**Etruscan Studies**
**Journal of the Etruscan Foundation**

Volume 8 Article 4

1-1-2001

# A Near Eastern Ethnic Element Among the Etruscan Elite?

Jodi Magness
*University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

Follow this and additional works at: http://scholarworks.umass.edu/etruscan_studies

Recommended Citation
Magness, Jodi (2001) "A Near Eastern Ethnic Element Among the Etruscan Elite?," *Etruscan Studies*: Vol. 8, Article 4.
Available at: http://scholarworks.umass.edu/etruscan_studies/vol8/iss1/4

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. It has been accepted for inclusion in Etruscan Studies by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. For more information, please contact scholarworks@library.umass.edu.

# *A Near Eastern Ethnic Element Among the Etruscan Elite?*

BY JODI MAGNESS

## INTRODUCTION: THE PROBLEM OF ETRUSCAN ORIGINS[1]

*"Virtually all archaeologists now agree that the evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of the "indigenous" theory of Etruscan origins: the development of Etruscan culture has to be understood within an evolutionary sequence of social elaboration in Etruria."* [2]

*"The archaeological evidence now available shows no sign of any invasion, migration, or colonisation in the eighth century... the formation of Etruscan civilisation occurred in Italy by a gradual process, the final stages of which can be documented in the archaeological record from the ninth to the seventh centuries BC... For this reason the problem of Etruscan origins is nowadays (rightly) relegated to a footnote in scholarly accounts."* [3]

The origins of the Etruscans have been the subject of debate since classical antiquity. There have traditionally been three schools of thought (or "models" or "theories") regarding Etruscan origins, based on a combination of textual, archaeological, and linguistic evidence.[4] According to the first school of thought, the Etruscans (or Tyrrhenians = Tyrsenoi, Tyrrhenoi) originated in the eastern Mediterranean. This is based on Herodotus's testimony (Histories 1.94) that the Lydians of Asia Minor, forced by famine to leave their homeland, sailed westwards under their leader Tyrrhenus and established themselves in Etruria.[5] Other sources identify the Tyrrhenians with the Pelasgians, who had already colonized the Aegean islands of Lemnos and Imbros.[6] The second school of thought posits a northern origin somewhere across the Alps, in the region of the Danube river.[7] According to the third school of thought, based partly on the testimony of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.30.2), the Etruscans were autochthonous. The theory of an eastern origin was popular among scholars until the middle of the twentieth century, since which time the autochthonous theory has gained steadily in popularity, and is (as indicated by the passages quoted above) almost universally accepted today.

In this paper, I reconsider the origins of the Etruscans in light of the archaeological evidence and changing interpretive models. The archaeological evidence indicates that during the seventh century, small groups of Near Eastern immigrants (perhaps from different parts of the Near East) settled in southern Etruria and were assimilated with the local population.[8] These immigrants should not be confused with Near Eastern craftspeople who probably also immigrated to Etruria at this time. In contrast to the Near Eastern craftspeople, these immigrants became members of the elite in Etruria, as attested by certain features of seventh century tombs and burial customs.

## THE TRANSFORMATION OF IRON AGE ETRURIA

The Iron Age of Etruria (ca. 900-700) is usually referred to as "Villanovan."[9] Although there are signs of nucleation in the settlement pattern during this period, the characteristic feature of Villanovan culture is the use of cremation tombs, in which the ashes are contained within large biconical urns of dark impasto with incised linear decoration. The largest Villanovan cemeteries in Etruria are associated with sites that became the main cities in historical times, especially near the coast (Veii, Cerveteri, Tarquinia, Vulci, Vetulonia, Populonia).[10] During the course of the eighth century, inhumation appeared alongside cremation, and graves became richer.[11] However, around 700, the local and still quite provincial Iron Age Villanovan culture was transformed into what we refer to as Etruscan civilization.[12] Because of the heavy dose of Near Eastern influence, the seventh century is referred to as the Orientalizing period in Etruria. One characteristic feature of this period is monumental tombs containing inhumation burials with a wealth of rich grave goods.[13]

The size and wealth of these tombs indicate that they contained elite burials.[14] In fact, the largest and richest, such as the Regolini-Galassi tomb at Caere (Cerverteri), the Barberini and Bernardini tombs at Praeneste (Palestrina), and the Bocchoris tomb at Tarquinia, have been described as princely tombs (*tombe principesche*).[15] The closest parallels to these tombs, which have rock-cut burial chambers modeled after houses and were sometimes covered by earthen tumuli, are found in Asia Minor, Cyprus, and the Near East. These tombs contained a wealth of Near Eastern imports and local imitations of imports.[16]

The appearance of rich burials in monumental tombs is just one aspect of the emergence of Etruscan civilization at this time. By ca. 700, the Etruscans had adopted a modified version of the Phoenician alphabet that was used by the Greek (Euboean) settlers on Pithecoussa and Cumae.[17] Unlike Greek and Latin, however, Etruscan is not an Indo-European language; in fact, it was the only non-Indo-European language written (and perhaps spoken) in Italy in historic times.[18] Although Etruscan can be read, it is poorly understood, and there is no consensus on the language group to which it belongs or is related, which might shed light on the ethnic origin(s) of the Etruscans.[19] A sixth century funerary stele from the Aegean island of Lemnos is inscribed in a language closely related to Etruscan. Interestingly, Thucydides (4.109.4) noted that there were Tyrsenoi living on Lemnos before the island was annexed by Miltiades for Athens. Although the Lemnos inscription represents an isolated find, even Pallottino, one of the most vocal advocates of the theory of autochthonous origins, admitted that, "the similarities

between Etruscan and Lemnian are certainly remarkable when considered in light of the legends that give Lemnos as the original home of the Etruscans."[20]

Evidence for Near Eastern ethnic presence in Etruria is most strongly suggested by certain cultural features.[21] For example, the Etruscan system of divination has clear affinities with ancient Mesopotamian religious practices. The Etruscans, like many Near Eastern peoples, such as the Babylonians, interpreted the livers of sacrificed animals and the omens of thunder and lightening.[22] Parallels to Etruscan terracotta liver models come from Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Syria, Palestine, and Cyprus.[23] Although the earliest Etruscan liver models discovered to date are Hellenistic (third to second centuries), Burkert has demonstrated that the internal tradition of the *disciplinae Etruscae* must go back to the seventh century.[24] According to Burkert, the remarkably close similarities between Etruscan and Near Eastern hepatoscopy or haruspicina (liver inspection) "can best be explained as the transmission of a 'school' from Babylon to Etruria."[25] These similarities include the fact that both the Assyrian and Etruscan liver models diverge from nature in a similar way, which means they are derived not directly from observation but from a common tradition. In addition, the liver models are divided similarly into "auspicious" and "hostile" sections.[26] Burkert concluded that, "The spread of hepatoscopy is one of the clearest examples of cultural contact in the orientalizing period," and he attributed this diffusion to "migrant charismatics."[27] He also noted that Greek divination has a more visual-associative basis, whereas the "almost scholarly ballast" of the *disciplinae Etruscae* preserves more of its eastern origins.[28]

A recently-uncovered cult building at Tarquinia (called the *edificio beta*), which dates to the beginning of the seventh century, displays several Near Eastern features. These include the building's layout, the presence of what appears to be a foundation deposit (in a fossa), and the construction of the walls in a characteristically Phoenician technique consisting of ashlar masonry piers with a fill of fieldstones between them.[29] Prayon has noted that the three bronze objects found in the fossa (*a lituus*, an axe, and a shield) are symbols of power and has suggested that their political function reflects a direct Near Eastern connection.[30]

The idea of constructing monumental tombs modeled after and furnished in imitation of the houses of the living is Near Eastern in inspiration (see below). Etruscan clothing and shoes of the seventh century have Oriental prototypes, including the laced, pointed shoes (*calcei repandi*), pointed caps, and knee-length chitons.[31] Locally manufactured bronze statuettes in an Orientalizing style depict women wearing a long pigtail down their back in the Syro-Phoenician manner.[32] The parasols and fans carried by members of the Etruscan elite are paralleled in ancient Near Eastern reliefs.[33] At banquets, which are represented in Etruscan art from earliest times, men and women dined while reclining on couches (at least in southern Etruria), in contrast to Greek and Roman custom, where respectable women were seated on chairs or were excluded altogether.[34] Although the custom of reclining on a banqueting couch was adopted by the Greeks ca. 600, it originated in the Near East.[35] Just as the *kline* (dining couch) originated in the Near East, so did the idea of the permanent funerary couches found in the tombs of southern Etruria.[36] In paintings, the Etruscans are depicted banqueting at tables laden with food and wine, surrounded by musi-

cians, dancers, and servants.[37] The musicians are shown playing the Oriental flute, instead of the lyre or trumpet.[38] The Etruscans' love of luxury, which was ridiculed by ancient Greek authors, is also considered to be typically Near Eastern.[39]

Chariots with horse-trappings have been found in the seventh century princely Etruscan tombs,[40] in the tumuli at Gordion,[41] and in the so-called royal tombs at Salamis on Cyprus (together with the skeletal remains of horses).[42] Emiliozzi has identified technical devices of Assyrian origin in Etruscan chariots and carts, and noted that the funerary practice of depositing a chariot with a cart is found only on Cyprus and in Italy.[43] According to Emiliozzi, "Clear evidence for the exchange of technological knowledge between East and West is the similarity with the earliest Etrusco-Italic chariots… We can thus assume that the transmission from East to West of such a technological innovation for wheels of ceremonial chariots was immediate…"[44] Other military innovations were also adopted from the Near East.[45] Stary has noted similarities between Near Eastern and Etruscan *kardiophylakes*, round bronze shields with a central boss, daggers, clubs, horse-bits, two-wheeled chariots, and even warships of the late eighth and seventh centuries.[46] Many of the closest Near Eastern parallels come from Assyria (perhaps because this region is the source of most of the surviving weapons and representations in art).[47] Stary remarked that, "The Near Eastern influences not only stimulated the adoption of single weapon-types, but seem to have affected warfare and tactics, too… It is astonishing that Near Eastern elements were introduced in Etruria at a time when the Greeks, who had already brought their superior panoplies and phalanx-tactics with them, had founded their colonies in Southern Italy and in Sicily."[48]

The Etruscans were renowned for their sophisticated hydraulic technology. The draining of the marshy forum area in Rome is traditionally attributed to the Etruscan kings of the sixth century, and some of the oldest stretches of the Cloaca Maxima have the corbeled vaulting characteristic of early Etruscan tombs.[49] *Cuniculi*, sometimes described as "chains of wells," are perhaps the most distinctive feature of Etruscan hydraulic technology. Cuniculi were created by cutting an underground tunnel through a hillside to tap a deep aquifer. The tunnel had just enough of a downward slope for the water to run down and into the open air by gravity. Vertical shafts were dug down to the tunnel at intervals of twenty meters or so.[50] Over seventy cuniculi are known in Etruria, many of which are several hundred meters long.[51] Although this type of hydraulic system was eventually adopted by the Romans (perhaps from the Etruscans), it originated in the Near East, specifically in Iran. The Near Eastern and later Arab examples are known as *qanats, karez,* or *foggaras*.[52] Since the construction of qanats is a specialized trade, they probably spread through diffusion, instead of representing an independent development in different regions.[53] Although qanats originated in Iran, by ca. 800 they were apparently being used in Iraq.[54] They are also found elsewhere around the Mediterranean, including in Palestine, Cyprus, and Egypt.[55] Hodge has suggested that the Etruscans learned about this technology "via the Phoenicians of Carthage, *though it is not entirely sure that even they themselves knew about qanats in pre-Roman days.*"[56] It is equally possible that this technology was introduced to Etruria in the seventh century by Near Eastern immigrants. The cuniculi are concentrated in southern Etruria, the same area where the other Near Eastern features described here are located.[57]

Perhaps the most striking evidence for Near Eastern influence on Etruscan civilization in the seventh century is provided by the hundreds of imported objects made of different materials, and their local imitations. The monumental tombs of this period were filled with these items.[58] The imports include a group of Phoenician bowls, most of which come from the Bernardini and Barberini tombs at Praeneste and the Regolini-Galassi tomb at Caere.[59] One bowl from Praeneste and another from Pontecagnano bear Phoenician inscriptions, apparently referring to their manufacturers.[60] A fragmentary bronze vase of the mid-seventh century from a tomb in Falerii bears a Babylonian inscription in cuneiform script that reads, "Belonging to Nabû-iddin, son of Baniya, the *qīpu*."[61] Other Near Eastern imports include silver jugs, carved ivories, jewelry, and glass and faience vessels.[62] Some of the Near Eastern objects found in these rich tombs appear to have been the products of Orientalizing workshops in Etruria.[63] Most come from the same tombs that yielded Near Eastern imports.[64] These objects not only show Near Eastern influence in their forms and decorative motifs, but were produced using Near Eastern techniques or technologies not previously attested in Etruria. This suggests that some of the craftspeople who produced them were Near Eastern immigrants.[65] At least one of these ateliers has been described as "Cypro-Phoenician."[66] For example, a group of core-formed glass vessels of seventh century date is thought to have been produced by eastern artisans working in Etruria.[67] The use of filigree and granulation to decorate gold jewelry and gold or silver plating on figurines and vessels represent techniques that were widely employed and perfected by the Phoenicians.[68] A group of local amphorae in seventh century Italian fabric imitate Canaanite jars in form and surface treatment.[69] These amphorae were produced by local potters borrowing Phoenician models or by Phoenician immigrants living on the island of Ischia and perhaps in Etruria.[70] A few locally-produced imitations of Phoenician mushroom-lipped jugs have also been found in Etruria.[71] Depending on the type of object, its material and technology, and the specific decorative motif(s) and style used, various parts of the Near East have been cited as sources of inspiration, especially Syria-Palestine (Phoenicia and north Syria), Cyprus, Assyria, and Egypt.[72]

Some of the techniques and technologies described above could have been introduced to Etruria by Near Eastern craftspeople. Other features (such as art styles) could be attributed to influence through trading contacts. However, the evidence for Near Eastern influence on Etruscan culture is impressive in its quantity and diversity. Near Eastern influence is evident on almost all aspects of Etruscan life, including art, clothing, chariots, military equipment and warfare, hairstyles, dining habits, religion or cult, and technology (jewelry, glass, hydraulic). This influence is evident not only on aspects of Etruscan life but also in death – that is, on Etruscan tombs, as we shall see. The quantity, nature, and extent of Near Eastern influence on Etruscan culture beg the question: how much Near Eastern influence (and what type of influence) is required to establish a case for transmission via a foreign immigrant element versus trading contacts? I believe that certain features in the design and decoration of the monumental Etruscan tombs of the seventh century (especially in the area of Caere), combined with the other aspects of Etruscan culture described here suggest that some Near Eastern immigrants were buried in these tombs. These immigrants must therefore have been members of the local elite. Let us now examine the Near Eastern influence on the design and decoration of these tombs.

