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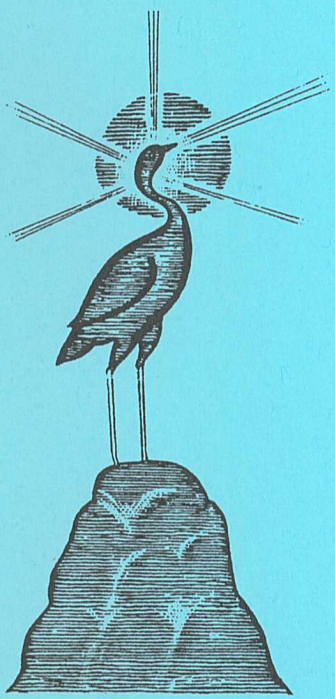

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HOUSEWIVES, *HETAIRAI*, AND THE AMBIGUITY OF GENRE IN ATTIC VASE PAINTING

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So-called genre scenes or scenes of everyday life in Attic vase painting have proven irresistible to scholars of Greek iconography, and indeed to many historians working on classical Athens. Not only were the vases objects used by "regular people," but their imagery provides tantalizing potential glimpses into the quotidian activities and everyday concerns hinted at in surviving texts. What transpired behind the closed doors of the *oikos* or at the height of a symposion? Yet, as iconographers have well demonstrated over the past few decades, it would be a mistake to rely upon these images as if they were photographic documents.[1] A more fruitful interpretive strategy is to treat a scene as if it were a text, to decipher a painter's pictorial language while recognizing the image for the construction it is.

Because of their unusual or provocative iconography, certain vases have received repeated attention. Among these is an Attic red-figured hydria by the Harrow Painter (ca 470 b.c.) in the Tampa Museum of Art (Figs. 1–3), formerly in the collection of Joseph Veach Noble and discovered at Vulci in the early nineteenth century.[2] The scene on the body (Fig. 2) is deceptively simple, lacking inscriptions or discernible mythological narrative. At the left stands a building or portico; inside sits a woman enveloped in her mantle, wearing a *sakkos* and holding a large mirror whose face is turned outward toward the viewer. A small boy faces her, also enveloped in his himation and wearing a red fillet (mostly flaked away), with an alabastron hanging in the field between them. Outside the structure stands a bearded, half-draped man with a mostly lost red wreath who leans on his walking staff, left hand clutching a purse or

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[1] For example, Bérard *et al.* 1989; Lissarrague 1990: 1–12; Barringer 2001: 1–9; Sabetai 2009.

[2] Tampa 1986.70: *ARV*^{2} 276.70; *Add*^{2} 207; Sutton 1981: 393, cat. G24; Padgett 1989: 193–194, cat. H70; Archive (= Beazley Archive Digital Database) 202666, all with further references, and see below. For the Harrow Painter generally, see Padgett 1989: 149–205, with catalogue of vases known at that time at 160–200.

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sack that likely contains money. His right arm is held close to his body to keep his himation from slipping further down his torso.[3] At far right stands a youth wrapped in his himation with strigil, sponge, and aryballos suspended in the field before him.

Any possible interpretation hinges on the identity of the depicted characters, namely their social status and relationship to one another. The woman has typically been taken as central to the entire scene because of her seated position and because all three male figures face her and regard her intently. Identifications of this female figure tend to fall into two scholarly camps. The majority who have discussed the hydria claim she is a prostitute, which makes the men her customers and the building a brothel (*porneion*), while the minority dub her a respectable housewife at home among male relatives.[4] In this paper, I show that the criteria used by the former to refute the latter can be dismantled and that an *oikos*-centered interpretation is plausible. This does not, however, exclude the possibility of multiple readings; the scene's ambiguity might be a deliberate strategy by the Harrow Painter to attract a broad audience and increase potential sales.

The idea that the seated woman is a prostitute dates back to the hydria's earliest publication—the 1836 sale catalogue for the collection of Edmond Durand—in which she is creatively identified as a sacred courtesan in a temple of Aphrodite and her suitor as a foreign merchant:

> Une courtisane, vêtue d'une tunique talaire et enveloppée dans un ample péplus, est assise sur un siège dans le portique du temple de Vénus à Cypre. Elle tient un miroir; devant elle est suspendu un lécythus. Un jeune esclave enveloppé dans le tribon vient apporter à la courtisane les propositions d'un marchand étranger placé en dehors du portique. Le marchand est barbu, couronné de myrte et vêtu du tribon; il s'appuie sur un bâton noueux et tient une bourse. Le portique est soutenu par une colonne ionique cannelée; des triglyphes décorent l'entablement. Derrière le marchand vient un éphèbe, probablement un esclave, enveloppé dans le tribon. Un lécythus, un strigile et une peau tachetée sont suspendus entre le voyageur et son esclave . . .[5]

More recent commentators, abandoning the identification of a "sacred" prostitute and preferring a brothel to a temple, emphasize the money pouch in the bearded

[3] Normally the himation would cover the left arm and shoulder, but that pose would impede the man's movement (see Geddes 1987: 312–313). For similar figures with "slipping himations" and exposed backs, see, for example, a cup by Douris in the Getty (86.AE.290: *Para* 375.51bis; *Add*^{2} 237; Neils and Oakley 2003: cat. 45; Archive 275972) and another in the Metropolitan (52.11.4: *ARV*^{2} 437.114; *Add*^{2} 239; Shapiro 2003: 102, fig. 17a; Archive 205160).

[4] *Porneion* is but one of the Greek words that can reference a brothel and is the most specific; see Glazebrook 2011: 35 and Kapparis 2011: 226, 253–255. Euphemisms for "brothel" in the classical period include *ergasterion*, or workshop; *oikema*, or building; and *oikia*, or dwelling/house. For recent discussion of Athenian brothels, see Glazebrook 2011, with further references.

[5] Witte 1836: 22, cat. 60. For this reference, I thank Seth Pevnick (personal communication, 2011), who discovered it in the Tampa Museum's research file on the hydria, in unpublished notes from Dietrich von Bothmer. To our knowledge, this information has not been previously published.

man's hand as the interpretive key to a rendezvous in progress. Dyfri Williams (1983: 97) provides this explanation:

> We see a *hetaira* seated in the porch of what is surely a brothel . . . this woman is warmly dressed and is preening herself with the aid of a mirror as a boy leads forward her customers . . . . Before the porch of the brothel is a man leaning on his stick as he holds out a heavy purse; behind him stands a young customer waiting his turn—unless, of course, the scene is that of a father paying for his shy son's first adventure.[6]

In a similar vein and particularly highlighting the pouch, Jenifer Neils observes (2000: 212) that

> the youngest boy has fetched two customers for the madam who sits within the porch or entrance to a brothel. That this cannot be a domestic, family scene is indicated by the money pouch which always implies a financial transaction and is a common attribute in courting scenes, both homoerotic and heterosexual.[7]

Marina Fischer slightly alters the brothel interpretation to argue that the older and younger man to the right form a pederastic couple; according to this theory, the *erastes* introduces his *eromenos* to a prostitute "for the benefit of the youth's education" (2007: 153).[8]

While these might seem compelling readings of the Harrow Painter's scene, clear-cut signifiers that identify the female figure as a *hetaira* or *porne* are absent.[9] *Hetairai/pornai* can frequently be difficult to distinguish on Athenian vases, but such indicators as nudity or partial nudity, sexual activity, and/or a sympotic or komastic setting can aid the identification.[10] None of these are present. On the

[6] Murray (1986: 26) follows the vase's former owner (Joseph Veach Noble) in accepting a *hetaira* identification. Sutton (1981: 345–346) characterizes the scene as both suspenseful and humorous, describing the older man as a "suitor with purse who anxiously tugs his beard as he waits in line with younger fellows for the decision of a woman seated in her quarters."

