

HERAKLES ICONOGRAPHY ON TYRRHENIAN AMPHORAE

A Thesis presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
University of Missouri-Columbia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
MEGAN LYNNE THOMSEN

Dr. Susan Langdon, Thesis Supervisor

DECEMBER 2005

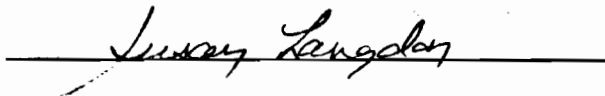
The undersigned, appointed by the Dean of the Graduate School,
have examined the thesis entitled

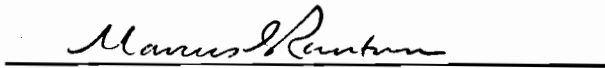
HERAKLES ICONOGRAPHY ON TYRRHENIAN AMPHORAE

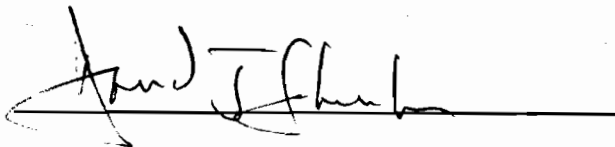
presented by Megan Lynne Thomsen

a candidate for the degree of Master of Arts

and hereby certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Susan Langdon", written over a horizontal line.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Marcus Ranton", written over a horizontal line.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Paul J. Fink", written over a horizontal line.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my thesis advisor, Dr. Susan Langdon, and the other members of my committee, Dr. Marcus Rautman and Dr. David Schenker, for their help during this process. Also, thanks must be given to my family and friends who were a constant support and listening ear this past year.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	v
Chapter	
1. TYRRHENIAN AMPHORAE—A BRIEF STUDY.....	1
Early Studies	
Characteristics of Decoration on Tyrrhenian Amphorae	
Attribution Studies: Identifying Painters and Workshops	
Market Considerations	
Recent Scholarship	
The Present Study	
2. HERAKLES ON TYRRHENIAN AMPHORAE.....	30
Herakles in Vase-Painting	
Herakles and the Amazons	
Herakles, Nessos and Deianeira	
Other Myths of Herakles	
Etruscan Imitators and Contemporary Vase-Painting	
3. HERAKLES AND THE FUNERARY CONTEXT.....	48
Herakles in Etruria	
Etruscan Concepts of Death and the Underworld	
Etruscan Funerary Banquets and Games	
4. CONCLUSION.....	67

APPENDIX: Herakles Myths on Tyrrhenian Amphorae.....	72
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	77
ILLUSTRATIONS.....	82

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure	Page
1. Tyrrhenian Amphora by Guglielmi Painter. Bloomington, IUAM 73.6. Herakles fights Nessos (Side A), Four youths on horseback (Side B). Photos taken by Megan Thomsen	82
2. Tyrrhenian Amphora (Beazley #310039) by Fallow Deer Painter. Munich, Antikensammlungen 1428. Photo CVA, MUNICH, MUSEUM ANTIKER KLEINKUNST 7, PL. 322.3	83
3. Tyrrhenian Amphora (Beazley #310045) by Timiades Painter (name vase). Boston, MFA 98.916. Vulci, Italy. Photo taken by Megan Thomsen	83
4. Tyrrhenian Amphora (Beazley #310008) by Castellani Painter. Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 3773. Tarquinia. Photos Blok 1995, PL. 8b	84
5. Herakles detail from Tyrrhenian Amphora by Guglielmi Painter. Bloomington, IUAM 73.6. Photo taken by Megan Thomsen	84
6. Birth of Athena detail from Tyrrhenian Amphora (Beazley #310014) by Kyllenios Painter. Berlin, Schloss Charlottenburg F1704. Cerveteri. Photo CVA, BERLIN, ANTIKENMUSEUM 5, PL.12.1	85
7. Grouping of 3 Sirens. Image Thiersch 1899, fig. 11	85
8. Detail from Tyrrhenian Amphora (Beazley #310021) by Timiades Painter. Rome, Conservatori 39. Photo Kluiver 1995, fig. 43	86
9. Tyrrhenian Amphora (Beazley #310028) by Prometheus Painter. Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 76359. Photo Goring 2004, fig. 183	86
10. Tyrrhenian Amphora by Timiades Painter. Columbia, UM 74.101. Photos courtesy of Museum of Art and Archaeology	87
11. Tyrrhenian Amphora by Goltys Painter. Photo Boardman 1985, fig. 58	88

12.	Detail from Tyrrhenian Amphora (Beazley #310071) by Pointed-Nose Painter. Paris, Musee du Louvre E844. Photo Kluiver 1996, fig. 19	88
13.	Hydria by Archippe Painter. Boston, MFA 67.1006. Photo von Bothmer 1969, fig. 20	89
14.	Rear wall-painting from Tomba Campana, Veii. Image Steingraber 1986, PL. 197	89
15.	Sketches of Tomba Campana, Veii. Image Steingraber 1986, figs. 397-399	90
16.	Black-figure Amphora (Beazley # 310424) by near Exekias. Cambridge, Arthur M. Sackler Museum 1960.312. Photo Perseus Project	91
17.	Detail from Tyrrhenian Amphora (Beazley #310045) by Timiades Painter. Vulci. Boston, MFA 98.916. Photo taken by Megan Thomsen	91
18.	Tyrrhenian Amphora (Beazley #310059) by Castellani Painter. Civitavecchia, Museo Civico 1706. Vulci. Photo Beazley Archive	92
19.	Black-figure Amphora B (Beazley #7499). Ann Arbor, Kelsey Museum 79.1.1. Photo Beazley Archive	92
20.	Detail from Tyrrhenian Amphora by Timiades Painter. Columbia, UM 74.101. Photo courtesy of Museum of Art and Archaeology	93
21.	Protoattic neck-amphora by Painter of New York Nessos Amphora (name vase). New York, Metropolitan Museum 11.210.1. Photo Shapiro, figs. 110, 111	93
22.	Neck-amphora by Nessos Painter (name vase). Athens, National Museum 1002. Athens. Photo Perseus Project	94
23.	Detail from Tyrrhenian Amphora (Beazley #310013) by Prometheus Painter. Paris, Musee du Louvre E852. Photo LIMC, VI, PL. 534, NESSOS 1	94
24.	Detail from Tyrrhenian Amphora (Beazley #310136). Kassel, Staatliche Museen T385. Cerveteri. Photo CVA, KASSEL, ANTIKENABTEILUNG DER STAATLICHEN KUNSTSAMMLUNGEN 1, PL. 16.1	95
25.	Tyrrhenian Amphora (Beazley #20351) by Fallow Deer Painter. Private Collection. Photo Padgett 2003, PL. 33	95

26.	Detail from Tyrrhenian Amphora (Beazley #310036) by Guglielmi Painter (Side B). Munich, Antikensammlungen 1433. Vulci. Photo CVA, MUNICH, MUSEUM ANTIKER KLEINKUNST 7, PL. 319.2	96
27.	Detail from Tyrrhenian Amphora (Beazley #310024) by Prometheus Painter. Paris, Musee du Louvre E851. Photo LIMC V, PL. 53, Herakles 1998	96
28.	Detail from Tyrrhenian Amphora (Beazley #9143) by the Pointed-Nose Painter. Houston, de Menil Collection. Photo Hoffmann 1970, PL. 165	97
29.	Detail from Tyrrhenian Amphora (Beazley #7968) by Prometheus Painter. Cerveteri, Museo Nazionale Cerite 7968. Cerveteri. Photo Kluiver 1995, fig. 25	97
30.	Detail from Tyrrhenian amphora by Kyllenios Painter. Paris, Musee du Louvre C10516. Photo Kluiver 1996, fig. 7	98
31.	Fragments of Tyrrhenian Amphora (Beazley #44986) by Kyllenios Painter. Paris, Musee du Louvre CP12069. Photo LIMC V, PL. 115, Herakles 2880	98
32.	Pontic Amphora by Paris Painter (name vase). c. 550-540 B.C. Photo Brendel 1995, fig. 101	99
33.	Amphora by Micali Painter. c. 540-530 B.C. Photo Brendel 1995, fig. 131	99
34.	Engraved Mirror with Hercle suckling Uni. Volterra. Photo Bonfante 1986, fig. 8-14	100
35.	Sandstone Sphinx, Chiusi. c. mid-6th century B.C. Photo Brendel 1995, fig. 66	101
36.	Nenfro Centaur, Vulci. c. 590 B.C. Photo Brendel 1995, fig. 79	101
37.	Tufa Relief Slab, Tarquinia. First half 6th century B.C. Photo Haynes 2000, fig. 129	102
38.	Nenfro Relief Cippi, Vulci. 6th century B.C. Photo Goring 2004, fig. 155	102
39.	Lion Cippi, Settemello. Second half 6th century B.C. Photo Haynes 2000, fig. 131	102

40.	Terracotta Sarcophagus, Procoiodiceris. mid-6th century B.C. Photo Brendel 1995, fig.157	103
41.	Entrance wall from Tomba degli Anina, Tarquinia. c. 3rd century B.C. Photo Steingräber 1986, fig. 51	103
42.	Phersu Game from Tomb of the Augurs, Tarquinia. c. 530 B.C. Photo Steingräber 1986, PL.20	104
43.	Fleeing Phersu from Tomb of the Augurs, Tarquinia. c. 530 B.C. Photo Steingräber 1986, PL. 22	104
44.	Adjoining Walls from Tomb of the Painted Vases, Tarquinia. c. 500 B.C. Photo Steingräber 1986, figs. 342, 345	105
45.	Sketch from Tomba delle Bighe, Tarquinia. 5th century B.C. Image Bonfante 1996, fig. 65	106
46.	Detail from Tyrrhenian Amphora (Beazley #310048). Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire MF156. Falerii. Photo CVA, GENEVA, MUSÉE D'ART ET D'HISTOIRE 2, PL. 43.1	106
47.	Sketch from Casuccini Tomb, Chiusi. 5th century B.C. Image Steingräber 1986, fig. 20	107
48.	Dancers from Tomb of the Lionesses, Tarquinia. c. 520 B.C. Photo Steingräber 1986, PL. 100	107
49.	Detail from Tyrrhenian Amphora (Beazley #8763). Starnberg, Purmann Sammlung. Photo Schauenburg 1973, fig. 30	108
50.	Detail from Tyrrhenian Amphora (Beazley #310097) by Guglielmi Painter. Munich, Antikensammlungen 1432. Photo Boardman 1985, fig. 61	108

Chapter 1: Tyrrhenian Amphorae—a Brief History

Early Studies

When the first catalog lists and excavation reports were published for Etruscan cities and cemeteries in the 18th century, a special class of black-figure painted amphorae that were much later to be christened “Tyrrhenian” amphorae started to appear on the lists of objects found in the Etruscan tombs. These vessels (Fig. 1) stood out because of their apparent conglomeration of known Greek black-figure vase-painting styles and their appearance only in the newly explored Etruscan tombs. None of these unique amphorae had ever been found outside of Etruria at the time, and even today they are only known from Etruscan sites. The earliest published reports documenting these distinctive vases came from the sites of Marciano della Chiana (1705), Orvieto (1706), and Sarteano (1710). Scholarship specifically focusing on these amphorae, however, did not emerge until about fifteen years later.¹

Buonarota, in 1724, was the first to comment on the origin of the amphorae. He held that because they were all found in Italy, the amphorae must have been made near the sites where they had been discovered. Italian origin remained the popular theory until 1754 when Mazocchi recognized the “Greek character” of the painting through epigraphical study. Nine years later, Winckelmann added support to Mazocchi’s theory, but this time on strictly stylistic grounds.²

¹ Thiersch 1899, p. 10.

² Thiersch 1899, p. 1.

After the initial debate as to their origin, the amphorae were left virtually untouched until 1831 when Gerhard began organizing all pottery known to him into three categories: Greek, Etruscan, and “Tyrrhenian” (basically all of the vases that would not fit into either of the other two categories).³ Once this third, enigmatic group was identified, scholars started to research the provenance of these vases so that they could move them out of the limbo of the “Tyrrhenian” designation and into a more specific category. The first scholars to do this were Bunsen (1834), Rochette (1834), and Kramer (1837), who all agreed that the amphorae were of Attic style. In the same year as Kramer, Creuzer likewise published an article asserting that the amphorae did indeed have “ein athenischer Provenienz.”⁴

Up until this point the amphorae were referred to as the “ägyptisierende” or “all’egiziana” part of Gerhard’s Tyrrhenian group. Also seen, but rarely, was the term “tirreno-egiziane.”⁵ Despite the fact that most scholars believed these amphorae to be of Greek origin, the subname from Gerhard’s list stuck and was only slightly changed by Kramer to “tyrrheno-ägyptischen.”⁶ In the years following, other names were introduced, such as “korinthischen,” “dorisierend,” “phönizischen,” and “asiatisierenden,” but no one term was established as the definitive group name.

From the late 1870s until the end of the 19th century another name began to emerge from stylistic studies: “invention attique avec la technique corinthienne.”⁷ The

³ von Bothmer 1944, p. 161.

⁴ Thiersch 1899, p. 3.

⁵ Thiersch 1899, p. 2.

⁶ Thiersch 1899, p. 3.

⁷ Thiersch 1899, p. 5.

name switched from “Corinthio-Attic” (Holwerda 1890) to “Attico-Corinthian” (Pottier 1899), and was finally removed from Corinthian style and technique altogether by Hermann Thiersch with the publication of his monograph *“Tyrrhenische” Amphoren* in 1899. This publication was the first by the 25-year-old Thiersch, but it turned out to be only the beginning of a long career of archaeological exploration. While Thiersch subsequently moved away from vase-painting, he continued to publish on a wide variety of ancient topics such as the Roman provinces, Ptolemaic Alexandria, Palestine, the Temple of Aphaia at Aegina, Artemis at Ephesus, and even a study of Greek sculptures in the Louvre in 1938, the year before his death. Like so many early scholars, Thiersch explored many areas of the ancient world, but he was also interested in more recent German and European history, publishing a book on Christianity in Russia in 1932.

In his book on Tyrrhenian amphorae, Thiersch carefully analyzed the vases remaining in Gerhard’s Tyrrhenian group, discarding all of the earlier hyphenated attempts to name the vases and keeping the misnomer “Tyrrhenian,” “after having purified and specified the range of its application.”⁸ His opinion was that although this name did not describe the provenance of the amphorae, it was not altogether inappropriate for a group of vases that were “made largely, if not exclusively, for the Etruscan market.”⁹

Thiersch’s analysis solved the name problem for these “Tyrrhenian” amphorae; it also provided the first in-depth study of their role in the exchange of ideas and products between Greece and Etruria in the second quarter of the 6th century B.C. He discussed

⁸ von Bothmer 1944, p. 161.

⁹ von Bothmer 1944, p. 161-162.

how these Athenian pots were made specifically for export and how possibly they were filled with prime Attic olive oil and aimed at the Etruscan market which was already importing Corinthian wares.¹⁰ Archaeological evidence shows that the Etruscans were quite fond of Corinthian pottery and so it seems logical that the Athenians adopted some of their styles in order to “corner the market.”¹¹

Characteristics of Decoration on Tyrrhenian Amphorae

By around 590 B.C. the Corinthian style of pottery that had been so popular in Etruria was losing its appeal throughout the Mediterranean, so the Athenians brought new innovative ideas to *their* pottery in order to capture and keep the interest of the Etruscan import market. The result of this overhaul was the so-called Tyrrhenian amphora, which has been dated to the second quarter of the 6th century B.C.¹² These ovoid neck-amphorae, with a spreading echinus foot, ranged in size from 31-50 cm, with an average at 40 cm.¹³ They are characterized by their distinctive bands of painting that fill all of the available space on the amphora. These bands start at the neck with chains of lotus-palmette designs, followed by figural and mythological scenes in the handle zones. Below the main figural scenes, the lower half of the amphora is filled with bands of

¹⁰ Thiersch 1899, p. 8-9.

¹¹ Scullard 1967, p. 181.

¹² Carpenter (1983) suggests that Tyrrhenian amphorae should be dated closer to 560-530 B.C. rather than the second quarter of the 6th century B.C. because he believes that the imagery and inscriptions on the amphorae point to a lower date. Kluiver also offers slightly different dates of 565-545 B.C., but for the purposes of this paper, I will adhere to the more traditional dates.

