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## Servants at a Rich Man's Feast: Early Etruscan Household Slaves and Their Procurement

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BY DAPHNE NASH BRIGGS

“**O**ur constant delight is in feasting, the lyre, dances, changes of clothes, warm baths, and bed” (Homer, *Od.* 8. 248-9).<sup>1</sup> Homer thus describes the imaginary Phaeacians in terms that could equally well be applied to the wealthiest households of eighth-century Etruria. In Alcinous’ hall, “high-backed chairs were fixed along the walls . . . and each was draped with a delicate, closely woven drape made by women. There the leaders of the Phaeacians sat and ate and drank, for there were always provisions. Youths of gold on well-wrought stands stood holding flaming torches in their hands, shedding light for the banqueters in the hall at night. He has fifty women slaves in his house: some grind apple-gold corn in the mills, some weave at the loom, or sit and keep their spindles turning like leaves on a lofty aspen, while the soft olive-oil drips from densely woven linen. Just as Phaeacian men are skilled above all others in handling swift ships at sea, so their women excel in the craft of weaving; Athene has given them outstanding skill and intelligence to make things of surpassing beauty.” (*Od.* 7. 95-111).

This paper concerns the economic role of slaves in Etruscan households in the eighth to sixth centuries BC and considers some of the ways in which they may have been procured, with special reference to transalpine Europe. Verbal illustration will be drawn from passages mainly in the Homeric poems that cast ancient, traditional themes in ninth-/eighth-century cultural idiom, because despite occasionally important differences in cultural detail, “Dark Age” Etruscan and Ionian Greek elites shared many overlapping values and concerns and created wealth in very similar ways. Written in a Euboic dialect that would have been recognized by well-connected eighth-century Etruscans, Homer’s poems are known to have been admired in Italy and were probably composed during the lifetime of people still active when, for instance, the scenes on the Verucchio throne were carved<sup>2</sup> and when an early version of the Etruscan Brontoscopic Calendar had probably already been codified (Turfa 2002). The latter conveys an impression of a society whose

powerful property-owners governed “common people,” were preoccupied with the wellbeing of women, livestock, and crops, and had servile dependents about whose health and loyalty they were anxiously concerned, none of which would be out of place in the *Odyssey*.

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FEASTS, THE CREATION OF WEALTH, AND SLAVES

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Feasts feature prominently in the conduct of elite relationships everywhere at this time and deserve mention here both because of their fundamental part in the creation and accumulation of wealth and because of the necessary role played by slaves in their provision. In populous societies still very close to the margins of subsistence and always at risk of unpredictable famine, the material source of property-owners’ wealth was self-evidently the produce of their own land and livestock, surplus from which permitted them to secure the more or less voluntary services of less advantaged people in return for a good meal. The shield that Hephaestus wrought for Achilles showed a scene of “a king’s estate where reapers were working with sharp sickles in their hands. Numerous bunches of corn fell to the ground along the furrow, while sheaf-binders tied others up with straw: three of them stood by and boys busily supplied them, picking up bunches and carrying them in their arms. And the king stood there by a swathe in silence, scepter in hand, with joy in his heart. Under an oak in the background his heralds were preparing a feast, busy with a great ox they had [ceremonially] slaughtered, while the women were sprinkling the meat for the laborers’ supper with plenty of white barley.” (*Il.* 18.550-560).

There was an underlying economic logic to this very efficient economic arrangement that Michael Dietler and Ingrid Herbich (2001) have described as a work feast, by means of which, even in societies without an organized elite, scores of people or more can be engaged voluntarily to work on such labor-intensive projects as building ramparts or digging ores in return for a feast of meat and intoxicating drink. In their ethnographic example they describe how Kenya’s Samia extract iron from nearby hills that, like parts of ancient Etruria, have exceptionally fine ores, and until the 1920s furnished all the iron used in an area of several thousand square kilometers. The principal objects produced were large iron hoe blades used both in agriculture and, together with cattle, as items of bridewealth. A wealthy man with many cattle and numerous wives to raise the millet, brew the beer, and prepare the food for numerous guests would issue a general invitation for a feast to be held at the end of a given day spent digging in the Samia hills. No-one was obliged to attend, but a host with a good reputation for his feasts would attract workers. After a day gathering ore, the men were rewarded with the feast and went home, leaving the ore with their host: the feast itself compensated them for their work. The host then summoned a smelter to convert the ore into blooms and a smith to work the blooms into hoe blades: both craftsmen received some of the hoe blades in return for their work.<sup>3</sup> With the rest, the host could, amongst other things, purchase more cattle or put them towards the cost of another wife: despite the enormous expense of laying on such feasts, a man well reputed for his hospitality was likely to accumulate handsome profits. In this

way surplus food was converted into wealth which the already rich had an advantage in accumulating because of the inordinate amount of agricultural produce and domestic labor required to lay on a work feast.

In the period under review, with exactly the same economic logic, voluntary services were paid for with a meal: Telemachus thanked the ship's crew who brought him home to Ithaca by telling them that he would look round his estate and then, "tomorrow, pay you for the voyage by laying on a good feast with meat and with mellow wine to drink." (*Od.* 15. 503-7) Thus, too, the spoils of raids and war had, since the Bronze Age, been presented by warriors to an expedition's leader who returned some as prizes to the men who had captured them, rewarding their skill, but kept the rest, partially in recompense for the cost of their upkeep.<sup>4</sup> Achilles reminds Agamemnon that he had captured 12 towns from the sea and 11 on foot on this expedition, from each of which "I took much excellent treasure, all of which I handed over to Agamemnon son of Atreus, who stayed behind with the black ships, received it, shared out a little, but kept most of it. He made gifts of honour to chiefs and kings." (*Il.* 9.328-334 - here, treasure included captured women). Thersites taunted Agamemnon with, "Your huts are full of bronze and there are plenty of choice women in your hut whom we Achaeans give you first of all whenever we take a city. Maybe you are short of gold, which some Trojan may bring you from Ilium as ransom for a son whom I or another Achaean has tied up and brought in, or another young woman to make love with and keep away from us as your private possession" (*Il.* 2.225-34). Subsistence expenditure in the course of the endemic raiding, feuding, and community defense amongst warrior elites of this period could be extremely high. Armed companions had to be fed, and Hector explained to his allies, "I did not seek or want sheer numbers when I summoned each of you here from your own cities, but men who would willingly defend for me the wives and little children of Ilium from the war-loving Achaeans. For this end I exhaust my own people [who supply you] with gifts and meat and so keep your spirits high..." (*Il.* 17. 220-226)

In such societies, any man with a good reputation for rewarding men for their work with entertainment at which expensive meat and wine were served could rely on attracting seasonal or occasional labour, oarsmen, and fighting companions when he wanted them. Giving, and receiving, hospitality structured relations amongst wealthy families, especially important amongst strangers.<sup>5</sup> By widespread custom, any respectable-looking visitor was washed, given a bed and a change of clothes, and fed, perhaps for days on end, before being asked how he had arrived and what he wanted. On parting he could expect to be given "the sort of thing one gives a visiting stranger out of friendship" (*Od.* 1. 311-314), a tangible measure of the esteem in which he was held.<sup>6</sup> The most imposing parting gifts to visiting princes could include valuable slaves. Odysseus, disguising his identity from his father, boasted of the gifts that someone like himself might have given to a visiting stranger like Odysseus: "seven talents of well-wrought gold, a solid silver krater with floral decoration, 12 single cloaks, as many rugs, as many splendid mantles and as many tunics to go with them, and in addition four beautiful women, skilled in flawless handicraft, whom I let him choose for himself." (*Od.* 24. 274-279)

The exchange of gifts to regulate both parties' relationship had the important

economic effect of enhancing the value of all the items concerned, including the slaves. Achilles selected a silver krater holding six measures for the first prize in the foot-race at Patroklos' funeral games: "by far the loveliest thing in the world, a masterpiece by Sidonian craftsmen, carried across the misty sea by Phoenicians and presented to king Thoas as a gift when they put into his port. Then Euneus son of Jason gave it to lord Patroclus to purchase Lycaon, Priam's son" (*Il.* 23. 742-747). Many of the earliest Etruscan inscriptions, on valuable or precious objects, proclaim their pedigrees as gifts, as though they themselves were honoured guests.<sup>7</sup> Slaves' value was enhanced in exactly the same way by knowing who they were and how they had been captured. Hector imagines people recognizing Andromache after his own death, fetching water and working at the loom as the unhappy slave of an Achaean mistress: "There goes Hector's wife. He was a champion warrior when they were fighting around Troy" (*Il.* 6. 454-61).<sup>8</sup> The Etruscans' reputation for treating, and dressing, their domestic slaves so well that they could be difficult to distinguish from citizens may well be connected with the prestige that they, too, attached to knowledge of their slaves' individual histories.