## MONUMENTAL ETRUSCAN AND NEAR EASTERN TOMBS OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY

Around 700, chamber tombs first appeared in Etruria (and in southern Etruria in particular). Some of the rock-cut chambers have a gabled or barrel-vaulted ceiling. In chambers where the upper part of the walls and ceiling were built, the roof could be constructed of flat stone slabs. Some consist only of a single corridor-like chamber, while others have a more spacious chamber reached by a dromos (passage). The Regolini-Galassi tomb represents a monumental variant of the latter, with its lower walls and floor cut out of rock and the walls and ceiling constructed of corbelled masonry. Some of the chamber tombs are covered with a tumulus.[73] The tumuli rest on a circular drum that was rock-cut and/or constructed of masonry. Some tumuli contain tombs of various dates, and sometimes the tumulus was constructed over existing tombs.[74] The most impressive and best preserved necropolis with tumuli is located at Caere. Prayon has distinguished a development from partly rock-cut and partly constructed passages and tomb chambers (as in the Regolini-Galassi tomb) to tombs in which the long dromos and burial chambers were completely cut out of the tufa.[75] In the earliest tombs (such as Regolini-Galassi), all kinds of furniture, implements, weapons, and food were left for the dead. By the second half of the seventh century, the interiors of the tomb chambers were being carved in imitation of houses, with imitation roof beams in the ceilings (sometimes "supported" by columns with capitals), imitation doors and windows cut into the walls, and beds, chairs, and other furnishings carved out of the tufa.[76] And whereas large tumuli predominate at Caere in the seventh century, during the sixth century smaller tomb structures become more frequent. From the mid-sixth century on, square "cube" tombs (*tomba a dado*) become common at Caere and elsewhere.[77]

Most of the monumental tombs of southern Etruria have rock-cut benches for the dead, a feature to which we shall return.[78] This reflects the fact that in southern Etruria, inhumation replaced cremation, which was the prevailing rite during the Villanovan period.[79] Some scholars have argued that these tombs represent the evolution of Villanovan fossa graves, enlarged and provided with an entrance.[80] Similarly, it has been suggested that the desire to model the tomb chamber after the house of the living should be sought among the Villanovans, who made cinerary urns in the shape of their own houses.[81] However, the size, layout, and specific elements of the design and decoration of these monumental tombs have no precedents in Etruria, and instead reflect Near Eastern influence.[82] General (and contemporary) parallels to the Etruscan tombs are found in Asia Minor, Cyprus, and in the vicinity of Van in Urartu.[83] Prayon has noted the "remarkable similarity" between tombs in Ugarit and the Regolini-Galassi tomb, with its elongated ground plan and corbeled masonry ceiling.[84]

The Tomb of the Statues at Ceri near Caere contains some of the earliest examples of monumental Etruscan sculpture and shows clear Near Eastern influence. The tomb, dated ca. 690-670, consists of two successive rock-cut chambers, which were originally entered through a dromos. It was not covered by a tumulus.[85] The inner (second) chamber had two rock-cut benches with a slightly raised parapet around the edges, one on each side

of the room. The outer (first) chamber had two seated figures carved in high relief on the side walls, facing each other across the interior of the tomb.[86] According to the excavators, both figures represent bearded, enthroned men in a hieratically frontal pose.[87] One figure holds a scepter topped with a Phoenician palmette, while the other holds a staff with a rounded top that might represent a scepter or *lituus*.[88] The feet of both figures rest on carved footstools, one of which sits on a carved plinth.[89] If the excavators are correct and the enthroned figures are both males, they did not represent the deceased laid on the two burial couches in the inner chamber, since these tombs were made for the nuclear family of husband and wife. In this case they might represent ancestors (recalling the *imagines maiorum*) or gods.[90] Other rock-cut tombs in southern Etruria were furnished with carved stone seats in the outer chamber, as in the Tomb of the Five Chairs at Caere, where terracotta seated statuettes had originally been placed on a row of chairs.[91] The outer chambers with chairs and statues recall the atrium of a Roman house, where the *pater familias* received his clients.[92] However, the reliefs in the Tomb of the Statues are Near Eastern in style and inspiration. Their frontal, hieratic pose, straight-hemmed gowns, carved footstools, and the scepter topped with a palmette have late Hittite, north Syrian, or Phoenician parallels. In fact, the appearance of monumental stone sculpture should be considered Near Eastern in inspiration.[93] Colonna and von Hase have suggested that these reliefs were carved by immigrant Syrian stonemasons who were active in the area of Caere and Bologna.[94]

Scholars have noted that many features of the monumental Etruscan tombs are paralleled in Asia Minor (Phrygia, Caria, Lydia), on Cyprus (in particular at Amathus, Tamassos, and Salamis), and in the vicinity of Van in Urartu.[95] These features include burial chambers approached by a dromos, flat or gabled ceilings carved with imitation wood beams, imitation doors and windows cut into the walls, stone benches for the dead, and earthen tumuli above.[96] These similarities have been attributed to Near Eastern influence on Etruscan culture, or at the most, to the work of immigrant craftspeople (as in the case of the Tomb of the Statues). However, I believe that several minor but highly specific elements must have been introduced directly by Near Eastern immigrants who were buried inside these tombs, and were therefore members of the local elite. The proto-Ionic capitals carved on top of the columns in some Etruscan tombs represent one such element.[97] Similar capitals are represented in ancient Near Eastern reliefs and on carved ivories, and actual examples have been found in association with monumental ashlar architecture in Iron Age Palestine.[99] Others come from seventh century contexts in Cyprus and in areas of Phoenician colonization in the western Mediterranean.[100] These include examples from the tombs at Tamassos[101] and Salamis[102] in Cyprus. Variants of these capitals were also used in buildings in western Asia Minor (including the offshore islands) dating to the first half of the sixth century.[103]

One feature of the Etruscan tombs that has been overlooked in discussions of Near Eastern parallels is the carved stone headrests on the burial benches. The only close parallels I have found for this element come from Judean tombs, especially in the region of Jerusalem and Hebron.[104] More than 100 tomb caves of the latter part of the Iron Age (eighth to sixth centuries) have been discovered in Jerusalem and its environs. They are concentrated in three areas representing three distinct cemeteries. The eastern necropolis

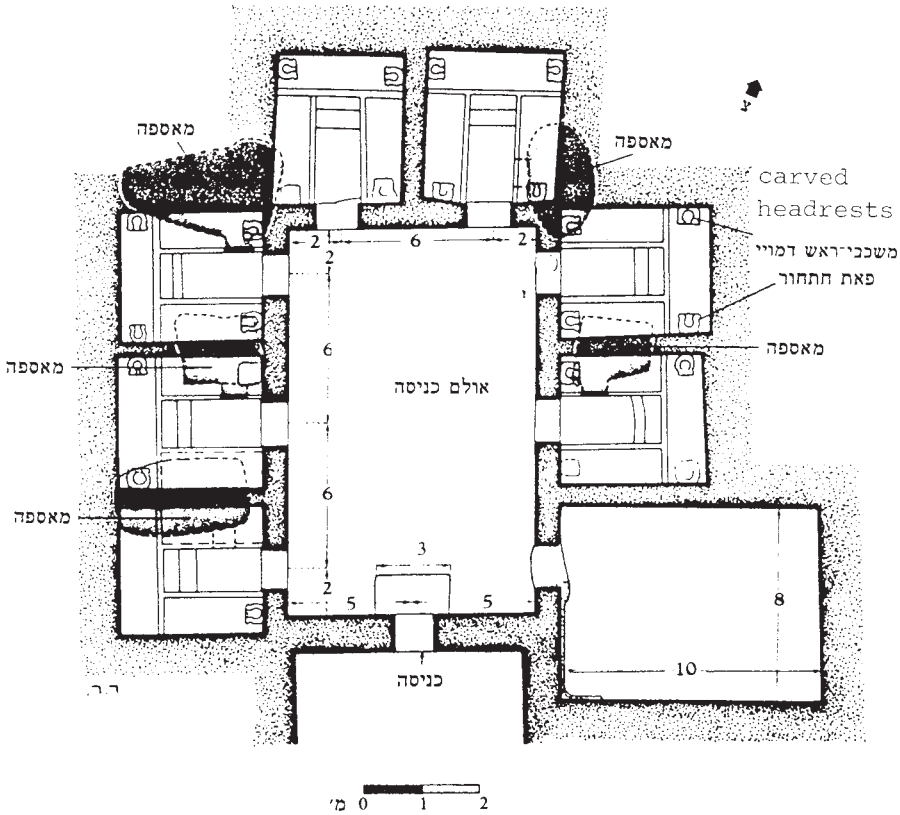


*figure 1 – Burial cave #2 at St. Étienne, Jerusalem, with headrests carved in the shape of Hathor wigs on the benches. (From Barkay [1994] 122, fig. 11).*

lies in the present-day Silwan (Siloam) village, across from the City of David; the northern necropolis is located to the north of the Damascus Gate in the Old City; and the western necropolis extends over the western slopes of the Ben Hinnom Valley, to the west of the western hill.[105] Caves that have benches with carved headrests are found in all three necropoli.[106] The best preserved examples are found in two elaborate eighth-seventh century burial caves on the grounds of the Dominican monastery of St. Étienne (L'École Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jerusalem), in the northern necropolis.[107] Both caves have a central entrance chamber surrounded by burial chambers. The chambers in these two caves have flat ceilings. Recessed panels, ceiling cornices, and door frames imitating architectural elements are carved into the stone walls of the large entrance chambers and in some of the burial chambers.[108] Most of the burial chambers have benches lining three of the walls (a few contained carved burial troughs), with a hollowed out area under each right-hand bench that served as a repository for gathered bones and burial goods.[109] The benches have a low parapet about two inches high around the outer edge, and carved headrests at the ends. The headrests are shaped like horseshoes with rounded ends. In one of the caves, the headrests are heavier and higher, with a thickened curve at the two ends that gives them the appearance of the wig typically worn by the Egyptian goddess Hathor (Fig. 1).[110] Carved

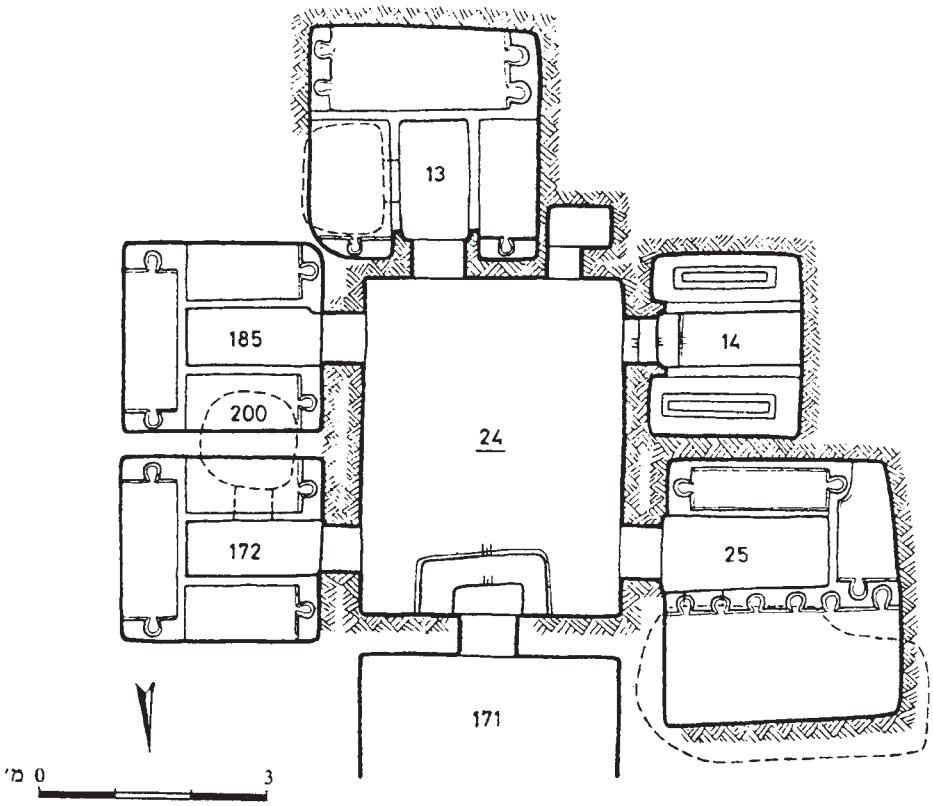


*figure 2 – Burial cave in the Ketef Hinnom Cemetery, Jerusalem, with headrests consisting of hollowed-out depressions on the benches. (from Barkay [1994] 117, fig. 5).*

headrests are also found on burial benches in the tombs in Jerusalem's eastern necropolis. They occur on benches and inside carved burial troughs; some of the tombs in which they are found have gabled ceilings.[111] Some of the benches have a low parapet around the outer edge.[112] Carved headrests are also attested in the burial caves at Ketef Hinnom, in Jerusalem's western necropolis. Instead of the raised horseshoe shape characteristic of the other Jerusalem examples, these were created by hollowing out oval depressions in the raised borders at the ends of the bench (Fig. 2).[113] One intact repository discovered in this cemetery contained the remains of about ninety-five individuals and one thousand objects (including pottery vessels and jewelry).[114] Rock-cut tombs containing benches with carved headrests have been found elsewhere around Jerusalem and Judea (Fig. 3).[115]

Carved headrests and raised parapets are found on benches in Phrygian tombs, whose rock-cut interiors have pitched ceilings with imitation beams.[116] These elements are also present in many of the tombs at Salamis.[117] However, the rectangular, pillow-shaped Phrygian and Cypriot headrests differ significantly from the semicircular Judean and Etruscan examples.[118] The Etruscan headrests are carved in low relief and tend to be C-shaped, with a more open form than the horseshoe-shaped Judean examples.[119] They can terminate in thickened, rounded ends, or in upturned ends that give them the shape

