

THE BRYGOS PAINTER AT SAN GIOVENALE

BY

YVONNE BACKE-FORSBERG

‘When we pour libations
to the gods, we pour the god of wine himself
that through his intercession man may win
the favour of heaven.’ Euripides*

‘In vino veritas’

Abstract

Based on stylistic criteria, it is argued in the following article that two Attic red-figured cups, one fragmentary kylix called the Pietrisco cup found in the Etruscan Bridge complex and the other one from a chamber tomb at San Giovenale, were made by the Brygos painter or a member of his circle c. 490–480 BC.¹ The Pietrisco cup may even have been produced by Brygos the potter as it belongs to the cone-foot class. This group was previously dated to 480–475 BC, but is now backdated to 490–475 due to the analysis of the painting on the *tondo* of the Pietrisco cup. The Pietrisco cup was found with a substantial amount of Attic Black-figured, Red-figured and Black-glazed fragments in a fill deposit in a quadrant building of tufa ashlar interpreted as a *sacellum* near the Etruscan bridge at the Pietrisco brook in San Giovenale, Etruria. The two cups are the third and fourth kylikes attributed to the Brygos painter found in the settlement and in tombs at San Giovenale and its surroundings.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of the following article is to call attention to some not very conspicuous Attic red-figured cup fragments from the Etruscan Bridge complex at San Giovenale and a few fragments from Tomb 2 in the Montevangone necropolis south of the settlement (*Fig. 1*).² The two cups will be analyzed and discussed from a stylistic point of view ending in an attribution to the Brygos painter or his circle and to Brygos the potter.

One cup (*kylix*) is found in close connection to a building very close to the Etruscan bridge at the Pietrisco Brook (*Figs. 1–4, 8*).³ It will be referred to as the Pietrisco cup.⁴ The cup consists of eight foot and stem fragments and one bottom (*tondo*) fragment. The foot is almost complete. It is conical with flaring rounded edges, quite high, and has a short stem with an encircling ridge of two grooves in the middle of the stem. Inside there is one encircling groove just at the edge. The diameter of the foot is 8.0 cm and the height is 4.5 cm (*Fig. 5a*). The fabric is a fine red (2.5YR 5/6) clay with silver mica and the glaze is black and very glossy, typical for the Attic ware. The foot is decorated with a reserved borderline outside as well as inside followed by a border of black glaze

on half of the interior and at the very bottom, a small red dot (*Fig. 5b*). There are no traces of decoration on the exterior.⁵ The fragmentary *tondo* details in red-figured style the lower part of a male in a three-quarter view turning right. The male is draped in a mantle with three stiff, tube-like folds with embattled border hanging over the left shoulder indicating that the left arm probably was extended. One distinctly painted dot is seen on the inside of the mantle. An unfilled oval belonging to the third fold seems to end in a small loop. Thin

* Euripides, *Bacchae*, 284–285, trans. Arrowsmith.

¹ *Acknowledgements*: I would like to thank Prof. Pontus Hellström and Dr Brita Alroth for reading and commenting upon this article. The photo of the Pietrisco cup was taken by Börje Tobiasson and the drawings were made by Olof Brandt and Richard Holmgren, who inked and prepared them for publication. I thank Dr Ingrid Pohl for permission to include the photo of the Brygos cup from the Borgo NW area. I am also grateful to the Martin von Wagner Museum, Universität Würzburg, for permission to use the photos of the Würzburg 479 cup taken by K. Oehlein, and the Beni Archeologici Etruria Meridionale, Roma, for the photo of the Blera cup.

² The excavations at San Giovenale were conducted by the Swedish Institute in Rome in close cooperation with the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Lazio from 1956 to 1965, with minor investigations in 1999. See bibliography in *Materiali e problemi* 1984, Backe-Forsberg 2005, and Karlsson 2006.

³ The body and foot fragments of the Pietrisco cup (SGBRN 62–688, 62–701, 62–712, 62–752 and 63–616) were found in Trench 2, shafts 6 and 8 in stratum 3, i.e., a fill above the courtyard of House 3 (the apsidal house) situated at the northern bank of the Pietrisco Brook at San Giovenale, see Backe-Forsberg 2005, 46, fig. 34a. The structure in each of the three building periods is interpreted as a *sacellum* by G. Colonna, see Colonna & Backe Forsberg 1999. For the different building periods, see Backe-Forsberg 2005, figs. 36, 44a, 52, 62–63. See also Forsberg 1984, 73–75, fig. 5:3–4.

⁴ The Attic imports, a total sum of 300 fragments found in the bridge complex (black-figured, red-figured and black-glazed wares) comprised thirty-nine shapes for banqueting and storage, cf. Backe-Forsberg 2005, 75–77, tab. 24, figs. 82:4–11, 89.

⁵ Cups belonging to the cone-foot class are usually painted on the interior, see Bloesch 1940. See cup Sidney 98.22. See also New York (NY), Market XXXX0.4045, London 1950, Sidney 98.22.



Fig. 2. The location of the northern and southern banks of the Etruscan bridge complex at the Pietrisco Brook. Photo by B. Blomé.



Fig. 3. The northern bridge complex at the Pietrisco Brook. Photo by S. Forsberg.



Fig. 4. The architectural remains of the third building period above House 2. Nearly all the Attic fragments were found in a fill deposit above the courtyard of House 3. Photo by S. Forsberg.