Gift exchange, articulated around banquets, was therefore an important means by which encounters between strangers were regulated. As Etruscan, Greek, and transalpine elites interacted freely despite important differences in their various customs and language, conventions governing hospitality were naturally ongoing concerns. The famous Aristonothos krater, probably made in Caere in the second quarter of the seventh century<sup>9</sup> not only depicts conflict between the crews of what are probably a Greek and an Etruscan ship but also the blinding of Polyphemus - Odysseus' remedy for a crass breach of conventional hospitality to visiting strangers, a point on which Etruscans would have been extremely sensitive at this time.<sup>10</sup>

Amongst the valuables that routinely changed hands are luxury garments and textiles. The social importance of spinning and weaving for respectable women in early Etruria needs no restatement here<sup>11</sup> but the economic importance of domestic textile production has a considerable bearing upon the question of Etruscan household slaves. In early Etruria, as in Homeric Greece, aristocratic girls were expected as a matter of course to work wool, illustrated for instance on the eighth-century Verucchio throne and the seventh-century Bologna tintinnabulum.<sup>12</sup> Apart from bearing legitimate children, their weaving was their largest contribution to the household economy, transforming wool gathered from valuable flocks into precious goods for use and exchange. There were evidently some garments that only a family member could weave: Homer's Penelope would have been disgraced had she not woven a beautiful shroud for Laertes before he died. (*Od.* 2. 99-103) The mantles buried with the man in t. 89 at Verucchio were almost certainly the work of one woman working alone (Stauffer 2002, 212), like the mantle woven by Tanaquil for Servius Tullius and preserved for centuries in the temple of Fortuna (Pliny *NH* 8. 194). Such special-purpose garments may almost never have been given away, much less sold, but in all specialist textile-producing cultures surplus patterned and colorful weavings are important trade goods and valuables in their own right. They routinely appear as such in the Homeric epics as items exchanged between guest-friends and as components of bridewealth, dowry, ransom, and prize. There is archaeological evi-

dence that Villanovan textiles, together with pins and fibulae, frequently changed hands both within Italy and far into transalpine Europe.<sup>13</sup> A wife and her daughters probably made some of the finest of these garments, “such as goddesses like to weave” (*Od.* 10. 222-3), but in wealthy families, much of the work of wool preparation,<sup>14</sup> routine spinning, most linen weaving, and much if not most everyday weaving of woollen rugs and blankets, is unlikely ever in this period to have been the unaided work of wives and daughters but of the skilled women slaves certainly ubiquitous in Homeric households and specially trained to work within them.<sup>15</sup> Surplus garments were stored as treasure in handsome wooden chests that were sometimes scented, presumably in part to discourage moth.<sup>16</sup> By the seventh century BC textile (and brooch) manufacture had in many parts of Italy intensified into workshop production of items expressly made for exchange,<sup>17</sup> a development that unquestionably required slaves.

#### HOUSEHOLD LABOR

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A man with a small plot of land, one legitimately wedded wife<sup>18</sup> and their children could attain self-sufficiency but little more and in contrast with the ethnographic example cited above to illustrate a work feast, all the societies here under discussion already had well organized elites. The number of hands a man could call upon to help him determined the amount of his available material surplus and was in effect a measure of his status. Elderly king Laertes might have retired by choice to tend his garden like one of his retired slaves (*Od.* 24. 226-30, 244-57), but he was in fact surrounded and helped by an establishment of servants. Without extra hands to carry water (*Il.* 6. 457), give baths (*Od.* 4. 48-50), to cook (seemingly a preserve of male slaves in Etruria),<sup>19</sup> serve at meals, sweep and scrape the floor (*Od.* 22. 395-6, 455), raise children and animals, serve as personal attendants, maintain buildings, and help a wife with her own work of weaving, no noble couple of this period, anywhere in Europe, could have supported their desired standard of living. Neither could householders have given themselves to the materially unproductive “men’s work” of village or city politics, or entertained guests, or absented themselves for long periods hunting, raiding, and on foreign adventure.

Very large landowners probably all had permanent dependents amongst the landless poor, especially on outlying parts of their property, obliged to work another man’s land in return for guaranteed subsistence.<sup>20</sup> But most household staff were slaves, purchased from a man’s own personal possessions<sup>21</sup> or received as a gift or prize.<sup>22</sup> In societies without polygamy the only way to increase domestic production beyond the personal capacity of a man, his wife, and their children, was in fact to accumulate slaves. Amongst elites still so close to the margins of subsistence the organizing social model was the family or household, *familia* or *domus*. From this point of view women slaves were, in effect, socially disempowered secondary wives and daughters, purchased with neither the social inconvenience of marriage alliance with their fathers nor at the very high cost of the usual exchange of wedding gifts.<sup>23</sup>

Eurycleia, for instance, Odysseus’ housekeeper, was a pedigreed aristocrat

amongst slaves (*Od.* 1. 429-435), “daughter of Ops, grand-daughter of Peisenor.” Laertes had purchased her as a nubile girl for 20 cattle and treated her “equal to a wedded wife in his house,” though he did not sleep with her because it angered his wife. She attended Odysseus’ birth, was instrumental in getting him named, cared for him as a baby, and evidently also nursed him at the breast (*Od.* 19. 483). Laertes’ grandson, Telemachus, loved her best of all the household slaves because she had reared him, too, as a child (*Od.* 1. 435). She issued orders in the house as matron of the women-servants (*Od.* 22. 395-6), telling some to sweep the house, others to drape the chairs, others to clean the tables and wine service, others to fetch water (*Od.* 20. 147-55) and when Odysseus returned after nineteen years’ absence was able to give him an authoritative account of the state of his household (*Od.* 22. 419-27): “my child, . . . you have fifty women slaves in your palace, whom we have trained to do their work and to card wool and to cope with slavery. Of these there are twelve who have taken an insolent path and respect neither me nor Penelope herself. Telemachus has only just grown up and his mother would not allow him to give orders to the slaves.” Such a woman would be expected to manage a young man’s household until he married a wife (e.g. *Od.* 15. 24-6) and might also bear a landowner illegitimate children, perhaps especially welcome after his wife had borne her last child (e.g., *Od.* 4. 3-14). The Homeric poems frequently mention illegitimate sons in subordinate but respectable positions as squires and charioteers to higher-ranking legitimate offspring, and as adventurers motivated to make their own way in the world, like Servius Tullius, honourably reputed to have been the illegitimate son of a free Etruscan with a captive Latin woman slave.

If women slaves could fill the roles of extra wives and daughters, slave boys and men were low-status supplementary sons (literally *pueri* or *paidēs*) who seldom attained independent adult status and, if eventually rewarded for long service with a wife, certainly never married a bride whose father would expect imposing gifts from the bridegroom’s surrogate father. Eumaeus, Odysseus’ swineherd, was raised by Odysseus’ mother alongside her own youngest daughter, Ctymene. In adolescence when Ctymene was given in marriage with a dowry to a man from Same, Eumaeus was sent with a fine mantle, tunic, and new sandals to work on the land, where he prospered (*Od.* 15. 361-79). Eumaeus anticipated being pensioned off in a cottage with a parcel of land and a wife that many were courting, “as a kind master does for a man-slave who has worked hard for him and whose work a god has prospered...” (*Od.* 14. 62-6). Such men, perhaps often ones who had been raised from infancy in their masters’ households, had important responsibilities. Philoetius, Odysseus’ herdsman, had been set over Odysseus’ cattle in Cephallenia and twenty years later was ferrying cattle and goats between there and Ithaka at the behest of Penelope’s suitors (*Od.* 20. 209-12). Eumaeus, likewise, had freedom of movement with Odysseus’ swine (*Od.* 13. 407-10).