[7] Shapiro (2003: 98–99) likewise believes that the scene shows a father taking his son to the brothel for the first time, while Neils and Oakley (2003: 257–258, cat. 62), are more cautious. Corner (2011: 64) follows Neils in identifying the woman as a prostitute.

[8] I thank Seth Pevnick for this reference.

[9] Scholars have typically distinguished *hetairai* ("companions" or higher-class prostitutes) from *pornai* (lower-class prostitutes), associating the former with symposia and the latter with brothels. As Glazebrook and Henry (2011b: 4–8) point out, however, "ancient authors use *hetaira* and *porne* interchangably" (partly depending on the author's agenda) and "the status of women who worked as prostitutes could be fluid rather than fixed." For the terminology of Greek prostitution and debates therein, see also Kurke 1997; Glazebrook 2011; Kapparis 2011; and Rabinowitz 2011, all with further references.

[10] Although note Kreilinger 2006 on the iconographic problems of female nudity; Kelly Blazeby 2011 on the problems of a seemingly sympotic setting; Neils 2000 and Lewis 2002 (especially 185–199) on the overall difficulties of identifying *hetairai*. Lewis (1997) and Lynch (2009) argue that scenes of heterosexual erotica are primarily associated with Etruscan findspots (when the proveniences of vases are known) and thus one should be cautious reading them from an Athenian perspective.

contrary, the seated woman appears a paragon of *aidos*.[11] Only the older man's money pouch would seem to support a brothel interpretation, but even this is trickier than it might appear. Although many scholars have associated money pouches in Athenian iconography with sexual transactions or sexual power, it is difficult to always read them in this way. Money pouches, like mirrors, musical instruments, jewelry, or any number of symbols on Athenian vases, are more fluid in their meaning and cannot be tied to a single interpretation.[12]

Before turning to what the pouch might symbolize in this scene, we should consider the other characters. The youth behind the bearded man is usually interpreted as the latter's son, and indeed there is no reason to think otherwise.[13] The strigil, sponge, and aryballos beside him suggest his status among the leisured elite who received a traditional education in *mousike* and *gymnastike*. At the time this vase was produced, the *archaia paideia*—as Aristophanes would later call it—remained standard for upper-class boys and youths, while athletic and school scenes were standard in the repertoire of vase painters. The boy inside the building or portico, meanwhile, echoes the older youth down to the clothing and pose; such draped figures are common on the Harrow Painter's vases. For those who identify the scene as a brothel, the boy is a helper who secures customers and/or son of the "madam." That he is the woman's son does appear most likely, for otherwise his proximity is difficult to explain. The iconographic resemblance to the older youth, however, might proclaim the two brothers. Their modestly wrapped himations, suggesting moderation and *aidos*, are suitable for males their age and provide a contrast to the older man's more casual drapery.[14]

[11] A similar female figure wrapped in her mantle and holding a mirror appears on a column krater by the Harrow Painter in the Vatican (inv. 17883, *ARV*^{2} 275.55, Archive 202891, Padgett 1989: 184, cat. H55), seated between standing figures of a youth and bearded man with staffs. For the wrapped figure (male or female) as a metaphor for *aidos*, see Ferrari 2002: 54–56 and 72–76. Note, however, Dalby (2002), who discusses the costume of *hetairai* and observes they could dress very similarly to Athenian citizen women, albeit with fancier clothes to attract customers.

[12] See Lewis 2002: 93, 195. For money pouches in Athenian iconography, see, for example, Meyer 1988; Shapiro 2003: 102; and Bundrick 2008: 299–301. Money pouches appear on two other vases by the Harrow Painter with male-female couples: column krater, Villa Giulia 1054 (Fig. 4), and amphora, Hermitage 605: *ARV*^{2} 272.12, *Para* 511, Meyer 1988: 109, fig. 21; Padgett 1989: 164–165, cat. H12, Archive 202844.

[13] *Contra* Fischer 2007. While Fischer rightly sees the oil-set as an important signifier in scenes of homosexual courting, athletics, and similar images, it can be read more generally as a marker of elite status and need not be tied specifically to pederasty. The oil-set appears on other vases by the Harrow Painter in a similar vein, for example, on a neck amphora with draped male figure from Nola, Altenburg 288 (*ARV*^{2} 273.17, Archive 202849, Padgett 1989: 166–167, cat. H17); neck amphora with seated youth holding a lyre and standing bearded man, Vatican 17889 (*ARV*^{2} 272.5, Archive 202841, Padgett 1989: 162, cat. H5); and suspended in the field in an athletic scene, column krater, Amherst College 1957.66 (*ARV*^{2} 274.43, *Para* 353, Archive 202879, Padgett 1989: 178, cat. H43). A draped youth similar to the one on the Tampa hydria also appears on the obverse of a neck amphora by the Harrow Painter from Vulci (Munich 2326, *ARV*^{2} 273.18, Archive 202850, Padgett 1989: 167, cat. H18).

[14] Geddes 1987: 312; Ferrari 2002: 72–76.

This suggestion leads to the second possibility for the Harrow Painter's vase: that it depicts not a prostitute approached by customers, but a cohesive family group of husband, wife, and sons.[15] Scholars who identify the scene in this way are in the minority. In her book *The Reign of the Phallus*, Eva Keuls mentions Williams's brothel scenario and counters (1993: 260):

> the woman is characterized as a "disagreeable matron" and the colonnade suggests the inner part of a private residence, not an entrance from the street, and hence we probably have a vignette of family life here, perhaps a henpecked husband trying to appease his wife with money.[16]

For Keuls, as for advocates of the brothel interpretation, the money pouch is key. She acknowledges that money pouches can appear in other types of scenes besides courting scenes—images of husbands and wives, for example—but claims that "in the latter case it [the money pouch] signifies that even where the wife produces a marketable product, it is the husband who controls the purse strings .... Pictorially the purse is, as it were, an economic phallus" (1993: 260).[17]

As noted above, to assume that money pouches on Athenian vases only denote sexual transactions or sexual power is to assume a narrow perspective.[18] Pouches are a chronologically limited symbol, appearing on red-figured vases at the end of the sixth century, around the time coinage itself appeared in Athens, and with a few later exceptions, they are found until the mid-fifth century.[19] They are associated with the male elite, especially on cups in scenes of courting or companionship (both among males and with women), but also in other scenes, as youths and older men enjoy the good life of the city. But rarely is an explicit financial transaction shown, save in a handful of shop scenes. Rather, youths and men hold pouches as they socialize and converse, and while they might extend a purse toward another figure as if offering it (as appears to be the case on the

[15] In classical Athens, the legal kinship group (*anchisteia*) and even the more narrowly defined *oikos* comprised more members than the immediate nuclear family, although vase painters tended to emphasize the latter. See MacDowell 1989; Cox 1998; and Roy 1999.

