an Etruscan jewelry revival movement. The apex of their bronze work is regarded as the Chimaera of Arezzo (fig. 5), a sculpture from around 400 BCE likely created as a votive offering.[34] The Etruscans lacked the fine stone and marble of ancient Greece and Rome, so their wooden temples with terracotta roofs were decorated with terracotta figures. The Etruscans are still revered for their lavish funerary art with large murals on the walls. There was also the practice of creating "dressed" urns that had

[31] Torelli (1999), 156
[32] Ibid.
[33] de Grummond (1985)
[34] The J. Paul Getty Museum, "The Chimaera of Arezzo"

human accessories, probably a symbolic representation of the deceased inside.[35] Popular themes in Etruscan art were winged beings, gods, goddesses, the Trojan Cycle, and Greek social customs.[36] Multiple workshops and well-known artists have been discovered using inscriptions and common themes, techniques, and materials. Examples such as the Micali painter and the Full-Sakkos painter and workshop became recognizable.[37]

Archaeological Sites and Findings

The overarching importance of the Etruscans in history has been overpowered by the longer presence and wider influence of stronger civilizations such as ancient Greece and Rome. Most of what is known today about the Etruscans is from burial sites or secondary sources. The wooden and terracotta buildings have long since disintegrated, making it difficult to find the layout of cities and towns. Key clues that remain are tiles, slag heaps, mines, and burial sites. Etruscan burial mounds (*tumuli*) remained fairly present and thus have been susceptible to grave robbing for centuries, keeping Etruscan themes in circulation, even if people did not know what they were looking at.[38] Etruscan styles inspired Renaissance art, especially in Rome. Since written evidence of the Etruscans remained slim, there was ample room for forgeries and inventing stories. These fantastical, conflicting accounts, with no factual-based evidence, added to the mysterious reputation.[39] Research on the Etruscans prevailed to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when it boomed with an age of archaeology and decipherment. Many tombs in Tuscany were excavated and museums opened to reveal the findings to the public. Since then,

[35] Caccioli (2011), 53
[36] de Grummond (1985), 32
[37] Caccioli (2011)
[38] Warden (2008), 95
[39] Bonfante & Bonfante (2002), xviii

thousands of tombs have been discovered and are still in the process of being excavated.[40] The language and trade networks remain to be properly decoded as more and more texts and objects are discovered in and out of what once was Etruria. The most well-known sites today are in and around Bolsena, Orvieto, Cerveteri, Tarquinia, and Chiusi.

Conclusion

It is my hope that this introduction has provided the reader with a simplified, holistic familiarity with the Etruscans and Etruria. Modern knowledge of the Etruscans is severely limited without access to literature and histories. This has also complicated deciphering the language. Despite this, the short inscriptions and objects found in Etruscan tombs tell their own tales. These objects include influences from throughout the Mediterranean, and their appearance in tombs can be indicative of the contemporary social environment. The label *śuθina* is one such inscription that can be found on objects in tombs. The pattern of its application to specific items is still undetermined, but this paper provides insight into what conclusions can be drawn and how they represent the Etruscans at that time. It will be argued that *śuθina* was only applied to objects that individuals owned and used in their lifetime and was not extended to pieces that were meant for funerary rituals and burial practices.

[40] "Scavi e Ricerche sul campo," *Istituto Nazionale di Studi Etruschi ed Italici*, https://www.studietruschi.org/anagrafe-ricerche/ricerche-sul-campo.

Chapter 1: The Language of the Etruscans

A Modern Understanding

Countless sources today refer to the Etruscans as "mysterious." This label is usually justified by the very limited knowledge that scholars have of the Etruscan language. The Etruscan script dates back to the early seventh century BCE, during the Orientalizing period.[41] As the Etruscans became more present in the trade of the Mediterranean, the necessity for a writing system grew. Without one, it would be burdensome to keep track of information such as prices, quantity, buyers, sellers, and trade routes. The Etruscans increased contact with the Greeks and were introduced to the Euboean Greek alphabet by Euboean traders and their colonies in southern Italy. The Euboean alphabet was derived from the Phoenician alphabet and the Euboeans altered it to fit their language.[42] The Etruscans kept the right-to-left orientation of the Euboean alphabet, flipping the standard Greek letters. The Etruscan alphabet also laid the foundation for the Latin alphabet, which kept some of the same letters.

In 1998, the German linguist, Helmut Rix, proposed that the Etruscan language was not an isolate and that it belonged to a family he called *Tyrrhenian* (also known as Tyrsenian).[43] The Tyrsenian language family also included the Raetic language in the Eastern Alps and the Lemnian languages from the Greek island of Lemnos. This theory has been supported by a number of linguists since.[44] The geographic isolation and limited coverage of these languages support why Etruscan is often considered a language isolate. Due to Etruscan not being part of the Indo-European language family, many of the words were not passed to the Indo-European

[41] The British Museum, Orientalising Period (Etruscan)
[42] Huntsman (2017)
[43] Rix (1998)
[44] Schumacher (1998)

Latin. As the Romans took over Etruria and the Etruscans became part of the Roman Empire, the language slowly died out, and thus has no modern descendants.

A common misconception about the understanding of the Etruscan language, though, is that no words can be translated. It is true that the majority of the Etruscan language cannot be translated, but some words have been deciphered and the phonemic values of the script are relatively understood. There are multiple barriers to deciphering Etruscan. The lack of descendants means that comparative reconstruction cannot be used to formulate or confirm Etruscan words. There is also a lack of bilinguals that can be used to compare contemporary languages with Etruscan. The bilinguals that are available are not as helpful as they first appear. The Pyrgi Tablets, three golden plates from c. 500 BCE, with both Phoenician and Etruscan, were discovered in 1964 in the ancient Etruscan town, Pyrgus.[45] The Etruscan portion has been roughly translated but there is debate about nearly every word. Bilinguals, generally, do not always have equal transcriptions. They may be two descriptions of the same event and were not created to be exact translations of the other.

The greatest prevention is that there are no histories or literature in Etruscan. This is unsurprising as Etruria fell and the Etruscan language was replaced by Latin. Texts are also easily written down on perishable materials, which makes it extremely hard to preserve until modern times. There are records of their creation, though. The Roman emperor Claudius knew how to read and write in Etruscan and composed a twenty-volume history, which has since been lost.[46] The existence of abecedaria (a complete, written alphabet) on objects and artistic representations of reading materials suggests that writings did exist, but simply did not survive (fig. 6). There are some lengthy Etruscan sources that remain. The *Liber Linteus Zagrabiensis* is

[45] Bonfante & Bonfante (2002)
[46] Huntsman (2017)

the longest Etruscan book to survive. It is from the third century BCE and is written on linen that was used as wrappings for a mummy. Lammert Bouke van der Meer has published a word-for-word translation, though it remains highly speculative.[47] However, some of the translations are considered to be no more than attempts to fill gaps and cannot be backed with sufficient evidence.[48] Another extensive text is the *Tabula Capuana*, a terracotta slab from c. 470 BCE, which has many missing sections of the inscription.[49] Like the *Liber Linteus*, this appears to be a ritual calendar, but contains too many unknown words to provide a complete, accurate translation.

So what do we understand of Etruscan? Much of today's comprehension of the Etruscan language derives from simple, everyday inscriptions.[50] Many of these inscriptions include proper nouns that are easier to translate. Typically, the deciphered words are from religious contexts. These types of inscriptions represent the majority of what has survived and they sometimes contain names of deities. When these names can be recognized, they can aid in providing the context that is written about or depicted. This, in turn, allows insight into translating the text. Some names, like the Etruscan *Aplu*, are based on Greek nomenclature, like Apollo. In other cases, the Etruscan words for deities are similar to the Roman equivalents, such as the Etruscan *Menrva* and Roman *Minerva.* Another reason why so many of the inscriptions are religious is because the Etruscans believed the afterlife was an extension of their current life. Sarcophagi and urns have the names of the deceased and sometimes include the names of their family

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[47] van der Meer (2007)
[48] Beckwith (2008)
[49] Cristofani (1995)
[50] *The Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum (CIE)* is a corpus of Etruscan texts collected by Carl Pauli and other scholars since 1885. It includes over 12,000 inscriptions that are routinely referenced in scholarly sources using the numbering system applied to each inscription. Unfortunately, the *CIE* does not seem to be digitized and access is extremely limited to certain universities, mainly the Uppsala University. Therefore, this paper will only not directly source the *CIE* and will instead gather information from sources that report on the inscriptions collected.

members.[51] Unlike these purely funerary objects, the special label, *śuθina,* is occasionally inscribed on daily pieces.[52]

The Patterns of *Śuθina*

The word *śuθina* is composed of the noun *śuθi* meaning "tomb" and the possessive adjective suffix *-na* meaning "belonging to."[53] Fontaine continues to say "As with gentile nouns, the adjectival value of the word may have been weakened in favor of a nominal value, with the meaning of 'funeral furniture.'"[54] Fontaine cites Pandolifini's observation of two types of enunciative patterns found on objects from Volsinii. In the phrase, *θania lucini śuθina*, "two distinct syntagms are recognized, the name of the owner in the nominative and the word *śuθina*. While the syntagms are united in the inscription *larisal havrenies śuθina* which will be translated as 'funerary furniture of laris havrenie.'"[55] The onomastic formula uses a name in the genitive, a possessive case, and is quite rare, as *śuθina* usually appears in isolation. Typically, it is only inscribed once on an object, but it is recorded to be used as many as three times. *Śuθina* is the form used almost always in the fourth and third centuries BCE, but there are a number of

[51] Huntsman (2013)
[52] It is crucial to acknowledge that the majority of the sources on the word *śuθina* are in Italian or French. These sources were translated using Google Translate. I still used my limited knowledge of reading Romance languages to simultaneously inspect the original sources. There was a time or two when the translation provided by Google Translate had to be altered based on inaccuracies. When reading English sources that cited the Italian and French ones, the content matched the Google Translate information. Therefore, the translations used here should be accurate, but there is a small chance that some may not be exact word-for-word. The authors to whom this applies are: Paul Fontaine, who writes in French, and Anna E. Feruglio, Marina Martelli, and Maristella Pandolfini, all who write in Italian.
[53] Fontaine (1995), 203
[54] Paul Fontaine is the current primary source for the study of the history and usage of the word *śuθina*. He and the three Italian authors all write suthina as *śuθina* for a base form, and this will be continued to be used for the general reference.
[55] Fontaine (1995), 203

alternative forms, mainly in the older accounts. Following the Pallottino system, variations found are *s'uθi*, *s'uθin*, *s'utis*, and *sutil*.[56]

Of the 79 pieces that Fontaine recorded from the Volsinii territory, only 26 have the name of the owner. These 26 objects are spread across 10 individuals. This indicates that the *śuθina* label is more important than including the individual it corresponds to. The prevalence of isolated *śuθina* also supports the idea that in certain tomb chambers, "objects were not the property of a particular deceased but belonged to the tomb itself…"[57] Both the isolated and onomastic formula can be used in one tomb.

The usage of *śuθina* is fairly constrained chronologically. The process of "*śuthinizing,*" coined by Richard De Puma, was not common during the Classical period.[58] The inscription was rarely used during the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, except on Attic terracotta vases, and even then there are only eight known examples[59]. *Śuθina* always appears in a highly visible location in these examples. There is only one metal piece from this period, which is bronze. Usage escalated in the fourth and third centuries BCE with only two Attic ceramics but 118 metal pieces. *Śuθina* is only known on one gold piece, a ring, and one of two pieces of jewelry with the label. There are also only three examples of silver. This information can be parsed in Fontaine's table (fig. 7).[60]

Śuθina is even more limited geographically. The majority of the objects are noticeably from the Roman city of Volsinii, modern-day Bolsena, about 130 kilometers north of Rome, and its surrounding area moving towards Orvieto. The Etruscan city of Velusna/Velzna (Etruscan

[56] I am unsure about the proper notation for the sibilant of the final word. I have decided to follow the transcription of the J. Paul Getty Museum from which I encountered this variation. Following the Pallottino system, it may be <s'>.
[57] Fontaine (1995), 209
[58] De Puma (2008), 437
[59] Attic refers to originating in Attica, the peninsula that includes Athens and its surrounding area.
[60] Fontaine (1995), 205

Volsinii), is undoubtedly the original source for many of the objects. However, the location of Velusna is unclear and is theorized to be Orvieto.[61] Once Velusna was destroyed, it was moved and became the Roman city of Volsinii, today Bolsena. Due to the uncertainty of Velusna, "Volsinian territory" is used to describe the general surrounding area of Volsinii/Bolsena and up to Orvieto.[62] Fontaine's map (fig. 8) uses triangles to demonstrate the main concentration of *śuθina,* in central and southern Etruria.[63] There are some examples from Caere, which is modern Cerveteri, and Nola, both near the western coast of the Italian peninsula.

The spread of *śuθina* within tombs is also limited. Fontaine writes that in 1972, in Melona near Bolsena, a tomb was discovered with three sarcophagi and over 100 terracotta objects including common ceramics, finer silver-plated ceramics, and black-glazed vases.[64] This third-century tomb only had one bronze patera handle inscribed with *śuθina*. In comparison, 40 kilometers south of Bolsena, the necropolis of San Giuliano had no examples of *śuθina*, even though it is roughly contemporary with the tomb in Melona. There are two main tombs with *śuθina* inscriptions. The first is a chamber tomb discovered in 1856 by Domenico Golini in Vietana, northeast of Bolsena.[65] This tomb has the largest quantity of *śuθina* on individual objects. There are 16 pieces of bronze symposium furniture with five or six names of individuals; the supposed owners.[66] The second largest is the Bolsena Tomb Group with 13 uses on 10 objects from the Poggio Sala necropolis at Bolsena, discovered in the 19th century. All 10 of these objects are now owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art and will be examined later in chapter three. In total, Fontaine records 130 individual objects with *śuθina* inscribed (fig. 9).

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[61] De Puma (2008), 431
[62] Fontaine (1995)
[63] Ivi., 202
[64] Ivi., 203
[65] Vietana/Vietena is an unknown area. The few sources that mention Vietana only refer to it as near Bolsena. It may be another name for Orvieto, northeast of Bolsena, and the location of the "Golini Tombs."
[66] Fontaine (1995), 209

This account was published in 1995. In recent years, at least two more objects have been identified.[67] One is an incense burner currently owned by the Met, that will be examined here. The other is a piece that was sold by Christie's on the New York antiques market.[68]

To make matters more complicated, there are several orthographic differences, mainly of the initial letter. It is important to remember that the Etruscans wrote right to left, so the initial letter is the right-most one. The initial sibilant sounds used for *śuθina* are represented by a tsade (also known as san) <Ϻ>, a three-bar sigma <Ϛ>, and a four-bar sigma <Σ>.[69] There are other letters used for sibilants in Etruscan, but these are not used in the inscriptions that will be examined. Fontaine's table separating the material and period of the inscriptions also marks which letter was used for the initial sibilant. Although the letters are easily visible and distinguishable, the challenge arises with the sounds that they represent. Depending on the time and place the object is from the same letter may represent a different phoneme. Some authors use specific systems to represent the orthography and/or phonology and sometimes *śuθina* is only written as *suthina.* To consider authentic transcriptions of the original Etruscan, a cursory explanation of Etruscan dialects and sibilants will be given.

Sibilants and Transcription Systems

Two of the sibilants in English are the voiceless dental/alveolar fricative /s/ as in /s̲mɛl/ "smell" and the voiceless postalveolar fricative "esh," /ʃ/, as in /mɛʃ/ "mesh." /ʃ/ is sometimes written as <š> or <ś>. Annie Burman, an affiliated researcher at the Department of Philology and Linguistics at Uppsala University, wrote a guide to Etruscan sibilants and their systems in

[67] De Puma (2008), 437
[68] Christie's 2007,118, no. 143.
[69] The Etruscan four-bar sigma would be the horizontal flip of <Σ> because of the orientation of the script. I was unable to find the proper symbol online, so the Greek four-bar sigma will serve as a substitute.