Lifetime involvement with their masters’ families could create strong and lasting bonds of loyalty, illustrated by Homer’s Eurycleia, Dolius, Philoetius, or Eumaius. And when, late in life, some were granted smallholdings and wives of their own, they attained a status rather like low-status adult children. Odysseus planned thus to reward both Eumaeus and Philoetius for their help in ridding him of Penelope’s suitors: “I will get you

each a wife, make you a grant of property and houses built near mine; and from that day forth I shall look on both of you as friends and brothers to Telemachus.” (*Od.* 21. 214-16). Laertes’ aged Dolius (*Od.* 24. 387-90) had been settled with a Sicilian wife who, as an old woman herself, tended her husband’s needs and cooked for her labourer sons. Their grown children seem, interestingly, to have continued to serve alongside other slaves in Penelope’s household, where they were subordinate to elderly and aristocratic Eurycleia, although two of them openly consorted with Penelope’s suitors and clearly fancied their chances of social promotion. Delaying a slave’s family until late in life naturally set limits to his chances of social advancement, and Etruscan *lautni* and *lautnitha* were perhaps generally persons of this sort: well-born, long-serving, trusted slaves who were eventually rewarded with a smallholding and the right to raise a family, albeit still as social subordinates to their former masters.

Relations with slaves who had high a degree of independent responsibility had of necessity to be founded on trust, which makes sense of the pervasive Etruscan concern about “rebellion” in the brontosopic calendar.<sup>24</sup> In this early period, slave uprisings on the fourth-century pattern are not at issue and could not even have been conceived of, but there was an ever-present risk that a trusted housekeeper might slip away with valuables or a child or that a stock-man might abscond from distant pastures with his master’s flocks. Eumaeus describes how their loyalty was earned: “Servants need to talk with the mistress face-to-face and get all the news and eat and drink and afterwards take a bit back to the farm. Such things always gladden slaves’ hearts.” (*Od.* 15. 376-9).

#### SOURCES OF SLAVES

It can safely be assumed that all European household slaves had been abducted more or less violently from their original homes. Homer pictures even the most privileged slaves as missing their homes<sup>25</sup> and those captured as adults were, perhaps, especially liable to attempt to abscond.<sup>26</sup> Many had been captured during formal warfare and raids, and in “Dark Age” warfare three categories of booty are repeatedly linked: livestock, precious metalwork, and women. Amongst all the elites of this period warfare and raiding were routine and honorable sources of income. Repossessed of his depleted estates, Odysseus planned as a matter of course to replenish the livestock consumed by Penelope’s suitors by raiding on his own account as well as by taking contributions from the people (*Od.* 23.356-8).<sup>27</sup> Older men in the Homeric poems can reminisce about their exploits as cattle, sheep, and horse rustlers in what we may imagine to be the social world of the ninth and early eighth centuries BC,<sup>28</sup> and their Villanovan contemporaries buried with horse gear, helmet, and weapons, could probably all have recounted similar exploits. Odysseus, posing as the illegitimate son of Castor, a Cretan, (*Od.* 14. 222-34) provides an idealized portrait of their mobile, booty-based lifestyle: “I never cared for farming, nor life at home, nor fathering fair children. I reveled in long ships with oars; I loved polished lances, arrows in the skirmish, the shapes of doom that others shake to see. Bloodshed suited me.... Before we young Achaeans shipped for Troy I led men on nine expeditions

in ships to raid strange coasts, and had great luck, taking rich spoils on the spot, and even more in the division. So my house grew prosperous, my standing high among the Cretans.” Later (*Od.* 17. 424-33), things went wrong when “reckless greed carried my crews away to plunder the Egyptian farms; they bore off wives and children, killed what men they found.”

In warfare defeated men were normally killed or else ransomed for large sums that taxed the surplus of their own or their fathers’ estates. Women were ransomed or sold, and children were killed, sold, or ransomed. Of all forms of booty at this time, women were the most valuable; their loss did important economic damage to their home communities. In the *Iliad*, the Achaeans’ tents are pictured as swarming with captured women, awarded as prizes after successful raids and kept as concubines by men who were all either separated from their wives or as yet unmarried.<sup>29</sup> A well-born captive woman might indeed delude herself that her captor intended to make her a legitimate bride (*Il.* 19. 27-9, cf. 2. 355). A late eighth- or early seventh-century bronze found at Vetulonia vividly illustrates this social dynamic: a naked young woman is chained by the back of her head to the arms of a naked man, facing her from behind, bearded like a warrior, and in a state of sexual excitement.<sup>30</sup> There can be no doubt that the relationship portrayed is one of forcible possession.<sup>31</sup>

A related, perennial source of slaves was opportunist abduction of lone individuals, and here there was a perceived link with otherwise peaceful trading activities precisely because slaves were such valuable objects of exchange. In practice, long-range trading ventures, especially by sea, that might keep a crew away from home for a year or more, were often combined with stock raiding, theft, and kidnap, rendering any unidentified ship an object of suspicion. “Have you come on private business or are you wandering the seas wantonly like pirates who risk their lives to ruin other people?” (*Od.* 3. 71-4; 9. 251-5) Though piracy, like slave revolts, became a problem on a vastly increased scale in the urban world of the fourth century and beyond, due to an insistently rising demand for slaves throughout the Mediterranean, its importance as a persistent source of insecurity in the protohistoric period should not be underestimated. The prominent, inland position of all the early Etruscan cities apart from Populonia has with justice been related, amongst other things, to a long-standing need for defense from seaborne raiding.

In this context it is important to remember that throughout this period, even if a traveler might refer to a city in presenting his credentials to a stranger, trade was in no sense conducted under any city’s regulation or protection: it was individual, private enterprise, in which a warlord or captain was solely responsible for his own conduct and that of his men, themselves of warrior rank. Corinthian Demaratos traded with and eventually settled at Tarquinia on his own initiative (*Dion. Hal.* 3. 46. 3 - 3. 47.1), and the wealthy Etruscans who traded and raided in the Tyrrhenian sea and on the Mediterranean coast of Gaul will have engaged with resident chiefs on a precisely similar basis. Seafaring was inherently dangerous, and much of our best knowledge of ancient ships and cargoes is based on personal disasters, ships that foundered with cargoes and, presumably often, crew.<sup>32</sup> A richly furnished cenotaph at Pisa with a trident in a central position may well represent a noble lost in a storm at sea:<sup>33</sup> it was important to bring solemn closure to a

householder's life so that, for instance, his wife could remarry.<sup>34</sup>

Even when primarily dealing in other valuables, it is, therefore, highly probable that any ship's captain might sometimes also have carried slaves. Even an unaccompanied adult passenger could be at risk of abduction by an unscrupulous crew<sup>35</sup> (*Od.* 14. 295-7). Homer, again, provides useful illustration of situations credible to eighth-century listeners. One concerns the escape of a skilled woman slave and the abduction and sale of an aristocratic child. A Phoenician ship put in to a two-city island called Syrie and stayed a year trading its large cargo of ornamental goods (*Od.* 15. 403-84). One of its crew seduced a Phoenician woman slave of the royal household, "tall, beautiful, and good with her hands," while she was washing laundry. Her father was a rich man in Sidon, she had been kidnapped by Taphian pirates as she came in from the country, and she had been sold for a good price to the king of Syrie where she cared for his toddler son, Eumaeus, who went with her everywhere.<sup>36</sup> The lovers made a secret pact to effect her escape - her owners would "imprison her in chains and kill the rest of them" if they knew about it - and she volunteered to pay for her passage home with all the stolen gold she could carry plus the child, who would "fetch an enormous price when taken to foreign people." At the end of the year, when the ship was fully victualled for its journey home, a messenger was sent to the royal house to give her the signal to come, and he distracted the woman's mistress and her other handmaids' attention with a gold and amber necklace he was offering for sale. The nursemaid snatched three wine cups belonging to guests and, with the child at her side, boarded the ship. Seven days out she fell to her death and was thrown overboard and little Eumaeus was sold to Laertes for an unspecified price ("with his possessions") when the ship reached Ithaka.

