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Athens, Etruria, and the Many Lives of Greek Figured Pottery

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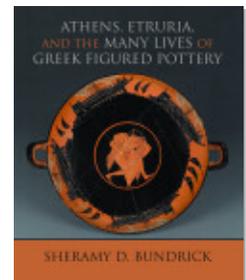
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The Mastery of Water

AN OVERSIZED (32 CM) BILINGUAL KYLIX FROM VULCI, the name vase of the Painter of London E2 (fig. 5.1), plays with technique, space, and form while mingling themes of wine and the sea.¹ Ships and dolphins in black figure ride the waves on the interior rim, where they would appear to float if the cup were filled. In the tondo, a youth rendered in red figure struggles to lift a pointed amphora heavy with wine, its shape evocative of transport amphorae and a fitting juxtaposition with the ships.² A pointed amphora repeats on the exterior red-figure sides, where komasts enjoy its contents, its journey complete. Many scholars have noted how Attic vase painters interwove the motif of the sea with the function of vases as containers for wine, literal visualizations of Homer's "wine-dark sea" (*oinops pontos*). In an Athenian context, such imagery is tied to the symposion and a drinker's shifting consciousness as the revels proceeded, echoing similar sentiments in sympotic poetry and other texts.³

When transposed to an Etruscan tomb, Attic vases with marine and related iconography entered a world of funerary belief in which passage to the afterworld could be conceptualized as a voyage over water.⁴ The previous chapter opens and closes with Dionysos' triumphant ship as imagined by Exekias (fig. 4.2), and one does not need to look far to find other vases exported to Etruria that feature subjects linked to the sea, ships, or springs and fountains. Dionysos appears with a ship again on a black-figure amphora from a Tarquinian tomb, joined by satyrs and maenads in musical revels.⁵ As with other motifs discussed thus far in this volume, such imagery fit seamlessly into an already existing eschatological ideology and iconographic vocabulary. At Vulci, a connection between death and sea voyages was made manifest in sixth-century tufa sculptures showing humans riding hippocamps; further back in time, boat imagery appears on hut and biconical urns of the Early Iron Age. At Tarquinia, the eponymous ships of the Tomb of the Ship frescoes (discussed in chapter 3) may have done double duty, referencing the tomb owner's occupation as



Fig. 5.1 Attic bilingual kylix, name vase of the Painter of London E2, from Vulci. Ca. 510–500. London, British Museum E2. (Photo © The Trustees of the British Museum/Art Resource, NY)

well as the imminent trip of his *hinthial*. As on the Painter of London E2's kylix, the ships were juxtaposed with a banquet. So too in the Tomb of the Blue Demons (also discussed in chapter 3), where the deceased woman waits to cross a river in the company of a Charon-like boatman while a banquet awaits on the back wall. Other images convey the sense of liminality and transformation more subtly. The Tomb of Hunting and Fishing (Tomba della Caccia e Pesca), for example, features men and youths catching fish and otherwise enjoying a watery landscape that wraps around the inner chamber to immerse the viewer.⁶ The figure of a diver leaping from rocks has been interpreted as both a sign of carefree leisure and a metaphor for the journey from one state of being to another.⁷

This chapter focuses on two types of scene common on Athenian vases exported to Etruria: images of Herakles wrestling Triton, the fish-tailed son of Poseidon, and images of fountains, where women and other figures fetch water in often elaborate architectural settings. In both cases, the

iconography can be shown to have an Athenian sensibility, perhaps a uniquely Athenian inspiration, and earlier scholarship has accordingly privileged an Athenian point of view. As with the eye cups discussed in the previous chapter, however, distribution data suggest an element of targeting to the Etruscan market that requires not only consideration of these vases from an Etruscan perspective but the recognition that Etruscan demand promoted their production. As masters of the sea in their own right, innovators of hydraulic technology, and firm believers in the sanctity of water sources, Etruscan consumers were a ripe audience for this imagery, and Athenian workshops happily obliged.

HERAKLES MEETS THE MERMAN

In the latter half of the sixth century BCE, scenes of Herakles wrestling a merman were common on Attic vases, appearing primarily on black-figure amphorae and hydriai and less frequently on other shapes like lekythoi, cups, or oinochoai, or in the red-figure technique.⁸ The merman (or sea monster, as some would describe him) is identified by inscription as Triton in some cases, marking a departure from similar, mostly earlier, images in which Herakles wrestles Nereus, the shape-shifting Old Man of the Sea (*Halios Geron*).⁹ The latter adventure, known from texts, occurred en route to the Garden of the Hesperides and involved Herakles' attempt to wrest knowledge of its location from Nereus. On vases, the encounter is specified by animal attributes suggesting Nereus' metamorphic capabilities, white hair and beard showing his age, and/or an inscription giving his name. Thus, on a red-figure kylix by Oltos from the Martini Marescotti Tomb at Caere (fig. 3.111), Nereus is named by inscription but is in human form as Herakles seizes him around the shoulders. Herakles' frontal face telegraphs the difficulty of the struggle. Triton, by contrast, consistently has a pisciform lower half and is much larger than Herakles; vase painters took advantage of this body shape to craft intricate compositions. On a black-figure hydria from Vulci (fig. 5.2), the entangled Herakles and Triton occupy most of the body and are framed by two couples: Poseidon (with his trident) and Amphitrite at left, an old man (surely Nereus) and a young woman, who may be one of his Nereid daughters, at right.¹⁰ A scene of the apotheosis of Herakles on the shoulder suggests the reward for the hero's many deeds. The adventure with Triton, however, lacks a known literary source, making it difficult to pinpoint when in Herakles' storied career it took place and the motivation behind the *agon*.

The relatively sudden appearance of Herakles wrestling Triton on figured pottery, the ease with which this otherwise unknown story superseded that of Nereus, and its equally sudden loss of popularity near the end of the sixth century have all inspired discussion of its significance within an Athenian context.¹¹ Compounding the puzzle are a pair of limestone pedimental sculptures on the Archaic Akropolis depicting the subject, which may bear some relation to the iconography on vases: either inspiring it directly or sharing a common meaning.¹² The older and more important is the group associated with the so-called Bluebeard Temple, also known as the H-building, thought to be the earliest monumental temple on the hill and dating ca. 570–560, around the time

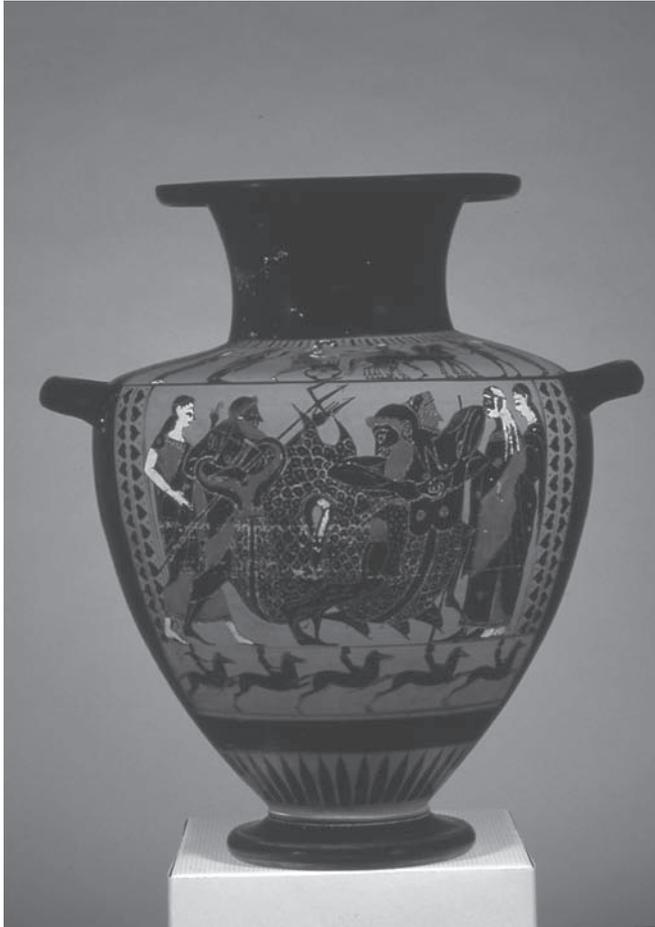


Fig. 5.2 Attic hydria attributed to the Painter of Vatican G43, from Vulci. Ca. 530. Toledo Museum of Art, purchased with funds from the Florence Scott Libbey Bequest in memory of her father, Maurice A. Scott, 1956.69. (Photo courtesy Toledo Museum of Art)

of the reorganized Panathenaic festival (566). The Herakles/Triton pair may have occupied the outer edge of one pediment, balanced on the opposite end by the so-called Triple-Bodied Monster (“Bluebeard”), the center filled by a heraldic group of lions attacking a bull.¹³ During the 1970s and 1980s in particular, political interpretations of these sculptures and the vases dominated, linking the advent of the new motif to Peisistratos and his alleged penchant for Heraklean imagery. John Boardman suggested that the “new” *agon* emblemized and immortalized Peisistratos’ naval exploits against Megara, which secured Salamis for Athens and earned him *kudos* prior to his first tyranny, the eponymous hero Megaros being Triton’s half-brother.¹⁴ Following a similar line of thinking, Ruth Glynn proposed the Athenian seizure of Sigeion and subsequent control of the Hellespont as the Peisistratid catalyst for this imagery.¹⁵ Leaving aside the question of whether vase painters acted as mouthpieces for political leaders (an issue that likewise arises in the next section), these readings are complicated by the fact that the Bluebeard Temple appears to predate Peisistratos’ first tyranny

(560/559).¹⁶ Although we do not know who commissioned and funded the building, it cannot reasonably be linked to his specific achievements. Perhaps the pedimental pair conveyed Athenian mastery of the sea more generally, an appropriate theme that used the corner space well and managed to avoid depiction of Athena's rival, Poseidon. Its pedimental neighbors may likewise possess metaphorical meaning related to Athenian supremacy and even autochthony.¹⁷ For Athenian painters and viewers, the vases may have carried similar connotations, casting Herakles as a *potnios theron* who subdues the waters. The discovery of several vessels with this imagery on the Akropolis, where they may have served as votive dedications or ritual equipment, confirms the theme's local significance.¹⁸

Exclusively Athenian readings are scuttled by the fact that the majority of vases with this imagery were exported to Etruria, at least based on current distribution data. Of the nearly fifty black-figure hydriai which feature Herakles wrestling Triton on either the body or the shoulder, fewer than 50 percent have a known site, and none from Etruria have a documented findspot. However, among those with known site, twelve come from Vulci, five from Caere, one from Tarquinia, and one each from the Etrusco-Campanian cities of Capua and Nola. Of black-figure amphorae with this subject (sixty-eight according to my count), only twenty-six have a known site, but among these, thirteen come from Vulci, four from Orvieto, three from Tarquinia, two from Caere, and one from the Etrusco-Campanian site of Fratte. Many amphorae and hydriai lacking provenience are likely to come from Etruria, given their collecting histories. Only one hydria comes from a Greek city, the fragmentary example from the Athenian Akropolis cited above, while one amphora each comes from the sites of Satyrion, Syracuse, and Locri. Black-figure lekythoi with Herakles fighting Triton, meanwhile, while fewer in number, have a different distribution: three examples from the Athenian Agora, one from Corinth, one from Poseidonia (Paestum), five from Sicily (Morgantina, Gela, Agrigento, and Ragusa), and none from Etruscan sites. The subject appealed to Greeks for vases but was adapted for shapes more in keeping with Greek usage.