[16] Keuls briefly mentions this vase elsewhere, describing the female figure as a "stern-looking woman" and claiming that if she "had tried to practice prostitution, she would probably have starved to death" (1983: 229). In truth, the female figure's impassive expression is no different than that of many other women on either this painter's or classical Athenian vases in general.

[17] The reference to a "marketable product" involves wool-working; Keuls misidentifies the mirror the woman holds as a distaff (1993: 262), although elsewhere she notes the potential interchangibility of the two objects (1993: 244–245).

[18] See Bundrick 2008: 299–301. Not everyone interprets the pouches as holding coins: Gloria Ferrari has argued they hold *astragaloi*, given as gifts (Ferrari 1986; Ferrari 2002: 14–16). As Hatzivassiliou (2001: 114) observes, however, the *phormiskoi* presumed to hold *astragaloi* on vases typically have a different shape and are held differently than sacks better identified as money pouches (*ballantia*). See also Kefalidou 2004: 29.

[19] See Meyer 1988. The so-called *Wappenmünzen* (or didrachms) appeared during the Peisistratid period, followed by the famous "Owls" (silver tetradrachms). Debate continues whether the "Owls" originated near the end of the tyranny or soon after the Kleisthenic reforms. For coinage in democratic Athens, see Trevett 2001 and Kurke 1999, especially 299–327.

Harrow Painter's hydria), seldom does the other person reach out to accept it.[20] Money pouches become badges of identity, like a walking stick, strigil, or chelys lyre. Alan Shapiro (2003: 102) observes, "The purse . . . is simply a token of the adult citizen male . . . . At the same time, the purse symbolized something else (as it always has): the economic power and thus freedom and independence of the bearer."

Applying this interpretation of money pouches to the Harrow Painter's hydria, the bearded man—husband, father, *kyrios*—can be read as the member of the family who engages in financial matters beyond the *oikos* and oversees the flow of goods and resources in and out of the house. More than the female figure modern scholars have emphasized, he is the true protagonist of the scene. Bringing the money to his wife is neither bribe nor attempt at appeasement; rather, it suggests a harmonious economic partnership (*koinonia*) between the two spouses. Although the capacity for women to engage in public transactions was limited, in the *oikos* many (if not most) women would have supervised the family's finances and household expenses.[21] Literary sources attest to this practice, including Xenophon's *Oikonomikos* (3.15; 7.35–36), Plato's *Laws* (805e), and even the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes, in which Lysistrata claims that women are capable of running the entire city's finances because of their experiences at home (492–497). A surviving fragment from an otherwise lost play by Euripides (*Melanippe the Wise*) proclaims, "Women manage homes and preserve the goods which are brought from abroad. Houses where there is no wife are neither orderly nor prosperous" (Lyons 2003: 103). When husbands give their wives money pouches in scenes on vases, their gestures demonstrate respect and trust in their spouses' managerial abilities. Sometimes a husband brings other kinds of objects to his wife, occasionally practical items like meat or raw wool, that further emphasize his role as good provider.[22]

The architectural backdrop of the scene might seem at first to contradict this reading. The Harrow Painter uncharacteristically elaborated details of the structure—a Doric frieze with what are probably meant to be triglyphs and

[20] See Keuls 1993: 260–262, although she uses this observation to make a different point. A scene in the tondo of a cup by Douris, in which an older man holding a money pouch converses with a seated youth, has sometimes been interpreted as an *erastes* attempting to buy the attentions of the *eromenos*, but as Shapiro (2003: 102) notes, "it need not be read that way": New York 52.11.4, see above, 12, n. 3.

[21] Foxhall 1989: 32–39. Isaios 10 references a law stating that women could not publicly engage in contracts with a value beyond one *medimnos* of barley: Just 1989: 29. Foxhall (1989: 37) notes that "[t]he desirable *social* norm was that (wealthy) women should not be seen to manoeuvre openly in the public sphere; rather they should be (and probably preferred to be) as little conspicuous as possible. The *legal* powers of the women of Athens operated in such a way that they were enabled to act from within the household, largely out of the public eye." The Athenian sense of decorum regarding women and money likely explains why female figures do not handle money pouches themselves on vases.

[22] Bundrick 2008: 299–301, 305–308.

metopes, architrave with regulae and guttae (above the frieze instead of below), fluted Aeolic-style column—which suggests that he considered it critical to the scene's meaning.[23] The grandeur of the building appears atypical for Athenian houses, which, based on literary and archaeological evidence, seem to have been modest in scale and appointments.[24] In her book *Figures of Speech*, Gloria Ferrari uses the grand nature of the architecture, along with other elements, to propose that this is not a fifth-century house, but a structure and characters from the epic past. She is particularly disturbed by the apparent spatial ambiguity of the strigil/sponge/aryballos (2002: 41):

> Unless one assumes that the painter has made a mistake—which is possible but methodologically, a desperate measure—the area outside the porch is represented as bounded by a wall. That is as it should be if the porch area in which the girl sits is the *prothuron* of a particular chamber, *thalamos*, or *megaron*, that is, the place *proparoithe thuraon* . . . . Sponges and aryballoi hanging on the wall are a reference to the world of the *gymnasion* and are out of place in the feminine environment that our scenes depict. If, however, the vases [the Tampa hydria plus other scenes of women under discussion] depict not fifth-century Athens but the imagined world of the epic, the sponge, the aryballos, and the lady on the porch easily coexist.

Ferrari continues, "It is tempting to see in the principal feature of the structure, the two columns, a reference to the two columns of the porch of actual Mycenaean palaces," this despite the fact there is only one column in the Harrow Painter's scene.

The interpretation of the hydria as a depiction of the epic past rests on a series of assumptions. First, just because an object or objects are suspended in the field does not guarantee they are hanging on a wall, although much of the time they are, as with the alabastron hanging by a cord at left. Perhaps the function of the strigil/sponge/aryballos here is not as real objects but as attributes, invisible to the characters in the scene yet perceptible to the viewer.[25] On a white-ground lekythos by the Thanatos Painter (ca 440 B.C.), a chelys lyre and *diskos* are suspended on either side of a young man's tomb monument; they might not hang on a wall but instead might advertise the education and social status of the deceased.[26] In similar fashion, the strigil/sponge/aryballos on the Tampa hydria symbolize the education and social status of the wrapped youth at right. The group acts as a visual counterpoint to the suspended

[23] Oliver-Smith (1964: 236–240) notes the popularity of so-called Aeolic columns on late archaic and early classical vases and their versatility among building types portrayed by painters, both sacred and secular. The present hydria is not included in his discussion.

[24] Literary sources: for example, Dem. *Olynthiac* 3.25; see Nevett 2007: 374 for more discussion. For the archaeology of Athenian houses, see Nevett 1999: 83–91; Goldberg 1999; and Tsakirgis 2005.

[25] Fischer (2007: 166) makes a similar assertion but toward a different interpretation of the relationship between the bearded man and youth at right and of the scene as a whole.

[26] Boston 01.8080: *ARV*[2] 1231; *Add*[2] 352; Bundrick 2005: 68.

alabastron, respectively symbolizing masculine and feminine adornment and attractiveness.