#### LUXURY MALE SLAVES AT EARLY ARCHAIC ETRUSCAN BANQUETS

The numbers of slaves kept in early Etruscan households, individually and overall, can only at best be guessed.<sup>38</sup> In the eighth century, at the upper extreme, Homer proposed a staff of fifty for the Phaeacian king and for Odysseus (*Od.* 7. 103; 22. 421). A rich Homeric landowner's guests might be attended on arrival by at least four or five slaves; feasts required more. Etruscans notoriously did almost everything to the music of the aulos and/or lyre,<sup>39</sup> and dancers and sometimes acrobats figure routinely in feasting scenes: by the seventh century wealthy Etruscans must all have been keeping, and training, their own auletes as part of their permanent establishment.<sup>40</sup> Later during the seventh and sixth centuries BC, as wealthy Etruscans' material standard of living of continued to rise and urban life became more complex, workshop production of pottery, metalwork, and textiles intensified. The Etruscan slave population, and its local density, inevitably also increased. It is likely, too, that the proportion of adult males amongst the servile population also increased above the norm for previous generations. One contributory factor is likely to have been the emulation amongst Etruscan seventh-century elites of various aspects of Greek high culture including the adoption of various symposium-inspired wine-drinking banqueting customs that included using naked boys as wine-waiters and

cupbearers.

At Greek symposia of this period valuable young slaves served as waiters, entertainers, and sexual playthings. Erotized idealization of beautiful youngsters, slave and free, boys and girls, was integral to archaic Greek culture and is well attested for instance in drinking songs that confirm an impression conveyed on Attic painted pottery.<sup>41</sup> In Greece, many such slaves were of Thracian<sup>42</sup> and/or Middle Eastern origin; apart from their unquestioned utility as servants at a feast, sexual liberties could be taken with slaves that symposiasts might refrain from with children of their own.<sup>43</sup> And because of the aesthetically driven requirement that such slaves be in the first bloom of youth, there was an everlasting need to buy replacements as they matured.<sup>44</sup> As a result the absolute numbers of adult male slaves in Etruria and their proportion relative to women is likely also to have risen during the archaic period with eventual social consequences that no-one could have anticipated.

I also want to suggest that the majority of these specially prized youngsters were victims of opportunist kidnap. The story of Dionysos' capture by pirates, which was certainly known in Etruria,<sup>45</sup> can stand for many real-life situations, aggravated as the demand for luxury adolescents grew (cf. *Od.* 15. 386-7). Portrayed in sensuous terms in the seventh-century Homeric *Hymn to Dionysos* (ll. 4-6) as a beautiful youth in the first flower of manhood, with cascading dark hair<sup>46</sup> and a purple mantle, Dionysos was captured by Tyrsenian adventurers who spotted him from their ship, nodded to each other, and leapt ashore. They grabbed the boy, telling themselves that he must be the "son of god-born kings" (l. 11), and bound his hands and feet. Of course his fetters fell off and the frightened pilot and crew wanted to return him to shore, fearing divine retribution. The captain refused, rebuked the pilot, predicted that his captive would reach "Egypt, Cyprus, the Hyperboreans, or further still" (ll. 28-9), and expected that "one day he will tell us about his friends, all his possessions, and who his relatives are" (ll. 29-31), as any well-connected traveller might. In reality a kidnapped youth would have been helpless at this point, but Dionysos escaped, taking magical revenge on captain and crew. Likewise, the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* evokes the anguish of a mother and daughter separated by the girl's abduction. Demeter, searching for Persephone, poses at one point as Doso, alleging she had been captured in Crete by pirates and been taken to Thorikos to be sold at great price, but had run away (*Hymn Dem.* 122-132). Fantasy though they are, such songs do hint at the special value accorded to sexually attractive and objectively high-born individuals as targets for kidnap.

#### SLAVES FROM NORTHERN EUROPE

To conclude, I would like to propose that transalpine Europe was as important an early source of domestic slaves for Etruscan Italy as Thrace was for Greece<sup>47</sup> and that Etruscan slave-trading activity increased during the seventh and sixth centuries BC not only to meet their own domestic needs but, very importantly, to supply rapidly growing western Greek markets as well.<sup>48</sup> Trickling into Italy alongside other such valuables as metals, salt, amber, and horses, this was not organized trade in chained gangs of able-bodied men,

something that probably only began in the last quarter of the first millennium BC, but small-scale, piecemeal trade in single individuals or small groups of women and children perhaps specially selected for their appearance and/or potential as nurses, herdsman, and grooms.<sup>49</sup> Such people were inconspicuous to escort and left few footprints in the archaeological record, but, I suggest, the traffic was nonetheless important enough to have had repercussions far into Europe.<sup>50</sup>

Here it is relevant to note the portrayal in six of the earliest painted Etruscan tombs, all at Tarquinia and usually dated to the late sixth century BC, of people with what appear to be characteristically northern European features.<sup>51</sup> The lightly pigmented skin that is associated with straw-blond or red hair is, for good biochemical reasons, only naturally widespread in populations that evolved over a long period in a high-latitude environment and was sufficiently uncommon as a spontaneous occurrence in central Italy to elicit comment when observed in the Gauls.<sup>52</sup> The vast majority of all people depicted in Etruscan painted tombs have the dark brown or black hair that is expected in indigenous populations at Mediterranean latitudes.

In considering this evidence allowance must be made for the state of the paint, which has evidently sometimes deteriorated, especially in the Tomba del Barone, and also for transient Etruscan cosmetic fashions that in the late sixth century BC sometimes included coloring the hair red or yellow.<sup>53</sup> Several male banqueters, for instance, have black beards and terracotta-red hair suggesting the use of henna to embellish naturally dark hair.<sup>54</sup> Other figures are shown with light-blond<sup>55</sup> or ginger-red<sup>56</sup> hair that can probably safely be taken to represent natural coloring. A ginger-haired, sorrel-eyed dancing woman in the Tomba dei Giocolieri is pointedly contrasted with a raven-haired Mediterranean and is convincingly portrayed with the bushy pony-tail and tight, fly-away curls at her hairline that are commonly found with this typically northern complexion, often seen in late Mediaeval and early modern paintings of the Netherlandish school. In the Tomba della Caccia e Pesca the wife, a servant girl and a boy aulete have similar curly red hair.

Some of these people were clearly of high social status, including the wife in the Tomba della Caccia e Pesca - if indeed she had not colored her hair as her husband apparently had - and it is well to remember that many centuries of Etruscan contact with transalpins, involving occasional intermarriage and, certainly, illegitimate offspring with slaves, is likely to account for the sporadic, spontaneous occurrence of blonde and redhead children in propertied families. The status of a number of others is uncertain: a lightly-clad running male with fair hair in the Tomba del Topolino, the finely dressed dancing woman already mentioned in the Tomba dei Giocolieri,<sup>57</sup> a naked horseman with mid-brown or reddish hair contrasted with the black-haired and helmeted warrior in the Tomba dei Tori,<sup>58</sup> the clothed and seated ginger-haired figure at the rudder of the boat in the Tomba della Caccia e Pesca, and, in the Tomba del Barone, six men and boys, two on horseback and four standing with horses. While these may represent legitimate sons of the family, other possibilities cannot be ruled out, including the illegitimate sons who serve as squires and charioteers in Homer, and high-ranking slaves important to the owner of the tomb as part of his *familia*.<sup>59</sup>

Other figures, however, can more confidently be identified as ordinarily purchased luxury slaves: a blonde male aulete and a blonde, naked, dancing boy with a wine-

jug in the Tomba delle Leonesse; a servant girl making a garland, a boy aulete, and a naked boy servant (all redheads) in the Tomba della Caccia e Pesca; and a blonde boy aulete in the Tomba del Barone. In some of the same paintings horses are also shown with unusual white or straw-colored manes and tails:<sup>60</sup> in a culture with such a vividly expressed aesthetic sense, riding horses and luxury slaves may plausibly both have been selected for the unusual beauty of their natural features. It is perfectly clear from Homer that the most expensive slave women were chosen for their looks and that there was a stereotyped belief that physical beauty was an outward sign of high rank or royal birth (e.g., *Od.* 4. 62; 13. 221-4), something highly prized in a luxury slave.

