The excavation conducted by the Sapienza – Università di Roma at Piano di Comunità, the southern urban district of Veii, has yielded interesting data concerning the topographical layout of the site and its use. Among the most significant artefacts from the site is a red-figure kylix, identical to one from Spina, which is considered to be Etruscan. A detailed analysis is necessary to decide whether the two can be assigned to the Attic red-figure Zalamea Group.

The kylix from Veii, preliminarily published, was found in the filling of a well, discovered within room A, on the southwest of the late Republican domus. The well, probably dug into a court-yard, seems datable to the phase of occupation of the city plateau during the 6th century BC.

The filling of the well is organized in regular subdivisions. In the deepest part, where there are three small radial compartments, a large quantity of broken vases and densely compressed bucchero cups and kantharoi were accumulated. Inside the cups and kantharoi firstlings and animal parts had, it seems, been deposited intentionally as offerings. This deposit was well sealed by a layer of fragmentary tiles. The shaft was filled with mixed material, less abundant and more fragmented than in the compartments. This second accumulation is sealed over with a concentration of crushed bones, largely made up of pig skulls. Immediately above, there was a variety of broken pieces of tufa blocks, perhaps resulting from the deliberate dismantling of the fourth level of the lining of the well. At the mouth of the well was a layer of earth, contaminated by the general levelling of room A of the domus.

Study of the finds showed that, despite the division into two main levels marked by deliberate sealing, the filling of the well took place on one occasion, using partially crushed material from previous fills, in a sequence of highly ritualised procedures.

At the lower level of the shaft the base of a stemless kylix (Fig. 1) was found, which has a bird (goose, duck or swan) in the medallion, within a border of two reserved lines: the bird is moving to the right, and seems to be shaking its open wings. The fragment may be classified as the type of stemless kylix with large plain rim.

The decorative circle on the underside is well attested in Attic red-figure kylikes from the mid-5th century BC onwards, mainly between 430–420 BC, as in the late production of the Lid Painter, but also in other examples such as the Cástulo Cups.

In the shaft of the well (from -1.80 to -3.50m) fragments of another kylix (Fig. 2) of the same type and two rim fragments, belonging to one or more kylikes, were retrieved; these can probably be related to the same Attic production.

The kylix with the bird is of considerable interest from several points of view. Soon after its discovery, it seemed justifiable to compare the kylix from Veii (Fig. 1) to one from Spina (Fig. 3), judged by Gilotta to be Etruscan, and to connect both with an Attic red-figure kylix found in the Athenian Agora (Fig. 4). It is highly probable that the kylix from Spina, dated to the end of the 5th or early 4th century BC, was produced in the same workshop, and almost certainly by the same craftsman, as suggested by certain details (in particular, the shape of the eye and feathers). The subject matter of the medallion of the kylix from Spina, considered ‘apparently not Attic’, very closely recalls the stamnos Bologna 824: it has therefore been considered an ‘attache padana’ to this group of vases collected by Gilotta under that name (stamnos Bologna 824). The morphology of the vase and the device of the double line delineating the medallion suggest a connection between the

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**Figure 1** Veii, Piano di Comunità, domus, room A, kylix, inv. no. VPC 469/63.1, from the well-filling. Drawing and photo by L. Ambrosini

**Figure 2** Veii, Piano di Comunità, domus, room A, kylix inv. no. VCP 469/9.1, from the well-filling. Drawing and photo by L. Ambrosini

**Figure 3** Ferrara, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, kylix inv. no. 29838, from Spina (after Gilotta 1998 [2001], pl. XXIV.e-i)
two kylikes (the one from Veii and the one from Spina) and the ‘coppe apode’ studied by Piera Bocci.\(^{34}\) The workshop, which according to Gilotta might be located in northern Etruria (probably in the Val di Chiana), exported its products to the territory of Siena, Volterra, the Ager of Volsinii\(^{35}\) and Etruria Padana (Bologna). The distribution of these ceramics highlights the existence of an inland waterway towards the south, as already proposed by Jolivet and Gilotta. This hypothesis would fit well with the new kylix from Veii. Recently, Gilotta has been inclined to locate this workshop production in the Tiber Valley, at Chiusi/Clusium or Volsinii, not excluding the existence of other centres of production, perhaps satisfying the demands of a clientele over a wide area.\(^{21}\) It should be noted that a fragment of a cup with a double concentric line on the interior, comparable to that on our kylix from Veii, was recently found in Ferento and attributed by Micozzi to Attic production, though not excluding the possibility of its being Etruscan.\(^{21}\)