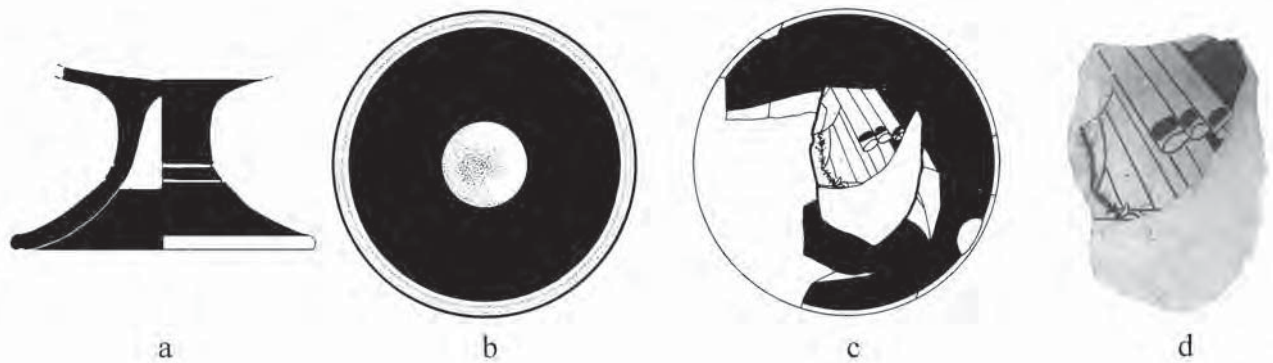


Fig. 5. a) Profile of the cone foot of the Pietrisco cup (drawing by R. Holmgren); b) underside of foot (drawing by O. Brandt); c) *tondo* of the Pietrisco cup (drawing by O. Brandt); d) *tondo* of the Pietrisco cup (photo by B. Tobiasson).

tributed to the Brygos painter by M. Robertson.¹¹ The same is valid for New York (NY), Market: XXXX0.4045.¹² None of the cone-foot cups is signed by Brygos the potter.¹³ This may indicate that the cone-foot class was produced by another potter or that Brygos himself changed the style of his later works. However, the slenderness of the Pietrisco cone-foot resembles the smaller cups of Type B, which were signed by Brygos the potter.¹⁴

THE BRYGOS PAINTER AND HIS CIRCLE

There are some stylistic characteristics on the Pietrisco cup which point to the Brygos painter and his circle. The hairy chest line of the man, from the breast down to the pubic hair and the nipple in the shape of a half-filled circle, are details used very much both by the Brygos painter, cf. Würzburg 479¹⁵ (Fig. 6a–b) and on the rhyta from Aleria 10.127.21, 10.127.31 and 10.127.84,¹⁶ by the Foundry painter, a master in the circle of the Brygos painter.¹⁷ This very hairy line is more “Brygan” than the often vaguely painted hair by the Foundry painter, however, and the hairline is denser on works by the Brygos painter.¹⁸ The Onesimos painter, his contemporary and also teacher, accentuated the hairy chest line and the muscles,¹⁹ but he rarely seems to have decorated his vestments with dots. Doubtlessly the Brygos painter was inspired by his teacher in some aspects.²⁰

Over 200 specimens of different shapes attributed to the Brygos painter are found mainly in the necropoleis at Cerveteri, Vulci, Tarquinia and Capua.²¹ The most popular shape is the cup. The painters in the circle of Brygos are all cup painters—e.g., the Foundry painter, the Dokimasia painter, the Douris painter, the Briseis painter, the painter of Louvre G 265—and all influenced by the Brygos painter.²² The mantle, *himation*, decorated with dots, is common on the cups and

rhyta signed by Brygos the potter and decorated by the Brygos painter (Figs. 6a–b, 9a–b).²³ The single dot painted on the inside of the mantle of the Pietrisco cup indicates that the

¹¹ Cf. Beazley Archive no. 204043, London, British Museum 1950.1–4.10.

¹² Cf. Beazley Archive no. 204045, New York (NY), Market XXXX0.4045.

¹³ Wegner 1973, n. 1; Beazley mentions 15 signed pots in all, see Beazley 1946, 36; Boardman 1979b, 135.

¹⁴ Bloesch 1940, e.g. Taf. 22:2b, 4b; 23:1b, 24:1a, 2b, 4b.

¹⁵ Wegner 1973, pls. 13, 37c, f; Jehasse 1973, 547–576, pl. 33, 35.

¹⁶ *Paralipomena* 1971, 367; Jehasse 1973, 549–550, n. 27, pls. 33–35.

¹⁷ Boardman 1975 (1979) b, see figs. 262:2–3, 265, 266. According to Beazley, the Foundry painter is very close to the Brygos painter in style: Beazley 1963, 368, 400.

¹⁸ The men depicted with hairy chests are always bearded, Pfuhl 1923, 464. See also the bearded men with hairy chests on the Würzburg 479 cup, Fig. 6a–b, and the examples in Beazley Archives, no. 204126, Orvieto, Museo Civico 490; Beazley Archives no. 203931, Orvieto, Museo Civico, Coll. Faina 37; Beazley Archives, no. 204130, Athens, National Museum, Acropolis Coll. 220; Beazley Archives, no. 204034, Oxford Ashmolean Museum 1967.304. Thus, the hairy chest on the male on the Pietrisco cup would indicate that this is also an older man.

¹⁹ Boardman 1979b, figs. 230–231.

²⁰ Boardman 1979b, 135–138.