2021.[70] Most of this section is based on Burman's masterpost. The Etruscan sibilants used in *śuθina* are also /s/ and /ʃ/. Naturally, it cannot be confirmed as there is no spoken record of Etruscan, but most Etruscologists agree that these are the two primary sibilants. A map of Etruscan inscriptions has been created on Google Maps with yellow dots for single inscriptions and stars for multiple inscriptions.[71] The rough isogloss that can be created to separate the northern and southern Etruscan inscriptions and dialects is marked in red (fig. 9). Using this isogloss, cities like Vetulonia and Populonia are in the north. Volsinii and Orvieto are both at the very north of the southern border, making them properly central Etruria, though marked as in the south. Although not relevant here, it is important to acknowledge that in the north, the /s/ went through palatalization before a stop. This is when a consonant sound is pulled toward or away from the palate, changing the place of articulation, and sometimes the manner of articulation.[72] Therefore, the /s/ became an /ʃ/ before a stop so /spure/ became /ʃpure/ but remained as /spure/ in the south. In the south, the final /ʃ/ went through palatalization and became /s/.

When the Greeks adopted the Phoenician alphabet, there were two letters for /s/ that the Greeks continued to use: the sigma and tsade. Some Greek dialectal alphabets only used one, usually the sigma, but the standardization of the alphabet ensured that both letters were included in an abecedarium. This was continued into the Etruscan alphabet which took both signs. However, most Greek dialects and alphabets, including that of the Euboeans did not have an /ʃ/. The Etruscans did. It is intriguing that Latin did not have the palatal /ʃ/ either. Since the Etruscans had two signs for /s/ and had an /ʃ/ in their phonetics, they distributed the signs to cover each phoneme. Throughout the history of the Etruscans, they used the three-bar sigma <Ϟ>, four-bar sigma <Σ>, five- and six-bar sigmas, tsade <Ϻ>, ksi <Χ>, and samech <⊞> for

[70] Burman (2021)
[71] McDonald (2016)
[72] Tuten (2025)

sibilants.[73] The Archaic inscriptions can vary quite a bit in their usage, especially in Caere and Veii. In these two cities, particularly during the seventh and sixth centuries BCE, /s/ is shown with a three- through six-bar sigma. Samech was included in abecedaria but not used in words. By the neo-Etruscan period, the early to mid-fifth century BCE, the systems for sibilant usage became relatively stable within the regions. In the north, tsade was used for /s/ and a three-bar sigma for /ʃ/. In southern Etruria, it was the opposite with a three-bar sigma for /ʃ/ and a tsade for /s/. An exception to the rest of Etruria is Caere, which after about 500 BCE, used a three-bar sigma for /s/ and a four-bar sigma for the palatal /ʃ/. These developments in the region mean that time, but mostly the location of origin, is needed to determine which sibilant is being used. Burman includes a chart that can be used as a quick reference to visualize this explanation (fig. 11). There are multiple systems used to transcribe Etruscan, each of which is slightly flawed.

The Etruscan alphabet is transcribed using a system that became consolidated with the rise of Etruscan language studies at the end of the 19th century. It gained prominence through the publication of the *CIE* in 1893-1902.[74] The first, the Pallottino system (1967) is widely used in major publications like *Studi Etruschi*; the same source that will be referenced in this paper for many examples of *śuθina.*[75] Though this system is one of the most simple, it only includes orthography and does not consider the phonetics and which sibilant is used. For the Archaic Etruscan of Caere and Veii, the four-bar sigma is marked with <s'>. For all neo-Etruscan, tsade is represented as <ś>, three-bar sigma by <s>, and four-bar sigma with <s'>. The following systems will only discuss the neo-Etruscan transcription. The Lejeune system, 1981, exclusively represents the phonology where /s/ is <s> and /ʃ/ is <s^{s}>.[76] This ignores the epigraphy that can be

[73] Burman (2021)
[74] Wallace (1991), 77
[75] Pallottino (1967)
[76] Lejeune (1981)

valuable information. Next, the Rix system (1984 and 1991) represents both orthography and phonology and is used by many sources. This system distinguishes the two types of /ʃ/ in the north. The type is due to palatalization of /s/ before a stop <s>, and all others as <'σ>. Wallace comments that he believes that both realizations of /ʃ/ should be transcribed in the same way because the post-dental and palatal sounds likely merged in words with no morphophonemic changes.[77] An issue with Rix's system is that the southern /s/ is also transcribed as <s>. Following this notation, a northern /ʃpura/ and southern /spura/ would both be transcribed as "spura." This is not an issue for transcribing *śuθina*, but still highlights a weakness in the system. The Mesier system (2014) also reflects phonology and orthography and is used by many sources. Meiser does not differentiate between the primary and secondary type of /ʃ/ and prioritizes the letter type over the provenance.[78] The problem with this system is that all instances of /ʃ/ are written as the struck-through <s̶> which can be very challenging to read and recognize. Finally, the Wallace system (2007) modifies the Rix system and also creates his own system to consider both orthography and epigraphy.[79] His revised version of Rix uses the Greek lowercase sigma for all uses of /ʃ/ in north Etruria and a diacritic is added to mark a four-stroke sigma. The base sign here is the three-bar sigma for /s/ and is thurs transcribed as <s>. Wallace's new proposal is highly inconvenient to type with the number of subscripts it requires for sigma and tsade usage.

With all this information in mind, it is important to include orthography and phonology so that the Etruscan words can be represented as authentically as possible. However, if an object is found with an unknown provenance, there is not a clear set of guidelines for how to transcribe the sibilants. It is evident that the northern and southern dialects were distinct in some manners

[77] Wallace (1991), 80
[78] Mesier (2014)
[79] Wallace (1991)

and that they had different orthographic conventions. Yet, it is still possible for the same word to be spelled with two different letters for the same sibilant on the one piece. Scholarly research can be complicated in this field because of the amount of systems available and identifying which is being used. This paper will use the Pallottino system.[80] A guide to this system is given by Wallace (fig. 12).

Potential Interpretations of *Śuθina*

Fontaine provides an in-depth explanation about *śuθina* and proposals for the patterns of its employment.[81] This section will focus on reviewing his paper so that a closer understanding can be formed of the inscription and theories can be laid out. After, specific examples of *śuθina* on an assortment of objects will be closely analyzed in hopes of either supporting Fontaine's hypotheses or introducing new ones.

Śuθina is a marker that was used exclusively for the dead. The Etruscans believed the tomb was a *locus medius*, a transitional space between realms. The entrance represented the world of the living and a burial niche in the back represented the door to the underworld.[82] Part of this belief was that people continued to live in the afterlife and would need the same domestic materials they had when they were alive. To ensure the deceased would be properly prepared, daily possessions would be included in the tomb as a form of sympathetic magic. The practice of sympathetic magic was common in ancient cultures. In this scenario, sympathetic magic refers to the belief that when images of objects or physical objects were put into tombs, they would function as the physical object to be used in the afterlife. An extreme example is the tomb of the

[80] While it is disappointing to ignore the phonetics of the true Etruscan words, the sources that are referenced use this system and it is easier to continue with the established consistency. Time constraints also prevented dedicating the effort to alter each transcription to represent the correct pronunciation. A note for future research would be to use the Wallace system, as I believe it to be the most comprehensible and accurate.
[81] Fontaine (1995)
[82] Torelli (1999), 156

first emperor of China, Qin Shi Huang, and his terracotta army, complete with painted armor and real weapons.[83] Using *śuθina* may have been a tactic to ensure that these possessions would be carried into the afterlife.

Most of the inscriptions are found on banquet furniture – food-related metalware like table sets or vessels – or symposium furniture. Through considering provenance, date, material, and letters, specific boundaries can be drawn to form overarching categories. In the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, *śuθina* almost exclusively appears on Attic terracotta vases, but it is rare overall. It is spread between southern and central Etruria, and maybe also Campania. The four-stroke sigma is the most common initial letter used. At the turn of the fourth and third centuries BCE, evidence increased tenfold and was condensed in the Volsinian territory (central Etruria). Terracotta is replaced by metal, mostly bronze, and the vase examples spread to banquet and symposium furniture. Tsade is used on 113 out of 120 known objects, and the three-bar sigma for the remaining seven.[84] This means that the standard appearance of *śuθina* looks something like <ϷИIOVϺ>.

A few questions immediately arise when looking at the patterns of *śuθina*. How did this practice start? Why is it most popular in the Volsinian territory? What caused the inscriptions to surge at the turn of the fourth to third centuries BCE? Why did the practice end? What dictated which objects were and were not inscribed? Why label something for the tomb when it is already found in a tomb and its location states its purpose? Was this a general practice or limited to a select few families?

Śuθina may have been used to designate use for the dead in the afterlife. Theresa Huntsman at the Met writes that "Some objects were probably made or purchased expressly for

[83] Vinograd & Thorp (2001), 139–142
[84] Fontaine (1995), 205

burial and inscribed during or shortly after production."[85] It is likely that other objects may have already been owned by the individual and were then inscribed later for their tomb. The punched dots and rough scratches used for the inscriptions leave no doubt that the term object was marked after its initial creation. Fontaine believes that "The inscription appears as a formula of funerary sacralization" and simultaneously "a prohibition of appropriation."[86]

When looking at the older Attic vases, the inscriptions appear rather "crude" as many scholars write, and are located in visible areas such as the lip or mouth of vessels. It is sometimes even directly over the main decorated scene. Fontaine acknowledges that "On all these vases, undoubtedly prized for their artistic value, the inscription is not only intended to notify the consecration of the object in favor of a deceased person and, consequently, to express a prohibition on appropriation."[87] Is the label truly only a *Noli me tangere*? Fontaine continues to propose that "By its location and its sloppy writing, the inscription testifies to a deliberate desire to degrade the aesthetics of the piece, to downgrade it, to exclude de facto its enjoyment by the living." Fontaine suggests that the object is intentionally damaged and the label is used to irreversibly solidify the funerary destination in the very essence of the object. Nancy Thomson de Grummond, a prominent Etruscologist, echoes this sentiment in her study of Etruscan bronze mirrors. She remarks that the inscription is across the reflecting side, "evidently intended to cancel out the usage of the mirror in the world of the living."[88]

Since most of the later objects have been found in Volsinii and Orvieto, a political and social hypothesis can be formed related to the historical context of central Italy during the third century."[89] A likely reason for the decline of *śuθina* is the destruction of Etruscan Volsinii

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[85] Huntsman (2013)
[86] Fontaine (1995), 208
[87] Ivi., 208
[88] de Grummond (1985), 31
[89] Fontaine (1995), 201

(Velusna) in 264 BCE. The events leading to the collapse may offer insight into the surge of *śuθina* shortly before. The banquet and symposium furniture are objects typically associated with the aristocracy and they can be found in tomb paintings of those of high social status. Some examples are vessels, candelabra, and mirrors. Etruscan Volsinii was in a war against Rome, with its height from 308-294 BCE. The Romans defeated the Volsinian military and plundered the land. The *Fasti Triumphales* recorded a victory over Volsinii in 280 BCE.[90] In times of war, metal was needed for weapons, armor, and more in battle. Metals were used to pay troops for fighting and fines to the winning power. Titus Livius writes that in 294 BCE, Rome required Volsinii, as well as Perugia and Arezzo, to pay 500,000 as (coins).[91] An increase in demand for metal caused its value to increase, especially bronze which was a common material for household objects and currency.

Around this time, Volsinii also had an internal slave revolution that caused the Roman military to destroy the city in 264 BCE.[92] After the fall of the Etruscan Volsinii, the Romans moved the city to the shores of Lake Bolsena and established *Volsinii Novi*. I believe that physically moving the city and the introduction of a new power caused a cultural shift. This shift seems to provide a sufficient boundary to end some cultural traditions, like marking tomb items with *śuθina*.

If the objects marked with *śuθina* were seen as luxurious and belonged exclusively to the aristocracy, ownership may have been dangerous. Could members of the aristocracy have labeled their pieces to avoid them being officially repurposed by the government? I doubt that the label was employed for this reason. If the objects were to be repurposed, it is expected they would have to be melted down. Unless the Romans were extremely wary of Etruscan religious

[90] Fontain (1995), 210
[91] Liv., X, 37, 5.
[92] Fontaine (1995), 211

and funeral practices, the inscriptions would not prevent the object from being melted. Perhaps the mark was used as a "prohibition on appropriation" as Fontaine suggested and was utilized to prevent stealing. Fontaine asks "Did the local aristocracy not deliberately and systematically resort to an old formula of funerary sacralization to protect goods threatened by the critical situation that the Volsinain city was experiencing at the time?"[93] It was not unheard of for individuals to turn over metals in times of war, something Rome had to do in 210 BCE, but inscribing an object would not necessarily prevent this.[94] It is also unlikely that people would have had to do this because, in 264 BCE, the city was known to be quite rich, with over 2000 bronze statues. The problem is that it is unknown if the statues were consecrated. If they were, they would not have been used for other purposes. Another reason for marking objects might be as a curse, seen to ward off intruders or to protect the objects and deceased inside the tomb.

The slave revolt was against the aristocracy and multiple ancient sources record that the slaves attacked old masters and prohibited them from gathering and hosting banquets and symposia. After all, these two categories are the majority of the Volsinian pieces inscribed. A rush to hide things and label them would explain the rudimentary techniques that are sometimes used in the inscription. This plays into a grave robber theory. The inclusion of *śuθina* on valuable items may have been a prevention measure against grave robbing and reselling the objects. With the objects clearly labeled, it would be hard to publicly sell, especially when the inscription is over the most decorative design. Trying to melt off the phrase would leave another mark on the surface.

However, if *śuθina* was used to hide or protect the most valuable possessions, why are there only two known pieces of jewelry? It may not have made sense on small items such as

[93] Fontaine (1995), 211
[94] Ivi., 211

earrings, but certainly on larger pendants. One major problem in developing hypotheses is that many Volsinian territory tomb excavations were not well-documented. It is hard to compare the number of objects with and without *śuθina* and the typologies present. Though, even if a reason can be attributed to the spike in use during the fourth and third centuries, it still does not explain the initial use in the sixth and fifth centuries.

From the fourth century to the fall of Volsinii in 264, 75% of the Volsinian metal objects in the *CIE* are marked with *śuθina*.[95] This becomes 100% when excluding about 20 mirrors that are sometimes associated with other pieces with *śuθina* but are not inscribed themselves.[96] This outstanding account shows that at this time, in the city of Volsinii, these objects must have had a high symbolic value of some variety. Fontaine maintains that "Two factors, possibly combined, a general and external factor, the war against Rome, and a more properly Volsinian factor, the servile revolution, are likely to explain, as distant causes at least, the contemporary proliferation of suthina inscriptions in the territory of Orvieto."[97] I believe that the other proposals like common grave robbing or purely religious reasoning cannot be ignored. The act of damaging the aesthetics, which will soon be explored in the following chapters, looks to be the main source of evidence for making theories credible.

Methodology

I decided to limit my search to encyclopedic museums. These are expansive, often national, museums that have extensive collections on an array of cultures and periods. Encyclopedic museums also tend to be more organized and offer easily accessible research

[95] It is crucial to remember that objects in the *CIE* have inscriptions. Objects from Volsinii without inscriptions are not considered in this data.
[96] Fontaine (1995), 210
[97] Ivi., 211

materials. For this reason, I started my search with these museums, exploring their online collections to look for the appropriate artifacts. Unfortunately, online databases of many Etruscan-centered museums, such as the Museo Nazionale Etrusco and the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, were incomplete and could not be used for this research. Museums with comprehensive online databases include the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the British Museum, the Musée du Louvre, and the J. Paul Getty Museum. Pieces from these museums bearing the mark *śuθina* will be closely examined. Additionally, the few sources on this subject, primarily the *Studi Etruschi* volumes, included objects not in the encyclopedic museums. A number of these miscellaneous objects with *śuθina* will be studied in chapter four. The following sections will first examine the collections based on overarching themes, such as provenance and material, with individual analyses. Finally, cross-comparisons will be made in hopes of concluding why the phrase was created and the patterns of where and why it was inscribed.