Looking further afield, we see that stemless kylikes of this type, featuring the representation of a bird inside a medallion rimmed by two concentric lines, are produced in Athens in the last quarter of the 5th century bc, as indicated by a kylix from a well in the ancient Athenian Agora (Fig. 4), dated to this period. The fragment was reused as an ostrakon for Hyperbolos between 417 and 415 bc (Fig. 5).\(^{22}\) The kylix from Athens has a bird facing left and bears on the underside a graffito inscription, indicating its use as an ostrakon: ‘Ὑπέρβολος Αντιφάνος, that is Hyperbolos Antiphanos Perithoides, the radical democrat, whose ostracism is dated to 417 bc according to Theopompus, or to 416 or 415 bc according to other evidence.\(^{30}\) The kylix was found together with two Attic red-figure oinochoai from Spina, but also, for example, to the kylix (Fig. 6) from the palace-sanctuary of Cancho Roano\(^{23,24}\) (Zalamea de la Serena, Badajoz), in Extremadura, Spain. The destruction of the sanctuary is dated to the end of the 5th/early 4th century bc, but its use dates back to at least the 6th century bc. The kylix found in Cancho Roano in 1989, but published only recently by Gracia Alonso, is decorated in the medallion and also on the underside. The vase has been attributed to Attic production and dated to 430–425 bc. Also from the sanctuary of Cancho Roano comes another fragmentary kylix of the same type, preserving part of a bird’s wing (Fig. 7).\(^{27}\) When compared, the representation of the bird is almost identical to that on the kylix from the Athenian Agora. The device of the bird occurs

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**Figure 4** Athens, The Agora Museum, kylix inv. no. P18495, from a well in the ancient Agora of Athens. Photo L. Ambrosini

**Figure 5** Athens, The Agora Museum, kylix inv. no. P18495, from a well of the ancient Agora of Athens. Left: drawing by H.S. Whipple, after Thompson 1948, 186, fig. 8; right: drawing after Lang 1990, fig. 11309

**Figure 6** Spain, Zalamea de la Serena, Badajoz, palace-sanctuary of Cancho Roano, kylix (after Gracia Alonso 2003, pl. 2.1)

**Figure 7** Spain, Zalamea de la Serena, Badajoz, palace-sanctuary of Cancho Roano, kylix (after Gracia Alonso 2003, pl. 7.3)
An Attic Red-figured Kylix From Veii and the Distribution of the Zalamea Group In Etruria

frequently on Attic red-figure kylikes found in Spain and Rousillon: for example, from Château Roussillon/Ruscino\textsuperscript{38} (eastern Pyrenees) dated to 400 bc and from the necropolis of Las Madriquíeras (Carrascosa del Campo, Guadalajara),\textsuperscript{39} two examples from Ampurias (one of which is very fragmentary),\textsuperscript{40} another from Illeta dels Banyets (Campello, Alicante)\textsuperscript{41} and the unpublished piece in the Museum of Elche.\textsuperscript{42}

The kylikes from Cancho Roano are defined as ‘copas de pie bajo de tipo Plain Rim’, i.e. Stemless Large Plain Rim.\textsuperscript{43} Initially linked to the production of the Marlay Painter, they were later attributed by Gracia Alonso to the Circle of the Painter of London E 777 and to the Circle of the Painter of Bologna 417, which is in turn linked to the Circle of the Penthesilea Painter. This is a group of kylikes of inferior quality to those produced by the Circle of the Marlay Painter, in the same period, but by different hands.\textsuperscript{44} The uniformity and uniqueness of the group led Gracia Alonso to detect an artist responsible for this production who was possibly independent of those mentioned above, and whom he called the ‘Zalamea Painter’.\textsuperscript{45} This production is dated to the second half of the 5th century bc.\textsuperscript{46}

The technical and stylistic features allowed Gracia Alonso to identify a group of artisans working with the Zalamea Painter in the Athenian Kerameikos, influenced by the major artists of the time (Fig. 8).\textsuperscript{47} Furthermore, the kylikes of the Zalamea Group, together with the Cástulo Cups, the glaukes, the skyphoi with garland, the St Valentin kantharoi, and the Delicate Class kylikes, make up a pottery set that enables the identification of a specific commercial profile from the end of the 5th century bc; what P. Cabrera called the ‘horizonte ampuritano’.\textsuperscript{48}