²¹ Boardman 1979b, 135, states that there are more than 200 vessels found attributed to the Brygos painter. In the Beazley Archive database, updated in 2008, 288 vessels are listed. Ten percent of the Brygos painter’s cup production was found on the Acropolis and only one item at the Agora in Athens; Hännestad 1988, 226, figs. 2–3. On Attic vases found in various contexts, see also Reuser 2002.

²² Beazley ARV 1963, 368.

²³ See Würzburg 479, Wegner 1973, pls. 1–5; London, British Museum E71; Orvieto, Museo Faina 37, Florence, Museo Archeologico 3921; pls. 8–10, 13, 15, 27b–c, 30; Boardman, 1979b, fig. 261; see also the drawings of Würzburg 479 in Pfuhl 1923, figs. 422a, 423a, and 432.



Fig. 6. a) Attic red-figure kylix, Würzburg 479 side A; b) side B of Würzburg 479 (courtesy of The Martin von Wagner Museum, Universität Würzburg, photo by K. Ohrlein).

mantle had a dotted decoration, like the scattered dots on the mantles of Würzburg 479 (Fig. 6a–b), the mantle of the *tondo*

of Würzburg H5703,²⁴ Athens 292,²⁵ London E71,²⁶ London E68,²⁷ Orvieto Museo Faina 37 (Fig. 9a–b), München 2642,²⁸

²⁴ *CVA Würzburg* 2, Taf. 38:1, 5 (Deutschland 46, 2239). The cup is dated to 480 BC.

²⁵ Wegner 1973, pl. 30b, and Beazley Archive no. 203937, Athens, National Museum, Acropolis Coll. 2.292.

²⁶ Wegner 1973, pl. 30a, London, British Museum E71.

²⁷ Wegner 1973, pl. 8, London, British Museum E68; Hartwig 1893.

²⁸ Wegner 1973, pl. 31a, München, Museum antiker Kleinkunst 2642.

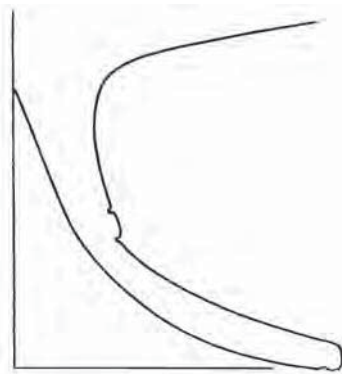


Fig. 7. Profile of foot from the Kegel-gruppe (after Bloesch 1940, pl. 7b, München 2678).

and Orvieto, Museo Civico, 490.²⁹ As already mentioned, the folds of the mantle are quite stiff and tubular and have an embattled border like the folds of the mantles on the cups Würzburg 479 (Fig. 6a–b),³⁰ and Athens 292. The mantles on the Florence 392,³¹ the London E68,³² the Vatican cup,³³ and Orvieto Museo Faina 37 (Fig. 9a–b) show similar stiff folds. One of the cups signed by Brygos the potter demonstrates a variety of fold techniques including stiff foldings.³⁴ Another cup attributed to the Brygos painter, recently discovered in the necropolis of Pian del Vescovo, Blera (Fig. 12), shows the same rather regular, almost starched folds of the *himation* draped over the arm or shoulder.³⁵ There are, however, many cups attributed to the Brygos painter with excellent lively painted folds following the body contours.³⁶

The fragmentary state of the Pietrisco cup and especially the motif on the *tondo*—a missing head and right arm and large parts of the legs—may seem somewhat insufficient for drawing any conclusions on the scene on the *tondo*. Still, there are some features, viz. the left extended arm, the mantle over the shoulder and the arm of an almost naked body, and the acute angle of the thighs, which indicate that the man is either sitting on a chair, leaning against a stick or performing a dance. Since the left hand is missing it is difficult to decide whether the man was just stretching out his arm or holding a

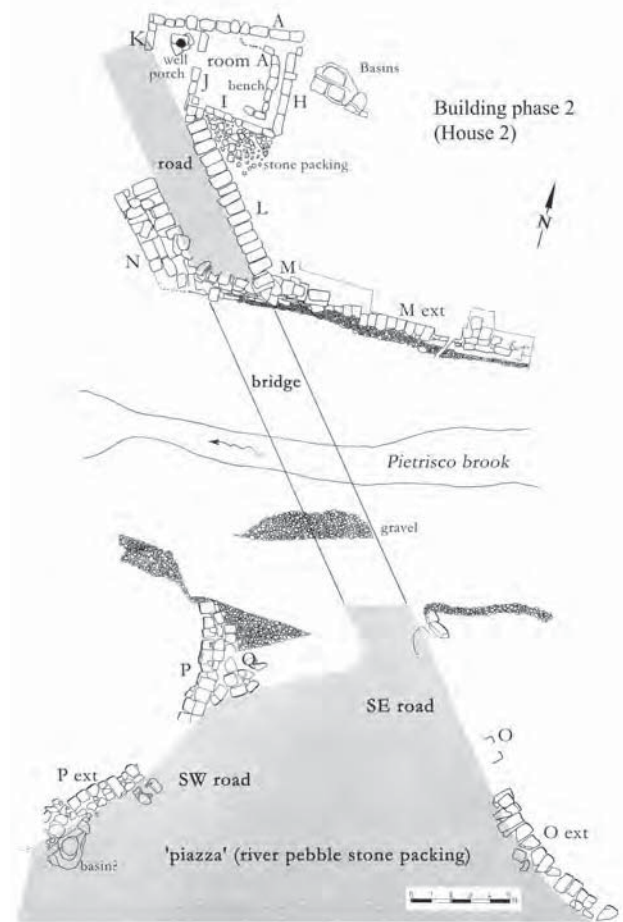


Fig. 8. Plan of the second building period of the bridge complex. Drawing by R. Holmgren and Y. Backe-Forsberg.

kylix,³⁷ skyphos,³⁸ krotala,³⁹ or a flute bag and a staff,⁴⁰ common attributes associated to *komos* scenes.