¹³ Thiersch 1899, pp. 14-15.

animals reminding one of the Corinthian style. This decorative scheme leaves room at the bottom for a small band of rays, also a common feature on Corinthian pottery.

The figural and animal bands made up most of Thiersch's seminal analysis of Tyrrhenian amphorae. He identified the Corinthian influence and evolution of the design and iconography that became standard for the painters of Tyrrhenian amphorae. Thiersch described the decoration and development of the vase basically from top to bottom. He began by cataloging and studying the lotus-palmette chains and then moved on to the many animals, both realistic and fantastic.

In order to discuss the figural and mythological scenes, Thiersch divided the sixty amphorae known to him into those with and without "Punktband" or dicing. "Punktband" are narrow bands of decoration full of vertical dashes and dots located just below the human figural scene. They are a common feature of later Tyrrhenian amphorae (Fig. 2). He then divided the categories further according to the number of animal bands and/or additional lotus-palmette bands. Without even knowing it, Thiersch all but separated the Tyrrhenian amphorae into the same groupings that later scholars would attribute to different painters/workshops. Although Thiersch himself claimed that all of the amphorae were done by one painter or workshop, his careful division and cataloging paved the way for later scholars to assign the Tyrrhenian amphorae to different painters.

Before painters were assigned, scholars spent a great deal of time creating a "template" of sorts for Tyrrhenian amphorae and their unique decorative bands. The lotus-palmette chain on the neck zone was a familiar holdover from Corinthian vessels, but individual design and variety in orientation developed on the Tyrrhenian amphorae. What later would be interpreted as separate artists' hands can sometimes be identified by

their lotus-palmette designs. For example, the Timiades Painter always used a singular lotus-palmette festoon (Fig. 3) while the Castellani Painter can be identified by two bands of figural scenes as well as the use of an additional lotus-palmette band below the figural frieze (Fig. 4).¹⁴

Below the lotus-palmette design comes the scene that defines this particular type of amphora and truly separates it from the Corinthian style: the human figural scene. The Athenians were fond of narratives and this is probably why the field tended to be flooded with letters, even if they were gibberish. Painters who were literate liked to fill the field with captions and even those who wrote gibberish liked lots of captions, but their vases tended to be later and repeated the same few nonsense words on every pot. Thiersch completed a preliminary study of the gibberish letters, to be followed nearly 80 years later by (H. Immerwahr and) T.H. Carpenter.¹⁵ Their analyses revealed that similar letters are always found with the same painter and perhaps some captions were even attempts to form non-Attic letters.¹⁶ For example, figure 5 has nonsense inscriptions that follow with “Herakles” letters, as described by Thiersch, but the rest of the inscriptions seem to be carelessly-drawn letters that cannot be understood, even within a nonsense letter context.

Whether or not the painters of Tyrrhenian amphorae could actually read, they seemed to take great pride and joy in labeling everything that they could, including full names of heroes and even inanimate objects such as thrones (Fig. 6). An illustrative comparison can be found in our day: American fascination with Japanese and Chinese

¹⁴ Thiersch 1899, pp. 69-86.

¹⁵ Carpenter 1983.

¹⁶ Carpenter 1983, pp. 288-289.

writing finds itself manifested on the numerous products seen with *kanji* characters on them.¹⁷ The ancient Etruscans, like Americans, may have had no idea what the writing actually meant, but the presence of written language inspired awe and impressed intelligence on those in possession of it. The Etruscans buyers may have had no idea what the inscriptions said, but rather recognized the iconography of the story and so “filled in the gaps” with their own mythological knowledge, thereby completing the “sense” of the narrative with or without intelligible inscriptions.

The human figural scenes themselves usually consisted of a myth on the obverse and a general scene or another myth on the reverse. Although several of the myths which are depicted on these vases had already been seen in the repertoire of earlier artists, violence was emphasized in the works of the Tyrrhenian painters, and they “introduced scenes which are not myth but life, particularly scenes of reveling and of sexual encounters.”¹⁸ Before the production of Tyrrhenian amphorae, scenes of lovemaking and revelry (*komos* scenes) were not frequent in vase-painting unless they were integral to a mythological narrative.¹⁹ The myths found on the obverse panels vary, but the most popular episodes include famous battles, such as those from the Trojan cycle, and famous heroes overcoming foes. The heroes typically found on Tyrrhenian amphora are Herakles (the most popular), Theseus, and Achilles, along with Amazons and mythological battles that could be interpreted as good (the hero) fighting evil (monsters/enemies/death).

¹⁷ *Kanji* are the “fancy” characters that were taken from the Chinese language by the Japanese and are used as symbols for nouns and verbs, which are then supplemented/conjugated with the simpler-looking Japanese alphabet system. For example, this kanji 姿 (*sugata*) represents “figure, form, or shape,” and is alternately represented by すがた (*su-ga-ta*) in the Japanese alphabet *hiragana*.

¹⁸ Osborne 1998, p. 95.

¹⁹ Carpenter 1983, p. 287.

The human figural scene is usually followed below by one to three bands of animals, by which Thiersch further divided his list of Tyrrhenian amphorae.²⁰ These animal friezes seem to clearly imitate the Corinthian style of vase-painting. Earlier Tyrrhenian amphorae tended to have more (2-3) bands of animals while the later painters preferred a row of dicing and/or a lotus-palmette frieze before one or two rows of animals (Figs. 1, 4). The animals were usually seen in lines processing towards the front center of the pot or in antithetical pairs facing each other, sometimes with a third animal of the same species in the center (Fig. 1). Facing pairs of animals, especially those positioned in the center of the amphora, can also share a single, frontally-facing head which may have functioned as an apotropaic device. The repetition of distinct animal pairings and designs can be seen within a single painter's work as well as within the corpus of Tyrrhenian amphorae, showing these animal friezes to be fairly uniform stock motifs (Figs. 1, 7).

The animals commonly depicted in these bands were lions, panthers, goats, geese, griffins, sphinxes, sirens, bulls, stags, cocks, and boars. Almost all of the animals are shown in a profile view, some with frontally-facing heads, and their proportions can vary from a compressed single-head/multi-body animal to an extremely elongated creature that stretches across an entire side of the amphora (Fig. 8) While some of the animals depicted may have been seen in the area the vases were made or perhaps were known from other areas, most of them are fantastic hybrids of possibly oriental origin.

The last element of the amphorae, and the last detail borrowed from the Corinthians, are the rays rising from the top of the foot up to the lowest band of animals. These rays serve not only to fill space, but also to draw the viewer's eye away from the

²⁰ While the typical number of animal bands ranges from one to three, their number can vary up to five bands, such as on *ABV* 97.25 (51) by the Castellani Painter.

bottom and back up to the figural bands and the more “important” part of the decoration. Perhaps showing the declining attention to detail as these vases continued to be produced, the rays seen on Tyrrhenian amphorae are almost always haphazard, uneven lines that sometimes cross over into the lowest animal band. The careless way in which these rays were drawn suggests that they were not kept as an important part of the Corinthian style, but as an easy way to fill space at the bottom of the amphora where the field would not permit many or naturalistically proportioned animals.

Since the Tyrrhenian amphorae were supposedly made in vast quantities with about 260 known to us today, it is easy to understand why the painting is not always up to par and why the inscriptions tend to be nonsensical, perhaps “showing painters often too hurried to clean their brushes.”²¹ Whether or not these artists were hurried or simply illiterate and trying to copy letters, their quality does not play a strong role in the development of Attic black-figure. Despite the seemingly large export market for Tyrrhenian amphorae, their overall quality was not as high as the other black-figure vases being produced in the Kerameikos. While an objective comparison on the basis of quality cannot be made, the painters of Tyrrhenian amphorae did employ a more amusing and sometimes creative style than the “higher quality” pieces. Von Bothmer pays the painters of the Tyrrhenian amphorae a backhanded compliment when he observes, “their compositions are fresh and vigorous; there is something piquant and interesting even in their ludicrous pride in their own literacy.”²²

²¹ Cook 1997, p. 76.

²² von Bothmer 1944, p. 164.

Attribution Studies: Identifying Painters and Workshops

Once Tyrrhenian amphorae had been identified as their own stylistic group, further analysis revealed that they could be separated into the hands of individual painters. Rumpf first attributed three amphorae to the same hand in 1923 and then Beazley in 1934 started to organize the Tyrrhenian amphorae listed by Thiersch into painters of his own. Beazley connected four amphorae to a painter he named “Goltyr,” and then a few years later identified the artist of three different vases as the Komos Painter. Both Rumpf and Beazley also grouped together a small number of Tyrrhenian amphorae that they left unnamed, but which later became known as the O.L.L. (Oxford-Leipsc-Louvre) group. It was not until 1944, that all of Thiersch’s amphorae were finally assigned to painters by Dietrich von Bothmer.

The painters of these amphorae, while they may have added inscriptions to their friezes, did not sign their own names to their work and so they are known only by the modern names that Rumpf, Beazley, and von Bothmer assigned to them.²³ Working on the approximately ninety amphorae known to him at the time, von Bothmer divided Tyrrhenian amphorae into the hands of eight painters. In addition to the eight painters identified by von Bothmer, Beazley later added the painter of the O.L.L. Group (not accepted as part of the Tyrrhenian group by von Bothmer) and the Archippe Painter (a painter of Tyrrhenian hydriae), which will be discussed separately.

1. The *Prometheus Painter* got his nickname from his depiction of the Liberation

²³ An apparent exception to this rule is found on Louvre E 831 by the Guglielmi Painter where the inscription ΔΙΕΣ ΠΙΟΕΤΕΣ is found within the main obverse frieze. While all of this painter’s other inscriptions are nonsense, this apparent maker’s signature may give us the true name of the Guglielmi Painter. This inscription is the first and only known example of such within the corpus of Tyrrhenian amphorae (Kluiver 1996, p. 24).

of Prometheus (ABV #28) (52), which is also sometimes included in the O.L.L. group (Fig. 9). Bothmer considered this painter to be the earliest of the Tyrrhenian group and he is generally thought to have worked between 565-555 B.C. Recent attributions, in addition to von Bothmer's list, have brought Prometheus Painter's output to 37 vases. About 130 inscriptions appear on some 19 of his total vases, making his the greatest number of inscriptions as a whole in addition to largest number on individual vases. His subject matter on the main friezes is "rich and varied," with Herakles adventures being the most popular on the obverse and horse-races on the reverse. Among his animals he tends to favor panthers, but likes to draw his roes and heraldic sphinxes in a unique way.²⁴

2. The *Timiades Painter* is named for a fallen soldier on one of the pieces (ABV #46) and his works include intelligible inscriptions, "interesting" mythology (such as Perseus and Medusa), and reverse zones filled with heraldic animals (Fig. 10). The Timiades Painter's work consists of 40 amphorae and can be dated to c. 565-550 B.C. While he favors "interesting" mythological scenes involving heroes, the most common subjects for his obverse friezes are erotic scenes. He prefers to include two bands of animals, of which panthers and rams are the most popular. Lions, cocks, and eagles are never depicted.²⁵

²⁴ von Bothmer lists Thiersch no. 24 and several unpublished examples not listed in Thiersch, including the name vase. See ABV nos. 28, 6, 97, 96.13, 97.28, 99.51, 100.68, 95.6, 96.16, 96.17, 96.20, 98.39, 99.49, 102.97, 97.24, 96.11, 97.33, 101.89, 103.118, 104.124, 104.125. Kluiver (1995) adds 6 vases to the Prometheus Painter's work (Kluiver nos. 6, 17, 21, 22bis, 26, 34).

²⁵ von Bothmer lists Thiersch nos. 3, 4, 12, 25, 20, and several amphorae not listed in Thiersch. See ABV nos. 5, 18, 46, 19, 27, 1, 96, 4, 68, 95.5, 96.18, 98.41, 101.81, 103.119, 95.4, 97.27, 98.44, 98.46, 103.111, 95.1, 95.3, 96.19, 101.79, 102.95, 102.96, 102.101, 102.106, 683.51bis, 101.78. Kluiver (1995) adds 9 amphorae to the Timiades Painter's work, including the Tyrrhenian amphorae in the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri (*74.101) (Kluiver nos. 43, 50, *51, 52, 54, 57, 61, 67, 68/69).

3. The *Goltyr Painter*, who was named by Beazley in a letter as short for “Golochow ‘Tyrrhenian’,” is best known for his unique animals, especially “bulb-headed” rams (Fig. 11). He also tends to depict scenes with warriors who, especially in amazonomachies, have peculiar shield designs, and he favors two bands below the figural frieze, sometimes substituting one floral for an animal band. Although the Goltyr painter shows some unique traits, his “subject matter is limited and monotonous,” usually depicting Amazons on the obverse and a komos scene between animals on the reverse. His work consists of 25 neck-amphorae and can be dated to approximately the same time as the Timiades Painter, c. 565-550 B.C.²⁶

4. The *Kyllenios Painter* got his name from an amphora depicting the Birth of Athena which has inscriptions for almost every object both animate and inanimate (Thiersch no. 26, *ABV* #14). Characteristic of his style are stiff warriors and three animal bands (Fig. 6). His subject matter is dull and repetitive, with horse-races on almost every reverse and animal bands filled with panthers and sirens. Nearly all of his vases have inscriptions, but most are meaningless, and the three that make some sense are likely only to do so by luck. His work consists of 18 amphorae and can be dated to c. 560-545 B.C.²⁷

5. The *Castellani Painter*, who is named for the collection featuring his name vase (*ABV* #42), is the earliest of these artists to include dicing under his figural scenes; all later painters included this device. He employs a panther as a characteristic shield

²⁶ von Bothmer lists Thiersch nos. 33, 6, 5, 32, 34, 35, as well as amphorae not listed in Thiersch. See *ABV* nos. 62, 114, 52, 63, 104, 90, 94, 101.90, 102.104, 96.21, 99.52, 100.62, 100.63, 101.91, 103.114, 103.115, 103.116, 683.60bis, 105.1. Kluiver (1995) has added 3 neck-amphorae to the Goltyr Painter (Kluiver nos. 81, 85, 102).

²⁷ von Bothmer lists Thiersch nos. 26, 30, 27, 21, and a few other unpublished pieces. See *ABV* nos. 14, 69, 58, 70, 101.80, 105.1, 105.3, 96.14, 99.58, 97.29, 100.70, 100.75, 103.109, 97.30. Kluiver (1996) adds 5 amphorae to the Kyllenios Painter (Kluiver nos. 106, 112, 118, 120, 121).

device and he likes to include a lotus-palmette chain under his main frieze (Fig. 4). His work, which is the most extensive of any Tyrrhenian painter, consists of 62 pieces (including a plate) and can be dated to c. 560-545 B.C. His subject matter is very different from that of the other Tyrrhenian painters, including uncommon myths (such as Priam visiting Achilles for Hektor's ransom), unusual mythological details, and architectural structures.²⁸

6. The *Pointed-Nose Painter* may be the easiest to identify—by the profiles of his warriors (Fig. 12). He uses only a few nonsense inscriptions, which he copies on every vase. He varies the number of bands on his amphorae, but his animals are “quite remarkably individual” with truncated muzzles and goose-like sirens. Sixteen amphorae can now be assigned to this artist who was active c. 555-545 B.C. His subjects are common to the Tyrrhenian group, but of the few Tyrrhenian amphorae with a narrative scene in a lower frieze, he can claim two of them. All of his inscriptions are nonsense, and in fact, with most letters looking like no more than blobs, he can be said to be the most careless of the Tyrrhenian painters.²⁹

7. The *Guglielmi Painter*, first identified and called the *Komos Painter* by Rumpf, may have been called ΔΙΕΣ based on his one sensible inscription. He is one of the later painters and thus utilizes nonsense inscriptions, which are identical on all of his pieces. His preference is for three bands of animals. While not all of his obverse scenes

²⁸ von Bothmer lists Thiersch nos. 59, 57, and several additional pieces added after his 1944 article. See *ABV* nos. 42, 45, 98.34, 99.5, 100.73, 683.51ter, 95.7, 98.42, 98.45, 98.47, 683.60ter, 683.60quater, 98.36, 99.61, 100.65, 105.2, 100.66, 95.2, 97.31, 100.67, 95.8, 97.25, 105.135. Kluiver (1996) has added 13 amphorae and one plate to the Castellani Painter (Kluiver nos. 128, 146, 148, 149, 152, 156, 157, 160, 162, 173, 175, 178, 179, 182).