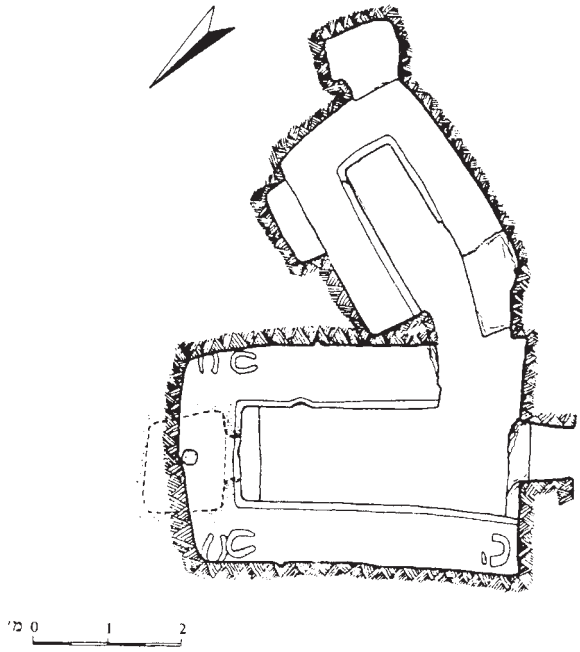


*figure 3 – Burial cave at Sova (Tsuba) outside Jerusalem, with carved headrests on benches. (From Barkay [1994] 118, fig. 6).*

of the Greek letter omega (Fig. 4).[120] Some of the benches with headrests have low parapets and/or carved bed legs (Fig. 5).[121] Headrests are even attested inside carved stone troughs, recalling those in the Silwan village in Jerusalem.[122]

A complete bed made of bronze from the Regolini-Galassi tomb shows how closely the features found on the stone burial benches in these rock-cut tombs imitate real furniture.[123] The low parapets on the stone benches mimic the wood frame of a real bed.[124] The Regolini-Galassi bed has a raised bronze strip that served as a headrest at one end. The strip is decorated in relief with a semicircle that marks the place for the head, with rosettes on either side. The ends of the strip are thickened and turned upwards.[125] In contrast, the wooden child's bed in Tumulus P at Gordion (TumP 155) had headboards and footboards, and railings along the sides, but no headrests (see below).[126]

According to Barkay, just as the benches in the burial caves are copies of the beds

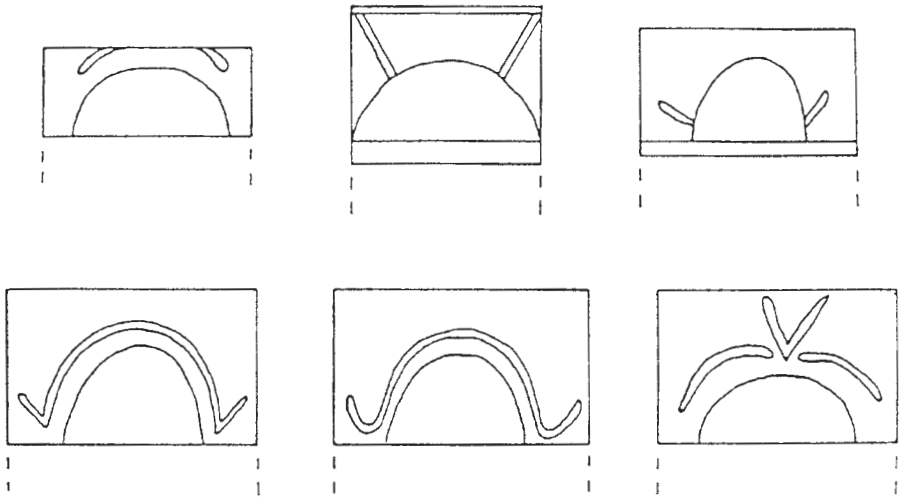

*figure 4 – Designs of carved headrests on burial benches in tombs at Caere (from Brocato [1996] 69, fig. 2).*

in houses, the carved headrests are imitations of portable headrests. These headrests were probably influenced by Egyptian prototypes (as seen especially in those shaped like a Hathor wig), and should perhaps be identified with the *rosh-mitta* ("head of the bed") referred to in Genesis 47:31.[127] The Regolini-Galassi bed is a bronze example of the kind of wood-frame bed that was common in Egypt, in which the mattress was made of a webbing of leather thongs or fiber cords woven through slots in the rails.[128] The child's bed from Tumulus P at Gordion represents this kind of bed, with interwoven narrow strips of heavy cloth stretched between the frame.[129] Because this bed is much too large for a child, the excavators suggested that it represents a full-sized version from the palace that was placed in the tomb, instead of the smaller bed or crib used by the child while alive. It is probably more representative than the king's bed of the kind of bed used by upper class Phrygians.[130] The most popular type of headrest used in Egypt consisted of a curved neck piece supported by a pillar with an oblong base, usually made of wood.[131] The headrests were used with a pad, with the body turned on its side instead of lying on its back. This was the position assumed by Middle Kingdom mummies as they lay on a headrest, facing one side of their coffins.[132] In contrast, in the case of the bed from the Regolini-Galassi tomb, the bed from Tumulus P at Gordion, and the burial benches in Etruscan, Judean, Cypriot, and Phrygian tombs, the body was laid out supine on its back.[133]

The Judean tombs reflect Egyptian influence not only in their design and interior layout, but also in the riches that were buried with those interred (which included Egyptian and Egyptianizing objects). In other words, members of the Judean elite were buried with their wealth (and with provisions of food and drink), in the manner of Egyptian rulers.[134] Similar Egyptian influence on tombs and burial customs is evident in Asia Minor, on Cyprus, and in Etruria.[135] That at least some of this Egyptian influence was spread by Phoenicians is indicated by the Phoenician style of some features of these tombs and the objects placed in them (such as the proto-Ionic capitals and window treatments).[136] As Ussishkin has noted, however, although distinctive Phoenician elements are

*figure 5 – Burial bench in tomb at Caere with carved headrest, parapet, and bed legs.*

found in these tombs, "it seems unlikely that Phoenicia was the principal source of these funerary architectural styles, especially as they were not widespread in Phoenicia itself."[137] Instead, these features were spread by the Phoenicians, who were strongly influenced by Egypt and whose culture absorbed many Egyptian elements.[138] Barkay has attributed the similarities between the tombs in Judea, Asia Minor, Cyprus, and Etruria to a *koine* of goods, knowledge, and ideas that existed during the eighth to sixth centuries.[139] There is no reason to associate the appearance of these features in Judean tombs with a foreign population, given Judea's physical proximity to and direct connections with Egypt and Phoenicia.[140] On the other hand, the population buried in the Cypriot tombs apparently included a Phoenician element that was directly or indirectly influenced by Egyptian funerary customs.[141]

## A NEAR EASTERN ETHNIC ELEMENT IN ETRURIA?

According to Barkay, the similarities between tombs located in different parts of the Mediterranean can be explained by the movement of peoples between distant cultural centers.[142] Several factors suggest that in Etruria these features should be associated with Near Eastern immigrants who were buried in the tombs and were therefore members of the local elite. The heavy dose of Orientalizing influence in seventh century Etruria has been attributed by many scholars to trading contacts with Greece and the Near East, through Phoenician or Euboean intermediaries or, in some cases, to immigrant craftspeople from the Near East. Near Eastern imports or Orientalizing influence on Etruscan objects can easily be explained by trading contacts, with imported objects furnishing prototypes for local imitations. In cases where Orientalizing objects appear to have been manufactured in Etruria using a previously unattested technology (such as the core-formed glass vessels and gold jewelry decorated with filigree and granulation), they have been attributed to immigrant craftspeople. Similarly, the reliefs in the Tomb of the Statues are thought to have been carved by Near Eastern artisans.

Greece also experienced an Orientalizing period during the seventh century; indeed, some of the Near Eastern influence on Etruscan culture has been attributed to Greek intermediaries (such as Euboean traders) or imported Greek Orientalizing objects (including the Etruscans' adoption of the Phoenician alphabet from the Greeks). However, the situation in Greece differs significantly from that in Etruria. First, whereas in Greece most of the Near Eastern imports and Orientalizing objects appear in sanctuaries, in Etruria they are found in tombs.[143] Second, the objects found in Greece and Etruria differ in type and origin.[144] As Strøm noted:

> *although Greece and Etruria to a great extent imported Near Eastern objects of the same origin... Etruria also received Near Eastern goods immediately from their place of origin and, consequently, had Near Eastern cultural relations which are not registered in Greece. The trade routes in question appear, therefore, to have by-passed Greece. These commercial relations are to the Phoenician area and are datable later than the main wave of Phoenician imports into Greece of the latter half of the 8th Century B.C.; they are from the years shortly before or*

> *after 700 B.C. They point more distinctly towards Cyprus than to any other Phoenician region, but not unquestionably to this specific island; an exact localization within the Phoenician cultural area does not seem possible to-day.*[145]

Strøm attributed the earliest Near Eastern imports found in Etruria to direct and independent contacts with the Near East, first with Syria in particular, and shortly afterwards also with Phoenicia.[146] Not until the first half of the seventh century is there evidence for Greek involvement in this trade and for Greek Orientalizing influence on Etruscan objects.[147]

In her analysis of evidence for the presence of Near Eastern immigrants in Iron Age Crete, Hoffman posed the following question: "What evidence is required to establish the residence of foreigners as distinguished from the transient visits of traders?"[148] In attempting to answer this question, she noted that, "contrary to previous assumptions, typologies of tools, dwellings, and even burial forms do not unerringly identify ethnicity."[149] Although Hoffman is convinced that people from the Near East must have been living on Iron Age Crete, she believes it is currently impossible to identify with certainty their presence in the archaeological record.[150] Hoffman demonstrates that even the Tekke Tholos tomb (to which she devotes an entire chapter), does not provide unequivocal evidence for Near Eastern ethnic presence.[151] The burial in the Tekke Tholos tomb was identified as a Near Eastern jeweler because of the nature of the grave goods, and because the manner in which those goods were buried was thought to resemble a "foundation deposit." However, the tomb itself is a reused Minoan building.[152]

Rathje has noted that "Oriental influence is much more extensive in Etruria than in Greece."[153] In fact, despite the Orientalizing style of art and architecture in the seventh century, there is no evidence in Greece for other types of Near Eastern cultural influence found in Etruria. The Oriental imports and their local imitations which flooded Etruscan markets in the seventh century were placed inside Near Eastern style tombs that have no analogs in Greece, or even in Italy outside of Etruria.[154] The Etruscan tombs not only resemble contemporary rock-cut (and tumulus) tombs in Cyprus, Asia Minor, Urartu, and Judea, but have highly specific elements that could hardly have been introduced through trade contacts. These include the proto-Ionic capitals and burial benches with parapets and carved headrests, as well as the custom of placing horse-trappings and chariots in the tombs. Similarly, Strøm has noted that metal obeloi are found in wealthy Cypriot and Etruscan tombs: "In sum, the burial customs of the early Etruscan warriors' tombs, much influenced from the Near East, make the same impression of extreme wealth as the contemporary aristocratic Cypriot tombs and agree in several traditions, particularly in the chariots and some types of vessels for the drinking ceremonies… The adoption of the Cypriot tradition of metal *obeloi* in aristocratic Etruscan banqueting customs may indicate that the Cypriot wealthy warrior elite in the late 8th B.C. formed personal contacts with their Etruscan equals, contacts which do not appear to be connected with independent trading activities."[155] These features contradict Pallottino's description of the similarities between Etruscan and Near Eastern (including Cypriot and Anatolian) tombs as being of "a rather vague and generic nature."[156]

Prayon has noted that whereas trade contacts and the movement of Near Eastern

craftspeople can account for the introduction of Near Eastern art styles and technologies to Etruria, "It is a far greater challenge, however, to explain the transfer of architectural elements, monumental building complexes or building techniques… In addition, a transfer of architectural patterns would perhaps presuppose a similarity in social structures or an almost identical ideology of power, religious beliefs, or funeral customs."[157] This observation raises an important question: can we attribute the transmission of ideologies of power, religious beliefs, or funeral customs to craftsmen? I agree with Ridgway, who is not "entirely convinced that ancient craftsmen, on their own, could transmit ideologies."[158] However, whereas Ridgway attributes the introduction of Near Eastern elements to specific requests by Etruscan "customers," I propose that they were introduced by small numbers of Near Eastern immigrants who assimilated with the native population and became members of the elite.

Who were these immigrants to Etruria and what was their place of origin? I have deliberately used the ambiguous term "Near Eastern" because it is difficult to pinpoint their place(s) of origin. As we have seen, the Near Eastern features found in Etruria reflect influence from various parts of the eastern Mediterranean. The possible sources of influence include Mesopotamia/Babylonia (divination, cuniculi, certain types of chariots, military equipment, and warfare), north Syria (the carved reliefs in the Tomb of the Statues), and Urartu (rock-cut tombs).[159] However, most of the influence seems to come from Cyprus, Asia Minor, and Syria-Palestine (primarily ancient Phoenicia but extending to Judea).[160] The cultural features found in Etruria that were probably introduced from these regions include clothing and hairstyles, banqueting while reclining, locally produced amphorae in the shape of Canaanite jars; some of the technologies used for manufacturing locally produced Orientalizing objects (including core-formed glass vessels and gold jewelry decorated with filigree and granulation), rock-cut tombs with gabled ceilings carved with imitation beams, sometimes covered with tumuli, proto-Ionic capitals, burial benches with low parapets and carved headrests, and the custom of placing horses-trappings, chariots, and metal *obeloi* in tombs. Egyptian or Egyptianizing features probably reached Etruria indirectly through these intermediaries.

