Athenian Potters and Painters

Volume III

Edited by

John H. Oakley

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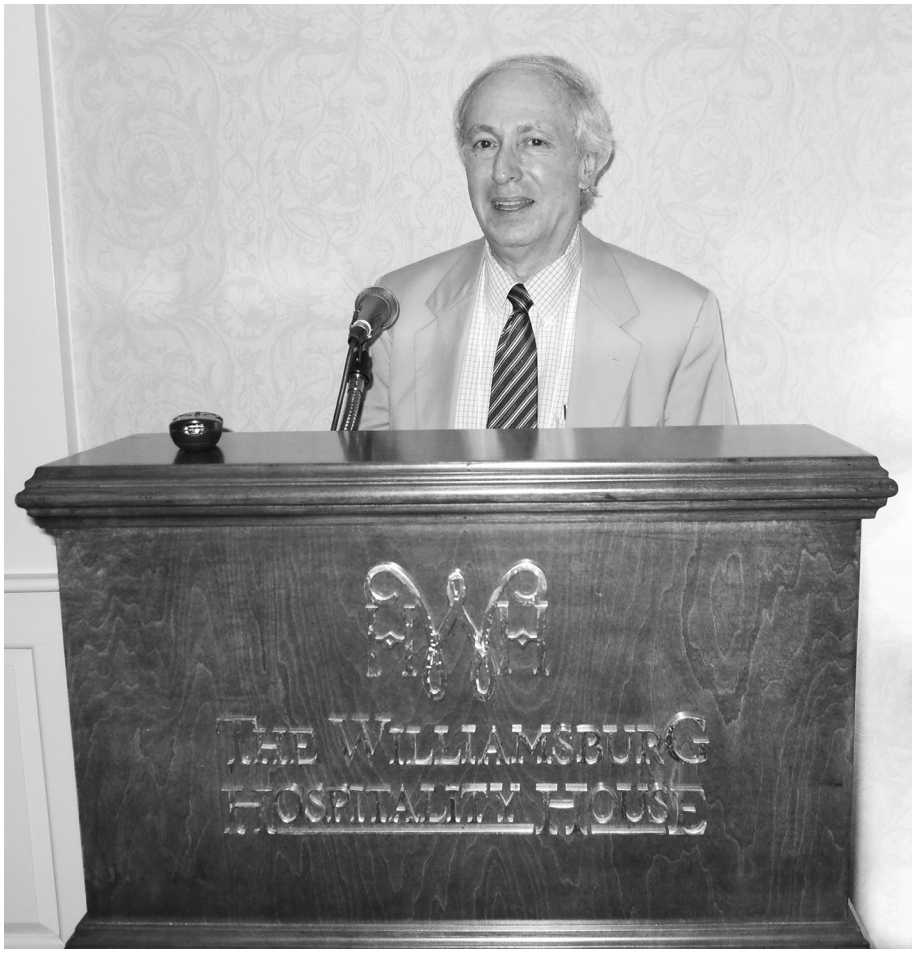
This volume is dedicated to H. A. Shapiro



The honoree at the conference

(Photo: William Kahlenberg)

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Oxbow Books
Oxford & Philadelphia

Published in the United Kingdom in 2014 by
OXBOW BOOKS
10 Hythe Bridge Street, Oxford OX1 2EW

and in the United States by
OXBOW BOOKS
908 Darby Road, Havertown, PA 19083

Hardcover Edition: ISBN 978-1-78297-663-9
Digital Edition: ISBN 978-1-78297-664-6
Mobi Edition: ISBN 978-1-78297-665-3
PDF Edition: ISBN 978-1-78297-666-0

A CIP record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Control Number: 2010290514

Printed in the United Kingdom by Short Run Press, Exeter

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Front cover: Attic black-figure amphora, Berlin F1685. Photo: bpk, Berlin/ Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Germany/Ingrid Gesk /Art Resource, NY. Back cover: Attic white-ground lekythos attributed to the Thanatos Painter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8080, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund. Photo: © 2013 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Contents

Foreword

This volume contains the papers presented at the international conference *Athenian Potters and Painters III* held at the College of William and Mary in Virginia on September 11–14, 2012 (http://www.wm.edu/as/classicalstudies/athenian-conference/). The study of Athenian pottery, the most important fine ware in the Mediterranean during the Greek Archaic and Classical periods, is a rich subject, and this is the third conference devoted to it, the first in the USA. The two previous ones were held in Athens, Greece at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 1994 and 2007.

Joan Mertens, Curator of Greek and Roman Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, gave the Keynote Address which also served as the Department of Classical Studies' tenth annual Virginia Northcutt Brinkley Lecture on Ancient Greece and Egypt. Twenty-four other scholars presented papers, and three others came prepared to present should some emergency prevent one of the twenty-four from coming, which turned out to be the case in one instance. All twenty-seven papers are included here. The cast was international, as were the over one hundred participants, and representatives from thirteen countries were present (Austria, Belgium, Canada, Germany, Greece, Israel, Italy, Japan, Russia, Spain, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States).

Accompanying the conference was an exhibit at the College's Muscarelle Museum of Art, *Greek Vases from Virginia Collections* (http://www.wm.edu/news/stories/2012/wm-hosts-international-conference-on-ancient-athenian-pottery-123.php). I thank Aaron De Groft the Director, John Spike the Chief Curator, and the rest of the museum's staff for all their help, assistance, and good humor in planning and running this exhibit, as well as our lenders, which included the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, the Chrysler Museum, and private collectors in the State. All of the vases in the exhibit met the Archaeological Institute of America's (AIA) guidelines for antiquities. The exhibit was co-curatored by me and one of my students, Alex Endres. The labels for the exhibit were penned by students in my course on Greek Vase-Painting.

The conference was sponsored by the Department of Classical Studies, The Reves Center for International Studies, the Provost's Office, the Office of Research Funds, the Williamsburg Chapter of the AIA, the Muscarelle Museum of Art and a Joseph J. Plumeri Award. Particular thanks for their help and generosity are due to Michael R. Halleran (Provost), Stephen E. Hanson (Vice Provost), Dennis M. Manos (Vice Provost), the faculty of the Department of Classical Studies, Joyce Holmes, Maura Brennan, Greg Callaghan, Peter Schertz, and Paul Hasse.

Professor Erika Simon, was the honorary guest. The Proceedings of the first conference were dedicated to her and Sir John Boardman, and the second to Professor Michalis Tiverios. This third volume is dedicated to my long-time friend and colleague, Professor Alan Shapiro, for he, as the earlier dedacatees, has contributed greatly to the field of Greek vase-painting, not only by his numerous influential and innovative publications, but also by the students that he has trained and the generosity that he has shown to us all. He, as the other dedacatees before him, set an example that is rarely found.

The abbreviations for archeological publications are those of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (http://www.dainst.org/tr/node/28771?ft=all). The format is that used in the earlier volume, which I retain here for continuity and simplicity. I did not standardize spellings or transliterations of Greek, but allowed the authors to use what they preferred. Abbreviations for the ancient literary sources are those of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*[3] (1996) xxix–liv. In addition, the following abbreviations are used:

ABL	C. H. E. Haspels, Attic Black-figured Lekythoi (1936).
ABV	J. D. Beazley, Attic Black-figure Vase-painters (1956).
Agora XII	B. A. Sparkes – L. Talcott, Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th, and 4th Centuries B.C., The Athenian Agora vol. XII (1970).
Agora XXIII	M. B. Moore – M. Z. P. Philippides, Attic Black-figured Pottery, The Athenian Agora vol. XXIII (1986).
Agora XXX	M. B. Moore, Attic Red-figured and White-ground Pottery, The Athenian Agora vol. XXX (1997).
ARV[2]	J. D. Beazley, Attic Red-figure Vase-painters, 2nd ed. (1963).
APP	J. H. Oakley – O. Palagia – W. D. E. Coulson (eds.), Athenian Potters and Painters (1997).
APP II	J. H. Oakley – O. Palagia (eds.), Athenian Potters and Painters, Volume II (2009).

BAdd^2	T. H. Carpenter, Beazley Addenda, 2nd ed. (1989).
BAPD	Beazley Archive Pottery Database (http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/pottery/default.htm).
CAVI	H. Immerwahr, Corpus of Attic Vase Inscriptions (http://www2.lib.unc.edu/dc/attic/).
CB	L. D. Caskey – J. D. Beazley, Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1931–1963).
Para	J. D. Beazley, Paralipomena (1971)
RH	G. M. A. Richter – L. F. Hall, Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1936).
RVAp	A. D. Trendall – A. Cambitoglou, The Red-figured Vases of Apulia (1978–1982).
Tsingarida, Shapes	A. Tsingarida (ed.), Shapes and Uses of Greek Vases (7th–4th Centuries BC) (2009).

John H. Oakley

1 Fallen Vessels and Risen Spirits: Conveying the Presence of the Dead on White-ground Lekythoi

Nathan T. Arrington

The Bosanquet Painter decorated two white-ground lekythoi with scenes that, at first glance, appear to be nearly identical. On both, a lekythos in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 1)[1] and another in the Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig in Basel (Fig. 2; Color Pl. 1A),[2] a woman and a young, beardless man flank grave monuments. The grave stelai are wrapped with fillets, and vessels, wreaths, and fillets adorn the monuments' steps. So the women are visiting the graves at some unspecified period after burial.[3] They carry oinochoai in their left hands and hold out phialai in their right hands to make libations (probably of wine) in honor of the dead. The young men at the grave look intently at the women. In short, the New York and Basel lekythoi both display typical scenes of a visit to a grave. Such images became quite common around the middle of the fifth century, when lekythoi had a predominantly funerary function.[4] Deposited with the dead or at their tombs, when decorated they bore imagery appropriate for the grave, with women often depicted bringing wreaths, fillets, and vessels (including lekythoi) to honor the dead. And yet one detail on the Basel lekythos is rather unusual within the corpus of white-ground lekythoi: among the grave offerings on the steps of the tomb, a lekythos lies fallen on its side. Is there any significance to this small sign? Is the Basel lekythos semantically any different from the New York lekythos?

A fallen vessel, often a lekythos, occurs on only ten white-ground lekythoi. Six are similar in composition to the Basel lekythos – a man and a woman flank a decorated grave with one or more fallen vessels on its steps – and are chronologically close.[5] The Sabouroff Painter provides one image;[6] the Bosanquet Painter depicts four in addition to Fig. 2;[7] and the Thanatos Painter one.[8] The three other examples differ. The Beldam Painter represents a fallen vessel at the bottom of the image's field (i.e., not on the tomb steps) in one of the earliest scenes of a visit to the grave, where two women with baskets of offerings flank the tomb.[9] An artist near the Quadrate Painter depicts two women flanking a grave monument, a child on its steps touching the stele, and a hydria split in two tumbling off the steps.[10] An unattributed lekythos in the Louvre

Fig. 1 Attic white-ground lekythos attributed to the Bosanquet Painter. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 23.160.39. Photo: © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, New York.

Fig. 2 Attic white-ground lekythos attributed to the Bosanquet Painter. Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, Kä 402. Photo: Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig/A. Voegelin.

focalizes the steps of the grave and reveals several fallen vessels, but no persons are at the grave.[11] Fallen vessels on tomb steps also appear on a monumental red-figure loutrophoros in the manner of the Talos Painter,[12] where a group visits a grave decorated with an equestrian monument, and on a red-figure pelike attributed to the Jena Painter, where Orestes leaves a lock of hair at the tomb of Agamemnon.[13] The sign of the fallen vessel need not have the same significance in all these examples. In this essay I will first focus on the white-ground lekythoi with a composition similar to the Basel lekythos, for which sufficient comparanda exist for a productive, semiotic approach. I will then consider the red-figure vessels and the unusual lekythos in the Louvre.

Fallen vessels in Attic vase-painting usually index motion and surprise. A fallen and sometimes broken hydria, for instance, accompanies many scenes of Achilles pursuing Troilus, representing the haste of Polyxena's flight and perhaps also foreshadowing the youth's death.[14] Dropping a vase became a standard device to show women rushing from their pursuers,[15] and non-ceramic fallen objects could perform similar narrative functions. Menelaos, for instance, may drop his sword as he runs toward Helen.[16] The fallen weapon signals his change of intent while also conveying his swift motion. Armor and weapons can lie on battle grounds, indexing the movement of figures and the disarray of war.[17] Centaurs and Lapiths topple vases to the ground in their strife as they battle indoors.[18]

The hydria depicted in the process of tumbling off the steps of the grave monument on the lekythos by an artist near the Quadrate Painter similarly indexes motion, although it is difficult to identify with confidence what caused the vessel to fall (Fig. 3).[19] Some scholars have thought that the broken hydria on our lekythos stems from a ritual act,[20] but since both women are depicted in the process of going to the tomb with offerings in their hands, this is an unlikely scenario. The images on other lekythoi demonstrate that hydriai could rest on the steps of the tomb or serve as grave markers,[21] and so the child on the Quadrate Painter's lekythos probably broke a hydria placed on the grave steps as he ran from the left up to the stele. The vessel tumbles to the right, and traces of the child's right leg suggest that it was raised off the ground in a running motion. Although this fallen hydria seems to conform to the general function of fallen vessels in Attic vase-painting by indexing movement, the other fallen vessels do not fit the mold. The vessels are not in the process of falling, and the scenes in which they appear are quiet and nearly motionless.[22] The lekythos near the Quadrate Painter only makes the other lekythoi in need of further explication.

