

# **Etruscan Production and Interpretation**

# The Hamilton Gray Vase

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The study of the Etruscans has been graced by many women and it is particularly apposite here, as we honour Sybille Haynes, to present a vase recently purchased for the British Museum that once belonged to the female pioneer of Etruscology in Britain, Elizabeth Caroline Hamilton Gray (c. 1801–1887).<sup>1</sup>

Elizabeth Johnstone, of Alva, married John Hamilton Gray (1800–1867), of Carntyne, in June 1829. He had been educated at Magdalen College Oxford and Göttingen University, and had spent a considerable time abroad, in Paris as well as in Germany. Back in Britain from late 1821, he studied civil law and was called to the Scottish Bar in 1826. In the following year, however, he seems to have fallen ill and begun to consider altering the direction of his life by joining the church. In the winter of 1828 he met Elizabeth Johnstone and soon after his life changed completely, for not only did he marry her but he also took Holy Orders. In that same momentous year, 1829, he also accepted the curacy of Bolsover and Scarcliffe, Derbyshire, in the patronage of the Duke of Portland, and the young couple immediately set up home in Bolsover Castle.<sup>2</sup>

In 1832 Elizabeth's own health deteriorated and she was advised to winter in a warmer clime. The Hamilton Grays determined to go to Genoa, but since there was sickness in Italy, they did not get beyond Germany, where John introduced his wife to many of the friends he had made in his stay in Germany in 1820–1. He also set about taking the opportunity to improve his Hebrew. Elizabeth attended these classes too,

much to the disapproval of the tutor, who explained that it was not thought proper for German ladies to learn Hebrew. Elizabeth also learned German, becoming, like her husband, quite fluent – she was to go on later in life to translate a German volume on Etruscan society, the work of Karl Otfried Müller, which formed much of the third volume of her *History of Etruria*.<sup>3</sup> In June 1833 Elizabeth gave birth to a daughter, Caroline Maria Agnes, whom they called Robina. Later in the year, the couple journeyed back to Britain via Paris. In 1835 she gave birth to a second daughter, Sophia Lucy, but the little girl did not survive above three months. Elizabeth's illness recurred in 1836, and the couple returned to Germany, staying this time in Schwallbach. In the autumn of 1837 Elizabeth was once again advised to winter in Italy and they passed through Germany, stopping in Frankfurt and Munich, eventually reaching Rome in January of 1838.

Elizabeth's ill health is, naturally, not mentioned in her book on Etruria, rather she wrote there only that her interest was first sparked by a visit in the summer of 1837 from Dr Samuel Butler, the Bishop of Lichfield and Headmaster of Shrewsbury School.<sup>4</sup> The Bishop was no doubt well known to Elizabeth and her husband, since he was Archdeacon of Derby. Dr. Butler was not only Charles Darwin's headmaster but also a distinguished classical scholar and collector of antiquities.<sup>5</sup> He enthused to the Hamilton Grays about Campanari's exhibition of Etruscan tombs at Pall Mall, the first dedicated exhibition of Etruscan antiquities outside Italy.<sup>6</sup> As a result Elizabeth and her husband went to see the exhibition a few weeks later. She reacted with infectious wonder at the sights that had been laid out for the visitor. There was one room with vases for sale, various small chambers lighted by torches with reconstructions of tombs, and rooms upstairs with tomb paintings.

On the way south through Italy, in December 1837, the couple met in Pisa the Cavaliere Giuseppe Micali (1769–1844), a leading figure in the study of early Italy. Micali encouraged them to make a tour of the Etruscan cemeteries, but warned that 'there would be difficulties in the way of a lady visiting the tombs.'<sup>7</sup> When the couple reached Rome in January 1838 they attended the lectures in the Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica (later the German Archaeological Institute) on the Capitol – a small notebook kept by Revd Hamilton Gray of the lectures he attended is preserved.<sup>8</sup> They met and befriended August Kestner, Hanoverian Minister to the court of Rome, who had just become the secretary-general of the Istituto. They also became acquainted with some of the leading German figures in the archaeological world, including Baron von Bunsen, the Egyptologist Carl Richard Lepsius, Emil Braun, and Wilhelm and Heinrich Abeken. They visited the establishments of the leading dealers in antiquities, as well as the Dodwell Museum at the foot of the Capitol, the house of General Galassi where were then to be found the extraordinary



**Figure 1** Portrait of Elizabeth Caroline Hamilton Gray, oil on canvas (55 x 65cm). Collection of Baron St Clair Bonde, Fife

finds from the tomb discovered by the Arciprete Regulini (later purchased for the Papal Museum), and the museum of Cavaliere de Palin (once Swedish ambassador to Constantinople). They also, of course, visited the huge collection of Cavaliere Giampetro Campana and the coin collection of the Jesuit College, the so-called Kircherian Museum, as well as the sights of Rome, some of these tours, or 'giri' as the Revd Hamilton Gray called them, being led by famous archaeologists, including Braun and Antonio Nibby. Their favourite haunt, however, seems to have been the Papal Museum. Finally, they followed up on Micali's advice and made trips into the countryside, visiting Veii, Monte Nerone (near Pyrgi), Tarquinia, Vulci, Toscanella, Cerveteri, Castel d'Asso and finally Chiusi.

Upon Mrs Hamilton Gray's return to England, she set about writing an account of her tour with her husband. It was published in 1841 as *Tour to the Sepulchres of Etruria*.<sup>9</sup> Her descriptions of the collections and the sites that they visited are both lively and very informative. They are interspersed with information and comments on historical matters and on types of artefacts, including pottery and bronzes. She lays no particular claims, however, as to scholarship and indeed frequently makes a point of reminding her readers of her limitations – at the beginning of the introduction she 'regrets for the reader's sake that the want of a better capacity and better memory have not produced more worthy fruit', while later she warns that she writes 'for the ignorant and pleasure-loving traveller, and not for the learned and antiquarian...'<sup>10</sup>

The volume was much and generally favourably reviewed,<sup>11</sup> but in 1844, following the publication of the first volume of her *History of Etruria* as well as the third edition of the *Tour* George Dennis wrote a stinging review of both for the November issue of the *Dublin University Magazine*.<sup>12</sup> The review reveals much about attitudes to women, and women writers in particular, in the middle of the 19th century and Dennis' own feelings. Sybille Haynes herself possesses a manuscript copy of the most explosive sentences from this review.<sup>13</sup> I give here a transcript of this document:

Rev. of Mrs. H. Gray  
Dublin Univ. Mag.  
Nov 1844.