The case of Herakles/Triton iconography would seem to be an example of vase painters crafting a subject consonant with local Athenian concerns—in this case, perhaps inspired by the subject's appearance on the Akropolis temple—then adapting and multiplying it on export vases in response to demand from traders and faraway consumers for scenes of Herakles. Heraklean adventures were a sure thing for export vases: not only the more canonical labors (*athloi*) and deeds (*praxeis* and *parerqa*)—like the Kerberos story (fig. 4.18) and the encounter with Nereus (fig. 3.11)—but also invented episodes, like scenes related to Herakles' apotheosis (namely, the hero's departure by chariot) and the struggle with Triton. It is possible that the export market promoted the genesis of new scenes out of a desire to provide novel products or new variations on familiar ones. The labors of the Keryneian Hind and the Amazonomachy, for example, are first attested among Attic vases on Tyrrhenian amphorae (e.g., fig. 2.5).¹⁹

The appearance of trademarks on many Triton amphorae and hydriai, just over a dozen of each, supports the notion that these vases were targeted to traders for export. To give a few examples, an amphora from Vulci recalling the Group of Toronto 305 carries a glaze dipinto with the mark of

trader ΣO (Johnston's type 21A), discussed in chapters 2 and 4 as an *emporos* particularly engaged with the Etruscan market.²⁰ Two hydriai, including one by the Priam Painter, carry the incised mark of trader 8E, which appears on numerous amphorae and hydriai sent to Vulci, many with scenes of Herakles; as noted in chapter 2, some scholars have theorized that trader 8E was Etruscan.²¹ The incised graffito of trader 9E (AP) can be found on an amphora and a hydria; this was another of the savvy traders who specialized in the shipment of these shapes to Etruria and whose pre-fired mark can be found on some vases, suggestive of special commissions.²² We can add to these three, all mentioned in chapter 2, trader 20A (ΣMI), whose mark appears on two amphorae and a hydria with the Triton scene.²³ As is true of traders 8E and 9E, his mark is found primarily on amphorae and hydriai, sent mostly to Vulci but also to other Etruscan sites, with a large number featuring Heraklean iconography.

As for the specifically Etruscan appeal of these images, scenes of Herkle (or another male figure) wrestling a merman are rare in Etruscan art; when they appear, they are influenced to a degree by imported Attic vases.²⁴ Scenes of a Triton/merman (whose Etruscan name seems to have been Tritun) alone or with other hybrid figures, however, sometimes pre-date Athenian imports and document a preexisting local interest in such creatures.²⁵ Tritons are frequent in funerary contexts, their corporeal liminality emphasizing the fluid boundary between this world and the next. At Tarquinia, two so-called *lastroni a scala* from the early to mid-sixth century—stone plaques that decorated tumuli or stairways connected to tumuli—feature single figures of Triton, while others depict centaurs, sphinxes, and similar monsters.²⁶ Three sixth-century painted tombs in Tarquinia's Monterozzi necropolis include Tritons in the pediments, particularly charged areas where liminal and/or apotropaic figures can often be found. In the Tomb of the Tritons (Tomba dei Tritoni) and Stefani Tomb, they appear on the entrance wall, emphasizing the boundary between living and dead; in the latter, the fragmentary remaining Triton is joined by a frontal-faced panther, another creature that, while not hybrid in its form, was frequently cast as a liminal being.²⁷ The third tomb, the Tomb of the Sea (Tomba del Mare), has two chambers; the pair of Tritons appear in the pediment above the door leading into the inner room, followed on each side by a hippocamp. In all these instances, Tarquinian painters utilized the Triton's undulating form to fill the triangular space, not unlike what the sculptor(s) of the Bluebeard Temple had done.²⁸

Relevant for the many Triton-themed vases imported from Attica are two Etruscan black-figure hydriai produced by the Group of the Micali Painter; their provenience remains unknown, but they are likely to come from tombs at Vulci. The first, discussed in chapter 4, depicts Triton carrying a fish across its shoulder; on the body is an Etruscan variation of the metamorphosis of pirates into dolphins following their fateful encounter with Dionysos.²⁹ A second hydria likewise carries a Triton on its shoulder and, on its body, a procession with a young man in a chariot and others running before and after (fig. 5.3).³⁰ In a tomb context, this scene would be equated with the passage of the deceased, making the juxtaposition with Triton particularly meaningful. Triton himself is shown in a uniquely Etruscan form, the fishtail merged with an otherwise human body. Given the ubiquity of local and imported hydriai in Vulcian tombs, it is possible that the

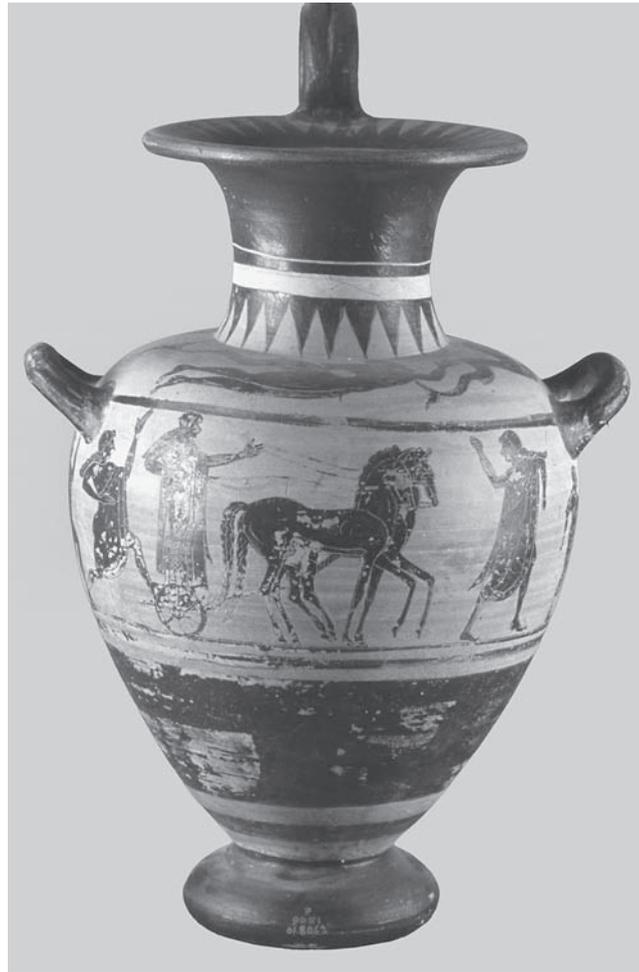


Fig. 5.3 Etruscan hydria close to the Micali Painter. Ca. 500. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund, 01.8062. (Photo © 2019 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

Micali Painter's workshop produced them specifically for funerary use, with their imagery reflecting funerary concerns.³¹

In none of these instances, or others besides, does Triton appear as a threatening or otherwise malevolent figure. Even on a hydria from the Micali Painter's workshop where a nude male hero (perhaps Heracles) wrestles the merman, the struggle seems evenly matched, and no indication is given that he is a fearsome creature to be dispelled.³² The same has been observed for images on Athenian vases: aside from the *agon* with Herakles, Triton's other, later appearances are as a helpful sea creature who escorts Theseus to the home of Poseidon and Amphitrite.³³ Heide Mommsen has stressed that although Triton is described in Hesiod's *Theogony* (930–33) as *deinos*—a word sometimes translated as “fearful” or “terrible”—the term can also mean “strong” or “powerful” in a neutral or even positive sense.³⁴ Herakles' contests with Triton could involve the hero's seeking

information, maybe even directions to the Garden of the Hesperides, as was the verifiable case with Nereus. Elsewhere in the literary tradition (but not the visual one), Triton assists the Argonauts (Herodotos 4.179).³⁵ This reading of this particular adventure would consider Herakles less an *alexikakos* ridding the earth of dangerous monsters and more a hero who seeks secrets from a powerful nature deity. In an Etruscan funerary context, scenes of Herakles wrestling Triton on Attic vases—and Nereus, too—may have been read as another example of overcoming obstacles on a voyage, a metaphor for passage into the afterworld.