It is reasonable to assume that at least some of the Near Eastern immigrants were Phoenicians. After all, many of the Near Eastern elements found on Cyprus are attributed to Phoenicians, and by this time Phoenicians were living on Sardinia and Ischia, in close proximity to Etruria.[161] On the other hand, the tomb types and burial customs that have been described here are not attested in Phoenicia. This could be due to at least two factors: 1) few Iron Age cemeteries have been excavated in Phoenicia proper; and 2) different types of tombs and different rites (cremation and inhumation) seem to have been used in Iron Age Phoenicia.[162] Phoenician art is characterized by its tendency to adapt or use foreign and especially Egyptian motifs.[163] This same eclecticism is evident in Phoenician tomb types and burial customs. The Phoenician cemetery at Achzib includes deep shaft tombs dating to the eighth to sixth centuries which have burial chambers with benches lining three walls. Other tombs at Achzib that were used from the tenth to seventh centuries consisted of rock-cut and built burial chambers entered through a shaft.[164]

Hoffman has noted that, "our use of the term 'Phoenician' has confused matters

by implying the existence of a coherent ethnic group when... the term was and frequently still is (at least in Greek archaeology) an overarching term rather loosely used to describe eastern material and the people or peoples who transported it into the Aegean."[165] In fact, the term "Phoenician" as used by modern scholars does not define a self-consciously perceived ethnic group. Instead, it is frequently used to describe any objects or cultural features thought to be of Levantine origin.[166] Based on the available evidence, it is impossible to pinpoint the origin of the Near Eastern immigrants in Etruria, though I believe it is likely there were groups from different places around the eastern Mediterranean (including Phoenicia and/or Cyprus and/or Asia Minor and perhaps north Syria or Assyria).[167]

Contemporary political events in the Near East provide plenty of opportunities for the migrations of groups to the west, though it is impossible to identify specific occasions with certainty. During the second half of the eighth century, Syria (with the Aramean states), Phoenicia, the kingdom of Israel, and the island of Cyprus were conquered by Assyria.[168] A number of scholars have suggested that the Assyrian invasions of these territories caused the migration of craftspeople to the west.[169] According to Strøm, "the historic events in the Near East resulted for Etruria in an absorption of various craftsmen working from essentially different local traditions."[170] Markoe noted that the main production of Cypriote paterae (late eighth century through the third quarter of the seventh century) coincides precisely with the period of presumed Assyrian domination.[171] He suggested that, "it is within the second half of this period (ca. 690-675 B.C.) that Cyprus exports her wares, or more probably her craftsmen, overseas to Etruria."[172] Holloway has noted that although there were Phoenicians in western waters by about 800, "their activity increased in the 7th century following the Assyrian conquest."[173] Burkert has pointed out that the Assyrian invasions intensified East-West contacts, because "now streams of refugees were mingling with the traders."[174]

## EX ORIENTE LUX

Although the question of Near Eastern immigrants in Iron Age and Orientalizing Greece has been the subject of intense debate in recent years, Etruria has been overlooked.[175] Instead, as noted at the beginning of this paper, the current consensus is that Etruscan civilization should be understood as an indigenous, autochthonous development. Although scholars readily acknowledge Near Eastern influence on the Etruscans, it has been attributed either to trading contacts or to immigrant craftspeople (individuals or small groups) working in Etruria.[176] Why is it legitimate to attribute this influence to trading contacts or the occasional immigrant craftsperson, but not to immigrants who became members of the local elite? Or, to repeat Hoffman's question, "What evidence is required to establish the residence of foreigners as distinguished from the transient visits of traders?"[177] It is easy to dismiss the evidence for Near Eastern presence in Etruria when considering the elements individually, but taken together this body of material points to a Near Eastern ethnic element among the local elite. On the other hand, the differences between the cultures of seventh century Etruria and the Phoenician colonies in the west do not indicate that there was

a massive or formal "colonization" of Etruria by Near Eastern immigrants.[178] I am also not suggesting that all of the Near Eastern elements found in seventh century Etruria were introduced by these immigrants, since some were undoubtedly transmitted through other mechanisms, including Near Eastern traders and immigrant craftspeople, as well as Greek traders and Greek Orientalizing objects.

The case of the Philistine settlement in Canaan provides a useful analogy with seventh century Etruria.[179] Biblical accounts and Egyptian reliefs provide some information on the settlement of the "Sea Peoples" along the coast of Palestine. Their route can be traced through "beachheads" that they established along the shores of the eastern Mediterranean and on the coasts of Cyprus.[180] The Philistine settlement on the southern coastal plain of Canaan is well-documented in the archaeological record. The cultural elements they introduced (and which can be distinguished in the archaeological record) include new types of pottery, tombs and burial customs, cultic buildings and objects, food (such as pork) and drinking habits (including the Aegean custom of mixing wine with water), and (still undeciphered) epigraphic remains.[181] Naturally, no single site exhibits all of the elements of Philistine material culture.[182]

Unlike the case of Etruria, the Philistine settlement in Canaan consisted of a mass migration accompanied by violent destructions.[183] However, it provides a useful parallel for examining archaeological, textual, and linguistic evidence for the arrival and settlement of a foreign ethnic element. In the context of Near Eastern archaeology, Philistine culture has been described as "the most conspicuous case of the identification of a material culture with a specific 'ethnic' group."[184] Although the exact origin of the Philistines (and other Sea Peoples) cannot be pinpointed with certainty, there is no doubt they came from somewhere (perhaps from more than one place) in the Aegean world (including Cyprus).[185] Based on the nearly universal agreement among our ancient sources and the appearance of new types of tombs and burial customs, clothing and hairstyles, dining habits, religious practices and beliefs, and technologies (as well as a wealth of imports and local imitations), is it not logical to conclude that some Near Eastern immigrants settled in southern Etruria ca. 700-650? In fact, Strong has noted that, "if the idea of a mass migration has few adherents nowadays there is still a variant suggesting that an elite element, preferably from the east, arrived to give the vital spark - *a more insidious doctrine*, hard to prove or disprove, which might very well be true."[186] His description of this idea as "insidious" - even while acknowledging it might be true - reveals a bias characteristic of modern Etruscan studies. This is so pervasive that most recent studies of the Etruscans (such as those quoted at the beginning of this paper) allow for no other possibility than that of autochthonous origins.

The reluctance of Etruscan specialists to consider the possibility that Near Eastern immigrants settled in southern Etruria during the seventh century and became members of the elite has its roots in modern intellectual attitudes. As Stager has noted:

> *Social archaeologists have usually shunned migration (and even diffusion) as an explanation of cultural change. Partly this aversion is due to an earlier generation of archaeologists who suffered from the 'Tower of Babel' syndrome in which*

> *cultural creations were thought to emanate from a single source and spread to the rest of an uncreative world... Partly this negative attitude toward migration and diffusion springs from premises of the newer archaeology in which internal developments, more often than external ones, were assumed to explain cultural change. For this cadre of archaeologists, all archaeology (like politics) is local.*[187]

The three schools of thought regarding Etruscan origins are paralleled in Greek archaeology, as summarized in Bernal's controversial work, *Black Athena*.[188] The theory of eastern origins corresponds with Bernal's "Ancient Model," according to which Greek culture arose as the result of colonization by and influence from the Egyptians and Phoenicians.[189] The theory of northern origins resembles Bernal's "Aryan Model" (which has two subtypes, the "Broad" and "Extreme" forms), according to which northern invaders overran Greece.[190] Bernal noted that these models "share one paradigm, that of the possibility of diffusion of language or culture through conquest. Interestingly, this goes against the dominant trend in archaeology today, which is to suggest indigenous development. The latter is reflected in Greek prehistory by the recently proposed Model of Autochthonous Origin."[191] The theory of Etruscan autochthonous origins parallels Bernal's "Model of Autochthonous Origin," which he also called the "Ultra-Europeanist Model."[192] Bernal noted that, "This model belongs to the isolationist or anti-diffusionist paradigm which has been dominant in archaeology and anthropology since the 1940s; its dominance seems to be related to a reaction against colonialism, of which diffusionism is clearly an academic reflex."[193] The autochthonous model also developed in response to the racial (and racist) theories of Nazi archaeologists (such as Kossinna and others), which focused on the identification of ethnic groups or peoples through material culture traits.[194]

It is probably fair to say that the most prominent advocate of the autochthonous origin model for Greece is Renfrew,[195] and for the Etruscans, Pallottino. Renfrew developed his model in response to Childe's theory of diffusion, which at the time he wrote was believed to account for the origins of Minoan and Mycenean civilization.[196] According to Renfrew, the "emergence of Aegean civilisation has to be explained in terms of the positive interactions between the various subsystems which can be detected during the third millennium."[197] In other words, Renfrew's model uses a systems framework to posit internal (cultural) developments created by a "multiplier effect."[198] Similarly, Pallottino has argued that all ancient Italic cultures developed indigenously:

> *The notion of a 'beginning,' a particular moment, is giving way to the notion of 'formation' or 'development' spread out over time. Scholars no longer pursue the will-o'the-wisp of a 'point of departure,' conceived in deterministic fashion as containing in embryo all future developments, located in the distant past, and identified either with immigrations or with the indigenous cultures... Nor is it now thought reasonable to trace the existence, for example, of a Latin or Etruscan nation or civilisation back beyond this 'point of arrival,' seeking them (as they were once sought) in far-off times and places.*[199]

According to Pallottino, Etruscan civilization developed out of the local Villanovan (and even pre-Villanovan) cultures.[200] This view, now almost universally accepted, was recently expressed by Cornell as follows: "it looks as if the Etruscan civilisation emerged directly from the Villanovan, and consequently that the people who professed the Villanovan culture in iron-age Etruria were in fact Etruscans."[201]

The main thrust of Pallottino's model is that Etruscan civilization developed indigenously and gradually.[202] That the model of autochthonous origins reflects modern world views and represents an academic reaction to colonialism (as Bernal suggested for Greece) is apparent in Pallottino's wording: "It also becomes clear that in this process an essential factor is the geographical one: the actual territory of a nation is where its formative process has taken place."[203] It is not a coincidence that the model of autochthonous origins proposed for Greece and for the Etruscans developed during a period of increasing specialization among archaeologists and other scholars working in the ancient Mediterranean world.[204] Whereas earlier generations of scholars were broadly trained in Classical and Near Eastern languages, history, texts, and archaeology, archaeologists today tend to specialize in either the Classical or Near Eastern worlds. Ironically, this is partly a result of the explosion of information due to technological advances, which has made it difficult for scholars to keep abreast of developments and publications even in their own narrow field of specialization. It is also a result of the compartmentalization of Mediterranean archaeology at North American universities, with Classical Archaeology (and archaeologists) placed in departments of Classics or Art History, Biblical Archaeology (and archaeologists) placed in departments of Bible or Religious Studies, and so on.

Twenty years ago, Cherry questioned the notion that the emergence of palatial society on Crete was the inevitable outcome of slow growth and cumulative development during the preceding Early Bronze Age (Early Minoan period). He cited three main problems with this "gradualist" view: 1) it lacks explanatory power, since time is seen as the main causal mechanism of change; 2) the gradualist view carries with it unacceptable orthogenetic concepts inherited from nineteenth century theories of social evolution; 3) the belief that change (on Bronze Age Crete) was slow and incremental is derived not so much from observed facts as from a particular philosophy of change which must be tested.[205] Archaeologists have spoken of "the evolution of Minoan society," using the word in a loose metaphorical sense to refer to gradual, incremental change from simple to complex conditions. In other words, the culture itself has been viewed as growing due to some inherent potential. Cherry described this as an "idealist position" expressed by the use of organic metaphors such as birth, growth, fluorescence, and maturity. Under this paradigm of culture change, a civilization, like an organism, is viewed as having a definite life-cycle.[207]

I believe that the same problems apply to the theory of Etruscan autochthonous origins. The kind of view described by Cherry is evident in Pallottino's descriptions of the development of Etruscan civilization: "Various ethnic, linguistic, political and cultural elements contributed to the formation of this historical reality, and this process must have occurred gradually, over a long period of time."[208] Cherry noted that Renfrew's model "has

had the effect of setting an *imprimatur* on the gradualist argument."[209] The gradualist view, which has its roots in the eighteenth and nineteenth century Darwinian notion of evolution, is taxonomic and descriptive.[210] It does not provide an explanation for observed cultural changes. Systems models are also unable to account for threshold phenomena. Although these models can go some way towards accounting for growth or changes in a culture, they do not explain its structural reordering. Instead, Cherry suggested that generalized systems models can be combined with "self-organizing systems" or catastrophe theory. The latter have been used by paleobiologists and evolutionary biologists, who have noticed evidence for long periods of stasis punctuated by the sudden appearance of new species (punctuated equilibria).[211] Such a composite model, which incorporates the concepts of variation and selection, might help explain the "quantum leap" or rapid set of linked changes that led to a social reordering and appearance of the palatial culture during the relatively short Early Minoan III/Middle Minoan I periods on Crete.[212] A similar model could help account for the emergence of Etruscan civilization. In fact, Camporeale has recently suggested that there is some truth to all three schools of thought regarding Etruscan origins.[213]

The fact that Phoenician and Euboean colonies were established on Sardinia, Ischia, and Campania but not in Etruria suggests an active opposition and the existence of a unified political entity or entities among the local population.[214] The proximity of these foreign colonies to Etruria must have had a profound social effect on the native population.[215] According to Ridgway, by the second half of the eighth century, "the Etruscans had achieved a fully formed national identity."[216] However, many of the distinctive features of Etruscan civilization appeared during the course of the seventh century. It is reasonable to assume that some of these were introduced through trading contacts (such as imported Oriental objects, imported Greek Orientalizing objects, and their local imitations), or by Near Eastern craftspeople who settled in Etruria. On the other hand, the absence of monumental rock-cut tombs with benches and many of the other cultural features discussed here from areas outside of Etruria (including on nearby Pithecoussa) suggests that they were introduced directly by Near Eastern immigrants who became members of the local elite.

The story of Demaratus of Corinth provides a historically documented (even if legendary) account of this kind of phenomenon, involving a Greek instead of a Near Easterner. Demaratus, a Bacchiad, was forced to leave Corinth when the oligarchy there was overthrown by Cypselus (ca. 657-656). As a nobleman and merchant who had visited Etruria many times before, Demaratus chose to settle in Tarquinia, bringing with him a number of craftspeople. There he married a local Etruscan noblewoman. Forty years later, one of their two sons took the name Lucius Tarquinius and became the fifth king of Rome (and the first Etruscan king of Rome).[217] The story of Demaratus is important because it attests to the absorption of a foreign immigrant into the Etruscan elite during the mid-seventh century.[218] Small groups of immigrants from different places in the Near East were presumably assimilated in a similar manner at about the same time.[219] Camporeale has described this as a "process of ethno-cultural osmosis."[220] The Etruscan elite in the seventh century thus included individuals of local, Villanovan descent and groups of immigrants of Near Eastern, Greek (and perhaps other) origins. Because of

their small numbers, these immigrants were absorbed or assimilated into the local elite.[221] The customs introduced by the Near Eastern immigrants suggest that like Demaratus, they had been members of the elite in their native countries. Perhaps they included no more than a few families who settled mainly in the area of Caere.