Fallen vessels on lekythoi have not gone unnoticed, nor have they received any sustained discussion. Interpretations generally may be divided into two views, although usually they were not advanced to explain every example. The first, advocated by Ernst Buschor, Donna Kurtz, Christoph Clairmont, and Erika Kunze-Götte, sees the vessels as efforts to represent the actual appearance of the grave.[23] They represent the detritus from rituals where vessels were broken at the tomb, or they simply fell over in the course of time. These images, the scholars contend (to varying degrees), reveal the artists' interest in reality. A second view adopts a more semiotic approach. For Stefan Schmidt, at least some of the vessels serve to demonstrate the consequences of not tending the grave.[24] John Oakley argues that they mark the passage of time.[25] A third view, of course, might be that these fallen vessels are meaningless variations to repetitive, stock scenes of a visit to the grave.

Painted *broken* lekythoi by the Beldam Painter, in the manner of the Talos Painter (Fig. 9), and possibly by the Bosanquet Painter[26] may stem from rituals, but the others are simply fallen rather than smashed. For instance, in the example by the Sabouroff Painter (Figs. 4–5) the lekythos clearly has fallen from the space between vessels two steps above.[27] So the view that the lekythoi transcribe a ritual moment can only explain a few of the examples, if any. And although some tombs may indeed have resembled the paintings of graves with fallen vessels, the interpretation that these objects were details serving to increase a painting's realism faces the difficulty that realism was not

Fig. 3 Attic white-ground lekythos by an artist near the Quadrate Painter. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, 2779. Photo: Renate Kühling.

the primary concern of Classical painters of white lekythoi such as the Sabouroff, Bosanquet, and Thanatos Painters. They conflate home and grave, with items such as vessels and mirrors impossibly suspended in midair by the tomb.

Moreover, there is reasonable doubt whether or not the grave monuments in the paintings are real, for few stone monuments survive from Classical Athens until they start to be made again ca. 430. While it is possible that some of these painted monuments imitate wooden ones erected at Athens that do not survive in the archaeological record – or reflect gravestones erected outside of Athens – or, after ca. 430, actual Athenian gravestones – in the end, the connection between the depicted image and reality remains remarkably loose.[28] There is little indication that painters strove to make any reliance on a model explicit. If the painters copied wooden stelai, they made them look like stone. If they copied real tymboi, they painted many with an improbable egg-shaped form. At the end of the century, when stone grave markers reappeared and when we might expect to find some consistency between depicted and real monuments, the painters reveal their hand, shunning the emerging sculpted forms of naiskoi or rosette stelai.

Find contexts further disassociate the images on the lekythoi from the intent of representing actual gravestones, for there is no consistency in appearance among the painted tomb monuments on various lekythoi deposited in the same grave. Considering the dearth of private stone monuments in the archaeological record, Christoph Clairmont postulated that painted monuments represented the state graves for the war dead.[29] This also is an unlikely explanation for the majority of the lekythoi. A few lekythoi that do seem to represent the public graves indicate what we could expect: multiple graves in one image, and a multitude of fillets wrapped around the stelai, which commemorated many persons.[30] In sum, lekythos painters strove not after realism but to present the idea of a grave and the concept of a grave visit.

The interaction between the persons and the tomb on Figs. 1–5 could occur at any grave, be it a public grave, a private grave, or a private cenotaph, with or without a large monument at the grave. The painted scenes have a basis in reality, but the painters did not aim to transcribe reality. The fallen vessels do not just heighten the realistic appearance of the grave, but participate in a constructed and imaginary picture. This does not necessarily imply, of course, that the painted fallen vessels have any significance. They might just be the quick work of a painter bored at the end of the day with making one grave visit after another. For a productive reading, we will have to look closer at the images of a man and woman at a tomb with one or more fallen vessels as a group to analyze them systematically in relation to each other and to their painters' output.

The fallen vessels on these lekythoi are signs within a larger semantic field that denotes a visit to a grave. To determine if these signs carry any connotations, we can assess to what extent they accompany other shifts in the semantic field of grave visit scenes.[31] Since this field functions according to its own inner, coherent logic as a signifying system composed of different elements working in relationship with one another, a meaningful change in the sign of the grave (i.e., the addition of the sign of a fallen lekythos) may entail a perceptible shift elsewhere in the field. Admittedly, such an examination of the relationship of the signs to one another produces a closed, syntactical reading of the image. By no means is this the only valid approach to the fallen vessels. Assessments of their paradigmatic significance (such as allusions to the detritus in battles), their metaphorical connotations (such as references to emptiness and absence),[32] or their manifestation of the image-in-image phenomenon[33] certainly are possible.

I have discussed elsewhere more broadly the implications of the fallen vessels for Athenian views on the role of objects in the commemoration of the war dead.[34] Here my aim is narrower: to assess the function and signification (if any) of the fallen vessel on lekythoi as a sign within a coherent system. This closed approach places more weight on artistic intent within a particular

cultural setting than on viewer comprehension, especially when applied to such a small item as a fallen vessel on a grave monument, but is not inappropriate for these creative and talented artists who were masters of composition and detail. Indeed, the visits to a grave shown on white-ground lekythoi invite a semiotic approach, with a *sēma* front and center, small signs like vessels in mid-air signifying the home, and single attributes like aryballoi indicating a person's status. This is an image field in which details matter, but the detail of the fallen vessel has not been sufficiently addressed in scholarship.

Before considering anew the lekythos in Basel attributed to the Bosanquet Painter (Fig. 2; Color Pl. 1A), let us first look at the two examples of a fallen vessel by the hands of the Sabouroff Painter and the Thanatos Painter. As the Bosanquet Painter's predilection for the fallen vessel might be considered an idiosyncrasy (occurring on five out of a total fifteen white-ground lekythoi attributed to his hand), the Sabouroff Painter's and Thanatos Painter's single examples might be considered meaningless variations on an otherwise common subject of a visit to a grave. Let us first assess these one-offs within the repertoire of their work to determine what other shifts in the semantic field they may accompany.

On the lekythos by the Sabouroff Painter (Figs. 4–5) a woman approaches the grave, carrying a fillet in her hands which now has faded away.[35] Across from her, a man stands with his body frontal, hand on his hip, looking at the woman. The Sabouroff Painter depicted no small number of grave visits, and yet the frontal, hand-on-hip stance of the man in Figs. 4–5 reappears on only three other grave visits attributed to this painter.[36] The connotation of the pose for the Sabouroff Painter can be deduced from a lekythos where Hermes waits for the deceased with his hand on his hip.[37] Similarly, the youth on a Nolan amphora adopts the pose as he waits to be crowned by Nike.[38] The youth on a red-figure lekythos strikes the same stance, waiting to be crowned by a woman.[39] So the Sabouroff Painter consistently deploys this pose to show that a figure stands still and waits attentively.[40] He underscores the immobility and solidity of the man in Figs. 4–5 by placing his legs and feet close together, creating a strong vertical line. Thus, the fallen vessel accompanies a shift in the semantic field. The image denotes not just a man at the grave, but more particularly a man who has been waiting at the grave. In this context, the fallen vessel intensifies the value of the man's posture. Both the sign of the vessel and the posture of the man connote the passage of time and work in tandem to qualify the presence of the man.

Figs. 4–5 Attic white-ground lekythos attributed to the Sabouroff Painter. Athens, National Museum 12739. Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Education and Religions, Culture and Athletics/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

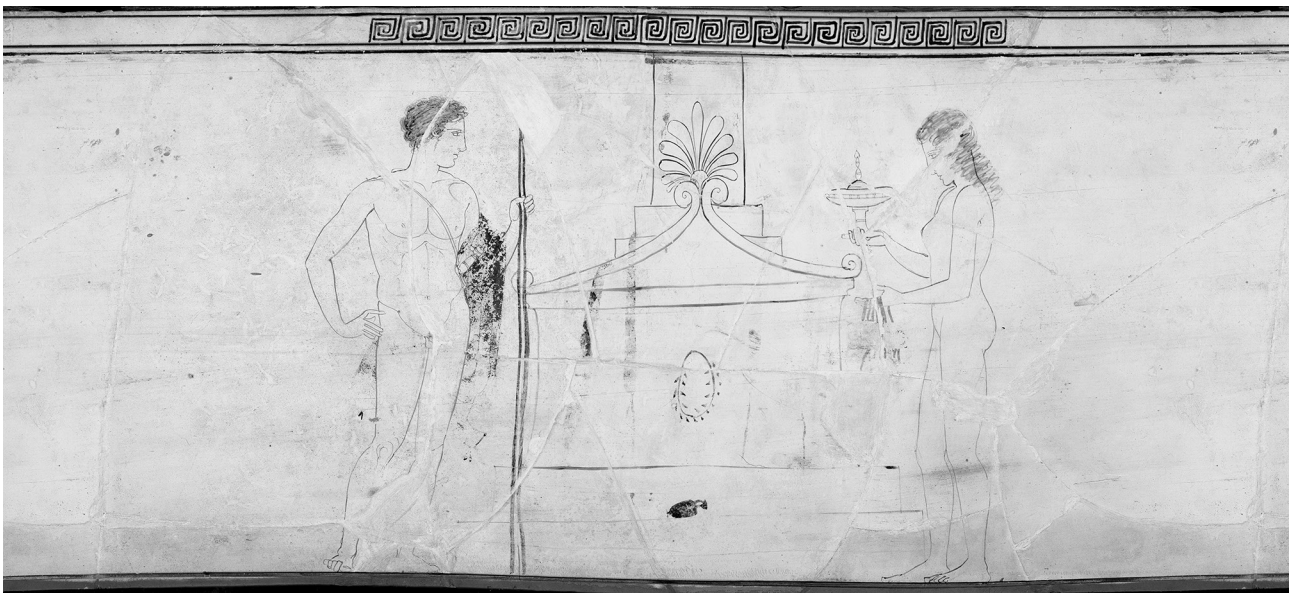

Fig. 6 Attic white-ground lekythos attributed to the Thanatos Painter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 00.359, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund. Photo: © 2013 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

On the lekythos attributed to the Thanatos Painter with a fallen vessel (Fig. 6) a woman approaches the tomb monument with an exaleiptron and writing tablets in her hands.[41] Across from her stands a man naked except for a chlamys draped over his left arm and a baldric with sword slung over his chest; one foot faces out of the image field and the other is turned toward the grave. He rests his right hand on his hip, has placed the butts of his spears on the ground, and motionlessly watches the woman approach the tomb.

There are no exact parallels for this posture among figures that flank grave monuments in the Thanatos Painter's repertoire, but there are comparanda among the statues that he depicted. On one lekythos, a statuette of a naked youth with his left hand on his hip stands atop a grave stele.[42] On another lekythos, one of the two statuettes depicted on a sarcophagus assumes a stance very close to the man in Fig. 6, with one foot facing out of the image field and the other turned toward the center of the grave, his left hand on his hip, and his right hand holding spears that rest on the sarcophagus lid (Fig. 7; Color Pl. 2A).[43] Often, instead, the Thanatos Painter shows men moving toward the tomb monument. On a lekythos in Athens, for instance, a soldier approaches a grave with both feet facing the monument. He carries a spear that does not touch the ground, and he raises his right arm to greet the woman at the other side of the monument.[44] Similarly, on a lekythos in Saarbrücken, a young male walks toward the tomb with both feet facing the monument and with his spear elevated off the ground.[45] In contrast, the positions of the spear and of the feet of the man in Fig. 6 convey his motionless presence. In sum, although the man in Fig. 6 adopts a slightly different stance than the man in Figs. 4–5, an overview of both painters' iconography

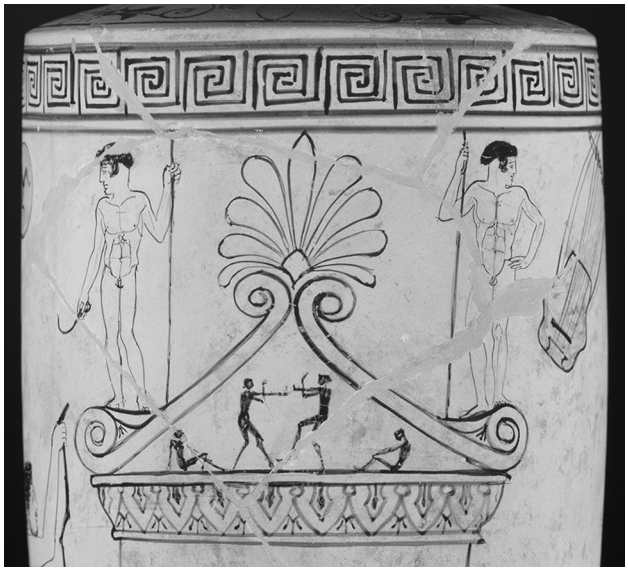

Fig. 7 Attic white-ground lekythos attributed to the Thanatos Painter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8080, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund. Photo: © 2013 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

demonstrates that in each case the men assume postures that signify motionless and attentive waiting at the tomb. In this semantic field, the fallen vessels emphasize the temporal aspect of the men's presence that was also conveyed by their stance.

If we now return to the two lekythoi by the Bosanquet Painter (Figs. 1–2), we see that here, too, the fallen vessel accompanies a temporal difference in the images. In Fig. 1, the man is arriving at the tomb. His feet face the grave and his right hand gestures in greeting toward the woman.[46] In Fig. 2, in contrast, the man does not walk toward the

grave or make a sign of salutation, but faces out of the field like the men in Figs. 4–6. His spears rest on the ground, emphasizing his immobility. His posture indicates that he has been waiting at the tomb, and the fallen vessel marks the considerable passage of time during which he waits.