Chapter 2: Terracotta Attic Pieces

Attic Pieces with *Śuθina*

The presence of Attic red-figure ceramics commenced in the sixth and fifth centuries BCE (600 - 400) in Etruria, spanning the Archaic and Classical periods. This era saw the Etruscans at their height, engaging in extensive trade with the Mediterranean, especially the Greek city-states and colonies.[98] Cities became wealthier as a result of the trade, and finer works made their way into the elite Etruscan households. Greek styles and typologies became popular in Etruria and terracotta pottery spread through the aristocracy.

The Archaic period is also when *śuθina* is first recorded. From this era, Fontaine records that eight out of the nine known objects with *śuθina* are Attic red-figure vases, the ninth being a bronze piece. According to Fontaine, seven out of eight of the ceramics use the initial sigma <Σ> for the sibilant.[99] The choice of sigma over tsade is unsurprising since this period is closer to the introduction of the alphabet to the Etruscans, and the Greeks often preferred sigma over tsade <Μ>. These inscriptions are on intact ceramics, fragments, and repaired ceramics. *Śuθina* is also sometimes inscribed on a highly visible part of the ceramic, suggesting that the piece was purposely "defaced as it was dedicated to the deceased."[100] Sometimes, it is scratched right over the main relief, which hides it at first glance. The section will look at examples of the early uses of *śuθina* on Attic ceramics and compare the final results to Fontaine's findings. Much of scholars' research regarding *śuθina* focuses on its prime in Volsinii in the fourth and third centuries BCE. The earlier origins are acknowledged, but there is not a succinct proposal on why and how the practice originated. This section will hopefully provide some insight and possible theories for this.

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[98] White et al. (2002)
[99] Fontaine (1995), 205
[100] De Puma (2008), 436

A variety of objects have been selected for this section. They are mainly from the encyclopedic museums, as referenced in the methodology section, or select volumes of *Studi Etruschi*. Overall, more artistic detail will be given to these objects than those of the metals. This is because the designs are more complex than the metal pieces and they reflect the Etruscan acceptance of Greek mythological stories and figures. Each object will start with an analysis following their referenced source and then I will include my own observations and interpretations in a separate paragraph.

Objects

Amphora: This amphora is attributed to the Kleophrades Painter from around 500 BCE (fig. 13). It was created in Athens and Pandolfini believes it can be assigned to the Italian city of Nola.[101] It was purchased by the Louvre in 1861. The piece is made of many fragments. Side A depicts Athena with a helmet, spear, and shield, flanked by two columns with roosters. Side B has three nude running athletes. The outside of the mouth is surrounded by a palette and lotus flower chain.

S'uθina is inscribed over the heads of two of the athletes, noticeably instead of in the empty space right above. This hints at an element of not caring about preserving the design, especially when it could have been inscribed on the black mouth of the vessel. The artist had every opportunity to mark a blank surface but deliberately chose to vandalize the heads.

Pelike (Boreas entführt Oreithyia): This clay pelike depicting Boreas capturing Oreithyia is attributed to the Painter of the Birth of Athena (fig. 14 & 14.5). It was made in Athens in 460 BCE and was discovered in Cerveteri (Etruscan Caere). The piece is made up of the original fragments and a replacement of the base and lower part of the body. In 1980, the

[101] Pandolfini (1974), 465–468

vessel was acquired by the Museum of Art and Design Hamburg (MK&G) from private ownership. Side A shows a scene of Oreithyia being abducted by Boreas in the presence of her father, Erechtheus, an Athenian king. Side B shows the Athenian hero Theseus, naked, with his father, King Aegeus of Athens. Two female figures, Athena and potentially Medea, accompany them. *S'uθina* is scratched on both sides over the figures. Marinelli insists that the base form *śuθina* should be inscribed as *s'uθina* and not *suθina* as others have done.[102] This is due to how four-bar sigma is treated according to the Pallottino system.

On both sides of the object, *s'uθina* is roughly scratched, overlapping the faces of the figures on side A. Like the amphora above, signs of discarding the aesthetic of the piece are starting to appear. On side A, the four-bar sigma has four strokes, but they do not resemble the standard form of <Σ>. Meanwhile, on side B, the sigma is in the expected form. The <O> on both sides took many strokes and has extending lines from the main body, which may signify struggles by the artist in marking the objects. Their hand may have slipped from the force and effort to mark the surface. The <V> on side B shows a similar struggle with how the letter looks more like an <X>. Both examples of <𐌚> have the central connecting stroke meeting the bottom of the right-most stroke instead of the left-most stroke, as seen in the keyboard representation and the more <A> shaped version of the fourth and third centuries BCE. This may be an early form of <𐌚> used in Caere or an allograph.

Attic Black-Figure Neck Amphora Fragment with a Battle Scene: This fragment is one of eight sherds that make up an amphora done by the Swing Painter of Athens, who was active from about 550 - 525 BCE (fig. 15). The vessel was made in about 530 BCE. It is unclear where the amphora was discovered in Italy, and it was acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1981. This fragment shows a spear aimed at a warrior who wears a tall, crested Corinthian

[102] Marinelli (1983), 271

helmet, and faces a pair of horses. The warrior holds a spear and shield that is decorated with white pigment. On the black border above, is *s'util*. This early form of the word uses the four-bar sigma. It is unknown why this form was used at this time and if it should be parsed differently than *s'uθina*.

This inscription is rather small and does not go beyond chipping the black clay slip finish. The sigma can be considered to have four strokes but it does not look like the classic <Σ> in the majority of the objects of this chapter. Instead, it vaguely resembles the sigma on side A on the Hamburg pelike. It is challenging to tell if this form was intentional, but I would not rule it out. The strokes in the other letters, especially the <V>, are highly modulated. This may not be the fault of the artist being careless. The slip can easily chip once it has been initially cracked and this may be the case here. The <T> has a short parallel line to the left, forming an example of an allograph for this letter.

Attic Panathenaic Amphora Fragment: This sherd is one of 14 that make up an amphora attributed to the Euphiletos Painter (fig. 16). It was done in 530 - 510 BCE in Athens. Like the ceramic above, it was acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1981, though the Etruscan site of discovery is unknown. The fragment shows the upper body of Athena with a spear and shield. Her face is missing the corresponding sherd, but her palmette-decorated helmet and clothing are visible. To the left is a cockerel.

Between Athena and the cockerel is the inscription *s'util*. This inscription is shallow and it is lighter in color than the finish of the main sherd. The <V> resembles an <X>, which seems a bit more intentional here than in the pelike in Hamburg. There is not the same level of struggling to inscribe. The letters do vary in depth, though. There is a slight space between the third and fourth strokes of the sigma and the lines become thinner and more shallow. The <T> is

the deepest, with noticeable carved lines that go through the surface of the terracotta. There are residual scratches surrounding the label, but this may be due to the natural wear and tear of the object.

Fragment of an Attic Red-Figure Vase in the form of a Satyr holding a Keras: This vessel is made of 13 joined fragments (fig. 17). It was created in Athens around 500 - 490 BCE, It is in the form of an "ithyphallic satyr sitting on a full wineskin, holding a large drinking horn (keras)." Most of the base and the satyr's right arm and hand are preserved. There are traces of white and pinkish-red pigment on the surface. It was acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1981, though the Etruscan site of discovery is unknown.

The base of this object is etched with *s'util.* The scratches are rather shallow and not overdone. Compared to other works like the pelike with Oreithyia, the inscription is fairly neat.

Attic Red-Figure Cup Fragment (type B): The foot fragment is from a fifth-century BCE cup from Athens with no known Etruscan provenance (fig. 18). It was acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1981. The top surface has a black finish and the underside is unpainted with *s'util*.

The <T> in *s'util* in the satyr and amphora fragment is made up of a vertical line with a diagonal line moving to the right from the top. This <T>, though, resembles that of <t> with the horizontal line going through the vertical line. The two allographs indicate a difference in handwriting and acceptable forms of this letter. The inscription is scratched deeply. The <V> has an extended tail at the base that is shallower than the main letter, which appears to show some difficulty in measuring the etching length of the left stroke. The <I> is made up of two lines conjoined at the top, presumably a mistake when trying to create a uniform, straight line.

Pelike: This pelike comes from Athens around 470 - 460 BCE (fig. 19). It originated in Athens and was created by the Painter of the Niobids. It was acquired by the Louvre in 1861 with an unknown provenance in Italy. Pandolfini includes this object under a list presumably belonging to the Italian city of Nola.[103] It is made of multiple sherds pieced back together. On side A, there is a palmette and lotus flower frieze. A warrior with a spear, shield, and helmet, partakes in a libation scene with a woman in front of him and a bearded old man behind. Side B has a palmette frieze with Poseidon holding a trident, facing a woman, with another figure behind him.

On the mouthpiece, *s'uθina* is marked. This particular example shows severe alterations to the surface of the black slip, stemming from the letters. The inscriptions appear silver and raised rather than etched in. The final <Ϸ> more closely resembles the open final <⅃> of the *s'util* examples.

Cut: The foot of this object was done by the Painter of Penthesilea in 460 - 450 BCE in Athens (fig. 20). It was bought by the Louvre in 1861 and the Etruscan city of origin is unknown. The upper side of the foot is covered in black-slip. The sherd has a painted partial scene of either a nude warrior or satyr. There are other fragments of this piece that have not been glued back together.

On the underside of the base, *s'uθina* is inscribed with the four-bar sigma. This inscription is deep, but rather uniform. The <O> is made up of multiple short lines, revealing the difficulty of smoothly inscribing this surface. The <И> is reversed, forming the standard Greek nu <N>.

Stamnos: This stamnos was created by the Painter of the Louvre Symposium around 450 - 440 BCE in Athens and was found in central Italy (fig. 21). Pandolfini also includes this object

[103] Pandolfini (1974), 465–468

in the list presumably from Nola.[104] It was purchased by the Louvre in 1861. It is composed of multiple segments pieced together. Side A has a banquet scene with a standing young man, a musician, and two men and a younger man reclining. Side B has a komos scene, a ritualistic drunken procession, with three men, two of which are holding vessels.

S'uθina is inscribed on the inside of the mouthpiece. Like the cut, the <И> is reversed, forming the standard Greek nu <N>. The inscription itself resembles the pelike of the Painter of the Niobids in that a silvery finish is left. There are severe signs of chipping of the black slip around the letters. The <O> and <V> contain added lines and the <V> appears as a <Y>. This added tail can be seen in some of the other Attic examples, though this is the most extreme. The tail appears too long and centered to only be the result of a mistake. Perhaps this is an allograph of the typical <V> or a different letter entirely.

Attic Bell-Shaped Krater: This krater was found in a landslide on the eastern bank of Banditaccia, on the path to Cerveteri, and can be attributed to the middle of the fifth-century BCE (fig. 22).[105] Side A has an episode from the saga of Herakles with Busiris represented. Herakles attacks a male figure with a club. Side B shows a conversation between three cloaked ephebes, two of whom have sticks.[106] On the edges opposite one another are two inscriptions. On side A is *zicus*. The final three-stroke sigma marks the genitive of the surname Zicu. This is documented in Chiusi as a personal name during the Hellenistic period and Zicu is translated into Latin as Scribonius.[107] On side B is the inscription *mi suθina* or *mi zuθina*. This looks similar to the zeta of *zicus*, but given the time period and context, it is probably meant to be a sigma.

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[104] Pandolfini (1974), 465–468
[105] Martelli (1991), 358–360
[106] Ivi., 358
[107] Ivi., 359

This inscription of *mi śuθina* is full of irregularities. Even though the sibilant is called a three-stroke sigma, it is really made up of five strokes. The presence of an enunciative *mi* meaning "my" shows possession. Onomastic formulae have used the genitive to show possession, but this determiner is not accounted for anywhere else with *śuθina*. A second iota appears to follow the one used in *mi*. Martelli suggests that this is used as a separation marker.[108] The contemporary examples of *śuθina* only appear in isolation, and onomastic formulae without spaces between words started to appear in the fourth century. It is not unlikely that this line could be establishing word boundaries and that this practice faded by the fourth century. As with the other ceramic inscriptions, this one is rather rough. The strokes in the tsade, <V>, <O>, and <И> are not fully connected. They are straight but exhibit challenges in writing on fired ceramic. The <И> contains four strokes which is highly unusual. This may be a mistake, but I propose that the right-most line could be another word boundary. As a reminder, the word *śuθina* is composed of the noun *śuθi* meaning "tomb" and the possessive adjectively suffix *-na* meaning "belonging to."[109] Is it possible that this third line, which is not connected to that shape that makes the standard <И>, is marking the boundary between the noun and the suffix? I do not think we can rule it out. Perhaps this inscription was done by an artist who was not highly literate and needed the word boundaries to formulate the word. An argument against this is that the orientation of the line makes it appear as if it is part of the letter. However, the same could be argued for the <I> in *mi* being connected to the <M>.

[108] Martelli (1991), 359
[109] Fontaine (1995), 203

Analysis of the Patterns in the Attic Ceramics

Looking at this collection of Attic ceramics from Athens, two forms of *śuθina* are employed: *s'uθina* and *s'util*. There does not seem to be a pattern based on chronology, as both forms are present throughout the Archaic period. The tomb location cannot be attributed either, since nearly all of these pieces are of unknown Etruscan origin. It is worth noting that all the objects Pandolfini associated with Nola are inscribed with *s'uθina* and the object confirmed to be from Caere shares the same form. It is possible that this form is associated with Caere and the west coast of the Italian peninsula, and the objects with *s'util* are from a different region.

There are a fair amount of fragments that were excluded in this chapter, but overall, there are very few Attic ceramics with *śuθina*. One reason may be that terracotta vases are more susceptible to breaking and being scattered and unsalvageable. Another reason is that the sixth and fifth centuries BCE was the start of *śuθina* being used and the practice may not have had enough time to become popular yet.

Alternatively, *śuθina* may have been associated with a specific social context. These Attic pieces were imported from skilled artisans in Athens and would have cost quite a bit. It is doubtful that their ownership in Etruria at the time would be extremely widespread. Perhaps the elite who owned these pieces used *śuθina* as a sort of social symbol for prized possessions in burial practices. The implementation of this practice, unfortunately, cannot go beyond heavy speculation because of the lack of complete information surrounding the examples.

The inclusion of the inscription at all and its techniques confirm that *śuθina* was inscribed after the piece was made and shipped to Etruria. This also indicates that the individuals owned these objects in life. It would have been complicated to acquire such a luxurious piece after someone's death and before the burial. If this is true, an inscription pattern starts to emerge:

pieces owned and used by the individual in life that were not acquired with the intention of including them in a tomb. This collection alone is not enough evidence to support this theory, but this will be returned to in the next chapter.

Fontaine (1995) and De Puma (2008, 2013) both repeatedly stressed that *śuθina* was nearly always placed in a highly visible place. These objects do not necessarily support this comment, considering some were placed on the underside of the vessel. The stamnos and pelike with Oreithyia present examples of the main design obviously being vandalized instead of the label being placed in a nearby blank area. This is another pattern that starts to emerge amongst objects with *śuθina* and the practice will be explored more in the metal pieces of the following chapter.