²⁹ von Bothmer lists Thiersch nos. 16, 2 and a few other amphorae. See *ABV* nos. 72, 87, 96.12, 101.87, 102.94, 103.107, 103.117, 96.9. Kluiver (1996) adds 9 amphorae to the Pointed-Nose Painter (Kluiver nos. 185, 188, 189, 190, 191, 193, 195, 196, 198).

are of specific myths, he tends to favor the Herakles and Nessos myth (Fig. 1) (37).

Komos scenes dominate the more generic images depicted, and a few “radiate vigorous sexual energy which belong to the [Tyrrhenian] Group’s freshest and funniest scenes.”³⁰

Thirty-two pieces, including 28 amphorae and four hydriae, have been attributed to the Guglielmi Painter and his work can be dated to c. 560-545 B.C.³¹

8. The *Fallow Deer Painter* is, as his name might imply, known for his animals. His deer have a row of white spots running along their backs and his panthers have peculiar tails (Fig. 2). He consistently paints two bands of animals and prefers horsemen on the reverse figural frieze. His subject matter is consistent with the Tyrrhenian group, but he adds a degree of individuality, including placing human figures among the animals in the lower bands. His work includes 22 pieces, 20 amphorae and two kraters, and is dated to c. 560-545 B.C.³²

Two other painters/groups deserve mentioning, although they are generally no longer accepted as a part of the Tyrrhenian group. The O.L.L. Group was created by Beazley based on the decorative scheme of these pots, which included a preference for Amazons and a single row of animals. This group is much disputed, and “in shape, style, and composition these amphorae differ more from the “Tyrrhenian” group than any two

³⁰ Kluiver 1996, p. 23.

³¹ von Bothmer lists Thiersch nos. 47, 50, 51, 48, 52, and additional amphorae and hydriae not listed in Thiersch. See ABV nos. 98, 57, 105, 38, 98.38, 102.98, 102.99, 102.102, 99.48, 99.57, 100.69, 101.82, 101.83, 102.100, 102.103, 102.105, 103.108, 683.77bis, 98.37, 99.56, 100.74, 101.85, 101.86, 683.105bis, 105.133, 105.132, 105.131. Kluiver (1996) has added 9 amphorae and 2 hydriae to the Guglielmi Painter (Kluiver nos. 211, 212, 213, 214, 218, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 230).

³² von Bothmer lists Thiersch nos. 46, 40, 43, 44, 45, 41, and a few pieces not listed by Thiersch. See ABV nos. 32, 40, 93, 77, 23, 100.77, 101.84, 102.93, 97.23, 97.32, 101.88, 98.40, 100.76, 101.92, 100.71, 97.22. Kluiver (1996) added six amphorae to the Fallow Deer Painter (Kluiver nos. 240, 243, 249, 250, 251, 252).

“Tyrrhenian” vases among themselves.”³³ Basing inclusion within the Tyrrhenian group solely on scheme would open the door to certain vases by known non-Tyrrhenian painters such as Lydos and the KX Painter, whose amphorae, while sharing a similar scheme, are painted in completely different styles.³⁴

Another painter who has often been included in the Tyrrhenian group, although known for painting hydriae, is the Archippe Painter. Working at the same time and painting in a similar style, the main difference between his work and that of the Tyrrhenian group lies in the use of panels. The Archippe Painter’s hydriae utilize a tripartite division of decoration on one side of the vessel, with heraldic pairs of animals keeping the focus centered in one place instead of winding in bands around the vase (Fig. 13).³⁵

Within the eight painters of the Tyrrhenian group proper, those that are known for specific myths tend to stick to them. The Goltys Painter was fond of Amazonomachies and painted various myths including Amazons. The Guglielmi Painter preferred Herakles in his myths, and so his works include the Herakles and Nessos myth and Amazonomachies with Herakles. In addition to myth preference, von Bothmer and Beazley found that no painter who painted “punktband” or nonsense inscriptions ever left them out or wrote sensibly; by the same token, no literate painter used nonsensical words.³⁶ For instance, the Timiades Painter is known for his inscriptions and two rows of

³³ von Bothmer 1944, p. 163.

³⁴ Kluiver 1995, p. 55.

³⁵ von Bothmer 1969, p. 27.

³⁶ von Bothmer 1944, p. 164. Kluiver (1996) discusses a possibly maker’s signature on one of the Guglielmi Painter’s amphorae, but notes that all of his other numerous inscriptions are nonsense.

animals directly below the figural frieze, and no vase has ever been attributed to him that has a row of punktband or nonsensical inscriptions.

Earlier painters were typically “cleaner” than later painters and they tend to have intelligible inscriptions and no dicing. The later painters were not as careful as the earlier artists, and they seem to spend less time on detailed figural scenes, inscriptions (which are usually nonsense), and generally the overall composition of the vase. They include more bands of simple filler, such as dicing or lotus-palmette chains, and their animals are fewer and less detailed. These later painters were probably just copying a style that they knew would sell in Etruria and therefore were not as careful as the earlier artists who developed the Tyrrhenian style of painting.

Market Considerations

Trade throughout the Mediterranean was widespread from the time of the Bronze Age onward, and by the 7th century B.C. painted pottery from Greece was making its way into the lives and graves of other cultures. The trade market between the Etruscans and the Athenians opened up and expanded in the 6th century B.C., with Etruria’s rich agricultural and mineral resources becoming a solid commodity for the Greek market. The influx of oriental trade goods that the Phoenicians had previously supplied abruptly stopped around the beginning of the second quarter of the 6th century B.C. with Nebuchadnezzar’s destruction of Tyre in 573 B.C.³⁷ This resulted in Carthage “taking the lead in the old mercantile empire,” but opened the doors for increased trade by both the

³⁷ Bonfante 1986, p. 68.

Etruscans and the Greeks in their markets, and paved the way for Tyrrhenian amphorae to make it into Etruscan hands.³⁸

The Etruscans were especially fond of Orientalizing pottery and Corinth first held the monopoly in this trade. Attic wares were not found in Etruria before circa 620-610 B.C., but by about 550 B.C. they had almost completely superseded the Corinthian.³⁹ Despite the change in demand, relations between Athens and Corinth continued to be friendly. This may have been due to the Corinthians realizing that their own vases were losing appeal in the West, so they began stocking their ships with the more popular Attic wares. These friendly relations held advantages for both cities, as it was easier for Corinth than Athens geographically to trade with the West.⁴⁰

This change in preference from Corinthian to Attic became evident in the second quarter of the 6th century, when Tyrrhenian amphorae started appearing. These vases are unique in that they took a shape not employed in Corinth and added human figural scenes to the oriental animal bands, thus creating a stylistic compromise that appealed to the Etruscan market. Although this may seem innovative, these vases are regarded as ‘lower class’ by most scholars, who consider “the draughtsmanship [to be] careless and rough...a pretentious and inferior style, which offers cheaply all the latest improvements of the leading masters of Athens and Corinth.”⁴¹ In modern retail terms, the Tyrrhenian amphorae are regarded now—and may have been regarded in antiquity—as the Target knock-off version of name-brand Pottery Barn dishes. Basically, the painters took a

³⁸ Bonfante 1986, p. 68.

³⁹ Scullard 1967, p. 181.

⁴⁰ Scullard 1967, p. 181.

⁴¹ Cook 1997, p. 76.

popular style and in reproducing it changed some points to suit their own tastes and made it more quickly and cheaply than others.

The taste for these Greek vessels likely developed through the introduction of the Greek style symposium in Etruria—including the act of reclining on couches and the use of specifically Greek shapes of sympotic equipment. After the importation of the first Corinthian vessels, local Etruscan wares began to imitate Greek shapes for use in the symposia, but the market demand was still for the actual foreign-made pieces. Whole sets of imported Greek symposium vessels were the desired commodity, and whether or not these vases were being used in banquets, numerous imports were ending up in Etruscan tombs.⁴²

Their placement in tombs begs the question of how these vases were used and why the Etruscans were importing them. Although no specific scientific studies have been conducted on the ancient contents of Tyrrhenian amphorae, they may have been filled with prime Attic olive oil or Athenian wine. Early theories saw Tyrrhenian amphorae, and other exported classes of Greek pottery, as merely ballast on the trade ships that could be filled with various more saleable products.⁴³ Greek society at this time was still largely aristocratic, and the “production, and no doubt export, of oil and wine was keyed into such a system,” but to what extent the trade in painted pottery depended upon its contents is not so easily established.⁴⁴

⁴² Bonfante 1986, p. 72.

⁴³ Arafat and Morgan 1994, p. 109.

⁴⁴ Rasmussen 1997, p. 211.

The fact that so many of these vases were placed in Etruscan tombs points to a purpose beyond saleable ballast. In fact, in undisturbed tombs, excavation reports show that the Etruscans placed a wide range of pottery, sometimes covering multiple generations of styles and a variety of provenances, including foreign and local wares. A few good examples of this mix of pottery can be seen in the late 7th century B.C. Tomb of the Painted Lions from Cerveteri, the circa 600 B.C. Campana Tomb from Veii (Fig. 14), and the late 6th century B.C. Tomb 3098 from Tarquinia. The Campana tomb (Fig. 15) yielded (among other things) impasto pithoi with stamped metope reliefs, geometric amphorae, a Corinthian column-krater with two friezes, an Etrusco-Corinthian amphora with four animal friezes, an Etrusco-Corinthian olpe, two bucchero cups and “numerous pottery vases.”⁴⁵ In the Tomb of the Painted Lions, a Proto-Attic black-figure hydria, Attic black-figure, Proto-Corinthian, Corinthian, Etrusco-Corinthian, and Caeratan shards, and numerous impasto and bucchero vases and shards were found in the dromos.⁴⁶ Tomb 3098 contained a small bucchero skyphos, a fragment of a bucchero olpe, a rim of an Attic black-figure “Little Masters” cup, fragments of a small impasto ollae, an Etrusco-Corinthian olpe, an Attic red-figure kylix, a small Attic lekythos, an Attic black-figure kylix, and a terracotta plate.⁴⁷

These tombs were used for multiple burials over a span of time, but the variety of Corinthian and Attic pieces and the Etruscan imitations shows the continued popularity of

⁴⁵ Steingraber 1986, p. 374. The tomb also contained impasto braziers with stamped animal friezes, terracotta urns with head protomes, a pierced bronze helmet, fragmentary bronze armor, a spear, a bronze candelabrum, and several bronze mirrors.

⁴⁶ Steingraber 1986, p. 261. Also found were fragments of other pottery, bronze, iron, and a bronze ring with gold filigree.

⁴⁷ Steingraber 1986, p. 362. The tomb also contained several iron fragments, some of spears.

foreign wares and their use as grave goods. Iconographic reasons for their tomb placement will be discussed in following chapters, but the more practical use and purpose of these vases needs further attention. The Etruscan desire for collecting a full Greek wine service for use at banquets kept amphorae in demand, as well as kraters, hydriae, and kylikes. Some of these vessels were used in everyday life as their wear and multiple visible repairs show, while others may have been used once at the funeral banquet, or perhaps just deposited in the tomb unused so as to leave good new dishes for the deceased to use in the afterlife.⁴⁸

Other types of Greek export amphorae were also placed in Etruscan tombs, such as the Nikosthenic amphorae and Perizoma Group vases.⁴⁹ Local wares such as the Pontic amphorae and works by the Micali Painter were greatly influenced by Athenian black-figure, and either incorporated the Greek models into their work (such as the Pontic amphorae which seem directly influenced by Tyrrhenian amphorae) or rejected the specifically Greek mythology for more local flavor (such as the Micali Painter). These vases found their market within Etruscan society among the less affluent and perhaps “less pretentious” members who could not afford the Greek imports but still wanted similar pottery for their tombs.⁵⁰

A well-known type of Athenian black-figure vase that frequently ended up in Etruscan tombs is the Panathenaic amphora. Bonfante suggests that these vases, long empty of their prized olive oil, may have been heirlooms sold by the “impoverished

⁴⁸ Arafat and Morgan 1994, p. 117.

⁴⁹ Rasmussen 1997, p. 144.

⁵⁰ Spivey 1987, p. 66.

families of Greek athletes” to the Etruscans because while they “probably did travel to Athens, they were non-Greeks and would not have been allowed to compete in the games.”⁵¹ However, even if the Etruscan buyer was unaware of the Panathenaic connection, the sporting scenes depicted on the amphorae may have had the same funerary game connotation seen on the reverse panels of Tyrrhenian amphorae, and thus been seen as appropriate for the tomb.⁵²

J. Kluiver also sees a strong link between the early Tyrrhenian amphorae and the earliest Panathenaic amphorae, with similar body shape, neck ornamentation, and inscriptions. He states that these connections:

“provide chronological points of reference suggesting that the first products of the ‘Tyrrhenian’ Group appeared around the time when the Greater Panathenaia were organized. As a result, foreign interest in Athens would have grown and the economic prospects of potters and vase painters would have increased if owing only to the large state orders for prize amphorae which had to be made in a bustling and lively Kerameikos.”⁵³

The movement of Panathenaic amphorae suggests that the Etruscans were visiting Greece or that their trade market was highly organized, with contacts in Athens, on ships, and at trading posts in Etruria. Although some scholars, such as J. Boardman, still see the Etruscan buyer as a passive participant in the export process, the Etruscans were most likely buying and commissioning vessels in Athens, “searching the Kerameikos for suitable vessels or someone prepared to make them (which in exceptional cases may have been the start of a regular commission from a particular workshop).”⁵⁴ Additionally, K.

⁵¹ Bonfante 1986, p. 72.

⁵² Rasmussen 1997, p. 142. In fact, one Panathenaic amphora found in Etruria carries “an Etruscan legend, *suthina*: ‘belonging to the grave.’”

⁵³ Kluiver 1995, p. 83.

⁵⁴ Arafat and Morgan 1994, p. 115.

Arafat and C. Morgan assert that even if the Etruscans were not directly involved every step of the way, they still provided the stimulus for trade through their knowledge of the markets, and “Etruscan dipinti reveal the active role of Etruscan agents in re-assembling shipments that they had ordered in the Kerameikos before distribution to their customers.”⁵⁵

Because the aristocratic families in Etruscan society were the end buyers of Tyrrhenian amphorae, their tastes and influence were factors to the trade middlemen who shipped the pots from Athens as well as the potters themselves in the Kerameikos. This rising level of contact, trade and influence within the Mediterranean in the 6th century B.C. attests to the supplier’s awareness of foreign tastes and customs in order to make their product more marketable. The case for Athenian knowledge of Etruscan customs will be made in following chapters, but this knowledge may also apply to other markets in the Mediterranean, including Egypt, where J. Boardman notes that the “awareness of Egyptian iconographical conventions is not unique in Greek 6th century art.”⁵⁶

Although some artists working in 6th century Athens may have been ‘worldly’ in their knowledge of foreign customs, many pieces made it into foreign hands that were not necessarily intended for export. The market for these pieces may show the worldliness of the aristocratic Etruscan buyers, who even if misunderstanding the original purpose of the pot or its mythological images, could see familiar-looking banquets, view hetairai as

⁵⁵ Arafat and Morgan 1994, p. 114.

⁵⁶ Boardman 1998, p. 222.

wives, and understand various sporting and military scenes as activities at a funeral banquet.⁵⁷

The import of Greek vases such as Tyrrhenian amphorae can be understood as “one element in a package of ‘power art’ by which the Etruscan elite reinforced their status as a group separate from the commons.”⁵⁸ These imported vessels served as a means by which the aristocratic families could show their elevated status and may have guaranteed an aristocratic afterlife. The fact that Tyrrhenian amphorae were being imported at a time when local styles were coming into their own shows that these amphorae were a way to augment the high status received through possession of nice Etruscan pieces.

Recent Scholarship

Although the Tyrrhenian amphorae may be “fresh and vigorous,” scholars have not been scrambling to study them in the years since von Bothmer’s 1944 article. Identified as an enigmatic group within Attic black-figure, they are usually listed as a low-quality black-figure export group that was popular for only about a quarter of a century. Although von Bothmer continued to study and attribute Tyrrhenian amphorae, the first fresh look into the vases after von Bothmer came in 1982 with a doctoral dissertation on their mythological themes by Stamatia Mayer-Emmerling. She compiled a catalog of some 171 Tyrrhenian amphorae and analyzed them in groups based on their

⁵⁷ Rasmussen 1997, p. 144.