None of the Herakles/Triton amphorae or hydriai from Etruria have a known findspot and assemblage where this hypothesis can be tested. The best example of such a vessel in context is instead a lip cup from Tarquinia (ca. 550) that, at 32.2 centimeters in diameter, dwarfs other Little Master lip cups (figs. 5.4–5).³⁶ It equally departs from the majority of such kylikes in having decoration both inside and out: Beazley called this type of vessel a LIO cup (Lip Cup—Inside—Outside).³⁷ As Pieter Heesen has noted, first-generation Little Master cups like this one were



Fig. 5.4 Attic lip cup attributed to the Xenokles Group, from Tarquinia. Ca. 550. Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense RC4194. (Photo: Nimatallah/Art Resource, NY)

largely exported to Etruria and environs in central Italy, and LIOs, too, although a small corpus, were mostly sent to this area.³⁸ Because of its exceptional size and all-encompassing decoration, it is possible that the cup was intentionally produced for either dedication in a sanctuary or deposition in a tomb. Perhaps the workshop who made it or the trader who handled it (or both) knew that it would go to Etruria.³⁹

Wolfgang Helbig describes the kylix's original location in the 1881 *Bullettino dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*: a chamber tomb about two meters square, whose interior contained a simple painted frieze in red and black.⁴⁰ Stone benches against the left and right walls held the inhumed bodies of the deceased, their feet facing toward the door, and the tomb itself was oriented eastward. Helbig says that no objects sat upon the left bench, but the "grande tazza a figure nere" lay at the feet of the deceased to the right. Identical images appear on each of the cup's exterior sides: a racing chariot between Doric columns in the upper register, two sphinxes and the precisely lettered inscription *Chaire kai piei eu* ("hail and drink well") below (fig. 5.5). Given the cup's size,



Fig. 5.5 Attic lip cup attributed to the Xenokles Group, from Tarquinia. Ca. 550. Detail of fig. 5.4. Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense RC4194. (Photo © DeA Picture Library/Art Resource, NY)

this particular inscription, more often found on cups of much smaller diameter, seems ironic as much as festive.⁴¹ The cup's interior contains the intertwined *agon* of Herakles and Triton (fig. 5.4), for which the painter made effective use of the monster's body and the tondo's circular space. A ring of seventeen maidens, likely Nereids, grasp hands and dance around this central group, their movement punctuated by nonsense inscriptions and opposing that of the wrestling match. The threefold appeal of the cup's iconography to an Etruscan viewer is apparent: racing chariots evocative of funeral games (which would later appear on the walls in such spaces as the Tomb of the Olympic Games at Tarquinia and Tomb of the Casuccini Hill near Chiusi); Heracle and his struggle against obstacles, personified by the hybrid merman; liminal sphinxes serving as mediators and sentinels. At a time when painted figural decoration of Tarquinian tombs was still rare (assuming that the burial is roughly contemporary with the cup), the kylix supplied a set of images reminiscent of those appearing on stone *lastroni a scala* elsewhere at the site and in some ways foreshadowing paintings to come.

Helbig closes his description of the tomb with the cup's contents: "Nella tazza si trovarono alcuni bottoni ed una fibula di bronzo, che non si sono potuti conservare, perchè del tutto scomposti dall'ossido."⁴² The lost *bottoni* recall the set of glass pebble-like objects mentioned in the previous chapter from the Tomb of the Kottabos at Vulci, not to mention dice and other small objects that may have been meant as gamepieces, placed in other Etruscan tombs (e.g., Tomb 50 at Vulci). The lost fibula may indicate that the *bottoni* were wrapped and pinned in a textile. Their special treatment raises questions: were they simply gamepieces, or were they used for cleromantic divination? Divination was otherwise a critical practice for the Etruscans, who undertook many different kinds: *hieroskopia*, as mentioned in chapter 2, and divination based on the flight of birds, thunder and lightning, and reflective surfaces such as mirrors or pools of liquid. Cleromantic divination, involving the drawing or casting of lots, seems likewise to have been an Etruscan practice.⁴³ Elsewhere I have revived a nineteenth-century theory that the well-known scenes of Achilles and Ajax "gaming" on Attic vases instead depict the heroes engaging in divination prior to battle; many of these vessels, including the Exekias amphora from Vulci and multiple examples from Tarquinia, had been exported to Etruria and were discovered in tombs there.⁴⁴ Was the Tarquinia Triton kylix used as a divination instrument along with its *bottoni*, or even for *lekanomanteia* (divination based on a reflective liquid surface)? Was Triton seen as a prophetic figure like Nereus, and did that belief grant the cup a particular power? Without other assemblages for comparison, we can push this theory no further, but the abundance of Herakles and Triton vases sent to Etruria leaves no doubt of their significance in some local respect.

FOUNTAINHOUSE HYDRIAI AND THE ETRUSCAN *Culto dell'Acqua*

In both of the 1829 catalogues of vases discovered on his property at Vulci, Luciano Bonaparte discusses a black-figure hydria that was later sold to the British Museum by his wife, Alexandrine (fig. 5.6).⁴⁵ Discovered in a subterranean chamber of the Cuccumella tumulus in March of that



Fig. 5.6 Attic hydria attributed to the A D Painter, from Vulci. Ca. 520–510. London, British Museum B329. (Photo © The Trustees of the British Museum/ Art Resource, NY)

year, the hydria features on its shoulder Athena and Herakles in combat, perhaps against Kyknos, while the body depicts an elaborate fountainhouse. Details of the structure are carefully articulated, with four Doric columns, entablature in alternating squares of black and added white, and five waterspouts: two in the form of lions' heads that frame the scene, two shaped like horsemen, and the fifth in the center shown as a frontal-faced lion or panther. Among the columns are four women and five hydriai, each jar sitting beneath a gushing spout, each woman decorating the fountain with wreaths and branches. Three of the women have inscribed names: Iope, Rhodopis, and Kleo. The painter—identified by Beazley as the A D Painter, although some have linked this vase to the Priam Painter instead—took advantage of the hydria's shape to create a rhythmic composition in which the lines of columns, women, waterspouts, and jars march across the field, as does the added white of female figures and architectural details. Asserting its Etruscan craftsmanship,

Bonaparte gave the hydria's subject as "le peristyle étrusque" and cited authors who attributed the invention of peristyle buildings to the Etruscans, rather than the Greeks.⁴⁶

Approximately seventy-five hydriai in black and red figure, of the shoulder type like this one and the more rounded kalpis shape, feature scenes related to fountainhouses and the fetching of water.⁴⁷ As with the Herakles and Triton hydriai, the majority were exported to Etruria. The series begins in the 530s, and the earliest examples show no building but instead a procession of women with water jars. Fountainhouses appear almost immediately, however, and artists such as the Antimenes and Priam Painters relished filling the expansive body of vases with architectural forms and beautifully dressed female figures. Indeed, fountainhouse scenes rank among the few images dominated by women in black-figure iconography. The popularity of this subject on black-figure shoulder hydriai extends to the end of the sixth century, when this shape and technique both lost popularity in favor of red figure and the kalpis form. Few red-figure kalpides depict a fountainhouse (an exception by Hypsis is discussed later in this chapter), partly due to the change in shape and the accompanying challenges of the compositional space. The fountainhouse theme does appear on other black- and red-figure vases, lekythoi being most numerous after hydriai, as well as some amphorae, epinetra, and oinochoai. Their chronology mirrors that of hydriai to an extent, although, as with Triton imagery, a difference in distribution is apparent. Lekythoi with known provenience, rendered in both black and red figure and sometimes with a white ground, come from Greek sites in Attica, elsewhere in mainland Greece (e.g., Rhitsona in Boeotia), south Italy (e.g., Taranto), and Sicily (e.g., Gela)—places where lekythoi were more common and used for funerary purposes.

Like the Herakles and Triton scenes, fountainhouse imagery has almost always been considered from an Athenian perspective, despite the numerous Etruscan exports.⁴⁸ One common approach has been to compare pictorial fountainhouses with actual architecture.⁴⁹ Here the substantial variability in representation presents difficulties: often Doric but occasionally Ionic columns; water-spouts in the form of lions, panthers, horsemen, and/or satyrs; pedimental decoration sometimes present but more often not. It is difficult to imagine that the painters were all depicting the same structure, and it may not even be a real structure; more likely, they varied details based on compositional needs and artistic desires. The images appear to contradict everyday practice in other ways: for example, by showing women placing hydriai beneath the spouts, when the majority of fountains had basins for dipping.⁵⁰

The timing of the appearance of fountainhouse hydriai has led many scholars to link them with Peisistratid fountain construction, as referenced by Herodotos, Thucydides, and Pausanias.⁵¹ Thucydides, for example, mentions a nine-spouted fountain called Enneakrounos, which he places at the Kallirhoe spring near the Ilissos River (and, by extension, the Archaic Agora) and which he says received "embellishments by the tyrants" (2.15).⁵² Thucydides explains that its water "was used for the most important occasions . . . and even now, according to ancient practice, its water is used for ceremonies prior to weddings and other sacred rituals."⁵³ It is presumed that he alludes to the bridal bath: the waters of the spring were believed to both purify and promote fertility. Two black-figure fountainhouse hydriai feature "Kallirhoe" inscriptions: a fragmentary example

found on the Akropolis, which simply includes the name “Kallirhoe” (see further below), and one from Vulci with ΚΑΛΙΠΕΚΡΕΝΗ unfolding before its lion-headed spout and specifically naming the *krene* (“spring” or “fountain”).⁵⁴ The latter scene further includes the inscription *Hippokrates kalos* and five names among the six young women: Simylis (used twice, perhaps naming two girls), Eperate, Kuane, Euene, and Choronike. The Hippokrates in question has been identified by some scholars as a member of the Alkmaionid family and brother of Kleisthenes or, more hypothetically still, as a grandson of Hippias and great-grandson of Peisistratos.⁵⁵

Even if these two vases call the spring by its ancient name, none refer to the Enneakrounos, and the lack of iconographic consistency noted above makes it unlikely that the hydriai all depict the Kallirhoe *krene*, at least not authentically. The Enneakrounos itself has never been excavated, making comparison with the actual building impossible. A surviving fountainhouse long thought to be Peisistratid and therefore linked to the vases by some scholars—the Southeast Fountainhouse in the Classical Agora—has been established as fifth-century in date (just before ca. 480 at the earliest), so it was built after the series of black-figure hydriai ended.⁵⁶ It is possible that the flurry of fountainhouse scenes was inspired by the Enneakrounos or other sixth-century fountains in the sense that monumental *krenai* were viewed as architectural novelties and sources of civic pride. However, designating the fountainhouse hydriai as political propaganda in support of the Peisistratid regime is more tenuous, especially since the series continued, albeit briefly, after the regime’s end.

Other scholarly investigations have emphasized not the fountainhouses, but the women on vases who are shown going there: their social status, motivations for visiting the fountainhouse, and the relationship (if any) between the scenes and ancient texts that describe women’s activities. These sorts of discussions grew from the 1970s and 1980s forward as part of a larger interest in representations of women in Greek art and the roles of women in Greek society. Like images of woolworking, adornment, and other female activities, the fountainhouse scenes became an opportunity for scholars to mine iconography for hints about women’s lives. The fact that the women are well-dressed yet performing manual labor in public to some has seemed incompatible with the status of so-called respectable or citizen women, as has the inclusion of names in some instances (like the examples given above) and *kale* inscriptions labeling certain figures as “beautiful.” The women must be *hetairai*, some have argued, pointing as well to the inclusion of men in some scenes.⁵⁷ Others have described the women as slaves who could be *pornai* for their masters.⁵⁸ Visual cues that would conclusively identify them as slaves, however, are lacking, save for a red-figure hydria of kalpis shape attributed to the Aegisthus Painter and dating from ca. 470.⁵⁹ Of unknown provenance but formerly in the Campana collection (which may suggest Caere), the vase depicts three women before a grotto-like fountain. They contrast with those in other fountainhouse scenes by having short hair, which is more consistent with images of slaves, and tattoos on their arms, which often indicate Thracians.⁶⁰ The Early Classical date of this kalpis sets it apart from the main series.