There is plentiful evidence that the Etruscans had been in reciprocal contact with transalpine elites since at least the beginning of the first millennium BC.<sup>61</sup> On one side, ancient Italian procurement networks for amber, iron, horses, and slaves through the Veneto to Austria reached far into northern Europe, reflected for instance in seventh-century funerary house-urns in cultures between the Harz and Elbe south-west of Berlin and sixth-century funerary face-urns in Pommerania, that bear uncanny resemblance to funerary urns in Latium and Etruria.<sup>62</sup> There were clearly potters in north Germany and Poland who knew exactly what had traditionally been done with the ashes during funeral rites in respectable households in Italy. There are many possible explanations for this resemblance, and amongst potential bearers of such knowledge into northern Europe are Italian women kidnapped or captured and sold into slavery across the Alps in exchange for amber and other valuables, or the (illegitimate?) daughters of Etruscans or their freedmen, given in marriage to foreign noble husbands together with other more archaeologically visible “introductory gifts” to secure friendly and profitable relations between their families.<sup>63</sup> Smatterings of foreign language also undoubtedly spread in this way, as toddlers learnt from their nurses: Aphrodite, for instance, (*Hom. Hymn to Aphrodite*, 113-115) pretends to be a Phrygian princess who understands Anchises’ Trojan speech because she had a Trojan nurse.

Further west, the Etruscans were vigorously involved with Gaul both overland and by sea.<sup>64</sup> The indigenous populations around Lake Como had been of transalpine type since at least the Bronze Age. The Iron-Age Golasecca culture was culturally continuous with its proto-Celtic neighbors in eastern Gaul, southern Germany, and Switzerland<sup>65</sup> and is known to have been hospitable to emigrant Insubres from central and eastern Gaul in the sixth century BC.<sup>66</sup> The West Hallstatt C-D elites of Gaul and southern Germany are renowned for their emulation of aspects of Etruscan culture and many individuals were acquainted with Italy: the ramparts of the Heuneburg in Baden-Württemberg, for instance, can only have been designed and built by someone familiar with Italian city architecture.<sup>67</sup> The same can also be said about other aspects of early Celtic material culture in the fifth and fourth centuries BC.<sup>68</sup> Within Etruria itself Celts were present long before the fourth-century BC invasions. Katakina, for instance, whose name suggests Celtic origin or descent, was buried with dignity in seventh-century Orvieto,<sup>69</sup> while a little fifth-century boy aged 4-6 was carefully buried with a transalpine brooch and Golasecca goblet outside Bologna.<sup>70</sup> If not the son of an already resident Padane Celt, he could plausibly have been a valued slave child being raised by an

Etruscan woman just as Odysseus' mother raised Eumaeus. Guest-friendships and, probably, sporadic marriage alliances between early Etruscans and their Celtic counterparts are reflected in the imported Italian or indigenous Etruscanized prestige goods in Hallstatt C-D tombs.<sup>71</sup> The Vix "princess," buried with West Hallstatt ceremony at the very end of the sixth century BC and accompanied by imported riches that included the famous bronze krater probably made at Paestum or Sybaris, was a foreigner by birth, probably of Mediterranean origin.<sup>72</sup> Could she have been a rich Etruscan's daughter, perhaps by a slave mother originally from across the Alps, married to a Gallic noble with a miscellaneous dowry of "pedigreed" valuables to cement an important alliance?

On the southern coast of Gaul there is plentiful evidence for Etruscan trade with indigenous nobles. The captain of a seventh-century Etruscan wreck off Rochelongue in Languedoc had clearly been trading for metals, especially bronze and Atlantic tin,<sup>73</sup> and was homeward bound with a heterogeneous cargo: he and others like him must all also have carried long-perished foodstuffs and textiles, occasional passengers, and sometimes slaves. The seven other published seventh- and sixth-century Etruscan wrecks off the coasts of Gaul were probably outward bound from Italy with cargoes that typically included Etruscan wine, Greek and Etruscan ceramic banqueting wares, and various sorts of bronze disks and dishes of utility in Gaul.<sup>74</sup>

The conspicuous role of wine, especially from the area of Caere/Pyrgi, is of especial interest in this early traffic. It was contained in sturdy transport amphorae stacked several layers deep in a ship's hold, skillfully designed to resist dangerous uncontrolled rolling in transit by being shaped like seagulls' eggs that keep their place on cliffside nesting ledges. Etruscan wine was consumed in important quantities by Gaul's seventh- and sixth-century coastal elites, some of whom, in Languedoc, actually adopted empty wine transport amphorae as cremation urns. In exchange they certainly gave metals, especially in Languedoc, probably salt, and, I would suggest, luxury slaves, especially in Provence.<sup>75</sup> We may legitimately imagine Gauls obtaining wine at coastal sites like Lattes and Saint-Blaise in a manner similar to Homer's description of events on Lemnos, where a number of ships were pictured putting in with cargoes of wine from Euneos, son of Iason. These were presumably intended for trade with Lemnians and anyone else they encountered, but Euneos had included 1000 measures as a special consignment for Agamemnon and Menelaus "from which the Achaeans supplied themselves with wine, some in exchange for bronze, some for gleaming iron, others for hides, others for live cattle, others again for slaves" (*Il.* 7. 467-75, paying for the wine from booty, and a banquet of course ensued).

A visiting ship and its crew might stay for long periods in a safe port, being fed and doing trade until their cargo was sold, certainly long enough for news of their arrival to travel far afield, and I would suggest that most transactions between Etruscans and Gauls from further inland were conducted at indigenous nobles' residences and recognized ports of trade close to the coast in Languedoc and Provence, and were associated with feasts provided by their wealthy hosts at which meat and wine were served. Such a host would profit handsomely in terms of reputation, services, and gifts received for providing a protected and comfortable venue at which guests could mix and do mutually profitable business.<sup>76</sup> I would also suggest that part of the deal with Etruscan visitors in

coastal areas was that visiting ships' captains would refrain from onshore raiding in return for a guaranteed market under their hosts' supervision. To provide such facilities under the cover of hospitality the latter needed wine with which to entertain all their guests, creating a self-sustaining cycle of exchange.<sup>77</sup>

This dynamic is particularly relevant when considering the agro-pastoral warrior economies of northern Gaul that were ancestral to many of the fourth-century BC colonists of Padane Italy.<sup>78</sup> At home these people had little to exchange with strangers other than spoils of war<sup>79</sup> and for reasons outlined elsewhere,<sup>80</sup> I think it likely that during the sixth century BC raiding for women and children, many of whom from these latitudes were, incidentally, naturally blonde or red-haired, may have become a highly profitable export activity in the Aisne-Marne area of what is now north-western France. In these populations warlords conducting long-range raiding excursions and terrorizing neighbors could trade suitable booty into the adjacent and ethnically foreign West Hallstatt world at peripheral centers like Mont Lassois. There, lavish feasts, including some wine, were certainly served to their guests by nobles who also had personal contacts further south. Situated close to ethnic boundaries, they therefore performed precisely similar functions to the coastal entrepôts in Languedoc and Provence already mentioned and inland entrepôts like Lyon or Bragny-sur-Saône.<sup>81</sup> In this way, in a short series of relays, I propose that selected captives routinely accompanied, and indeed perhaps helped to carry, other valuable trade goods to places both in northern Italy and on the Mediterranean coast of Gaul where they were sold to Mediterraneans. The geographical gaps in the distribution of Etruscan bronzes between their sources in Italy and concentrations far inland in Gaul,<sup>82</sup> and also the highly selective range of goods imported, can partially be accounted for if valuables were taken home by people visiting external sources of such goods rather than being taken north by foreigners. Something like this occurred in the first-century BC in northern Belgic Gaul: the Nervii and other northern Belgae and Garmans positively discouraged visiting merchants and resisted importing wine for social reasons, but would sell plunder to the Romans, not because they wanted to import anything in particular but in order to get rid of what they had on their hands (Caesar *BG* 2.15.4 and 4.2.2). In the context, 'plunder' almost certainly meant human captives: they would keep the cattle.