⁵⁸ Arafat and Morgan 1994, p. 117.

myths.⁵⁹ For example, those including Herakles are organized by his different adventures (Nessos, Amazonomachy, Liberation of Prometheus, etc.) and each adventure is discussed based on their representations on Tyrrhenian amphorae. The scenes of everyday life typically depicted on the reverse are also addressed, as well as their possible connection to the scenes on the obverse.

Following on the heels of Mayer-Emmerling, the next look into the realm of Tyrrhenian amphorae comes with two articles by T.H. Carpenter, published in 1983 and 1984, in the *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*. Carpenter examines the iconographic evidence on Tyrrhenian amphorae to put forth a new set of dates for the vases. In his second article, “The Tyrrhenian Group: Problems of Provenance,” he addresses the fact that while the shape, style, and subjects of Tyrrhenian amphorae have been much discussed, their provenance or lack thereof has been neglected.⁶⁰

Carpenter also continues his discussion on the letterforms found on Tyrrhenian amphorae and introduces a comparison of these amphorae with other black-figure vases from the same findspot to help discover a possible provenience for the “homeless” vases. He argues that perhaps some of what scholars have called “nonsense” inscriptions may actually have been attempts at non-Attic Greek letterforms, such as Euboean, Corinthian, and Boeotian. He starts by studying the development of Attic letterforms in the 6th century B.C. and then compares them to the vases of non-Attic origin. He acknowledges that his conclusions may be tentative because some letters are drawn so badly that they

⁵⁹ Mayer-Emmerling 1982.

⁶⁰ Carpenter 1983, 1984.

cannot fit into a group and those put into certain groups may have just been a slip of the brush.⁶¹

Most recently, J. Kluiver published a four-part series of articles on Tyrrhenian amphorae in the mid-1990s. His first article addressed the origins of Tyrrhenian amphorae by looking at findspots, and then documented the research of H. Kars on the fabric comparison between Tyrrhenian, Etruscan and Athenian pottery. Sections of vases were put under microscopic examination, and while differences were found between the Etruscan samples, virtually no differentiation could be found between the Athenian and Tyrrhenian samples.⁶² In 1993, after studying and measuring the works of the eight identified Tyrrhenian painters, Kluiver concluded that the same artist that painted the vases probably also potted them. He was able to distinguish eight slightly different sets of shapes and measurements within the vases, and even identified “batches” of practically identical vases within a painter’s repertoire. While he holds to his “solo theory” of single potter/painter, he also allows for the possibility of a single painter working with a single potter, or “couple theory.”⁶³

In two further articles Kluiver examined in minute detail the work of the three “early” and five “late” Tyrrhenian painters. In this detailed examination he reattributed a number of vases to other painters (or put them out of the group altogether) and proposed attributions for many unpublished pieces (including the Tyrrhenian amphorae in the collection of the University of Missouri’s Museum of Art and Archaeology). This

⁶¹ Carpenter 1984, pp. 52-54.

⁶² Kluiver 1992, pp. 75-76.

⁶³ Kluiver 1993, p. 186.

brought the list of attributed pieces in the Tyrrhenian group to 253 of some 260 pieces known to Kluiver.⁶⁴ He returns to the question of origin by looking at the earliest neck-amphorae in Athenian black-figure, which date to the last decades of the 7th century B.C. Kluiver analyzed the lotus-palmette design, the tongue-band, the animal friezes, and the narrative scene on the shoulder in relation to the shapes of amphorae being used at the time, and concluded that the specific “Tyrrhenian” ovoid-type neck-amphora became popular sometime between 570-560 B.C., and overall the Tyrrhenian style can best be compared with the work of Sophilos and his circle.⁶⁵ Not to be left out of the debate surrounding the date of Tyrrhenian amphorae, Kluiver saw influence of Kleitias on the Prometheus Painter, and so dated the birth of the Tyrrhenian group, as Prometheus is named the earliest painter, to the middle of the 560s B.C.⁶⁶

With Kluiver’s numerous additions to attributed Tyrrhenian pieces, all of the painters are connected with at least one known findspot for Tyrrhenian amphorae. Only 59 pieces are connected with a concrete provenance, but sites such as Vulci and Cerveteri are represented by multiple painters and so can shed a little light on where these amphorae were ending up.⁶⁷ There does not appear to be any pattern for specific myths dominating at any single site. Each painter tends to have the highest number of vases at Vulci, but this is not surprising because about half of the vases with known provenances come from Vulci. The evidence precludes a statement about certain sites favoring specific painters.

⁶⁴ Kluiver 1995, 1996.

⁶⁵ Kluiver 1995, p. 79.

⁶⁶ Kluiver 1995, p. 81.

⁶⁷ Kluiver 1992, p. 75.

With so few vases having secure findspots, it is difficult to discuss the distribution of Tyrrhenian amphorae and the trade market throughout Etruria for them. Adding to this difficulty is the question of the trade market for Tyrrhenian amphorae elsewhere in the Mediterranean, as discussed by Y. Tuna-Nörling in her 1997 article on the market in Ionia, and the three known “Tyrrhenian” pieces found there.⁶⁸ Also contributing to the problem of research is the fact that not much has actually been done in comparison with other black-figure vases. As von Bothmer puts it, “of the 90 ‘Tyrrhenian’ amphorae known to me, almost half are either completely or partially unpublished, and of the published one half are reproduced in the publications on too small a scale.”⁶⁹ Adding to this is the lack of pieces on display in museums, and in many cases, poor placement allows only one side of the piece to be seen.

While the history of scholarship on Tyrrhenian amphorae still leaves many questions left unanswered, the research that has been done lays a firm foundation for future discovery of the “whys” of Tyrrhenian amphorae and what impact they had on the civilization that imported them. Now that they have been repeatedly catalogued, with descriptions of their figural scenes and pictures becoming more readily available in the CVAs and in online scholarly archives, the next logical step is to study what myths were chosen and understand why these Greek myths were so important to the Etruscans that they inspired a specialized export market for them.

The Present Study

⁶⁸ Tuna-Nörling 1997.

⁶⁹ von Bothmer 1944, p. 163.

In this thesis I will discuss the Tyrrhenian amphorae as a composition of their decorative schemes, how this relates to contemporary Etruscan visual arts, and how these vessels might have been viewed by the people who imported and used them. The individual elements of the Tyrrhenian amphorae can be seen to correlate with distinct aspects of the Etruscan funerary process, and when viewed together as a composition they became an important connection between the funeral celebration by the living and the afterlife of the deceased.

The different parts of the Tyrrhenian amphora composition, including scenes of reveling, games, and partying, may have represented to the Etruscans all of the activities that went along with a funeral. Since Etruscan tomb-paintings frequently show feasting and wrestling in honor of the deceased, the “everyday life” scenes on the reverse of Tyrrhenian amphorae may show the connection between the funeral activities of mortals and that of the mythological hero fighting death, on the obverse, as the deceased enters the Underworld. Additionally, strange, oriental-looking animals are traditionally said to have helped lead the deceased to the Underworld in Etruscan society, which could explain the earlier popularity of Corinthian wares with the Etruscans and why the rows of animals were retained in the composition of Tyrrhenian amphorae.⁷⁰

In order to address these questions, I will examine the myths of Herakles depicted on the obverse of the vases and what connections this hero had to death, the Underworld, and Etruscan beliefs. Herakles’ presence in both Greek and Etruscan myth resulted in a wide variety of artistic representations, but the wealthy Etruscans who imported these vessels may have been in a position to commission and otherwise exert some control over

⁷⁰ Haynes 2000, p. 164.

the production and the use of imagery that was so different from what was being used in Athens at the time. My study will explore the various parts that make up Tyrrhenian amphorae in light of Etruscan funerary ideals, and how Herakles played an important role that both the Athenians and Etruscans could understand.

Chapter 2: Herakles on Tyrrhenian Amphorae

Herakles in Vase-Painting

Whenever the myths of Herakles are discussed in literature, or even in a basic mythology course, the focus tends to be on his twelve famous labors and little attention is given to any of his other adventures. In fact, it is some of Herakles' lesser known myths that find favor with the Etruscan market and end up being some of the most popular scenes depicted on Tyrrhenian amphorae.

While Herakles' popularity in Greek vase-painting is one that spans both centuries and painting styles, most depictions of his adventures were seen on Attic black-figure vases of 550-500 B.C.¹ His scenes were usually of some violent action and the only quiet moments represented in black-figure are with Athena, his patron, or of his apotheosis.² Still primarily of a violent nature, scenes of his labors developed a sense of calm balance in their compositions by the end of the 6th century B.C.³ with hero and foe engaged in a static central battle (Fig. 16).

Some of the earliest known depictions of Herakles are from the 8th century B.C. where the legends of the lion, the hydra, the doe and the birds first appear.⁴ While the hydra and the doe appear on a few Tyrrhenian amphorae, much more common is the violent scene of Herakles and Nessos, one of the earliest Herakles scenes in black figure

¹ Brommer 1986, p. 6.

² Boardman 1985, p. 224.

³ All dates are B.C. unless otherwise noted.

⁴ Nibbi 1969, p. 44.

vase-painting. Other myths of Herakles, including many of his more famous labors, did not appear until the second quarter of the 6th century. In fact, the canonical twelve labors only became popular in the Classical period after their appearance on the temple of Zeus at Olympia.⁵

Herakles was a popular choice for Athenian black-figure vase-painting because of his status as a Panhellenic hero and his connection to Athena, patron of the city. His myths usually had him disposing of dangerous creatures, fighting on the side of the “good guys,” and going on missions of redemption that eventually led to him being brought up at his death to live with the immortal gods on Mt. Olympos. Herakles was a demi-god hero who could fight on the side of the everyman because of his mortal mother, but also possessed the “superpower” of strength from his father, king of the gods, which made him the ultimate lead character for any story.

Like all heroes, Herakles has a few key attributes to identify him, which are especially useful in depicting the hero in art. On Tyrrhenian amphorae, Herakles is always shown wearing his lion’s skin knotted across his chest with the “mask” of the lion usually pulled up over his head (Fig. 5). The back paws of the lion’s skin hang down between his legs and are usually incised with spots or lines to indicate fur. Around the skin he wears a belt at his waist, both to secure the lion’s skin and to hold his scabbard. It is not until red-figure that his lion’s skin flows free like a cape without a belt or hangs over his shoulders as a mantle. Herakles is almost always bearded on these later vases, whereas on black-figure depictions of his labors and in red-figure he is an unbearded, usually nude youth. In addition to his famous club, Herakles is also known to wield a

⁵ Brommer 1986, p. 6.

bow and arrow, with Greek literature presenting him primarily as a bowman in reference to his success in the Trojan War and his infamous hydra-blood tipped arrows. Also in black-figure Herakles commonly wears a sword, but he rarely uses it except against “humanoid” foes such as Amazons and centaurs.⁶ It is the sword with which he is most frequently shown on Tyrrhenian amphorae, whether it was the weapon truly used in the Attic version of the myth or not.

Herakles and the Amazons

Some of the most popular Herakles myths represented on Tyrrhenian amphorae were combinations of certain story details or elaborations of more generic myths with Herakles inserted as the hero. One of Herakles’ labors was to fetch the belt of the Amazon queen Hippolyte, yet this scene is rarely depicted in vase-painting and most encounters of Herakles with the Amazons have nothing to do with a belt at all. The depiction of Herakles and the Amazons is, after the fight with the Nemean Lion, the second most popular labor in black-figure and it appears on nearly 400 vases, twenty-seven of which are on Tyrrhenian amphorae.⁷

The earliest known depiction of Herakles in this scene is on a Corinthian alabastron from the late 7th century where he is named, along with his two companions, and one of the three Amazon foes is called “Andromeda.”⁸ More typically on Archaic depictions, and on all Tyrrhenian amphorae where the main Amazon is named, Herakles’

⁶ LIMC V 1992, p. 184, s.v. *Herakles* (R. Lindner et al.).

⁷ Carpenter 1994, p. 125. Plus, an additional 17 vases depict Amazonomachies without Herakles.

⁸ Blok 1995, p. 354.

foe is called “Andromache,” which alludes to the stories of Troy (Fig. 17). The Trojan connection may have been a conflation of Homer’s stories of the Amazons at Troy, and Herakles with Telamon against Troy, in revenge for the never-received reward of horses from Laomedon.⁹

While no extant literary sources record Herakles fighting against an Amazon named Andromache at Troy, it seems that by the end of the 7th century, the hero and his companions had been thrown into the Homeric Amazon formula of a generic battle between warriors. This new feat of Herakles “marks a broader effort to connect this hero, who had many properties in common with the natural and bestial world he had to conquer, with the predominately human world of epic heroism,” and while this scene became incredibly popular with vase-painters, it showed some striking differences from his other adventures.¹⁰

In fact, these visual representations of Herakles and the Amazons appear almost two hundred years before the earliest surviving literary source, and as mentioned, “depict a story different from those sources in significant ways.”¹¹ So, it may be that an Amazonomachy with Herakles existed at the time that does not survive in literary accounts, or possibly Attic tradition in the Archaic period did not focus on the belt as the crux of the story and instead favored the battle to get it in visual depictions.¹² Ironically, it is not until the end of the 6th century when the popularity of this myth fades out that the

⁹ Blok 1995, pp. 377-378.

¹⁰ Blok 1995, p. 438.

¹¹ Carpenter 1994, p. 125.

¹² Gantz 1993, p. 397.

depictions begin to fall in line with his other exploits, and by the time that the literary sources appear, the myth is hardly depicted at all.

At the time of the Tyrrhenian amphorae, the myth of Herakles and the Amazons was at its prime, emerging for the first time in large numbers on these vases. This myth was the most popular of all the Herakles scenes on Tyrrhenian amphorae, accounting for 27 out of the 59 total Heraklean scenes **(1-27)**. All eight Tyrrhenian painters depicted an Amazonomachy at least once, and this myth was usually the painter's most prolific theme, with the Castellani Painter illustrating 11 Amazonomachies without and 10 with Herakles participating, accounting for 21 of the painter's 27 known pieces.

Despite the fact that Herakles and the Amazons were illustrated by eight different painters, the general composition and detail of figures used was very similar in all of the Tyrrhenian amphorae. The motif was almost always placed in the obverse A1 panel of the vase, as were the majority of mythological scenes on Tyrrhenian amphorae, with Herakles as the left central main fighting figure (Fig. 3). The hero always wears the costume described above, and is seen striding (almost lunging) toward his Amazon foe with his sword in his right hand.¹³ Typically, his sword is either raised above his head with his left hand clasping the Amazon's wrist, or poised at waist level ready to strike his opponent while he grasps either the plume of her helmet (Fig. 18) or her arm (Fig. 10). The position of Herakles is determined by the space available within the panel and the placement of the Amazon, and may vary slightly from the aforementioned formula.

An easily overlooked detail within the composition is the placement of Herakles' left foot on the Amazon's calf or ankle, as though he is stepping down on her. This detail, along with the convention of his "victorious" left to right motion, emphasizes the fact that

Herakles is to be the victor, literally bringing his opponent down to the ground beneath him. This close knit composition of Herakles and Amazon continues in later Athenian black-figure, and becomes even more obvious as the hero steps/leans on the thigh of a completely kneeling/crouching defeated Amazon (Fig. 19).

Another Archaic convention adds to the motion of the scene and the visual declaration of winner and loser. The main Amazon in the scene, usually labeled “Andromache” when inscriptions are intelligible, flees to the right with her arms and legs approaching a *knielauf*, or running kneel, position (Fig. 3). Although her body is facing right, she turns her head back to look at Herakles, who is grasping her wrist/helmet, thus preventing her from fleeing. She is usually outfitted with a shield, helmet, sword, and sometimes spear, and yet she is never using these tools that might make her victorious over the hero.

The central fighting pair of Herakles and “Andromache” is usually flanked by a number of Amazons and warriors fighting, sometimes in pairs (Fig. 20). Amazons can be indicated by their white skin, their dress, their shield shapes, or their “losing” placement on the right side of a battle. The Amazons depicted by the Timiades Painter (Fig. 3) are dressed in short chitoniskoi with a panel of painted or incised animals down the front of their outfits, similar to painted patterns on korai and on other women in black-figure vase-painting. These Amazons all wear helmets and greaves, and wield round shields and spears/swords. Amazons by other painters may not be as easy to identify, lacking added white or color for their skin and clothes, but generally they are always similar in dress and depiction to the central Amazon that Herakles is fighting.