The debate over Etruscan origins in modern times has reflected nationalistic concerns with race and ethnicity. Because the past is immediately relevant to the inhabitants, archaeology in Europe is closely allied with history.[222] The debate about the origin of the Etruscans is due to Tuscany's location in the heart of Italy, and to the fact that the Etruscans provide an example of a bounded, continuous entity occupying an exclusive, spatio-temporal position.[223] As Jones has stated,

> *within archaeology, the past will continue to be represented as a fixed and distant monolithic reality, either encouraging simplistic and exclusive associations with particular ethnic and national groups, or alienating present-day communities altogether. The acceptance that the past is never dead, and that archaeological remains are likely to be involved in the ongoing construction of potentially diverse and fluid identities, will facilitate the development of dynamic and engaged relationships between archaeology and living communities.*[224]

Kamp and Yoffee have noted that complex social organizations (or "plural societies") include many ethnic groups that are integrated only at the highest level of organization.[225] Because individual ethnic groups are often extremely heterogeneous with regard to social status, occupations, and residential location, they have suggested that archaeologists use an approach based on particular behaviors instead of criteria of artifactual similarity.[226] The evidence for Near Eastern influence in seventh century Etruria, which includes religious beliefs and practices, clothing and hairstyles, dining habits, technologies, and tomb design and burial customs conforms to this approach. In fact, Etruscan society in the seventh century seems to illustrate Kamp and Yoffee's observation that, "The very nature of these ancient societies alerts us that 'pure cultures' never existed and that 'hybrid cultures' were the norm. One organizational principle in this cultural plurality is that of ethnicity."[227] In addition to absorbing small groups of Near Eastern immigrants, the Etruscan elite apparently adopted some of their customs and practices (some of which could have been introduced through other mechanisms such as trade) as a "currency of competition."[228] Burkert has characterized this process as "a willingness to learn from what is 'other,' what is strange and foreign."[229] The recognition of a Near Eastern ethnic element among the Etruscan elite means that they were a fluid and complex society, rather than an entirely autochthonous people who absorbed or borrowed outside influences through traded goods or occasional immigrant craftspeople.

Department of Religious Studies
Jodi Magness
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Anthony Tuck, Hanan Eshel, JP Dessel, P. Gregory Warden, Robert Littman, Donald Haggis, Aren Maeir, Louise Hitchcock, and Robert Miller for their advice and assistance with this paper. I assume sole responsibility for its contents and views. I also wish to thank Stephen Dyson for allowing me to participate on the 1999 Classical Summer School Program at the American Academy in Rome. That provided my first opportunity to visit the Etruscan necropolis at Cerveteri, where I noticed the carved stone headrests. A Faculty Research Fund Award from Tufts University enabled me to attend the 1999 Classical Summer School Program in Rome. During the initial preparation of this paper, I was supported by a Fellowship for College Teachers from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

## NOTES

1. This article employs the following abbreviations:
   Ampolo (1976-77) = C. Ampolo, "Demarato. Osservazioni sulla mobilita sociale archaica," *DialArch 9-10* (1976-77).
   Aubet (1993) = M.E. Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the West. Politics, Colonies and Trade* (New York 1993).
   Avigad (1954) = N. Avigad, *Ancient Monuments in the Kidron Valley* (Jerusalem 1954) (Hebrew).
   Barkay (1988) = G. Barkay, "Burial Headrests as a Return to the Tomb – A Reevaluation," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 14.2 (1988).
   Barkay (1992) = G. Barkay, "The Iron Age II-III," in A. Ben-Tor, ed., *The Archaeology of Ancient Israel* (New Haven 1992).
   Barkay (1994) = G. Barkay, "Burial Caves and Burial Practices in Judah in the Iron Age," in I. Singer, ed., *Graves and Burial Practices in Israel in the Ancient Period* (Jerusalem 1994) (Hebrew).
   Barkay (2000) = G. Barkay, "The Necropoli of Jerusalem in the First Temple Period," in S. Ahituv and A. Mazar, ed., *The History of Jerusalem, The Biblical Period* (Jerusalem 2000) (Hebrew).
   Barkay and Kloner (1986) = G. Barkay and A. Kloner, "Jerusalem Tombs from the Days of the First Temple," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 12.2 (1986).
   Barker and Rasmussen (1998) = G. Barker and T. Rasmussen, *The Etruscans* (Malden, MA 1998).
   Berlinerblau (1999) = J. Berlinerblau, *Heresy in the University. The Black Athena Controversy and the Responsibilities of American Intellectuals* (New Brunswick 1999).
   Bernal (1987) = M. Bernal, Black Athena, *The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization. Volume I: The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785-1985* (New Brunswick 1987).
   Bloch-Smith (1992) = E. Bloch-Smith, *Judahite Burial Practices and Beliefs about the Dead* (Sheffield 1992).
   Bonfante (1986) = L. Bonfante, "Daily Life and Afterlife," in L. Bonfante, ed., *Etruscan*

*Life and Afterlife, A Handbook of Etruscan Studies* (Detroit 1986).
Brendel (1978) = O. Brendel, *Etruscan Art* (New York 1978).
Brocato (1996) = P. Brocato, "Sull'origine e lo sviluppo delle prime tombe a dado etrusche," *StEtr 61* (1996).
Broshi, Barkay, and Gibson (1983) = M. Broshi, G. Barkay, and S. Gibson, "Two Iron Age Tombs Below the Western City Wall, Jerusalem and the Talmudic Law of Purity," *Cathedra 28* (1983) (Hebrew).
Brovarski (1997) = E. Brovarski, in D.P. Silverman, ed., *Searching for Ancient Egypt. Art, Architecture, and Artifacts from the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology* (Dallas 1997).
Brown (1960) = W.L. Brown, *The Etruscan Lion* (Oxford 1960).
Buchner (1979) = G. Buchner, "Early Orientalizing: Aspects of the Euboean Connection," in D. Ridgway and F.R. Ridgway, ed., *Italy Before the Romans. The Iron Age, Orientalizing and Etruscan Periods* (New York 1979).
Bunimovitz (1990) = S. Bunimovitz, "Problems in the 'Ethnic' Identification of the Philistine Material Culture," *Tel Aviv 17* (1990).
Burkert (1992) = W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution* (Cambridge, MA 1992).
Camporeale (1997) = G. Camporeale, "On Etruscan Origins, Again," *EtrStud 4* (1997).
Canciani and von Hase (1979) = F. Canciani and F.-W. von Hase, *La Tomba Bernardini di Palestrina* (Rome 1979).
Carter (1997) = J.B. Carter, "*Thiasos and Marzeah,* Ancestor Cult in the Age of Homer," in S. Langdon, ed., *New Light on a Dark Age, Exploring the Culture of Geometric Greece* (Columbia, MO 1997).
Cherry (1983) = J.F. Cherry, "Evolution, Revolution, and the Origins of Complex Society in Minoan Crete," in O. Krzyszkowska and L. Nixon, ed., *Minoan Society, Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium 1981* (Bristol 1983).
Cherry (1986) = J.F. Cherry, "Polities and Palaces: Some Problems in Minoan State Formation," in C. Renfrew and J.F. Cherry, ed., *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change* (New York 1986).
Colonna and von Hase (1984) = G. Colonna and F.-W. von Hase, "Alle origini della statuaria etrusca: la tomba delle statua presso Ceri," *StEtr 52* (1984).
Cornell (1995) = T.J. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome. Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars* (c. 1000-264 BC) (New York 1995).
Cressey (1958) = G.B. Cressey, "Qanats, Karez, and Foggaras," *Geographical Review 48* (1958).
Dever (1989) = W.G. Dever, "The Late Bronze-Early Iron I Horizon in Syria-Palestine: Egyptians, Canaanites, 'Sea Peoples,' and Proto-Israelites," in W.A. Ward and M.S. Joukowsky, ed., *The Crisis Years: The 12th Century B.C., From Beyond the Danube to the Tigris* (Dubuque 1989).
Dinsmoor (1975) = W.B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece* (New York 1975).
Doctor et al. (1997) = R.F. Doctor, M.B. Annis, L. Jacobs, and G.H.M. Blessing, "Early Central Italian Transport Amphorae from Carthage: Preliminary Results," *RStFen 25*

(1997).
Dothan (1982) = T. Dothan, *The Philistines and Their Material Culture* (Jerusalem 1982).
Dothan and Dothan (1992) = T. Dothan and M. Dothan, *People of the Sea, The Search for the Philistines* (New York 1992).
Emiliozzi (2001) = A. Emiliozzi, "Technical Problems Concerning Orientalizing Vehicles in Cyprus and Etruria," in L. Bonfante and V. Karageorghis, ed., *Italy and Cyprus in Antiquity: 1500-450 BC* (Nicosia 2001).
Eshel (1987) = H. Eshel, "The Late Iron Age Cemetery of Gibeon," *IEJ 37* (1987).
Hall (1997) = J.M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (New York 1997).
Harrel-Courtes (1964) = H. Harrel-Courtes, *Etruscan Italy* (New York 1964).
Hencken (1968) = H. Hencken, *Tarquinia, Villanovans, and Early Etruscans* (Cambridge, MA 1968).
Hodge (1995) = A.T. Hodge, *Roman Aqueducts and Water Supply* (London 1995).
Hodder (1991) = I. Hodder, "Archaeological Theory in Contemporary European Societies: The Emergence of Competing Traditions," in I. Hodder, ed., (New York 1991).
Hoffman (1997) = G.L. Hoffman, *Imports and Immigrants, Near Eastern Contacts with Iron Age Crete* (Ann Arbor 1997).
Holloway (1981) = *Italy and the Aegean, 3000-700 B.C.* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1981).
Jones (1997) = S. Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity, Constructing Identities in the Past and Present* (New York 1997).
Kamp and Yoffee (1980) = K.A. Kamp and N. Yoffee, "Ethnicity in Ancient Western Asia During the Early Second Millennium B.C.: Archaeological Assessments and Ethnoarchaeological Perspectives," *BASOR 237* (1980).
Karageorghis (1967) = V. Karageorghis, *Salamis Vol. 3: Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis I* (Nicosia 1967).
Karageorghis (1970) = V. Karageorghis, *Salamis Vol. 4: Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis II* (Nicosia 1970).
Karageorghis (2001) = V. Karageorghis, "Cyprus and Italy: Introductory Remarks," in L. Bonfante and V. Karageorghis, ed., *Italy and Cyprus in Antiquity: 1500-450 BC* (Nicosia 2001).
Koch-Westenholz (2000) = U. Koch-Westenholz, *Babylonian Liver Omens. The Chapters Manzāzu, Padānu and Pān tākalti of the Babylonian Extispicy Series mainly from Assurbanipal's Library* (Copenhagen 2000).
Markoe (1985) = G. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean* (Berkeley 1985).
Mazar (1992) = A. Mazar, "The Iron Age I," in A. Ben-Tor, ed., *The Archaeology of Ancient Israel* (New Haven 1992).
Moscati (1968) = S. Moscati, *The World of the Phoenicians* (New York 1968).
Muhly (1985) = J.D. Muhly, "Phoenicia and the Phoenicians," in *Biblical Archaeology Today, Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, April 1984* (Jerusalem 1985).

Pallottino (1950) = M. Pallottino, *The Necropolis of Cerveteri* (Rome 1950).
Pallottino (1975) = M. Pallottino, *The Etruscans* (Bloomington 1975).
Pareti (1947) = L. Pareti, *La tomba Regolini-Galassi del Museo Gregoriano Etrusco e la civilta dell'Italia centrale nel sec. VII A.C.* (Vatican City 1947).
Penney (1988) = J.H.W. Penney, "The Languages of Italy," in J. Boardman et al., ed., *The Cambridge Ancient History, Second Edition. Volume IV: Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean c. 525 to 479 B.C.* (New York 1988).
Prayon (1975) = F. Prayon, *Frühetruskische Grab- und Hausarchitektur* (Heidelberg 1975).
Prayon (1986) = F. Prayon, "Architecture," in L. Bonfante, ed., *Etruscan Life and Afterlife, A Handbook of Etruscan Studies* (Detroit 1986).
Prayon (2001) = F. Prayon, "Near Eastern Influences on Early Etruscan Architecture?" in L. Bonfante and V. Karageorghis, ed., I*taly and Cyprus in Antiquity: 1500-450 BC* (Nicosia 2001).
Rathje (1979) = A. Rathje, "Oriental Imports in Etruria in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.: Their Origins and Implications," in D. Ridgway and F.R. Ridgway, ed., *Italy Before the Romans. The Iron Age, Orientalizing and Etruscan Periods* (New York 1979).
Reich (1979) = J. Reich, *Italy Before Rome* (Oxford 1979).
Renfrew (1972) = C. Renfrew, *The Emergence of Civilisation, The Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millennium B.C.* (London 1972).
Richardson (1966) = E. Richardson, *The Etruscans, Their Art and Civilization* (Chicago 1966).
Richardson (1986) = E. Richardson, "An Archaeological Introduction to the Etruscan Language," in L. Bonfante, ed., *Etruscan Life and Afterlife, A Handbook of Etruscan Studies* (Detroit 1986).
Richter (1966) = *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans* (London 1966).
Ridgway (1988) = D. Ridgway, "The Etruscans," in J. Boardman et al., ed., *The Cambridge Ancient History, Second Edition. Volume IV: Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean* (New York 1988).
Ridgway (2001) = F.R.S. Ridgway, "Near-Eastern Influences in Etruscan Art," in L. Bonfante and V. Karageorghis, ed., *Italy and Cyprus in Antiquity: 1500-450 BC* (Nicosia 2001).
Ridgway and Ridgway (1994) = D. Ridgway and F.R. Ridgway, "Demaratus and the Archaeologists," in R.D. De Puma and J.P. Small, ed., *Murlo and the Etruscans, Art and Society in Ancient Etruria* (Madison 1994).
Sherratt (1998) = S. Sherratt, "'Sea Peoples' and the Economic Structure of the Late Second Millennium in the Eastern Mediterranean," in S. Gitin, A. Mazar, and E. Stern, ed., *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition, Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries BCE* (Jerusalem 1998).
Stager (1995) = L.E. Stager, "The Impact of the Sea Peoples in Canaan (1185-1050 BCE)," in T.E. Levy, ed., *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land* (New York 1995).

