Provillanoviano' as a statistically definable taxonomic entity rather than as a culture) distinguishes two socioeconomic formations, both Protovillanovan: 'di tipo tribale' in the north; and 'di tipo gentilizio-clientelare' in the south (which means that the upper classes there are more closely involved in the production of the means of subsistence: 'ecco i magazzini di pithoi, ecco l'olio, ecco il vino' [p. 256]), with Frattesina as a unique example of the southern type in the north.

In sum, these are deep waters. As it happens, an encouraging glimpse of what awaits us in the immediately succeeding period is afforded by the second item listed above.

In all, Paolo Orsi excavated 334 graves in the Torre Galli cemetery near Tropea in Calabria; his report (*MonAnt* 31 [1926], cols. 5–212, pls. 1–8), though efficient, is no longer adequate. Pacciarelli (P.) makes good the deficiency for the 277 graves, mainly single inhumations with *corredi* (sets of grave-goods), that belong to the early part of the Early Iron Age. The basic procedures of modern definitive publication are here admirably carried out, and the result (pp. 143–206, pls. 12–189) has permanent reference value; and although P. will not be the last specialist to interrogate this major assemblage, it will be some time before the answers that he has elicited will be superseded. Briefly, typological classification of the grave-goods (pp. 107–41) leads to basic seriation of the *corredi* (loose Table 1); this yields two sub-phases (IA, IB: pp. 35–44), absolute dates for which are obtained by comparing the Torre Galli sequence with those available at other sites in South and Central Italy and elsewhere in the Mediterranean (pp. 44–62). But what sets P.'s work apart is his correlation of the Torre Galli and other southern sequences with the contexts in Switzerland that can now be dated independently by dendrochronology. He concludes, I believe reasonably in the present state of the evidence, that the early part of the Italian Early Iron Age should be assigned to *c*. 960–850 B.C. rather than, as hitherto, to *c*. 900–800 (pp. 62–3, with Fig. 15; and cf. *JRA* 12 [1999], 438–9).

P.'s new chronology will have to be considered in future publications of Iron Age assemblages, new and old; its local significance is meanwhile by no means negligible. The contents of the Torre Galli graves provide unequivocal indications of ongoing contacts with the outside world: a handful of scarabs and other *aegyptiaca* (pp. 213–7; F. De Salvia), the earliest of their kind in Italy, suggest the presence in the vicinity of Phoenician or Cypriot seafarers from the second half of the tenth century; and a lump of Sicilian amber (pp. 219–22) hints at exchanges in another direction. Finally, analysis of ritual practices and of the *corredi* prompts sensible discussion (pp. 67–106, loose Tables 2–7) of hierarchical divisions between both individuals and families.

The picture that emerges from these two unremittingly specialist publications has little in common with the traditional image of Western barbarians patiently waiting to be Hellenized. 'And if there are still scholars who protest that such things are not worth knowing, they can no longer have any excuse for asserting them to be unknowable' (D. Randall-MacIver, *Italy before the Romans* [Oxford, 1928], p. 12).

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THE ETRUSCANS

M. TORELLI (ed.): *The Etruscans*. Pp. 672, 800 ills. London: Thames and Hudson, 2001. Cased, £48. ISBN: 0-500-51033-4.

This was a big show in Venice during 2000–1, and it duly yielded a mega-catalogue. However, the object chosen as leading motif for both exhibition and tome is a

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solid-cast bronze warrior who, at some 36 cm high, cuts a dainty figure. Wearing a sort of Superman loincloth, this warrior appears to be responding to the eyes left, command. He has lost his shield, and perhaps his helmet's plume; and his spear, alas, is reduced to a large knitting-needle. Still, we should salute him as a staunch member of the cohort. This is not the first time he has done a turn of duty in the Etruscan cause. In fact he is a veteran of the vetrines.

He was found at Brolio, in the Val di Chiana, in 1863; and since 1898 his regular place of display has been the Florence Archaeological Museum. But in the mid-1950s he went on a strenuous tour. Milan, Zurich, Cologne, The Hague, Paris, Oslo: those were the cities that hosted the first grand display of 'the art and life of the Etruscans', an initiative launched by the Italian scholar Massimo Pallottino. Pallottino was not only an archaeologist who undertook seriously the responsibility of divulging his material and evangelizing his subject. It was Pallottino who effectively marked out the academic field known as 'Etruscology', and Pallottino who raised a generation of his own protégés to occupy professorial thrones of the new learning. Among the pupils of Pallottino was the late Mauro Cristofani, whose ingenious energy was the principal motor behind the spectacular 'Year of the Etruscans' in 1985. Another pupil was Mario Torelli of Perugia University. It may or may not have appealed to Torelli's own sentimental deference to include in a millennial show at Palazzo Grassi some of the same items that his former maestro had first recruited to represent the Etruscans back in 1955. But essentially the Venice assemblage illustrated Torelli's vision of how far Etruscology has travelled as a science: and that is the scope of this catalogue.