The discovery made in the Tartessic centre of Cancho Roano is important. In the indigenous sites bucchero and Etruscan amphorae are completely absent, but Greek pottery (e.g. in the fortified site of Castro Marim) is widespread.\textsuperscript{49} The Tartessic populations were regulating the flow of exotic goods inwards to Extremadura\textsuperscript{50} through the course of the Guadiana, as evidenced by the two Etruscan bronze infundibula (one of type 1 ‘lyre type’ and one of type 3 ‘palmette type’)\textsuperscript{51} from Cancho Roano.\textsuperscript{52} As is known, the flow of Etruscan pottery to the Iberian coast seems to have stopped altogether in the second half of the 5th century bc.\textsuperscript{53} A recent study on the circulation of Greek pottery in Extremadura\textsuperscript{54} has revealed that the Attic pottery in Cancho Roano appears in the final phase of the palace-sanctuary at the end of the 5th century bc. It is also interesting to note that the Stemless Large Plain Rim kylikes have, in Extremadura, their highest concentration especially in Cancho Roano, with 45 vases, of which at least 22 bear a red-figure decoration in the medallion. Outside Cancho Roano the Stemless Large Plain Rim kylikes were found only in the great tumulus of El Turuñuelo de Guereña.\textsuperscript{55}

Figure 8 Attic Pottery from Spain – Extremadura: decorative motifs of the medallion on red-figure kylikes (type Stemless Large Plain Rim) (after Jimenez Villa and Ortega Blanco 2004, 117, fig. 32)
production of stemless kylikes with a bird in the medallion, difficult (though not impossible) to imagine an Etruscan Valentin kantharoi). In our case, though, it seems rather addition of variants (as is evident in the decoration of St Etruria, but with the technique of over-painting and with the kantharoi, etc. These productions are widely imitated in Attic pottery in Etruria such as the glaukes and the St Valentin product from abroad. That is the case with the widespread ‘surrogate’ that looks like a well-known and sought-after imitation is that it should be linked to demand for a high quality and effecting a more vibrant red.

The analysis by X-ray fluorescence of Attic pottery from the Agora of Volterra, of Arezzo, from the Clusium/Chiusi area, from Volsinii and Greifswald. The analysis of the kylix from Veii is given in the first row (A.C. Felici).

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Inventory Number</th>
<th>Class Object</th>
<th>K</th>
<th>Ca</th>
<th>Ti</th>
<th>Cr</th>
<th>Mn</th>
<th>Fe</th>
<th>Ni</th>
<th>Cu</th>
<th>Zn</th>
<th>Rb</th>
<th>Sr</th>
<th>Zr</th>
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<td>To determine</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>3.90</td>
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<td>0.67</td>
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<td>0.10</td>
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<td>1.03</td>
<td>8.14</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>81.79</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>0.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1.08</td>
<td>3.85</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>1.81</td>
<td>85.66</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>1.43</td>
<td>2.22</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>0.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VPC 469/13.92</td>
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<td>6.17</td>
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<td>0.00</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>83.66</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>1.48</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VPC 469/11.55; VPC 469/12.59; VPC 469/12.60; VPC 469/12.66</td>
<td>Banded pottery</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td>5.86</td>
<td>1.38</td>
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<td>1.79</td>
<td>83.13</td>
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<td>0.36</td>
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<td>2.36</td>
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<td>0.38</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>3.86</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>0.32</td>
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My own recent examination of the kylix in Athens prompted observations about the kylix from Veii. The different colour of the clay (gray in the kylix from Cancho Roano, red in the example from Veii, dark pink in that from the Athenian Agora) prevents automatic attribution of the vases to the same production. Of course the differently coloured clay may be explained by accidental factors (firing defects, sourcing from different areas of the same quarry, supply from different quarries, etc.). However, the presence of milto (red ochre), noted both on the Athenian Agora kylix and on the kylix from Veii, leads to the same surface appearance, achieving standardisation of colour and effecting a more vibrant red.

The analysis by X-ray fluorescence of Attic pottery from the well at Veii revealed the presence of both nickel and chromium, but the kylix showed only chromium (Table 1). If compared to the archaeometric features of local pottery also shown in the Table, the kylix reveals noticeable differences: a higher iron content, and a lower content of manganese, rubidium, strontium and zirconium. Unfortunately it was not possible to obtain a sample of clay from the Athena Agora kylix for analysis, due to its historical importance as an ostrakon. However, further examination of the kylix from Veii is merited in order to determine whether it is actually an Attic product, as I believe, rather than Etruscan ‘Attic-style’, aiming to satisfy the demand for figured pottery.