Ferrari speaks elsewhere in her discussion of the "well-documented seclusion in which respectable females were kept from their adolescent years onward" in Athens (2002: 36). On this basis, she argues that when men and women appear together on a vase, they cannot be contemporary Athenians; she applies this reading to the Harrow Painter's hydria as well as to other fifth-century domestic scenes. Recent scholarship, however, has demonstrated the paradigm of seclusion to be overstated and exaggerated in the ancient sources, making this line of reasoning difficult to uphold.[27] Athenian women are best described as separated rather than secluded, not forcibly kept in so-called women's quarters (*gynaikonitis*) but allowed to work and carry out daily activities in most parts of the house, with the possible exception of the *andron* where symposia would be held.[28] Ideally women of the *oikos* would avoid contact with men outside their family, but they would see their husbands, sons, and other male relatives on a regular basis.[29] Well-bred women of privilege spent much of their time at home because they typically did not work beyond it, but this does not equate to complete seclusion from men.

One is not obligated to set the Harrow Painter's scene in the epic past any more than one is obligated to set it in a brothel. But even if Ferrari's interpretation is discarded, her comparison of the architectural backdrop to palace architecture is worth exploring on a different level. Rather than showing a house realistically, the Harrow Painter might have drawn on his notions of public or palace architecture in order to provide a symbolically grand setting for his characters. He might have been influenced by theatrical stage sets.[30] A contemporary calyx krater by the Dokimasia Painter depicts the palace of Agamemnon in a style similar to the building on the Tampa hydria, complete with shorthand Doric entablature and Aeolic-style columns.[31] The Harrow Painter might have chosen this scheme to elevate the fifth-century *oikos* he was representing and to emphasize the elite status of the family and their financial prosperity.

The architecture divides the composition: wife and younger son (if interpreted as such) inside the structure, husband and older son outside. Given the

[27] Katz (1995) and Patterson (1998: 39–42) discuss the historiography of the belief in Greek women's seclusion, as do Spencer-Wood (1999) and Wagner-Hasel (2003). Cohen (1989) provides a measured and convincing evaluation of the literary sources. For seclusion and the archaeological evidence, see, for example, Jameson 1990a, 1990b; Nevett 1999; Goldberg 1999; and Antonaccio 2000; *contra* Walker 1983.

[28] Although note Nevett (1999: 71) and Lynch (2007: 244), who suggest that the *andron* could have been used during the day for activities involving women and children.

[29] When men from outside the family did enter the house, women could avoid them through physical means like doors and, more commonly, textile hangings. Llewellyn-Jones (2007) also notes the effectiveness of veiling as a way to avoid contact with male strangers.

[30] See Vermeule 1966: 2.

[31] Boston 63.1246: *ARV*^{2} 1652; *Para* 373; *Add*^{2} 234; Vermeule 1966.

inclusion of a column instead of a door, the wife and younger son can be imagined sitting within a shaded portico abutting the house courtyard, the space termed a *pastas* in modern scholarship.[32] Although the archaeological evidence for fifth-century houses is scanty and inconclusive, such porticoes are attested for fourth-century houses in Athens as well as other sites. The block of classical houses discovered on the northern slope of the Areopagos hill, below the Agora's South Stoa, includes a few dwellings with not only extant courtyards but also post-holes, suggesting simple porticoes or *pastades*.[33] The houses, courtyards, and porticoes are small; even if the houses included upper floors, the segregation of the sexes posited in literary sources does not seem possible.

More conclusive evidence for the usage of the *pastas* space in Greek houses comes from the site of Olynthos, chiefly because of the city's unique circumstances. Captured by Macedonian forces in 348 B.C. and never fully rebuilt, Olynthos is a treasure trove of domestic finds that allow for in-depth research. Recent analysis by Nicholas Cahill, including the evidence of loomweights and other objects, has shown that women could and likely did carry out household tasks in the *pastas*, using it as a comfortable, airy refuge from hot weather or rain.[34] The *pastas* could also be used for storage: in House Avii4, for instance, remains of several types of vessels, including a hydria, two kantharoi, two squat lekythoi, and a guttus, were found at the western end of the *pastas*, where they probably originally stood on shelves or were kept in wooden chests.[35] On the Harrow Painter's hydria, the alabastron suspended in the field next to the seated woman could be understood as hanging on the *pastas* wall, a real object as opposed to what is proposed here for the strigil/sponge/aryballos.

Father and older son stand outside the *pastas* in the courtyard (*aule*), which, judging from surviving houses in Athens and elsewhere, served as the home's spatial focus.[36] The father's walking staff suggests that they have returned from an afternoon out in the city; perhaps the older son has spent time in the *palaistra* today, while his father has been in the agora. Their himations imply time spent in leisurely, political, or business activities rather than manual labor.[37] The staff, a common attribute for Athenian males on both vases and late classical grave stelae, similarly suggests activities suitable for a member of the privileged

[32] See Bundrick 2008: 314.

[33] Thompson 1959: 95–103; Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 177–180; Nevett 1999: 86–87; Tsakirgis 2005: 68–69.

[34] For example, House Biv5 included nineteen loomweights along the south wall of the *pastas*: Cahill 2002: 172. The *pastas* of House Av9 included a grindstone, mortar, and terracotta louter base, suggesting this space could also be used for food preparation: Cahill 2002: 119.

[35] Cahill 2002: 105–106.

[36] Finds from Olynthos suggest that the courtyard, like the *pastas*, was a multifunctional space where domestic work, relaxation, or even ritual could be carried out: Cahill 2002. Lynch (2007: 245–246) plausibly suggests that symposia could have been held in courtyards on some occasions.

[37] Geddes 1987.

class.[38] It makes clear that the *kyrios* does not stay home all day with his wife and younger children, which would be most shameful (*aiskhros*; see Xen. *Oik*. 7.30). As such, the staff is an attribute of manliness (*andreia*), not unlike the strigil/sponge/aryballos or money pouch. The wreath on the head of the *kyrios*, meanwhile, suggests that he is a citizen who attends symposia.

When figures, attributes, and architecture are taken all together in this reading, the scene on the Harrow Painter's hydria both conceptualizes and idealizes the social roles of the members of a classical Athenian *oikos*. The husband and older son represent what Ischomachos in Xenophon's *Oikonomikos* calls the "things outside" (*ta exo erga*, 7.30): activities befitting the men of the family, like conducting business or visiting the *gymnasion*.[39] Their placement outside the *pastas*, although still inside the house, visually emphasizes this idea. The money pouch, extended by the husband toward the space occupied by wife and younger son, transcends the boundary between inside and outside and unifies the composition. The husband presenting money to his wife stresses an aspect of *oikos* life highlighted by Xenophon (*Oik*. 7.12–30), Aristotle (*Pol*. 1259a38–1259b10; *Rhet*. 1361a), and other authors: marriage as a partnership (*koinonia*).[40] The seated woman inside the *pastas* represents what Ischomachos in the *Oikonomikos* describes as the "things inside" (*ta endon erga*, 7.30), meaning the activities suitable for a wife and mother: bearing children (especially sons) and looking after them, overseeing the goods of the *oikos*, managing its affairs. This was no small responsibility. Both man and woman were considered important for the perpetuation of the *oikos*, and by extension, the city as a whole.[41] Athenian-born free women were not classified as citizens in the sense of political participation, but texts describe them as *astai*, a term comparable to male *astoi* in terms of membership in the community.[42] The *oikos* was their primary sphere of influence.