An alternative, more persuasive reading sees the female figures not only as “respectable” but, more specifically, as *parthenoi* or *nymphai*, young women of marriageable age whose transitional status places them between child and matron.⁶¹ Various details are highlighted in support of this

interpretation: the young women's stylish dress, their long and unbound hair, the flowers and branches they sometimes carry or use to decorate the fountains, the deer present in some scenes, which may evoke the goddess Artemis, the association of fountains with mythical *parthenoi* like Polyxena and Amyone, and even their names, which often relate to flowers (e.g., Rhodon), horses (e.g., Kallippe), or beautiful and sweet things in general (e.g., Gluke and Kallis). They have been compared in appearance to Akropolis korai, embodiments of *charis* (grace) and *kosmos* (order, harmony).⁶² *Kale* inscriptions need not designate *hetairai*: on a black-figure hydria, a married couple in a chariot have the inscriptions *Lysipides kalos* and *Rhodon kale* over their heads ("Rhodon" also being a name that appears on fountainhouse hydriai); and on a red-figure alabastron, a young man is accompanied by the inscription *Timodemos kalos* and the young female woolworker before him by *he nympe kale*, "the bride is beautiful."⁶³ In a variation of the *parthenoi* reading, Eleni Manakidou suggests that the women on fountainhouse hydriai belonged to aristocratic families, while Gloria Ferrari argues on the basis of the Kallirhoe designation on two hydriai and a passage in Herodotos (6.137.3) that the scenes represent the Athens of earliest times.⁶⁴ Herodotos claims that early Athenian sons and daughters visited the Enneakrounos before the Greeks had slaves and were on occasion assaulted there by the Pelasgians, who had to be driven from the city. Ferrari suggests that the few scenes where men are at the fountain and seem to be annoying the women relate to this story. Lise Hannestad, meanwhile, uses the same passage to bolster her own identification of the women as "respectable" Athenians, but contemporary with the vase painters.⁶⁵

An extension of the *parthenoi/nymphai* interpretation connects their fountainhouse visits to ritual, and even to specific occasions like the rite of the Hydrophoria, part of the Anthesteria festival, which took place each spring and celebrated the new wine.⁶⁶ The Hydrophoria is said by some (late) sources to have taken place on the festival's third day (known as Chyrtoi, after pots used in some capacity) and involved carrying water in honor of those killed in the Great Flood.⁶⁷ The identification of this occasion with the pots stems from one particular black-figure hydria attributed to the Priam Painter and found at Vulci. The hydria's body shows three young women inside a fountainhouse, while framing the building are larger-scaled figures of Hermes and Dionysos (fig. 5.7).⁶⁸ Although this hydria could have evoked a very specific ritual for an Athenian audience (its Etruscan viewers would have seen something quite different), the majority of fountainhouse scenes would have conjured many possible associations: for example, fetching water for bridal baths. Girls and women served as *hydriaphoroi* in many different circumstances, and although fountainhouse scenes seem deliberately ambiguous, some manner of ritual occasion fits the iconography best.

Four vases with fountainhouse imagery and known Athenian findspot support a ritualistic reading. Three were found on the Akropolis in the nineteenth century: two fragmentary hydriai (one a shoulder hydria, the other of kalpis shape), and a fragmentary epinetron. The shoulder hydria fragments as preserved show five *parthenoi* approaching a fountain at left with lion-headed waterspout and KAAIPOE inscription above.⁶⁹ Other names appear beside the girls: Elanthis, Gluke, a partial Rho- (which could have been Rhodon or Rhodopis, as in other examples), and Kallis. The kalpis fragment preserves part of a fountain with lion-headed spout, this one at right, and a young woman



Fig. 5.7 Attic hydria attributed to the Priam Painter, from Vulci. Ca. 520–510. London, British Museum B332. (Photo © The Trustees of the British Museum/ Art Resource, NY)

with a cushion on her head, who must be filling her jar.⁷⁰ The epinetron fragments depart from the norm by showing a nude young woman bathing at the fountainhouse, while another (dressed) young woman stands nearby with a jar in her hand; this object's presence on the Akropolis challenges the assumption that all nude women on Attic vases of this period must be *hetairai* (see more in this chapter's Conclusions).⁷¹ The findspots of the vases are not given in Graef and Langlotz's catalogue of Akropolis vessels, so it is unclear whether they were used at the sanctuary or brought up as part of construction fill during fifth-century construction works. The hydriai may have served as ritual vessels as well as dedications.⁷² The epinetron's association with textile production would make it an appropriate gift for Athena Ergane (the Worker), while the subject matter might point to Artemis, also venerated on the hill.⁷³ The young woman bathing could evoke the bridal bath; a public bath at a fountainhouse seems unlikely, but perhaps the fountain was meant to be equated

with the Kallirhoe spring. We can add here the fourth fountainhouse vase with known Athenian findspot, a fragmentary black-figure loutrophoros from the Sanctuary of the Nymphe on the Akropolis south slope.⁷⁴ Certainly a dedication in honor of a wedding and associated with the bridal bath through its shape, the loutrophoros shows young women processing toward a fountainhouse where a winged figure appears—possibly Nike, although since she (?) appears to wear a nebris, she could be Artemis.⁷⁵

It is possible that vase painters intended the young women of fountainhouse scenes as visual plays on the dual meaning of the Greek words *nymphe* and *nymphai*: not just young women as brides or brides-to-be (of which the Athenian deity Nymphe seems to be a personification) but the semidivine beings who protected springs and fountains and were capable of granting good things to mortals.⁷⁶ On the fragmentary shoulder hydria from the Akropolis discussed above, it is not clear whether “Kallirhoe” refers to the fountain or the young woman who fills her jar there, which would make her the nymph of the spring.⁷⁷ Guy Hedreen observes that the names of some girls on fountainhouse hydriai recur in Dionysian scenes where they designate nymphs.⁷⁸ More than the Anthesteria/Hydrophoria, perhaps this explains not only the presence of Dionysos on London B332 (fig. 5.7) but that of Hermes, who likewise keeps company with *nymphai*. Hermes appears with a procession of six young women with branches, presumably nymphs, on a hydria akin to the Antimenes Painter and exported to Vulci, while another, attributed to the Leagros Group (also from Vulci), shows four such women with Hermes, Dionysos, and Apollo.⁷⁹ A desire to understand better the daily lives of Athenian women has led scholars to assume that the young women at fountainhouses must be mortal, but for Athenian viewers and/or the vase painters themselves, this need not have been the case.

However one reads these vases from an Athenian perspective, the fact remains that the majority of fountainhouse hydriai were exported, especially to Vulci. Over thirty are known to come from that site, while others that feature certain trademarks and/or were acquired on the art market at certain points in time (e.g., the late 1950s and early 1960s, when looting was rampant) likely do as well. Several fountainhouse hydriai were discovered during the Bonaparte and other excavations of the eastern necropoleis, including three in chambers of the Cuccumella tumulus (e.g., fig. 5.6).⁸⁰ Others derive from the Campomorto necropolis to the south and the Osteria necropolis to the north, although few have documented findspots. Over twenty-five fountainhouse hydriai lack provenience, complicating discussion of distribution. Even so, a gap exists between the number of known Vulcian hydriai and those from other sites: only two from Caere, for instance, and four fragmentary examples from Athens, including the two from the Akropolis.⁸¹

Mercantile trademarks under the feet of many fountainhouse hydriai—neglected in previous studies—support the impression of directed trade to Vulci, if not targeted production as well. Two carry the ΣΟ trademark of the possible Sostratos (type 21A), cited multiple times here as a trader who worked actively with the Etruscan market and cultivated relationships with specific Athenian *kerameia*.⁸² One hydria remains unattributed, but the other belongs to the Antimenes Painter, several of whose vases bear the ΣΟ mark. Another two fountainhouse hydriai, one with a

definite Vulcian provenience and the other with a likely one, have type 8E under their feet, a mark discussed in chapter 2 as appearing on Euphronios' Arezzo krater (fig. 1.1), as strongly associated with Vulci, and as possibly indicating an Etruscan trader.⁸³ Trader 8E's mark also appears on two Herakles and Triton vases, as noted in the previous section. Perhaps most strikingly, five fountainhouse hydriai by the Priam Painter (or the A D Painter, who seems somehow related) bear mark type 13E, seen also on the Priam Painter's Herakles hydria in the Tomb of the Kottabos (fig. 4.18). Four of these have a known Vulcian provenience—including London B329 and B332 (figs. 5.6–7) and an example from the Tomb of the Necklace, discussed below—and the fifth likely comes from Vulci as well.⁸⁴ Trader 13E's mark appears predominantly on hydriai by the Priam Painter and reveals close ties with that workshop. Even if fountainhouse imagery had a local inspiration and was tied to Athenian civic concerns in some way, it was quickly adapted for export vases, production multiplying with foreign demand.

Although the popularity of Attic fountainhouse hydriai at Vulci has been noted, few scholars have ventured a specifically Etruscan interpretation. Sian Lewis suggests that fountainhouse scenes were meant for female viewers in Etruria, and, more particularly, that fountainhouse hydriai were meant for female graves.⁸⁵ Athenian workshops, she proposes, intended this subject as a balance to martial and heroic male themes on other exported hydriai. Viktoria Sabetai observes that the scenes "must have been recognizable in the Etruscan cultural context" and adds, "It is possible that the viewing context of fountain hydriai was the Etruscan wedding . . . hydriai with imagery ascribing notions of ideal femininity and dangerous liminality to maidenhood may have been further perceived as a metaphor for *mors immatura* in the case of the funeral of an *aoros*."⁸⁶ Sara Brunori proposes a similar connection with Vulcian nuptial ritual and further notes the role of Etruscan elite women, including their participation in banquets where hydriai may have been used.⁸⁷

While compelling, none of these interpretations takes into account documented tomb assemblages at Vulci that included fountainhouse hydriai. There are only four, but their diversity demonstrates broader use for these vases than as wedding vessels and equipment for female graves. Following discussion of the assemblages, I propose a distinctively Vulcian association for the hydriai, tied to the so-called *culto dell'acqua*: a local reverence for water sources and the deities associated with them.