The temporal coloring in Figs. 2, 4, 5, and 6 conveyed by posture and by the sign of the fallen vessel is significant because the men represent the spirit or *eidōlon* of the deceased. The dead in Homer, such as Patroclus and Elpenor, may appear to the living to seek proper burial.[47] By the Classical period, the border to the underworld had become more porous and the dead were less interested in seeking propitiation, being more keen on providing comfort and guidance.[48] The lines of tragedy contain many references to visions of the deceased. The dead might appear themselves on stage, such as Darius in Aeschylus' *Persians*, Polydorus in Euripides' *Hecuba*, or Achilles in Sophocles' *Polyxena*.[49] During the annual festival of the Anthesteria, the dead ranged through Athens.[50] They also could appear in dreams and visions: Admetus in Euripides' *Alcestis* voices the hope that he will see his dead wife when he sleeps.[51] The spirits of the dead were depicted in art.[52] In Archaic vase-painting, they could be represented as small, under-lifesize beings. On white-ground lekythoi, the dead may appear as miniature winged figures, but more often in the same guise as the living.

This ambiguous representational mode renders problematic the labeling of the dead in scenes of a visit to the grave, where both the living and the dead may appear at the tomb.[53] There are no strict guidelines for identification. A small stick-figure poised above the head of a figure can indicate his deceased status.[54] If a figure points down at the ground[55] or sits on the steps of the tomb,[56] he or she is probably the deceased. On a few occasions, the dark color of the dead conveys their phantom appearance.[57] If one of the figures visiting the tomb reacts emotionally to the sight of the other, then it is likely that the second figure is deceased, although it is also possible that the first figure only reacts to the sight of the grave.[58] Finally, the nudity or military apparel of a man at a grave usually indicates that he is dead, since people did not customarily dress this way when visiting tombs. Based upon their military attire and/or nudity, the men accompanying the fallen vessels in Figs. 2 and 6 are ghosts or *eidōla* of the deceased. On one other lekythos with fallen vessels from the hand of the Bosanquet Painter, a man similarly appears at the tomb naked, both feet facing forward, hand on hip, and spear resting on the ground; he is the deceased.[59] The emotional reactions of the visitors to the grave on two of the three comparanda for the man's posture in Figs. 4–5 suggest that the Sabouroff Painter used this stance to depict the dead,[60] and it recurs on a lekythos attributed to the Bosanquet Painter with a fallen vessel.[61] A pattern emerges: with the exception of the early lekythos attributed to the Beldam Painter and the lekythos near the Quadrate Painter, fallen vessels accompany visits to the grave in which the dead wait at the tomb.[62]

Of course, the dead can be present without a fallen vessel at the tomb. In Fig. 1, for instance, the man's nakedness indicates that he represents the deceased. But he is present in a different way than the *eidōlon* in Fig. 2: he walks toward the grave and greets the woman. In Fig. 2, in contrast, he has been waiting. There is also a temporal element at work in Fig. 1, since the woman visits an already decorated grave, but the fallen vessel in Fig. 2 increases the temporal span: it has been erected so long that it has tumbled.[63] These different modes of presentification accompany different moments of ritual at the tomb on these two lekythoi. In Fig. 1, the woman bends her arm down and dips the phiale slightly but visibly; she has begun to pour. In Fig. 2, in contrast, the phiale is still horizontal; she has not made a libation yet. In the first example, the libation triggers the appearance of the dead, who responds to the honor given to his tomb and perhaps to the invocation of his name. In the second, the dead is conceived as always present at his grave, waiting for mourners to tend the tomb. This attentive presence could be a warning to the living to care for the tomb and remember the deceased, but also could constitute a comforting message that the dead resided at the grave and perceived their honors.

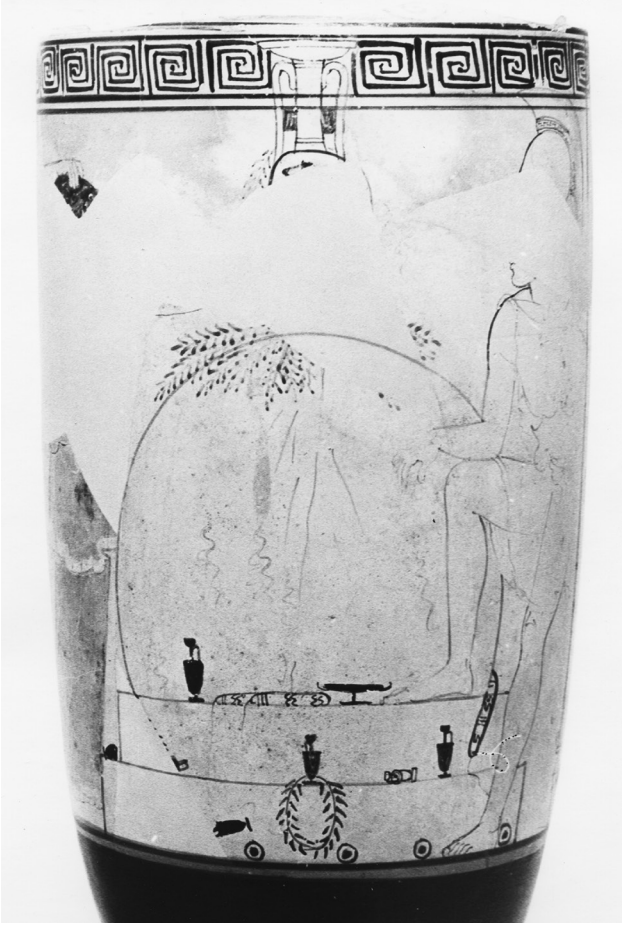

Fig. 8 Attic white-ground lekythos attributed to the Bosanquet Painter. Ticino, private K 315. Photo: Owner.

While the vessels were tipped and broken, the dead were conceived as assertive, permanent, and solid. We have seen that the Thanatos Painter used a posture for the deceased he normally reserved on lekythoi for statues. The frontal, hand-on-hip stance used by the Sabouroff Painter and also on two lekythoi by the Bosanquet Painter lends a stable mien to the dead. On a third example by the Bosanquet Painter, the deceased rests one leg on the steps of the tomb, invading the space of the grave monument and forcefully, albeit quietly, asserting his presence (Fig. 8).[64] He becomes assimilated to the site of ritual designated by the monumental tomb marker. On the loutrophoros in the manner of the Talos Painter, the deceased appears at his grave along with living visitors (Fig. 9).[65] He stands motionless, his spears cradled in his left arm, their ends resting on the ground. Juxtaposition with an equine bronze statue further conveys his statuesque presence. Working in tandem with the posture of the man to convey the passage of time, the sign of the fallen vessel also invites a comparison between the fragility of objects and the stable presence of the deceased.

For all the construction of the attentive and assertive presence of the dead in these images, for all their permanence heightened through contrast with the fallen vessels and assimilation to stone stelai and bronze statues, these *eidōla* were not always seen by the visitors to the tomb. On the loutrophoros, a large group processes to the tomb, but there is no indication that any of the living figures perceives the dead. The woman behind him looks down, and the position of her right foot indicates that she walks in front of the deceased. On the lekythos by the Thanatos Painter (Fig. 6), the woman who approaches the tomb also looks down and does not notice the dead. Whether or not the man in Fig. 2 is visible to mourners remains ambiguous; unlike the deceased in Fig. 1, he does not gesture toward the woman, but merely looks at her as she performs her ritual act. In Figs. 4–5, the woman continues her task of decorating the stele under the deceased's watchful eye. These present, but not necessarily visible dead witness the rituals performed at their grave like gods on Attic vases who view the sacrifices made in their honor.[66] The lekythoi suggest that an encounter with dead who perceived them was possible – as ghosts, visions, or dreams, all of which were forms of *eidōla* – but not certain.

The fallen vessel, then, becomes the visible and tangible sign of the presence of the dead, the reminder

Fig. 9 Attic red-figure loutrophoros in the manner of the Talos Painter. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Inv. V.I. 3209. Photo: Johannes Laurentius. Photo: Art Resource, New York.

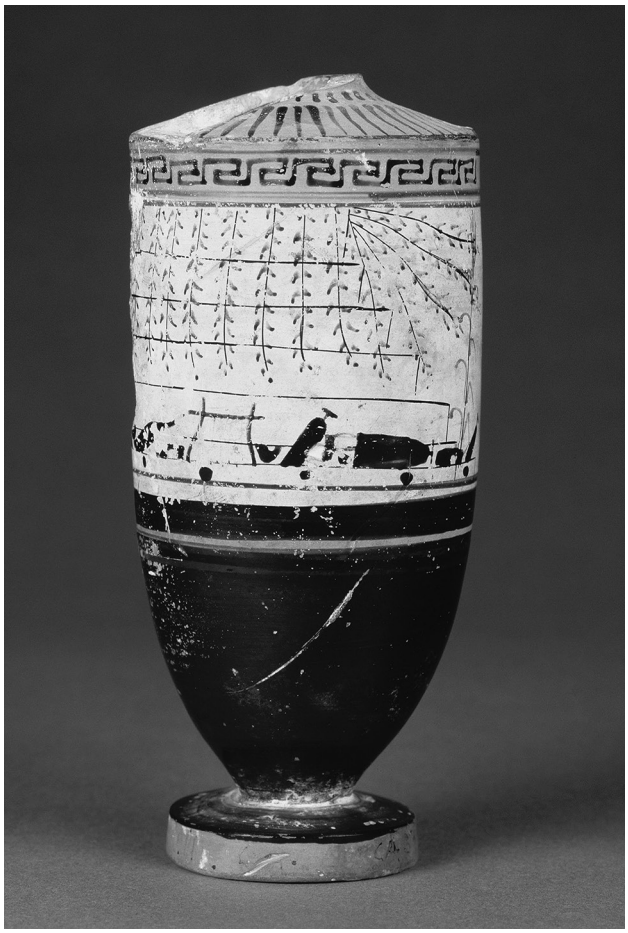

Fig. 10 Unattributed Attic white-ground lekythos. Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 3758. Photo: Hervé Lewandowski, © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, New York.

that as time passes, the tomb persists as a site of memory, and the dead remain at their tomb. Perhaps the fallen vessel could even convey the presence of the dead without the sign of the man occurring in the image field. On the early-fourth century pelike with the tomb of Agamemnon and a fallen vessel,[67] the dead does not appear, but the viewer knows Agamemnon hears the prayers of Orestes and Electra who meet at his grave. The presence of Agamemnon is conveyed only by his name written on the tomb steps, accompanied by a fallen vessel. The dead also was not depicted on an unusual, unattributed lekythos that focuses on the steps of the tomb (Fig. 10; Color Pl. 1B).[68] Lekythoi and alabastra stand askew or lie on their side, and to the right of the tomb monument two stalks of grain have grown tall. This image precludes the vision of the dead even from the viewer of the lekythos. The fallen vessels and shoots of grain show that time has passed and may suggest that the dead is present, even if he remains unseen.

White-ground lekythoi preserve diverse modes of conceiving of the dead as present at sites of ritual and memory. While some Athenians pictured the dead coming to the tomb in response to rituals, others pictured the dead as always there, waiting to be remembered. The fallen vessels on a small group of white-ground lekythoi qualify and comment on the presence of the dead at the tomb, showing the passage of time in which the dead were present, although not necessarily visible, and inviting a contrast between fleeting objects and persistent *eidōla*. Mourners could be comforted by the thought that somehow, even if they were not visible, the dead were as present at the tomb as solid statues.

Acknowledgments

I thank John Oakley for the invitation to speak at *Athenian Potters and Painters III* and all the participants for their helpful comments, particularly Mark Stansbury-O'Donnell and Tim McNiven. Michael Padgett and Michael Koortbojian provided valuable feedback on earlier versions of this paper.

Abbreviations

Boardman, Classical	J. Boardman, Athenian Red Figure Vases, The Classical Period (1989)
Kavvadias, Sabouroff	G. G. Kavvadias, Ο Ζωγράφος του Sabouroff (2000)
Kurtz, AWL	D. C. Kurtz, Athenian White Lekythoi: Patterns and Painters (1975)
Oakley, Picturing Death	J. H. Oakley, Picturing Death in Classical Athens: The Evidence of the White Lekythoi (2004)

Notes

1 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 23.160.39; BAPD 216332; ARV² 1227,4; BAdd² 350; Kurtz, AWL 209–210 pl. 30, 2.

2 Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, Kä 402; BAPD 216331; ARV² 1227,3; Para 466; BAdd² 174; Kurtz, AWL 37 n. 6; 38 n. 2; CVA Basel 3 76–77 pls. 47, 5–6. 50, 1–6.

3 Perhaps they visit the grave on the third or ninth days after burial, or on the occasion of the Genesia festival.

4 For the development and iconography of white-ground lekythoi, see the comprehensive treatment in Oakley, Picturing Death.

5 F. Felten, Thanatos- und Kleophonmaler (1971) identified the early phase of the Thanatos Painter as the Bosanquet Painter. Contra: J. H. Oakley, in: APP 243–244. 247, with further references. J. Mertens, GettyMusJ 2, 1975, 27–36 compares and contrasts the Bosanquet and Sabouroff Painters.