One might wonder why, if the message is to suggest the significant role of the woman within the *oikos*, she is given such seemingly frivolous attributes as a mirror and alabastron. Mirrors and perfume vessels rank among the most common objects associated with women in fifth-century Athenian iconography; indeed, mirrors are perhaps only surpassed by wool baskets (*kalathoi*) in the frequency of their appearance. They are found in all manner of domestic scenes, being held, being used, or hanging in the field to demarcate the domestic space. A mirror decorates a woman's tomb on a white-ground lekythos by the Tymbos

[38] For example, the stele of Tynnias, Athens 902: Leader 1997: 691 and fig. 5. As Leader points out, the seated, older Tynnias holds a staff to indicate he occupies a "respected position as head of an *oikos*" despite his advanced age.

[39] See Pomeroy 1994 for this text.

[40] See Patterson 1991: 53, n. 32 for Aristotle; Pomeroy 1994 and 1995 for Xenophon. As Wagner-Hasel (2003: 248) notes, in the *Oikonomikos* the material things of the household are used as metaphors for domestic and marital harmony and partnership.

[41] For example, Foxhall 1989; Patterson 1998; Nevett 1999: 13–20.

[42] Patterson 1986.

Painter (ca 450 B.C.), a motif unusual in vase imagery but unsurprising given that mirrors were often deposited in graves.[43] Late classical Attic grave stelae sometimes show women holding mirrors in poses akin to ladies on vases, as for example the early fourth-century stele of Pausimache.[44] Mirrors were common dedications by women in sanctuaries belonging to female deities; the Acropolis inventories record dozens of mirrors dedicated to Artemis Brauronia, while mirrors inscribed to Athena have also been found at the site.[45] The mirror and alabastron appear to have two levels of meaning in the Harrow Painter's scene. First, they point to female adornment and by extension, the sexual desirability of a woman within the marital relationship. Desirability is highlighted in both visual imagery and literary sources as a necessary quality and a binding force in a marriage. The adornment of the bride is a widespread motif on nuptial vessels, and even in *oikos* scenes, a wife or lady of the house is frequently shown at her toilette.[46] Brides/wives are likened to Aphrodite herself, an impression heightened in some scenes by the inclusion of Eros.[47] And yet, on the Harrow Painter's hydria the wife's sexuality is not left unchecked: her wrapped himation assures the viewer that she possesses *sophrosyne* and *aidos*, moderation and modesty. Her desirability, operating within the respectable bonds of matrimony, has promoted both *oikos* and *polis* through the production of sons.

At the same time, to show a woman at her toilette or with objects of adornment is to show her at leisure.[48] With the exception of textile production, scenes of women working in Athenian vase painting are uncommon; even when women spin or weave, the work looks neither strenuous nor difficult. Along with the money pouch, the mirror and alabastron demonstrate that this is a prosperous citizen household, where the husband provides well for his family and the woman does not have to work too hard, and certainly not beyond the *oikos*. She can afford fine objects and perfumes. The specific choice of an alabastron to suggest the latter is significant, for alabastra held pure, undiluted perfumes and as such were luxury items.[49]

These positive messages would have been appreciated by the owner of the vase. Although it is difficult to be certain, scholars presume that in Athens hydriai, as vessels to carry water, were primarily intended for women: for use

[43] Berlin 3324: *ARV*[2] 754.11; Oakley 2004: 151, fig. 114, Archive 209286. Mirrors in graves: for example, a bronze mirror (now missing its handle) found in an Athens grave in 1859: Athens X 7684, Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008: 331, cat. 149.

[44] Athens 3964: Leader 1997: 693; Burton 2003: 28. The stele's inscription clarifies that Pausimache died unmarried and references her *arete* and *sophrosyne*. See Stears 1995: 120 for other stelae with women holding mirrors.

[45] Linders 1972: 28; Dillon 2002: 13.

[46] See Oakley and Sinos 1993: 16–21 for adornment scenes on nuptial vessels; Blundell and Rabinowitz 2008 on *oikos* scenes with women's toilette.

[47] Sutton 1997–1998: 32–37.

[48] See Bundrick 2005: 92–102.

[49] See Badinou 2003 for recent discussion.

in the home, as votive offerings, or in rituals.[50] The Harrow Painter did not produce many hydriai, preferring instead amphorae and column kraters, but worth noting are fragments of two hydriai attributed to his hand and discovered on the Athenian Acropolis. One features the goddess Nike, an appropriate choice for what was likely a dedication at the sanctuary; the other shows a pair of women, one with a wreath, the other holding a mirror, both wearing *sakkoi* like the woman on the Tampa hydria.[51] Red-figured hydriai of the classical period often included scenes of women in domestic settings, the abundance of female-centered iconography leading many to assume women became an important market for vase painters at this time. For an unmarried *parthenos* who would wed someday, an image like that on the Harrow Painter's Tampa hydria provided assurance that she would be taken care of and enjoy a happy future. It foreshadowed her responsibilities—to bear sons and look after the *oikos*—but also encouraged her with the thought of prosperity and a comfortable home. For a woman already married and belonging to a well-off citizen household, domestic scenes like this provided affirmation of her worldview. For someone of a lower social class, such an image presented the fantasy of a better life, something to dream about when one's own life became too much to bear.[52]

The combined symbols and messages of the Tampa hydria can be compared to a column krater by the same painter (Fig. 4), discovered at Falerii.[53] A beardless young man wearing a himation, carrying a pouch, and leaning on a walking stick faces a seemingly young woman. She wears a chiton and himation while holding a lotus in her left hand and another flower, in added red and mostly lost, in her right. The lotus flower, which appears elsewhere in nuptial contexts, evokes the woman's beauty and the fragrance of her perfumes.[54] The theme of love is amplified by the flying Erotes who frame the couple and the composition. At this point in the early classical period, Eros is most often found in contexts referencing homosexual attachments, but from the mid-fifth century onward, he appears primarily in domestic scenes relating to women and marriage.[55] In this scene, Erotes adorn the couple with fillets as man and woman gaze intently at one another. Also framing the couple are objects alluding to their respective social roles: a *kalathos* with the woman, a hunting dog accompanying the man. As with the Tampa hydria, the Harrow Painter outlines the "things inside" and "things outside," but on the Villa Giulia column krater, the theme of

[50] See Trinkl 2009 for recent discussion of the functions of Greek hydriai.

[51] Athens Acr. 693: *ARV*^{2} 276.73, Archive 202671, Padgett 1989: 194–195, cat. H73, and Athens Acr. 690: *ARV*^{2} 276.74, Archive 202670, Padgett 1989: 195, cat. H74.

[52] See Lewis 1998–1999.

[53] Villa Giulia 1054: *ARV*^{2} 275.50, *Add*^{2} 207, Padgett 1989: 181–182, cat. H50; Lewis 2002: 198, Archive 202886.

[54] See Badinou 2003: 69. Eros and Nike fly among large lotus flowers on the respective sides of a lebes gamikos in Copenhagen: Mus. Nat. 13113, Badinou 2003: pl. 144.1–2.

[55] Sutton 1997–1998; Lear and Cantarella 2008: 150–163.

domestic and possibly marital harmony is even more explicit. The *kalathos* and dog could be read metaphorically, the latter suggesting loyalty and fidelity, the former suggesting *harmonia* through the metaphor of weaving.[56] The krater's reverse adds a coda in the form of a merry *komos*, a reference perhaps to the man's other outside activities.