Antiq[uit]y is a dry, severe, & cautious study; the female mind is warm, imaginative, indisposed to doubt, eager to conclude. These are not elements of consistency or excellence. Any deep or earnest investing[atio]n of matters connected w[ith] the social instit[utio]n of a gentile nation is not properly within the female province... Sharp tenacity of the female mind, leaping at once to the desired conclus[i]o[n] over solecisms the most patent – wide-yawning, tremendous, from wh[ic]h the masculine intellig[ence] shrinks back instinctively. It is thus in almo[s]t all the w[or]ks of lady-writers – imaginative, graceful, picturesque, enthus[iast]ic but so rarely ratiocinative!

The first three sentences occur in the opening salvo of the published review, but the remainder is reserved for Dennis' comments on the *History of Etruria*.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, he is particularly severe about this volume, even accusing Mrs. Hamilton Gray of having a ghost writer and suggesting that she would have done better to treat the subject as historical fiction. When he turns to the *Tour* he is somewhat kinder and quotes in full several of her long descriptions of the Papal Museum's galleries and those of General Galassi and Cavaliere Campana. He even goes so far as to recommend her as 'not only an intelligent antiquarian

Cicerone, but a pleasant travelling companion'.<sup>15</sup> For this reason, it is difficult to see why her generous remark in the preface to her *History of Etruria* – 'I have found the field unoccupied, and mine has been the first plough to break the fallow ground. May more skilful hands cultivate it richly, and reap a golden harvest!'<sup>16</sup> did not cause him to stay his pen when he wrote in the preface to his own monumental, three volume work, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, that her work was 'far from satisfactory' and that he wished 'to supply [its] deficiencies'.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, such a comment was more restrained than one he made in private, in a letter to his publisher, John Murray, when outlining the reasons for producing his own book on Etruria: 'I would fain put a full stop to her erroneous progeny'.<sup>18</sup> Although Mrs Hamilton Gray's volume did not enjoy a fourth edition, Dennis' own extremely thorough and learned work, published at the end of 1848, did not receive the recognition it deserved (only being republished in 1878), at least among the general public, and Dennis departed to British Guiana to serve as a colonial officer.

Elizabeth was all too aware of the disadvantage under which she, and other female writers, then laboured, as is clear from her description of her encounter with William Richard Hamilton, then Secretary of the Dilettanti Society and a Trustee of the British Museum, and something of a collector. The outcome, however, also reveals a different temperament and a greater self confidence, perhaps born of upbringing and class, than George Dennis could muster:

I went to the great scholar in fear and trembling, believing, in the first place, that he would ridicule the undertaking [the proposed History of Etruria], and, in the second, that he would not give himself trouble upon a woman's account. I received from him the most cordial greeting and the most careful attention. He asked me many questions as from an equal to an equal, and then said he would think the matter over and give me his advice. Upon a second interview he pointed out to me how much the knowledge upon so obscure a subject must be inferential, derived from hints in Latin or Greek history – from the evidence of Etruscan commerce, coins, relics – or from words and customs adopted from other nations or imported to them; and then he recommended to me several historical and critical works, all German, and all of which he lent me. This he continued to do for a series of years, placing his rich library at my disposal... It is easy to conceive how flattered I felt at the encouragement of my undertaking by such a man. Without his help I do not think that I could have undertaken it.<sup>19</sup>

The Hamilton Grays were clearly an interesting couple, both highly intelligent, literate and outward looking. His *Autobiography of a Scotch Country Gentleman*, which was completed by his widow in 1868, reveals a great deal about both of them.<sup>20</sup> She had herself begun a parallel work entitled 'Autobiography of a country gentleman's daughter of old family and a country Clergyman's wife in the 19th century', but this was never completed, and it seems that some of the possible material from the later phases of her life were used to augment her husband's unfinished autobiography.<sup>21</sup> In addition, Elizabeth kept diaries from before her marriage until the early 1860s.<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately, however, the volume of her diary that must have contained detailed descriptions of her trips to the cities and cemeteries of Etruria appears to be missing.<sup>23</sup>

Elizabeth's continuation of her late husband's autobiography, besides noting her illness and the abortive trip to Italy of 1832, gives some account of the time in Rome from January 1838.<sup>24</sup> Here it is revealed that her husband had done a trip into Etruria in the spring of 1838 in the company of Sir

Harry Verney (who was later to marry Florence Nightingale's sister, Parthenope) and James, Lord Talbot de Malahide (an amateur archaeologist and President of the Royal Archaeological Society).<sup>25</sup> The couple later travelled to Florence and Bagni di Lucca for the summer, passing to Naples in the autumn, and back to Rome for the winter. There is, however, no additional detail on the trips that the Hamilton Grays made together to the Etruscan cemeteries in early 1839.