6 Infra n. 27 Figs. 4–5.

7 Supra n. 2 Fig. 2; infra n. 64 Fig. 8; infra ns. 26. 59. 61. Note also the dropped top on a red-figure lekythos attributed to the Bosanquet Painter: Oakley (supra n. 5) figs. 11–14.

8 Infra n. 41 Fig. 6.

9 Athens, National Museum 1982; BAPD 209259; ARV² 751,1; BAdd² 285; ABL pls. 51,4; 52,1; Kurtz AWL 202 pl. 18, 2.

10 Infra n. 19 Fig. 3.

11 Infra n. 68 Fig. 10.

12 Infra n. 65, Fig. 9.

13 Exeter University; BAPD 231036; ARV² 1516, 80; BAdd² 384; Boardman, Classical fig. 361.

14 E.g. the François Vase; BAPD 300000; ABV 76, 1; 682; Para 29; BAdd² 21; J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (1991) fig. 46, 5.

15 E.g. Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina; BAPD 213441; ARV² 1032,58; 1679; Para 442; BAdd² 155; Boardman, Classical fig. 137.

16 E.g. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano 16535; BAPD 215554; ARV² 1173; Para 460; BAdd² 339; Boardman, Classical fig. 309.

17 E.g. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire MF238; BAPD 207115; ARV² 615,1; Para 397; BAdd² 269; Boardman, Classical fig. 17.

18 E.g. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 1026; BAPD 214586; ARV² 1087,2; BAdd² 327; Boardman, Classical fig. 185.

19 Munich, Antikensammlungen 2779; BAPD 9024399; CVA Munich 15 Germany 87 88–90 pl. 53.

20 W. Riezler, Weissgrundige attische Lekythen (1914) 108 n. 47.

21 On steps: G. Pellegrini, Catalogo dei vasi antichi dipinti delle Collezione Palagi ed universitaria (1900) no. 364 pl. IV. As grave marker: Harvard University, Arthur M. Sackler Museum 60.341; BAPD 207134; ARV² 617,13 – London, British Museum E186; BAPD 207218; ARV² 623,64 – Munich, Antikensammlungen 7663 (bronze hydria as grave marker); BAPD 215874; ARV² 1200,40. Hydria brought to tomb: Bayonne, Musée Bonnat 223; BAPD 212333; ARV² 846,185; Kavvadias, Sabouroff 198

no. 193 pls. 130–131 – London Market; BAPD 212337; ARV² 846,189 – Lausanne, Private; BAPD 212393; ARV² 849,244; 1672; Kavvadias, Sabouroff 203 no. 254 pl. 161 – Berlin, Antikensammlung 3964; BAPD 216383; ARV² 1230,42 – Athens, National Museum 1760; BAPD 216691; ARV² 1238,37 – Paris, Musée du Petit Palais 337; BAPD 217886; ARV² 1388,2 – Athens, National Museum 19335; BAPD 275502; ARV² 1687,2 – Athens, Third Ephoreia; Kavvadias, Sabouroff 207 no. 292 pl. 182. Libation: Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 234; BAPD 217616; ARV² 1372,17; Aesch. *Pers*. 613. Washing stelai: Plut. *Arist*. 21.5. Cf. filling hydriai at fountains on lekythoi, e.g. Berlin, Antikensammlung 2338; BAPD 208160; ARV² 686,202. Sepulchral use of hydriai: E. Diehl, Die Hydria: Formgeschichte und Verwendung im Kult des Altertums (1964) 65–146.

22 The lekythos depicted on the bottom step of a lekythos in Ticino (Fig. 8) may be in the process of falling, but the full image is not preserved.

23 E. Buschor, MüJb 2, 1925, 168–170; Kurtz, AWL 38. 202. 210; C. W. Clairmont, Patrios Nomos: Public Burial in Athens during the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C. (1983) 79; D. C. Kurtz, in: H. A. G. Brijder (ed.), Ancient Greek and Related Pottery (1984) 328; E. Kunze-Götte, in: CVA Munich 15 Germany 87 90 (in reference to the broken hydria of Fig. 3).

24 S. Schmidt, Rhetorische Bilder auf attischen Vasen: visuelle Kommunikation im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. (2005) 46.

25 Oakley, Picturing Death 205.

26 The whole vessel is not preserved: Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 2703; BAPD 42147; CVA Amsterdam 4 Netherlands 87 65–66 pl. 210, 6.

27 Athens, National Museum 12739; BAPD 212315; ARV² 845, 167; Kavvadias, Sabouroff 196 no. 174.

28 On the debate, see Oakley, Picturing Death 195. 198–199.

29 Clairmont (supra n. 23) 84–85.

30 A few vessels which probably do represent public graves conform to this pattern: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 35.11.5 (lekythos); BAPD 209194; ARV² 744,1; Para 413; BAdd² 284; Oakley, Picturing Death Color pl. 7 – Athens, National Museum 1700 (loutrophoros); BAPD 215190; ARV² 1146,50; Para 456; BAdd² 335; Boardman, Classical fig. 176 – Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 2455 (loutrophoros); BAPD 42150; Clairmont (supra n. 23) pl. 3c – Athens, Third Ephoreia 6437 (lekythos); BAPD 45400; O. Tzachou-Alexandri, in: V. Ch. Petrakou (ed.), Έπαινος Ιωάννου Κ. Παπαδημητρίου (1997) figs. 1–11.

31 Cf. C. Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Reading' Greek Culture: Texts and Images, Rituals and Myths (1991) 27–98.

32 Cf. the interpretation of tipped aryballoi in seduction scenes in J. Davidson, The Greeks and Greek Love: A Bold New Exploration of the Ancient World (2007) 540–543.

33 On the phenomenon: S. J. Gasiorowski, Le motif du vase dans l'art monumental de l'antiquité (1929); H. Gericke, Gefässdarstellungen auf griechischen Vasen (1970); W. Oenbrink, Hephaistos 14, 1996, 82–134.

34 Forthcoming monograph on the presence and memory of the war dead in fifth-century Athens.

35 For the fillet, cf. Athens, National Museum 2019; BAPD 212365; ARV² 848,216; Kavvadias, Sabouroff 201 no. 226 pl. 6.

36 Athens, Akropolis Museum; BAPD 212370; ARV² 848,221. 1672; Kavvadias, Sabouroff no. 231 pl. 154 – New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1021.132; BAPD 212394; ARV² 849,245; Kavvadias, Sabouroff 203 no. 255 pl. 162 – Athens, National Museum 17314; BAPD 212396; ARV² 849,247; Kavvadias, Sabouroff 204 no. 257.

37 Berlin, Staatliche Museen F 2455; BAPD 212344; ARV² 846,196; BAdd² 297; Kavvadias, Sabouroff 199 no. 204 pl. 139.

38 Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum L 1002; Kavvadias, Sabouroff 191 no. 131 pl. 95.

39 Laon, Musée Archéologique Municipal 37.957; BAPD 212300; ARV² 844,152; Kavvadias, Sabouroff 194 no. 158 pl. 110. Cf. Ferrara, Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Spina 9465; BAPD 212235; ARV² 840,56; Kavvadias 183 no. 56 pls. 56–57.

40 For the connotations of the pose, see T. J. McNiven, Gestures in Attic Vase Painting: Use and Meaning, 550–450 B.C. (1982) 97–100.

41 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 00.359; BAPD 216364; ARV² 1229,23; BAdd² 351; Kurtz, AWL 210–211 pl. 32,1; Oakley, Picturing Death 196–197 figs. 158–159.

42 Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 66; BAPD 216356; ARV² 1229, 15; CVA Bonn 1 Germany 1 50 pls. 43,2.4; 44,2.4.

43 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8080; BAPD 216394; ARV² 1231; Oakley, Picturing Death 195 figs. 156–157.

44 Athens, National Museum 1761; BAPD 216358; ARV² 1229,17; BAdd² 351; Riezler (supra n. 20) pl. 31.

45 Saarbrücken, Institut für Klassische Archäologie 14; BAPD 22843; K. Braun, Katalog der Antikensammlung des Instituts für Klassische Archäologie der Universität des Saarlandes (1998) pl. 9.

46 For the significance of the gesture, see McNiven (supra n. 40) 128–131.

47 Hom. *Il*. 23.65–101; Hom. *Od*. 11.51–80.

48 On the appearance of ghosts, see S. I. Johnston, Restless Dead: Encounters Between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Greece (1999). In contrast, J. D. Mikalson, Honor thy Gods: Popular Religion in Greek Tragedy (1991) 114–121 argues that there was a pervasive belief that the dead did not perceive the actions of the living.

49 Aesch. *Pers*. 681–842; Eur. *Hec*. 1–58; Soph. *Polyxena* fr. 523 (Loeb).

50 Anthesteria: R. Parker, Polytheism and Society at Athens (2005) 290–316. See also Plato's reference to the popular belief that the dead could be seen at the grave: Pl. *Phd*. 81c–d.

51 Eur. *Alc*. 348–356.

52 On *eidōla*: G. Siebert, in: idem (ed.), Méthodologie iconographique: actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 27–28 avril 1979 (1981) 4–63; E. Peifer, *Eidola* und andere mit dem Sterben verbundene Flügelwesen in der attischen Vasenmalerei in spätarchaischer und klassischer Zeit (1989); Sourvinou-Inwood (supra n. 31) 335–337; LIMC VIII (1997) 566–570 s.v. Eidōla (R. Vollkommer); D. Steiner, Images in Mind: Statues in Archaic and Classical Greek Literature and Thought (2001) 5–6; Oakley, Picturing Death 212–213.

53 Identification of the dead: J. Thimme, AntK 7 (1964) 24–26; D. C. Kurtz – J. Boardman, Greek Burial Customs (1971) 104–105 (skeptical about identifying the dead

and living together); J. Bažant, in: L. Kahil – C. Augé – P. Linant de Bellefonds (eds.), Iconographie classique et identités regionales, BCH Supp. 14 (1986) 37–44 (ambiguity was deliberate); Sourvinou-Inwood (supra n. 31) 324–325 n. 99; J. H. Oakley, The Achilles Painter (1997) 66–69; Oakley, Picturing Death 148. 165 (men in armor are the deceased); E. Kunze-Götte, in: S. Schmidt – J. H. Oakley (eds.), Hermeneutik der Bilder: Beiträge zur Ikonographie und Interpretation griechischer Vasenmalerei (2009) 53–64; eadem, CVA Munich 15 (2010). Kunze-Götte interprets too many grave scenes as epiphanies of the deceased; see the review of her CVA volume by T. J. McNiven, AJA 115, 4 (2011) on-line at: http://www.ajaonline.org/sites/default/files/1154_McNiven.pdf.

54 E.g. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1989.281.72; BAPD 1140; Oakley, Picturing Death Color pl. 8.

55 E.g. supra n. 54 – New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 08.258.18; BAPD 214001; ARV^2 999,180; Para 438; Oakley (supra n. 53) pl. 129A.

56 E.g. Athens, National Museum 1816; BAPD 217813; ARV^2 1383,12. 1692; Para 486; BAdd^2 372; Boardman, Classical fig. 281.

57 E.g. Athens, National Museum 1942; BAPD 216368; ARV^2 1229,27; BAdd^2 251; Oakley, Picturing Death 166 fig. 125.

58 E.g. Munich, Antikensammlungen 6044; BAPD 9024397; CVA Munich 15 Germany 87 83–85 pls. 49,1–4. 50,1–3.

59 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 23.160.38; BAPD 216333; ARV^2 1227,5; Para 466; BAdd^2 350; Kurtz, AWL 209–210 pl. 30,1; Mertens (supra n. 5) 34 fig. 7.

60 Supra n. 36, the vessels in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the National Museum.

61 Athens, private; BAPD 21582; Oakley (supra n. 5) 243 figs. 5–6; M. Pipili, in: APP II Color pl. 19A.

62 On fragments in Amsterdam (supra n. 26), the one figure visible is a mourner, for he holds a fillet in his hand. Presumably the deceased stood on the other side of the grave marker.

63 It is unlikely that the dead knocked over the vessels when they made their appearance. Fallen vessels are not usually the ones closest to the *eidōla*, nor do they fall in a uniform direction that could indicate the movement of the dead. The only exception may be the lekythos in Munich (Fig. 3) with a child at the grave monument and a hydria tumbling off the steps, although I maintain that the child is not dead.

64 Ticino, private; BAPD 21581; Oakley (supra n. 5) 241–243 figs. 1–3; Oakley, Picturing Death 207 fig. 168.

65 Berlin, Antikensammlung V.I. 3209 and Athens National Museum 26821; BAPD 5280; G. Bakalakis, AntK 14, 1971, 74–83; R. Mösch-Klingele, Braut ohne Bräutigam: Schwarz- und rotfigurige Lutrophoren als Spiegel gesellschaftlicher Veränderungen in Athen (2010) 58 figs. 23A–B; P. Hannah, in: D. M. Pritchard (ed.), War, Democracy and Culture in Classical Athens (2010) 289 fig. 11,5; A. Schwarzmaier, in: O. Pilz – M. Vonderstein (eds.), Keraunia: Beiträge zu Mythos, Kult und Heiligtum in der Antike (2011) 115–130; CVA Berlin 15 Germany 95 pls. 66–70; Beilage 12,4; 13.

66 E.g. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 95.24; BAPD 215345; ARV^2 1159; Para 458; BAdd^2 337; Boardman, Classical fig. 183.

67 Supra n. 13.

68 Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 3758; BAPD 3032; Kurtz, AWL 205–206 pl. 23, 3; M. Blech, Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen (1982) 99; H. Froning, AA, 1985, 224–225; Schmidt (supra n. 24) 46 fig. 10.