Steingräber (1979) = S. Steingräber, *Etruskische Möbel* (Rome 1979).
Stary (1979) = P.F. Stary, "Foreign Elements in Etruscan Arms and Armour: 8th to 3rd centuries B.C.," *PPS 45* (1979).
Stary (2000) = P.F. Stary, "Early Iron Age Armament and Warfare, Near Eastern Influences from the Aegean via Etruria to Andalucia," in D. Ridgway et al., ed., *Ancient Italy in its Mediterranean Setting, Studies in Honour of Ellen Macnamara* (London 2000).
Strøm (1971) = I. Strøm, *Problems Concerning the Origin and Early Development of the Etruscan Orientalizing Style* (Odense 1971).
Strøm (2001) = I. Strøm, "Cypriot Influences on Early Etruscan Banqueting Customs?" in L. Bonfante and V. Karageorghis, ed., *Italy and Cyprus in Antiquity: 1500-450 BC* (Nicosia 2001).
Strong (1968) = D. Strong, *The Early Etruscans* (New York 1968).
Torelli (1986) = M. Torelli, "History: Land and People," in L. Bonfante, ed., *Etruscan Life and Afterlife, A Handbook of Etruscan Studies* (Detroit 1986).
Turfa (1986) = J. MacIntosh Turfa, "International Contacts: Commerce, Trade, and Foreign Affairs," in L. Bonfante, ed., *Etruscan Life and Afterlife, A Handbook of Etruscan Studies* (Detroit 1986).
Turfa (2001) = "The Etruscans and Phoenicians of Cyprus: 8th-6th Centuries B.C.," in L. Bonfante and V. Karageorghis, ed., *Italy and Cyprus in Antiquity: 1500-450 BC* (Nicosia 2001).
Ussishkin (1993) = D. Ussishkin, The Village of Silwan, *The Necropolis from the Period of the Judean Kingdom* (Jerusalem 1993).
Young (1981) = R.S. Young, *The Gordion Excavation Final Reports, Volume I: Three Great Early Tumuli* (Philadelphia 1981).

2. Barker and Rasmussen, 1998, 44.
3. Cornell, 1995, 47.
4. For a review of the literary evidence see Hencken, (1968), 603-18.
5. Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 43. For the possible connection of the term "Tyrsenoi" or "Tyrrhenians" with the Trš.w mentioned in Egyptian hieroglyphs as one of the Sea Peoples, see Pallottino 1975, 67; Torelli 1986, 47; R.H. Tykot, "Sea Peoples in Etruria? Italian Contacts with the Eastern Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age," *EtrStud 1,* 1994, 59-83. Scholars have noted that there is a chronological discrepancy in Herodotus's account, since the Lydian migration occurred shortly after the Trojan War - that is, centuries earlier than the beginning of the Etruscan Orientalizing period. This has led some scholars to dismiss Herodotus's testimony as unreliable, while others have posited two waves of immigration from the Near East, one shortly after the Trojan War, and a second one centuries later (see for example Pallottino 1975, 74; Hencken 1968, 618, 640-41). Although the chronologies provided by ancient classical sources are notoriously unreliable, I agree with Reich that the tradition they preserve regarding an eastern origin of the Etruscans cannot be easily dismissed (see Reich 1979, 77-78). In this paper, I focus on the period beginning ca. 700. Unless otherwise indicated, all dates refer to B.C.E.

6. Hellanicus, quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 1.28; Anticleides, in Strabo 5:2, 4; see Pallottino, 1975, 64. For recent discussions of this tradition, see D. Briquel, "Pelasges et Tyrrhenes en zone Egéenne," in F. Prayon and W. Rollig, ed., *Akten des Kolloquiums zum Thema Der Orient und Etrurien, Zum Phänomen des 'Orientalisierens' im westlichen Mittelmeerraum (10.-6. Jh. v. Chr.), Tübingen, 12.-13. Juni 1997* (Rome 2000) 11-36; C. de Simone, *I Tirreni a Lemnos, Evidenza Linguistica e Tradizioni Storiche* (Florence 1996).
7. Pallottino 1975, 65; Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 43. The theory of a northern origin is based partly on the notion that the rite of cremation was introduced to Etruria by new people from the north at the transition from the Bronze Age to the Villanovan Iron Age (ca. 900); see Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 60. Other evidence that has been cited in support of this theory is the equation of the term "Rasenna" (the word the Etruscans used to describe themselves) with Raetia, as well as a passage in Livy; see Pallottino 1975, 75-78; Torelli 1986, 48; Harrel-Courtes 1964, 7-8.
8. I focus on southern Etruria because this is where the rock-cut tombs with benches and most of the other features discussed here are concentrated; also see Strøm 1971, 201, who noted that "the origin and early development of the Etruscan Orientalizing style can be restricted largely to the artistic position of Southern Etruria from the late 8th century B.C. to about the middle of the 7th century..." For the question of where in the Near East these groups originated, see below.
9. After a cemetery near Bologna; see Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 60.
10. See Pallottino 1975, 48; Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 61.
11. Pallottino 1975, 48; Reich 1979, 60.
12. See Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 118: "Whereas the earlier archaeology of Etruria can in large part be explained without recourse to moving beyond the confines of central Italy, Etruscan culture emerges now, after 700 BC, as one of the leading lights on the Mediterranean stage..."
13. Pallottino 1975, 49; Strong 1968, 21.
14. Ridgway 1988, 663-64; Rathje 1979, 177; Strong 1968, 23; Brendel 1978, 43.
15. Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 118; also see Reich 1979, 82. For the Regolini-Galassi tomb see Pareti 1947; for the Bernardini tomb see C.D. Curtis, "The Bernardini Tomb," *MAAR 3*, (1919) 9-90, and Canciani and von Hase 1979; for the Barberini tomb see C.D. Curtis, "The Barberini Tomb," *MAAR 5* (1925) 9-52; for a summary of the finds from the Bocchoris tomb and references, see Strøm 1971, 149-50. The burials in these tombs were made at different times; for summaries and references see Richardson 1966, 45-58; Brendel 1978, 439-40, nn. 47.6, 48.8. The burials in the Regolini-Galassi tomb included a woman in the cella (apparently named Larthia, according to inscriptions on several silver vases), a warrior in the antechamber, and an urn burial in a niche. The woman's burial is the earliest and richest of the three, dating to the mid-seventh century at the latest. The warrior's burial, which is the last of the three, was made ca. 625 (see Strøm 1971, 162-68).
16. Grant 1980, 38.
17. Penney 1988, 721.

18. For the suggestion that the Etruscan language represents a relic of a pre-Indo-European substratum, see Pallottino 1991, 29.
19. See Penney 1988; Richardson 1986, 215-16; Reich 1979, 79-80.
20. Pallottino 1975, 75; but see his reservations on p. 73. Also see Penney 1988, 725-26; Barker and Rasmussen 1986, 94-95; Richardson 1986, 218; VII-5; Torelli 1986, 49; Cornell 1995, 410, n. 35; M. Cristofani, "Recent Advances in Etruscan Epigraphy and Language," in D. Ridgway and F.R. Ridgway, ed., *Italy Before the Romans. The Iron Age, Orientalizing and Etruscan Periods (*New York, 1979) 391. Reich 1979, 79, noted that this inscription has been cited in support of Herodotus's theory of eastern origins. For a recent suggestion that the Lemnian alphabet represents a development independent of the Etruscans, see M. Malzahn, "Das Lemnische Alphabet: eine eigenständige Entwicklung," StEtr 63 (1999) 259-79.
21. Turfa 1986, 68; Harrel-Courtes 1964, 11-12.
22. For a recent study of Babylonian extispicy see Koch-Westenholz 2000.
23. Burkert 1992, 48.
24. Burkert 1992, 48.
25. Burkert 1992, 46.
26. Burkert 1992, 48, 50. Koch-Westenholz 2000, 38-40, and F.H. Cryer *Divination in Ancient Israel and its Near Eastern Environment, A Socio-Historical Investigation* (Sheffield 1994) 173-80, have each noted that in the Near East, the positions right and left with respect to the diviner played an important part in the reading of the entrails. Also see Henckel 1968, 599; Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 228-30; Harrel-Courtes 1964, 12-13; Richardson 1986, 222-24.
27. Burkert 1992, 51.
28. Burkert 1992, 51.
29. See Prayon 2001, 336-39. For an example of this construction technique in a Phoenician context, see I. Sharon, "Phoenician and Greek Ashlar Construction Techniques at Tel Dor, Israel," *BASOR 267 (*1987), 21-42.
30. Prayon 2001, 343. Other evidence for Near Eastern cult in Etruria comes from Pyrgi, the main port of Caere. In the first half of the sixth century, two temples dedicated to Astarte-Uni and Apollo-Suri were erected in a sanctuary at the site. Excavations in the sanctuary brought to light three sheets of gold, two inscribed in Etruscan and one in Phoenician. These plaques document the establishment of the cult of Astarte at this site by the king of Caere; see Reich, 1979, 80-81; E. Acquaro, "Phoenicians and Etruscans," in S. Moscati, *The Phoenicians* (New York, 1988) 533-34.
31. Bonfante 1986, 259; Harrel-Courtes 1964, 11.
32. Brendel 1978, 91. For a woman depicted in this manner in one of the Boccanera plaques, see E. Macnamara, *The Etruscans* (Cambridge, MA 1991) 68. Richardson has also discussed the "Syrian braid" worn by these female figures, one of which she described as follows: "One of the first of these Etruscan figures is a small votive bronze from Arezzo... The hair is very elaborately dressed; the back part is drawn into a heavy braid that forms a hump on the shoulders and hangs to the hem of the skirt; the front is brushed forward in a bang from a transverse parting that runs from ear to ear over the

crown, while a corkscrew curl on either side of the face in front of the ear hangs to the shoulder. This arrangement of the hair is, again, Syrian... Such an arrangement is never found in Greece; its appearance on this little bronze and others from Etruria looks like more than a simple copy of an Oriental object. It is too carefully reproduced with too much understanding to be anything but a contemporary Etruscan fashion. *And if Etruscan ladies of the mid-seventh century were wearing their hair as Syrian ladies did somewhat earlier - the Syrian ivories from Nimrud are dated between the end of the ninth and the end of the eighth centuries - it looks as though they must have learned the fashion in the East and brought it with them as part of their heritage."* (Richardson [1966] 60-61; my emphasis).

33. Turfa 1986, 68.
34. Richter 1966, 93, noted that "The greater freedom of the Etruscan women in this respect is paralleled by Egyptian practice."
35. Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 248; Karageorghis 2001, 4. According to Collon, "The reclining banquet probably spread eastwards from Syria to Assyria and westwards into Anatolia and the Greek world, where it is first attested about 600 BC, and it came to be associated with the funerary meal." (D. Collon, "Banquets in the Art of the Ancient Near East," *Res Orientales 4* [*Banquets d'Orient*], 1992, 28). Also see I. Malkin, *The Returns of Odysseus, Colonization and Ethnicity* (Berkeley 1998) 167: "It is true that the idea of the banquet need not have reached the Etruscans via the Greeks and that the Etruscan "*symposion*" probably did not express a Greek social frame of reference. In the Near East the reclining banquet was well known, and it is possible that the Phoenicians were its cultural agents." For a discussion of the similarities and connections between the Phoenician/Syro-Palestinian *marzeah* and the Cretan and Spartan *syssitia*, see Carter 1997.
36. Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 249; see below.
37. Bonfante 1986, 233-34.
38. Harrel-Courtes 1964, 12.
39. Harrel-Courtes 1964, 12; Bonfante 1986, 235.
40. See for example Pareti 1947, pl. 25. Ampolo 1976-77, 337, noted the significance of these chariots as markers of social status.
41. For a miniature bronze quadriga from Tumulus P, see Young 1981, 21-26; for horse trappings and a horse burial from other tumuli, see E.L. Kohler, *The Lesser Phrygian Tumuli, Part I: The Inhumations* (Philadelphia 1995) 75-76, 80-81.
42. See J.D. Muhly, "Cyprus," in E.M. Meyers, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East, Volume 2* (New York 1997) 94; Karageorghis 1967, 10, 22, 31, 50, 78, 86, 117-19.
43. Emiliozzi 2001, 316.
44. Emiliozzi 2001, 318-19.
45. Turfa 1986, 68; Markoe 1985, 80.
46. Stary 1979, 189-90; Stary 2000, 215.
47. Stary 2000, 213.
48. Stary 1979, 190-91. Turfa has noted that the closest parallels to Etruscan dentistry skills

are found in Phoenicia; see Turfa 1986, 250-51. However, according to a recent study by Becker, the Etruscans invented dental prostheses (see M.J. Becker, "The Valsiarosa Gold Dental Appliance: Etruscan Origins for Dental Prostheses," *EtrSt* 6 [1999] 45). It has even been suggested that the concept of the city-state (*polis*) was introduced to Etruria by the Phoenicians; see Turfa 1986, 68.

49. Strong 1968, 14.
50. Hodge 1995, 20; also see Cressey, 1958, 27.
51. Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 197.
52. Cressey 1958, 27.
53. See Cressey, 1958, 29. Hodge 1995, 21-22, is cautious: "As for the Etruscans, it must remain unclear whether their *cuniculi* were derived from the qanat or an independent development."
54. Cressey 1958, 41.
55. At least some of these examples date to the Roman and Islamic periods; see Cressey 1958; Hodge 1995, 21; U. Avner and J. Magness, "Early Islamic Settlement in the Southern Negev," *BASOR 310* (1998) 46-49.
56. Hodge 1995, 22; my emphasis.
57. See Strong, 1968, 14; Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 197. Hodge's observation that qanats are a by-product of mining is interesting because a wealth of metal ores formed the basis of Etruria's prosperity (Hodge 1995, 22). In southern Etruria, the La Tolfa region behind Caere is rich in deposits of iron, copper, and argentiferous lead; see Strong 1968, 13. Burkert 1992, 12, has noted that the trade in ores was crucial to contacts between the Etruscans, Phoenicians, and Greeks: "the Phoenician route via Cyprus to Carthage and then to Sardinia had to compete with that of the Greeks from Euboea via Ithaka to Pithekoussai."
58. Rathje 1979, 177. There is an enormous amount of literature on these imports and their imitations. Here I cite only a few. For native bucchero pottery with Near Eastern and Greek influence, see Ridgway 1988, 663; Brendel 1978, 47, 49-51, 82.
59. Markoe 1985, 11, 27, 141. For a recent reconsideration of these bowls, see Strøm 2001, 367, who believes they were imported from Phoenicia, not manufactured in Etruria.
60. Markoe 1985, 72; Turfa (2001) 278.
61. See M. Cristofani and P. Fronzaroli, "Un'iscrizione cuneiforme su un vaso bronzeo da una tomba di Faleri," *StEtr 39* 1971: 313-31.
62. Markoe 1985, 91-98; Strøm 1971, 113-37; Rathje, 1979.
63. There were also Near Easterners at Pithecoussa, on the island of Ischia; for example, Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 119, refer to "a mixed community of Greek and Phoenician traders"; also see Markoe 1985, 145, n. 278; and see below.
64. Markoe 1985, 129. These rich tombs and their contents (and by way of extension, the workshops that produced some of the objects) are dated to the seventh century, especially the first half of that century; see Strøm 1971, 171; Markoe 1985, 146, 154-55; Reich 1979, 82.
65. Karageorghis 2001, 5; Markoe 1985, 138, 144, 146-48; Strøm 1971, 216. Karageorghis 2001, 7, also notes that "the Cypriots and the Etruscans were sharing the same Greek

myths in the 7th century B.C."