From her published descriptions, the tour seems to have begun in February 1839 with a trip to Veii, following the invitation by the leading dealer in antiquities at Rome, Francesco Capranesi, to attend the opening of a tomb. The tomb was part of the recently discovered necropolis on the slopes of Monte Michele, at a place called Pozzo or Poggio Michele – the spot is marked on the plan provided in Elizabeth's volume as 'Tomb opened by the Author'.<sup>26</sup> Her description is as follows:

I entered the tomb, a single chamber arched in the rock, apparently ten or twelve feet square, and somewhat low; it was so dark that I was obliged to have a torch, which a labourer held within the door, that I might see by myself what was the arrangement of the tomb, and what it contained. The bottom was a sort of loose mud, both soil and wet having fallen in, through a hole which existed at top of the door, owing to the want of a closing stone. In this mud lay above twenty vases, large and small, of various forms, and two them with four handles; but they were all of coarse clay and rude drawing, chiefly in circles or acute triangles of red and black, having fish or some simple device upon them, but no mythological subjects, and they appeared to me to be in that style which Cavaliere Manzi considers prior to all others, viz. the rude infancy of the art, and purely Etruscan, without any intermixture from Greece or Egypt. The black vases were chiefly stamped and indented, none of them rich like the Volterra vases, and none with a fine enamel; but all like the commonest of those kinds which are found in other Etruscan cities, and the painting was such as adorned the household wine and oil vessels everywhere throughout Etruria.<sup>27</sup>

She continued later as follows:

as we lifted out the only remnant of its ancient ornaments – the numerous vases – some of them of very large size, and handsome shapes, and all painted, though they were covered with mud, it was with indescribable interest that we saw the gentlemen bearing them down to the brook, to wash them with their own hands; not suffering the labourers to touch them. I beheld from the top of the hill, men of rank, and talent, and learning, divided into groups of two or three, absorbed in this occupation, bending over their prizes, and scanning with eager and anxious eyes each figure and device as it became distinctly visible; and though we were disappointed in the quality of our vases, it was proof of their antiquity that we found so many without a single historical or mythological figure upon any one of them.<sup>28</sup>

In all, they excavated 'about twenty vases, every one of which, though coarse, was worth something.'<sup>29</sup> They 'were divided amongst our party, and were kept more as memorials of the day than as articles of any worth...'<sup>30</sup>

Elizabeth's missing diary might have added yet more detail to this lively and picturesque outing. Sadly, Mr Hamilton Gray's undated comment in his lecture notebook is predictably laconic, noting simply that he missed lecture XIV by Braun 'being absent from Rome on an excursion to Veii where I witnessed the opening of an Etruscan tomb'.

Besides acquiring some antiquities thus, by excavation, the Hamilton Grays purchased many objects at the dealers' shops in Rome. From the *Autobiography* we learn that on one occasion they were offered a superb missal from the Albani collection, but when John turned to Elizabeth she commented

'we are collecting vases, scarabaei, and coins; we cannot collect everything; we have no money for missals.'<sup>31</sup> In reference to the same item, she added later that '[we] were in the constant habit of taking all our purchases, or even intended purchases to them [their contacts in the Istituto], in order to be examined and pronounced on'.<sup>32</sup> The couple seem to have shared in the process of acquisition, although they were also capable at times of operating independently, as in the case of the purchase of two gems at the end of their time in Rome – Elizabeth noted in her diary that on June 1st 1839 she purchased from Braun 'his Moorish Queen for 10 scu[di]',<sup>33</sup> while 'HG', as she referred to her husband, purchased from Castellani a 'green plasma for 11 scu[di]'. If we possessed the diary for the rest of 1838 and early 1839, we might have been able to follow the collection process more precisely. Revd Hamilton Gray's account sheets, however, reveal that in 1838 they spent £322.12.1 on 'Jewellery and Antiquities' and in 1839 £249.2.6.<sup>34</sup> It is most probable that the finances for this collecting came from John Hamilton Gray's coal fortune, Carntyne coal, not as a result of the meagre 'living' of Bolsover. The Grays had indeed profited over many generations from the rich seams of coal on the northern side of the River Clyde, to the east of Glasgow, so heavily worked that the phrase 'as deep as the Carntyne Heugh' passed into common parlance. The pits were eventually abandoned in 1875.

After their time in Rome, the Hamilton Grays shipped their considerable collection back to Bolsover Castle. They occupied the Little Castle or Keep, which was built in the 17th century on the site of a Norman castle, not as a castle but as a romantic retreat. It is interesting to read the description in White's Directory for 1857:

The arched roof of the drawing room, or pillar room, is elaborately and beautifully carved. The pillars in the centre are both elegant and massive, the wainscoting is walnut, richly carved and gilt, and the furniture of the room is made to suit the Elizabethan period; there is here a very beautiful statue (life size) of the only daughter of the Rev. John Hamilton Gray, in marble, executed in Rome. ... The only large room in the house, is the Star chamber, on the second story, which is upwards of forty feet long, and has been fitted up as a library and museum; the former of which contains a very considerable collection of books, &c., but what possesses the most attraction, is the rare and valuable assemblage of Etruscan vases, which the Rev. J. Hamilton Gray collected, in Italy, and which is considered to be one of the finest private collections in England; besides the collection of the Etruscan vases, there are also a number of interesting relics of the royal family of Stewart. The ... Castle has always been kept in good repair, and during the last twenty-six years, that it has been inhabited by the Rev. John Hamilton Gray, M.A., (the vicar), it has been fitted up in the style of the seventeenth century, so that a stranger unacquainted with the story of the place, might imagine the quaint old carvings and curious cabinets, and chests, to have been actually the property of the famous 'Bess of Hardwick', instead of having been collected during the last quarter of a century.<sup>35</sup>

The couple clearly shared a deep interest in history, languages and literature, as well as interior design. Elizabeth went on to write, in addition to her *Tour* (1841) and her three volume *History of Etruria* (1843, 1844 and 1868), three further popular books. The first was a *History of Rome, for young persons* (1847) which was dedicated to her daughter, Robina. This was followed by *Emperors of Rome from Augustus to Constantine, being the continuation of the 'History of Rome for Young Persons'* (1850) and, finally, *The Empire and the Church, from Constantine to Charlemagne* (1857). John's writings were mainly of a religious nature: *Remarks addressed to R.M.*

Beverley, Esq., on his letter to his grace the Archbishop of York (1831); Admission of dissenters into the universities considered in a sermon... (1834); On the ordaining influence of the Holy Spirit (1837); Sermons in Rome, during Lent 1838 (1842); and Letter to the Bishop of London, on the state of the Anglican congregations in Germany (1843), this last drawing on his deep knowledge of affairs in Germany. He also produced a translation of Friedrich Umbreit's, *Das Buch Hiob*, published as *A New Version of the Book of Job* (1836). Furthermore, he was a distinguished genealogist, contributing a prefatory essay, 'Essay on the position of the English gentry', to the fourth edition of *Landed Gentry* in 1862.<sup>36</sup>