2 Under the Tuscan Soil: Reuniting Attic Vases with an Etruscan Tomb

Sheramy D. Bundrick

In 1879, Giuseppe Cappannelli of Cortona and Giacomo Tempora of Bettolle conducted excavations of an Etruscan necropolis near the church of San Francesco in Foiano della Chiana in Tuscany, on land belonging to Alfonso del Soldato. In the course of their work, they were visited by Wolfgang Helbig, who published a brief report in that year's *Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*.[1] By the time Helbig arrived at Foiano, sixty chamber tombs had already been uncovered and their contents dispersed, some still visible at Soldato's villa; Helbig could only observe that the finds were dominated by black- and red-figured vases of Greek manufacture, presumably Athenian. He was, however, present for the discovery of two *tombe vergini*, as he called them, and he noted their contents in the *Bullettino*. These finds, too, were scattered with only some of the pieces identified even today, but Helbig's report nonetheless provides critical evidence for burial practices in this area of Tuscany, the Valdichiana. It also provides critical evidence for the use of Attic vases as cineraria in Etruria, for in both of these *tombe vergini*, vessels of assorted shapes were employed as ossuaries.

This paper focuses on the first tomb that Helbig discusses, 100 steps from the façade of San Francesco, which was carved from the tufa and had two chambers. The inner chamber featured a single inhumation burial, while the outer included six cremation burials along the right-hand wall. Two of the latter were kept in local Etruscan containers, an urn of *pietra fetida* and bronze *secchia*, but the other four were placed in Athenian vases converted into cineraria, with a fifth vase used as a lid. Helbig describes each in great detail and provides measurements; the styles of the vases suggest that the burials proceeded chronologically from the inner chamber through the outer, with the entire tomb containing at least three generations of presumably a single family. Aside from the ossuaries, the finds in the outer chamber were few and placed along the left-hand wall. These included fragmentary impasto vessels and bronze implements that Helbig records as being in bad condition, namely a strigil, two ladles, and what might have been a meat spit or *thymiaterion*.

The five Athenian vases present a striking combination of shapes and imagery that prove appropriate for a tomb context. Moreover, they raise questions about the reception of Greek vases among the Etruscans. I argue that in evaluating such reception, one must consider the regional customs of the specific area of Etruria involved and not simply lump the Etruscans into a single cultural entity. In the case of the Foiano tombs, the funerary customs of Chiusi prove essential to understanding why these vases were chosen for deposition and what their meaning may have been, the Valdichiana lying within that city's sphere of influence in this period. More than reflecting any particular "hellenization" in this part of Etruria, the primary value of Athenian vases lay in their appropriation and manipulation to suit local, traditional mortuary practice and belief.[2]

Before turning to the vases, one must begin with the innermost and older chamber, which Helbig said contained a single skeleton along the righthand wall, male it seems, resting upon a bench carved from the tufa.[3] Likely the deceased was a patriarch and honored ancestor of this Foiano family.[4] His remains were surrounded by bucchero vessels, including a footed cup, two jars, three chalices adorned with horse protomes, and "un piatto con quattro teste di donna sporgenti sopra l'orlo," whose description corresponds to a *focolare*, or offering tray typical of the Chiusine region.[5] Helbig emphasizes that some of the vessels contained eggshells, likely remains of the mortuary feast.[6] None of these objects are identified today, but all were surely examples of sixth-century Chiusine *bucchero pesante*. Helbig records no foreign objects in this inner chamber.

The outer chamber, as already noted, included six ossuaries. Inhumation and cremation coexisted in many

parts of Archaic Etruria, so their juxtaposition is not unusual, even in a single tomb; the second tomb Helbig describes at Foiano contained one inhumation and one cremation burial, so the practice may have been common here. Noteworthy, though, is the marked preference for cremation in the Valdichiana and Chiusine region, compared to areas where inhumation was more common by this point. Funerary practices that can be traced to the Villanovan period, namely the production and usage of cinerary urns, persisted more strongly at Chiusi than sites like Vulci, Tarquinia, or Orvieto. Indeed, the oldest cremation burial in this Foiano tomb was housed in a stone urn of almost certainly Chiusine manufacture, with a roof-like cover and sculpted triglyphs on its long side. It was broken when Helbig saw it and has never been identified.

The next burial featured the first two Athenian vases placed in the tomb. Helbig details at length "un'anfora colossale...con manichi a volute," adding that "sopra l'anfora piena di cenere era posta a guisa di coperchio una grande tazza a figure nere di stile piuttosto avanzato".[7] Thanks to his descriptions and the measurements he provides, both vessels can be identified. The eye cup, with a diameter of sixty centimeters (seventy-four centimeters including the handles), was acquired by the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Florence from a private collection in 1892, when its provenience was erroneously given as Bettolle (Figs. 1–4; Color Pl. 4A).[8] It was later recognized as coming from this Foiano tomb, namely in Caskey and Beazley's *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*.[9]

Attributed by Beazley to the manner of the Lysippides Painter and dating to the last third of the sixth century BC, the exceptionally large cup features on each side a trio of divine figures between the pair of eyes. Herakles, Athena, and Hermes form one of these groups in what is likely an abbreviated version of the hero's arrival on Olympos (Figs. 1–2; Color Pl. 4A): Herakles stands before the two deities as Hermes raises his hand in greeting.[10] The inscription *Heraspos kalos* appears above Herakles and further draws attention to him. The figure of Hermes repeats on the opposite and more fragmentary side, together with Dionysos and a satyr, grapevines surrounding this trio to accentuate the Dionysian theme. Around each handle appear scenes of combat (Fig. 3) with hoplites and so-called Scythian archers, while the cup's interior features a leering gorgoneion.

Where the eye cup's connection to the Foiano tomb has long been known, its companion has only more recently been recognized.[11] What Helbig called *un'anfora con manichi a volute dipinti* with a height of fifty-six centimeters cannot be an amphora, and his detailed report confirms that it is an unattributed, black-bodied volute krater today in the Walters Art Museum (Figs. 5–7; Color Pl. 4B).[12] Henry Walters purchased this vase in 1902 from Don Marcello Massarenti in Rome and immediately shipped it to the United States with the rest of Massarenti's collection, the arrival noted in the *New York Times* of 13 July.[13] Massarenti had earlier published the krater in an 1897 catalogue of his collection but had given no information about its acquisition or provenience and, indeed, had misidentified its scenes as "les jeux olympiques".[14] Rather, both friezes explore the theme of combat. Herakles wrestles the Nemean Lion in the center of the obverse side (Figs. 5–6; Color Pl. 4B), watched by Iolaos, a female figure, and the seated Athena.[15] Framing this central vignette are a pair of chariots with drivers, plus seated and standing men with staffs. A trio of hoplites

Fig. 1 Eye cup attributed to the Lysippides Painter, Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 74624, on loan to the Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca e della Città di Cortona. Photo courtesy of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana.

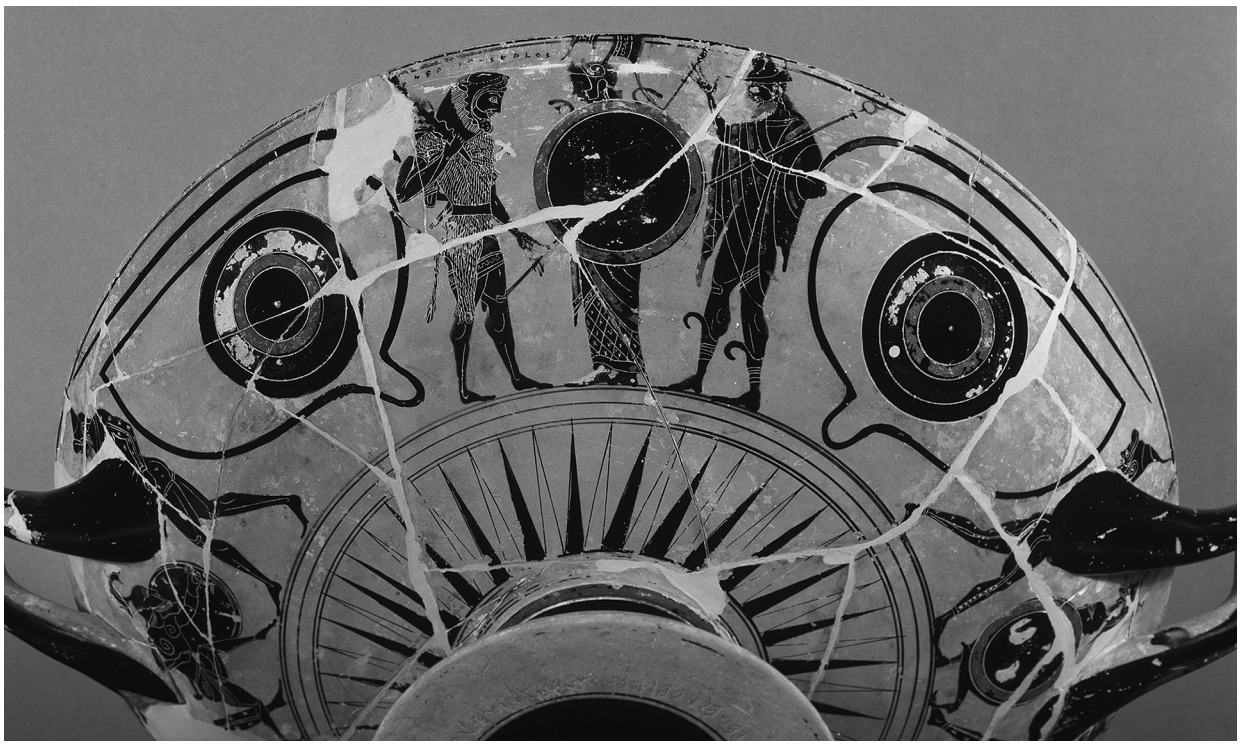

Fig. 2 Detail of Fig. 1 with the apotheosis of Herakles. Photo courtesy of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana.

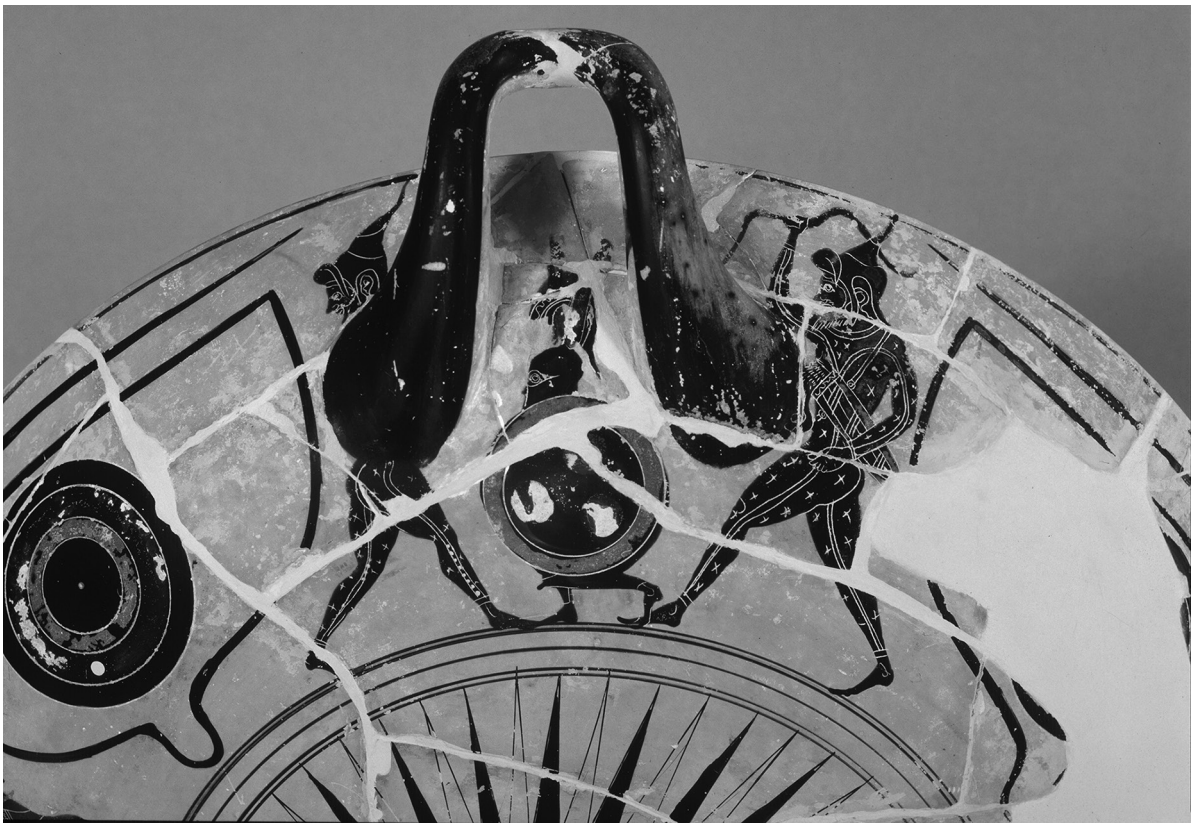

Fig. 3 Detail of Fig. 1 with combat scene. Photo courtesy of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana.

fight in the center of the reverse frieze (Fig. 7), flanked by standing female figures, while male figures in various poses occupy the rest of the space, including one with a horse and another mounting a chariot.