However, the length of the mantle folds over the left arm indicates that the arm is lifted quite high without anything in the hand, similar to one of the *komasts* on Würzburg 479 (Fig.

²⁹ See the sparsely dotted mantle of an older bearded man with hairy chest on the neck of the small Attic red-figured oinochoe attributed to the Brygos painter, Orvieto, Museo Civico 490, no. 204126 in Beazley Archive.

³⁰ Wegner 1973, 201, pl. 13, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum 479.

³¹ Wegner 1973, 201, pl. 4, Firenze, Museo Archeologico 3921, Gabinetto fotografico 4598.4752.

³² Wegner 1973, pl. 8, London, British Museum E68; see also the same cup drawn by Hartwig 1893, Taf. 34.

³³ Cambitoglou 1968, pl. 14:2, and Wegner 1973, pl. 15.a; cf. Beazley Archive no. 203905, Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano 16582.

³⁴ CVA Fogg Museum and Gallatin Collections (USA 8).

³⁵ Ricciardi 1992, 491–492, pl. 83:c. Cambitoglou 1968, 35.

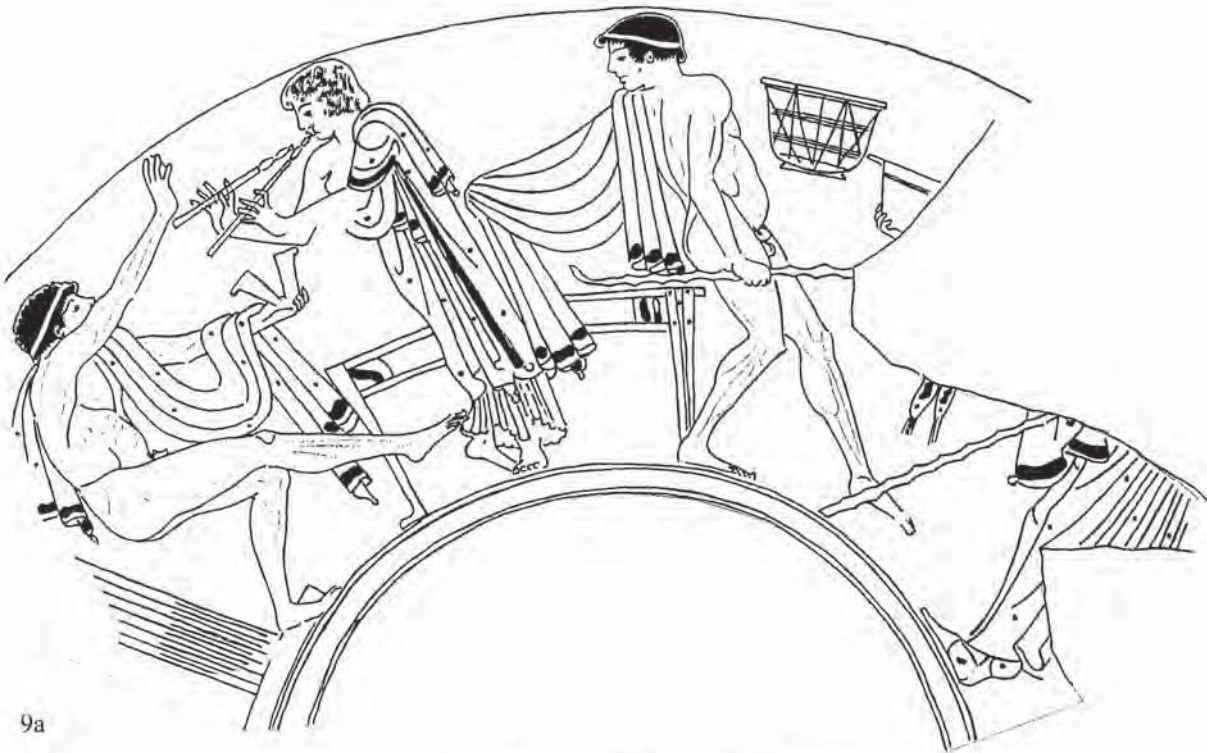
³⁶ Wegner 1973, pls. 5, 10, 27, 29b; cups attributed to the Brygos painter, see Boardman 1979b, figs. 218, 250. The design of the folds in the works of the Brygos painter varies from very lively to rather stiff, according to Pfuhl 1923, 464.

³⁷ See the *tondo* of the cup with a dancing youth holding a kylix in his left hand and a stick in his right, Carpenter 1984, frontis illustration.