The shoulder scene on the Tampa hydria (Fig. 3) might similarly connect with the scene on the body, although most commentators have tended to ignore it.[57] The viewer moves from the *oikos* to the battlefield as hoplites engage in combat: two soldiers with spears charge from the edges of the composition toward a sword-wielding third in the center. All wear corselets, tunics, and Attic helmets and carry large shields. The outer two warriors have mantles slung over their arms that in reality would be cumbersome, but compositionally add striking lines. The shield of the soldier at right sports an inscription that has been persuasively identified by Seth Pevnick as reading "*kalos*."[58] In this context, without any male name to accompany the inscription, *kalos* might laud the beauty and manliness of martial activity, in the same way Greek texts speak of the "beautiful death" (*kalos thanatos*) to be found on a battlefield. Nothing indicates a mythological battle, so the scene could just as easily suggest contemporary hoplite warfare. Combat is not a common subject for the Harrow Painter, so its appearance here and juxtaposition with the scene on the body are all the more striking.

Service in the army was considered a man's dutiful and honorable contribution to the security of *oikos* and *polis*; in this way the scenes on shoulder and body act as pendants. When he was younger, the husband/father would have served as an ephebe from ages 18 to 20 and an active hoplite from ages 20 to 29. Athenian men remained eligible for conscription into active service until age 60, so the potential for combat remained as well. The fit and athletically trained older son to the right is ripe for his own military service and might soon join the ranks of the ephebes himself. One day, the boy shown with his mother will also be old enough to fight. The juxtaposition of the body and shoulder scenes demonstrates that not only do men venture into the city and take care of business and provide material security for their households, but they also go to war to protect the lifestyle and prosperity portrayed here so idealistically. To do these things well leads to *arete*, or excellence. That the shoulder scene celebrates hoplite warfare is not surprising, for although wealthy men could also serve in

[56] See Bundrick 2008: 320–327.

[57] Fischer (2007) describes the shoulder scene (154) and briefly links it to her interpretation of the body scene (172). She argues that the body, in showing the visit to a *hetaira*, "might represent the rite of passage after which the youth as *eromenos* and an athlete ultimately becomes a warrior."

[58] Seth Pevnick, personal communication, 2011. The inscription is difficult to see in most photographs and is best viewed under raking light. Fischer (2007: 154) reads the inscription as nonsense (KOAONS), but Pevnick is surely correct in seeing a "sloppy" *kalos*. A *kalos* inscription can similarly be found written on a pillar in an athletic scene by the painter: Amherst 1957.66 (see above, 14, n. 13).

the cavalry or sponsor a trireme, fifth-century vase painters typically eschewed representations of these activities. As Joseph Roisman (2005: 106–107) explains regarding the classical attitude toward hoplites,

> the hoplitic ethos of military performance remained dominant. This ethos promoted the masculine values of courage, stamina, strength, order, self-control, self-sacrifice, and comradeship in arms. It valorized facing danger, standing one's ground, and cooperating with fellow soldiers, and relished victory (preferably quick) in a well-regulated, open, face-to-face confrontation, preferably between non-professional soldiers. The model hoplite was the model Athenian man.

The numerous contemporary scenes of departing soldiers among family members, of which the Harrow Painter depicted at least two examples, likewise emphasize these family and civic values.[59]

Thus far I have argued for an *oikos*-centered interpretation for the Harrow Painter's Tampa hydria. By eliminating the idea that Athenian citizen women were always secluded or that money pouches always suggest sexual transactions, the scene becomes more multivalent and the possibility of a domestic reading stronger. Proving that the scene is a domestic one, however, is impossible; the Harrow Painter does not give enough information for that. It is equally difficult to prove or disprove that the image shows a prostitute and customers (as Williams, Neils, and others suggest) or depicts the epic past (like Ferrari proposes). Perhaps the Harrow Painter intended the scene to mean different things to different viewers: domestic scene to one, image of prostitution to another. Considering the situation from a businessman's point of view (and the Harrow Painter was more businessman than "artist"), the maker of a vase wants his product to sell, so appealing to as wide an audience as possible is an obvious marketing strategy. With the painter suppressing giveaway details, customers will see what they wish to see and be more likely to buy.

A similar ambiguity exists on several of the Harrow Painter's vases featuring all-male scenes. The obverse of a column krater from Poggio Sommavilla now at Harvard (Fig. 5) includes three figures: a draped man leaning on a staff at the right; a draped youth, also with staff, at the left; another draped youth seated on a block and clutching a chelys lyre at center.[60] A strigil and sponge hang in the field together with jumping weights (*halteres*). The lyre, athletic equipment, and walking sticks place the scene in the elite realm, but beyond that, discerning the relationships between the characters is difficult. Is this a father and sons at the *palaistra*? Or can this be read as an image of "courting" (as it has been euphemistically described), the man at right a potential *erastes* seeking a new *eromenos*? Elsewhere *paiderastia* is made more obvious through the presentation

[59] See Lissarrague 1990 and Matheson 2009 for discussion of this scene type. Examples by the Harrow Painter: column krater, Bologna 189, *ARV*^{2} 275.46, Archive 202882, Padgett 1989: 179, cat. 46; column krater, Kassel T716, Archive 1205.

[60] Harvard 1925.30.33: *ARV*^{2} 275.53, Archive 202889, Padgett 1989: 184, cat. H53.

of gifts, affectionate gestures, or more rarely, intercrural copulation.[61] By the time the Harrow Painter was working, however, scenes of explicit homosexual courtship had largely disappeared, and the preference was for more subtle and understated imagery.[62] Once again, this allowed a potential customer to see what they wished to see.

The proveniences of some of the Harrow Painter's vases further complicate matters. As noted earlier in this paper, the Tampa hydria was found not at Athens but Vulci, one of hundreds of red- and especially black-figured hydriai by Athenian craftsmen to be discovered at the site, and one of at least five vessels of assorted shapes by the Harrow Painter specifically.[63] In recent years, scholars have paid increased attention to the Etruscan findspots of Attic vases and, by extension, the reception of these vessels by Etruscan customers. Part of the ongoing discussion concerns the extent to which Athenian potters and painters targeted this market.[64] Should images on Athenian vases be read exclusively in an Athenian sociocultural context? Solely from an Etruscan point of view, if the vase was exported to Etruria? Or somewhere in between, depending on the pot and its circumstances?

Examination of the documented proveniences of vases by the Harrow Painter reveals he was not exclusively targeting the Etruscan market (Table 1).[65] Eigh-

[61] Shapiro 1981, 1992, 2000; Barringer 2001: 70–124; Lear and Cantarella 2008.

[62] Shapiro 1981, 2000. The Harrow Painter produced at least three scenes of mythological, homosexual "erotic pursuit," which Shapiro and others have argued encodes *paiderastia* at a time when explicit imagery was less accepted. Column krater from Telese with Zeus and Ganymede: Naples 3152, *ARV*^{2} 275.60, *Add*^{2} 207, Shapiro 1981: fig. 12; Padgett 1989: 186, cat. H60; Lear and Cantarella 2008: 144, fig. 4.5; Archive 202657. Neck amphora with Zeus and Ganymede: Hermitage 607, *ARV*^{2} 272.10, *Para* 511, Archive 202858, Padgett 1989: 164, cat. H10. Column krater from Cerveteri with Poseidon pursuing a youth, Vienna 3737, *ARV*^{2} 275.61, *Add*^{2} 207, Padgett 1989: 187, cat. 61; Lear and Cantarella 2008: 149, fig. 4.9; Archive 202658.