The confluence of shape, size, and imagery suggests that the choice to place cup and krater together was thoughtfully made by the deceased's relatives, not a random decision based on what was handy. Not only do Herakles and Athena appear on both, but if the cup shows the hero's apotheosis (Fig. 2; Color Pl. 4A), then his first labor is paired with his happy ending. The three fighters surrounding each handle of the cup (Fig. 3) similarly echo the central trio of the krater's battle scene (Fig. 7). Even the ivy spiralling around the krater's handles complements that framing Dionysos on the cup. The Gorgon's face, meanwhile, stared down into the krater and provided protection for the deceased's remains, while the eyes on the exterior further repelled evil forces. An Etruscan inscription of over sixty characters appears on the eye cup's foot (Fig. 4), possibly added at the time of burial.[16] This, too, faced upward from the ossuary and may have contained information about the deceased, perhaps wishes for protection. Unfortunately, although the inscription can be transcribed, it cannot be read. Etruscologist Rex Wallace reports that "there are no recognizable names, nouns, or verbs," and adds "at this point there is no hope for an interpretation of any sort".[17]

Recent scholarship has asserted that Greek vases found in Etruscan tombs may have been valued possessions in homes prior to their deposition; perhaps this krater served as a centerpiece for banquets, its owner the head of the household at that time.[18] The eye cup, in contrast, seems impossible to drink from with such a large diameter. It may have been a display piece in a *kylikeion*, like those rendered in the Tomba della Nave and Tomba dei Vasi Dipinti at Tarquinia, used only for ritual or special occasions. The painted *kylikeion* of the Tomba dei Vasi Dipinti features a volute krater – almost certainly metal, not ceramic – and what might be a black-figured eye cup underneath.[19] Lisa Pieraccini and Athena Tsingarida have each discussed the use of wine and kylikes in Etruscan ritual, with Tsingarida noting the particular popularity of oversized cups in Etruria; the Foiano eye cup may have served a ceremonial purpose and been used for offerings at the burial.[20] Taken all together, shape and iconography proclaim the importance of banqueting in both life and death, while suggesting the deceased's status and protection. The apotheosis of Herakles on the eye cup, if that is indeed the subject, further implies passage into the afterworld. The Etruscan viewer may have read Dionysos/Fufluns on the opposite side in a similar eschatological way.[21]

The eye cup placed atop the volute krater, although upside down, has the further, curious effect of anthropomorphizing

Fig. 4 Detail of Fig. 1 with Etruscan inscription. Photo courtesy of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana.

Fig. 5 Black-figured volute krater, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 48.29. Photo: © Walters Art Museum.

Fig. 6 Detail of Fig. 5 with scene of Herakles. Photo: © Walters Art Museum.

Fig. 7 Detail of frieze on reverse side of krater in Fig. 5. Photo: © Walters Art Museum.

the whole. One is reminded of terracotta and bronze cinerary urns from late seventh- and early sixth-century Chiusi, the so-called canopic urns, in which the deceased's remains were given cursory human form by adding a head and sometimes arms.[22] Striking variations on this custom exist: in a pair of late seventh-century burials, one discovered at Poggio alla Sala in 1876 and the second just outside Chianciano Terme in 1994, thin sheets of gold were placed over the openings of the bronze cremation urns, pairs of bone eyes then laid on top.[23] Perhaps the relatives of the Foiano deceased chose the Athenian eye cup for the ossuary not only because of its size, shape, and imagery, but because its juxtaposition with the krater paid homage to local funerary tradition and revitalized the dead.[24]

The next cremation burial in the chamber was kept in a now-lost, very fragmentary "secchia di bronzo" of surely Chiusine manufacture, while the last three were placed in Attic vases. Helbig calls the next ossuary "un'anfora a figure nere di stile avanzato" and gives the height as thirty-seven centimeters. Using the lengthy description that follows, Anna Rastrelli identified the vase in 1998 as an unpublished black-figured pelike by the Eucharides Painter, residing at that time in the Villa Passerini near Bettolle.[25] The Italian

State has recently purchased the pelike together with the remaining Passerini collection, for display in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Chiusi.[26] One side depicts a seated woman in the center, a swan head decorating her chair with a bird standing underneath; she is flanked by two standing men with staffs, both wreathed and bearded, hands raised in conversation. Birds were considered auspicious creatures by the Etruscans, while seated women were prominent in Chiusine funerary art: in Archaic funerary relief sculpture, as Classical cinerary statues, and in fifth-century painted tombs like the Tomba della Scimmia.

The opposite scene places the pelike into a group of similar Attic vases depicting musical concerts or contests. Helbig's description reads: "Nel centro si scorge un uomo barbato, vestito di lungo chitone e mantello, in piedi, suonando la cetra. Egli è attorniato da due uomini barbati, ignudi salvo l'himation, ognuno con un bastone in mano, che sentono la musica, l'uno seduto e l'altro in piedi".[27] The *cetra* in question is the flat-bottomed concert kithara, instrument of choice for professional musicians in Athens, used in the most prestigious *mousikoi agones* for the kitharode who sang as well as played.[28] Seven other Attic black-figured pelikai with kithara players are known, including another by the Eucharides Painter from Samothrace, and three with Etruscan provenience by other painters.[29] The subject is also known in red figure for this shape. No two of the black-figured examples are alike, but compositionally, the best comparisons for the Foiano vase are two pelikai both found at Cerveteri – one by the Leagros Group now in Kassel, another by the Nikoxenos Painter now in Bologna – although each features two seated listeners rather than one seated and one standing.[30] The shape of the concert kithara as depicted by vase painters complements the shape of the pelike, the vessel's sagging belly reversing the curves of the instrument's soundbox. The costume of the kitharode on the Eucharides Painter's pelike, a long, ungirt chiton, grants this musician a monumentality that further accentuates his grand instrument.

Musical subjects are frequent throughout Etruscan funerary art, from Tarquinian tomb paintings to contemporary Chiusine stone urns and cippi.[31] One thinks again of banquets in life and death, and music in general as emblematic of celebration.[32] The square-based concert kithara shown on the pelike, however, was not common in Etruscan art nor presumably in Etruscan practice, although it was familiar from imported Athenian vases.[33] Better known in Chiusine and other Etruscan funerary art was the round-based, so-called cradle or cylinder kithara, also known in modern scholarship as the phorminx.[34] The figures with long staffs on the pelike – staffs being a symbol of power in local art – would have been interpreted as important characters, especially the man seated on the *diphros*, which likewise appears on Chiusine funerary reliefs.[35] As for the shape, although other documented examples of Attic pelikai serving as Etruscan ossuaries are few, they do exist, for example at Cerveteri and Tarquinia.[36]

The next Attic vase used as an ossuary in the Foiano tomb, called by Helbig "un'anfora a figure rosse di stile piuttosto severo" with a height of 38.5 centimeters, has yet to be identified. The obverse features a scene of so-called erotic pursuit: a bearded man with chiton, himation, and scepter, taenia around his head, pursuing a long-haired woman with long robes. The man grasps the shoulder of the woman, who looks back even as she runs away.[37] The reverse depicts a wreathed youth enveloped in his himation, flanked by two seated, bearded men who each wear a himation and carry a staff. Given Helbig's use of the word *anfora* to describe any two-handled storage vessel, the piece could instead be another pelike or a stamnos.[38] As for the key male figure, Helbig's mention of a scepter implies the scene shows Zeus chasing Aigina; however, if he misread the object in the vase's newly excavated condition, the male figure could instead be Poseidon with trident or Dionysos with thyrsos.[39]

Examination of the findspots of Athenian red-figured vases with erotic pursuit scenes – whether hetero- or homosexual, with either mortals or deities doing the chasing – reveals that a large concentration of those with known proveniences come from Italian contexts.[40] Among Etruscan sites, this includes southern coastal cities like Vulci and Cerveteri, as well as northerly sites like Bologna and Spina. Three red-figured vessels with pursuit scenes, for instance, all with male gods chasing women and all by the same painter, come from the main chamber of the early fifth-century Tomba dei Vasi Greci in the Banditaccia necropolis at Cerveteri.[41] Vases with pursuit scenes likewise derive from Campanian sites like Capua and Nola, where the patrons could be either Etruscan or Greek in this period, and Sicilian Greek cemeteries like those of Gela and Agrigento. A calyx krater by the Achilles Painter with a scene of Zeus chasing a woman held cremated remains at the necropolis of Suessula.[42] The mortuary context of these images demonstrates that Etruscans and western Greeks saw in them references to death, perhaps premature death, a theme that attained even greater poignancy when the vase was used as an ossuary.[43]

Premature death, verging on human sacrifice, is certainly the subject of the last Attic vase in the Foiano chamber, long since identified as coming from this tomb: a red-figured hydria attributed to the Niobid Painter with a scene of the death of Orpheus (Figs. 8–9).[44] The hydria was acquired by Edward Perry Warren in Rome in 1890 and is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The hapless Orpheus, clad in chitoniskos, boots, and laurel wreath and identified by inscription, falls to the ground at the attack of the Thracian women, holding his chelys lyre above his head in vain.[45] Three women surge from the left and two from the right, the former bearing meat spits (*obeloi*), the latter carrying a sword and sickle (*harpe*) respectively. The two nearest Orpheus grab him by his long hair as the sword-wielding woman prepares to strike the death blow. Unusually for this motif, probably because the painter

has room, two male Thracian soldiers stand at the edges of the composition. One of the mythological traditions surrounding Orpheus says that the Thracian women were furious because the poet had distracted their husbands with his music; Athenian vase painters were just beginning to depict Orpheus playing his lyre for the Thracian soldiers at the time this hydria was made.[46] Perhaps here the soldiers have been enchanted to the point of inactivity, for they do nothing to stop the murder unfolding before them.[47]

The death of Orpheus as a subject on Athenian red-figured vases first appeared early in the fifth century and remained popular until its last quarter. Among vases with the scene that have a known provenience three examples are from Vulci, one from Chiusi, one from Adria, three from Spina, and this hydria comes from Foiano.[48] Etruscan viewers would surely have known the story of Orpheus, although the earliest appearances of *Urphe* in Etruscan art date from the following century. The theme of untimely death would make the scene appropriate for an ossuary or for placement in a tomb generally; however, one can also speculate upon locally relevant meanings. Representations of Orpheus/Urphe on late fourth-century Etruscan bronze mirrors depict his head speaking prophecy; this divinatory aspect of the poet seems to have been important to the Etruscans.[49] On the Foiano hydria, the women grabbing Orpheus' hair and the woman with sickle show that decapitation is imminent. Rather than the poet's death being seen as a hopeless act and the story's end, perhaps the Etruscan viewer understood that it led to a continued existence of another sort. For this ossuary, one can be confident that the deceased was male, for Helbig mentions a carnelian scarab "tra la cenere deposta in cosifatta idria".[50] Such an object was associated with Etruscan men and was worn by the deceased at the time of cremation. Helbig says it was "tante scomposto dal fuoco" to the degree that its incised decoration was unrecognizable.

When the Foiano tomb group is considered as a whole, significant points and questions can be raised. First, of the seven burials in the tomb, the remains of four individuals were placed in Athenian vases. Does this imply that the family was itself Greek? There is no reason to think so. Not only are the other cremated individuals interred in Chiusine containers, but the likely ancestor of the entire family was buried in local style, and at some point, an Etruscan inscription was added to the eye cup. Nor must one suggest any particular affinity with Greek culture and customs. Cremation had long been preferred in this part of Etruria, and as Helbig noted, Athenian vessels were common among the dozens of other Foiano graves.[51] In both this tomb and the other he described intact, Attic vases were but one part of an assemblage that also included Chiusine ware and bronzes, and thus cannot be considered in isolation. Once acquired by their local owners, the vases had been given new life as Etruscan objects used in Etruscan funerary practices, not becoming Athenian again until their discovery and dispersal on the art market.

One can suggest, by extension, that the family members who selected these vases for the tomb may have done so for reasons beyond their "Greekness". With the likely exception of the volute krater, whose shape was particularly distinctive and size particularly noteworthy, image as much or more than shape seems to have inspired the choice for each ossuary.[52] Whereas neck amphorae of either Attic or Etruscan manufacture were preferred at Tarquinia and other contemporary sites with cremation burials, any vessel of good size seems to have been suitable for this tomb, as long as its images spoke to the status of the deceased and/or reflected funerary belief.[53] Quality as defined in modern terms seems less important; today the Niobid Painter's hydria (Fig. 8), with its fine draftsmanship and attribution to a significant painter, would fetch a higher price than the Eucharides Painter's pelike, and yet both functioned equally well for their Foiano owners. Indeed, while the tomb's terracotta vases have been privileged since 1879 by modern collectors and scholars, in ancient times they may have been considered less prestigious in this area than stone or bronze containers, relatively plain examples of the latter being included here and Attic vases seeming to be well available. Perhaps the family would have preferred Chiusine stone urns with images in relief but could not afford them, turning instead to pots already in their possession and making careful selections based on iconography.