Chapter 3: The Bolsena Tomb Group

The Bolsena Tomb Group at the Metropolitan Museum of Art

Modern Bolsena sits over the remains of the Roman city of Volsinii (fig. 23). There are many small necropoli scattered on nearby hills that contain bronze goods and examples of *śuθina* (fig. 8). These tombs are common in other areas in the Volsinian territory, namely Porano and Orvieto, which shows "a widespread occupation of the territory by wealthy families, linked to land ownership."[110] Even though Bolsena and Orvieto have the widest variety of stamps on everyday ceramics, writing appears later in the Volsinia area than in other parts of southern Etruria, during the sixth century.[111] With this in mind, Volsinii has fewer epigraphs than other parts of Etruria as "Only Cerveteri presents a consistent continuity of documents from the 7th c. to the Hellenistic age, while Veii has yielded almost exclusively archaic inscriptions, and Tarquinia and Vulci predominately late-archaic and recent."[112] These patterns are partially due to the select sites that have been excavated and whose findings have and have not been published.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art has a collection of 43 Etruscan objects from a single tomb near Bolsena, about 100 km north of Rome. The tomb was likely discovered in the Poggio Sala Necropolis in Bolsena, however, "nothing definite" can be said about the precise location of origin.[113] Excavation took place during the late nineteenth century and the Met acquired the group in 1903, via the Rogers Fund.[114] 10 of the objects, which will be explored below, clearly include the Etruscan word *śuθina*. This is the second largest collection of "*śuthinized*" objects that have been found in a tomb. The other is a tomb in Vietana, to the northeast, with 16 objects bearing the label. The earliest publication of the Bolsena tomb group was by Furtwängler in

[110] Pandolfini (1987), 621
[111] Ivi., 626 With the exception of two amphorae and maybe some buccheri with <X> from Orvieto.
[112] Ibid.
[113] De Puma (2008), 429
[114] De Puma (2013), 190

1905 and then a more detailed description by Richter in 1915. By 1987, most of these inscriptions were included in the *CIE.* The inscriptions are either engraved or punched in dots, with a range of quality.

The items are characteristic of both female and male tombs. In related tombs, the contents are almost certainly a combination of possessions from multiple female burials, originally from the same chamber. De Puma writes that due to the consistency of typology and time periods, it is unlikely that this tomb is a combination of female individuals, but that it is possible.[115] I will later argue that it may be feasible that objects in this tomb are a combination of different owners.

Regardless of if this tomb can be attributed to one or more people, the deceased died between 280 and 270 BCE, before the destruction of Volsinii in 264 BCE.[116] The group incorporates a variety of materials and objects that are locally made and expensive luxury imports from southern Italy. The combination of Hellenistic objects and materials suggests that the tomb was for someone wealthy. The collection holds many daily objects such as utensils, oinochoai (jugs), and candelabras, exhibiting the importance to the Etruscans of including daily objects for the afterlife. This period makes sense for the high amount of objects marked, as this is when *śuθina* became widespread in Volsinii. There are also pieces in this collection that are typically associated with male burials like the gold ring, andirons, and spits.[117] The inclusion of both female and male objects suggests that this tomb belonged to, at least in part, a married couple who was buried together. Some common pieces found in tombs appear to be missing. For example, there is only one spit when they are usually found in odd-numbered multiples. A lack of jewelry is also notable. I believe that this may indicate that the discoveries were methodically

[115] De Puma (2008), 430
[116] De Puma (2013), 112
[117] Ivi., 190–201

picked by the excavators and not kept within the collection. It is also possible that some of the more unstable materials may have corroded before the excavation or were discarded at the time of discovery due to their appearance.

The Met's account of the Bolsena tomb group explores how increasing threats to Rome and Etruria may have affected the Etruscan culture, specifically burial practices.[118] The escalation of including the *śuθina* label on valuable items may support a grave robber theory or a need to prohibit some sort of appropriation, as Fontaine theorized. It would certainly raise a few suspicions to be selling objects that are specially made for burials. The inscriptions also could have "acted as a powerful curse that might frighten superstitious (and literate) thieves."[119] Unfortunately, the absence of Etruscan literature and lack of written sources both from and about the Etruscans leaves the use and purpose of the word to pure speculation. By examining the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Bolsena tomb group, I hope to provide the reader with a deeper understanding of some examples of the employment of the *śuθina* title and the differences in inscriptions. Comparing the 10 objects with *śuθina* and the objects without will also be beneficial in developing a deeper understanding of this cultural practice. Each object will be given a brief analysis following a close reading of the object's description in *Etruscan Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* by Richard De Puma. I will then provide commentary with my own observations and interpretations in the following paragraph.

Objects Made from Precious Metals

Gold Ring: This ring is from the late fourth or early third century BCE (fig. 24). It used to hold a gemstone, which has since been lost. It has the word *śuθina* punctured on both sides via

[118] De Puma (2013), 190–201
[119] Ivi., 190

a series of small dots instead of being etched. It is notable that this is cited as one of only two pieces of jewelry in all Etruscan art to hold this inscription. The Met suggests that this object belonged to the tomb owner in life, likely a male due to its size. It also may have been worn as a pendant by a female or kept as a token from a male family member.[120]

The use of the object in life, or at least that it was made before death, is supported by how the inscription technique indicates that it was completed after the ring was made. Given the high value of gold, it would not be intuitive to spend a fortune on the ring for it to be placed in a tomb. I think it is plausible that the ring was owned before death and not just bought for the tomb. This ring is unique in many ways. It strikes as odd that this ring is only one of two known pieces of jewelry with *śuθina* and the only piece of jewelry from this tomb. As mentioned before, other accessories may have been lost in the excavation process or individually sold. If that is not the case, a high social and personal value can be attributed to this ring. This would have been a piece that the owner wished to bring with them into the afterlife. The ring is the only gold piece known to be inscribed with *śuθina* and one of the very few items to be inscribed twice. The inscription is also one of the neatest. The inscription starts with a tsade <𐌑> and dots throughout the word are the same shape and size. The letters are uneven and vary in size, and the punctures are sometimes unevenly spaced, but the general uniformity should be noted.

Silver and Gilt Amphoriskos (Scented Oil Flask): This amphoriskos is part of a three-piece Apulian, possibly Tarentine, set from the early third century BCE (fig. 25). Other vessels of this type have been found in southern Italy and it was likely imported from there. These flasks appear quite frequently on engraved fourth-century Praenestine and Etruscan mirrors that depict bathing scenes. These three silver items probably made their way from Praeneste (south of Rome) to Etruria via the well-established trade routes through southern Italy,

[120] De Puma (2013), 199

Campania, and up to Etruria.[121] As for the form, from "the solid handles and small collar-like mouth, it was raised from a single sheet of silver" and its shape imitates Attic amphorae.[122] It has a tiny monogram *D : M* on the base which has a different rendering than *śuθina*, probably meaning that they were added at different times (fig. 26). The "monogram is very precise and carefully executed," unlike *śuθina*.[123] The monogram could have been added by the shop owner and *śuθina* at the time of death.

As with the gold ring, *śuθina* is inscribed with punched with dots. The letters increase in size as they move from the initial tsade to the final <Ƨ>. They are evenly spaced, but the lines are not completely straight, as seen with the crooked <I>. Differences in orthography are immediately prevalent. The <И> is unlike the other silver examples. On the amphoriskos, the central connecting line conjoins with the left line lower than most other cases, resembling a modern reverse <N>. It seems as though, with English, there are acceptable allographs for this letter. The second letter (from the right) is incorrect. Upon first glance, it comes across as another allograph, however, when comparing it with the other objects in the set, it becomes apparent that it is simply a mistake. The letter is slightly rounded at the bottom and there is a third stroke in the center. This may indicate that the artist was not highly literate and had trouble spelling. I suggest that this mistake combined with the form of the <И> proves that this piece was done by a different artisan than the two other pieces.

Another reason to support that the funerary marker was applied later is that it has dented the surface around the word, unlike the monogram. This blemish supports that the mark was done after the owner was deceased, or when it was clear that they would soon pass. The fragility of the structure meant that denting the surface would have been easy. I presume that a wealthy

[121] De Puma (2008), 433
[122] https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/247076
[123] De Puma (2013), 194–195

aristocrat would not want to risk this damage to a prized possession while they were alive. Once they passed, if the surface became a bit dented, it would not have mattered as much.

Silver and Gilt Pyxis (Box with Lid): This pyxis is the second in the three-piece set (fig. 27-28). Its production in southern Italy is evident by the gilded vegetable decoration that is similar to decorative friezes often found on Apulian-painted pottery. The location of the inscription on the body points to the inscription being done with the lid removed and the artist holding the vessel while inscribing. *Śuθina* is also punctured on the lid.[124]

Like the amphoriskos, the body of the pyxis is dented around where *śuθina* is punctured upside down and retrograde. The craftsmanship is well done, with evenly shaped letters and spaced dots and a correct spelling. However, the surface alteration and the upside-down placement note some carelessness. The inclusion of *śuθina* on both the lid and body is unexpected. With the grave robber theory in mind, marking both the lid and body would make sense to ensure that easily separated pieces still cannot be sold. However, spiritually and religiously, this could be part of a larger idea of keeping objects and their pieces together for the deceased and the afterlife. Did both pieces need to be inscribed in order for them to travel to the afterlife?

Silver Strigil (Scraper): The final piece in this set is the silver strigil that was used to remove accumulated oil, dirt, and sweat before washing (fig. 29). The Met notes that "in both Greek and Roman society, strigils were used almost exclusively by men; in Etruscan culture, both sexes are shown using them." They were often found in women's tombs. This piece also has a monogram *DA : MV*, read as "Ra…: Mu…" which probably refers to the owner.[125] This is a longer version of the monogram on the amphoriskos *D : M.* It is theorized that it belonged to a

[124] De Puma (2013), 194
[125] The letter <M> *mu* is not to be confused with the letter <M> *tsade.*

woman due to the similarity to the common female Etruscan name, Ramtha. Her full name may have been Ramtha Murinas or Ramtha Murcnas. These names only differ in one letter in Etruscan orthography and were both known family names from the Bolsena region, making it impossible to fully confirm which is being used. Murinas is the more reasonable option, though, because "A basalt cippus, or funerary marker, inscribed "Larth Murinas, son of Vel" (larth:murinas\v[elus\) was found in the 1980s in Poggio Sala necropolis at Bolsena. It has been dated to the third or second century BCE."[126] A nenfro sarcophagus from this necropolis, discovered in the 1890s, bears an inscription with the same family name, *ranthu seia murinaśa*. De Puma writes that Etruscologist Pandolfini does not believe this to be Ramtha because the final name uses the matronymic, a name relating to the mother or a female ancestor.[127] In any case, because all three of these pieces came from the Poggio Sala necropolis, there is evidence of two others of the Murinas family.

Śuθina appears to the upper right of the monogram. Stylistic variation is prevalent in the size of the letters and dots as well as the writing. *DA : MV* is much smaller, with closer punctures than *śuθina*. The <𐌃> of the monogram is round compared to the straight-lined <𐌃> of *śuθina*. The *śuθina* exhibits some carelessness, or perhaps struggles, that the other pieces in the set show. The puncture widths are highly modulated. The tsade has the thinnest punctures and the /*И*/ has a variation in width. If the artist were in a rush, I would suspect that the dots would be more altered from right to left, but the similarity of the width in holes between the <𐌃> and <V> goes against this. Perhaps, if the dots were burned in, the contrast could be from the artist spending more time on the piece. If the dots were nailed in, perhaps the nail was hit too hard. I propose that the artist, who perhaps was not too dedicated at the moment, accidentally altered the <*И*>,

[126] De Puma (2008), 435
[127] Ibid.

realized, and then focused to complete the inscription. However, another possibility is that this was not done by someone who was an artist by trade and was instead completed by a family member. The family member would likely be relatively unpracticed with engraving and may have experienced some challenges, causing the mistakes seen in this collection.

Bronze Objects

Bronze Oinochoe (Jug): The oinochoe is from the early third century BCE (fig. 30). Multiple vessels of this type originated or are associated with Orvieto and sites around Bolsena (the Volsinian territory). The escutcheon at the handle base is "modeled in an elegant plant form that resembles the acanthus leaves often seen on Apulian pottery of the period."[128] The phrase lies on the neck, not pictured.

Bronze cista (toiletries box): This cista dates from the early third century BCE and was commonly associated with female burials and tombs (fig. 31). The solid cast handle has a seated boy. Interestingly, like the silver pyxis, both the lid and body of the object have *śuθina*. This vessel type was not common among the Etruscans and the Met proposes that it was due to "an Etruscan response to the larger and more elegant Praenestine cistae."[129]

The inclusion of *śuθina* both the lid and body supports an intention to keep the pieces together, no matter the overarching intention. When examined extremely closely, puncture dots can be seen underlying the finished lines, especially on the <V> and <M> of the lid. The lid inscription has very thin lines and the letters are evenly shaped and spaced. The <O> is not rounded and instead takes a rhombus shape, likely due to the difficulty of engraving firm metal, not simply a stylistic choice. The challenges of the artist are expanded in the inscription of the

[128] De Puma (2013), 191
[129] Ibid.

body. The <O>, <V>, and <M> have clear separations in the lines, some of which appear to have been done multiple times. The <V> has changes in the depths of the line, possibly due to the artist struggling to mark the surface.

Bronze Mirror: The mirror, a popular Etruscan artifact that is widely studied, comes from the early third century BCE. There are at least 20 other mirrors from this period that have *śuθina* inscribed.[130] The obverse depicts multiple figures, who are identified by inscriptions on the rim (fig. 32). From left to right they read Esplace (Latin: Asclepius), Prumathe (Latin: Prometheus), Menrva (Latin: Minerva), and Hercle (Latin: Hercules). This is one of only three depictions of Prometheus in Etruscan art and the only certain depiction of Asclepius, the god of healing.[131]

The linguistic similarities between the Etruscan and Latin labels are immediately obvious and both exemplify Greek religious influence. The different forms of the <И> and of *śuθina* on the reverse prove that it was clearly done at a different time and by a different artist than the original labels. The original labels utilize and <И> with the central connecting line reaching the bottom of the left-most line. Whereas *śuθina* has the <И> where the central line meets the left-most line about halfway, like the form on strigil. The inscription style of the obverse is extremely telling. The letters are rather uniform and the straight lines are certainly straight. The curved parts of the <Ꭰ> and <D> are rather smooth. The only technical challenges appear in the <O> of Prumathe, which when considering the previous examples of <O>, is not uncommon. This style, paired with the elegant and intricate engraving of the figures, proves that any irregularities found in *śuθina* inscriptions are not due to a general lack of artistic talent amongst the Etruscans. The *śuθina* here is linear, but there are sizable differences in the gaps between

[130] Fontain (1995), 207
[131] De Puma (2013), 201

letters. The letters also vary a bit in size. The curvature and inconsistency of the strokes that make up the /И/ demonstrate how laborious it was to engrave the letters. When looking at the <O>, short lines are just barely discernible and show the viewer how it was completed in sections. It is hard to tell here, but *śuθina* is written over the reflecting side, which still would have been functional at the time of the inscription. This would have made the mark impossible to ignore and it would have been taxing to use the mirror.

Patera (Shallow Bowl with Handle): The first bronze patera from the late fourth to early third century BCE has *śuθina* engraved on the inside, the most visible location (fig. 33). Unlike the other bowl, this one still has an attached handle of a winged female, probably an Etruscan lasa. Lasa were nymph-like creatures that were "often associated with the goddess Turan, the Etruscan version of the Roman Venus, but they also act as facilitators for lovers and guardians of innocent victims, especially children."[132] Paterae are theorized to have been used as libration vessels for funeral rituals, which would be appropriate in this context. However, some believe that they were used for bathing, which would not prevent them from being included in tombs.

The inscription here is crooked and the <M> has a slight change in orientation compared to the other letters. The individual strokes are noticeable, with some slight alterations in width. Despite these inconsistencies, the <O> is maybe the most circular of the entire Bolsena tomb group. I argue that this specific patera was meant to be associated with bathing, not funeral rituals. An examination of the pattern of objects with this word indicates that objects that were purely meant for tombs, such as urns, sarcophagi, and ceremonial shields, do not have the inscription.[133] It seems that any object produced for burials did not need *śuθina* because the

[132] De Puma (2013), 192
[133] Ivi., 36

objects were already clearly not meant for daily use. Apparent patterns of the employment of *śuθina* will be elaborated on later.

Bronze Bowl from a Thymiaterion (Incense Burner): This is a bowl from a thymiaterion from the late fourth century BCE (fig. 34). This circular shape with a molded egg-and-dart lip was a common type of thymiaterion in Etruria during the period. These types of incense burners were likely made in Tarquinia. *Śuθina* is deeply engraved around the inner rim of the bowl. At first glance, this inscription seems to be one of the more neat and uniform ones.[134]

Upon close examination, minuscule punctures are noticeable, particularly in the <O> and <V>. Based on the other occurrences of this technique, it is safe to say that dots were completed as a precursor to the lines. This example demonstrates how the location of the inscription may be meant to intentionally damage the design and appeal. *Śuθina* is clearly engraved over flowing designs that are present around the inner rim of the bowl. The form of the bowl, however, might have dictated the placement of the label. Unlike the paterae, this bowl is rather deep, making it harder to inscribe the blank inside. Still, the paterae do not have designs around the curve so there was no design to damage.