Although wine transport amphorae are themselves seldom found far inland in Gaul - most of their contents was probably consumed close to their point of arrival - it nonetheless remains a distinct possibility that Italian wine, if only in wineskins, was already becoming a privileged component in elite exchange in Gaul, and its use in exchange for slaves at this early period has indeed been debated. Although trading wine into the interior of Gaul is only explicitly attested at a much later date in the Iron Age,<sup>84</sup> beaked flagons and other banqueting paraphernalia obtained closer to source were certainly being taken far into the north during the sixth century BC, and it is more than likely that at least a little wine did also reach "the Hyperboreans and beyond" (*Hymn to Dionysos* l. 29), samples of what was on offer at banquets further south.

Political upheaval within Etruria during the later archaic period and the economic shifts associated amongst many other things with the intensification of seaborne

trade with Athens through the port of Spina was accompanied by similarly intensified Etruscan interaction with transalpine Europe. In increasingly troubled times, Etruscans, like the western Greeks, began to seek barbarian bodyguards and mercenaries, with lasting consequences for the history of societies on both sides of the Alps.<sup>85</sup> As Livy himself clearly recognized (5.33), Arruns of Clusium, who was blamed by some for precipitating the fourth-century Celtic invasions by hiring transalpine warriors to assist him in a family feud, merely stood for countless other Etruscans who had had dealings with the Celts for centuries both in Italy and in Gaul (Polyb. 2. 17. 3). Arruns sent wine and other Italian delicacies across the Alps, probably to one of the countless petty warlords of eastern or northern Gaul (culturally, Early La Tène) who dominated the political scene in Gaul after the collapse of the old West Hallstatt centers early in the fifth century BC. Such supplies would help a prospective mercenary leader to recruit armed companions by boasting of his foreign alliance over a magnificent feast that also illustrated the loot that they could hope to raid for in Italy. I would like to propose that it is highly likely that Etruscan domestic slaves from homes in northern Europe had been telling their masters for many generations about “their families, all their possessions,” and their kinsmen’s incomparable prowess as warriors in a “Dark-Age” tradition that was by then on the wane in Etruria but was still in full vigor across the Alps.

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 NOTES
 

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1. This paper develops themes from Nash Briggs 2002 that primarily concern the Etruscans. For transalpine themes see Nash Briggs 2003. Translations from the *Iliad and Odyssey* are my own, with attention to detail relevant to the present discussion. I have also drawn on versions by E.V. Rieu (Penguin Books 1946, 1950), Martin Hammond (Duckworth 2000), and Philip de Souza 1999.
2. The Verucchio Lippi cemetery was in use from the ninth to seventh centuries BC; t.89/1972 with the famous throne may be dated to the late eighth or very early seventh century BC (von Eles 2002, 273-5).
3. This model would work well for the early development of Etruscan metalworking (cf. Bietti Sestieri 1998, 56-7). A smith working in any of the metals might, for instance, plausibly have been granted a small proportion of the raw metal or the finished items he had made in payment for his services. Smelting iron ore was extremely laborious by typical Iron-Age methods (Manning 1995, 313). Experimentally, each smelt produced c. 2 kg of bloom, reduced by half when the slag was beaten out. Making 300 kg of workable iron could therefore consume c. 30,000 kg of charcoal (which had to be made) and 7,500 man-days. Raw iron was still valuable in the ninth-eighth centuries BC: cf. *Il.* 23. 826-35 (a lump of iron offered as a prize, sufficient to keep its owner in agricultural tools for five years). Smithing required skill but comparatively little time and labor.
4. The use of valuables to measure and regulate status and rank within elites is a differ-

- ent issue, for discussion elsewhere.
5. The universal importance of commensality has been explored elsewhere, e.g., Bouloumié 1988; Dietler 1999, 141-8; Dietler and Herbich 2001; Nash Briggs 2003, 244.
  6. The Homeric poems suggest strangers' status was assessed by their clothes and bearing. Here I am only considering wealthy visitors with business to conduct - not such visitors as suppliants, beggars, peripatetic healers, entertainers, etc. (e.g., *Od.* 17. 381-7) Gift transactions were based on a keen sense of relative value. For instance, Diomedes and Glaucos exchanged armor "so that people may know that our grandfathers' friendship has made friends of us", on which Homer commented that Glaucos must have lost his wits because he exchanged golden armor worth 100 oxen for bronze armor worth 9 (*Il.* 6. 230-1, 234-6).
  7. Haynes 2000, 64-9.
  8. Cf. "lovely-haired Hekamede" (*Il.* 11. 624-7), Nestor's slave, described as daughter of Arsinoös, selected by the Achaeans for Nestor as a special tribute to their ablest counselor when Achilles sacked Tenedos. Many other Homeric women slaves have a recorded parentage and personal history.
  9. Cristofani 1985, 226.
  10. Homer's poems convey the inherent fragility of relationships governed primarily by convention. A host - even Herakles! - might kill or rob a guest (*Od.* 21. 22-41); Paris stole his host, Menelaus's, wife and much of his treasure (*Il.* 13. 622-7); and Priam is unsafe overnight as Achilles' guest (*Il.* 24. 683-8). Hesiod was said to have met his death after overstaying his welcome (*Contest of Homer and Hesiod*, 323).
  11. Bartoloni 1989, 41-4; Haynes 2000, 33-44, 214-55; Gleba 2002.
  12. Verucchio throne: Haynes 2000, 40-1; Boiardi and von Eles 2002, 251-8, 262-4; Bologna tintinnabulum: Haynes 2000, 36-8.
  13. E.g. Jannot 1995, 77-80; Gran-Aymerich 1995, 49 Gran-Aymerich 1997, 203; Camporeale 2001b, 102-129; RIEIG *passim*; Nash Briggs 2003, 243, 253. Cf. *Od.* 18. 291-4: a gift for a lady of a richly decorated robe pinned with 12 gold brooches with rounded sheaths.
  14. Homeric blue and purple wool is dyed, presumably with woad or indigo and with sea-purple before being spun, suggesting that it was dyed in workshop conditions and purchased specially to be spun into yarn of the requisite gauge by the weavers themselves.
  15. Helen - herself an accomplished weaver (*Il.* 3. 125-7) - directed her women's work (*Il.* 6. 324) and is approached by Aphrodite disguised as an old woman of whom she was especially fond, "a wool-worker who used to make beautiful wool for her when she lived in Lakedaimon." (*Il.* 3. 386-8) Hecabe, Hector's mother, chose a gift for Athene from amongst the decorated robes she kept in her scented storeroom. "...the work of Sidonian women whom godlike Paris took from Sidon and shipped across the wide sea on the voyage that brought him home with highborn Helen." (*Il.* 6. 289-92) Phoenician, Sidonian, and Lesbian women (*Il.* 9. 270-2) seem to have been especially highly prized as wool workers and weavers and we may note in passing that

Paris had clearly been raiding for women - probably an authentic Bronze-Age tradition in Homer.