Tomb of the Necklace, Osteria Necropolis, Vulci

The Tomb of the Necklace (Tomba della Collana, Tomb A7/1998) is the only one of the four Vulcian tombs to fit the paradigm Lewis, Sabetai, and Brunori imagine for fountainhouse hydriai in Etruria, although none of the three discuss it.⁸⁸ One of two chambers in a *tomba a cassone* (the second was damaged before archaeologists arrived), the Tomb of the Necklace was determined by its excavators to belong to a female who had died at a young age.⁸⁹ Her inhumed remains lay along the left-hand wall, and she was buried with a fine assemblage consistent with the social persona of an upper-class girl or young woman, possibly one who died before marriage. Grave goods consisted of Attic black-figure pottery, an Attic black-glazed kylix (both of its handles missing), an

oversized bucchero kyathos likely of local manufacture, bronze vessels and other utensils also likely of local manufacture, a plain bronze mirror, and a gold-and-glass beaded necklace. The styles of pottery and other objects suggest that the tomb dates from the end of the sixth century.

The Attic black-figure pottery includes a fountainhouse hydria attributed to the Priam Painter (fig. 5.8), an amphora possibly attributable to the Leagros Group, a pair of smaller amphorae, a pair of oinochoai, a pair of kyathoi, and a pair of lekythoi.⁹⁰ The repetition of shapes across the assemblage is matched by a repetition of subjects. Peleus wrestling Thetis can be found on the hydria's shoulder and one of the oinochoai; Amazons appear on the large amphora, one of the smaller ones, and a kyathos; Herakles on the large amphora and both kyathoi (wrestling the Nemean Lion on one of the latter); and Dionysos on both of the smaller amphorae and a lekythos. The second lekythos shows a woman mounting a chariot, who possibly represents Dionysos' consort, Ariadne, but who may have been read as the deceased herself, passing into the afterworld. The second oinochoe features Odysseus beneath the ram, a subject also found in the Tomb of the Kottabos (fig. 4.17) and one that, like Herakles wrestling the Nemean Lion, epitomizes the overcoming of obstacles.



Fig. 5.8 Attic hydria attributed to the Priam Painter, Tomb of the Necklace, Osteria necropolis, Vulci (Tomb A7/1998). Ca. 520–510. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 131390. (© MiBAC–Archivio Fotografico, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome)

As for the Amazons, the deposition of three vases with this subject cannot be coincidental. In the context of a girl's or woman's grave, warrior women may represent untamed females and evoke the deceased's unmarried state; such would be the likely interpretation from a Greek perspective. However, given the appearance of Amazons on mirrors, sarcophagi, ash urns, and other Etruscan funerary objects in later centuries—especially for women—we cannot rule out an *interpretatio etrusca* that sees Amazons differently: for example, as positive role models for virtue and female leadership.⁹¹ Athenian awareness of Etruscan demand for this subject, if not full understanding of its Etruscan interpretation, may explain its prevalence on exported vases. As Seung Jung Kim has recently stressed, the Heraklean Amazonomachy represents by far the most common subject on the Tyrrhenian Group's vases (e.g., fig. 2.5), which implies a particular desire to reach Etruscan consumers and some form of insider knowledge to assist.⁹² Later workshops—like the Leagros Group, possibly represented by the larger amphora in this tomb—may have followed their example in continuing to represent these scenes.

The impression that the deceased's family gathered vases with a conscious eye to both shape and subject is supported by the range of trademarks on five of them. The Priam Painter's hydria carries Johnston's type 13E as well as 21C, but the large amphora features type 20E under its foot, a mark that appears on a few Leagros Group vases. One of the smaller amphorae has types 11E and 14E, while both oinochoai carry the same symbol, a possible variation of Johnston's type 10C. Judging from the marks, the oinochoai possibly traveled and were acquired as a pair, but the other vases may not have either traveled or have been purchased together.

The hydria (fig. 5.8) may have served as a ritual object during the deceased's lifetime or else was acquired especially for her funeral and grave. Although published in 2001 with the rest of the assemblage, it has not been included in subsequent studies of fountainhouse scenes.⁹³ As in other examples, the fountainhouse occupies most of the body. It features Ionic columns, two lion-headed waterspouts, and an entablature indicated in added white and articulated with would-be metopes. Three young women stand within the intercolumnar spaces, two filling their hydriai and the central figure moving animatedly without a vase in hand. Two others balance hydriai on their heads and frame the scene. All the maidens have long hair and wear chitons, himations, and necklaces, while vegetal branches are tucked under their arms or into their garments.

The shoulder scene, though unmatched in the known corpus of fountainhouse hydriai, proves appropriate for its juxtaposition with the scene below and the tomb assemblage. In it, the mortal king Peleus attempts to wrestle the sea goddess Thetis into submission as four Nereids take flight.⁹⁴ As in other black-figure depictions, Thetis' identity is clarified by a panther and reptile that emerge from her person and represent her shape-shifting powers. Compositionally, the panicked fear of five maidens on the hydria's shoulder contrasts with the lighthearted gathering of five maidens on its body. The vase's female viewer was perhaps to be reminded of how carefree girlhood passes and marriage takes its place. In the Tomb of the Necklace, the fountainhouse and Thetis scenes together may serve as poignant reminders of the deceased's eternal status as an unwed maiden. The selection

of the hydria to convey this message is suggested by the additional inclusion of an oinochoe with a truncated version of the same story: Peleus seizing Thetis as a Nereid runs away.

In Etruscan art as in Greek, the story of Pele (or Peleis) and Thetis served as a paradigm for marriage, the literal transformations and successful capture of Thetis symbolizing a young girl's change in status.⁹⁵ A quartet of bronze mirrors from the late sixth and early fifth centuries portray various moments in their courtship, ranging from pursuit to outright wrestling.⁹⁶ None have a documented findspot, but, like the majority of mirrors in this period, all four would have come from tombs and possibly belonged to female deceased.⁹⁷ Thetis' metamorphoses are suggested by the inclusion of wings, bearded serpents, or lions, and on two of the mirrors (examples in Florence and Vienna), a lion-headed spout gushing water places the action at a fountainhouse or sanctuary, a detail not found in surviving Attic scenes. Similarly absent from Greek art is a scene on a fourth-century mirror in which the nude Thetis prepares for her wedding, gazing at herself in a mirror as a startled Pele enters her chamber.⁹⁸ Nancy de Grummond suggests that his surprise stems from what he glimpses in her mirror—a prophecy of dire events to come—and, indeed, Etruscan mirrors have been ascribed a prophetic function that might explain their popularity as marriage gifts and grave goods.⁹⁹ One of the earlier Pele/Thetis mirrors in a Japanese private collection carries the inscription *mi malana larthiia cavis spuriix*; it is not clear whether the included name is male or female, but the inscription has been read as: "I am the wedding gift of Larth Cavi Spuriie [to his bride]."¹⁰⁰ The conceptual link between this myth and marriage strengthens the hypothesis that for the Tomb of the Necklace, the Priam Painter's hydria was chosen for its scenes as much as its shape. One also recalls the deposition of an undecorated mirror, which, if the deceased is a girl who died young, may represent the wedding gift that she will never receive from a mortal husband and obtains from death instead.

The presence of Peleus and Thetis imagery in the tombs of Etruscan girls or women finds parallels in Athens, although on shapes more consistent with the home market.¹⁰¹ Among the ten figured lekythoi and alabastra of Kerameikos Tomb 278 (S 27), for instance, is a black-figure alabastron on which Peleus wrestles Thetis in the presence of Cheiron.¹⁰² The deceased's gender, though unconfirmed, is presumed to be female based on the alabastra, which in Athens appear in female graves. Kerameikos Tomb 242 (HTR 38II) contained a black-figure tripod pyxis that juxtaposes Peleus and Thetis with the Judgment of Paris (these two episodes appropriately part of the same myth) and the Birth of Athena.¹⁰³ It was paired with a second pyxis that juxtaposes Theseus and the Minotaur with women working wool, as well as a bronze mirror that all but confirms the grave as a woman's.¹⁰⁴ Finally, we may note a red-figure pyxis from a child's burial (Tomb 57, HTR 95) that omits Peleus and Thetis, yet obliquely references their courtship through a group of running Nereids (identifiable by the inclusion of dolphins) in the presence of an altar and a palm tree.¹⁰⁵ In the fifth century, pyxides were overwhelmingly associated with women, and Stefan Schmidt suggests that they were used as wedding gifts; in this instance, as postulated for the young deceased in Vulci's Tomb of the Necklace, the child may be married to death.¹⁰⁶ These examples and others show the

adaptability of the Peleus and Thetis motif to a variety of shapes and its adoption by both Athenians and Etruscans as meaningful imagery within a tomb context.

Two Chamber Tombs near the Cuccumella Tumulus, Vulci

In the 1883 *Bullettino dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, Wolfgang Helbig describes two *tombe a cassone* neighboring one another near the Cuccumella tumulus in the eastern necropolis.¹⁰⁷ The first and largest contained three chambers, each with a skeleton and assorted local and imported objects scattered on the floor in a previous disturbance.¹⁰⁸ Certain objects suggested male dead in all three burials: a bronze sword in the second room, ivory dice in both the second and third rooms, and bronze plow tools in all three, which Helbig calls by the Latin term *rallum*. In his later account of his own excavations, Stéphane Gsell observes that a *rallum* appears to be typical of male graves in this area of the cemetery.¹⁰⁹ The second chamber further contained an oversized (diam. 36 cm) Attic red-figure kylix, as yet unidentified; as seen in chapter 4, oversized cups were associated with male burials at Vulci. The cup's exterior included combat scenes on one side (which Helbig identifies as a Gigantomachy) and pairs of youths and maidens on the other (together with an older man), while an ithyphallic satyr filled the tondo.

The third chamber, which contained the most objects at the time of discovery, featured a red-figure hydria of kalpis form with a fountainhouse scene (fig. 5.9).¹¹⁰ The fountainhouse, with its articulated roof, fills the composition. Two back-to-back spouts—one a satyr's head, the other a lion's—stream water in the center. Two young women flank the fountain, one holding up her jar, the other waiting as the lion spews fresh water into her hydria. The latter figure lifts the train of her gown with one hand, while in the other she holds the cushion she will place upon her head. A trio of inscriptions complete the scene: "Dionysia" is written retrograde to the left in front of the satyr's head spout, while "krene" appears in front of the lion spout. Hysis signed his name to right, although with neither *epoiesen* or *egraphsen*.