Bronze Patera (Shallow Bowl): This is the second of two bronze paterae found in the tomb with the inscription (fig. 35). It has a corroded impression of a palmette pattern on the bottom of the bowl. This means there was a handle that has now been lost that was probably in the form of a mythical figure.[135]

Here, *śuθina* appears in the center of the inside of the bowl. In this case, there does not appear to be any sign of puncture dots included and the orthography, though not perfect, is quite

[134] De Puma (2013), 194
[135] Ivi., 192–193

clear. The <O> is a near-perfect circle and the letters share the same size and width. The fluidity of this script may signify a more practiced hand than some of the other objects.

Objects from the Bolsena Tomb Group without *Śuθina*

Now that examples of *śuθina* have been examined, it serves to take a moment to see what objects from the Bolsena group *do not* have the inscription. One of the objects is a terracotta oinochoe (jug) circa 300 BCE, associated with Volterran workshops. It is painted black to imitate more expensive metal vessels and definitely inspired by Gnathian pottery from southern Italy.[136] This inclusion of oinochoai in the Bolsena tomb, one with *śuθina* and one without, dismisses any speculation that *śuθina* is unique to certain types of objects. There is another black terracotta vessel, a Volterran kantharos (drinking cup) that is associated with the so-called Malacena Workshop, which was active from the mid-fourth until the late third-century BCE.[137] There is a set of six terracotta undecorated vases, utilitarian products of Bolsena or Orvieto.[138] The Metropolitan Museum of Art writes that small drinking sets like this one are commonly found in Hellenistic tombs throughout Etruria, causing some to "believe that they were used in a drinking ritual before the tomb was closed." The presupposition that this set had religious and funerary purposes supports one of my proposals. That is, objects specifically meant for burials and used in funerary rituals did not need to be inscribed with *śuθina* because it was already clear that they were meant "for the tomb."

Other daily objects include iron implements which, besides the candelabra, are connected with banqueting (fig. 36).[139] Some of these objects are fragmentary fire-rakes, a knife, fire tongs,

[136] De Puma (2013), 195
[137] Ibid.
[138] Ivi., 196
[139] Ibid.

and a spit. It is odd that there is only one spit since they are typically found in odd-numbered multiples. There is also a set of twelve red terracotta balls from the late fourth or early third-century BCE.[140] These balls are theorized to be game tokens. Game tokens such as pairs of dice are often found in Etruscan tombs, but scholars know precious little about the nature of Etruscan games. These domestic objects have all been found in other Etruscan tombs, ranging from occasional knife appearances to customary spits. These banquet objects were included so that the deceased would have the necessary tools to prepare meals in the afterlife.

The Greeks saw preparing meats and hosting meals with friends as a ritual of hospitality.[141] This Greek practice may have influenced the Etruscans. The Bolsena tomb also has four bronze andirons, supports for holding logs in an open fireplace. Andirons, and spits, first appeared in princely Etruscan tombs during the Orientalizing period around the quarter of the eighth century BCE. The andirons "have antecedents in the banquet equipment of tombs in Greece and Cyprus, where they appear ca. 50 to 75 years earlier than the first known Etruscan examples."[142] It is plausible that the Greek use of andirons to support the concept of hospitality involving roasting meats is responsible for the spread of andirons among the Etruscans. If this is true, perhaps the origin of funerary labels also can be attributed to the Greeks.

The key purpose of considering some of the remaining pieces from the Bolsena tomb group is to show that although these objects were domestic and commonly found in Etruscan tombs, they were not inscribed with *śuθina.* I propose that objects that were meant for funerary rituals and burial practices did not need to be labeled as "for the tomb" because their production inherently implied this.

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[140] Ivi., 199
[141] De Puma (2013), 196–197
[142] De Puma (2008), 431

Analysis of the Patterns in the Bolsena Tomb Group

Why were only 10 out of 43 objects in the group given the mark *śuθina*? The only thing I will certainly stand by is that none of these objects were initially created with the intent to serve funerary or ritualistic purposes. As for the other objects, perhaps *śuθina* is only employed for objects that the deceased actually owned in life. The remainder of the objects are common pieces in Etruscan domestic life and tombs that could have simply been added but did not necessarily belong to these individuals. In other words, the objects without *śuθina* were acquired around the individual's passing and were specifically meant for the tomb. This could go in tandem with my original proposal: these objects may not have been initially created for the funerary rites. However, if their only use was to be included in a tomb and were never used by the living, in a way, they were still "meant" for burial practices and did not need to be inscribed. This, of course, relies on moderate speculation. What conclusions can be made based on the hard evidence presented with the objects?

Overall, the precious metal pieces offer the best evidence of *śuθina* being applied after the owner had passed or when they were close to death. Silver and gold would have been extremely costly and a sign of luxury. For the silver set, it is doubtful that the owner, who had spent lots of money on receiving a well-crafted object from southern Italy and getting it monogrammed, would want it to be tarnished. Now that it is clear that the label was applied after its main use in the world of the living, timing must be considered. Were the objects inscribed when the owner gave signs of passing, but before they died? This would allow more time for the pieces to be inscribed before the burial. However, I encourage this theory to be ruled out. If objects started to be "*śuthinized*" before the owner was deceased, it would be expected that there would be many examples of *śuθina*.

The monogrammed amphoriskos and strigil support my idea that *śuθina* was put on objects that were directly owned by the deceased and were not acquired specifically for the tomb. The monogram and funerary mark were clearly done at different times. This is displayed through the different handwriting, orientation, and styles of the letters in the inscription. It is likely that these pieces were bought and monogrammed for daily use or display by a wealthy Etruscan. When the owner died, the pieces were then inscribed. Why was the inscription needed?

The gold ring supports the idea that the most prized, or costly, possessions are the ones that are chosen to be inscribed. This is the only gold item in the group, so it was probably considered to have the highest value. From a spiritual side, it also seems like the ring was inscribed twice almost to double the chances of the object being carried into the afterlife. The double inscription on the body and lid of the pyxis and cista suggest a broader view of requiring all pieces in a set to be inscribed in order for them to move to the afterlife together.

It is odd that only four precious metal objects are inscribed with *śuθina.* As I was looking for examples of precious metals from the Volsinian territory during this period, the search turned out to be rather empty. I started looking for gold pieces, especially jewelry, to come out of Bolsena and Orvieto and found only one confirmed piece: a gold swivel finger-ring; paste scarab from around 300 BCE from Bolsena (fig. 37). This ring was not inscribed. There are numerous Etruscan artifacts made of gold, but many come from Vulci.[143] Perhaps the reason this ring is the only gold piece is because it came from a different city, like Vulci, and it was unusual for people in Volsinii to own gold. As for silver, there are Volsinian workshops from 350 - 200 BCE that produced ceramics known as Silvered Ware but do not include real silver.[144] Here, the terracotta

[143] De Puma (2013), 251–265
[144] Ivi., 222

was coated with a tin-alloy to present a silver-like image. De Puma writes that all but five of the examples owned by the Met "are too delicate or friable to have been used in everyday life. Instead, they almost certainly were made expressly for the tomb, as substitutes for the kind of precious banqueting sets their owners could not afford or did not want to relegate to the deceased."[145] Again, objects that were made explicitly for burials are not inscribed with *śuθina*. This statement brings up another interesting notion: not everything that someone directly owned was put into a tomb. Excluding precious objects in tombs may explain the large absence of precious metals found in Volsinian necropoli. This specific tomb owner might have been an exception and wanted their most prized possessions buried with them. Additionally, substituting personally owned objects with ones purely obtained for burials provides further evidence for my hypothesis.

From a more practical standpoint in the world of the living, inscribing the precious metals agrees with the notion that *śuθina* could be employed to prevent appropriation, of any sort. Marking the ring on both sides would prevent it from being worn and hiding the inscription on only one side. Labeling the lids and bodies would stop the objects from being sold as separate pieces, something that would probably be considered unusual on the market.

The physical inscriptions of *śuθina* also raise some questions. It is not an overstatement to say that there is some element of carelessness when inscribing the word and that it was not done by the highest of professionals. Etruscan inscriptions and engravings on mirrors display the potential for exquisitely decorated bronze objects. Instead, *śuθina* is roughly scratched, crooked, misspelled, upside down, and in inconvenient, yet obvious locations. Were these, likely local, artisans careless or was there a hidden intention? Perhaps it was done by a member of the family or simply someone who was illiterate and not used to inscribing bronze. I have confidence that

[145] De Puma (2013), 222

no matter the reason why the objects were inscribed, whether it was a sign of sympathetic magic, to avoid grave robbing, a rush to avoid government interference, to act as a curse or a sign of protection, the aesthetic was intentionally defaced when opportune. The ring is inscribed on both sides. The silver pieces have mistakes. The main visual part of the mirror was vandalized. The thymiaterion's design is interrupted by the inscription. The paterae have an inscription on the front and center of the bowls. I do specify "opportune" because of cases such as the strigil and paterae that have no apparent design, and the body of the pyxis where the design may have prevented a sufficient inscription of *śuθina.*

Finally, De Puma claims that "Moreover, the consistency of the punched inscriptions on the material in New York suggests that contamination is unlikely."[146] Contamination in this case refers to the objects belonging to multiple separate burials in the same tomb. I do not think that we can so easily dismiss "contamination." The variety of techniques, orthographic choices, and skills found in the inscriptions demonstrates that multiple artisans worked on these 10 objects. If one workshop were to have completed the entire set, would they not have at least used the same inscription technique of either puncturing or etching? Therefore, if multiple, unaffiliated, artisans were to have completed the inscriptions, it would still be feasible that the objects came from different burials.

[146] De Puma (2008), 439

Chapter 4: Additional Bronze Objects of Interest

Further Examples

This section includes objects that I believe offer helpful and interesting context and examples for the patterns of producing *śuθina*. The first section touches on objects with unexpected dates. The typical pattern is tsade being used on bronze pieces found in the Volsiniian territory, dating to the fourth and third centuries BCE, before the destruction of Etruscan Volsinii. These objects either do not use tsade or are made after the city was moved. The next few objects look at onomastic formulae, meaning that a name is paired with *śuθina* as a way to show possession. As a reminder, these formulae present the possessor in two different ways: a "Single phrase with an onomastic formula in the possessive case followed by the word suthina, like larisal havrenies śuθina." or "Two distinct syntagms, with an onomastic formula in the nominative and the word suthina, such as in θania lucini suθina."[147] While I include an extensive list of this form of *śuθina*, it does not encompass all known examples. Finally, a single helmet will be looked at to support the notion that *śuθina* is only inscribed on an object that the deceased owned in life.

Objects with Unexpected Dates

Closed Vase: This bronze vase is theorized to come from Caere and was made between the fifth and fourth centuries BCE (fig. 38). The piece is missing a handle and has *s'uθina* on the neck.

There are a few unusual aspects of this piece. First, because it is from the fifth century BCE, this piece is the oldest bronze piece with the funerary mark on the paper. This would have

[147] Pandolfini (1987), 622–633

been one of the earliest bronze examples created by the Etruscans. This is also the only included example of a bronze piece using a four-bar sigma <Σ>. This usage in itself makes sense due to the period. The Caere origin is also less common than pieces from the Volsinii area. Stylistically, the inscription appears condensed compared to other examples, almost as if they are in a faux lowercase. The final <Ⱥ> also closely resembles an <A>. Based on the material, provenance, and initial sibilant of this piece, it is not included in Fontaine's account of complete *śuθina* inscriptions.[148]

Funerary Vase in the Shape of a Female Head: This vase dates to 225 - 175 BCE (fourth quarter of the third century to the first quarter of the second century BCE). This piece was made using a hollow casting technique and is extremely realistic, exhibiting nasolabial lines and lines on her neck (fig. 39). The object is theorized to come from Velusna but was found to the northwest in Soana. The woman wears a bun on the top of her head that acts as a hinged lid, and a bun at her nape. She has earrings and a diadem. *Śuθina* is written on the forehead.

The date of this piece is very unexpected. After Velusna was moved to become Volsinii in 264 BCE, it would be expected that a major disruption and Romanization would also bring the end of the Etruscan custom of *śuθina*. After all, the Bolsena tomb group objects come from before the destruction.[149] The existence of this piece, no matter where in the Volsinian territory it may have been found, provides clear evidence that the practice of "*suθinizing*" did not completely die out. The usage likely decreased, but it was still present somewhere. The glaring inscription on the forehead continues the fashion of putting *śuθina* in a highly visible place that disrupts the beauty of the piece.

[148] Fontaine (1995), 205
[149] Ibid.

Balsamarium: This bronze balsamarium is similar to the vase above. It was found in Bolsena and was produced between the third and second centuries BCE. The (debated) female heads are extremely veristic (fig. 40). She wears a Phrygian cap, has pierced eyes that would have been inlaid, teeth behind the lips, and lines on her forehead and neck. Like the bun in the vase above, the cap serves as a hinged lid. There are chain links on either side of the cap.

Unfortunately, the inscription lies on the back of the neck and the image could not be found. Based on the provenance, it is almost certain that the sibilant used is a tsade <M>. The period of the balsamarium has the same implications as the vase above, showing that the practice could have continued as far as the second century BCE. The placement of *śuθina* is atypical to the common pattern of damaging the aesthetics. Maybe that aspect of the tradition started to become less common.

Objects with an Onomastic Formula

Bell Situla; Funerary Equipment: This bronze bucket was produced in the fourth century BCE and found near Bolsena (fig. 41). There is a handle on each side and an engraved cable pattern below the rim. It bears the inscription *Larth Meties śuθina* meaning "of the tomb of Larth Metie." There are two bronze oinochoai (jugs) from the same tomb with the same inscription included at the base of the neck. A fourth piece with the inscription is a second situla with Athena wearing a Corinthian helmet on one side and a bearded man under a mask of a satyr, whose mouth is a spout and strainer.

It is unclear if other objects have been found in this specific tomb that are exclusively engraved with the name or *śuθina*. Since there are multiple pieces belonging to Larth Metie, there was obviously some inspiration for adding possession. The sibilant of *Meties* is done with a

three-bar <Ϟ>, while the sibilant of *śuθina* uses a tsade. Since these vessels are from Bolsena, Volsiniian territory in the south of Etruria, the three-bar sigma represents /ʃ/ and the tsade represents an /s/.[150] The discoloration of the engravings in one of the oinochoai reveals that the entire inscription was completed after the object was made, certainly as one engraving.

Oinochoe; Funerary Equipment: This jug is from 350 - 300 BCE and was found near Bolsena (fig. 42). This jug is inscribed with the name *Larisal Havrenies śuθina* which can be translated to "of the tomb of Larisal Havrenie." The family name *Havrenies* also appears in an inscribed stone, walled up in a street in Bolsena.[151]

As with *Larth Meties śuθina*, the two sibilants in the name have a three-bar sigma and *śuθina* starts with a tsade. The inscription itself is rather uniform in size and spacing. There are no distinct gaps between the separate words. The rhombus shape of the <O> demonstrates some difficulty in marking the bronze. Interestingly, there are stylistic differences amongst the uses of <𐌀>. The primary <𐌀> in *Larisal* uses three strokes, with a curved left stroke. Meanwhile, the <𐌀> in *Havrenies* uses four strokes and is larger with a block-like shape. I would say that the four-stroked example used straight lines due to a challenge in creating curves on bronze, but the next letter has a near-perfect curve. The <H> was created using straight lines and nearly the same shape as the following <𐌀>. I suggest that the artist followed the shape of the <H> out of immediate habit, and then altered the script later. The <V> following this <𐌀> appears to be missing its right half.