To the indigenous 'museum-going public' it was, perhaps, a project without great revelations. Other FIAT-sponsored archaeological shows at the Palazzo Grassi have held more appeal of the unknown or unfamiliar—exhibitions devoted to the Maya, for example, or the Phoenicians. Arguably the Etruscans could have waited longer for a major reappraisal such as this; it is less than a decade, after all, since the grandiose *Les Étrusques et l'Europe* jamboree at Paris. Concurrent with the Venice event was a thematically more limited yet highly impressive display at Bologna exploring the gold-laden linkage of Etruscan aristocrats with their peers in central Europe and the eastern Mediterranean seaboard (catalogue entitled *Principi etruschi tra Mediterraneo ed Europa* [Venice, 2000]). But neither the Bolognese competition nor the recent history of Etruscan public exposure should detract from what Torelli and his team have accomplished. *The Etruscans* is a monument of intellectual progress; a presentation of material whose value will hold for many years to come.

At least by the year 2000, no one needs to find excuses for showing an interest in Etruscan art and archaeology. In 1955 Massimo Pallottino was obliged to preface each vernacular handbook to his travelling show with an essay whose tone was, by contrast, hedged in by apology. It was necessary, then, to try to explain that Etruria was not some bastard and barbaric outpost of Greater Greece, nor Etruscan artefacts merely clones or copies from Greek prototypes (a prejudice that Pallottino sourced to Jules Martha's *L'art Étrusque* of 1889). And the particular catalogue entries for our Brolio warrior were correspondingly defensive. He is, they say, wearing a helmet whose design looks Cretan. Yes, his proportions do seem somewhat elongated—but surely he retains his elegance nonetheless? (Thus *Kunst und Leben der Etrusker* [Cologne, 1956], p. 82.)

In fact, the figurine is one of a similar threesome; and all belong to a substantial votive deposit apparently made in rural territory around Arezzo—the town that yielded one of the most celebrated of Etruscan *objets d'art*, the bronze Chimera. The question of how far the Brolio warrior relates to solid-fused bronze statuettes produced in Greece around the same time is not considered by Torelli's team. The piece

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stands amid a section on temple decoration and votive gifts. The same section includes a fragmentary but once huge red-figured drinking-cup, probably from the sanctuary of Hercle—Etruscan Herakles—at Cerveteri (a piece recently repatriated, incidentally, from the Getty Museum). No question that this is Greek: it is signed by an Athenian artist, Euphronios, as potter, and attributed to the Athenian vase-painter Onesimos. But it has on its underside a lengthy dedicatory inscription in Etruscan, to Hercle. We may debate to what extent an Etruscan understood the imagery on the vase, a complex scene showing the Fall of Troy. In any case, it is an artefact put to use in a comprehensible way, as was the Brolio statuette. The issue of cultural inferiority is as irrelevant as it is politically incorrect.

With the traditional antipathy towards Etruscan art pretty well conquered, Torelli proceeds to identify two 'core problems' to what he calls 'the whole extraordinary story of the Etruscans': 'What were the origins of their power, and in what forms was that power wielded?' In the exhibition itself, a display of Etruscan arms and armour was accompanied by the generic canned percussion of clanging shields and battlecries. In the catalogue, an essay by Luca Cerchiai on 'The Ideology of the Etruscan City' addresses the question of how an aristocracy that was essentially cavalier—defined by the possession and military use of horses—adapted itself to the strategies and social values of massed infantry fighting: the 'hoplite' mode to which the Brolio bronze partially refers, with its semi-closed helmet, poised spear, and indications of a large round shield. How could a chariot-riding élite devolve its power to ranks of foot-sloggers? Does such a change of tactics entail extensions of citizenship and a substantial redistribution of land; or did the warlords of archaic Etruria balk at organizing their tenant-farmers into phalanxes?

A catalogue running to nearly 700 pages defies easy epitome: but it is not unfair to say that Torelli's aim of using artefacts to resolve such sociohistorical puzzles is sustained throughout. There are separate sections devoted to Etruscan architecture, painting, sculpture, and decorative arts: but even when discussing the techniques of filigree goldwork done on a miniature scale, the contributors to the catalogue keep a careful eye on 'the customs and needs of the Tyrrhenian hegemonic classes'. In other words, insofar as the material assembled at Palazzo Grassi was intended as a manifestation of Etruscan art, it was art fashioned to the specific historical requirements of its patrons. And this works well, because one reason why it has become foolish to dwell upon the question of Etruscans 'copying' from Greek models is that in very many instances it can be demonstrated that artists working in Etruria were, by ethnic origin, Greek. That was a pattern of recruitment and employment persisting into the Roman imperial period. True, Greek artists created a *koine* wherever they went, not only in terms of style, but often also in terms of subject too. The use of art to express status, however, remains a matter of Etruscan history.

Visitors to the Palazzo Grassi will not easily forget the experience of hearing a recitation of Etruscan words, sonorous and mesmerizing. The Etruscan language, as everyone knows, is linguistically enigmatic. But there is little mystery concerning the ways in which the Etruscan language was inscribed and deployed for ritual and *ex officio* purposes. It was a source and an instrument of power: a clear case of 'restricted literacy'. Once we approach Etruscan art as a further mode of symbolic communication, complementary to the written word but serving similar purposes, we have a better chance of understanding its formal development. *The Etruscans* is an exemplary project to that end.

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