Although there are images of the Revd John Hamilton Gray,<sup>37</sup> none seem to have survived of Elizabeth in her younger years and one can only quote the words of Maria Edgeworth in a letter of 1843: 'I thought her perfectly unpretending and unaffected; slight figure, a delicate woman, pretty dark hair and dark eyes, and pleasing expression of countenance. I never should have suspected her of being so learned or so laborious and persevering as she is.'<sup>38</sup> The Revd John Hamilton Gray died in 1867, only a few months after becoming Rector of Walton-le-Wold, and Elizabeth lived on in Bolsover Castle for some years (Fig. 1). Her daughter, Robina, had married John Anstruther-Thomson in 1852 and had seven children, but when she died in 1882, Elizabeth decided to quit Bolsover. The collection of vases had already been moved out and placed on loan in the South Kensington (Victoria & Albert) Museum in December 1874.<sup>39</sup>

Following Mrs Hamilton Gray's death in February 1887, Capt. Charles Anstruther-Thomson (second son of her daughter, Robina), consigned the Hamilton Gray collection of engraved gems for sale at Christies in May of that year: the catalogue is entitled 'small collection of antique gems, formed in Rome, by the late Rev. J. Hamilton Gray'.<sup>40</sup> The sale contained 33 intagli mounted as gold rings and some 203 scarabs. The British Museum acquired an Etruscan scarab showing a seated warrior with his shield.<sup>41</sup> A second Etruscan scarab came to the Museum two years later through dealers. This is the superb Egyptianising scarab with Isis and Horus that Elizabeth mentions in her book with much enthusiasm: 'The writer has a very remarkable one, found at Chiusi, made of plasma di smeraldo: the subject of it 'Isis nourishing Horus, or Truth teaching Time'.<sup>42</sup> The coin collection was disposed of in two sales at Sotheby's – the first as part of a sale of English coins from various sources (August 1887), the second a dedicated sale which contained the Greek and Roman material (July 1888).<sup>43</sup>

'The collection of ancient terra-cotta vases, from Etruria, formed by the Rev. J. Hamilton-Gray' was sold at Sotheby's on June 7th 1888.<sup>44</sup> There were some 23 black-figure and four red-figure Athenian vases, as well as a couple of dozen south Italian vases. The most important piece, however, had already been sold off privately, a superb Athenian red-figured cup signed by the potter Euphronios and painted by Onesimos: it had been found by Petro Saveri in a tomb three miles from Viterbo.<sup>45</sup>

Of those vases in the Sotheby's sale, one might note the interesting group of four red-figure vases all said to be from Tarquinia<sup>46</sup> – the publication of one of these, the Oedipus neck-amphora in Oxford, reveals that it and so probably all were purchased from Emil Braun.<sup>47</sup>

The most remarkable of the early Etruscan pieces, however, was the amphora, described in the sale as of 'Archaic Attic style'

– presumably meaning what we would now refer to as Geometric (Figs 2–3).<sup>48</sup> It was purchased by Lieutenant-General Augustus Pitt Rivers and taken to Farnham in Dorset to form part of the remarkable, educational museum that he created there.<sup>49</sup> When the collection was dispersed, this vase was sold at Sotheby's in 1976.<sup>50</sup> It passed into the collection of Chikara Watanabe, an important Japanese connoisseur. Finally, the British Museum purchased it with the help of the Caryatid Fund at Sotheby's, New York, in 2007.<sup>51</sup>

The decoration is, most unusually, bichrome, that is in both red and black slip (the black frequently laid over the red). It is not done with great precision, but rather in a loose, somewhat weak hand. On the neck, framed between groups of three bands are three zones of geometric 'metopal' decoration: red zigzags with black circles above and below, large black butterflies or double axes separated by groups of vertical red lines, and upright cross-hatched triangles, alternately red and black. The profuse decoration on the body varies slightly on either side, but it is difficult to decide if one side rather than the other was intended to be the front. On the shoulder of one side, there are more zones of pattern-work separated by bands – again there are red cross-hatched triangles, black butterflies separated by red verticals, and black hatched triangles. On the other side the painter has decided to break the horizontal friezes in the middle and has employed only cross-hatched triangles, alternately red and black. On this side of the body, there are four main panels – the central two contain a bird (red apart from the black outline of the body), arranged so that they face each other. Beyond them, on either side, is an elaborate circular motif made up of hatched circles that are alternately red and black. On the other side, there are three panels with birds – the wider central panel has three black birds, the flanking panels have a single red bird. These bird panels have zigzags and circles as filling ornaments and some of the birds themselves seem to have a large, snake-like worm or eel between neck and body. Below the handles the designs vary again – under one, a large rosette with alternately red and black petals is flanked by panels with a black hatched cross and four red cross-hatched triangles in the interstices; under the other, a panel with two birds, back to back (one red, one black), is flanked by chequerboard panels (one red, the other black). All around the lower body is a zone of red hatched triangles with black circles and below that a taller zone filled with vertical squiggles.

The shape is also very unusual. The unslipped rim of the mouth slopes inwards and has a ridge at the inner edge, suggesting that it was made to have a lid (now lost). The handles are elaborate, the lower 'bull's head and horns' form being surmounted by a lotus leaf element. These handles recall an impasto urn in a private collection, the shape of which is also related to the Hamilton Gray vase (Fig. 4).<sup>52</sup> Indeed, the shape of the new British Museum vase seems to be a hybrid of a Greek amphora and just such an Etruscan urn.