Incense-Burner; Funerary Equipment: This bronze incense burner comes from 325 - 275 BCE and was likely found in Bolsena (fig. 43). Three feet in the shape of dolphins supports a volute-capital which has a boy caryatid who is holding a patera in his left hand and is pouring a

[150] Burman (2021)
[151] Pandolfini (1987), 621

libation from an oinochoe with the other. On the shaft, there is a feline with a caught bird and a cockerel further up. The shallow bowl at the top has a dove on each corner. *Śuθina* is inscribed on the back of the boy with *Thania Lucini suθina*, or "of the tomb of Thania Lucini." Pandolfini writes that this formula is in the nominative.[152] Unfortunately, a photo of the inscription is not included. The British Museum notes that there are three other bronze vessels from Orvieto with the same inscription that are probably from the same tomb. Sadly, the location of these pieces is unknown.

Basin: Fontaine wrote that this basin is from near Bolsena, was made in the fourth or third century BCE, and at the time was in the Museo di Villa Giulia (fig. 44).[153] It shares the same onomastic formula of the incense burner, *Thania Lucini suθina*, or "of the tomb of Thania Lucini." It is therefore almost guaranteed that this piece is one of the three that the British Museum refers to and it can be dated to 325 - 375 BCE. Most importantly, it is the only known object to be inscribed with *śuθina* three times.[154] All three appear on the rim of the basin. Two times in isolation with an initial tsade and once in the onomastic formula with a three-bar sigma.

Based on the other onomastic formulae and sibilant use in this subsection, it is expected that tsade would be used in *śuθina*. Without access to the image of the inscription for the paired incense burner, it is tough to devise an explanation. If the incense burner follows the others and uses a tsade sigma for *śuθina*, then this example is probably caused by an accidental overgeneralization in sounds and an incorrect spelling. If the incense burner also uses a three-bar sigma, then this may indicate (an isolated) shift in the pronunciation of *śuθina* to reflect that same sibilant in the name.

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[152] Pandolfini (1987), 623
[153] Fontaine (1995), 203
[154] Ivi., 209

Oinochoe: This bronze jug comes from the surroundings of Porano in the Volsinian territory, a date is not given (fig. 45).[155] It has a wide mount bottom, and on the back of the handle is the inscription *Ceiθurneal śuθina* meaning "belonging to the tomb of Ceithurna" or "tomb offering of Ceithurna."[156] Feruglio in *Studi Etruschi* makes note of four other objects from the same tomb with the same inscription, a mirror, lamp, basin, and patera.[157]

Lamp: This lamp (thymiaterion) has three legs ending in goat hooves with leaves between the legs (fig. 46). The top is a shallow bowl with a small shell relief at the corners of the slab. *Ceiθurneal śuθina* runs around the rim of the bowl.[158]

The letters are a bit jaggedy, like from the challenge of doing a curved inscription. The name appears to be misspelled, missing the <I> and replacing the second <Ǝ> with an <I> as *Ceθurnial śuθina*. Feruglio notes a shift between these two forms of the name, which she accounts as two forms of the genitive.[159] Feruglio also mentions more forms of the genitive, including "The gentilic *ceθurna* is already known in Orvieto. In Chiusi the feminine form *ceθurnei*."[160] In the inscription, the <D>, representing the English <R>, and the top of the <И> exhibit additional marks. These imperfections, with the disconnection between strokes within the tsade and <L>, show the challenges of inscribing on solid bronze. The <L> is backwards, appearing as the modern form of <L> instead of the reverse form found in all other instances of /l/ that are examined in this paper. For this reason, this example is presumably an isolated mistake. This coincides with the possibility that the artists inscribing *śuθina* may have been illiterate. The <И> is also the only example from this tomb where the central line meets the

[155] Feruglio (1972), 457
[156] De Puma (2008), 437
[157] Feruglio (1972), 455–58
[158] Ivi., 456–57
[159] Ivi., 458
[160] Ibid.

left-most line at its base. This could be an indication that at least this piece was done by a different hand.

Basin: The basin from the tomb outside Porano is hemispherical, has a horizontal band hem, and a low echinus foot (fig. 47).[161] *Ceiθurneal śuθina* is inscribed around the rim.

A written error is immediately noticeable. The artist evidently forgot the <V> of *Ceiθurneal* and decided to insert it as a sort of superscript between the <θ> and <D>.[162] This is not the first time a misspelling has appeared and it is admirable that they attempted to fix it.[163] Again, this is evidence for an illiterate artist and/or family member who was not used to completing the practice. There is also an odd gap between the <Ↄ> and <Ǝ>. I cannot think of a clear reason why since there is nothing at the end of required shifting the entire message. The spacing of *śuθina* is also awkward, so the spacing may just be a trait of the artist's writing.

Bronze Strainer: This bronze strainer is from the Guardabassi collection now at the National Archaeology Museum of Umbria in Perugia (fig. 48).[164] There is a missing central part that had holes and folded on itself and there is an exterior band with pods and lotus flowers. Even though the Guardabassi collection does not point to Orvieto, Gamurrini, who studied the object, believes that it was found there, and Feruglio concurs.[165] Inside, near the missing central part, is the inscription *śuθina larcnas*.

This inscription is unique by placing *śuθina* before *larcnas*. This may be an error due to illiteracy or may imply that Etruscan had lenient word order. As with the other onomastic formulae, there is no space between the noun and *śuθina*. Like *Larth Meties* and *Larisal Havrenies*, the sibilants use a three-bar sigma and *śuθina* uses a tsade.

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[161] Feruglio (1972), 457
[162] I am particularly fond of this piece due to the amusing inclusion.
[163] The silver and gilt amphoriskos of the Bolsena tomb group may also be misspelled.
[164] Feruglio (1972), 458. I was unable to find the object in this collection online or any publications about the strainer.
[165] Ibid.

Notable Miscellaneous Object

Helmet: This bronze helmet comes from the second half of the fourth century BCE and has an unknown findspot (fig. 49). However, Pandolfini writes that it came from a Roman-age necropolis and is still inscribed with *śuθina*; this leads her to believe it belonged to an Etruscan man who was integrated into the Roman army.[166]

As with the *śuθina* inscriptions on Attic pottery, the term has been applied to a non-Etruscan object. This is the only example that I have found where *śuθina* is put on a distinctly Roman object. Even during the Romanization of Etruria, the Etruscans applied tradition to objects from other cultures. It is almost certain that this individual owned the helmet in their life as part of the military and inscribing it supports my proposal that objects owned in life, that were not made for burials, were inscribed.

Analysis of the Patterns in the Bronze Objects

This chapter started with the earliest known bronze piece with *śuθina* and the only one to use a four-bar sigma. The very object may represent the transition of *śuθina* with sigmas on Attic pottery transitions to tsades on bronze. The objects in this chapter generally do not have many designs, but the lamp and female with the Phrygian cap have *śuθina* hidden. The balsamarium's design is disrupted by the presence of *śuθina*, meaning that it still can be used to harshly vandalize. It should be noted that the mirror, which was not studied in this chapter, has *Ceiθurneal śuθina* on the engraved side rather than the reflecting side. Although the use is not canceled out as with the mirror in the Bolsena tomb group, the design is still partially covered.

Next, the onomastic formulae presented a variety of individuals who chose to include (presumably) their full names. This style is different from the monograms on the silver pieces in

[166] Pandolfini (1987), 623

chapter three from the Bolsena tomb group. With those pieces, the monograms were completed at different times and only used the initials. The formulae with *śuθina* were certainly done as one inscription completed at the same time. This is noticeable with the consistent discoloration within some of the inscriptions, like one of the oinochoai, and the handwriting. Again, I predict that they were added after the individual's death.

Naturally, a new question arises. Why was this done? Even though the British Museum labels some of the bronzes as "funerary equipment," that does not guarantee that that was their original purpose. Therefore, I still argue that *śuθina* was not put on objects specifically meant for religious and burial purposes. The inclusion of the name may have acted as a status symbol and something for the family to brag about, like the modern dedication of buildings to donors. It may also have been a way to claim inheritance on specific items and prevent them from being obtained by other families. What I think is most reasonable, is that it was used to distinguish ownership within a shared tomb or chamber. With the exception of *Ceiθurneal śuθina*, the rest include both the first and last names. If families were buried together, especially at different times, how could they discern what belonged to whom? Foremost, how could they ensure that their belongings traveled with them into the afterlife and not with someone else? The onomastic formula with the first name may have been a way to make sure that the deceased individual retained their personal belongings and did not have to worry about mix-ups.

The absence of a first name in *Ceiθurneal śuθina* could be attributed to a number of reasons. Perhaps this individual was the first of the family to pass. Maybe this person was buried with people of other families but was the only member of the Ceithurna family. The Ceithurna family could have been buried in the vicinity of another family but did not care to assign specific possessions to specific people. Or the inclusion of a family name was just a status symbol and

first names did not matter as much. Since this only appears in the Volsinian territory between Bolsena and Orvieto, there was clearly some social value to this style that other cities like Caere did not establish in the same way. If the threat of appropriation is considered, including names would act as a method of identifying and returning stolen pieces.

The similarities in the inscription style of *Larth Meties śuθina* suggest that these four works were done by the same individual. As I have explored throughout this paper, various allographs were considered acceptable in Etruscan orthography. The near identical <M>, <Ǝ>, <T>, and <И> support this. The biggest piece of evidence is that in the three pieces where it is visible, the first <Ǝ> in *Meties* also has a short top horizontal stroke and a long bottom horizontal stroke. This is not as prevalent in the following <Ǝ>. It is unclear if the two examples of *Thania Lucini suθina* have the same indication because one of the inscriptions is not pictured. For *Ceiθurneal śuθina*, I am undecided. There are noticeable differences in the uses of <D> and <И> but I do not think any conclusions can be made without a deeper comparison.

Lastly, the helmet, something that would have belonged to the recipient in their lifetime, coincides with my theories on the patterns of *śuθina*.

Conclusion

This paper has explored the use of the funerary marker *śuθina*, meaning "for the tomb." The Etruscans believed that including objects in their tomb would ensure that they traveled to the afterlife with them. Excavations of tombs exemplify a wide variety of objects.[167] It is likely that these objects belonged to wealthy families for a few reasons. Aristocratic families are more likely to have elaborate tombs and enough surplus objects and money to put them into a tomb. Additionally, these families would have been the ones who could afford luxurious items and afford to have them engraved. Plus, the aristocracy was probably more literate as a whole than the lower class; they were the audience who could read *śuθina* and would care and use it more.

The typical use of *śuθina* is split into two main categories. First, there are sixth and fifth-century BCE terracotta Attic vases that use a four-bar sigma for the sibilant. Second, there are fourth and third-century BCE bronze pieces, mainly from the Volsinian territory, using an initial tsade. Three objects are exceptions to these patterns. These are the bronze closed vase from the sixth century and two vases in the form of female heads that may have been made in the second century BCE, after the destruction of Volsinii. The destruction of Volsinii in 264 BCE and the forcible Romanization and relocation of its people are reasonable causes for a natural decline of the Etruscan funerary custom.[168] The number of objects that can be dated after this certainly confirms that the practice became less popular, though not extinct.

It was my goal to estimate why *śuθina* started and how it was applied to objects. It still remains a mystery how *śuθina* appeared in the first place. The initial phrases appear soon after the introduction of a script by the Euboeans in the seventh century.[169] The variation in forms like *s'uθi*, *s'uθin*, *s'utis*, and *sutil* from this period highlight the initial instability that the script had.

[167] Torelli (1999)
[168] Fontaine (1995), 211
[169] Huntsman (2013)

It is safe to say that it became standardized between the fifth and fourth centuries when common patterns for writing *śuθina* started to be established. The timing of *śuθina* in the sixth and fifth centuries and its sole presence on Attic pottery could indicate that it was based on a Greek practice. The unknown findspots of these pieces prevent a conclusion about where the practice began in Etruria, but based on the confirmed piece, they may hail from Caere. Using *śuθina* with luxurious and expensive Attic vessels demonstrates that *śuθina* started amongst the aristocracy who could afford such objects. A smaller upper class may explain why there are so few examples, but this can also be due to the fragility of terracotta. The practice also may not have had enough time to spread so soon after the introduction of a writing system. It is highly unlikely that the Attic vases were bought after the death of the individual since it would be complicated to acquire a piece in time for the burial.

What determined which objects in a tomb were inscribed and which were not? Based on my examination of the pattern or objects, my hypothesis is as follows: select pieces owned and used by the individual in life, that were not acquired with the intention of including them in a tomb, were later marked with *śuθina*. Objects that were meant for funerary rituals and burial practices did not need to be labeled as "for the tomb" because their production and use inherently implied this. Additionally, if non-funerary items were not personally owned and used by the deceased in their life, they were not inscribed with *śuθina*. Even though they were not made to be used in funerary rituals and burial practices, if their only use was to be included in a tomb, their secondary purpose was still for these rites and thus did not need to be inscribed.

Why is this plausible? No objects that were purely meant for tombs, such as urns, sarcophagi, and ceremonial shields, have the inscription. Also, not everything that someone owned was buried with them.[170] This supports why there are few uses of *śuθina.* A substitution

[170] De Puma (2013), 222

of personal belongings with the objects acquired after death can account for the limited usage. The inscriptions were likely completed after the person was already deceased. If these objects were made while the individual was still alive, I suspect there would be more examples since there would be more time to inscribe the objects before the burial. My hypothesis continues to be supported by the bronze items from the fourth and third centuries BCE. The contrast in the forms of monograms *D : M* and *DA : MV* with *śuθina* provide further examples that *śuθina* was engraved after the object was made, as with the Attic ceramics. The monograms point to the objects being bought and marked for an Etruscan individual for their use in daily life. The bronze helmet used in the Roman army adds another piece of evidence.

What can be concluded about why *śuθina* was used in the first place and why it became so popular in the fourth and third centuries BCE in the Volsinian territory? Fontaine proposed "Two factors, possibly combined, a general and external factor, the war against Rome, and a more properly Volsinian factor, the servile revolution, are likely to explain, as distant causes at least, the contemporary proliferation of suthina inscriptions in the territory of Orvieto."[171] Both of these point to a method of preventing burial objects from being appropriated and reused. I add the possibility of a spiritual type of appropriation to Fontaine's ideas of physical appropriation.

The use of onomastic formulae and possessors supports these ideas. In the physical world, they act as an identifier for a family-owned piece. If this was stolen, it would be hard to keep it hidden from view and it could be easily returned to the family of the deceased. This may also have been a way to claim an inheritance on certain objects, especially those of great value.

Spiritually, *śuθina* can prevent appropriation during the travel to the afterlife. It would guarantee that the object travels with its rightful owner, something that would be especially important if different families were buried in the same chamber. Using *śuθina* on precious metals

[171] Fontaine (1995), 211

and the expensive Attic vases may signify that prized possessions were chosen to be included in the tomb. Inscribing them would make sure the individual could keep their favorite items in the afterlife and would prevent grave robbers from searching for the most expensive objects. Applying *śuθina* to both sections of the pyxis and cista supports the prevention of appropriation. This suggests the necessity of keeping the sections together, whether for a religious or practical purpose.

Finally, the inscription techniques, styles, and orthography must be considered. This paper dove into a vast selection of penmanship that presented numerous acceptable allographs that the Etruscans had. Some of the varieties exhibited may reveal that the artists were not artists at all, and were instead the family members. Regardless of who completed the inscription, errors may have been a result of illiteracy. There does seem to be intentional damage done to the design and the primarily visible parts of the object. The perfection of the inscription is clearly not the focus of the artisans. I have been talking about this feature as the intention to damage the aesthetics. This, too, goes with the notion of attempting to prevent a physical appropriation, especially of grave robbers and reselling. Alternatively, perhaps this act of "ruining" the image was a form of sacrifice. I speculate that there could have been some related belief of ruining a prized possession's image as a form of insurance. This would emphasize the deceased's dedication to the gods and their request for the object to be carried with them. Since these objects were not meant for funerary purposes, *śuθina* may have been needed to ensure it could travel to the afterlife. The placement of *śuθina* may not have been about destroying the image, but about diverting attention to the inscription.