Herakles' companions may be named, as in the early 7th century alabastron noted earlier, but they are typically generic warriors with helmets, spears, different shield shapes than the Amazons, and placed in the victorious left-hand position, sometimes overlapping planes/feet with their female opponents. This warrior type shows up in other Tyrrhenian scenes of mythological battles, and on the reverse in "everyday life" scenes of dueling warriors (Fig. 12). Although the Amazon is shown as a strong warrior, complete with weapons and armor, Herakles is always triumphant, with many artistic conventions and visual clues underscoring his victory on Tyrrhenian amphorae.

Herakles, Nessos and Deianeira

Unlike the myth of Herakles and the Amazons, the story of Herakles, Nessos and Deianeira has definite roots in literary accounts going back to the end of the 8th century or beginning of the 7th century B.C., with an allusion to the myth in Hesiod's *Ehoiai*. In listing Deianeira as a daughter of Oineus, Hesiod comments, "[she] contrived dreadful deeds in the folly (?) of her mind, when anointing a chiton with a drug she gave it to the herald Lichas to convey. And he gave it to lord Herakles son of Amphitryon sacker of cities."¹⁴

The first written account of this episode including Nessos may have been in a lost poem by Archilochos, where the author detailed the attempted ravishment in which Deianeira reminds Herakles of his combat with the river-god Acheloos for her hand, and the subsequent death of Nessos. Exiled from Kalydon for accidentally killing a servant,

¹⁴ Hes., *Ehoiai* (Crane 2005, 22 April).

Herakles and Deianeira made their way to Trachis and came across the Evenus river.¹⁵

The river was flooded at the time and, although Herakles could make it across, his bride Deianeira could not. The couple, therefore, sought out the centaur Nessos, who offered his services as a ferryman across the river. This may have been the same Nessos that Herakles had driven from Arcadia years before, but the centaur now claimed to be a reputable ferryman, having received the commission from the gods for his virtue. While it is unclear whether or not Herakles truly believed the centaur, the hero did hire Nessos to carry Deianeira across the river.

At first, all seemed well with the crossing, but when Herakles approached the opposite shore he heard a cry from his wife as the centaur attempted to accost her. Accounts differ, but since Nessos and Deianeira were so far away from Herakles, either on the banks of the river or still in it, the hero had to use his bow and arrow to reach the offending centaur. Since Deianeira screamed when the centaur had started to assault her, the attempted rape was never completed. Just the attempt caused Herakles to shoot and kill the brash ferryman.

This myth rarely appears in early Greek literature, but it was well-known to the ancient Greeks and turned up quite frequently in Archaic black-figure vase-painting. The Herakles, Nessos and Deianeira myth is first seen in Athenian vase-painting on a large Middle Protoattic neck amphora from the second quarter of the 7th century (Fig. 21).¹⁶ On this vase, Herakles strides across the panel with his sword to kill Nessos while Deianeira waits in a chariot. The artist's depiction of the myth is unique among all painted versions

¹⁵ Gantz 1993, p. 432.

¹⁶ Shapiro 1994, pp. 156-158.

of the story in that Herakles is striding to the left as the victor when he is normally moving to the right. This peculiar representation may be explained by the fact that this is a very early example of mythological narrative in Athenian vase-painting, and the artistic convention of showing the victor attacking from left to right had not yet become a standard feature.

Another important early example of the Herakles and Nessos myth in Athenian vase-painting is on the Nessos (or Nettos) Painter's name vase from the last quarter of the 7th century (Fig. 22). The neck panel of this Late Protoattic funerary amphora is decorated with a sword-bearing Herakles moving to the right and grabbing the hair of the centaur Nessos. Both characters are identified by painted inscriptions. Although Deianeira is entirely missing from this scene, the iconography of Herakles and Nessos appears similar to what will become the iconographic standard of the myths as seen on Tyrrhenian amphorae.

Again, as in the Heraklean Amazonomachies, Tyrrhenian painters tended to follow a similar set of compositional elements in depicting the story of Herakles, Nessos and Deianeira. The scene is set up with Herakles moving across the panel from left to right towards Nessos, who has either just let Deianeira go, leaving her with her hand up in supplication between the foes (Fig. 1), has her seated on his back (Fig. 23), or has hooked her awkwardly under his arm as if he is dragging her off (Fig. 2). Herakles rushes into the scene and grasps some appendage of Nessos (usually his right arm, tail or hair), while his right arm wields his sword, which is shown drawn back against his body as if he is getting ready to thrust it into the offending centaur.

Nessos himself is in a similar pose to the fleeing Amazon, a *knielauf*, and although he appears to be pumping his arms for speed in his getaway, he is getting nowhere because at this point Herakles has usually grabbed his right wrist and is coming in with his sword for the kill (Fig. 24). This simple action allows the artist to show speed and motion without drawing the viewer's eye away from the center of the panel. Nessos is typically drawn with a full, bushy beard and wild hair—signs of an uncivilized creature. He may also be shown wearing a crown of leaves, with horse ears, and with added red on his bare chest to further emphasize his distance from the world of man. His head, like that of the Amazon, is turned back to his pursuer and his mouth is often shown open as if crying out in pain and fear at the prospect of what is going to happen to him.

Although by nature this myth is full of violent motion, the composition chosen by the Tyrrhenian painters evokes an extra sense of tension in the viewer. Not only have the painters replaced the long-distance bow with close-killing sword, but Deianeira, while shown in various poses, is always placed right in the middle of these two battling foes. Her hand may be shown up in supplication, but the viewer might believe that this action is in fact directed toward Herakles who is rushing at her with his sword. The crowded nature of the scene and the implied motion of Herakles makes the viewer believe that in his fury at Nessos, Herakles may in fact run his bride through on the way to kill the centaur (Fig. 1).

This emphasis on Deianeira is unusual, especially considering the fact that she was frequently omitted altogether. Also, the artist never focuses on the moment of attempted rape, which might seem a more important part of the story. Deianeira, when

included, is always fully and meticulously clothed with no real disarray of her garments caused by her abduction.

Moving beyond the main three characters, in some instances “behind [the victor] there might be a companion, if appropriate to the story,” and on several Tyrrhenian amphorae with this and other Herakles myths Athena stands behind the hero as patron and additional support in battle if needed (Fig. 1).¹⁷ Athena is usually identified by her aegis, shield, helmet, spear, or even caption, but sometimes she may look like an ordinary woman whose importance is implied only by her proximity to Herakles and the fact that she warrants a caption, even if it is gibberish.¹⁸

As seen in the Amazonomachy, additional companions, opponents, or spectators are often added to the “wings” of the field to balance the composition and fill space. In the case of a myth like the Herakles, Nessos and Deianeira story, there are only three characters and a whole handle zone to fill, so the painter had to be creative. According to John Boardman, “in sixth-century black figure, where the available fields are always filled, the sides of a panel or frieze may be occupied by ‘onlookers’, unnamed mortals [who] seem more than just a filling device though they can seldom pretend to have any role in the action.”¹⁹ These “filler mortals” in the Herakles and Nessos myth may be centaurs, men with weapons who stand ready to help Herakles, an armed/helmeted woman (possibly Athena), or just unconcerned chatting men and women. These additional figures in the Herakles, Nessos and Deianeira depictions may have served as

¹⁷ Boardman 2001, p. 185.

¹⁸ Fittschen 1970, p. 161.

¹⁹ Boardman 2001, p. 187.

witnesses to Herakles' victory, but whatever their role, they add to the crowded congestion of the field and the intense central movement that makes the scene so violent and affecting.

The myth of Herakles and the centaurs is one that continues in popularity throughout Greek vase-painting and is even kept on churches built from temple remains as a metaphor of the fight between barbarism and civilization, good versus evil. The Herakles, Nessos and Deianeira story appears on 12 of the 59 known Herakles scenes on Tyrrhenian amphorae (28-39), and an additional seven vases have Herakles participating in a Centauromachy (Fig. 25) (40-45). This may be an extension of the theme presented in the above myth, or a more generic way of showing the violence of a centaur battle while still allowing Herakles to triumph as the civilized over the untamed. The scene may represent the specific Centauromachy from the wedding of Perithoos, but as no key figures are identified through inscriptions, a more generic clash between the hero and the centaurs may be meant, with the battle commonly continuing on to the reverse B1 panel (Fig. 26).

Other Myths of Herakles

In addition to the two most popular Herakles myths on Tyrrhenian amphorae, it is interesting to note what other adventures were depicted and how unique specific painters could be in their choices. As mentioned earlier, Herakles' twelve labors become the typical choices after the time of Tyrrhenian amphorae, but before these vases start being made, the hero is shown in a hodge-podge of myths that typically follow a less violent theme.

One of the more frequently depicted myths that turns up on Tyrrhenian amphorae is the killing of the many-headed Hydra. This scene is shown on six Tyrrhenian vases by three different painters, which are usually considered among the earliest works (Fig. 27) **(46-51)**. F. Brommer sees this myth as originating in the Near East, finding similarities in legends, literary sources and visual representations.²⁰ The many-headed, snaky monster has a distinct appearance in earlier Greek art as well as on the Tyrrhenian amphorae. The composition of the Hydra scenes has the monster nestled in the far right-hand side of the panel with Herakles, usually his nephew Iolas, and various companions moving towards the monster with weapons. This placement of the hero follows the left-to-right victory convention, but it also gives the viewer the impression that the Hydra is some huge monster that cannot be fought in single combat, but has to be confronted by many armed men in its lair. This gives the Hydra an air of power and mystery, perhaps connected to its Oriental roots, which presents the viewer with a different feeling than the previously mentioned myths, and a sense of a less easily-won battle by the hero.

Another unusual myth depicted by the painters of the Tyrrhenian amphorae is the liberation of Prometheus from the eagle by Herakles, which appears on four vases by two different painters (Fig. 9) **(52-55)**. This myth shows Prometheus seated, usually larger than Herakles, with his back to the gigantic eagle. While his sword is typically the weapon of choice for Tyrrhenian painters, an exception is made for this myth where the hero shoots several arrows into the bird that daily pecks out Prometheus' liver. The main players are typically flanked by gods and goddesses, perhaps reminding the viewers that this scene takes place in the Underworld, which is part of the domain of the gods. This

²⁰ Brommer 1986.

myth represents the only adventure of Herakles on Tyrrhenian amphorae that actually takes place in the Underworld. Unlike more popular Underworld myths such as that of Kerberos, the liberation of Prometheus is full of violent action, and thus fits well within the Tyrrhenian repertoire.

Also connected with the realm of the gods, on two Tyrrhenian amphorae both by later painters, Herakles is seen participating in a Gigantomachy (Fig. 28) (56-57). The hero is shown of equal size to the giants and is depicted as victorious in the battle, utilizing the left-to-right convention. Although not as popular within black-figure as his other adventures, Herakles' participation in the Gigantomachy may have been one of the keys to his apotheosis and acceptance by the Olympian gods at his death.²¹

Herakles is also known to have found more peaceful solutions to many of his labors and adventures, but while they were more popular in other Athenian black-figure vases, the Tyrrhenian artists rarely depicted them. The myth of Herakles taming the hound of hell was popular in black-figure both before and after the time of Tyrrhenian amphorae, but while this myth featured the hero victorious over a three-headed, vicious dog, perhaps it was kept out of the repertoire due to its lack of bloody violence. One of the less violent myths that made it onto one of the Prometheus Painter's vases was that of Herakles and the Golden Hind (Fig. 29) (58).²² The capture of the Hind was one of the hero's twelve labors, and this scene is also filled with gods, most especially Apollo and Artemis to whom the deer was sacred.²³ Similar to the Hind episode is a scene with

²¹ LIMC V 1992, p. 152, s.v. *Herakles* (R. Lindner et al.).

²² This example by the Prometheus Painter is the only known depiction of this myth on Tyrrhenian amphorae.

²³ The capture of the Golden Hind by Herakles remained a popular myth with the Etruscans, and life-size terracotta statues of this scene decorated the roof of the Temple of Apollo at Veii (c. 515-490 B.C.).

Herakles striking a ram while Athena watches from behind (Fig. 30) (60), and may represent an unknown or alternate myth. The most peaceful scene of all is a fragmentary A1 panel by the Kyllenios Painter depicting Herakles and Athena in a chariot (Fig. 31) (59).²⁴ Although fragmentary, this scene has been identified as that of Herakles' apotheosis, led by his patron Athena. Scenes of Herakles' apotheosis became very popular in Athens towards the end of the 6th century, showing the favor and reward of the gods to the hero at his death. The ancient Greeks may have seen hope for themselves in this myth, as Herakles had lived a mortal life, done good deeds while being plagued with troubles, and in the end was elevated beyond death to live with the immortal gods.

So, while certain myths of Herakles were favored, the painters of the Tyrrhenian amphorae were unique in choosing to depict less standard or altered accounts of the myths, or even moving beyond the iconographic realm of contemporary Athenian black-figure vase-painting to illustrate new scenes. Some of the myths chosen became more popular after their first large-scale use in Tyrrhenian amphorae, and other adventures of Herakles faded away as black-figure turned into red and the populace became more fond of the hero's youthful deeds.

Etruscan Imitators and Contemporary Vase-Painting

Before the time of the Tyrrhenian amphorae, the Etruscans were importing large numbers of Corinthian vessels filled with perfumes and oils, and covered with oriental designs and bands of exotic animals. These styles can be seen imitated in local Etruscan wares, and the so-called "Etrusco-Corinthian" pieces that frequently ended up in tombs

²⁴ This scene appears only once in the corpus of Tyrrhenian amphorae.

alongside the imported Greek pottery. The Etruscan favor for copying Greek styles did not stop with the introduction of more figured wares, such as the Tyrrhenian amphorae, but developed into a more complex style full of local preferences and adaptations of Greek myths.

One of the most closely comparable groups in Etruscan black-figure vase-painting are the so-called “Pontic” amphorae (c. 550-530) (Fig. 32), which are similar in shape and decoration to the Greek pots. This relatively small class of vessels were probably made by a workshop in Vulci (where all known examples have been found) operating in the Archaic style and incorporating Greek myths into their decoration. The artists, such as the Paris Painter, were especially fond of the Trojan cycle, but they also included Herakles in their scenes. The Pontic painters included similar scenes, iconography, and overall composition with the contemporary Athenian black-figure pieces being imported into Etruria, but these pots show just as much local influence as foreign. In many cases, the vessels had to be turned around 360 degrees in order to follow the whole myth and decoration from front to back.

The painters of the Pontic amphorae held to their Greek inspiration, but their later works showed more non-Hellenic elements, perhaps as a market developed for their locally made wares. One artist, who has often been erroneously labeled as a Pontic painter, took his response to Greek imports to a different level. The Micali Painter, who worked in the last quarter of the 6th century and the first part of the 5th century, began his career by, in effect, reacting “against Pontic’s florid use of vase space.”²⁵ In his later work, though, his style has been characterized by Beazley as: “that wonder-world of

²⁵ Spivey 1987, p. 6.

rushing men, women, satyrs, maenads, amidst all sorts of plants trees, weeds, birds, beasts real and fantastic, in which the Etruscan, especially the earlier Etruscan, delights.”²⁶

In general, the Micali Painter was reacting against the Greek imports, such as Tyrrhenian amphorae, but that did not mean that his style was not equally lively and engaging. Despite this reaction, the Micali Painter relished in depicting Herakles in all stages of his life—from an infant with his club, to his youthful labors, to later adventures such as the Gigantomachy, and finally even to his apotheosis with Athena.²⁷ The hero was adopted by the Micali Painter and depicted as a beloved “everyman” who could relate to both Greeks and Etruscans. In addition to specific myths, the Micali Painter is best known for throwing the hero into random scenes of everyday life and celebration. As Spivey notes, “his figures do not customarily loiter or pose, but rather rush, flap, and jive their way around the pot—only the Micali Painter could choreograph a can-can for a centaur” (Fig. 33).²⁸ His scenes possess all the motion and crowded activity of the Tyrrhenian amphorae, and yet even his more violent myths are more “jolly” than the rushed urgency seen in the Herakles adventures on Greek pots.

The contemporary and numerous later Etruscan depictions of Herakles in addition to all of his adventures on the Tyrrhenian amphorae make clear the hero’s popularity in this part of the world. Herakles, in fact, becomes a major cult figure within the Etruscan world in the centuries following the importation of Tyrrhenian amphorae. In the next chapter, I explore the background behind and reasoning for the hero’s popularity and

²⁶ Beazley 1947, p. 2.