The vase clearly belongs to the class known as Italo-Geometric. The study of Italo-Geometric and early Orientalizing wares of Etruria does not seem to have progressed greatly since the early 1980s. Some of Hans Peter Isler's conclusions in his fundamental article of 1983, which followed on from the earlier work of Eugenio La Rocca, have been augmented by the work of other scholars, including



**Figure 2** Etruscan Geometric bichrome urn (ht. 44cm), formerly in the collection of Revd John and Elizabeth Hamilton Gray, London, British Museum, GR 2007,5008.1



Figures 3a–d Details of Etruscan Geometric bichrome urn: (a) neck; (b,c,d) body, British Museum, GR 2007,5008.1. Drawings by Kate Morton



Figure 4 Etruscan impasto urn (ht. with lid 49.6cm). German private collection, from Hornbostel 1977, no. 36



Figure 5 Etruscan Geometric bichrome stood dinos (ht. 34cm). Vulci, Mus. Arch. Inv. 98857. Photo courtesy of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Etruria Meridionale, Rome, photo Antonio Idini



Figure 6 Etruscan stood dinos, foot missing (diam. 39.2cm), Swiss private collection. Published courtesy of Jean-David Cahn, photo Nick Bürgen



**Figure 7** Etruscan Geometric stood dinos (ht. of vessel 36.6cm; ht. of lid 17.7cm). Champaign, Krannert Art Museum and Kinkead Pavilion, University of Illinois, 1972-13-5, gift of Theresa E. and Harlan E. Moore



**Figure 8** Etruscan Geometric stood dinos (ht. with lid 56cm, without lid 39.3cm). Chicago, The Art Institute, 1985.627, Costa A. Pandaleon Fund

Fulvio Canciani, Anna Maria Sgubini Moretti and Marina Martelli, but no thorough monograph has yet been published, though one is sorely needed.<sup>53</sup>

The closest parallels in technique and style are a stood dinos from the Cavalupo cemetery of Vulci (**Fig. 5**)<sup>54</sup> and a similar vessel (its stand broken away) in a Swiss private collection (**Fig. 6**).<sup>55</sup> The Vulci vessel has alternate red and black cross-hatched triangles (at the base of the bowl, on the bolster of the stand and at the bottom of the stand) and alternate red and black hatched maeander 'Zs'. The panels with horses are not matched on the Hamilton Gray vase, but the birds under the handles are. The Swiss market piece has the same frieze of red and black cross-hatched triangles, but in this case the horses in the metopes in the upper frieze are done in red with black outlines, recalling two of the birds on the Hamilton Gray vase. Here, too, the birds on the back of the vase recall those on the Hamilton Gray vase.

The Vulci stood dinos was connected by Sgubini Moretti with Isler's Workshop of the 'Argive' Painter.<sup>56</sup> At the head of his list of that so unfortunately-named painter is a stood dinos once on the Los Angeles market, but now in a Tampa private collection.<sup>57</sup> With this vase go four other stood dinoi, one once on the Swiss market and now in the Krannert Art Museum Champaign, Illinois, (**Fig. 7**), the second formerly on the Freiburg market and now in Chicago (**Figs 8,9**), the third in a Geneva private collection, and the fourth once on the Hamburg market (**Fig. 10**).<sup>58</sup> These vases do not employ the bichrome technique, although it should be noted that the Chicago vessel does have three red bands and a disc inside the bowl, while at the junction between stand and bowl there also appears to be a red band.<sup>59</sup> Nevertheless, they do share decorative motifs, filling ornaments and style. The Florida, Krannert and Geneva stood dinoi are very similar in shape (the top of the lid of the

Krannert vase is wrongly restored) and their decoration very close, including birds and riders on horseback on the Florida and Krannert pieces, and only birds on the Geneva example. The Hamburg market piece is smaller and more compact in shape and has a lotus flower on top of either handle that recalls the form of the handles of the Hamilton Gray vase – the Vulci stood dinos also has a floral addition to its handles in the form of a lotus bud (**Fig. 5**). The decoration of the Hamburg vase is simpler, consisting only of panels with pairs of birds. The birds on all these stood dinoi match those on the Hamilton Gray vase, as well as the bichrome stood dinoi; the horses are also the same.

In addition, we may add two spherical vessels, ollas perhaps – one in Toronto was preserved with its lid, the other in an Austrian private collection with a somewhat ungainly separate stand that can hardly belong.<sup>60</sup> A comparison between the birds and many of the other decorative elements on both the spherical vases and on the Hamilton Gray vessel and the stood dinoi reveals that all must be from the same workshop. Similarly, a fine, large stand (a shape often misleadingly referred to as a *holmos*) in the Villa Giulia in Rome, and probably from Cerveteri (it was seized from the market apparently in 1967/8), is also from the same workshop, as the riders, horses, birds and decorative patterns demonstrate.<sup>61</sup> It would have been a much more worthy stand for the spherical vase in an Austrian collection, than the small stand published with it. Indeed, with this sort of speculation in mind, it is tempting to think that the lid that was acquired with the elaborate, multiple vessel in a Ticino collection published by Isler, but which cannot belong to it, as Isler recognised, might actually have been the lid for the Austrian vase.<sup>62</sup> As a result, we may perhaps see the Toronto and Austrian spherical vessels also as lidded dinoi, deeper and with separate stands, in the



**Figure 9** Etruscan Geometric stood dinos (diam. of lid c. 40cm). Chicago, The Art Institute, 1985.627, Costa A. Pandaleon Fund



**Figure 10** Etruscan Geometric stood dinos (ht. with lid 35.5cm), once on the Hamburg market, from Termer 1980, no. 48

manner of the much larger impasto constructions.<sup>63</sup>

Under the sobriquet of the Workshop of the 'Argive' Painter Isler connected with the Tampa stood dinos and the Villa Giulia stand a number of smaller stands and a barrel-shaped asks in Tarquinia.<sup>64</sup> Although the barrel vase is clearly by the same painter as the various vases considered above, the stands bear only a vague resemblance. As a result, I should prefer to attribute the vases listed below to the Hamilton Gray Painter in order to show a closer link between the pieces and avoid Isler's somewhat misleading sobriquet:

1. British Museum GR 2007,5008.1, ex-Hamilton Gray – amphoroid urn (bichrome)
2. Vulci Arch. Mus. 98857 – stood dinos (bichrome) [Sgubini Moretti]
3. Swiss, private – stood dinos (bichrome) [F. Canciani]
4. Tampa, Florida, private, ex-Los Angeles market (Summa) – stood dinos [Isler, Williams]
5. Chicago, Art Institute 1985.627, ex-Freiburg market (Puhze) – stood dinos [Canciani]
6. Champagne, Urbana, Krannert Art Museum 1972-13-5, ex-Basel market (Borowski) – stood dinos [Canciani, Williams]
7. Geneva, collection F.E. – stood dinos
8. Hamburg market (Termer) – stood dinos [Canciani]
9. Toronto, ROM 985.184.3 – spherical dinos
10. Linz, Aichmer collection – spherical dinos
11. Ticino, private – lid [Isler] – perhaps belongs to no. 10
12. Rome, Villa Giulia (seized) – stand for spherical dinos [Isler, Williams] – perhaps might even go with no. 10
13. Tarquinia 3118 – barrel-shaped asks [Isler].