The reference to Dionysos in this and other fountainhouse scenes helped inspire the Anthestheria interpretation noted above, according to which the women are preparing for the Hydrophoria. Such a reading may have been true for an Athenian viewer, but for the Etruscan owners there would have been other associations. "Dionysia" (presuming the inscription could be read by the Etruscan owner) recalls the chthonic nature of Fufluns/Dionysos as revered at Vulci and elsewhere, as well as the god's association with fecundity and regeneration. The satyr whose head appears on the spout may have been read not as a satyr but as the river-god Achlae/Acheloös; Helbig gives the figure that name in his description of the scene.¹¹¹ As a shape-shifting, powerful god of rivers, Achlae was an apotropaic figure in Etruria; hence his appearance in the paintings of the Tomb of the Bulls at Tarquinia (fig. 3.3) and, in other tombs, in the form of amulets and furniture bosses.¹¹² The depiction of his head as a waterspout on the hydria may have called to mind the conquest of nature, a theme celebrated in Athenian vases and Etruscan mirrors that show Heracle/Herakles encountering the god. An Attic red-figure stamnos with Herakles wrestling Acheloös, signed by



Fig. 5.9 Attic hydria signed by Hypsis, from Vulci. Ca. 510–500. Rome, Torlonia Collection. Drawing after J. C. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Attic Red-Figured Vases Signed by or Attributed to the Various Masters of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B.C.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919), 2:123.

Pamphaios as potter and attributed to Oltos as painter, was found in a tomb at Caere in the early nineteenth century.¹¹³

A pair of Attic female head oinochoai were included in the assemblage.¹¹⁴ Sold on the art market after discovery, they are now in St. Petersburg and Berlin (fig. 5.10), both signed down the handle by Charinos and standing at nearly the same height (27.7 and 27.0 cm respectively).¹¹⁵ Although some have associated female head oinochoai with Athenian symposia, most with known findspots come from graves and sanctuaries, many in Etruria.¹¹⁶ Among these is another example signed by Charinos and discovered in a Tarquinian tomb.¹¹⁷ Broken into fragments and in a disturbed context, it was found with a (likewise broken) oversized red-figure cup attributed to the Brygos Painter (diam. 33 cm) and depicting scenes likely from the Trojan War cycle: combat on one side and what might be the arrival of Paris at Troy on the other.¹¹⁸ The latter scene includes an older man seated in a building with a phiale, probably King Priam in the palace, while another old man with phiale appears in the tondo (Priam again?), together with a young woman holding

an oinochoe for libation.¹¹⁹ The actual cup and the head oinochoe may have been used for ritual libation. Other female head oinochoai with Etruscan funerary contexts include one found in Tomb 546 of the Monte Abatone necropolis at Caere, and a nearly matched pair from Tomb 128 of the Valle Trebba necropolis at Spina.¹²⁰ We have no way of knowing whom the women were thought to represent in Etruria, although it is tempting to associate them with Vei, Phersipnei, or both. As will be seen below, another pair of head oinochoai were found at a Vulcian shrine thought to be dedicated to Vei.



Fig. 5.10 Attic head oinochoe signed by Charinos, from Vulci. Ca. 500–490. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung F2190. (Photo by Johannes Laurentius/bpk Bildagentur/Staatliche Museen/Art Resource, NY)

In addition to these vessels, Helbig saw a “gran quantità” of bucchero and Attic black-figure fragments and describes three reassembled black-figure amphorae, at present unidentified. All had Dionysian scenes that reinforce the Dionysian subtexts of the fountainhouse hydria, and all featured imagery related to travel or departure. The first (h. 52.0 cm) showed Dionysos holding a kantharos among satyrs and maenads on one side; on the other, Herakles (minus his lionskin but carrying a club) and Iolaos rode in a chariot proceeding to right. Athena and Hermes were part of this latter scene, together with an older bearded figure.¹²¹ The second amphora (h. 43.5 cm) had on its obverse a woman in a chariot (Ariadne or Semele?) and Dionysos on foot, holding a kantharos; Dionysos was repeated on the reverse with satyrs and another female figure. Helbig drew a trademark from the base of this second amphora that equates to Johnston’s type 13E, already cited for vases belonging to the Tomb of the Necklace and Tomb of the Kottabos.¹²² The third amphora, more fragmentary, showed Dionysos climbing into a chariot on one side, preceded by a goat, and the departure of warriors on the other.

About three meters to the north of this Vulcian *tomba a cassone* lay the second tomb with a fountainhouse hydria described by Helbig.¹²³ It had only one chamber and had likewise been disturbed. Helbig notes a stone bench along the left-hand wall with the jumbled bones of an inhumed body, while on the floor were an iron *rallum* and ivory dice. In addition to these items, which may suggest a male occupant, Helbig describes bucchero fragments and two Athenian black-figure vases, a hydria and an “anforetta,” presumably a small amphora (h. 30 cm). Neither piece is identified today; they may remain in a private collection. The “anforetta” was of a style “più rilassato” in Helbig’s estimation and showed a beardless kithara player, clad in a himation and facing right, standing between two women. Helbig also mentions an older man wearing a chiton at left. This vase was damaged, and Helbig does not describe any other figures.

The unidentified hydria (h. 43 cm) was of the shoulder type and, according to Helbig, of “escuzione accurata.” On its body, a fountainhouse with Doric columns appeared at the scene’s right edge. One woman tucked her hydria under its panther-headed waterspout as five others conversed. Helbig says that some of the five balanced full hydriai on cushions on their heads, while the others had empty jars turned horizontally for easier transport. Although his description does not correspond to any hydria known to scholars today, it recalls examples by the Antimenes Painter and Leagros Group sent to Vulci.¹²⁴ The lost hydria’s shoulder scene featured three horsemen armed with spears—one helmeted, the other two not—fighting against two hoplites. This too recalls many of the fountainhouse hydriai exported to Vulci, which frequently had masculine, heroic imagery on their shoulders when of that form. As Lewis emphasizes, when a hydria was picked up, the shoulder scene was more visible than the body scene to the person handling the vase.¹²⁵ The body scenes that scholars tend to privilege may have been considered subsidiary to those on the shoulder, or at least seen as equally important. Certainly it seems that Athenian painters intended thematic connections between shoulder and body.¹²⁶ Perhaps in hydriai like this one we are meant to see two kinds of *arete* in Athenian terms, and possibly Etruscan terms as well: the masculine *arete*

associated with success in warfare, and the feminine *arete* that comes from looking after domestic affairs, participating in ritual, and even presenting a pleasing appearance.

Società Heracle Tomb 137, Marrucatelto Necropolis, Vulci

During an excavation campaign undertaken by the Società Heracle after reports of looting in the area (1961–63), approximately 170 tombs dating from the Villanovan through Roman periods were uncovered in the Marrucatelto *località* north of the ancient city. Tomb 137, a single-chambered *tomba a cassone*, was discovered in December 1962; its assemblage featured Attic,

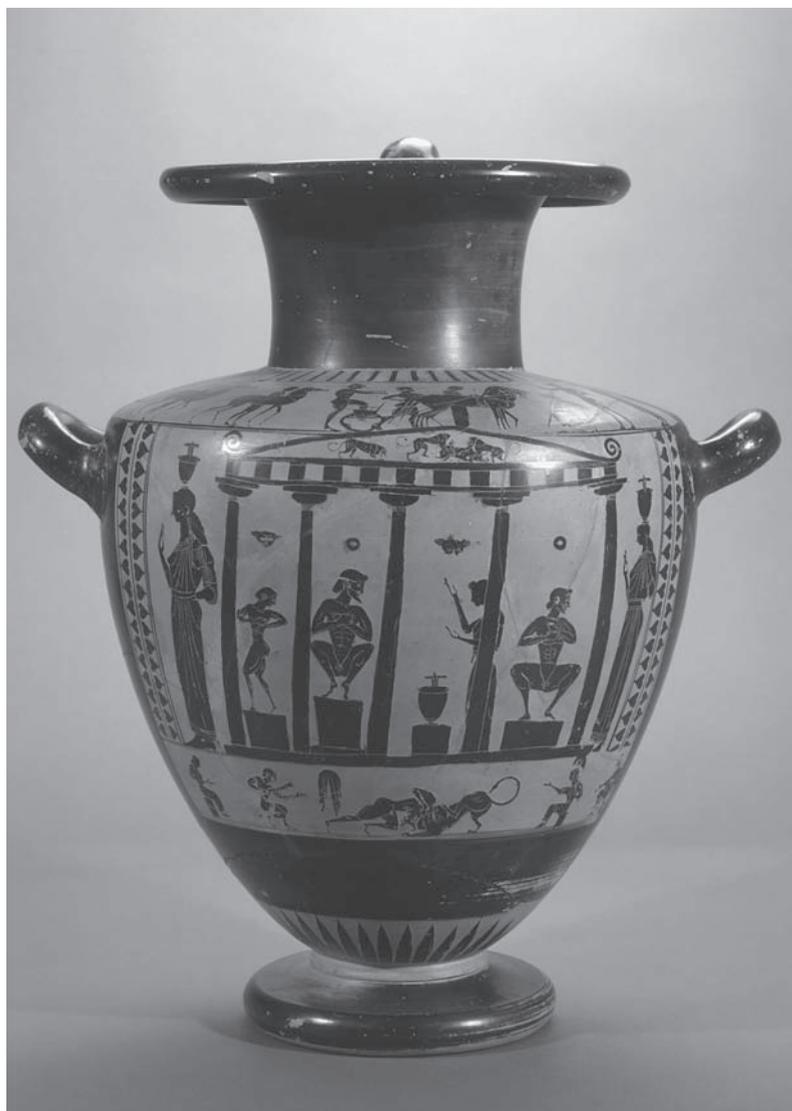


Fig. 5.11 Attic hydria with fountainhouse scene, from Vulci. Ca. 520–510. Copenhagen, National Museum of Denmark 14930. (Photo by Niels Elswing CC-BY-SA, © The National Museum of Denmark)

Ionian, and bucchero vessels, together with bronze and iron remnants of metal vessels and decayed wooden furniture.¹²⁷ The tomb's cursory publication does not reference any human remains, but the presence of three Athenian eye cups suggests that the deceased was male (for the presumption that figured kylikes were mainly placed in male graves at Vulci, see chapter 4). The black-figure fountainhouse hydria in this grave departs from others previously discussed in having more strongly masculine iconography, even in the fountainhouse scene itself (fig. 5.11).¹²⁸ In the predella, Herakles wrestles the Nemean Lion in the presence of Athena and Iolaos, while the shoulder scene appears to show the departure of warriors. A young man mounts a chariot in the center as two young men walk behind with horses and three figures at right watch the proceedings.