Fig. 8 Hydria attributed to the Niobid Painter, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Gift of Edward Perry Warren, 90.156. Photo: © 2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

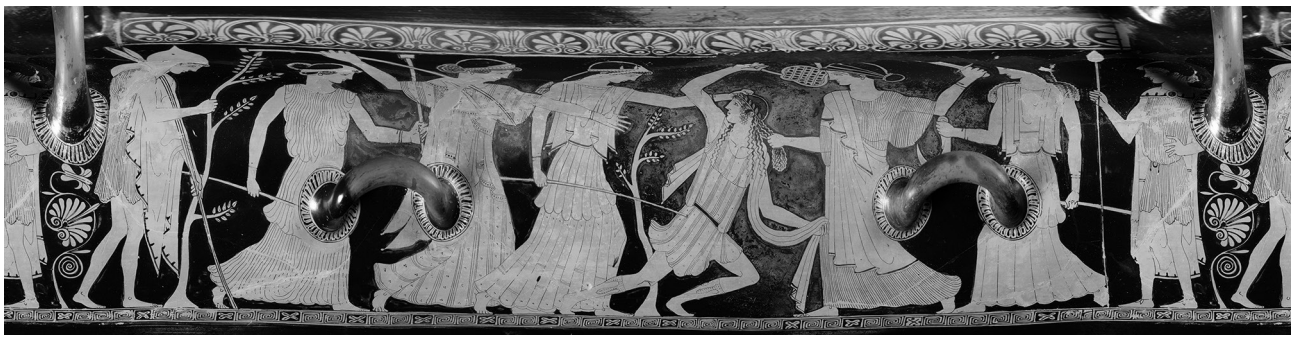

Fig. 9 Rollout photograph of scene in Fig. 8. Photo: © 2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

The images on all five Athenian vases attain new meaning when considered in an Etruscan funerary context. In the tomb are mythological and so-called genre scenes that evoke status, celebration, and protection, from the combat against the Nemean Lion on the krater (Fig. 6) to the musical concert on the pelike. To an Etruscan viewer, other scenes – the apotheosis of Herakles (Fig. 2), death of Orpheus (Fig. 9), and Zeus's erotic pursuit – would suggest premature death and the passage of the *hinthial* (soul or shade). All these themes echo images found on sixth- and fifth-century funerary art from Chiusi, which although eschewing mythological narrative, privileged the status of the dead and their mortuary rites.[54] The Foiano tomb further reflects belief in ancestor cult: that the deceased's remains should be placed in containers evoking themselves and their lifestyles, and that family members will be reunited after death.[55] The Athenian vases thus serve a triple function: to keep the deceased safe, say something about them, and provide for their eternal feast in the afterworld.

Acknowledgements

Special thanks are due to John Oakley for the invitation to participate in *Athenian Potters and Painters III*, and for his kindness and support through the years. Thanks also to fellow speakers and audience members for their helpful comments. For assistance with photographs and permissions, I thank Sue Bell from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Ruth Bowler of the Walters Art Museum; and Mariacristina Guidotti of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana. The College of Arts and Sciences of the University of South Florida St. Petersburg provided funds for the acquisition of images.

Notes

1 W. Helbig, BdI, 1879, 242–249. See too P. Giulierini, AnnAcEtr 39, 1999–2001, 51–88, especially 57–62; also M. Giuman, in: S. Fortunelli (ed.), Il Museo della Città Etrusca e Romana di Cortona: Catalogo delle collezioni (2005) 246.

2 Cf. D. Paleothodoros, in: V. Nørskov – L. Hannestad – C. Isler-Kerényi – S. Lewis (eds.), The World of Greek Vases (2009) 58–59; also V. Izzet, The Archaeology of Etruscan Society (2007) 211–225. Compare too principles of object biography, which suggest that the meaning(s) of an object is/are transformed as it changes context: e.g., C. Gosden – Y. Marshall, WorldA 31, 1999, 169–178.

3 The other tomb Helbig discusses contained a similar inhumation burial in its single chamber, with that figure holding a piece of *aes rude* in his (?) right hand. This tomb contained a cremation burial as well, placed inside "un'anfora a figure rosse" with symposion scene. Helbig (supra n. 1) 248.

4 Despite the interment of this figure in a separate chamber from the cremation burials, there is no reason to doubt that all the individuals belonged to a single, multigenerational family. In the second *tomba vergine* cited in the previous note, an inhumation and cremation burial separated by decades according to Helbig's descriptions of the styles of the objects were placed together in a single room. It seems unlikely that a second family would impose upon the burial of an earlier individual in either tomb. There would be no need to do so, for as Helbig says, the necropolis was large, and room for new tombs clearly existed (for discussion of the specific location of the necropolis using archival evidence, see Giulierini [supra n. 2] 61–63 and figures C–D). One can speculate that the inhumation technique of burial, less common locally compared to cremation, was used to distinguish important individuals like the family patriarch, but without the evidence of the sixty unrecorded tombs, it is impossible to be certain.

5 Cf. e.g., Florence 3122–31 and London 1851,812.1, and see generally L. Donati, StEtr 36, 1968, 319–355.

6 Compare finds of eggs in Etruscan tombs elsewhere, e.g., tomb III of the Maroi Tumulus in the Banditaccia necropolis of Cerveteri, and their representation in tomb paintings, e.g., the banquet scene of the Tomba dei Leopardi at Tarquinia. See L. Pieraccini, EtrSt 7, 2000, 35–49, especially 43–44 for eggs.

7 Helbig (supra n. 1) 245–247.

8 Florence 74624, currently on loan to the Museo dell' Accademia Etrusca e della Città di Cortona: ABV 262,46; Para 117; BAdd^2 68; BAPD 302278; A. M. Esposito – G. De Tommaso, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, Antiquarium, Vasi Attici (1993) 41–42 figs. 50–51; Giulierini (supra n. 1) 71–73 figs. 8–11; M. Giuman, in:

Fortunelli (supra n. 1) 248 cat. VI.112; M. Iozzo, in: J. de la Genière (ed.), Les clients de la céramique grecque, Actes du colloque de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, 30–31 janvier 2004 (2006) 125. 234 fig. IV.4; A. Tsingarida, in: T. Mannack – R. R. R. Smith – D. Williams (eds.), Greek Pots Abroad (forthcoming). I thank Athena Tsingarida for sharing her paper with me in advance of publication.

9 CB II (1954) 76.

10 A similar schema appears on a black-figured amphora in the manner of the Lysippides Painter: a standing Herakles greets Athena, clasping hands with her as Hermes and a female figure (Hebe?) observe. The clasped-hands gesture, coupled with the appearance of the fight with the Nemean Lion on the amphora's other side, suggests the arrival of Herakles on Olympos. Munich 1556/J270, BAPD 1493, CVA Munich 8 Germany 37 pls. 392, 1; 393, 1–2.

11 A. Rastrelli, in: G. Capecchi et al. (eds.), In memoria di Enrico Paribeni (1998) 351, focusing on Attic imports to Chiusi as reflected in the Foiano tomb rather than the tomb's complete assemblage as here; Iozzo (supra n. 8) 112; Tsingarida (supra n. 8).

12 Baltimore 48.29, BAPD 16188; F. Brommer, Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage, 3rd ed. (1973) 118 cat. 14; J. Gaunt, The Attic Volute Krater, Ph.D. diss. (New York University, 2002) 453 cat. 42; Iozzo (supra n. 8) 125. 234 fig. IV.3; H. A. Coccagna, in: S. Albersmeier, (ed.), Heroes: Mortals and Myths in Ancient Greece (2009) 276 cat. 83; all with further references. Neither Gaunt nor Coccagna seem to have been aware of Rastrelli's 1998 identification; Gaunt gives the provenience as "presumably from Italy". An unpublished CVA entry gives the krater's measurements as follows: height at rim, 51.2–5 cm; height at handle 57.9 cm; diameter at mouth 44.0–3 cm; greatest width 52.7 cm. I thank John Oakley for sharing his CVA entry with me.

13 See W. R. Johnston, William and Henry Walters, The Reticent Collectors (1999) 153–163.

14 M. Massarenti, Catalogue du Musée de peinture, sculpture, et archéologie au Palais Accoramboni, vol. 2 (1897) 45–46 cat. 209.

15 Herakles wrestling the lion appears on an Athenian black-figured amphora used as an ossuary in the Monterozzi necropolis at Tarquinia: Tarquinia RC7453, A. Palmieri, Mediterranea 8, 2011, 132, fig. 30; BAPD 320071.

16 Transcriptions can be found in M. Pallottino, Testimonia Linguae Etruscae, 2nd ed. (1968) 88 cat. 673 and Guiman (supra n. 8) 248 cat. VI.112.

17 Personal communication, 14 October 2011. I thank Nancy de Grummond for contacting Prof. Wallace on my behalf and Prof. Wallace for his assistance.

18 E.g., C. Reusser, Vasen für Etrurien. Verbreitung und Funktionen attischer Keramik im Etrurien des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts vor Christus (2002) and D. Paleothodoros, EtCl 70, 2002, 143. For kraters in Etruria, see e.g., N. Spivey, GaR 54, 2007, 229–253, especially 237–244.

19 D. Paleothodoros, Mediterranea 8, 2011, 47, likewise believes this to be an Attic eye cup.

20 Tsingarida (supra n. 8); L. Pieraccini, in: N. T. de Grummond – I. Edlund-Berry (eds.), The Archaeology of Sanctuaries and Ritual in Etruria, JRA Supplement 81 (2011) 127–137.

21 For the apotheosis of Herakles on Attic vases in tombs at Bologna, see A. M. Brizzolara – V. Baldoni, Bollettino di Archeologia Online 1, 2010, especially 10–12, and for Etruscan reception of scenes of the hero's apotheosis by chariot, W. G. Moon, in: W. G. Moon (ed.), Ancient Greek Art and Iconography (1983) 106–109. For eschatological implications of Dionysos on Attic vases in Etruria, see e.g., Paleothodoros (supra n. 18) 151–153; Paleothodoros (supra n. 2) 50–51; C. Pizzirani, Bollettino di Archeologia Online, 1, 2010, 29–35; and Palmieri (supra n. 15) 123–128.

22 See R. Gempeler, Die etruskischen Kanopen. Herstellung, Typologie, Entwicklungsgeschichte (1974); G. Paolucci, ScAnt 16, 2010, 109–118; and H. Damgaard Andersen, AnalRom 21, 1993, 7–66.

23 Poggio alla Sala tomb: A. Rastrelli, AnnFaina 7, 2000, 159–184; and for its original discovery, Helbig, BdI, 1883 193–196. For the urn in the Chianciano Terme tomb, see G. Paolucci – A. Rastrelli, La tomba principesca di Chianciano Terme (2006) 18–21.

24 Eye cups may have been used as ossuary lids more frequently than we can now recognize. The other example known to me is an Attic black-figured eye cup with scenes of Dionysian *thiasos* (diam. 28.5 cm) that covered an Attic black-figured column krater in a *tomba a pozzo* of the Poggio della Mina–Palazzetta necropolis near Bisenzio. Cup: Chiusi P300, BAPD 6841, krater: Chiusi P270, BAPD 32292 (both formerly Paolozzi collection). See W. Helbig, RM 1, 1886, 23–24, and C. Reusser, Prospettiva 70, 1993, 75–86.

25 Rastrelli (supra n. 11) 350–351.

26 I thank Mario Iozzo for information about the vase's whereabouts and providing photographs to use in research and the conference presentation.

27 Helbig (supra n. 1) 245.

28 For *mousikoi agones*: H. Kotsidu, Die musischen Agöne der Panathenäen in archaischer und klassischer Zeit (1991); H. A. Shapiro, in: J. Neils (ed.), Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens (1992) 53–75; and S. D. Bundrick, Music and Image in Classical Athens (2005) 160–174. For the concert kithara in Greece, see M. Maas – J. M. Snyder, Stringed Instruments of Ancient Greece (1989) 53–78, and Bundrick, ibid. 18–21.

29 Adapted from H. A. Shapiro, in: APP 70 n. 52: a) Bologna G10 (PU199), from Cerveteri, attributed to the Nikoxenos Painter, ABV 393,14; D. von Bothmer, JHS 71, 1951, 42 cat. 4; Kotsidu (supra n. 28) cat. 28; BAPD 302930; b) Florence, no inv. no., from Populonia, NSc 1934, 423 fig. 78a; von Bothmer (supra n. 29) 44 cat. 55; Kotsidu (supra n. 28) cat. 20; c) Samothrace 57.565, attributed to the Eucharides Painter, from Samothrace, ARV^2 232,1; AJA 75, 1971, pl. 94 fig. 7; Kotsidu (supra n. 28) cat. 26; BAPD 202274; d) Kassel T675, attributed to the Leagros Group, from Cerveteri, CVA Kassel 1 Germany 35 pl. 24, 1; Kotsidu (supra n. 28) cat. 10; Shapiro (supra n. 28) 69 fig. 47; BAPD 351233; e) once New York market, Kotsidu (supra n. 28) cat. 13; BAPD 12323; f) New York 07.286.72, von Bothmer (supra n. 29) 46 cat. 5 pl. 22; Kotsidu (supra n. 28) cat. 22; BAPD 4093; g) Sydney, Nicholson Museum 47.7, von Bothmer (supra n. 29) cat. 60 [erroneously stating that both sides show aulos players]; Kotsidu (supra n. 28) cat. 24; photographs unpublished but available on the museum's website.

30 A better comparison for the one seated, one standing spectator is a black-figured pelike with scene of rhapsode, Dunedin, Otago Museum 48.226, Shapiro (supra n. 29) 66 fig. 7.