66. Markoe 1985, 148. For Syro-Phoenician influence on Etruscan akroteria from Acquarossa, see Ridgway 2001, 354-57.
67. Markoe 1985, 97.
68. Prayon 2001, 346; Markoe 1985, 129. Other examples include silver and bronze objects (such as kotylai, cistae, paterae, and belt ornaments), and ivory plaques.
69. Turfa 1986, 67. Recent analyses of examples from Carthage suggest an origin on the island of Ischia and in northern Etruria; see Doctor et al. 1997.
70. See Doctor et al. 1997, 28, n. 35; 57. At Carthage these amphorae are found in levels dating from ca. 760 to the second quarter of the seventh century (Doctor et al. 1997, 55). Their initial production thus antedates most of the other cultural features and Near Eastern influence discussed here.
71. See Turfa 2001, 277; M.N. Sodo, "Un alabastron etrusco-fenicio da Cerveteri," *RStFen 27*, 1999, 37-42.
72. See Strøm 1971, 202-05. Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 256, have suggested Assyrian prototypes for a depiction of dead soldiers being decapitated by their victors while vultures peck at other parts of their anatomy; also see Brendel 1978, 59, 66.
73. Hencken 1968, 594. For a basic study of Etruscan tombs see Å Åkerström, *Studien uber die Etruskischen Gräber, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Entwicklung des Kammergrabes* (Uppsala 1934).
74. Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 120-21.
75. Prayon 1986, 180.
76. Prayon 1986, 182.
77. Prayon 1986, 185; Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 281-82. For the parallels between these tombs and a group of monolithic tombs in the Silwan village in Jerusalem, see Avigad, 1954, 29-30; for a more recent discussion of the Silwan tombs see Ussishkin (1993).
78. Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 121; Hencken 1968, 594. For the distribution of benches in seventh century Etruscan tombs see Steingräber 1979, 8. It has been suggested that benches in Etruscan tombs were used for male burials, whereas females were laid in carved burial troughs; see Steingräber 1979, 140, with references in n. 7.
79. Although inhumation had appeared during the later Villanovan phases and cremation continued to prevail in northern Etruria; see Pallottino 1975, 72; Barker and Rasmussen 1975, 122.
80. Hencken 1968, 595; Pallottino 1975, 71-72; Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 123.
81. Prayon 1986, 180.
82. Prayon 2001, 343-44 (on p. 344, Prayon expresses the opinion that "Etruscan tomb architecture seems to be primarily indigenous," but notes at least two features that "could be" inspired by Near Eastern models; Prayon 1986, 174.
83. See Hencken 1968, 596; Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 249.
84. Prayon 1986, 176.
85. Colonna and von Hase 1984, 18-24, 29. Prayon 1975, 108, cites a date around the mid-seventh century.
86. Colonna and von Hase 1984, 23.

87. According to Anthony Tuck (personal communication), the fact that the figure seated on a raised platform is smaller than the other suggests it is a woman. In this case, the statues could represent the husband and wife who were presumably buried inside the tomb. This same conclusion has now been published by Prayon in an article to which I did not have access before this paper went to press, but which is cited by Ridgway 2001, 353; F. Prayon, "Die Anfänge grossformatiger Plastik in Etrurien," in *Archäologische Untersuchungen zu den Beziehungen zwischen Altitalien und der Zone nordwarts der Alpen während der frühen Eisenzeit Alteuropas* (Regensburg 1994). Nevertheless, Ridgway, 2001, 353, sees "no reason to deny either that the specific iconography of the statues at Ceri depends on Syrian models…"
88. Colonna and von Hase 1984, 30-34.
89. Perhaps indicating a distinction in status between the two figures; Colonna and von Hase 1984, 34.
90. Colonna and von Hase 1984, 37-8; Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 128.
91. Colonna and von Hase 1984, 38, 55-57; Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 127. These rock-cut seats are stone imitations of the kind of wooden chair or throne found, for example, in the Regolini-Galassi tomb; see Steingräber, 1979, 22-34; Richter, 1966, 98-101; Prayon 1975, 109; pl. 58:1.
92. Colonna and von Hase 1984, 38; Prayon 1975, 109-12.
93. But see F. Prayon, "Aspekte zum Thema 'Kunst und Handwerk,'" in F. Prayon and W. Rollig, ed., *Akten des Kolloquiums zum Thema Der Orient und Etrurien, Zum Phänomen des 'Orientalisierens' im westlichen Mittelmeerraum (10.-6. Jh. v. Chr.), Tübingen, 12.-13. Juni 1997* Rome 2000: 109: "So ist die alteste Grabplastik nicht, wie fruher angenommen, ein orientalisierendes Phänomen, sondern schon in der Villanovazeit vorgepragt; dasselbe gilt fur den Grabtypus des Tumulus, dessen orientalisierendes Element nicht seine Form, sondern seine Monumentalität ist…"
94. Colonna and von Hase 1984, 47-48, 52, 54; also see Ridgway and Ridgway 1994, 8; 14 n. 26. The carved figures in the Tomb of the Statues recall a ninth-eighth century tomb at Tell `Aitun in Palestine (west of Hebron). This two-chambered rock-cut tomb has five arcosolia cut into the side and rear walls. Crude lions (and perhaps bulls) were carved in relief on the walls flanking the entrances to the tomb chambers and the arcosolia. This is apparently related to the contemporary Syro-Hittite custom of depicting lions and bulls guarding the entrances to gates, palaces, and temples; see G. Edelstein, D. Ussishkin, T. Dothan, and V. Tzaferis, "The Necropolis at Tell `Aitun," *Qadmoniot 15* (1971) 88-89 (Hebrew); Barkay 1994, 134-35.
95. The similarities between Etruscan and Judean tombs (except for the carved headrests) have been noted by number of Israeli archaeologists; see for example Avigad 1954, 26, 29-31; Ussishkin 1993, 316; Barkay 1994, 158-60.
96. For a discussion and references see Ussishkin 1993, 303-16. Karageorghis 1967, 121-24, noted that whereas tumuli are common in Anatolia (for example, at Gordion), they are very rare on Cyprus. He suggested that the built tombs at Tamassos might represent "stone versions of Phrygian tombs" (p. 123), reflecting an Anatolian influence on Cypriot tomb architecture.

97. See for example the Tomb of the Capitals at Caere, illustrated in Pallottino 1950, 25.
98. See Dinsmoor 1975, 61.
99. At Dan, Hazor, Megiddo, Samaria, Jerusalem, (the City of David), Ramat Rahel, Medebiyeh (in Moab), and perhaps at Gezer; see Barkay 1992, 317-19.
100. Barkay 1992, 319.
101. A. Westholm, "Built Tombs in Cyprus," *OpArch* 2, 1941, 37.
102. Karageorghis 1970, pl. 92:A-B.
103. See Dinsmoor 1975, 61-63; pl. 18.
104. Hanan Eshel has pointed out to me that the carved headrests and proto-Ionic capitals are concentrated mostly in the area of Jerusalem and reflect Phoenician influence on Judean culture. Outside Jerusalem, these elements are found only in contexts dating to the very end of the Iron Age (early sixth century); see W.G. Dever, "Iron Age Epigraphic Material from the Area of Khirbet el-Kom," *Hebrew Union College Annual 40-41*, 1969-70, 139-204; Eshel 1987, 16; H. Eshel and A. Kloner, "A Late Iron Age Tomb between Bet Hanina and Nebi Samwil, and the Identification of Hazor in Nehemiah 11:33," *Eretz-Israel 21*, 1990, 37-40 (Hebrew); Broshi, Barkay, and Gibson 1983, 26-27, with references.
105. Barkay 1992, 370-71.
106. For other parallels between the tombs in the eastern necropolis (Silwan village) and Etruscan tombs, see Avigad 1954, 29-31; Ussishkin 1993, 316.
107. Barkay 1992, 371.
108. For carved ceiling cornices in Judean tombs see Barkay and Kloner 1986, 17-18. The double ceiling cornices found in some of these tombs are paralleled in Urartu and Phyrgia; see Barkay and Kloner 1986, 29; Barkay 2000, 257. According to JP Dessel (personal communication), the distribution of these features suggests they belong to a suite of Near Eastern elite/prestige mortuary markers that extended beyond Phoenicia and the Levant.
109. Barkay and Kloner 1986, 30; G. Barkay, A. Mazar, and A. Kloner, "The Northern Cemetery of Jerusalem in First Temple Times," *Qadmoniot* 30-31, 1975, 71-76 (Hebrew).
110. Barkay and Kloner 1986, 29-36.
111. Ussishkin 1993, 99-103; ills. 77, 269, 277-79. Carved headrests are also found inside troughs in a tomb just outside the western wall of Jerusalem's Old City; see Broshi, Barkay, and Gibson, 1983, 18-19. Barkay has noted that carved burial troughs and gabled ceilings represent Egyptianizing features that are also found in tombs in Cyprus, Asia Minor, and Etruria; see Barkay 2000, 250; 1994, 156.
112. Ussishkin 1993, 279.
113. Barkay 1988, 49-50; 1994, 117. For similar headrests in two tombs just outside the western wall of Jerusalem's Old City (which belong to the western necropolis), see Broshi, Barkay, and Gibson 1983.
114. Barkay 1992, 371.
115. Barkay 1994, 150-51. For references see Barkay 1988, 50, n. 1; Ussishkin 1993, 301, including n. 24; Broshi, Barkay, and Gibson 1983, 26-27; Bloch-Smith 1992, 42, with

references to carved parapets, headrests, and other features; also see pp. 46-47. For carved parapets in Iron Age tombs in Palestine see Eshel, 1987, 15. For Iron Age tumuli in Judea see Barkay 1994, 159. For typologies of rock-cut tombs in Iron Age Palestine see S. Loffreda, "Typological Sequence of Iron Age Rock-Cut Tombs in Palestine," *Liber Annuus* 18, 1968, 244-87; Eshel 1987, 13-15; Bloch-Smith 1992.

116. See C.H.E. Haspels, The Highlands of Phrygia, Sites and Monuments, Volume 2 (Princeton 1971) pls. 56; 542:5-6 (the "Triclinium" Tomb); Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 249; Ussishkin 1993, 309-12.
117. See Karagheorghis 1970, 11, 25, 27, 33, 36, 38, 39, 43, 55, 61, 92, 111, 121, 133, 139, 143, 146, with references to figure and plate numbers.
118. For pillow-shaped headrests in Judea see Bloch-Smith 1992, 42.
119. For examples see Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 235, fig. 89; Prayon 1975, 67, fig. 12; 70, fig. 13; Pallottino 1950, 25. Similarly, Turfa 2001, 279-80, has noted small differences in details between the design of Phoenician and Etruscan furniture.
120. See Steingräber 1979, 8; Brocato 1996, 69; fig. 2; pls. 17-19.
121. See Steingräber 1979, 8; Richter 1966, 91-92; Brocato 1996, pls. 17-19. For stone couches with carved legs at Salamis see Karageorghis 1970, 30.
122. See Pallottino 1950, 29.
123. See Pareti 1947, 285-86; pl. 30, no. 236. A poorly preserved iron bed comes from a tomb at Marsiliana d'Albegna; see Richter 1966, 92; Steingräber 1979, 8, n. 11. The Regolini-Galassi bed provides a prototype for Steingräber's Kline Type 1a, dated from the mid-seventh century to the beginning of the sixth century, (Steingräber 1979, 8, 139-40).
124. And perhaps prevented the body and burial gifts from rolling off the bench, as suggested by Barkay 1986, 29, and Bloch-Smith 1992, 149.
125. See Pareti 1947, pl. 30.
126. Young 1981, 70-71, 187-90; and see below. It has been suggested that the male buried inside Tumulus MM is an earlier ruler than Midas, perhaps his father; see M.M. Voigt, "Gordion," in E.M. Meyers, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East,* Volume 2, (New York 1997): 430.
127. Barkay 1988, 50; 1994, 156. For the suggestion that the headrests are of Mesopotamian inspiration and symbolize the womb of mother earth, see O. Keel, "The Peculiar Headrests for the Dead in First Temple Times," *Biblical Archaeology Review 13.4*, 1987): 50-53.
128. See Brovarski 1997, 184. For a portable wooden bed from the tomb of Tutankhamum see I.E.S. Edwards, *Tutanhkhamun: His Tomb and Its Treasures* (New York 1976) (no page number).
129. The wooden planks from Tumulus MM that Young 1981, 189-90, 260, discusses, which were originally identified as the remains of the king's bed, have now been identified as a coffin; see E. Simpson and K. Spirydowicz, *Gordion, Wooden Furniture* (Ankara 1999) 51; fig. 57. I am grateful to Elizabeth Simpson for bringing this reference to my attention.
130. Young 1981, 260.