[63] See Brunori 2006 for the popularity of Attic hydriai at Vulci. Other vases by the Harrow Painter with a documented provenience of Vulci: neck amphora, Munich 2326, see above, 14, n. 13; Panathenaic-shaped amphora, Berlin 2162, *ARV*^{2} 273.25, *Add*^{2} 207, Archive 202861, Padgett 1989: 170–171, cat. H25; stamnos, Munich 2407, *ARV*^{2} 274.35, 1641, Archive 202871, Padgett 1989: 173–174, cat. H35; olpe, Basel BS1921.363, *ARV*^{2} 276.79, Padgett 1989: 197–198, cat. H79 (provenience information, Archive 202678).

[64] The bibliography on this subject is vast and grows yearly. See, for example (with varying points of view), Spivey 1991; Lewis 1997; Osborne 2001; Marconi 2004; Lynch 2009, all with further references.

[65] For the potential utility of connoisseurship and attribution to larger discussions of trade, see, for example, Oakley 1998: 211 and Oakley 2009: 606. Vases by the Harrow Painter with documented provenience in the Beazley Archive online database number forty-five per cent of the total attributed to him (117 as of October 2011). Eight unprovenienced vessels can be found in the collections of the Vatican and the Villa Giulia and can be presumed to be from Etruria/Northern Italy/Latium, although I have not included them in the table; another in the Palermo Museum might be from Sicily but could be from Chiusi in Etruria; three in the Hermitage might have Black Sea findspots. Others in museums outside Italy or Greece likely have an Italian findspot, although it cannot be determined whether they derive from Etruscan or Magna Graecian sites.

Table 1. Proveniences of Vases Attributed to the Harrow Painter

Provenience		Examples	Total
Etruria / North Italy / Latium			18
	Bologna	1	
	Cerveteri	4	
	Etruria	1	
	Falerii	2	
	Rieti/Poggio Sommavilla	2	
	Spina	1	
	Tarquinia	2	
	Vulci	5	
Greece			14
	Athens	1	
	Athens, Acropolis	12	
	Athens, Agora	1	
Sicily			12
	Agrigento	4	
	Gela	2	
	Monte Iato	1	
	Sabucina	1	
	Selinus	2	
	Sicily	2	
South Italy			6
	Cumae	1	
	Locri	1	
	Nola	2	
	Ruvo	1	
	Telese	1	
Other			2
	Gordion (Turkey)	1	
	Kerch (Russia)	1	
			52

teen vases in the current corpus come from Etruria/Northern Italy/Latium, eighteen from south Italy and Sicily, fourteen from Athens, two from sites outside Italy and Greece. The findspots represent a mixture of sacred, funerary, and public/residential contexts; fragments from twelve different pots, for instance, were discovered on the Athenian Acropolis and presumably served as dedications there. Examples from Vulci and other Etruscan sites likely have a funerary context, as do most of the south Italian and Sicilian finds. The distribution of

proveniences among the Harrow Painter's vases likely reflects what scholars have seen as a shift in the market for Athenian vases during the first half of the fifth century.[66] Fewer vessels were dispatched to southern Etruria, while more found their way to Greek-inhabited areas of south Italy and Sicily, or eastward to the Black Sea region. The home market in Athens, meanwhile, received heightened emphasis as the fifth century progressed.

The distribution of proveniences also suggests that when making his vases in the Kerameikos (or wherever his workshop was located), the Harrow Painter did not know to where abroad they might be shipped, if at all. It was therefore necessary for him to create images with wide market appeal, scenes that Athenians, Greeks abroad, Etruscans, or other foreigners could understand and enjoy. The Harrow Painter has been described as "not particularly imaginative" in his choice and execution of subject matter (Padgett 1989: 156), but perhaps the generic and sometimes ambiguous nature of his scenes reflects a desire to reach a wide audience and sell more pots. Even when choosing mythological subjects, the Harrow Painter opted for popular and easily recognizable figures: Dionysos and his *thiasos*, Zeus, Poseidon, Herakles.[67] A domestic scene like that on the Tampa hydria, meanwhile, would be equally at home in Athens or Etruria.

The Etruscan customer at Vulci would have read the Tampa hydria differently from the hypothetical Athenian viewer posited throughout most of this paper. The mirror in the woman's hand, for instance, suddenly echoes engraved bronze mirrors deposited in Etruscan tombs from the late sixth century onward.[68] Mantles like hers were worn by Etruscan women, and sometimes in Etruscan art a kerchief resembling the *sakkos* binds a woman's hair. References to combat and athletics suggest the Etruscan military ethos and perhaps even funerary games.[69] Possibly the two victorious warriors in the shoulder scene would be understood as the Dioskouroi, or Tinas Cliniar in Etruscan parlance, who regularly appeared in Etruscan funerary art and received cult there. For the Etruscan viewer, the bearded man's purse might have held not money but dice

[66] See Padgett 1989: 156.

[67] Zeus and Poseidon: see above, 25, n. 62. Dionysos: for example, a neck amphora from Cerveteri with Dionysos pursuing a woman, Villa Giulia 50471, *ARV*^{2} 272.1, *Add*^{2} 206, Archive 202837, Padgett 1989: 160, cat. H1. Herakles: for example, a stamnos from Vulci with Herakles wrestling the Nemean Lion between Athena and the nymph Galene, Munich 2407, see above, 25, n. 63. A possible exception is a column krater showing Poseidon and Theseus among other figures, found at Ruvo: Harvard 1960.339, *ARV*^{2} 274.39, *Add*^{2} 207; Padgett 1989: 175–176, cat. H39; Neer 2002: 162–163, fig. 76; Archive 202875. Scholars like Neer have argued that images of Poseidon and Theseus from the early classical period express Athenian naval dominance in the period following the Persian Wars and thus have a specifically Attic sensibility. But even then, would exporting scenes of this type not have a potent message for audiences abroad?

[68] See, for example, Izzet 2007: 43–86.

[69] Strigils have been found in the graves of both men and women in Etruria: for example, a bronze model strigil from the fourth to third centuries B.C. that likely hung on a tomb wall (Univ. of Pennsylvania Museum MS 1643, Turfa 2005: 153–154, cat. 119).

or other gaming implements commonly found in tombs and sanctuaries; coins were not minted at Vulci during this period.[70] Maybe the seated woman would be understood not as a wife but a goddess or priestess, enthroned in a temple or shrine and receiving offerings.

The Harrow Painter's choice of shape would have similarly appealed to Etruscan taste. Unlike the painter's few other hydriai, which stayed among Greeks in Athens or Sicily and had the rounded, more up-to-date kalpis form, the Tampa hydria is archaizing, borrowing the shape of black-figured hydriai from the later sixth century. The latter were especially popular at Vulci.[71] Indeed, recent excavations in the Osteria necropolis have confirmed that hydriai were found in male as well as female burials at the site. The so-called Tomba del Kottabos (tomb A9/1998) and Tomba dei Vasi del Pittore di Micali (tomb A2/1998) belong to the same larger *tomba a cassone* and contain a male and female burial respectively.[72] Both graves included hydriai: the man's an Attic black-figured hydria attributed to the Priam Painter, with scene of Herakles and Kerberos on the body and warriors with quadriga on the shoulder, and the woman's an Etruscan black-figured hydria attributed to the Micali Painter, with sphinxes and other animal decoration.[73] The inclusion of hydriai in male burials at Vulci and the paucity of kraters from that particular site (in contrast to other Etruscan sites) have led some scholars to suggest that hydriai were used in banqueting contexts there, perhaps for mixing wine and water.[74] We cannot assume, therefore, that the primary viewer of the Harrow Painter's hydria at Tampa was female, as is usually presumed for Athenian hydriai. Its owner and primary viewer might have been not only Etruscan, but a man besides.