In conclusion, there are criteria, some evidential and some circumstantial, that can be used as pointers to the Attic production of the kylix from Veii. The most important factors are the morphology of the vase, the decoration and the surface treatment. It has to be stressed, however, that the Attic kylix in question is not common in Etruria and that therefore it seems highly unlikely to be an Etruscan imitation. The requirement of an imitation is that it should be linked to demand for a ‘surrogate’ that looks like a well-known and sought-after product from abroad. That is the case with the widespread Attic pottery in Etruria such as the glaukes and the St Valentin kantharoi, etc. These productions are widely imitated in Etruria, but with the technique of over-painting and with the addition of variants (as is evident in the decoration of St Valentin kantharoi). In our case, though, it seems rather difficult (though not impossible) to imagine an Etruscan production of stemless kylikes with a bird in the medallion, since such kylikes had limited circulation, not only in Etruria but also in the rest of the Mediterranean area, and also in consideration of the lack of variants (stylistic or technical) in the Attic prototypes. In this respect the contemporary production of over-painted black-glaze kylikes should be taken into account, bearing the same bird in the medallion; the six kylikes collected by Bruni come from Fiesole (the kylix found at the southern side of the Etruscan wall, with the Etruscan inscription ‘rarulpua’ incised under the foot (Fig. 9)), from the ager of Volterra, of Arezzo, from the Clusium/Chiusi area, from Volsinii and Greifswald. I take this opportunity to point out an unpublished stemmed kylix, with a bird to the left, over-painted in pink on black glaze, in a medallion rimmed by two lines, which was found in Rome on the north-eastern slopes of the Palatine hill in the excavation directed by Panella.

It is well known that the flow of Attic pottery continued in great quantity in the 5th century bc, and was not hindered even by the Peloponnesian War. In addition, possible transit points of goods through the Apennines have been identified, both to the north and to the south, enabling access to the inland and Tiberine Etruria. In my opinion, Veii provides another key point to understanding the movement of Attic pottery in Etruria between the last decades of the 5th and the first decades of the 4th centuries bc. The circulation of Attic red-figure pottery in Veii during this period is little known. From Beazley’s lists we know about a pelike of the Painter of London E 395, a fragment of the Manner of the Meidias Painter and four kylikes of the sub-Medidian Cup Group. To these vases I...
An Attic Red-figured Kylix From Veii and the Distribution of the Zalamea Group In Etruria

Notes

1. The complete bibliography for the site and excavation is available in Ambrosini and Beelli Marchesini in press b. The excavation was undertaken as part of the ‘Progetto Veio’, run by the Sapienza – Università di Roma (co-ordinated by Prof. G. Bartoloni), under the supervision of Prof. G. Colonna. I would like to thank Sam Alberts and Barbara Beelli Marchesini for the revision of my English translation of the text.


3. Ambrosini and Beelli Marchesini 2009, 274–6, fig. 7.1, 286, fig. 15.6a–b; Ambrosini, in Ambrosini et al. in press a; in Ambrosini and Beelli Marchesini, in press b; in Ambrosini and Beelli Marchesini, in press c.

4. Study of the well’s structure can be found in Beelli Marchesini, in Ambrosini and Beelli Marchesini, in press b.

5. The botanical analysis of the remains from inside the bucchero vases was prepared by Dr A. Celant of Sapienza - Università di Roma. We must reiterate that the vases are not whole; if our interpretation is correct, the vessels were thrown into the well along with the offerings.

6. The placing of tiles of roughly even thickness corresponds to a method commonly used in the filling of cisterns, to ensure their consolidation.

7. Inv. no. VPC 469/63.1. Clay 2.5YR5/6 red, black iridescent glaze, there remains only 39% of the foot; ht.2cm; diam. of foot 8.7cm; ht.of foot 1.15cm.


9. E.g. from Cancho Roano: Gracia Alonso 2003, 52–3, fig. 6.1.I and M. Jiménez Villa and Ortega Blanco 2004, 30–1, PAJ, 1, fig. 1, 126, fig. 35.I.

10. Inv. no. VPC 469/9.1.

11. Inv. no. VPC 469/25.1 and Inv. no. VPC 469/54.495.


13. Ambrosini and Beelli Marchesini 2009; Ambrosini et al., in press a; Ambrosini and Beelli Marchesini, in press b; Ambrosini and Beelli Marchesini, in press c.