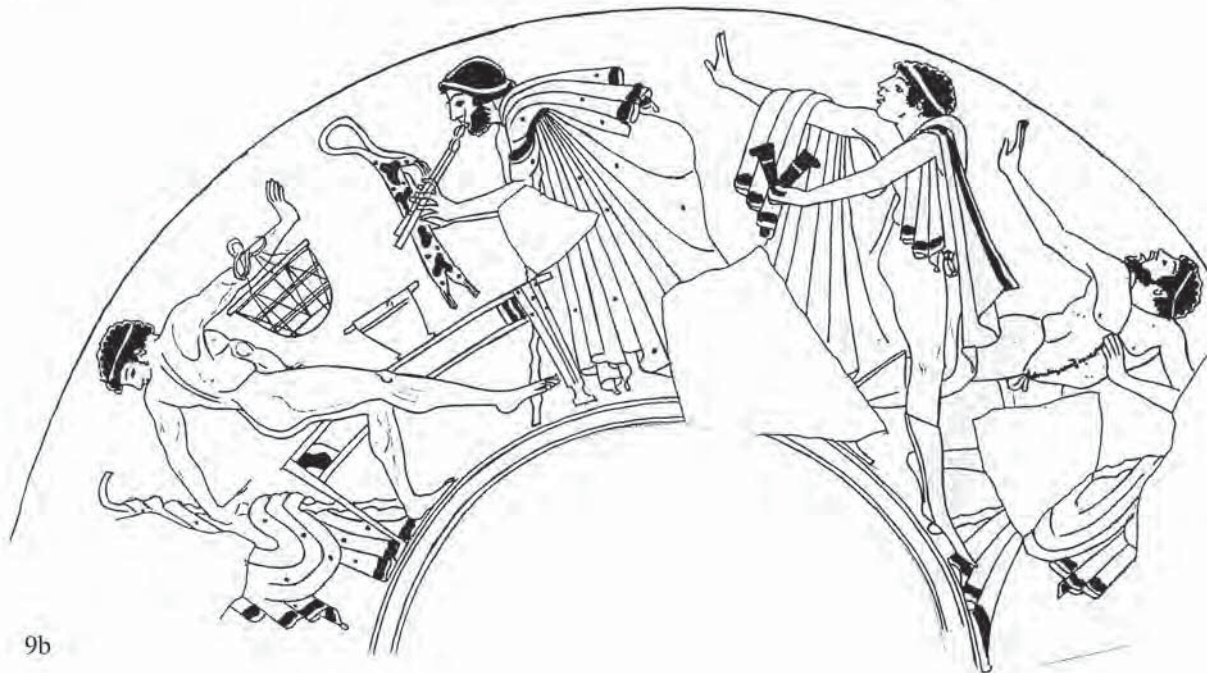
³⁸ Wegner 1973, pl. 30b, Athens, Acropolis Museum 292.

³⁹ Wegner 1973, 203, pl. 34d, Boston, Boston Museum of Fine Arts 00.339.

⁴⁰ Wegner 1973, pl. 31a, München, Museum antiker Kleinkunst 2642.



9a



9b

Fig. 9. a-b) Attic red-figure kylix, Orvieto Museo Faina 37, exterior sides A-B (after Hartwig 1893, Taf. XXXVI:2-3).

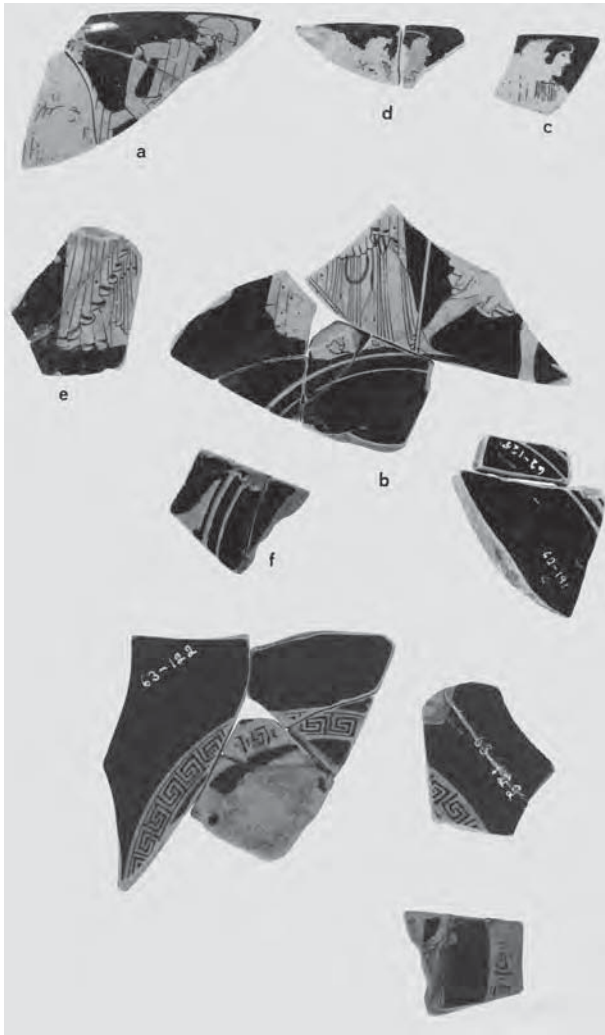


Fig. 10. Attic red-figure kylix, from *San Giovenale* 5:2, 2009, figs. 4 and 6 (courtesy of Dr I. Pohl).