The Hamilton Gray Painter, thus, decorated a variety of interesting and impressive shapes. They may owe much to Greek and oriental forms, but they have been modified to suit local tastes and functions, not least by becoming lidded ash

urns. The potter has also indulged in a liking for floral adjuncts, probably in imitation of metal forms whether directly or through an intermediary material. The decoration draws on the Greek Geometric repertoire, but with the decorative motifs redeployed in an individual manner. The use of a bichrome technique on three pieces is of particular interest. They seem to be the latest products, if it is correct to see the tighter style of the other pieces as earlier, perhaps more in touch with the Greek models and syntax. In general, the painter seems to have been active in the last decade or so of the 8th century BC.

In a brief article in 1968 Lucia Ricci Portoghesi listed some minor vases with bichrome decoration.<sup>65</sup> These included small oinochoai of Greek shape or tradition, vertical-handled cups and spherical footed ollas of Etruscan origin. To the latter group we may now add, of course, the remarkable example from the necropolis delle Bucacce, Bisenzio, decorated with friezes of dancing figures.<sup>66</sup> None of these pieces, however, seems connected stylistically with the Hamilton Gray vase and the two bichrome stood dinoi (or the other pieces by the same painter), although one of them, the tall oinochoe in Tarquinia, with its stars, acute angled swastikas and its rather tall cross-hatched triangles does, however, recall pieces from Isler's Workshop of the Ticino krater.<sup>67</sup> Ricci Portoghesi also raised the issue of the origin of the technique in Etruria – whether it was a local creation or was borrowed from Cyprus, perhaps via East Greek pottery. Although Canciani accepted the idea of a Cypriot origin,<sup>68</sup> there does not seem to be any real evidence to support a direct Cypriot connection – no particular mass of Cypriot imports and no Cypriot influence otherwise on pottery shapes or decorative patterns – and even influence from the western Phoenician fabrics, although possible, has little more to recommend it. As a result, we should perhaps think rather of the use of bichrome as a local development and as part of the breaking down of the strictly Geometric Greek tradition to create a new hybrid Etruscan style – certainly

Etruscan potters, and so their customers, seem to have enjoyed the use of various additional colours.

Isler's division of the known material into two major workshop groups, one based in Vulci, the other in Veii, may be correct, but it is yet to be proved by scientific means, such as Neutron Activation Analysis. Indeed, it is quite possible that there were other workshops elsewhere, including at Bisenzio and perhaps Tarquinia, while one should not underestimate the possibility of craftsmen moving from city to city within southern Etruria. In addition, we should accept that pieces could be exported from one centre to a neighbouring one, as is the case with his Workshop of the 'Argive' Painter, our Hamilton Gray Painter, for, although most of the pieces have a Vulci provenience, the stand in the Villa Giulia was most probably found at Cerveteri.

We have no certain indication of the findspot of the Hamilton Gray vase. Nevertheless, it hardly seems the sort of piece that the Hamilton Grays would have purchased at one of the Roman dealers given the choice of fine Athenian black-figure and red-figure vases. There is, however, an alternative, namely that it was actually one of the pieces that was excavated at Veii. We do not know how large was the Hamilton Grays' share of the vessels from the Veii tomb. There were, as we have seen above, more than 20 vessels found in the tomb, both large and small, of various forms. The black vases seem to have been early, as 'none of them [were] rich like the Volterra vases, and none with a fine enamel'. The first lot in the Hamilton Gray sale of 1888 is a 'prochous of fine polished black clay, with circles incised around the body'.<sup>69</sup> Although the term 'prochous' suggests a jug of some sort, it was perhaps rather a small bulbous amphora with the typical spiral decoration. The decorated light-ground vessels were of 'coarse clay and rude drawing, chiefly circles or acute triangles of red and black, having fish or some simple device'; two of them had four handles. The description of vases with circles on them surely suggests the series of small vessels so decorated from southern Etruria and Latium.<sup>70</sup> The mention of fish, triangles and the occurrence of four handles makes one think of vases like the four-handled amphora decorated with fish excavated at Veii.<sup>71</sup> 'Acute triangles of red and black', however, clearly suggests a bichrome vase, and thus allows us to speculate that the Hamilton Gray amphora-like vase might actually have been found in Veii, in the tomb into which Mrs. Elizabeth Hamilton Gray was the first to enter after more than 2,500 years.

To conclude, the Hamilton Gray vase was produced in a workshop in southern Etruria in the last decades of the 8th century, the time of the formation of the great Etruscan centres. Its creator chose to merge Greek and local shapes, while adding metallic touches, and to combine native colour with Greek Geometric style. This amalgamation may well reflect the growing connection with the wider Mediterranean world that the Etruscan *principes* had begun to enjoy, as well as perhaps the forging of a new cultural identity.<sup>72</sup>

Mrs Hamilton Gray was a determined and enthusiastic populariser and educator. She was the first to bring Etruria and its antiquities to the attention of the British public. Indeed, it may well have been the second edition of her book that inspired George Dennis to explore there – his trips, together with the artist Samuel Ainsley began in 1842 – although he does not ever seem to have admitted in print to such a thing.

Sybille Haynes has proved herself, of course, much more the sort of scholar that Dennis might have wanted, for her work on so many aspects of Etruscan art and culture has always been imbued with the deepest scholarship. She too, however, has been an educator and an inspirational populariser not only with her works of synthesis, but also with her *Augur's Daughter*. In Sybille Haynes' hands 'a golden harvest' has indeed been reaped from her precursor's first furrow in 'the fallow ground'.