20. Moore 1997, 315, no. 1390, with bibl., pl. 128.1390, Attic, dated to the last quarter of the 5th century bc. Inv. no. P18495, int. diam. of foot 6.9cm, ext. diam. of foot 8.6cm, wall thickness 0.8cm. Mildos (red ochre) is present right across the outside of the foot; dark pink clay and gloss opaque. This is an ostrakon: Lang 1990, 64, no. 369, fig. 11, with bibl. For the complete photographic documentation of the vase, see Thompson 1948, 186, fig. 8, pl. 66.3.

21. From the Athenian Agora come two other ostraka with the name of Hyperbolos Antiphonos; the form of letters and context allow dating of the ostraka to the last quarter of the 5th century bc (Lang 1990, 63).

22. Moore 1997, 233, no. 613, 244, n. 719, pls 68.633 and 76.719; the first with a depiction of a komos is dated to the last quarter of the 5th century bc; the second with an athletic scene is dated to c. 400 bc.


24. Trias De Arribas 1967, 192, no. 615, 303, no. 29, pl. CXI.1 and 2, CL.9.

25. See Schlöbr-Vierneisel 1968, 93, pl. 32; CVA Stuttgart t, pl. 31.3.

26. CVA Karlsruhe t, pl. 29.5.

27. CVA Milan t, pl. ii.5.

28. CVA Gracco, tav. 13.5.


30. For the association of the bird with gods and mortals, consider for example Apollo, Zeus and Iacynthus, etc.


33. In this connection see also Gracia Alonso 2003, 35.

34. See, e.g., Sassatelli 1993a, 22 (color photograph), 99–100, no. 124, with bibl.

35. Gracia Alonso 2003, 34–5, 81, pl.2,124, 127, pl. 7.3; Jiménez Villa and Ortega Blanco 2004, 26–8, CR3, Inv-Campaña 1989, ht. 2.2cm, diam. foot 9.5cm; red clay, compact and purificated with micaceous inclusions.


38. Mena Muñoz 1984, 165. I was unable to consult Almagro Gorbea 1965 and Almagro Gorbea and Olmos 1981, as the books kept in Rome’s libraries (only the Spanish and the Swedish), are not available (in closed boxes for transfer of the library or for restructuring).

39. Trias De Arribas 1967, 145, no. 439 and 441, pl. LXXIX 3 and 5; Jiménez Villa and Ortega Blanco 2004, 120; Miro I Alaixa 2006, 249, 260, fig. 706,2587 and 739.

40. García Martín 2003, fig. 12.76; Jiménez Villa and Ortega Blanco 2004, 120–1. The interpretation as the owl, is, according to the authors, debatable.

41. I would like to thank Prof. R. Olmos for this information.


43. See also Domínguez Sanchez and Sánchez 2001, 440–1.


46. The spread of these kylies in Spain affects not only the coastal sites as Ampurias and Illeta de Banyets, but also the inland sites: Jiménez Villa and Ortega Blanco 2004, 119, fig. 33.


50. For the distribution of pottery through the course of the Guadiana see Jiménez Villa and Ortega Blanco 2004, 213–24.

51. Celestino and Zulueta 2003, 57, fig. 17.1-2; Botto and Vives Ferrándiz 2006, 129–30, fig. 23.


55. Carried out 31 December 2007 at the Agora Museum. I would like to thank Dr K. Lazaride, Dr N. Saraga, Dr M. Geranou (Ephoria of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities), Dr J. Jordan (American School of Classical Studies). For more extensive discussion see Ambrosini et al., in press a.

56. According to the Ministry of Culture regarding my request of 9/11/2007. It would be difficult to arrange x-ray fluorescence analysis of the fragment in Athens using the same apparatus as used in Rome for the analysis of the kylix from Veii, which would be desirable to obtain directly comparable results.


58. Brun 2003, 283–4, pl. II.4b.

59. Found in 2003 in US 2353 (road resurfacing near the Meta Sudans) and dated to the second quarter of the 3rd century bc.

60. I would like to thank Prof. A. Panella and Dr A. Ferrandes for inviting me to examine the Attic red-figure, Faliscan and Etruscan red-figure pottery found in the excavation.

61. Sassatelli 1993b, 195, with bibl.
Ambrosini

63 Ambrosini 2009b, 325, n. 160.
64 ARV², 1140-12, 1129-113, 1396-7-10.
65 G. Cifani, in Moretti Sgubini 2001, 19, ICr. The fragment is generally dated to the second half of the 5th century BC; see Ambrosini 2005, 325, n. 160.
67 See, e.g., Ambrosini 2005.

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