6a–b) and on the Aleria rhyton.⁴¹ Thus, it seems very likely that the painter has pictured a *komos* scene, an elderly *komast* dressed in his folded mantle which was draped over his extended left arm.⁴²

DATING

The active period of the Brygos painter was c. 490 to 470 BC. Bloesch has dated the small C-cups to 490–475 BC⁴³ and the Kegel-Gruppe to c. 480–475 BC (Fig. 7). The cone-foot group attributed to the later works by the Brygos painter is well attested as shown by Bloesch⁴⁴ and Cambitoglou.⁴⁵

Still, the cone-foot of the Pietrisco cup (Fig. 5a–b) alters

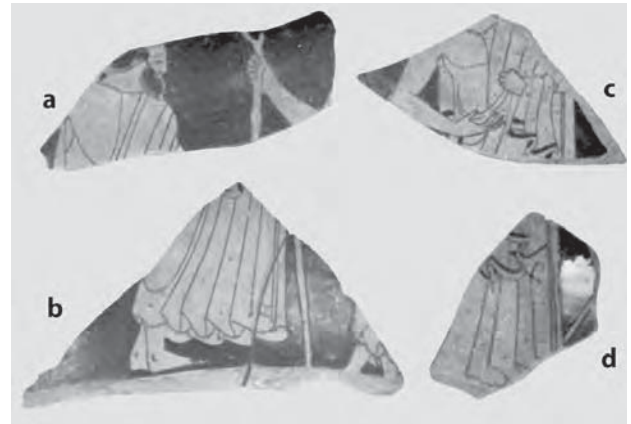


Fig. 11. Attic red-figure kylix fragments (P.S. 6–7) from the Montevangone necropolis Tomb 2, inv. no. P.S. 1, see *San Giovenale* I:5, pl. 55; a–b) right back chamber (Ch 10), inv. no. P.S. 1:102, pl. 55; c) main chamber, inv. no. P.S. 1:108, pl. 55:64; d) main chamber inv. no. P.S. 1:109, pl. 55:65.

the dating of the Kegel-Gruppe to 490–475 BC based on stylistic comparisons of the *tondo* scene with the small cups of type C, Florence 3949, Florence 3921, the Blera cup and Borgo NW cup, all attributed to the Brygos painter and dated to c. 490–480 BC.⁴⁶ A similar cup was dated by Scott Ryberg to the late sixth century BC.⁴⁷

Given a production date in Athens c. 490–480 BC means that there is a *post quem* date for the find context of the Pietrisco cup. The question is how fast the cup was brought to the Etruscan market and to the Etruscan community at San

⁴¹ See Jehasse 1973, 15, pls. 33, 35, two animal rhyta (Aleria 10.127.21 and 10.127.31) with a bearded older *komast* in a pose very similar to that on the Pietrisco *tondo*. The vessels are dated to 500–475 BC and attributed to the Foundry painter, Jehasse 1973, 44–45, 48–50.

⁴² See Wegner 1973, pl. 30b, Athen 292; the *tondo* depicts a dancing youth holding a skyphos in his left hand; the position of the body and the draped left arm and the folds of the mantle are similar to the picture on the Pietrisco cup. Graef & Langlotz 1929, Taf. 16:2896, a bearded man with a staff; Cambitoglou 1968, pl. 17:2, cup München, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 2642, shows a young *komast* holding a flute bag.

⁴³ Bloesch 1940, 145.

⁴⁴ Bloesch 1940, 128–129, mentions 16 examples of this class.

⁴⁵ Cambitoglou 1968, pl. 15:2, attributes the cup Sidney 98.22, which belongs to the cone-foot group, to the Brygos painter and his circle.

⁴⁶ *CVA Firenze Museo Archeologico* 3, nos. 3921 and 3949 (Italia 30), are dated to 490–480 BC and attributed to the Brygos painter by Hartwig 1893, Taf. XXXV:2. See also Beazley Archive no. 203988. On the Blera cup, see Ricciardi 1992 and on the Borgo NW cup, see *San Giovenale* 5:2, 2009, 38, fig. 4.

⁴⁷ Scott Ryberg 1940, 45, n. 247.

Giovenale after being produced.⁴⁸ Other Attic black-figured, red-figured and black-glaze vessels found in the same contexts as the Pietrisco cup dated from 510 to 480–470 BC. This means that the cup may have been in use during the transition between the second and the third building periods of the Bridge complex.⁴⁹

ANALOGIES FROM TOMBS AND SETTLEMENT

The second fragmentary Attic red-figured cup was found in a burial context, viz. in Tomb no. 2 (P.S. 1), a chamber tomb in the necropolis of Montevangone/Pontesilli at San Giovenale (Figs. 1, 11a–d).⁵⁰ Four fragments discovered in the main chamber and the right chamber were published but not attributed to a specific painter. It is difficult to determine whether the fragments belong to one or two cups.⁵¹ The two *tondo* fragments show on the exterior two bearded men dressed in long, dotted mantles and the lower body of a man leaning slightly forward in his long mantle and with his feet turned to the left.⁵² The motif seems to be a *komos* scene. Still, I am inclined to ascribe them to the Brygos painter or an artist from his circle⁵³ due to the dotted mantles and the black hem of the folded mantle on two of the *tondo* fragments, the accentuated nipple, and the thin lines of the breast muscles on one of the fragments. The accentuated ankle of the man is the same as on Berlin cup 2309 (nowadays attributed to the Dokimasia painter and not as before to Brygos by Beazley⁵⁴).