16. Homer *passim*; cf. the large oak chest in Verucchio t. 89 (Marchesini and Marvelli 2002, 294-5).
17. Gleba 2002.
18. This formulaic expression in Homer is no redundancy in a society where the roles of wives and slaves overlapped so strongly. Ambiguously, Achaean warriors look forward to taking home Trojan wives to sleep with (*Il.* 2.355). In an only slightly later generation, Hesiod (*WD* 405-8) is explicit on the distinction, advising his brother to get a house, an ox, and a woman to help him - a bought one, not a wedded one."
19. Rallo 1989b, 152-3.
20. The subject of agrarian debt is a separate subject for discussion elsewhere. Penelope's suitor, Eurymachos, could ask Odysseus, disguised as a beggar at Telemachus' feast, if he would work for him on the outmost margin of his land collecting stones and planting tall trees; "I would provide regular food, give you clothes to wear and shoes for your feet." (*Od.* 18. 357-61) Hesiod has a lot to say about subsistence economics in a start-up rural household (*WD*, *passim*): work is done by the owner, oxen, slaves, wife, and children.
21. This formulaic expression is important: even a slave could accumulate private possessions as fruits of his own work and, indeed, eventually use them to purchase himself a slave. (*Od.* 14. 449-51)
22. *Iliad passim*: as prizes for warrior exploits. As prizes in funeral races: *Il.* 22. 164; 13. 259-61, 263, etc. Actoris, Penelope's handmaid, was given to her by her father when she married Odysseus. (*Od.* 23. 228-9)
23. Bartoloni 1989, 40. In *Il.* 11. 243-5 Iphidamas paid 100 cattle to secure his bride and promised 1000 sheep and goats later on from his numerous flocks. To placate Achilles, amongst many other princely gifts, Agamemnon offered him one of his daughters in marriage without the cost of the usual gifts (*Il.* 9. 288).
24. Turfa, 2002.
25. E.g., *Od.* 14. 140-3.
26. E.g., Lycaon (*Il.* 21. 35-138) or the Phoenician woman who abducted Eumaios (below). Even Helen missed her former home (*Il.* 3. 140). See Taylor 2001 on the importance of having an ethnic mix in large holdings of slaves.
27. Cf. the observation that "cattle and fat sheep can be had for the taking, tripods and chestnut horses can be got, but you cannot steal or catch a man's life when he has dead" (*Il.* 9. 406-9). For another compulsory levy on a dependent free population (Phaeacians) see *Od.* 13. 14-15.
28. As a lad Odysseus had been sent by his father and other elders to visit Ortilochus' house in Messene to recover 300 sheep with their shepherds that some Messenians had lifted from Ithaca and carried off in their ships. (*Od.* 21.15-41) Cf. *Od.* 11. 288-92: Neleus promised his daughter in marriage to the suitor who could lift cattle from Iphicles in Phylace, or *Il.* 11. 670-705: Nestor recalls his own exploits as a stock raider, starting in adolescence when he rounded up so many animals that his father

- could settle his debts. The Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* 68-137 evokes an exciting cattle raid in vivid detail.
29. E.g. *Il.* 2. 225-34; 18. 28-31; 19. 280-1, etc. The untenably destructive consequences of constant reciprocal abduction and raiding for women are implicit in the background to the story of the Trojan war, brought on by the abduction of Helen, while the *Iliad* opens with contention between Agamemnon and Achilles over two other prized captives, Chryseis and Briseis. To this day, rape by foreign soldiers is reported in almost every theatre of war, and lest we imagine this tendency is alien to ourselves, see the *Instructions for American Servicemen in Britain* (War Dept., Washington D.C. 1942, repr. Oxford, Bodleian library 1994/2004, no pagination): “you can understand how ... swiping his girl ... will slow up the friendship [with the British soldier]....,” or *Instructions for British Servicemen in France* 1944, Oxford, Bodleian Library 2005, no pagination) under headings “Family Life,” “Not like Montmartre,” and “Women,” e.g., “The fathers, brothers and fiancés of French girls will often be unable to protect them because they are fighting ... or deported .... You are on your honour to behave to their womenfolk as you would wish them to behave to yours ... (and) as for the loose women, if you noted the facts on p. 12 about V.D. you will see good reasons for avoiding them.”
  30. Illust. Bartoloni 2000, 52; cf. the little bronze of a chained, naked woman from Tomb 9, Poggio Gallinaro, Tarquinia (late eighth/early seventh cent.) illust. Haynes 2000, 17.
  31. Cf. Taylor 2001 and Dover 1978, 104-5.
  32. For Gaul see Long et al. eds., 2002.
  33. Haynes 2000, 32-3.
  34. Poseidon was “savior of ships” (*Hom. Hymn to Poseidon*, 5) but his trident could also stir a storm at sea (*Od.* 5. 292). Penelope’s suitors urge her to accept that Odysseus is dead, build him a mound, and accept remarriage (*Od.* 2. 220-3); on the importance of rites of closure after death see Taylor 2002, esp. ch. 5.
  35. And be sold into Libya or Egypt where they evidently wanted men (e.g. *Od.* 14. 271-300; cf. *Od.* 20. 382-3 (Sicily).
  36. The prices quoted in Homer for slaves include cattle (*Od.* 1. 431), which were a standard measure of value, but a sea-traveller could strike many different bargains. E.g., Telemachus asks Nestor (*Od.* 4. 600-8) to give him a gift he could carry, not horses. Lycaon was purchased for a silver krater (*Il.* 23. 746).
  37. As outright possessions of their purchasers, who owed nothing to their families of origin, slaves could be killed with near-impunity or cruelly punished: *Od.* 24. 462-77.
  38. For discussion of the status of slaves see e.g. Rallo 1989b. Even very modest households can be assumed to have had at least a slave or two, making the overall slave population even in early Etruria demographically significant.
  39. Haynes 2000, 124, 226; Lawergren 2002.
  40. E.g.. the boy aulete in the Tomba del Barone at Tarquinia: see below.
  41. See e.g. Anacreon (fl. 563-478), *Ox.Bk.Gk.Verse* 1946 173, 176, 177, involving boys and girls alike. A lot of the Attic pottery in question was of course made for export

and was preserved in Etruscan tombs. The scenes depicted on it presumably therefore reflect its owners' tastes.

42. Anacreon *Ox.Bk.Gk.Verse* 1946 177, cf. Taylor 2001.
43. See Johns 1982, 99-102 for implicit rules governing sexual approaches to adolescent boys.
44. When grown, Etruscans may have used them as cooks; later on the Tomba Golini (EP 32, Orvieto, third quarter of the fourth century BC) shows adult male slaves preparing food and serving wine.
45. Cristofani 1983, 57-60; pl. 37 discusses representations including the famous Exechias cup, usually dated c. 540 BC.
46. Cf the wine waiter in Tomba dei Leopardi (EP 81, pl. 105, Tarquinia, c. 480-470 BC).
47. Taylor 2001.
48. Aristodemus of Cumae, for instance, at the end of the sixth century, made guards of the many male slaves he had freed for having killed their masters. (Dion. Hal. 7.8.3)
49. The Gauls had a reputation as exceptionally good at bearing and rearing children: Strabo 4.1.2; 4.4.3. They were also skilled in keeping cattle (e.g., Polyb. 2. 17. 8-12) and in handling horses and chariots (e.g. Diod. 5. 29. 1-4). Cf. Nash 1987, 41.
50. Nash Briggs 2003, 254-7.
51. This discussion is based on material illustrated in EP: 5 in the Tomba dei Tori (c. 530 BC, EP 120), 2 in T. delle Leonesse (c. 520 BC, EP 77); 1 in T. Topolino (c. 520/510 BC, EP 119); 1 in T. dei Giocolieri (c. 510 BC, EP 70); 2, perhaps 4, in T. della Caccia e Pesca (c. 510 BC, EP 50); 7 in T. del Barone (c. 510/500 BC, EP 44). Just outside this period are 2 banqueters in T. dei Leopardi (c. 480/470 BC, EP 81).
52. Diod. 5. 28; 5. 32. 2. Herodotus (4. 109) commented on redheads in Scythia. For a young girl with long blonde hair in second-millennium BC Bronze-Age Denmark see Jensen 1999, 109. Natural selection for skin color has worked relatively fast in evolutionary terms and extremely sensitively relative to geographical latitude because UV light causes the skin to synthesize vitamin D (essential for healthy bone formation in children, including girls who will need to give birth safely when grown) but destroys folate (essential for synthesis of DNA in dividing cells and for healthy development of the neural tube in the foetus). At latitudes above 45 degrees N (just south of Périgueux, Grenoble, Turin, and Venice) there is insufficient sunlight during most of the year for the skin to synthesize Vitamin D. In Europe's prehistoric populations sufficient melanin had to be lost from the skin to enable it to maximize synthesis of Vitamin D during the summer months while enough was retained to shield against folate destruction (Jablonski and Chaplin, 2002).
53. Rallo 1989c, 178.
54. One in T. delle Leonesse, one in T. della Caccia e Pesca. The two rather androgynous women banqueters in the later T. dei Leopardi have fashionably short-cut blonde hair that could be either natural or dyed: Rallo 1989c, 178, with reference to Dion. Hal. 7.9.4, where there are unfortunately variant readings at the critical point for this argument. *Xanthizomenous* (yellow) is the reading in Steph. Byz. *Exanthizomenous* in source O, (suggesting long, wild hair or hair with flowers in it) is preferred in the