Characteristics such as multiple misspellings, additional strokes, and uneven orientations, letter sizes, depth, and modulation may give the first impression of carelessness. For me,

however, these mistakes and struggles humanize the Etruscans. Yes, they were capable of beautiful inscriptions, but it was no easy task to mark hardened clay and bronze. The art of the Etruscans should be revered, but is it also crucial to realize that they, too, lived everyday lives and were not perfect. In developing an understanding of this rather unstudied topic, I hope that I have presented the reader with a new opinion of the beliefs and practices of the Etruscans.

Areas for Further Research

Research focusing on *śuθina* is extremely limited. It was difficult to track down sources for this paper that had more than one-time mention that *śuθina* simply exists. This was only made more challenging with the restricted access of the *CIE*. While hard evidence and examples of labeled objects are limited, there is still room to explore this Etruscan tradition and what it means for the culture.

This paper had several proposals for the beginnings of *śuθina*, though an area that should be looked at closer is the burial practices of various Greek cultures. I, unfortunately, did not have the time or resources to properly dedicate time towards this avenue. With the heavy influence that the Greeks imparted on the Etruscans, from a writing system to art and architecture to domestic religion, it is not unlikely that burial practices could have been transmitted as well.[172] I took a cursory glance into this subject. Even though the Greeks included fewer objects in their graves, aristocratic families still erected funerary monuments to mark the tomb and memorialize the deceased.[173]

While specifically searching for Greek inscriptions on objects included in the tombs, I found a two-page section about the Greek colony of Poseidonia in southern Italy.[174] The article talks about a set of five pots from Linora, a site south of Poseidonia, with the inscription "αποτυμο." These pots, not all Attic, can be dated to the first quarter of the fifth century BCE. The inscription is "unparalleled" and the phrase "may be of one or two words and most likely has a genitival ending."[175] Two similar phrases are put forth as attestations, and while neither provides sufficient clarity, "they can both be given some sort of sense - 'something away from

[172] The British Museum, Archaic Period (Etruscan)
[173] Department of Greek and Roman Art (2003)
[174] Johnston (2018), 143–44
[175] Johnston (2018), 143

the tomb mound' or 'something/somebody without spirit.'"[176] It is theorized that "αποτυμο" is a noun, but a cognate adjective is possible in "πρόθυμος." The adjectival form "άποβώμιον" has been found on a contemporary bronze statuette and the parallel form "άποτύμβιον" has been found in cemeteries.[177] A funerary notation such as this has been found with the appearance of "νέκυς" meaning "corpse" on a Lokonian krater from Timosthenes' tomb from around 530 BCE on Thera.[178] This one instance is rare though, and far from Poseidonia. This is where *śuθina* comes in. Johnston provides a one-sentence acknowledgment of this custom, but I think that it could be a fruitful path to explore. The pots would have been created after *śuθina* started, but this does not mean they are not connected. Perhaps the Etruscans influenced the funerary notation on these pots. If the practice at Poseidonia can, in fact, be traced back to Greece, then this could open the possibility of a Greek tradition that influenced both Etruria and Poseidonia. Thorough research of Greek funerary inscriptions and burial objects found in Poseidonia may reveal a new key to understanding the origin of *śuθina.* Similarly, further exploration to understand *śuθina* would benefit from researching the funerary practices of other cultures of the Italian peninsula, like the Sabines, Umbri, and Samnites (fig. 50).

[176] Johnston (2018), 143
[177] Johnston (2018), 144
[178] Inglese (2008), 46

Figures

Figure 1: Map 1: Ancient Etruria. After, Richard Daniel De Puma, *Etruscan Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,* 2013, map 1.

Figure 2: Map 3: Ancient Italy showing burial practices. After, Richard Daniel De Puma, *Etruscan Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,* 2013, map 2.

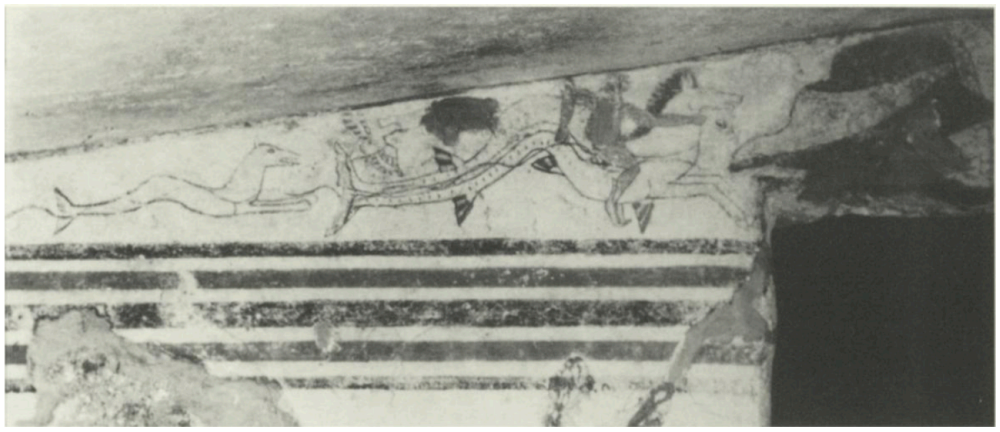

Figure 3: Tomb of the Bulls, Tarquinia, 540 BCE, pediment of entrance wall of main chamber: voyage of the deceased on back of a hippocamp. After, Mario Torelli, “Funera Tusca: Reality and Representation in Archaic Tarquinian Painting,” 1999, fig. 22.

Figure 4: Bead ornamented with coarse granules, gold, sixth to fifth century BCE. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 25.192.3
https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/251939

Figure 5: The Chimaera of Arezzo, bronze, c. 400 BCE. Firenze, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

Figure 6: Terracotta vase in the shape of a cockerel, terracotta and bucchero, c. 650-600 BCE. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 24.97.21a, b
https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/251482

TABLEAU I – Ensemble des objets inscrits
(entre parenthèses, la lettre notant la sifflante initiale forte de *śuθina*)

			VI^e s. - V^e s.	IV^e s. - III^e s. (ou réc.)
Céramique attique		Caer. (≥)	1	
		Loc. inc. (≥)	6	
	autre	Vols. (M)	1	
		Loc. inc. (M)	1	2
Total Céramique : 11				
Or		Vols. (M)		1
Argent		Vols. (M)		3
Bronze		Clus (M)		1
		Vols. (M)		74
		Loc. inc. (M)	1	32
		Loc. inc. (≥)		7
Total Métal : 119				
Total général : 130				

Figure 7: TABLEAU I – Ensemble des objects inscrits. After, Paul Fontaine, "À propos des inscriptions Śuθina sur la vaisselle métallique étrusque," 1995, table 1.

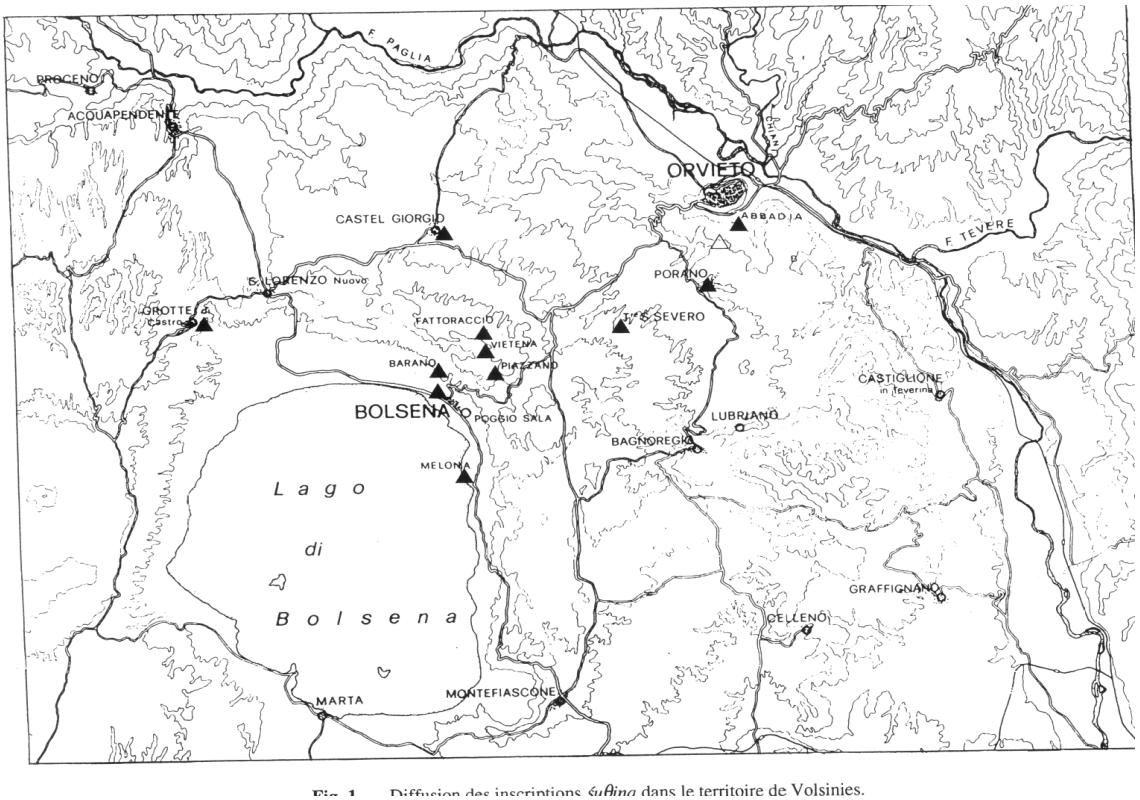

Fig. 1 — Diffusion des inscriptions *śuθina* dans le territoire de Volsinies.

Figure 8: Diffusion des inscriptions śuθina dans le territoire de Volsinies. After, Paul Fontaine, "À propos des inscriptions Śuθina sur la vaisselle métallique étrusque," 1995, fig. 1.

TABLEAU II - Objets en bronze des IV[e] - III[e] s. (ou réc.)

	Volsinii (M)	Clusium (M)	Loc. inc. (M)	Loc. inc. (≥)
Vaisselle	56 (2 ≥)		13	6
Cand./Thym.	3 (1 ≥)		5	
Cistes	3			
Miroirs	8	1	12	
Acus com.	1			
Strigile				1
Casque	1			
Pointe de lance	1			
Inc.	1		2	
TOTAL	74	1	32	7

Figure 9: TABLEAU II – Objets en bronze des IVc. - IIIc. s. (ou réc.). After, Paul Fontaine, "À propos des inscriptions Śuθina sur la vaisselle métallique étrusque," 1995, table 2.

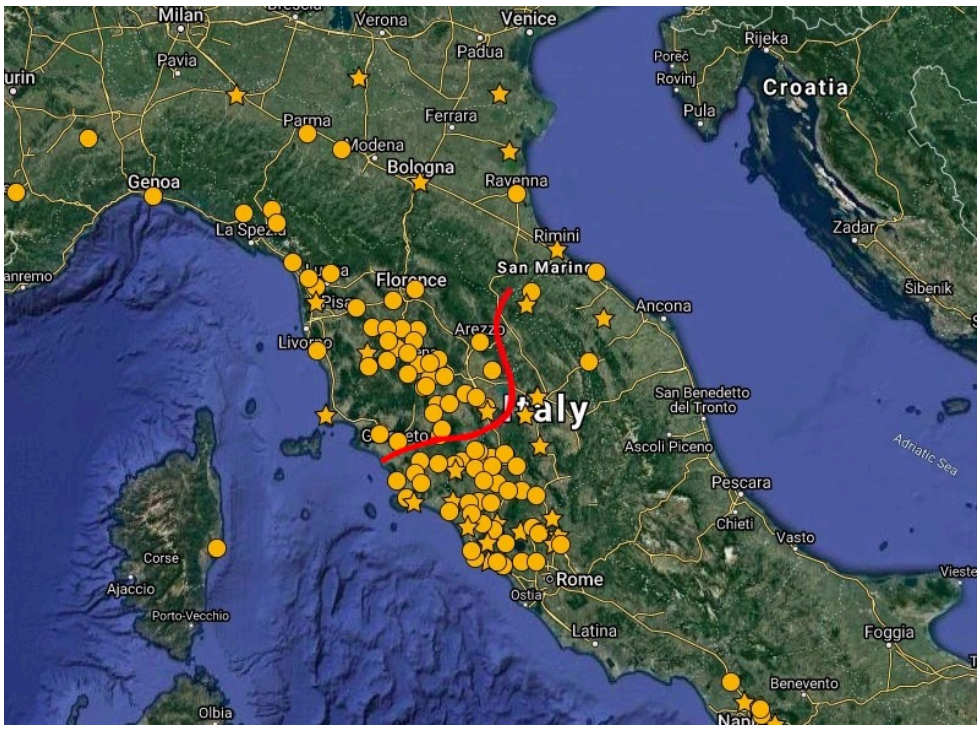

Figure 10: Languages of Italy c. 700 – c. 50 BC (Etruscan). Google Maps, Katherine McDonald https://annieburman.wordpress.com/2021/07/15/a-guide-to-etruscan-sibilants-part-1-phonology-and-orthography/

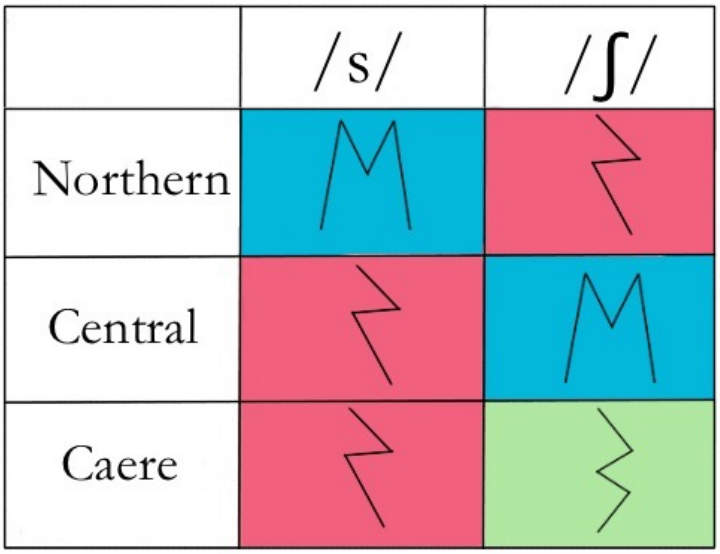

Figure 11: A colour-coded table showing the regional orthography of sibilants in Etruscan described above. WordPress, Annie Burman https://annieburman.wordpress.com/2021/07/15/a-guide-to-etruscan-sibilants-part-1-phonology-and-orthography/

The traditional system of transcription is given in (2), as emended by Pallottino (1967):[6])

(2) Archaic Etruscan	/s/	/š/	abecedaria
North	ś	s	
South	s	ś	ṣ
Caere, Veii	s, ṣ, ṡ	ś	ṣ
Neo-Etruscan	/s/	/š/	

North	ś	s
South	s	ś
Caere	s	ṣ

Figure 12: A chart depicting the Pallottino system. After, Rex E. Wallace, “On the Transcription of Sibilants in Etruscan: A New Proposal,” 1991, fig. 2.