The period of the Harrow Painter's career during the fifteen or so years following the Persian Wars witnessed the beginnings of considerable changes in Athenian iconography, likely resulting from changes in taste as well as sociocul-

[70] Examples of dice found in tombs at Orvieto: Univ. of Pennsylvania Museum MS 3336, 3337, 3338, and 3339: Turfa 2005: 229, cats. 246–247, with further references and discussion.

[71] De la Genière 1999: 419; Brunori 2006; Paleothodoros 2007: 169.

[72] Moretti Sgubini 2001: 220–239.

[73] Priam Painter hydria: Villa Giulia 131422, Moretti Sgubini 2001: 230, cat. III.B.7.1. Micali Painter hydria: Villa Giulia 131310, Moretti Sgubini 2001: 226, cat. III.B.6.9. Another hydria by the Priam Painter was found in a different *cassone* tomb during the same excavation, belonging to a young woman (Tomba della Collana, A7/1998). This latter hydria is noteworthy for being one of the few so-called fountainhouse hydriai with a secure find context; it has a fountainhouse scene with young women on the body and scene of Peleus pursuing Thetis among the Nereids on the shoulder (Villa Giulia 131390, Moretti Sgubini 2001: 240–241, cat. III.B.8.1). For possible Etruscan readings of these scenes related to weddings, see Sabetai 2009: 108–109. Sabetai does not, however, cite this recent discovery, which would further bolster her hypothesis.

[74] For example, Reusser 2004: 151. Tomb 50 of the Osteria necropolis, discovered during the Ferraguti-Mengarelli excavations of 1931, is presumed to have had a male occupant, on the basis of weaponry included among the grave goods. Among its Attic vases is a black-figured hydria with martial scenes, warriors and a quadriga on the body, scene of combat on the shoulder: Villa Giulia 63612, Riccioni 2003: 4–5, cat. 6.

tural circumstances.[75] The shifting export market at this time has already been noted, but inside Athens too, shifts in the political climate affected the repertoire of scenes produced by painters and workshops. The aristocratic-themed images that dominated late archaic vases and expressed the values and pastimes of the leisured elite yielded to scenes more in keeping with a democratic sensibility (or at least scenes that gave the appearance of being so). Some scene types, such as hunting or athletics, faded from popularity altogether, and new ones arose, namely scenes of women and related domestic and nuptial themes.[76]

Other iconographic subjects were altered to suit new audiences and contexts. Symposion and *komos* scenes, for example, became less rowdy, more decorous, and almost formulaic compared to their earlier counterparts.[77] These relatively inoffensive images might have been intended to appeal not only to upper-class buyers but also to the non-elite; the latter seem to have adopted drinking parties for themselves while maintaining a certain mistrust of aristocratic customs.[78] The suspicion of non-elites toward *paiderastia* might have similarly instigated changes in scenes of men and youths. As noted above, images of explicit homosexual courtship were replaced by more understated and ambiguous pictures that could show fathers and sons as easily as *erastai* and *eromonoi*. *Hetairai* too become harder to recognize, and in the early classical period begin the scenes of female woolworkers sometimes interpreted as "spinning *hetairai*," sometimes as brides or wives.[79] The decrease of explicit heterosexual scenes, like that of homosexual examples, has been seen by some as a rejection of aristocratic *habrosyne* and indicative of democratic social mores.[80]

In the complex social and political environment of early classical Athens, we can imagine the Harrow Painter and other Kerameikos craftsmen attempting to create images that would simultaneously appeal to different groups, whether

[75] Padgett 1989: 150 on the approximate dates of the Harrow Painter's career.

[76] See Barringer 2001: 45–46 for hunting scenes. New focus on women and domestic scenes: Sutton 2004 and Bundrick 2008.

[77] See Schäfer 1997 for the corpus of symposion scenes and their change over time.

[78] For expanded participation in classical symposia, see, for example, Lynch 2007: 246–248. For continued anxiety about elite behaviors, especially during *komoi*, see, for example, Miller 1999: 247–251 and Bundrick 2009. It might be that the change in imagery was also influenced by changes in foreign markets, such as an increase in exports to Sicily and Etruscan colonies in northeastern Italy (like Spina). The reception of Greek vases in these areas has begun to receive more attention from scholars (e.g., Marconi 2004 for Akragas; Nilsson 1999 for Spina), and further investigation might yield new insight. Lewis (2003: 183) argues that decreased exports to the heart of Etruria accounts for the changes in sympotic scenes and that Etruscans, not Athenians, had been the primary audience for the earlier imagery.

[79] See Bundrick 2008 for woolworking scenes and the debate over the women's identities.

[80] For example, Kurke 1992: 97–104 and Kurke 1997: 132–146. For the cessation of explicit heterosexual images, see also Sutton 1992: 32–33; Lewis 1997; Neils 2000: 223–224; and Lynch 2009. Lewis and Lynch have different explanations for the popularity of these scenes than Sutton, Kurke, and Neils, preferring to link them to the Etruscan market abroad. For *habrosyne*, see, for example, Kurke 1992.

Athenians at home (male/female, native/metic, aristocratic/democratic), Greeks abroad, or foreigners even further away. Designing scenes multivalent enough to be read and understood by a variety of viewers seems a strategy designed for broad marketing and maximum sales.[81] Instead of scholars asking whether the woman on the Harrow Painter's Tampa hydria is a *hetaira* or housewife, perhaps we need to accept she can be both—and other things besides.

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[81] For the concept of multivalence, see for instance Marconi 2004: 40, discussing the reception of Attic vases in Sicily, and Bundrick 2009: 32–33.

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Figure 1: Athenian red-figured hydria attributed to the Harrow Painter, from Vulci. Tampa Museum of Art, Joseph Veach Noble Collection, purchased in part with funds donated by Mr. and Mrs. James L. Ferman, Jr., 1986.70. Photo: Tampa Museum of Art.

Figure 2: Athenian red-figured hydria attributed to the Harrow Painter, from Vulci. Detail of body scene. Tampa Museum of Art, Joseph Veach Noble Collection, purchased in part with funds donated by Mr. and Mrs. James L. Ferman, Jr., 1986.70. Photo: Tampa Museum of Art.

Figure 3: Athenian red-figured hydria attributed to the Harrow Painter, from Vulci. Detail of shoulder scene. Tampa Museum of Art, Joseph Veach Noble Collection, purchased in part with funds donated by Mr. and Mrs. James L. Ferman, Jr., 1986.70. Photo: Tampa Museum of Art.

Figure 4: Athenian red-figured column krater attributed to the Harrow Painter, from Falerii. Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, 1054. Photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Etruria Meridionale.

Figure 5: Athenian red-figured column krater attributed to the Harrow Painter. Harvard Art Museums, Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Bequest of Joseph C. Hoppin, 1925.30.33. Photo: Imaging Department, ©President and Fellows of Harvard College.