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### Notes

- 1 GR 2007,5008.1 – see below. For Elizabeth Hamilton Gray's explorations of Etruria and her publication see below. For earlier discussions of her see Colonna 1978, 82, 86 and 90; Prinzi 1986, 137–8; and Haynes 1992, 314.
- 2 See Hamilton Gray 1868b which also gives much additional information on Elizabeth Hamilton Gray.
- 3 Hamilton Gray 1868a.
- 4 For Dr Butler (1774–1839) see the account of his life given by his grandson, Butler, 1896.
- 5 His collection of manuscripts was purchased by the British Museum – now British Library – and some 38 antiquities were purchased for the Greek and Roman Department (GR 1840,0212.1-38). His extensive collection of antiquities did not sell well, according to Hamilton Gray, 1841, 4, with footnote.
- 6 See Colonna 1978; *The Times of London*, 26 January 1837, 7, col. F.
- 7 Hamilton Gray 1841, 14.
- 8 Preserved in the National Library of Scotland as part of Acc.8100, 154.
- 9 Hamilton Gray 1841. The Revd Hamilton Gray's accounts (National Library of Scotland, Ac.8100, 81) record the expenditure of £132.1.3 on publishing for the year 1840.
- 10 Hamilton Gray 1841, 2 and 147.
- 11 E.g. the anonymous reviews: *The Edinburgh Review* 73, no. 147 (April 1841) 121–51; *The London Quarterly* 68 (1841) 202–12; *Monthly Review* 1 (1841) 59–67.
- 12 Dennis 1844, 527–43 (the review is actually anonymous). The second edition of Hamilton Gray 1841 was published in 1842, the third in 1843.
- 13 I am most grateful to Dr Sybille Haynes for showing me this manuscript and permitting me to present it here. See Haynes, 1992, 401 no. 490: the manuscript was in a pocket inside a copy of Dennis' book that has the bookplate of his nephew (it was acquired in the 1950s by Denys Haynes in an antiquarian bookshop). It seems likely that this was a later transcription from the published review rather than a draft.
- 14 Dennis 1844, 528–9.
- 15 Dennis 1844, 537–43.
- 16 Hamilton Gray 1843–4, I, 2.
- 17 Dennis 1848, v.
- 18 Rhodes 1973, 49 (letter of Aug 6, 1846). For Dennis see also Potter 1998.
- 19 Veitch 1859, 130–1.
- 20 Hamilton Gray 1868b.
- 21 A lengthy manuscript is preserved in the National Library of Scotland, Acc.8100, 155. It concentrates on her early recollections.
- 22 National Library of Scotland, Acc.8100, 112–19.
- 23 The 1837–1838 volume does not go beyond March 1838, while only the last visit, that to Chiusi, is described in the 1839–1841 volume.
- 24 Hamilton Gray 1868b - her supplement begins on 28r; for the abortive trip see 291ff.; learning Hebrew, 299; and 351–9 for the time in Rome.
- 25 Hamilton Gray 1868b, 351
- 26 The map is based on that of William Gell; for the description of the