²⁷ Spivey 1987.

²⁸ Spivey 1987, p. 49.

meaning in Etruria. The preference for what seems to be such a Greek hero on pottery that was made exclusively for export to the Etruscans must indicate some sort of cultural significance to the people importing it, and even more, placing the vases in their tombs for all eternity. To what extent Herakles' presence determined this funerary use, and what the rest of the decoration on the Tyrrhenian amphorae means in connection with the hero myths, will be addressed by looking into the religion, art, and funerary beliefs of the Etruscans.

Chapter 3: Herakles and the Funerary Context

Herakles in Etruria

As shown in the previous chapter, Herakles was the most popular hero represented on Tyrrhenian amphorae and he was shown in a variety of adventures, both those popular in Athens and those unknown in black-figure vase-painting at the time. This chapter looks at Etruscan religion through its manifestations in art, in order to discover how the Greek hero fits into the Etruscan belief system.

In Greece, Herakles is known as a Panhellenic hero who fought in many battles and went on several adventures, many to the outskirts of the known world and beyond. His status as a demi-god son of Zeus allowed him to participate in activities that tested the limits of human strength and mortal boundaries, such as his descent to the Underworld to bring back Cereberus and his battle with Hades for the return of Theseus. He crossed the threshold of death only to return to the world of the living “able to fight another day,” and at the end of his life, he was allowed to ascend to the home of the immortal gods at Mt. Olympus and marry Hebe, the daughter of Hera.

Herakles was a prominent figure in Athenian black-figure vase-painting because of his adventures. These showed the power of the human spirit and Herakles’ constant battle for redemption, along with his connections to Athena, his patron goddess, who helped protect him during his life. The Etruscan Hercle, on the other hand, embodied the same ideals of the human spirit, but also had stronger connections to the gods and their creation. The hero who eventually became known as Hercle first emerged in Etruria in the 7th century, probably through contacts with Greece and the Near East. J. Bayet, in his

exhaustive 1926 study on the origins of Roman Hercules, noted that the Etruscan Hercle displayed Ionian influences and a strong Semitic element.¹ The first large scale introduction of Herakles, though, seems to have been through the Tyrrhenian amphorae in the second quarter of the 6th century, followed by the additional importation of Athenian black-figure and red-figure vases. The Etruscans took the myths of Herakles, known both orally and gathered from depictions on vases, and added to and adapted them to fit within their own mythological framework and ideals. In fact, it was influence from Greece that helped to anthropomorphize and individualize the vague groups of Etruscan deities, promote “local spirits and heroes to the rank of national gods,” and fuse “groups of beings with analogous characteristics into one.”² The assimilation of the Greek Herakles into the Etruscan Hercle produced a hero with some of the characteristics of local and previously more ambiguous deities.³

Unlike his difficult relationship with his stepmother Hera in Greek mythology, the Etruscan Hercle was seen as the son of Uni (equivalent to Hera) who was often shown suckling at the breast of his mother, especially on engraved mirrors (Fig. 34).⁴ Hercle is typically shown on the mirrors as an adult, sometimes nude, who often still wears his lion skin. This harkens back to Archaic depictions of the hero, as most of these mirrors date from the Classical period when heroic nudity was a more popular Athenian costume for Herakles than his lion skin. The Etruscan Hercle was not only frequently shown with Uni,

¹ Bayet 1926, p. 213.

² Pallottino 1975, p. 141.

³ Bayet 1926.

⁴ Bonfante 1986, p. 254.

his mother, but as was the case with Greek mythology and Athenian vase-painting, he was often in the company of Menrva, or Athena, who was seen as his protectress.

The Athena, or Menrva, connection was most often seen in depictions of Herakles/Hercle's apotheosis in which the goddess accompanied him in a chariot. While this scene was only shown once on the extant Tyrrhenian amphorae, it became popular in later 6th century Athenian black-figure and Etruscan art, and emphasized the hero's connection to the gods. In fact, the Etruscan Hercle had an even stronger relationship with the gods and their creation because he was known as a chthonic deity who represented "a symbolic controller of water, a protector and provider, [and] a vital generative force."⁵ In the Etruscan pantheon, "chthonic gods far outnumber those of the celestial regions," which shows the emphasis placed by the Etruscans on the earth, death and the Underworld.⁶

This emphasis can also be read into the scenes of Herakles and the monstrous foes that he fights on Tyrrhenian amphorae. The most obvious connection can be made with the depiction of Herakles in his second labor battling the Lernean Hydra (Fig. 27), which has several chthonic associations. The Hydra, which was the child of the chthonian gods Typhon and Echidna, is said to have been suckled by Hera herself, and thus held that much more animosity towards Herakles when he came to slay it. The snaky, multi-headed creature was said to have lived, with a crab, another chthonic creature, near a spring/swamp in a cave, which had an entrance to the Underworld.⁷ The defeat of the

⁵ Schwarz 1974, p. ii.

⁶ Pallottino 1975, pp. 164-165.

⁷ Hostetler 2003, p. 3. Snakes and serpents are known as guardians of the earth, protecting whatever was placed within the ground (in this case, the Underworld).

Hydra took cunning as well as strength in order to keep its heads from regenerating. The central head was immortal, like death, so Herakles could not kill it but had to bury it in the ground with a huge boulder on top to prevent it getting out.⁸ Also connected to the chthonian gods is Herakles' participation in the battle against the giants. The hero was asked by the Olympian gods to help defeat the giants, perhaps because of his strength and chthonic connections, and this myth appears two times on the Tyrrhenian amphorae (Fig. 28).

Other myths that involve Herakles with chthonian creatures, who also happen to be children of Echidna and Typhon, are those of his first and last labors—the Nemean Lion and Cereberus, the hound of hell. Although these labors are not expressly shown on any known Tyrrhenian amphorae (Herakles does wear the skin of the Nemean Lion on all of these vases), they are popular in Athenian black-figure of the time and show the hero's frequent interaction with chthonic creatures associated with the Underworld. In the realm of the living Herakles is known to be a master of animals, defeating not only chthonian creatures such as those mentioned above, but all kinds of animals that were known for either their strength or special abilities.⁹ Ten out of Herakles' twelve labors involved the capture or defeat of "animals." Each one of these required a unique solution that ranged from cleaning out the Augean stables to gain a tenth of the cattle, to strangling and skinning the Nemean Lion to wear its skin as a cloak. His success against animals both of the living world and the dead, the everyday and the supernatural ensured a hero that could handle any creature that came his way.

⁸ Piccardi 2005.

⁹ Burkert 1979, pp. 78-98.

In addition to his role as a chthonic force and a master of animals, Herakles is also seen as a symbol of male fertility and prosperity to the Etruscans. These additional attributes may have been linked to his connection with rivers, which bring fertility to the land and prosperity to the people. His role as a “symbolic controller of water” led to an association with the Underworld because springs issue from the bowels of the earth.¹⁰ Herakles is often seen fighting with snaky chthonic creatures in his myths, but just as often participates in adventures that have strong connections to water. The most frequently represented myths involving the Archaic Etruscan Herakles are those of Nessos, Pholos and Acheloos, with the adventure of Nessos quite common on Tyrrhenian amphorae. Like the attributes of Herakles himself, these “combat representations were bound up with certain basic Etruscan notions of the Underworld, fertility and apotheosis.”¹¹

The most popular of these myths, the Nessos adventure, is seen on 12 out of 59 Tyrrhenian amphorae with Herakles scenes, and is also quite frequently depicted in other early Athenian black-figure vases. There is no evidence for a cult of Nessos in Etruria, but the popularity of the myth on Tyrrhenian amphorae “points to the fact that notions implicit in the myth were already deeply rooted in Italic mentality and therefore readily absorbed and popularized.”¹² Nessos, like Herakles, was associated with rivers, but the popularity of this myth may have rested on the same reason why centauromachies were kept in art, even on Greek temples converted into Christian churches. The battle against a

¹⁰ Schwarz 1974, p. 45.

¹¹ Schwarz 1974, pp. xx-xxi.

¹² Schwarz 1974, p. 44.

centaur, in this case Nessos, could be read as the fight between civility and barbarity, good versus evil, and in general showed the bestial aspect of nature that must be defeated. While Nessos was associated with rivers, and thus fertility and abundance, these attributions took on a negative connotation that in turn emphasized the positive connotation of Herakles' association with rivers.

According to S. Schwarz, "The bestial centaur who ravages maidens can at the same time represent the river which, when uncontrolled, ravages the land. Herakles' victory over these natural forces may in a general sense show his participation in the same life-death cycle and yet also his victory over death."¹³ In fact, all of the mythological scenes including Herakles on Tyrrhenian amphorae can be read as the hero conquering or killing "death" in the form of chthonic creatures, wild beasts, and barbarous women, etc. Not only can Herakles defeat the exotic agents of death depicted on Tyrrhenian amphorae, but as the chthonic controller of the "raging water which issues from the Underworld" he has power over the deceased's crossing of the river to the afterlife.¹⁴

Etruscan Concepts of Death and the Underworld

Although many aspects of Etruscan religion remain obscure, due to the lack of written evidence and the predominance of funerary contexts, the rich nature of their tombs and funerary art leaves clues as to the importance of death and the afterlife in their culture, much as Egyptian tombs reflect similar beliefs by their people. It has been argued

¹³ Schwarz 1974, p. 46.

¹⁴ Schwarz 1974, p. 45.

that the “central point in Etruscan religious life is occupied by a belief in fate, a worship of the chthonian deities and the primitive forces which alike create and destroy.”¹⁵ Their melancholic view of destiny placed great importance on the dead, who were not the “insubstantial shadows” of the Greeks, but “more real and more powerful than the living, and their presence goes deep down into the people’s being. Their immortality was originally conceived in a purely material form, and associated with the solidity and permanence of the tomb, which was to serve as an everlasting habitation and monument to the dead.”¹⁶ The emphasis on the power of the deceased showed a strong belief in a life after death and therefore exposes the need for such elaborate funerary traditions, whereas the Greeks at this time had abandoned the idea of power in the Underworld for the Homeric idea of timeless, insubstantial wandering souls.

The Etruscans’ emphasis on chthonian deities shows the omnipresent role of death and the Underworld in their culture, and perhaps beliefs that “remained rooted in the primitive, narrow earth-cult of the Mediterranean’s pre-Indo-European period.”¹⁷ These chthonic forces were originally conceived of as residing in “sacred groves and enclosures, open to the sky...probably in the aniconic form of a stone, a piece of wood, or a weapon,” and did not take on human form until after the importation and influence of Greek and Near-Eastern Orientalizing ideas and products.¹⁸

Perhaps building on native concepts, the Etruscans adopted the apotropaic figures of lions, sphinxes, centaurs, and other exotic animals in their art relatively early on, but

¹⁵ von Cles-Reden 1956, p. 76.

¹⁶ von Cles-Reden 1956, p. 76.

¹⁷ von Cles-Reden 1956, p. 77.

¹⁸ Haynes 2000, p. 126.

“even as basic an apotropaic figure as the lion is not found in Etruscan art prior to about the beginning of the Orientalizing Period. The speed and ease, furthermore, with which Etruria later cleaved to the depiction of apotropaia—which becomes practically a *de rigueur* motif in funerary art from the Orientalizing Period on—indicates a pre-existing familiarity and comfort with magical figures.”¹⁹ These exotic creatures fill the bands of decoration on the imported Corinthian pottery of the 7th and early 6th centuries that turns up in large numbers in Etruscan tombs. The animals depicted on these vases may have represented the visual manifestation, and thus physical presence, of the strange exotic creatures said to have led the Etruscan deceased to the Underworld.²⁰ These bands of animals are carried over onto Tyrrhenian amphorae, when Corinthian wares begin to lose their appeal, as a visible link to the earlier pottery that the Etruscans liked so well and perhaps as a distinct part of the mythological and iconographic composition of the vases.

The exotic animals can include lions, boars, panthers, stags, cocks, bulls, and even more fantastic creatures such as sphinxes, centaurs, sirens, griffins, and hybrid combinations of these and other animals. In the 7th century Campana Tomb from Veii, large painted examples of these animals appear on the rear wall of the main chamber (Fig. 14). Banded groupings of animals, creatures, and a few figures, reminiscent of the decorative scheme on Corinthian vases and Tyrrhenian amphorae, are gathered around the door into the rear chamber of the tomb. According to Brendel, these monsters and animals were placed heraldically on either side of the entrance to act as ‘guardians’ of the

¹⁹ Skalsky 1997, p. 79.

²⁰ Haynes 2000, p. 164.

door.²¹ The Etruscans apparently took this arrangement quite literally, and “a kind of guardian was indeed intended to protect the entrances to the dead, and consequently that this early Archaic scheme of tomb decoration owed its formal pattern to an idea half real and half magic.”²²

Later tombs, such as the Tomb of the Augurs and the early 5th century Tomba della Fustigazione both from Tarquinia, kept the basic concept of flanking door guardians like the Campana Tomb, but introduced lions, panthers, leopards, stags, and snaky chthonic hybrids placed facing each other in the ‘pediment’ above the rear doorway. The late 6th century Cacciatore Tomb from Tarquinia has a running band of animals that goes all the way around the inside of the tomb, like a modern wall border, showing lions, bulls, stags, horses and riders.

Exotic animals also turn up outside the entrances and on stone grave markers. The early Campana tomb from Veii has lion sculptures of local stone flanking the doorway of the tomb and serve, like the painted versions inside, as guardians. These were by no means unusual, as sculptures of many of the animals portrayed on Tyrrhenian amphorae have been found in ‘tomb guardian’ contexts (Figs. 15, 35, 36). According to M. Brigue, “Vulci and the neighboring region produced a remarkable group of [these] ‘tomb guardians,’ influenced in subject and style by the art of the Syrians and Hittites, as well as of Rhodes and the Peloponnesus: the subjects included sphinxes and lions—either standing, seated, winged, or wingless—and a human rider on a sea monster.”²³

²¹ Brendel 1995, p. 122.

²² Brendel 1995, p. 124.

²³ Bonfante 1986, p. 115.

The sculpted freestanding animals are the most easily recognizable tomb guardians, with parallels in many Near Eastern cultures. These animals also appear in other stone forms that show greater ties to Greek vase-painting, especially Corinthian vessels and Tyrrhenian amphorae.²⁴ Tufa slabs often surround the entrances to Etruscan tombs (sometimes in addition to free-standing tomb guardians), carved in relief with bands of exotic animals, deities, mythological scenes, and battles/fights (Fig. 37). These apotropaic ‘guardian’ slabs bring decorative ideas from within the tomb (wall painting, vase-painting) and incorporate them into the main entrance.

The sculpted freestanding tomb guardians and carved tufa slabs, while common, belonged to larger, probably aristocratic tombs. Obviously not everyone had this kind of tomb, but animal guardians, apotropaia, and connection to vase-paintings also show up on individual grave markers (cippi) and on terracotta sarcophagi. Often these cippi look quite like the carved tufa slabs surrounding the entrances to larger tombs and carry bands of profile animals and warriors (perhaps representing the deceased) (Fig. 38). Less common, but serving the same purpose are more three-dimensional cippi, like a second half of the 6th century example from Settemello (Fig. 39), where fierce lions face out from the corners of the marker and a representation of the deceased as a warrior decorates one of the faces. Earlier Etruscan terracotta sarcophagi, unlike the well-known intricately painted and sculpted sarcophagi, are simple with only a few exotic creatures decorating their tops and sides (Fig. 40).

As seen on many of these grave monuments, frontally facing creatures are quite common and may have served a more elaborate guardian role. S. Haynes sees these

²⁴ Haynes 2000, p. 148.

exotic tomb guardians as apotropaic and transcendental, like the painted ‘guardians’ within the tomb and on the vases.²⁵ The Etruscans appear to have had a long history of using apotropaia, especially in connection to their strong chthonic deities and their beliefs in magic and divining. They sought to understand and appease the divine by all available means, including the reading and interpreting of animal entrails (especially the liver), the use of ‘magic charms’ and incantations, and the interpretation of natural phenomena such as lightning.²⁶

Generally speaking, frontal faces (animal or human) are unusual in art, and when used they seem to have had a specific purpose. Whether this purpose was to invoke the memory of a myth, such as the gorgon Medusa whose gaze turned men into stone, scare the viewer with the snarling face of a fierce monstrous beast, or shock the viewer with the scene being shown, there is always some connection made between the frontal face and the viewer.²⁷ A frontal face stares out and engages the viewer, drawing them into the pictorial plane. In the case of the gorgon, not only is the viewer engaged visually, but the shock and fright associated with her snaky, chthonic power will cause the viewer to look away, and perhaps flee whatever she is guarding.