31 S. Steingräber, in: M. Carrese – E. di Castro – M. Martinelli (eds.), La musica in Etruria: Atti del convegno internazionale Tarquinia 18/20 settembre 2009 (2010) 37 provides statistics for musical instruments in tomb paintings from Tarquinia, Chiusi, and Orvieto in the period ca. 550–300 BC: five tombs with barbitos players, 21 with kithara (concert kitharas and so-called cylinder kitharas or phorminxes), 12 with chelys lyre, 52 with aulos, nine with players of cornu and trumpet-lituus, and 11 with dancers holding krotala. J.-R. Jannot, AntCl 48, 1979, 469–507 discusses stringed instruments and provides a catalogue of selected representations.

32 For music in Etruscan culture: J.-R. Jannot, CRAI, 1988, 311–334.

33 As noted in Jannot (supra n. 32) 481; B. Lawergren, EtrSt 10, 2004–2007, 122. 127–128; S. Sarti, in: Carrese – Castro – Martinelli (supra n. 31) 185–187.

34 See Jannot (supra n. 32) 481–489 and Lawergren (supra n. 33) 127. For musicians with this instrument on Chiusine cippi and urns, see Jannot (supra n. 32) 482–486 cat. 33. 38–41. 43–54 all dating between ca. 510–470 BC.

35 See J.-R. Jannot, in: La civiltà di Chiusi e del suo territorio (1993) 217–237.

36 Cerveteri: red-figured pelike from tomb 20 *a pozzetto* in the Banditaccia necropolis, Villa Giulia 46942; J. de la Genière, in: M. Bonghi Jovino – C. Chiaramonte Treré (eds.), Tarquinia: Richerche, scavi, e prospettive (1987) 207 pl. 57; BAPD 17982. From a *tomba a buca* at Tarquinia: black-figured pelike, RC1063, W. Helbig, BdI, 1878, 178; C. Tronchetti, Ceramica attica a figure nere. Grandi vasi. Anfore, pelikai, crateri. Materiali del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia 5 (1983) cat. 44; BAPD 8235.

37 Helbig's description reads (supra n. 1) 244: "Un uomo con lunga barba aguzza, vestito di chitone lungo e mantello, il capo cinto di una tenia, ed una donna ch'ha i capelli sciolti, vestita di chitone e mantello, stanno in piedi, l'uno dirimpetto all'altra. L'uomo, chi tiene colla sin. uno scettro, pene la mano d. sulla spalla della donna, la quale stende la d., quasi se cercasse calmare l'uomo e scusarsi con esso".

38 It would not be a column krater, also popular for these scenes, because Helbig elsewhere uses the word *cratere* for that shape, e.g., BdI, 1878, 179, referencing Tarquinia RC968. Nor would it be a hydria, for he uses *idria* in reference to the Orpheus vase in the Foiano tomb, discussed below.

39 For pursuit scenes with Zeus, see S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, Der Liebe der Götter in der attischen Kunst des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. (1979) 22–26 with catalogue at 93–97; and K. W. Arafat, Classical Zeus: A Study in Art and Literature (1990) 77–86 with catalogue at 191–195. The Foiano vase does not appear in either study.

40 As revealed through searches on the BAPD.

41 All by the Painter of the Birth of Athena: a) pelike with Poseidon pursuing Amymone on the obverse, together with Aphrodite (?) and Eros, and Zeus chasing a woman on the reverse, Villa Giulia 20846, ARV^2 494,2; BAdd^2 250; BAPD 205561; b) a second pelike, nearly identical, Villa Giulia 20847, ARV^2 494,3; BAdd^2 250; BAPD 205562; c) stamnos with Zeus pursuing a woman on both sides, Villa Giulia 20844–5, ARV^2 495,6; 1656; BAdd^2 250; BAPD 205565.

42 Boston 03.817: ARV^2 991,59; BAPD 213880; J. H. Oakley, The Achilles Painter (1997) 125 cat. 80. Cf. also the appearance of three vases with erotic pursuit scenes, all including Eos chasing a youth, in the so-called Brygos Tomb (Tomb II) at Capua: D. Williams, AJA 96, 1992, 624–636.

43 Williams (supra n. 42) 633–634 for this reading as applied to the vases in the Brygos Tomb, and see S. Lewis, The Athenian Woman: An Iconographic Handbook (2002) 201–202.

44 Boston 90.156, ARV^2 605,62; BAdd^2 267; BAPD 207002; CB II cat. 107. Death of Orpheus: LIMC VII (1994) 85–87 cats. 28–59 s.v. Orpheus (M.-X. Garezou) and Bundrick (supra n. 28) 118–121.

45 Unlike the concert kithara, the chelys lyre was well known to the Etruscans: Jannot (supra n. 32) 473–481.

46 See Bundrick (supra n. 28) 121–125, with further references.

47 Cf. F. Lissarrague, Musica e storia 2, 1994, 277.

48 Vulci: amphora by the Painter of the Berlin Hydria (Vatican 16534, ARV^2 616,7; 1662; BAdd^2 269; BAPD 207127), stamnos by the Dokimasia Painter (Basel BS1411, Para 373, 34ter; BAdd^2 234; BAPD 275231), and amphora by the Niobid Painter (Brooklyn 59.34, ARV^2 604,57; 1701; BAdd^2 267; BAPD 206996). Chiusi: stamnos attributed to the Group of Polygnotos (now lost, ARV^2 1050,1; 1679; BAdd^2 321; BAPD 213632). Spina: unattributed cup (San Simeon 5546); column krater by the Painter of the Florence Centauromachy (Ferrara 2795, ARV^2 541,7; BAdd^2 256, BAPD 206135), and oinochoe by the Schuwalow Painter (Zurich, Univ. 3637, BAPD 16089). Adria: fragmentary cup by the Briseis Painter (Adria 22110/B496, ARV^2 409,44; BAdd^2 233; BAPD 204442).

49 Five such mirrors are known, four with central Italian findspots (Chiusi, Orvieto, and Castelgiorgio). See R. D. De Puma, Record of the Princeton University Art Museum 60, 2001, 18–29, and N. de Grummond, in: M. D. Gentili (ed.), Aspetti e problemi della produzione degli specchi etruschi figurati (2000) 27–67, further speculating that mirrors could be used for divinatory purposes. The oracular head of Orpheus appears on three red-figured Athenian vases: Bundrick (supra n. 28) 125–126.

50 Helbig (supra n. 1) 244, and for Etruscan scarabs generally, P. Zazoff, Etruskische Skarabaen (1968). Hydriai are associated with male inhumation burials elsewhere, e.g., the recently excavated Tomba del Kottabos (A9/1998) in the Osteria necropolis of Vulci: A. M. Moretti Sgubini (ed.), Veio, Cerveteri, Vulci: Città d'Etruria a confronto (2001) 220–221. 230–239.

51 Surely reflecting the role of Chiusi in the diffusion of Athenian vases in central Italy, cf. Rastrelli (supra n. 11) and Iozzo (supra n. 8).

52 Cf. Paleothodoros (supra n. 2), especially 47–48, *contra* those believing shape was the primary consideration, e.g., H. Blinkenberg, in: C.-M. Villaneuva-Puig – F. Lissarrague – P. Rouillard – A. Rouveret (eds.), Céramique et peinture grecques. Modes d'emploi. Actes du colloque international. École du Louvre, 26–27–28 avril 1995 (1999) 439–444.

53 Etruscan and Attic vases used as ossuaries at Tarquinia and elsewhere: Palmieri (supra n. 15) 83–150. Paleothodoros (supra n. 19) stresses the interchangeability of Attic and Etruscan vases in tombs, whether used as ossuaries or as part of a *corredo*, opposing the notion that Athenian vases were considered superior.

54 J.-R. Jannot, Les reliefs archaïques de Chiusi (1984) for catalogue and discussion.

55 For Etruscan ancestor cult, see e.g., Damgaard Andersen (supra n. 22); S. Steingräber, in: J. M. Højte (ed.), Images of Ancestors (2002) 127–158; and G. Camporeale, in: S. Bell – H. Nagy (eds.), New Perspectives on Etruria and Early Rome: In Honor of Richard Daniel De Puma (2009) 220–250.

3 Regional Variation: Pelops and Chrysippos in Apulia

T. H. Carpenter

To broaden the discussion of Attic vases, my focus here is on the offspring of Athenian potters and painters in Apulia. For iconographic studies it would be short sighted to restrict our discussion to the parents and to ignore successful offspring whose brilliance can shed light back on their progenitors.

In the Greek world an artisan creating an image on a vase had to believe there was a market for it, and it follows that images aimed at a particular market can reflect interests and concerns of the clients. When the image is a depiction of a myth we should assume that the reason for the artisan's choice goes beyond the liveliness of the implied narrative and may have political, psychological, cultural or ethnic implications. Not surprisingly the choices of myths often differ from region to region as well as over time. Thus, surviving images, by their very nature, may allow us to access ancient regional perspectives that are otherwise lost. Too little attention has been paid to this phenomenon.

The depiction of the suicide of Ajax is a case in point and demonstrates well regional preferences. The earliest certain depiction of that subject is on an early seventh-century BC Protocorinthian aryballos where Ajax falls on his sword.[1] On a gem from Perachora of the second half of the seventh century, his name is inscribed as it is on several Corinthian vases from the first quarter of the sixth-century.[2] His suicide was also the subject of a relief on an ivory comb from Sparta, dated to the first quarter of the sixth century,[3] as well as on many shield bands from the second quarter of that century.[4] The occurrences of the scene are almost entirely from the Peloponnesus, while the subject rarely appears on Attic vases of any period, with a couple of very notable exceptions. One scholar has even interpreted this as reflecting "partisan [anti-Ionic] sympathy for Ajax".[5]

Imagery on South Italian vases provides more complex examples of regional differences (Fig. 1). The earliest South Italian workshops, Lucanian and Apulian, may well have been established by Athenian potters; the technique they used and many of the shapes they painted were based on Attic models. Greek myths were often used as sources for imagery, but many of the myths the South Italian painters chose were never depicted by Attic vase-painters. A careful look at imagery also shows that when they do use traditional Greek myths, they often reshape them to express new meanings, which might have been incomprehensible to Athenian audiences.

A significant difference between Attic and South Italian pottery has to do with their markets, and I can't stress enough how important this is. Apulian red-figure is usually said to have been made in Taranto, which was the only Greek city in all of Apulia, though there is reason to think that it may have been made at other sites in Apulia as well. All of the rest of Apulia was occupied by non-Greek, Italic people. As with Attic pottery, we know little or nothing about the people who produced the pots. But the difference is that Apulian pots were made for local markets, while Attic pots, the majority of which have been found outside of Attica, were usually export commodities. For Apulian pottery, Trendall estimated that only about one percent of known vases were found outside of Apulia, which means that the production centers, wherever they were, could not have been more than 100km from their find spots.[6]

A quick glance at large Apulian vases with complex imagery on them makes it clear that they could not have been mass produced. These were prestigious vases, some more than a meter and a half tall, designed for the tomb, and it is unlikely that they were made on spec; rather, it makes sense to assume they were made for specific clients. The imagery was not a whimsical choice, but was determined by the market. An extensive series of Apulian column kraters with depictions of Italic warriors in distinctive local costumes illustrates this point (Fig. 2). None of these has ever been found in a Greek context, and the Italic people on them are the protagonists.[7] Beyond this specific case, the Italic people of Apulia rather than Greek

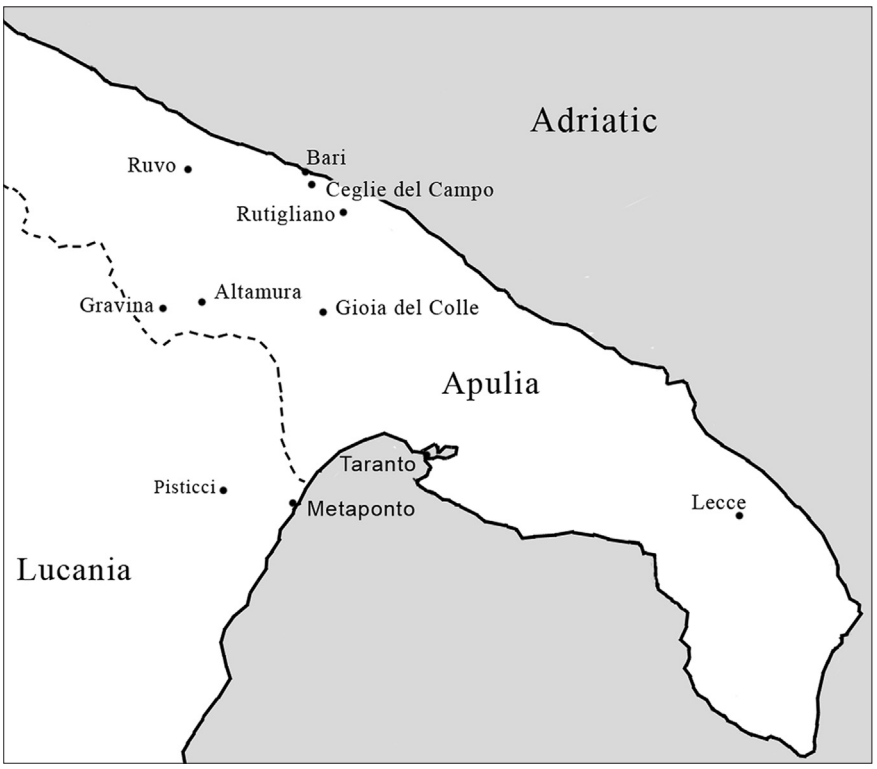

Fig. 1 Map of Apulia (author).

Fig. 2 Apulian red-figure column krater. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 17.120.241. Photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art.