- excavations see Hamilton Gray 1841, 79–82, 83–4, 85–6, 90–1, 231. This excavation is noted in Bartoloni and Delpino 1979, 18 fn 5; and Delpino 1985, 109.
- 27 Hamilton Gray 1841, 81–2.
- 28 Hamilton Gray 1841, 90.
- 29 Hamilton Gray 1841, 231.
- 30 Hamilton Gray 1841, 83–4.
- 31 Hamilton Gray 1868b, 358.
- 32 Hamilton Gray 1868b, 359.
- 33 For this piece cf. Hamilton Gray 1841, 16.
- 34 National Library of Scotland, Acc. 8100, 81.
- 35 *White's 1857 Directory of Derbyshire*, 693–4.
- 36 Burke 1862; Moore 1981, 383–6
- 37 John Hamilton Gray's portrait was made as a boy, aged 13, by Sir Henry Raeburn; there are also two images in Hamilton Gray 1868b: one from 1833, the other as an older man.
- 38 Hare 1894, vol. II, letter 131 (14 Sept, 1843).
- 39 I am very grateful to Victoria West, the Archivist at the V&A, for providing me with the records of the loan, made on 16 December 1874 by Capt. C. Anstruther Thomson.
- 40 Christie's, Manson and Woods, 27 May 1887, lots 78–15.
- 41 Christie's, Manson and Woods, 27 May 1887, lot 110 ('Achilles seated holding two spears by his side helmet and shield'), now GR 1887.6-1.1. The Earl of Southesk purchased the gem illustrated in Hamilton Gray 1841, 210 and engraving opposite p. 207 (Christie's, lot 108): Carnegie 1908, 10 no. A 15.
- 42 Lot 99: purchased by Whelan (19 Bloomsbury St, London, London representative of Rollin and Feuarden), now GR 1889.5-14.1; see Hamilton Gray 1841, 16–17, and 270. For other references to gems see Hamilton Gray 1841, 33 (Cadmus and the dragon) and 442 (Hercules and the Hydra, from Chiusi; and an Etruscan man playing an instrument resembling an organ, from Chiusi).
- 43 Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, London, 2–6 Aug. 1887 and 31 July 1888. I am very grateful to Peter Clayton for pointing out these sales to me.
- 44 This sale catalogue notes that they had been on exhibition at the South Kensington Museum.
- 45 See Hamilton Gray 1841, 52–3, 56; Gerhard 1830, 243 (with 233 n. 1). It was withdrawn from the V&A on 25 July 1887, and was subsequently purchased by A. van Branteghem; at the sale of his collection, it was bought by E.P. Warren, who sold it on to Boston – Boston MFA 95.27: Beazley 1963, 325 no. 76.
- 46 See Hamilton Gray 1841, 57; Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, London, 7 June 1888, lots 31–34.
- 47 Lot 32, now Oxford 526: Beazley 1927, 18 (pl. 19, 5 and 8); Beazley 1963, 1068 no. 5.
- 48 Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, London, 7 June 1888, lot 3. It is referred to in the V&A loan list, no. 14, as 'Jar, oinochoe, bands of animals & birds'. For lot 1, a small black vase, see below; for lot 2, a bucchero tray or brazier, cf. most recently Hayes 1985, 114–16, nos. C 105 and 106; and Perkins 2007, 22 no. 49.
- 49 They were stored first at Rushmore and then transferred in 1891 to the museum at Farnham: Cambridge University Library, Add MS 9455 vol. 2 (March 1884–June 1891) 399–404. On the Farnham Museum catalogues see Thompson and Renfrew 1999.
- 50 Sotheby's London, 12 July 1976, lot 509.
- 51 Sotheby's, New York, 5 December 2007, lot 122 (from the collection of Chikara Watanabe, Japan). Now GR 2007,5008.1. Ht. 44.0cm; diam. mouth 13.5cm.
- 52 Hornbostel 1977, no. 360. Compare also the pair of bronze amphorae said to come from the Polledrara Tomb, GR 1850,0227.28 and 29 (Bronze 438 and 439), see Haynes 1977, 28 and pl. 10e. Haynes' concern as to whether the handles belong might be removed by consideration of the Hamilton Gray and impasto vases.
- 53 La Rocca 1978; Isler 1983; Williams 1986 (this paper was delivered at a conference in 1982); Leach, 1987; Canciani 1987, 9–15 (and entries on individual pieces, 242–54); M. Martelli in Martelli 1987, 16–23 (and entries on individual pieces); Zindel 1987, 45–51; Sgubini Moretti 1994; Szilágyi 2005; Murrock Hussein 2006. I have not been able to consult A. Murrock Leatherman, 'Italian Geometric Pottery: Workshops and Interactions', unpublished dissertation for Brown University, 2004.
- 54 Vulci Mus. Arch. Inv. 98857: Sgubini Moretti 1986, 73–5, pls. 34, 36.4 and 37; Martelli 1987, pl. 72 no. 13; Torelli and Moretti Sgubini 2008, 257 no. 120.
- 55 Swiss private collection: *Italische Keramik, Münzen und Medaillen*, Basel, Sonderliste U (November 1984) no. 6; F. Canciani in Martelli 1987, 15 fn. 17; J-D. Cahn AG, *Tiere und Mischwesen V: Katalog* 17 Basel, 2005, no. 39.
- 56 Sgubini Moretti 1986, 73–5; Isler 1983, 26–8. The connection is accepted by Canciani 1987, 249. Sgubini Moretti's attribution of the bottle-like olla from the Poggio Maremma necropolis at Vulci to the same workshop, however, is not very convincing: Sgubini Moretti 2001, 190–1, no. III.B.1.5.
- 57 Tampa, private: Summa Galleries (Los Angeles) 4, 1978, no. 15; Isler 1983, 26 no. 1; Williams 1986, 297 with fn. 42.
- 58 Krannert Art Museum 1972-13-5 (ex Basel market, Borowski 1965): *College Museums, Art Journal* 33,1 (Fall 1973) 46 (there described as Greek); Williams 1986, 297 with fn. 42; Canciani 1987, 15 fn 17. Chicago 1985.627: *Kunst der Antike*, Galerie Günter Puhze 6 (Freiburg 1985) 19 no. 196; Canciani 1987, 15 fn. 17; Berge 1989, 46–50. Collection F.E. Geneva: Chamay 1993, 228, no. 128. Once Hamburg market: Termer, 74–5, no. 48; Canciani 1987, 10 and 14 fn. 6.
- 59 I am very grateful to Karen Manchester for checking the interior decoration and for pointing out the band on the exterior.
- 60 Toronto ROM 985.184.3: Hayes 1992, 25–7 no. 28. R. Aichmer collection, Linz: Ruprechtsberger 1985, 106 no. Ai86, pl. on p. 126. The connection between these two pieces was made in Hayes 1992, 27.
- 61 Isler 1983, 26 no. 2; Martelli 1987, 71 no. 12. Isler also includes in his list, 26–8, nos. 3-6, some stands that are perhaps really too minor to be sensibly listed as being products of the same workshop. Isler's no. 7, a barrel-shaped askos, is more convincing.
- 62 Isler 1983, 18–19, pl. 3, and listed on 28 as no. 8. The diameter of the Ticino lid is 22.6cm (that of the Toronto lid is 28cm; the lids of the standed dinoi are much larger); the Linz vase has a maximum diam. of 40cm, which would mean that the diam. of the rim should suit the Ticino lid. The diam. of the top of the Villa Giulia stand is 20cm, which would thus have provided a much more sensible support for the Austrian vessel.
- 63 Cf. for example the stand and olla from the Bocchoris Tomb in Tarquinia: Hencken 1968, 368-372, figs 363–4, with 370–1 figs 363–4 and 416 fig. 433; Gehrig and Niemeyer 1990, 182, no. 129.
- 64 Isler 1983, 26–8. The Tarquinia askos, inv. 3118, is 28 no.7; Canciani 1974, pl. 28.
- 65 Ricci Portoghese 1968, 309–18. Cf also Canciani 1974, 25 (pl. 17, 10), 30 (pl. 22, 2–3) and 39–40 (pl. 31, 1–4).
- 66 Florence 85629: Martelli 1987, 75 no. 18.
- 67 Tarquinia RC 1749: Ricci Portoghese 1968, 310 no. 5; Canciani 1974, 30, pl. 22, 2–3.
- 68 Canciani 1987, 250 on no. 18 (cf. also Canciani 1974, 25).
- 69 It was purchased by Godwin, but its present whereabouts are unknown.
- 70 For the type see Canciani 1974, 28, pl. 20, 4–5 and 6 and 9 (juglets); and Canciani 1987, 242, no. 2.
- 71 Van Kampen 2003, 92–3 no. 113, pl. xiii b.; cf. Dik 1981, 53–6, figs 298-30. Fish occur, of course, on other shapes too, eg. oinochoai: see Canciani 1974, 11 (pl. 10).
- 72 Cf. Williams, 'Ridgway Ram Vase' in this volume.

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