In Archaic Greek vase-painting, the frontal face also comes to represent the dead, dying, and physically and spiritually burdened figures.²⁸ In addition to a role as an apotropaic device against evil, the frontal faces on Tyrrhenian amphorae (most often seen in the bands of exotic animals) could have served as visual confirmation of the vessel’s

²⁵ Haynes 2000, p. 151.

²⁶ Pallottino 1975, p. 143-147.

²⁷ Korshak 1987.

²⁸ Korshak 1987, p. 2.

purpose in its decoration—that is, as something concerned with the dead. As noted earlier, the exotic animals depicted on Tyrrhenian amphorae could have represented the strange creatures that led the Etruscan dead to the Underworld and “symbolized the transition from this life to another existence.”²⁹ The animals represented in Etruscan funerary art have become the recent subject of research exploring their meaning. Beyond the more exotic creatures such as centaurs, sphinxes, and lions, more commonplace animals such as waterfowl and serpents have been found to have just as strong a connection to the Underworld as their more exotic cousins.

Waterfowl in various forms, such as the duck, swan, goose, and even exotic siren, have been present in Etruscan arts from the beginning, especially in connection with funerary arts, and these birds are often present in the animal bands on Tyrrhenian amphorae (Figs. 1, 2). After researching ancient depictions and uses of waterfowl, as well as the modern Italian presence and use of the birds, R. Skalsky has found multiple reasons for the use of waterfowl in Etruscan art. Most especially, he cites the “magical power of waterfowl to protect the human from physical and supernatural harm,” their role as “a symbol of sexuality and fertility,” and “various roles in Etruscan conceptions of the afterlife.”³⁰ The bird has a long history as a symbol of the soul, and Skalsky sees waterfowl in a prophetic messenger role where they “are the medium by which divine will is transmitted between gods, mortals and gods, and gods with one another.”³¹ In addition to their connection to the gods, these birds can “be characterized as holistic

²⁹ Haynes 2000, p. 163.

³⁰ Skalsky 1997, p. 77.

³¹ Skalsky 1997, pp. 4, 69.

symbols of nature, ones displaying protective, beneficent, and endlessly regenerative power.”³²

Moving away from the fertility and regenerative power of the waterfowl, but in keeping with their empathic, protective applications, is the presence of serpents in Etruscan art and on Tyrrhenian vases. While serpents are uncommon in the animals bands on Tyrrhenian amphorae (they are more common in the mythical scenes, such as Herakles and the Hydra), they appear quite frequently in Etruscan art. The serpent was a common apotropaic device, but to the Etruscans it was also a “harbinger of death” who “was to be respected and feared.”³³ Serpents are chthonic creatures that have strong connections with the Underworld. Their popularity in funerary art only continues to grow after the time of Tyrrhenian amphorae and they are incorporated into Etruscan demonology in the Hellenistic period.

In the 6th century, serpents are mainly used as apotropaia on vases and in wall-painting. Images decorate the doorways not going into tombs, but those on the way out, perhaps showing their purpose (determined by their stronger Underworld connection than other apotropaia) in keeping spirits from getting out instead of protecting the tomb from those trying to get in.³⁴ Serpents appear in the main figural panels of Tyrrhenian amphorae, and on Etruscan vessels sometimes coiling around the handles, perhaps taking on an apotropaic role to prevent the grave goods themselves from being taken by tomb robbers or other intruders. According to K. Hostetler, “if one were to protect an object

³² Skalsky 1997, p. 149.

³³ Hostetler 2003, p. xiii.

³⁴ Hostetler 2003, p. 42.

from molestation through representations alone, the logical location to place any deterrent would be near the handles of a vessel or near the area most likely to be touched by the unwanted party.”³⁵

In addition to the strange, exotic creatures serving these varied roles, the Etruscans gradually developed a rich and varied demonology combining native concepts with imported Greek ideas and mythology. Images of these demons are not common until after the mid-6th century, when Greek influence had lingered long enough to become an integrated part of Etruscan art and mythology. Winged Vanths, who were developed from the Greek goddess Moira (implacable fate), led the deceased to their place in the Underworld and become very popular in funerary art of the Hellenistic period (Fig. 41).³⁶ Charu, a bestial blue demon identified by his hammer, guarded the entrance to the Underworld, growing in popularity in the centuries following the production of Tyrrhenian amphorae (Fig. 41).

Another Underworld demon, Phersu, is known from Etruscan tomb-paintings, but his role may have had a stronger connection with the world of the living. Phersu is best known from his depictions in the Tomb of the Augurs in Tarquinia dated circa 530 B.C. In this tomb funeral games honoring the deceased show athletic events, music, and cult activities that include Phersu. The “bloodthirsty Phersu game, which is unique to the Etruscan death cult and may possibly be some kind of forerunner of the later Campanian-Roman gladiatorial contest,” is depicted in two different places with two different

³⁵ Hostetler 2003, p. 47.

³⁶ Pallottino 1975, p. 149.

outcomes.³⁷ In one scene a human dressed in a Phersu mask is holding a leashed dog that is biting an injured man with a bag over his head and a club in his hand, perhaps to beat off the dog and Phersu (Fig. 42). In the other scene, a “fleeing Phersu is pointing to a second Phersu game with a very different outcome” (Fig. 43).³⁸ These rather violent scenes may have depicted a funerary tradition in which mortals in demon masks played out the impending encounter by the deceased with Phersu in the Underworld. While these scenes do show a known Underworld demon, it is only a mortal dressed as the demon, which connects the living world and the dead, and sheds a little more light on the funeral activities held by the Etruscans.

Etruscan Funerary Banquets and Games

The Etruscans were characterized by Greek and Roman writers as an open and extravagant people, especially the aristocracy who were the owners of the elaborate tombs discussed above and probably the Tyrrhenian amphorae that were placed inside, and they seemed to try and live life to the fullest. According to Theopompus, a Greek historian of the 4th century, the Etruscans were an “extraordinarily pleasure-loving” people who took great care of their bodies, spoke openly about sex, and indulged in great drinking parties that usually ended with “servants bringing in to them—with the lights left on!—either hetairai, party girls, very beautiful boys, or even their wives.”³⁹ In the 2nd century AD Athenaeus cites, along with the above Theopompus passage, a remark by

³⁷ Steingraber 1985, p. 283.

³⁸ Steingraber 1985, p. 283. Also note the two birds flying and/or walking away from the fleeing Phersu which perhaps, in light of earlier discussion, could represent the soul of the deceased escaping the Underworld demon.

³⁹ Perseus Project: Theopompus.

Aristotle that the Etruscans reclined with their wives under the same blanket at symposia, unlike the Greek custom where wives did not attend at all.⁴⁰

The idea of reclining on couches at symposia came from Greece, but banquets are represented from the earliest years of Etruscan art, and visually the funerary banquet held in honor of the deceased was like the banquet of the living in all respects.⁴¹ The earliest Etruscan depiction of a banquet comes from Murlo in the form of terracotta plaques, but the banquet becomes the scene *par excellence* in tomb-painting and also becomes quite popular in Corinthian, Athenian and Etruscan vase-painting. The typical symposium scene in tombs consists of figures, usually couples, reclining on couches and being served by slaves who carry food and vessels, sometimes identifiable as Greek shapes and designs, as in the Tomb of the Painted Vases at Tarquinia (Fig. 44).

The banqueting scenes in Etruscan tombs are placed on the walls within the tomb, but not within the rear chamber. Typically, apotropaic animal guardians, demons, or cloaked figures (as in the case of the Tomb of the Augurs) guard the door into the rear chamber, but the other walls are filled with scenes that appear to be taking place outside or in tents. This decoration makes the main chamber of the tomb represent the funeral activities and scenery that took place outside of the tomb, and thus designates the rear chamber as the tomb proper. This emphasis on life and the world of the living shows the importance of the funerary rituals performed by the Etruscans for the deceased and their beliefs about the afterlife.

⁴⁰ Bonfante 1986, p. 235.

⁴¹ Bonfante 1986, p. 233.

Complementary to the symposia scenes are depictions of everyday sports and activities that also were part of funeral celebrations. The Etruscans were especially fond of aristocratic spectator sports such as horse races and fights which were attended by both sexes, as seen in a 5th century tomb in Tarquinia (Fig. 45) and the reverse panel of a Tyrrhenian amphora (Fig. 46). Painted banqueters watch the competitions from opposite walls in the tombs, and sometimes are shown reclining under tents while the activities take place outside amid trees and other foliage.

The aristocratic Etruscans were well-known for their love of spectator sports, with the historian Herodotus attributing to them the invention of many games. These activities may have been the precursors to the development and popularity of Roman gladiatorial games.⁴² Scenes shown on the reverse panels of Tyrrhenian amphorae depict many of the sports popular with the Etruscans, but specific seated spectators like those shown in fig. 45 are rare, with the panel usually being filled by participants. This may be similar to the practice in Etruscan tomb-painting where the sports occur on one wall and the spectators are on opposite walls for better viewing (Figs. 45, 47). In fact, the mural spectators could have viewed the activities on the nearby Tyrrhenian vases.

Etruscan banquets were extravagant affairs where, according to Theopompus, men and women both attended and could switch partners throughout the night. Various tomb-paintings and pottery show that dancing, drinking, and sex were common occurrences. In addition to the many scenes of sports on Tyrrhenian amphorae and in tomb-paintings, depictions of dancing and sex (which are typically labeled 'komos' in Greek vase-painting) were quite frequently shown. Men and women dance in the Tomb

⁴² Bonfante 1986, p. 260.

of the Lionesses from Tarquinia (Fig. 48), among others, and revelers (including satyrs) dance around the reverse panel on Tyrrhenian amphorae (Fig. 49). The Tyrrhenian painters especially liked to show reveling scenes with no specific mythological purpose. This was not common at the time in Athens when painters typically showed more creativity than reality with the revelers.

Beyond dancing, sex was a common theme in both the Etruscan wall-paintings and on the Tyrrhenian amphorae, which marked a change in subject matter for Athenian vase-painting of the time. Both heterosexual and homosexual couplings/groupings were shown, and they were probably more easily accepted by the “pleasure-loving” Etruscans than they would have been by the Greeks at the time (Fig. 50). In the tomb-paintings, unlike the vases where status of figures is not easily identifiable, sex is not limited to the aristocratic diners, but is also pursued by the slaves under the couches and stands, and even by animals who are scattered throughout the scenes (Fig. 45).

Whether these sexual scenes would have been seen as a part of everyday life and banquet or as a less realistic more extravagant behavior fit for wall-painting, they may have served an additional purpose, especially appropriate for the tomb. Strange, exotic creatures were discussed in relation to their role as apotropaia and connection to the Underworld, but according to L. Bonfante, sex may have served as an apotropaic device as well. She sees the frequent depiction of sex in Etruscan tombs not just as scenes of everyday life, but that “the metaphoric status of all sexual activity gives it its apotropaic force,” and that the “erotic force of the motif provided it with its magical, protective power.”⁴³ In fact, like the multiple readings available for so many of the decorative

⁴³ Bonfante 1996, pp. 155, 162.

elements, depictions of sexual encounters are no different and can be summed up as follows:

“Etruscan art made use of the powerful force of sexual motifs, symbols, images, and connotations for religious, ritual, apotropaic purposes—to pay homage to the divinities in whose hands people put their lives and afterlives, to protect the living and the dead against the magic of the Evil Eye, to ensure the fertility and survival of the family and the lineage, to help the dead reach the other side, and to celebrate and consecrate the life on this side of the awful boundary between life and death.”⁴⁴

All in all, it would appear that the Etruscans put much effort into preparations for death, the transition to the afterlife, and the protection of the spirit in the afterlife. They adopted and adapted the Greek hero Herakles to help them fight monstrous, exotic death and ensure, by his chthonic powers, a smooth transition through the liminal stage into the Underworld and the afterlife. The onion-like layers of interpretation that can be found in the strange, oriental creatures said to help lead the Etruscans to the afterlife can also be seen in the numerous depictions found on pottery, wall-paintings, and sculptures found both inside and outside of the tomb. Beyond the apotropaic and protective powers of the hero and the creatures, the importance of the banquet and the celebration of everyday life took on another layer of meaning within the funerary context. The Etruscans love of life shows in their banquets and all of the elaborate funerary games that took place in honor of the deceased, done perhaps to ensure a continuation of the aristocratic ‘good life’ in the afterlife.

⁴⁴ Bonfante 1996, p. 166.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

Any survey of Archaic black-figure Athenian pottery would yield many depictions of heroes, especially Herakles, and their exploits. These scenes became the new norm after the shift in popularity from Corinthian bands of animals in the 6th century. Despite the fact that Tyrrhenian amphorae fully participate in the ‘evolution’ of Athenian black-figure, they are rarely more than a footnote in the history of Greek vase-painting. Their place in the black-figure corpus is usually relegated to discussions of the Etruscans and the 6th century trade market. This may seem to undervalue the artistry of these lively vases, yet it inadvertently emphasizes the wider role of Greek influence in Etruria.

The Tyrrhenian amphorae build on mythic themes already present in black-figure vase-painting. They innovate in their combination of subject matter and the active, crowded arrangement of the characters. In fact, Tyrrhenian artists are the first to depict certain of Herakles’ exploits, such as his encounter with the Hind and his apotheosis. In catering to the “Etruscan delight in colourful story-telling,” they create some of the earliest genre scenes of everyday life and activities.¹ Their choice of myths and specific mode of representation influenced the direction of Athenian black-figure vase-painting by providing a preliminary step and fresh look at what could be done with the technique.

The composition of the Tyrrhenian amphorae also influenced subsequent Etruscan art, both in vase-painting and tomb-painting. Early Etruscan tomb-painting reflected oriental influence from both the Near East and imported Orientalizing pottery such as

¹ Boardman 1980, p. 202.

Corinthian, with the adoption of painted apotropaia and the strict division into panels and bands of wall decoration. The large-scale introduction of Tyrrhenian amphorae and other Attic wares in the second quarter of the 6th century coincides with tomb-painting taking up themes of mythology and social events in honor of the dead. The development of a monumental style suitable for the decoration of large tomb walls seems to have relied on small prototypes like the main figural panels on Tyrrhenian amphorae.

Thus, the importation of Tyrrhenian amphorae and other Greek vases may well have inspired changes in Etruscan arts and culture. The inclusion of these vases among the desired grave goods of the Etruscan elite coincided with a fundamental change in the arrangement of the tomb and perhaps an increased connection between the activities of the living and the dead. According to Brendel, the door in the rear wall probably represented the entrance to the tomb, as opposed to the actual entrance, which then symbolically created a world of the living within the tomb, “as if the dead were still part of the world outside, where all the events are staged, designed to please them.”²

How did the Tyrrhenian amphorae and Herakles fit into these changes? The careful analysis of all known Herakles scenes on Tyrrhenian amphorae, together with the Etruscans’ perception of the hero within their mythology, provides clues to the popularity of Herakles in Etruscan funerary iconography and beliefs. In all cultures and traditions the hero is defined by how he faces death, and the myths of Herakles “taught moreover that the hero who sacrifices his life is rewarded by the gods and is elevated into their circle.”³ His role as a strong hero who had the daring and skills necessary to defeat exotic

² Brendel 1995, p. 169.

³ Säflund 1993, p. 73.

foes augmented his status as a demi-god with important chthonic qualities in Etruscan mythology, which only served to further his connection with death and the Underworld. As Herakles even went to the Underworld and returned alive more than once, essentially defeating death itself, he became a symbol of hope for good in the afterlife.

The iconographic repertoire of Tyrrhenian amphorae also included in its composition scenes of everyday life and bands of animals and exotic monsters. These everyday scenes have several parallels with Etruscan tomb-painting and vase-painting, and show the variety of funeral activities. At the heart of Etruscan religion was a belief that the powers of creation were also those of destruction, and thus according to S. von Cles-Reden death and life were seen as one and the same.⁴ This principle necessitated a desire for the best life possible and the everyday needs placed in the tomb that would accommodate such an afterlife.