Still another Attic red-figured cup has been found in the habitation quarters on the Borgo NW (Fig. 1) and attributed to the Brygos painter and his circle by Pohl, who dates it to c. 490–480 BC⁵⁵ (Fig. 11). This is a welcome contribution to



Fig. 12. Attic red-figure kylix from Blera (after Ricciardi 1992, pl. 83:c. Courtesy of Soprintendenza Beni Archeologici Etruria Meridionale, Roma).

settlement contexts for the Brygos works since his cups are mainly found in tomb contexts: for example, eighteen cups from Vulci and four at Tarquinia, while cups by the painters in his circle are represented by fourteen cups at Vulci and four at Tarquinia.⁵⁶ Examples from sacred or habitation areas are rare: therefore, the two specimens from the Borgo NW habitation and the Pietrisco Bridge complex are very important. Together with the two cups from the necropolis of Montevangone, and the cup from the Pian di Vescovo necropolis at Blera mentioned above, the Attic red-figured painter is quite well represented in the San Giovenale area.

⁴⁸ For Attic imports in Etruria, see Hannestad 1989, Small 1994, Reuser 2002.

⁴⁹ Backe-Forsberg 2005, figs. 44a, 52; see the Attic black-glazed skyphos dated to c. 480/470 BC found in the floor fill of House 3A, figs. 74c:8, 89:10.

⁵⁰ *San Giovenale* 1:5, 114–126, pls. 53–59. The tomb has two distinct periods, first half of the sixth century and the first part of the fifth century BC.

⁵¹ It is likely that the fragments belong to the same cup. Since this particular tomb like so many others in the San Giovenale area had been robbed (see *San Giovenale* 1:5, 10) it is possible that the fragments from the main chamber originally came from the right chamber and were dropped by the grave robbers.

⁵² See *San Giovenale* 1:5, inv. no. P.S. 1:108, p. 124, pl. 55:64, main chamber, one fragment of an Attic red-figured kylix with a man dressed in *himation* inside the cup and decorated on the outside with two reserved bands. Three fragments of another red-figured kylix decorated with vestments, inv. no. P.S. 1:109, is reported on p. 124. One of these body fragments seems to be pic-

tured on pl. 55, however wrongly numbered as 64 and not mentioned in the catalogue. Another red-figured kylix, inv. no. P.S. 1:102 (two fragments), was found in the right back chamber (Ch 10), showing a male person (?) dressed in a long folded dress or long mantle (?) with dotted decoration. The folds are wavy, not tube-like as on the Pietrisco cup. The second fragment shows a man with a beard, dressed in a *himation*. This vessel is an Attic red-figured cup and not black-figured as mentioned in *San Giovenale* 1:5, 126, pl. 55.

⁵³ See the discussion on the different terms used by Beazley in *Beazley Addenda* 1982, xviii, and the most useful terms proposed by Robertson 1992.

⁵⁴ *Paralipomena* 1971, 372. However, the Dokimasia painter is one of several painters which have been closely associated with the Brygos painter, Beazley ARV 1963, 398.

⁵⁵ Attic red-figured kylix, A:d-2-4, no. 6, find nos. 63-122, 63-123, 62-191d, see *San Giovenale* 5:2, 38, fig. 4. I am most grateful to Dr Pohl for the information on the cup fragments and I do agree with her attribution to the Brygos painter and the dating to 490–480.

⁵⁶ See Hannestad 1988 (1989), 129, tab. 2.

SUMMARY

The Pietrisco cup belongs to the second building period of the Pietrisco Bridge complex. It is an Attic red-figured cup (kylix) of the cone-foot class with an elderly dancing *komast* dressed in his *himation* depicted on the *tondo*, probably designed by Brygos the potter and painted by the Brygos painter or a member of his circle.⁵⁷ The attribution to the potter is based on the vase shape and to the painter by stylistic comparisons such as the richness of the body hair, the drapery of the mantle in stiff folds, and the dotted and broad black hem of the mantle. The drawing is very distinct as seen in the thin and carefully drawn relief lines of the legs, the chest, the body hair and the folds and the circular half shaded, half filled-in nipple.

These characteristics can be recognised on cups attributed to the Brygos painter, especially Würzburg 479 (also signed by Brygos the potter), but also the cup from Orvieto, Museo Faina 37, the small Florence cup 3949 of type C, and the cup from Blera.

The Pietrisco cup with its cone-foot is dated to 490–480 BC based on the painting on the *tondo*. Consequently, I suggest a new dating of the Kegel-Gruppe or the cone-foot class to 490–475 BC.