Figure 13: Amphora, clay, c. 500 BCE. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. Cp 190
https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010269688

Figure 14: Pelike (Boreas entführt Oreithyia), clay, c. 460 BCE. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, inv. 1980.174
https://www.mkg-hamburg.de/en/sammlung/objekt/pelike-boreas-entfuhrt-oreithyia/1980.174/dc

00126652?term=suthina&context=collection&position=0

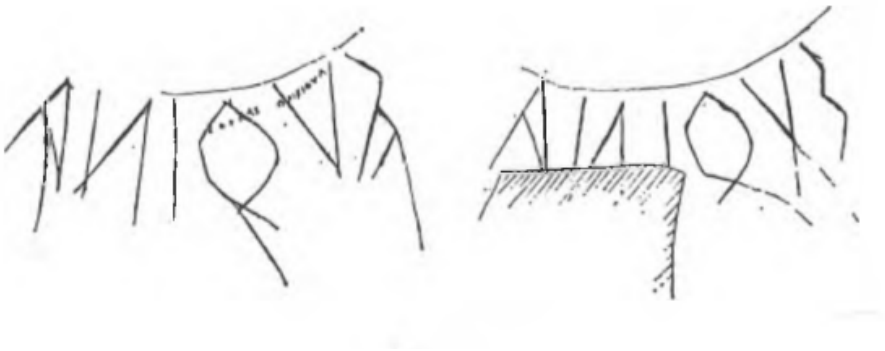

Figure 14.5: "*śuθina*" Pelike, clay, c. 460 BCE. Studi Etruschi, inv. 176
https://www.studietruschi.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/SE51_11.pdf

Figure 15: Attic Black-Figure Neck Amphora Fragment with a Battle Scene, terracotta, c. 530 BCE. Los Angeles, Getty Villa, inv. 81.AE.200.35.3
https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103ZFC#full-artwork-details

Figure 16: Attic Panathenaic Amphora Fragment (part of 81.AE.203.6.2), terracotta, c. 530-510 BCE. Los Angeles, Getty Villa, inv. 81.AE.203.6.2.1
https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/109FP1

Figure 17: Fragment of an Attic Red-Figure Vase in the form of a Satyr holding a Keras (comprised of 13 joined fragments), terracotta, c. 500-490 BCE. Los Angeles, Getty Villa, inv. 81.AE.216.J.1.3
https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103V6C?canvas=d70f9aac-c154-4285-a8ea-5c2fbaf23edb#full-artwork-details

Figure 18: Attic Red-figure Cup Fragment (type B), terracotta, fifth century BCE. Los Angeles, Getty Villa, inv. 81.AE.206.D.574 https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/107X33

Figure 20: Coupe, clay, c. 460-450 BCE. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. Cp 10540 https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010264385

Figure 19: Pelike, clay, c. 470-460 BCE. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. S 1451 bis
https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010270281

Figure 21: Stamnos, clay, c. 450-440 BCE. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. Cp 926
https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010270267

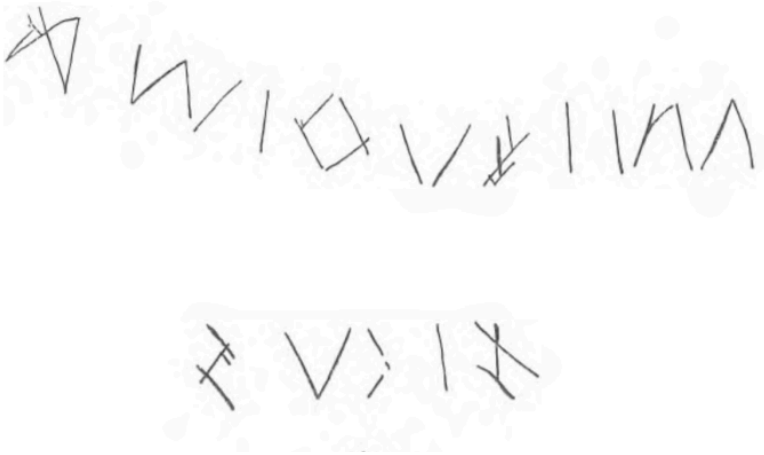

Figure 22: "*zicus*" "*mi śuθi{i}na*" Attic Bell-Shaped Krater, terracotta, middle of the fifth century BCE. Studi Etruschi, inv. 76
https://www.studietruschi.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/SE56_19.pdf

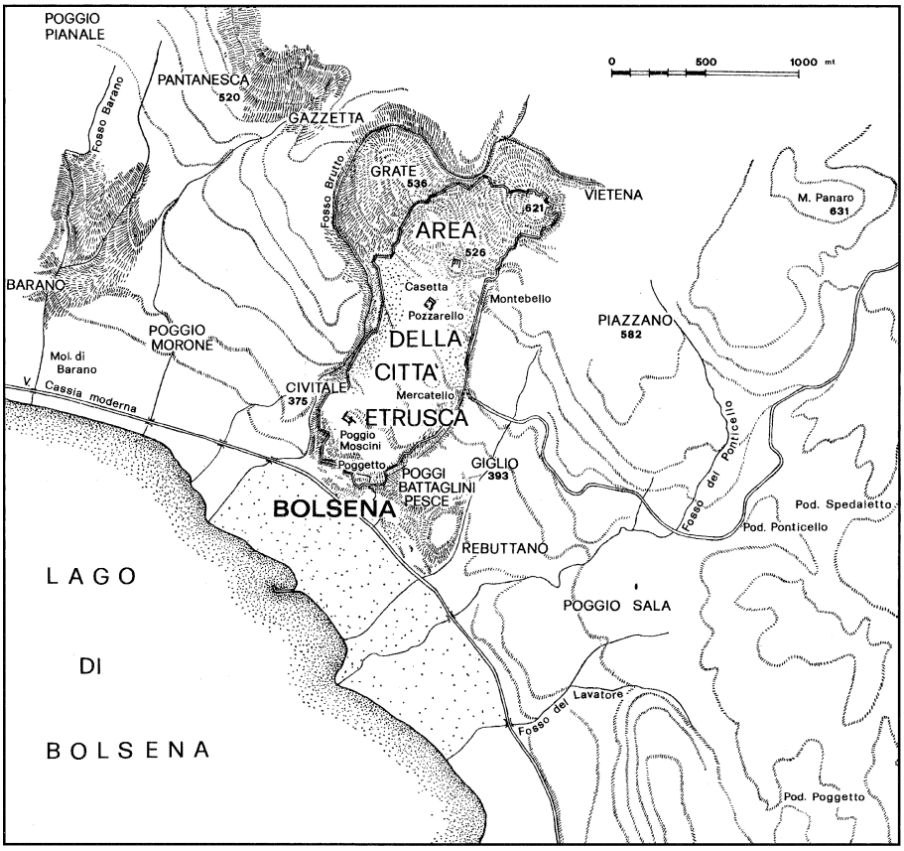

Figure 23: Map of Bolsena, indicating the Poggio Sala necropolis. After, Richard Daniel De Puma*, Etruscan Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,* 2013, fig. 2.

Figure 24: Gold ring, gold, late fourth or early third century BCE. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 03.24.24 https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/247103

Figure 25: Silver and gilt amphoriskos (scented oil flask), silver and gold, early third century BCE. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 03.24.5
https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/247076

Figure 27: Silver and gilt pyxis (box with lid), silver and gold, early third century BCE. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 03.24.6a, b
https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/247077

Figure 28: Silver and gilt pyxis with two inscriptions, bronze, early third century BCE. After, Richard Daniel De Puma*, Etruscan Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,* 2013, fig. 7.

Figure 29: Silver strigil (scraper), silver, early third century BCE. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 03.24.7 https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/247078

Figure 30: Bronze oinochoe (jug), bronze, early third century BCE. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 03.24.1 https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/247072

Figure 31: Bronze cista (toiletries box), bronze, early third century BCE. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 03.24.2
https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/247073

Figure 32: Bronze mirror, bronze, early third century BCE. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 03.23.3 https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/247074

Figure 33: Patera (shallow bowl with handle), bronze, late fourth to early third century BCE. After, Richard Daniel De Puma*, Etruscan Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,* 2013, inv. 03.34.4.

Figure 34: Bronze bowl from a thymiaterion (incense burner), bronze, late fourth century.. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 03.24.8
https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/247079

Figure 35: Bronze patera (shallow bowl), bronze, late fourth century BCE. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 03.24.9
https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/247080

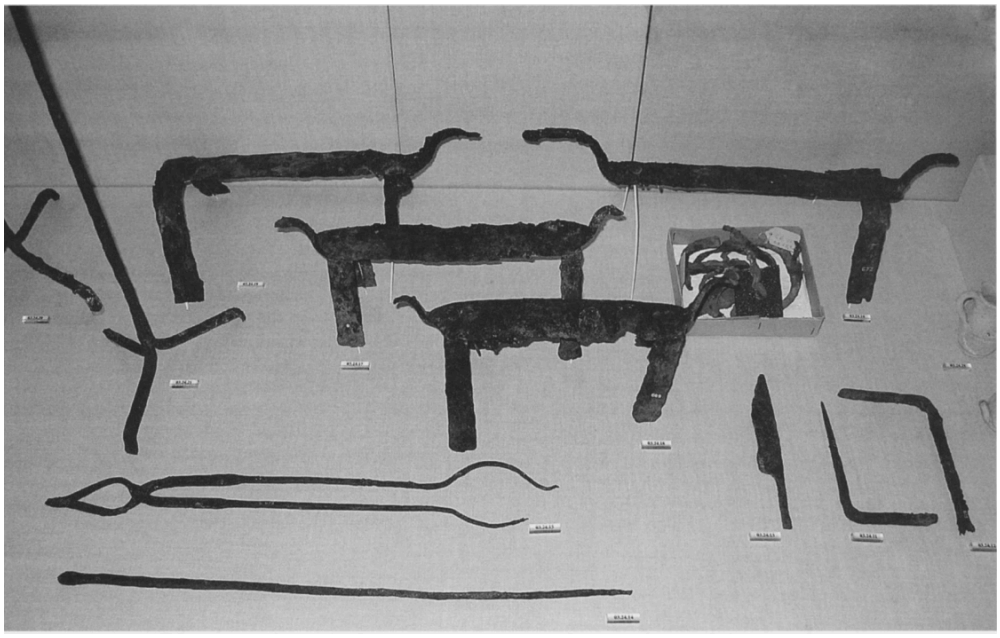

Figure 36: Iron implements. After, Richard Daniel De Puma*, Etruscan Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,* 2013, fig. 4.

Figure 37: Finger-ring; scarab, gold and glass, third century BCE. London, British Museum, inv. 1872,0604.39 https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1872-0604-39

Figure 38: Vase fermé, bronze, fifth century BCE. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. Cp 7088 https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010257893

Figure 39: Vase funéraire en forme de tête féminine, bronze, c. 225-175 BCE. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. MNC 706 https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010257977

Figure 40: Balsamarium, bronze, third to second century BCE. London, British Museum, inv. 1868,0601.3 https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1868-0601-3

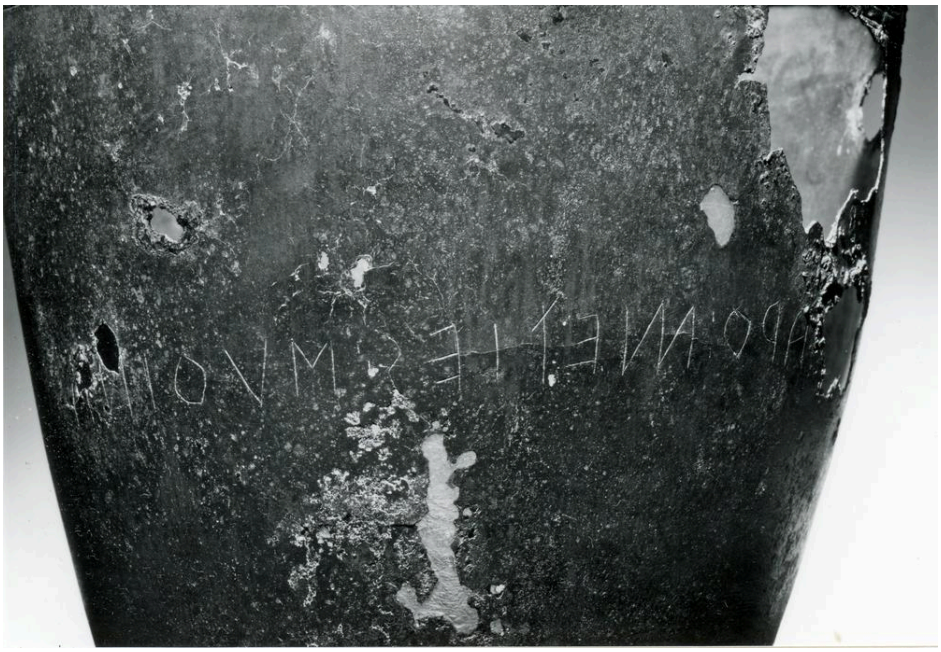

Figure 41: Bell situla; funerary equipment, bronze, fourth century BCE. London, British Museum, inv. 1873,0820.200
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1873-0820-200

Figure 42: Oinochoe; funerary equipment, bronze, 350-300 BCE. London, British Museum, inv. 1868,0606.2 https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1868-0606-2

Figure 44: Basin, bronze, 325-275 BCE. After, Paul Fontaine, "À propos des inscriptions Śuθina sur la vaisselle métallique étrusque," 1995, fig. 13-15.

Figure 43: Incense-burner; funerary equipment, bronze, 325-275 BCE. London, British Museum, inv. 1873,0820.211 https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1873-0820-211

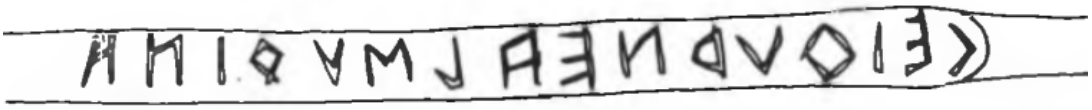

Figure 45: "*ceiθurneal śuθina*" Oinochoe, bronze. Studi Etruschi, inv. 72 https://www.studietruschi.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/SE40_19.pdf

Figure 46: "*ceθurnial śuθina*" Lamp, bronze. Studi Etruschi, inv. 70
https://www.studietruschi.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/SE40_19.pdf

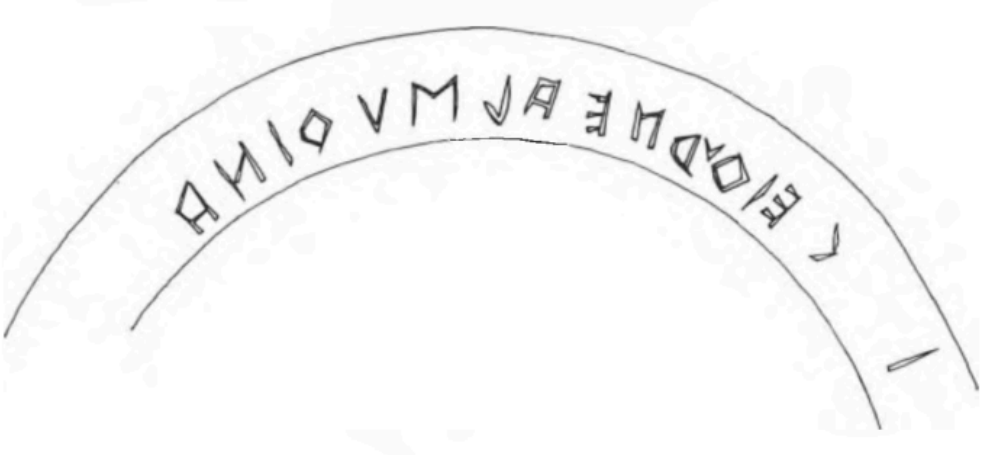

Figure 47: "*ceiθurneal śuθina*" Basin, bronze. Studi Etruschi, inv. 71
https://www.studietruschi.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/SE40_19.pdf

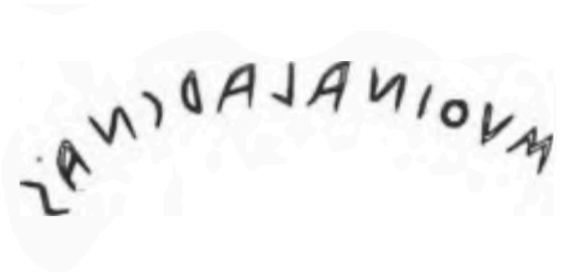

Figure 48: "*larcnas śuθina*" Strainer, bronze. Studi Etruschi, inv. 74
https://www.studietruschi.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/SE40_19.pdf

Figure 49: Helmet, bronze, second half of the fourth century BCE. After, Maristella Pandolfini, "Considerazioni sulle iscrizioni etrusche di Bolsena su instrumentum," 1987, fig. 6.

Figure 50: Map 2: Ancient Italy showing approximate locations of ethnic groups. Figure 2: Map 3: Ancient Italy showing burial practices. After, Richard Daniel De Puma*, Etruscan Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,* 2013, map 3.

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