The fountainhouse occupies most of the available space on the hydria's body. It has five Doric columns, a triglyph-and-metope frieze, and a pediment with animal combat scene. Inside, a standing naked youth showers under one waterspout, while two bearded, squatting naked men wash under two others. They all stand upon bases, which led to their identification as statues in the tomb's initial publication; however, this seems unlikely. A similar squatting male figure appears on a fountainhouse hydria in Madrid.¹²⁹ Three female figures appear in the Copenhagen scene: between the central two columns is one woman whose hydria sits beneath a spout, while two with hydriai on their heads frame the building. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the juxtaposition of male and female figures here and in other fountainhouse scenes has inspired the suggestion that the women must be *hetairai*. There is no iconographic hint that the female figures are prostitutes, however, and they look no different from young women who appear in other scenes. The painter has spatially separated them from the male figures, and it seems likely that he intended to show the fountainhouse's multiple functions: a place for women to gather water but also for men to wash. The men's nudity recalls athletics and the *palaistra*, an impression heightened by another black-figure hydria from Vulci, the Antimenes Painter's name vase, where two men wash in a fountainhouse and four others oil themselves under trees.¹³⁰ The aryballoi and chlamydes hanging in the tree branches confirm these men as athletes.¹³¹ There is no reason to suppose the men on the Copenhagen hydria to be anything different, in which case themes of *agon* and even *arete* carry into this scene as well.

Water Imagery and Cult: General Remarks

Documented Vulcian tomb assemblages with fountainhouse hydriai establish the significance of this motif for both male and female deceased. The distribution of scenes is not tied to gender: the young and possibly unmarried woman in the Tomb of the Necklace received a hydria whose scene depicted only women at the fountain, but so did the seemingly male deceased in two chamber tombs near the Cuccumella tumulus. Hydriai in general were not limited to women's graves at Vulci, as seen in Tomb 50 (fig. 4.15) and the Tomb of the Kottabos (fig. 4.18); we are invited to look beyond the stereotype of linking this shape and its decoration predominantly to women, at least in this community. Expanding urbanization in Etruria and the development of new hydraulic technologies—innovations like *cuniculi* that permitted more efficient agricultural irrigation and therefore an expansion of crops, like vineyards for winemaking—may have helped promote

the popularity of fountain imagery. As for the Athenians at the same time, the successful mastery of water for human concerns may have inspired civic pride and made fountainhouse imagery timely.

And yet Vulci had its own special connection with water that may better explain the popularity of hydriai in graves—not only the imported Attic hydriai that arrived in large numbers, but also figured hydriai produced locally, like those of the Micali Painter's workshop (fig. 5.3). At least two shrines located on the fringes of the city between the necropoleis and the world of the living were dedicated to the *culto dell'acqua*, meaning divinities connected with water and the honoring of water itself as a regenerative and life-giving force. Such respect for bodies of fresh water—whether manifest as lakes, rivers, or springs—was a crucial practice in Etruria from earliest days.¹³² One of the excavated shrines at Vulci lies beside the river near the eastern necropoleis, not far from the Cuccumella tumulus, the Fontanile di Legnisina.¹³³ Excavated in the mid-1980s, the sanctuary consisted of a temple, an altar that may have done double duty as a fountain, and a votive deposit, all located near a small natural grotto. The votives included bronze figurines of men, women, and children; terracotta figures of the same; and terracotta anatomical models of uteri, breasts, and what are likely abstract phalloi. These finds suggest that the shrine was linked with male and female fertility and with regeneration, while additional finds of small, plain bowls and cups further imply that libation and/or drinking formed part of the rituals. The shrine is believed to be associated with Uni and Vei, with the votives and structures dating from the first half of the fifth century into the Hellenistic period. The grotto itself may have served as a sacred place earlier.

A second shrine—discovered in the late 1920s during the Ferraguti–Mengarelli excavations of the Osteria necropolis—lies a short distance from Tombs 47 and 50, discussed in chapter 4. Known as the Carraccio dell'Osteria and likewise situated beside the river, this shrine featured votives dating from the sixth century through the Hellenistic period and, like the Fontanile di Legnisina, received architectural elaboration during its history.¹³⁴ Votives included bronzes and terracottas; the anatomical models among the latter are similar to those of the Fontanile di Legnisina. This area is also thought to have been sacred to Vei, who as noted in earlier chapters had a chthonic dimension in Etruria, in addition to being linked with fertility. A shrine in the Cannicella necropolis of Orvieto, which also seems to have incorporated a water source in its design, celebrated Vei as a liminal figure standing between the living and the dead.¹³⁵

Noteworthy for this study are a trio of Attic vases from the Carraccio's votive deposit: a pair of female head oinochoai dating from ca. 440–420 and a fragmentary sphinx rhyton signed *Sotades epoiesen* (ca. 470–460) that in its original state likely resembled the Brygos Tomb example (fig. 3.24).¹³⁶ Pouring vessels imply libation as a ritual practice, and clearly the dedicants chose objects that were meaningful in iconography as well as shape. The liminality of the sphinx has been discussed multiple times in this volume—represented not only at the Brygos Tomb but also at Vulci in the form of stone sculptures at the thresholds of tombs and on vases inside (cf. the Little Master cup in Tomb 47, described in chapter 4). The matched female head oinochoai recall the pair in the Cuccumella-area tomb discussed above (fig. 5.10). Head oinochoai are known from Etruscan sanctuaries as well as graves, including a votive deposit at Gravisca, where the honored deity is also

thought to have been a chthonic goddess like Vei.¹³⁷ The frequency of female head oinochoai and janiform female kantharoi at sanctuaries dedicated to female deities has been observed not only in Italy but at Greek sites like the Athenian Akropolis, Brauron, Eleusis, and Aegina.¹³⁸

The idea that Vulcian viewers associated hydriai (Attic or otherwise) with the *culto dell'acqua* provides a stronger explanation for their popularity than the alternative suggested by some scholars: that hydriai were locally employed as mixing vessels for the banquet in place of kraters.¹³⁹ The appeal of fountainhouse imagery becomes obvious, as does that of the scenes that accompanied them on shoulder hydriai. Of the twenty-six black-figure fountainhouse hydriai with known Vulcian provenience (including two scenes with men alone at the *krene* and one with men and women together), sixteen feature some kind of generic battle scene on the shoulder, whether hoplite combat, combat including a chariot, or warriors who appear to be departing for war in chariots. Three have scenes of Herakles: two in which the hero wrestles the Nemean Lion, one showing combat with perhaps Kyknos. Herakles and the Lion fight in the predella of two others. Appearing once each in this group of vases are a Gigantomachy, Achilles and Ajax gaming (or performing divination), Dionysos with satyrs, an assembly of gods (including Dionysos and Hermes), and Peleus wrestling Thetis (the Tomb of the Necklace hydria, fig. 5.8). When juxtaposed with fountainhouse scenes, paradigmatic scenes of combat encapsulate themes of masculine, elite *arete*, as noted earlier in this section. To the Vulcian viewer for whom the *culto dell'acqua* meant regeneration in the face of death, the two scenes together may have provided comfort and supported belief in the *hinhial's* continued existence.

Herakles' appearance on imported hydriai gains further significance for Etruscan viewers through his role as a guardian of springs, expressed on Etruscan gems and mirrors where he presides over gushing water.¹⁴⁰ Votives connected with Herakles have been found at some shrines of the *culto dell'acqua*, including a fourth-century bronze statuette at Vulci's Fontanile di Legnisina.¹⁴¹ Etruscan shrines connected with Herakles can have a water basin or some other water feature incorporated into their design, most notably at Sant'Antonio at Caere, where the Euphronios/Onesimos Ilioupersis cup served as a dedication (figs. 1.3–4). It may not be coincidental that at least two, perhaps three, fragmentary Attic head oinochoai of the Cook Class similar to those found at the Carraccio dell'Osteria were found at Sant'Antonio during official excavations; based on these and other female-type votives, the Caere sanctuary may have had a female deity such as Menerva or Vei accompanying Herakles.¹⁴²

An Attic black-figure shoulder hydria attributed to the Priam Painter comes close to depicting Herakles as guardian of springs. On it, he lunges toward a fountainhouse and seizes a large snake as an unsuspecting young woman (or nymph) fetches water.¹⁴³ Athena stands at left with Herakles' chariot, and although there is little to identify the narrative, most scholars have associated this scene with the hero's adventure at the Garden of the Hesperides.¹⁴⁴ The shoulder shows a banquet in progress, and although the upper parts of the figures are mostly missing, perhaps we are meant to understand Herakles among them. It should surprise no one that this hydria was found at Vulci in the early nineteenth century, nor that it carries under its foot the 13E trademark borne by many

Priam Painter vases, including five fountainhouse hydriai.¹⁴⁵ Specializing in both fountain scenes and images of Herakles, perhaps the Priam Painter thought this rather exciting scene would appeal to customers abroad.