Thus, the Brygos painter is well represented at San Giovenale and its surroundings in various contexts such as in tombs, which is the most common, but also in the rarer settlement and sacred areas.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Backe-Forsberg 2005 Y. Backe-Forsberg, *Crossing the bridge. An interpretation of the archaeological remains in the Etruscan bridge complex at San Giovenale, Etruria*, diss. Uppsala 2005.
- Beazley 1946 J.D. Beazley, *Potter and painter in ancient Athens*, London 1946.
- Beazley ARV 1963 J.D. Beazley, *Attic red-figured vases* vols. I–III, Oxford 1963.
- Beazley Addenda 1982 *Beazley Addenda. Additional references to ABV, ARV, & Paralipomena*, eds. L. Burn & R. Glynn, Oxford 1982.
- Beazley Archive *The Beazley Archive 1997–2009*, The University of Oxford, access date 15 May 2009, <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/index.htm>
- Bloesch 1940 H.J. Bloesch, *Formen Attischer Schalen von Exekias bis zum Ende des Strengen Stils*, Bern 1940.
- Boardman 1979a J. Boardman, 'The Athenian pottery trade', *Expedition* 21:4, 1979, 33–39.
- Boardman 1979b J. Boardman, *Athenian red figure vases. The Archaic period*, London 1975 (repr. 1979).
- Cambitoglou 1968 A. Cambitoglou, *The Brygos Painter*, Sidney 1968.
- Carpenter 1984 T. Carpenter, *Summary guide to Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Oxford 1984.
- Caskey & Beazley 1931–1963 L.D. Caskey & J.D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Painting in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston 1931–1963.
- Colonna & Backe-Forsberg 1999 G. Colonna & Y. Backe-Forsberg, 'Le iscrizione del "sacello" del ponte di San Giovenale. Etruscan inscriptions and graffiti from the bridge at San Giovenale', *OpRom* 24, 1999, 63–81.
- Forsberg 1984 S. Forsberg, 'Il complesso del ponte sul fosso Pietrisco', in *Materiali e problemi* 1984, 73–80.
- Furtwängler & Reichvold 1903–1904 A. Furtwängler & K. Reichvold, *Griechische Vasen-Malerei. Auswahl hervorragender Vasenbilder I. Text*, München 1903–1904.
- Graef & Langlotz 1929 B. Graef & E. Langlotz, *Die Antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen II. Band, Heft 1*, Berlin 1929.
- Hannestad 1988 L. Hannestad, 'The Athenian potter and the home market', in *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on Ancient Greek and related pottery, Copenhagen, August 31–September 4 1987*, eds. J. Christiansen & T. Melander, København 1988, 222–230.
- Hannestad 1989 L. Hannestad, 'Athenian pottery in Etruria c. 550–470 B.C.', *ActaArch* 59, 1988 (pr. 1989), 113–130.
- Hartwig 1893 P. Hartwig, *Die griechischen Meisterschalen der Blüthezeit des strengen rothfigurigen Stiles*, Berlin 1893.
- Jehasse 1973 L. Jehasse, *La nécropole préromaine d'Aléria*, Paris 1973.
- Johnston 1991 A. Johnston, 'Greek vases in the marketplace', in Rasmussen & Spivey 1991, 203–232.
- Karlsson 2006 L. Karlsson, *San Giovenale 4:1. Area F East. Huts and Houses on the Acropolis (ActaRom-4° 26:4:1)*, Stockholm 2006.
- Lissarague 1990 F. Lissarague, *The aesthetics of the Greek banquet. Images of wine and ritual*, Princeton, N.J. 1987 (1990).
- Lorenz 1991 T. Lorenz, 'Tanz und Komos beim Brygosmaler', *Perspektiven der Philosophie. Neues Jahrbuch* 17, 1991, 421–435.
- Materiali e problemi* 1984 *San Giovenale. Materiali e problemi. Atti del simposio all'Istituto svedese di studi classici a Roma, 6 aprile 1983 (ActaRom-4°, 41)*, eds. S. Forsberg & B.E. Thomasson, Stockholm 1984.
- Nilsson 1999 A. Nilsson, 'The function and reception of Attic figured pottery. Spina, a case study', *AnalRom* 26, 1999, 7–23.
- Osborne 1996 R. Osborne, 'Pots, trade and the archaic Greek economy', *Antiquity* 70, 1996, 31–44.
- Paralipomena* 1971 J.D. Beazley, *Paralipomena. Additions to Attic black-figure vase-painters and to Attic red-figure vase-painters*, Oxford 1971.
- Pfuhl 1923 J. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen I, III*, München 1923.
- Rasmussen & Spivey 1991 T. Rasmussen, & N. Spivey, *Looking at Greek vases*, Cambridge 1991.

⁵⁷ Building period 2 is dated from 550 to 470/400 BC, Backe-Forsberg 2005, tables 33–34.

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|--|
| Ricciardi 1992 | L. Ricciardi, 'Necropoli di Pian del Ves-covo', <i>StEtr</i> 58, 1992, 491–497. | <i>San Giovenale</i> 5:2 | I. Pohl, <i>San Giovenale</i> 5:2. <i>The Borgo 2. The Etruscan habitation quarter on the north-west slope. Stratification and materials</i> (ActaRom-4°, 26:5:2), Stockholm 2009. |
| Richter 1958 | R. Richter, <i>Attic red-figure vases</i> , rev. ed., New Haven 1958. | | |
| Reusser 2002 | Ch. Reusser, <i>Vasen für Etrurien. Verbreitung und Funktionen attischer Keramik im Etrurien des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts vor Christus</i> , Zürich 2002. | Scott Ryberg 1940 | I. Scott Ryberg, <i>An archeological record of Rome from the seventh to the second century B.C.</i> (Studies and documents, 13), London 1940. |
| Robinson 1992 | M. Robinson, <i>The art of vase-painting in Classical Athens</i> , Cambridge 1992. | Small 1994 | J.P. Small, 'Scholars, Etruscans, and Attic painted vases', <i>JRA</i> 7, 1994, 34–58. |
| <i>San Giovenale</i> 1:5 | E. Berggren & K. Berggren, <i>San Giovenale</i> 1:5. <i>The necropoleis of Porzarago, Grotta Tufarina and Montevangone</i> (ActaRom-4°, 26:1:5) Stockholm 1972. | Spivey 1991 | N. Spivey, 'Greek vases in Etruria', in Rasmussen & Spivey 1991, 131–150. |
| | | Wegner 1973 | M. Wegner, <i>Der Brygosmaler</i> , Berlin 1973. |