- Loeb edition. In either case this was evidently a women's fashion, abnormally imposed on boys by a tyrant: the blonde-haired males in Etruscan tombs may cautiously be taken as being naturally so colored.
55. Light blondes: 3 in T. dei Tori; 2 in T. delle Leonesse; 1 in T. del Topolino; 4 in T. del Barone; [2 in T. dei Leopardi]. Indeterminate light brown hair: 1 in T. dei Tori.
  56. Redheads: 1 in T. dei Tori; 1 in T. dei Giocolieri; 2, perhaps 4 in T. della Caccia e Pesca.
  57. She is beautifully dressed, and could be taken for a kinswoman of the deceased in a reanimation dance (Jannot 1998, 65). But Etruscan high-ranking household slaves were also richly dressed and as integral members of the household are likely to have been roused to join in the lamentation when a householder died, just as they were in Homer (*Il.* 6. 499; 18. 30-1). Odysseus' slaves, richly dressed, could dance a convincing wedding dance under admittedly bizarre circumstances (*Od.* 23. 131-6).
  58. I am excluding from discussion the four blonde or redhead naked men conducting the sexual scenes in the T. dei Tori, as the scene itself suggests a formulaic or narrative composition rather than portraiture. Cf Dover 1978, 104-5: anal assault in other known ethnographic settings is an insult reserved for enemies held in especial contempt. The other blonde horseman in the pediment wears Scythian breeches. Could all the blondes in this tomb perhaps be so coloured to mark them out as aliens of some sort?
  59. Nestor provided a feast at which wine was served by "the finest serving-men" (*Od.* 3. 471).
  60. T. dei Tori: one chestnut palomino; reassuringly, another rather faded horse seems to have been carefully and realistically colored to indicate a black mane and tail, brown neck and shoulders, and a light coat elsewhere; T. della Caccia e Pesca : 1 chestnut palomino; T. del Barone: three black palominos, three chestnut palominos. These may all be portraits of valuable living animals.
  61. See e.g., Gran-Aymerich 1995; Jannot 1995; Shefton 1995; Pearce 1995; Bietti Sestieri 1998; Anati 1999; Camporeale 2001b.
  62. Kristiansen 1998: 233-9. Hausurnenkultur: Griesa 1999, 122-5; cf. Shefton 1995, 15; Gesichtsurnenkultur: *ibid.*, 134-6, some of which give the irresistible impression of wearing a fur-trimmed hat (Judith Toms, pers. comm).
  63. Cf., Shefton 1995, 12 - 17; Jannot 1995, 80.
  64. For further discussion and references see de Marinis 2000; Nash Briggs 2003.
  65. Kristiansen 1998, 166-75, 180-2; Kruta and Manfredi 1999, 23-43; de Marinis 1999; Harari and Pearce 2000, *passim*. It is, for instance, striking that, like transalpiners, Golasecca women are never routinely buried with spinning and weaving equipment as indicators of status.
  66. For fuller discussion see Nash Briggs 2003.
  67. Härke 1979, 93.
  68. Shefton 1955, 16-17.
  69. Haynes 2000, 146; Gran-Aymerich 1995, 54.
  70. Certosa burial 57, c. 475-410 BC: Museo Civico di Bologna public display, June 2003. See more generally Vitali 1992; Frey 1955; Kruta and Manfredi 1999.

71. These include tripods and cauldrons, which, “untouched by the fire,” are precious goods that change hands as gifts in Homer’s epics: e.g. *Od.* 13. 13 and as prizes: e.g. *Il.* 22. 164; 23. 259-61; and have ceremonial uses, for instance to heat water to wash the body for a funeral: *Il.* 18. 343-50.
72. Kristiansen 1998: 273-7, cf. Shefton 1995, 12. She died aged about 30, perhaps from a blow to the back of her head. I have discussed this further in Nash Briggs 2003, 256. On the Vix krater see Rolley 1997, 241. It is somewhat like the extravagantly large krater depicted centrally on one wall in the Tomba delle Leonesse, in a scene that includes two blonde slaves: see n. 51.
73. For fuller discussion see Nash Briggs 2003, 246-7.
74. Wrecks off Gaul (Long et al. 2002): Épave de la Love (Cap d’Antibes), c. 560/550 BC; É. Écueil de Miet 3 (Marseille), sixth century BC; É. (?) de Cassidaigne (Baie de Cassis), sixth century; É. de Rochelongue (Cap d’Agde), end seventh/early sixth century; É. de Bon Porté 1 (Ramatuëlle), including Greek wine, c. 540-510 BC; É. du Dattier (Cavalaire), c. 540-500; É. Pointe Lequin 1A (Porquerolles), largely Greek cargo, c. 515 BC; É. Grand-Ribaud F (Giens), c. 515-470 BC, with 800-1000 Caeretan amphorae in the hold when it sank.
75. For amplification see Nash Briggs 2003.
76. Thus for instance Odysseus and Iphitus happened to meet at Ortilochus’ house in Messene, became friends and exchanged valued gifts (*Od.* 21, 11-41).
77. I have explored this cycle elsewhere in a later Iron-Age context (Nash 1987, 41-8). The scale of such feasts reached truly staggering proportions in the first century BC, illustrated in recent excavations at the Arvernian oppidum of Corent (Puy-de-Dôme: see Poux 2003).
78. Nash 1987a, 68-70; Kruta and Manfredi 1999, 45-99.
79. Nash 1985, 46-9, 53-5.
80. Nash Briggs 2003, 254-6, cf. ead 2002.
81. Gran-Aymerich 1995, 55.
82. Shefton 1995, 13; Wells 1980, 136; Nash 1985, 47-8.
83. Suggested by Colonna 1985, 276-7, cf. Gran-Aymerich 1995: 54-5. On wineskins, Dietler 1997, 335 demurred, but skins were used in Homer (*Od.* 9. 196) and the exceptionally high value of even a little wine in the interior of Gaul might justify the cost and inconvenience of wineskins.
84. Diodorus 5. 26; Athenaeus *Deipn.* 4. 36.
85. Barbarian soldiers were certainly used by Greeks in the late sixth century (Aristodemus of Cumae: Dion. Hal. 7. 3) and there were Gauls in Daunia at the end of the fifth century (Pearce 1995, 149). The Ligurians and Celts were, for inland and north Etruscans, the nearest good source of such soldiers, a subject I have previously touched upon (Nash 1985, 55-61; 1987, 13-15, etc.) and will pursue in more detail elsewhere. Etruscan bronze figurines in Gaul have been linked with mercenary wanderers (Jannot 1995, 81-2 with references). The apparent clustering of such items in western Gaul (Jannot 1995, 90-1) is interestingly reminiscent of the distribution of some early gold coinages of the region that I believe relate to an honorable history of mer-

cenary service for the overlords of Syracuse and Tarentum (Nash 187a,18; 1987b).

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