CONCLUSIONS

The multichambered Martini Marescotti Tomb (Tomb 610) in the Monte Abatone cemetery of Caere included three Attic vases with water-related imagery among the many deposited inside.¹⁴⁶ The oversized Oltos cup (fig. 3.11) was found in fragments near the tomb's entrance, where it may have been used for a final libation. The sacrificial scene on one side suited this purpose, while the *agon* between Herakles and Nereus on the other conveyed the power of Herakles and signaled the liminal space of the tomb. The theme of a contest with a shape-shifting sea deity continued on a black-figure hydria found in one of the two back chambers, on a stone bench that lined the back wall between two stone couches.¹⁴⁷ Here, Peleus wrestles Thetis between a fleeing young woman at left, presumably a Nereid, and an old man at right, who must be Nereus. The shoulder scene depicts a hunt in progress, two youths running from the edges toward an alarmed deer in the center. This subject metaphorically complements the wife-seeking Peleus' attempt to overcome and tame Thetis, who can transform herself into an animal, no less. With its paradigm of marriage, the hydria suits the burial assemblage of the couple likely interred in the chamber.¹⁴⁸

In the same room was found a black-figure amphora attributed to the Priam Painter (h. 53.9 cm), whose innovative scenes have earned much discussion (figs. 5.12–13).¹⁴⁹ Its obverse features Dionysos seated on a stool and holding a kantharos in the midst of a vineyard replete with grapes. Seven satyrs clamber through the branches to pick grapes for the already-overflowing baskets below, a variation on the popular theme of vintaging satyrs. On the reverse, seven nude young women, their skin indicated in added white (now flaked in places), enjoy a trip to a lake among the trees: swimming, diving, washing their hair. Their clothes hang in the branches, as do aryballoi filled with scented oil. Based on their pairing with Dionysos, most scholars have identified them as nymphs, and certainly nymphs would be appropriate inhabitants of such a landscape. Others have described them as young *parthenoi* on an innocent outing, girls on the brink of adulthood, as has been hypothesized for the fountainhouse scenes. An alternative reading casts them as young Spartan girls, whom Athenians stereotyped as athletic and indifferent to their own cultural norms.¹⁵⁰ Warren Moon, in contrast, focused less on the precise identity of the female figures (although he said they were “perhaps nymphs”) and compared the scene to Tarquinia's Tomb of Hunting and Fishing.¹⁵¹ In a funerary context, the theme of abundance celebrated on both sides of this amphora provided a reassuring message much like that of the Tarquinian fresco, with the motif of swimming and diving perhaps serving as a metaphor for passage into the afterlife.

This interpretation is supported by consideration of a red-figure column krater with scene of women bathing (fig. 5.14), found in the Arnoaldi necropolis of Felsina (Bologna), where it served as a cinerarium and the lone object in Tomb 46.¹⁵² Such images appeared around 500, as

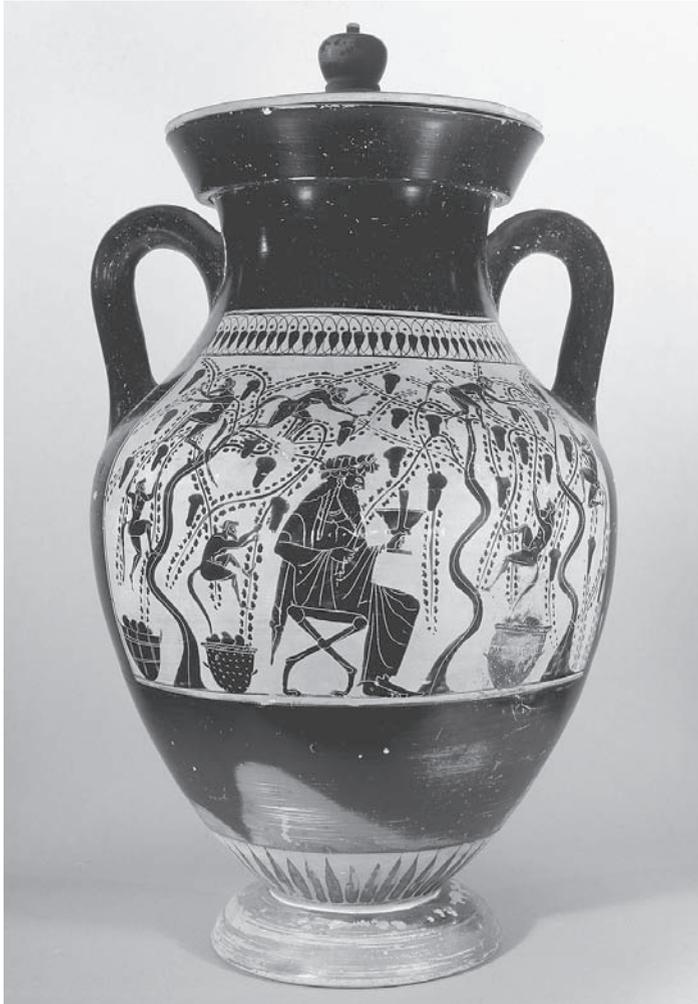


Fig. 5.12 Attic amphora attributed to the Priam Painter, Martini Marescotti Tomb, Monte Abatone necropolis, Caere. Ca. 520. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 106463. (Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY)

fountainhouse scenes began to fall out of fashion, and persisted through much of the fifth century, perhaps reflecting red-figure painters' interest in exploring the human body.¹⁵³ Except for part of one handle, much of this krater's upper portion is missing; the remainder shows signs of ancient repair, suggesting that it may have been salvaged for funerary use. The primary scene shows three women grouped around a *louterion*, or stand basin: a nude woman at left carrying a mirror, another nude woman at center with an alabastron, and a draped figure to right extending a pair of boots. The inscription *kale* decorates the *louterion* in large letters. Similar compositions appear on other red-figure column kraters as well as hydriai and stamnoi. Among vases with a known Etruscan provenience (although not a known findspot), one can mention a column krater from Cortona attributed to the Painter of Tarquinia 707 and a stamnos attributed to the Group of Polygnotos and



Fig. 5.13 Attic amphora attributed to the Priam Painter, Martini Maescotti Tomb, Monte Abatone necropolis, Caere. Ca. 520. Reverse of fig. 5.12. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 106463. (Photo: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY)

found at Vulci.¹⁵⁴ All three women are naked on the latter vase; the central figure is shown with frontal face as she brushes her hair with one hand and holds an alabastron in the other. On the krater from Cortona, a column to left separates one nude woman from three others; it may designate the porch-like inner space of a house (*pastas*) and place the *louterion* in the courtyard.¹⁵⁵ A strigil hangs on the wall of this area, while one of the women standing beside the *louterion* holds a second of exaggerated size.

Like the much rarer scenes of women swimming (fig. 5.13), scenes of women bathing at a *louterion* have inspired a great deal of discussion. The resemblance to scenes of male athletes gathered or washing at *louteria* has been frequently noted, especially the inclusion of strigils in some cases. Many scholars have cast the women as *hetairai* on this basis, arguing that “respectable”



Fig. 5.14 Attic column krater attributed to the Painter of the Louvre Centaureomachy, Tomb 46, Arnoaldi necropolis, Felsina (Bologna). Ca. 440–430. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 17948. (Photo © Museo Civico Archeologico, Bologna)

Athenian women would not have been permitted to exercise at a *palaistra* or be shown naked at all.¹⁵⁶ Other interpretations echo those given for the swimming women: the bathers are *parthenoi* on the edge of womanhood or else non-Athenian women, such as Spartans.¹⁵⁷ Identifying the women as *hetairai* based on their nudity alone seems premature; despite the frequent characterization of these scenes as erotica, most lack explicitly erotic references other than what a viewer might bring to them.¹⁵⁸ The women are simply naked and washing.

Within a funerary setting in Etruria, where most surviving examples with known provenience have been found and where strigils could appear in the tombs of female deceased, the viewer was unlikely to think of these women as *hetairai*.¹⁵⁹ All the more so with the Bologna krater used as a cinerarium, for (as is emphasized in the next chapter) an Etruscan ash urn served not as a

mere container but as a symbolic revitalization of the deceased's fragmented remains. In Felsina/Bologna, scenes on Attic vases used as cineraria (for both male and female deceased) included images of Dionysos and his *thiasos*, scenes of erotic pursuit, banqueting scenes, and occasionally domestic scenes, including the departure of warriors. The remains of the deceased originally held in the Tomb 46 krater cannot be analyzed, and no other objects were present to suggest his or her gender, but based on the iconography—which in other tombs does seem to accord with the deceased's gender—it is possible that the deceased was female. Perhaps for Etruscan viewers these bathing women were the equivalent of *parthenoi*, and perhaps in this case the deceased was someone who had died before marriage, at the peak of her youthful beauty.

How aware Athenian workshops were that these vases would be exported is another question altogether. Did they deliberately target images of nude women to foreign consumers—and, if so, why? Certainly the Priam Painter, who decorated the Caere amphora with swimming women (figs. 5.12–13), had close ties to the Etruscan market that are noted throughout this volume, and certainly the types of shapes on which these scenes appear (cups, column kraters, and stamnoi to a large degree) were commonly exported.¹⁶⁰ One of the stereotypes Greeks held about Etruscan women—at least according to Theopompus via Athenaios, discussed in chapter 3—concerned their athleticism: “These women take great care over their bodies and they often exercise naked even with men, but sometimes also with one another, since it is not shameful for them to appear naked.”¹⁶¹ Although we cannot be sure how far back in time this stereotype extends, maybe Athenian painters conceived of bathing and swimming women as Etruscans in many cases, creating a type of scene that might be less palatable at home but, they thought, would be accepted abroad.¹⁶² Later in the fifth century, when images of women washing (at a *louterion* or otherwise) appear on more vases found in Attica or places other than Etruria (such as sites around the Black Sea), winged Erotes clarify the nuptial setting and perhaps justify the female nudity.¹⁶³ The likely deliberate ambiguity of the earlier images (and lack of known provenience for many of them) prevents certainty on this point, but there is no question that Etruscan consumers found vases with these subjects desirable, and for reasons beyond the associative chain of nudity equals *hetairai* equals erotica equals symposium.¹⁶⁴ No modern scholar would describe Herakles bathing under a gushing spring as “erotic,” yet such a scene appears on a black-figure amphora found at Vulci, and to the Etruscan viewer seeking meaningful images related to water or even the *culto dell'acqua* for a tomb assemblage, there was little difference between the hero bathing, youths showering at a fountainhouse (fig. 5.11), and the women at the lake (fig. 5.13) or the *louterion* (fig. 5.14).¹⁶⁵

The iconographic subjects explored in this chapter, like the eye cups of chapter 4, have typically been considered from an Athenian perspective: scenes of Herakles and Triton and of fountainhouses have often been accorded political or other meanings exclusive to Athens. Neglecting the Etruscan lives of these vases as revealed through distribution data and tomb assemblages, however, risks a one-sided view of both Etruscan consumers and Kerameikos workshops. As with the eye cups, documented tomb contexts for hydriai and other vases with these scenes reveal a level of intentionality that embraces both shape and image. By extension, we can presume a degree

of consumer choice whose effects extended back to Athens, via the traders whose mercantile trademarks reveal their own intentionalities. To make the claim that workshops adjusted, even accelerated, production of vases with Herakles and Triton scenes or fountainhouse imagery in order to satisfy the Etruscan market, or that they adapted these scenes to shapes that Etruscans preferred, does not deny the possibility of uniquely Athenian inspiration behind this iconography. It does acknowledge, to a greater degree than has often been the case, the far-reaching impact of the export trade in how these images were further developed and distributed.