131. Brovarski 1997, 184; 222, n. 71; also see E. Strouhal, *Life of the Ancient Egyptians* (Norman 1992) 71, fig. 73. For an example of an elaborately carved and decorated ivory headrest from the tomb of Tutankhamun see Edwards, 1976, (no page numbers).
132. Brovarski 1997, 184.
133. For examples of skeletons found lying on the benches inside the tombs at Salamis see Karageorghis (1970) 112; pl. 171:3. For Judean tombs see Bloch-Smith 1992, 48, 149.
134. Barkay 1994, 157.
135. Barkay 1994, 155.
136. Ussishkin 1993, 314.
137. Ussishkin 1993, 319. Of course, this picture might be skewed by the dearth of archaeological evidence from Phoenicia proper.
138. Ussishkin 1993, 319.
139. Barkay 1994, 160.
140. Barkay 1994, 160; Ussishkin (1993) 319.
141. Barkay 1994, 158; but see Ussishkin 1993, 317, who states that these funerary architectural styles "appear to have reached Etruria from Asia Minor, together with other cultural influences brought from there. Karageorghis assumes that Cyprus, too, was subjected to influences from Asia Minor. The main source of inspiration, though not the only one, was undoubtedly Egypt."
142. Barkay 1994, 160.
143. Strøm 1971, 203-04; Hoffman 1997, 257-58; Rathje 1979, 179.
144. Strøm 1971, 203-05.
145. Strøm 1971, 205.
146. Strøm 1971, 212; also see Rathje 1979, 179; Burkert 1992, 17. This view has recently been reconfirmed by Ridgway 2001, 351: "…monumental art began in Etruria in the early, and not in the late, 7th century B.C., with strong suggestions that for all three arts involved, namely architecture, sculpture and painting, the first impulse and quite probably the artists themselves reached Italy from the Near East, rather than from (or through) Greece." On the other hand, Buchner 1979, 138, finds Strøm's arguments that some of the Oriental and Orientalizing objects in Etruria were imported directly from the Near East or made by immigrant craftspeople "too thin to be convincing." He believes that these objects were imported through the mediation of the Greek colonies of Pithecoussa and Cumae.
147. Strøm 1971, 206, 213.
148. Hoffman 1997, 5.
149. Hoffman 1997, 11; also see Hall 1997, 111-13.
150. Hoffman 1997, 17, 255. For another aspect of Near Eastern influence on Iron Age Crete see Carter, 1997.
151. Hoffman 1997, 191-245.
152. Hoffman 1997, 191. For possible Near Eastern burials at Arkades, see Hoffman 1997, 165-72. In her discussion of the Tekke Tholos tomb, Hoffman overlooked possible evidence of a foundation deposit from one of the seventh century tombs at St. Étienne in Jerusalem, described as follows by Barkay and Kloner 1986, 29: "The original 1885

excavation report includes a curious item. The excavators state that they found a metal box in a pit in the rear part of the entrance chamber. It was decorated with garlands and human figures in relief. Unfortunately, we could not examine this box; it has disappeared from the archaeological collection of the Dominican fathers. According to the excavation report, the box contained animal and bird bones. It is too bad this box and its contents have been lost because from it we might have learned a great deal about burial customs, as well as about art of the period. The box may even have contained a foundation deposit buried in the entrance chamber when it was originally hewn."

153. Rathje 1979, 147.
154. Richardson 1966, 51.
155. Strøm 2001, 371.
156. Pallottino 1975, 73, referring to "tumuli, chamber tombs, rock facades, etc." The concentration of many of the Near Eastern elements discussed here (such as the carved stone headrests) in southern Etruria and especially in the area of Caere also does not fit Renfrew's criteria for peer polity interaction, one of which is that "The observed features will not be attributable to a single locus of innovation (at least not in the early phases of development) but, so far as the chronological means allow, will be seen to develop within several different polities in the region at about the same time." See C. Renfrew, "Introduction: Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change," in Renfrew and J.F. Cherry, ed., *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change* (New York, 1986) 8.
157. Prayon 2001, 335.
158. Ridgway 2001, 352.
159. According to Brown 1960, 1; 27, n. 1, an almost complete absence of Egyptian influence distinguishes Phoenician art styles from north Syrian styles, which instead show strong Hittite survivals.
160. Ridgway 1988, 659, noted that "it is not a coincidence that the two strands of the Orientalizing movement in early Etruscan art have been defined as the Syrian and Phoenician, and still less that they are intertwined to a particularly inextricable degree."
161. For Phoenician presence on Cyprus and Ischia see Ridgway 1988, 657; Moscati 1968, 103-10; Aubet 1993, 42-45; Holloway 1981, 141; Muhly 1985, 182-83, 185; W. Culican, "Almuñécar, Assur and Phoenician Penetration of the Western Mediterranean," Levant 2, 1970, 34. For Sardinia see P. Bernardini, "La Sardegna e i Fenici. Appunti sulla colonizzazione," *RStFen 21* (1993) 29-81; Moscati 1968, 206-29; Aubet 1993, 138-39, 203-07, 313-16. I do not include the Nora stele, because no matter which chronology is followed, it is earlier than the period under consideration here. Aubet 1993, 139, described Kition as a "bridgehead" for Phoenician expansion to the west.
162. See P. Bienkowski, "Some Remarks on the Practice of Cremation in the Levant," *Levant* 14 (1982) 85.
163. Hoffman 1997, 14.
164. M.W. Prausnitz, "Achzib," in E. Stern, ed., *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (New York 1993) 34. Some of the eighth century tombs at Achzib are cists with gabled ceilings, lined with ashlar masonry; see Bloch-Smith

1992, 29, 41; E. Mazar, "Achzib," in E. Stern, ed., *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (New York 1993) 35. Other types of graves at Phoenician sites along the coast include simple graves and jar burials (Bloch-Smith [1992] 57). According to Bloch-Smith 1992, 55, "Phoenicians cremated and inhumed their dead at sites along the coast from Khalde in the north to Tell er-Ruqueish in the south and at Tell el-Farah (S)."

165. Hoffman 1997, 9.
166. Hoffman 1997, 15.
167. See Hoffman 1997, 254, on the problem of distinguishing the origins of Near Eastern craftspeople in the Aegean. For the problem of distinguishing Phoenician imports from objects made by resident Oriental craftspeople see Muhly 1985, 183. Ridgway 1988, 663, noted that "These master craftsmen cannot possibly be distinguished satisfactorily into Etruscan 'natives' and oriental 'guest-workers.'" Similarly, in her discussion of the settlement of the Sea Peoples in Palestine, Sherratt has noted that, "I am not sure that it really matters where the people that we conventionally call the 'Sea Peoples' came from. They were probably a pretty cosmopolitan bunch, as many of the coastal city dwellers of the east Mediterranean were throughout much, at least, of the second half of the 2nd millennium." Sherratt views the Sea Peoples as a "structural phenomenon" connected with the expansion of the Phoenicians in the first millennium (Sherratt, 1998, 307). For more on the Sea Peoples, see below.
168. Brown 1960, 1-2. For Phoenicia see Moscati 1968, 18-23; Aubet 1993, 46-49.
169. Brown 1960, 2; Strøm 1971, 216; Burkert 1992, 21; Prayon 2001, 347. Richardson 1966, 44-45, suggested that "an actual shift of population" took place. It is impossible (at least on the basis of the currently available evidence) to identify any one historical event that might have caused the settlement of Near Eastern immigrants in Etruria, just as it is impossible to pinpoint a single place of origin.
170. Strøm 1971, 216.
171. Markoe 1985, 8; Cypriot stone sculpture also exhibits Assyrian influence.
172. Markoe 1985, 155.
173. Holloway 1981, 137.
174. Burkert 1992, 13.
175. For the Aegean see Hoffman 1997.
176. See for example Turfa 2001, 279: "We know there must have been Phoenician technical advisers, as well as Phoenician ghettoes in Etruscan ports, fostering an intensification in the process of urbanization and providing materials and Eastern designs with which to implement this"; Prayon 2001, 347: "An additional observation involves the date of about 700 B.C. as coinciding with intensive political pressure by Assyria on the people living along the Levantine coast which may have triggered the emigration of Eastern artists and craftsmen in search for a new home far to the west"; Holloway 1981, 141: "The impact of Ischian trade and the Phoenician trade, which may at times have been carried on the same ships from the same ports or competed from its own bases, was to create the Italic and Etruscan orientalizing period"; Rathje 1979, 179: "Why did the Greek and Phoenician colonists stop short of Etruria, the former to the south and the latter to the

west? Probably the answer is simply that by the eighth century B.C. the Etruscans were sufficiently well organized to resist direct colonization"; Strong 1968, 23: "Prosperity was due mainly to the successful exploitation of the mineral resources of the country which drew the Greeks, through their Italian colonies, and other oriental traders into contact with Etruria and provided vital stimuli for the development of Etruscan civilization"; Cornell 1995, 45: "As far as the archaeological evidence goes, this social, economic and political transformation was internally generated, though undoubtedly stimulated by contacts and exchange with the outside world." For an argument in favor of Near Eastern presence in Etruria, see Richardson 1966, 45, 51, 60-61.

177. Hoffman 1997, 5.
178. For an overview of the Phoenician colonies in the west see Aubet 1993.
179. The literature on the Philistine settlement in Palestine is vast. Here I cite only a few sources. For overviews see Dothan 1982; Mazar 1992; Dothan and Dothan 1992; Stager 1995. For a cautionary note see Bunimovitz 1990.
180. Stager 1995, 336-37.
181. Mazar 1992, 262-81; Stager 1995, 345; Dever 1989, 103. Anthropoid clay coffins are associated with Egyptians instead of with Sea Peoples; see Stager 1995, 341-42.
182. Dever 1989, 103.
183. See Dever 1989, 103; Stager 1995, 342-43. The military/political component is connected with the circumstances of the Philistine settlement, in which they (and other Sea Peoples) first attempted to invade Egypt. The Egyptians allowed them to settle along the Palestinian coast, a region under Egyptian control.
184. Bunimovitz 1990, 210.
185. For an overview see Dothan and Dothan 1992. In contrast, Sherratt 1998, has argued that the Sea Peoples were "urban coastal moguls" of thirteenth and twelfth century Cyprus who operated an aggressively open economy that was subversive to the centrally controlled elite exchange systems of the established powers. Even if Sherratt's model is applied to seventh century Etruria (in which case the distinctive cultural features would not represent conscious ethnic denominators but instead reflect the activities of an active and close-knit economic and cultural community), there is still evidence for Near Eastern presence.
186. Strong 1968, 16; my emphasis.
187. Stager 1995, 332.
188. Many scholars have criticized Bernal's thesis; see for example M.R. Lefkowitz, *Not Out of Africa: How Afrocentricism Became an Excuse to Teach Myth as History* (New York 1997); M.R. Lefkowitz and G. M. Rogers, ed., *Black Athena Revisited* (Chapel Hill 1996). For a review of the reactions to Bernal's work, see Berlinerblau 1999.
189. Bernal 1987, 1.
190. Bernal 1987, 2.
191. Bernal 1987, 7.
192. Bernal 1987, 407-08; Berlinerblau 1999, 24-25.
193. Bernal 1987, 407.
194. See Jones 1997, 16.

195. See Bernal 1987, 407.
196. Renfrew 1972, 58-60; 1975, 21, 33-34. Childe's work was influenced by Kossinna and others, although he rejected their Indo-Germanic interpretation of European prehistory; see Jones 1997, 16; Hall 1997, 129; Hodder 1991, 1, 3.
197. Renfrew 1972, 489.
198. Renfrew 1972; C. Renfrew., "Trade as Action at a Distance: Questions of Integration and Communication," in J.A. Sabloff and C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, ed., *Ancient Trade and Civilization* (Albuquerque, 1975) 35-37.
199. Pallottino 1991, 31.
200. Pallottino 1991, 53.
201. Cornell 1995, 46.
202. Pallottino 1975, 78.
203. Pallottino 1975, 79.
204. As noted by Stager 1995, 332: "They [archaeologists] take comfort in the assumption that explanations of cultural change reside within the confines of regional research, which, in turn, justifies their ignorance of the broader field of comparative archaeology."
205. Cherry 1983, 33.
206. Cherry 1983, 35; 1986, 21.
207. Cherry 1983, 36.
208. Pallottino 1975, 78.
209. Cherry 1983, 36. Cherry 1986, 43, noted the circular argumentation in Renfrew's model in relation to the development of the palaces on Minoan Crete.
210. Cherry 1983, 36-37.
211. Cherry 1983, 37.
212. Cherry 1983, 38; Cherry 1986, 44.
213. Camporeale 1997, 47. In this connection it is worth noting the morphological similarities between the Etruscan, Lemnian, and Raetic languages; see H. Rix, *Rätisch und Etruskisch* (Innsbruck, 1998).
214. Ridgway 1988, 654.
215. Ridgway 1988, 660.
216. Ridgway 1988, 655.
217. See Ridgway and Ridgway 1994, 6; Ridgway 1988, 666; Ampolo 1976-77. For evidence of a Greek named Hippocrates at Tarquinia, see Camporeale 1997, 47.
218. For a discussion of this phenomenon in relation to the Demaratus story, see Ampolo, 1976-77. I thank Nancy Winter for bringing Ampolo's article to my attention. Because of the Demaratus story, scholars have focused their attention on the settlement and absorption of Greeks in seventh century Etruria.
219. Ridgway 1988, 654, has described this process as "the assimilation of aliens into local society." Camporeale 1997, 49, refers to "the integration of individual elements or groups of a certain size." Ampolo 1976-77, 341, described Etruscan society in the seventh century as follows: "Queste difatti mantengono per lunghi periodi una struttura aperta, sia al livello dell'aristocrazia gentilizia che degli artigiani."
220. Camporeale 1997, 47.

221. See Hall 1997, 27: "the arrival of too small a number of settlers or families is not sufficient in itself either to provoke an instance of social closure, or to escape assimilation (particularly intermarriage)."
222. In contrast to the situation in North America; Hodder 1991, 4, 10, 22.
223. See Jones 1997, 137.
224. Jones 1997, 141.
225. Kamp and Yoffee 1980, 88.
226. Kamp and Yoffee 1980, 97. Sackett has argued that "there are in material culture highly specific patterns of isochrestic variation that are socially bounded and that therefore may be regarded as idiomatic or diagnostic of ethnicity." See J.R. Sackett, "Style and Ethnicity in the Kalahari: A Reply to Wiessner," *AmerAnt* 50.1, 1985, 157. For the importance of the social context of the manufacture and use of artifacts, see S. Plog, *Stylistic Variation in Prehistoric Ceramics. Design Analysis in the American Southwest* (New York 1980) 138.
227. Kamp and Yoffee 1980, 99. They noted that, "Hypotheses relying on trade from Mesopotamia (and elsewhere) to account for massive institutional restructuring in the Levant are, as yet, unconvincing as models of ethnic invasions and equally as diffusionary." Contrast their approach with Sherratt 1998.
228. As suggested by Cherry 1986, 41-42, with regard to Near Eastern elements on Minoan Crete. The adoption of these customs and practices provided a medium for competitive display and self-aggrandizement. In his discussion of the Hopewell phase in the North American midlands, Braun noted that the attribution of stylistic standardization of some goods to traveling artisans or the spread of ideology does not explain the processes at work. Instead, such stylistic phenomena should be understood as a consequence of the communications networks characteristic of peer polity interaction. See D.P. Braun, "Midwestern Hopewellian Exchange and Supralocal Interaction," in C. Renfrew and J.F. Cherry, ed., *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change* (New York, 1986) 122.
229. Burkert 1992, 129.