If life and death, and the desire to make both of these as pleasurable as possible, were so important to the Etruscans, it is easy to see why much of their art was apotropaic. The bands of exotic animals on Tyrrhenian amphorae, in addition to earlier Corinthian pottery, Near Eastern imports, and the various forms of apotropaia placed both inside and outside of Etruscan tombs, served as a deterrent to meddling spirits, the Evil Eye, and even possibly tomb robbers. In addition to their role as apotropaia, these exotic creatures offered the deceased both guidance and protection along the way to the afterlife.

This connection to guidance and protection may help explain the continued use of animal bands on Tyrrhenian amphorae and their popularity with the Etruscans, but it should be kept in mind that these creatures are also frequently shown in association with

⁴ von Cles-Reden 1956, p. 77.

the characters depicted in the ‘everyday life’ scenes on the reverse panels (Fig. 10), perhaps emphasizing the interconnected relationship of all the panels, and thus life, to the afterlife. The Etruscan viewer of a Tyrrhenian amphora may have seen Herakles (the deceased) fighting exotic foes (death), while (on the reverse) those who are still living celebrate his passing into the afterlife with funeral games. The bands of exotic creatures both protect the deceased (and still living banquet participants) and help guide him into an afterlife of merriment and ease.

The Tyrrhenian vase-painters, while probably not aware of all Etruscan beliefs and rituals, understood their trade market well and knew how to adapt the iconography just enough to sell their product. In fact, by the middle of the 6th century, the demand for Attic wares was so great that a port on the Adriatic was opened at Spina, which dealt with the trade between Greek and Etruscan settlers and Italic natives.⁵ Successful as an import item, the Tyrrhenian amphorae influenced the Etruscan culture that collected them, and created a local market that may have been the start of their own undoing. By the end of the Tyrrhenian amphora’s quarter century of popularity Greek mythology had been fully incorporated in the Etruscan culture and manifested itself in a number of locally made products such as the Pontic amphorae, which took the popular foreign mythology and combined it with local Etruscan artistic ideas. Additionally, around this time, “upheavals in Persian-controlled Ionia [had] apparently caused many professional artisans to flee to territories with Greek populations already catering to rich patrons,” and thus the market

⁵ Bonfante 1986, p. 79.

for Tyrrhenian amphorae may have been undone by the availability of “Greek” vases made locally.⁶

Were the Tyrrhenian amphorae really just a trend in Athenian black-figure vases made popular by wealthy Etruscan aristocrats? Even if they were only a response to Etruscan tastes, Tyrrhenian amphorae are important for the information they can tell about the trade market, cultural interactions, and the creativity and freedom of the black-figure vase-painters in 6th century Athens. Through this study of the exported pots several points can be made as to the purpose for their creation and the meaning they held for the people who collected them and placed them in their graves. These exotic and colorful vases were popular among the Etruscans because they illustrated several important aspects of their funerary beliefs: the fight between good and evil, the hero conquering danger/death, the heroization of the deceased, the strong connection between life and death, the funeral banquet celebrated by the living as an example of the afterlife to come, the exotic creatures to guide and protect the deceased on the way to the Underworld, and the promise of reward in the afterlife.

The composition of the Tyrrhenian amphorae represented the defeat of the “dark and overwhelming forces” of death and the hope for a ‘healthy and wealthy’ afterlife, which perhaps when such a vessel with ‘positive’ and heroic imagery was placed in the tomb would have served not only as a status symbol for the aristocrat who owned it but as a type of good luck charm for the deceased. Thus, in creating Tyrrhenian amphorae to fit the tastes of a foreign market, the Athenian painters got to paint fresh, vigorous scenes unseen in Athens, and the Etruscans in return received a hero for their afterlife.

⁶ Bonfante 1986, p. 71.

Appendix

Herakles and the Amazons

1. New York, Metropolitan Museum 07.156.7, and Vatican 56.128. *ABV* 99.51, 684. Kluiver 3. (A) Herakles and Amazons, (B) women, man (?). Prometheus Painter.
2. Athens, National Museum. (ex Küsnacht, Hirschmann Collection G30). Kluiver 5. (A) Herakles and Amazons, (B) 4 youths on horseback. Prometheus Painter.
3. Geneva, MF 156. *ABV* 99.49, 684. Kluiver 12. (A) Herakles and Amazons, (B) Horsemen. Prometheus Painter. From Falerii, Italy. (Fig. 46)
4. Cerveteri, Museo Nazionale Etrusco. Kluiver 17. (A) Herakles and Amazons, (B) Horsemen. Prometheus Painter. From Cerveteri, Etruria.
5. Paris, Louvre C10518. Kluiver 19. (A) Herakles and Amazons, (B) Horsemen. Prometheus Painter.
6. Basel, Markt (Münzen und Medaillen A.G.). Kluiver 22. (A) Herakles and Amazons, (B) tripod between warriors with horses between chimaerae. Prometheus Painter.
7. Lavinium excavation. Kluiver 22bis. (A) Herakles and Amazons, (B) warriors on horseback. Prometheus Painter. From Lavinium, Italy.
8. Boston, MFA 98.916. *ABV* 98.46, 684. Kluiver 47. (A) Herakles and Amazons, (B) Komos between swans. Timiades Painter. From Vulci, Etruria. (Figs. 3, 17)
9. Columbia, University of Missouri 74.101. Kluiver 51. (A) Herakles and Amazons, (B) Komos between sirens. Timiades Painter. (Figs. 10, 20)
10. Otterlo, Kroller-Müller Museum 6. *ABV* 683.51bis. Kluiver 61. (A) Herakles and Amazons, (B) Komos between sirens. Timiades Painter.
11. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 3734. Kluiver 63. (A) Herakles and Amazons, (B) Komos between sirens. Timiades Painter.
12. Paris, Louvre E840. *ABV* 94, 99.52. Kluiver 87. (A) Herakles and Amazons, (B) komos between cocks and sphinxes. Goltys Painter.
13. Rome, Villa Giulia 50652. *ABV* 98.42, 683. Kluiver 131. (A) Herakles and Amazons, (B) information unavailable. Castellani Painter.

14. Rome, Conservatori 124. *ABV* 99.50, 684. Kluiver 123. (A) Herakles and Amazons, (B) information unavailable. Castellani Painter.
15. London, Sotheby's Market. *ABV* 683.51ter. Kluiver 125. (A) Herakles and Amazons, (B) return of Hephaistos (?). Castellani Painter.
16. Paris, Louvre C10701. Kluiver 128. (A) Herakles and Amazons, (B) komos. Castellani Painter.
17. Berlin, F1710. *ABV* 98.45, 684. Kluiver 132. (A) Herakles and Amazons, (B) komos. Castellani Painter.
18. Paris, Louvre E848. *ABV* 98.47. Kluiver 133. (A) Herakles and Amazons, (B) horsemen. Castellani Painter.
19. Paris, Louvre C10508. *ABV* 683.60ter. Kluiver 134. (A) Herakles and Amazons, (B) men and women conversing. Castellani Painter.
20. Paris, Louvre C10702bis. *Para* 35, 40 (Louvre C10696). Kluiver 137. (A) Herakles and Amazons, (B) information unavailable. Castellani Painter.
21. London, Sotheby's Market. Kluiver 144. (A) Herakles and Amazons, (B) komos. Castellani Painter.
22. Civitavecchia, Museo Civico 1706. *ABV* 99.60. Kluiver 157. (A) Herakles and Amazons, (B) information unavailable. Castellani Painter. From Vulci, Etruria. (Fig. 18)
23. Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 3773 (and Berlin 1711). *ABV* 95.8, 683. Kluiver 180. (A) Amphiaraos departing, (A3) Herakles and Amazons, (B) chariot race, (B3) komos with Dionysos. Castellani Painter. From Tarquinia, Etruria. (Fig. 4)
24. Once in Roman Market. *ABV* 97.25. Kluiver 181. (A) Herakles and the Hydra, (B) Herakles and Amazons. Castellani Painter.
25. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 32.1. *ABV* 99.48, 684. Kluiver 203. (A) Herakles and Amazons, (B) horsemen. Guglielmi Painter.
26. Leiden, PC 44. *ABV* 105.132, 684. Kluiver 229. (A) Herakles and Amazons, (B) bridal procession. Guglielmi Painter.
27. Basel, Market (Munzen und Medaillen A.G.). Kluiver 244. (A) Herakles and Amazons, (B) horsemen. Fallow Deer Painter.

Herakles and Nessos

28. Paris, Louvre E852. *ABV* 96.13. Kluiver 1. (A) Birth of Athena, (B) Herakles, Deianeira, Nessos, and Athena, Hermes. Prometheus Painter. (Fig. 23)
29. Rome, Vatican C16440. *ABV* 96.20 (C10697). Kluiver 11. (A) Herakles, Deianeira, Nessos, (B) centaurs running. Prometheus Painter. From Vulci, Etruria.
30. Dresden, Staatl. Kunstsammlungen, Albertinum, ZV1647. *ABV* 105.1. Kluiver 105. (A) Herakles and Nessos, (B) centaurs. Kyllenios Painter. From Italy.
31. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1960.1. *Para* 35, 40. Kluiver 138. (A) Herakles, Deianeira, Nessos, (B) Apollo and Artemis killing Niobids. Castellani Painter.
32. Leipzig, Antikenmuseum d. Universität Leipzig T3324. *ABV* 98.36. Kluiver 150. (A) Herakles, Deianeira, Nessos, and Hermes, (B) male foot race. Castellani Painter. From Cerveteri, Etruria.
33. Kassel, Staatliche Museen Kassel, Antikensammlung T385. *ABV* 105.2. Kluiver 153. (A) Herakles, Deianeira, Nessos, (B) komos. Castellani Painter. From Cerveteri, Etruria. (Fig. 24)
34. Berlin, Antikensammlung F1702. *ABV* 96.12. Kluiver 183. (A) Herakles, Deianeira, Nessos, (B) siren between sphinxes. Pointed Nose Painter. From Vulci, Etruria.
35. Kiel, Antikensammlung B510. Kluiver 186. (A) Herakles, Deianeira, Nessos, (B) warriors, women, horsemen. Pointed Nose Painter.
36. The Hague, Rijksmuseum Meermanno-Westreenianum 608.821. *ABV* 98.38, 683. Kluiver 199. (A) Herakles, Deianeira, Nessos, (B), komos. Guglielmi Painter. From Vulci, Etruria.
37. Bloomington, IUAM 73.6. *Para* 36, 40. Kluiver 213. (A) Herakles, Deianeira, Nessos, (B) 4 youths on horseback. Guglielmi Painter. (Figs. 1, 5)
38. Munich, Antikensammlungen 1433. *ABV* 95, 98.37. Kluiver 216. (A) Herakles, Deianeira, Nessos, (B) Centauromachy. Guglielmi Painter. From Vulci, Etruria. (Fig. 26)
39. Munich, Antikensammlungen 1428. *ABV* 98.40. Kluiver 241. (A) Herakles, Deianeira, Nessos, (B) horsemen. Fallow Deer Painter. From Vulci, Etruria. (Fig. 2)

Herakles and Centaurs

40. Paris, Louvre E849. *ABV* E849. Kluiver 39. (A) Herakles and centaurs, (B) centaurs. Timiades Painter.
41. Rome, Conservatori 124. *ABV* 99.50, 684. Kluiver 123. (A) Herakles and centaurs, (B) information unavailable. Castellani Painter.
42. Hobart 59. Kluiver 173. (A) Herakles and centaurs, (B) horse race. Castellani Painter.
43. Germany, Private. Kluiver 179. (A) Judgement of Paris, (B) Herakles and centaurs. Castellani Painter.
44. Leipzig, Antikenmuseum d. Universität Leipzig T4284, T4507, T4215, T4260, T4261. Kluiver 198. (A) Herakles and centaurs, (B) komos. Pointed Nose Painter.
45. New York, Royal Athena Market. Kluiver 248. (A) Herakles and centaurs, (B) warriors between horsemen. Fallow Deer Painter. (Fig. 25)

Herakles and the Hydra

46. Paris, Louvre E851. *ABV* 97.24. Kluiver 18. (A) Herakles and the Hydra, Athena, (B) horsemen. Prometheus Painter. (Fig. 27)
47. Rome, Villa Giulia 74989. Kluiver 20. (A) Herakles and the Hydra, (B) warrior between cocks and sirens. Prometheus Painter. From Etruria.
48. Manisa, 5876. Kluiver 34. (A) Herakles and the Hydra, (B) satyrs. Prometheus Painter.
49. Frankfurt, Goethe-Universität, Antikensammlung 136. *Para* 39. Kluiver 109. (A) Herakles and the Hydra, Athena, (B) fight with warriors. Kyllenios Painter.
50. Paris, Louvre C10506. *Para* 39. Kluiver 110. (A) Herakles and the Hydra, (B) horsemen. Kyllenios Painter.
51. Once in Roman Market. *ABV* 97.25. Kluiver 181. (A) Herakles and the Hydra, (B) Herakles and Amazons. Castellani Painter.

Herakles freeing Prometheus

52. Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 76359. *ABV* 97.28. Kluiver 2. (A) Herakles freeing Prometheus, (B) Centauromachy. Prometheus Painter. (Fig. 9)

53. Berlin, F1722. *ABV* 104.124. Kluiver 32. (A) Herakles freeing Prometheus, (B) horsemen. Prometheus Painter.
54. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B2591. *ABV* 97.29. Kluiver 115. (A) Herakles freeing Prometheus, (B) fight with warriors. Kyllenios Painter. From La Tolfa.
55. Once in Milan, Vidoni Collection. *ABV* 97.30. Kluiver 121. (A) Herakles freeing Prometheus, (B) fight. Kyllenios Painter.

Herakles and Giants

56. Tokyo, Fuji Art Museum. Kluiver 230. (A) Herakles and Giants, (B) information unavailable. Guglielmi Painter.
57. Houston, Menil Foundation. Kluiver 247. (A) Herakles and Giants, (B) horse race. Fallow Deer Painter. (Fig. 28)

Herakles and the Hind

58. Cerveteri, Museo Nazionale Etrusco 7968. Kluiver 6. (A) Herakles and the Hind, various gods, (B) komos with names. Prometheus Painter. From Cerveteri, Etruria. (Fig. 29)

Herakles and Athena

59. Paris, Louvre C12069. Kluiver 113. (A) Herakles and Athena in chariot, (B) information unavailable. Kyllenios Painter. (Fig. 31)
60. Paris, Louvre C10516. Kluiver 120. (A) Herakles, Athena, ram, hoplites, (B) komos. Kyllenios Painter. (Fig. 30)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Arafat, Karim and Catherine Morgan. 1994. "Athens, Etruria and the Heueneburg: mutual misconceptions in the study of Greek-barbarian relations," in *Classical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies*, Ian Morris, ed., New York, pp. 108-134.
- Barker, Graeme and Tom Rasmussen. 1998. *The Etruscans*, Oxford.
- Bayet, Jean. 1926a. *Herclé: Etude Critique des principaux monuments relatifs à l'Hercule Étrusque*, Paris.
- Bayet, Jean. 1926b. *Les origines de l'Hercule romain*, Paris.
- Beazley, J.D. 1947. *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, Oxford.
- Beazley, J.D. 1956. *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters*, Oxford.
- Belloli, Andrea P. A. (ed.) 1987. *Papers on the Amasis Painter and His World*, Malibu.
- Blok, Josine H. 1995. *The Early Amazons: Modern and Ancient Perspectives on a Persistent Myth*, Leiden.
- Boardman, John. 1980. *The Greeks Overseas*, London.
- Boardman, John. 1985. *Athenian Black Figure Vases*, London.
- Boardman, John. 1998. *Early Greek Vase Painting*, London.
- Boardman, John. 2001. *The History of Greek Vases*, London.
- Bonfante, Larissa. 1986. *Etruscan Life and Afterlife: A Handbook of Etruscan Studies*, Detroit.
- Brendel, Otto J. 1995. *Etruscan Art*, New Haven.
- Brommer, Frank. 1986. *Heracles: The Twelve Labors of the Hero in Ancient Art and Literature*, New York.
- Burkert, Walter. 1979. *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*, Berkeley.
- Burkert, Walter. 1985. *Greek Religion*, Cambridge.
- Carpenter, T. H. 1994. *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece*, London.

- Carpenter, T. H. 1983. "On the Dating of the Tyrrhenian Group." *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 2(3), pp. 279-291.
- Carpenter, T. H. 1984. "The Tyrrhenian Group: Problems of Provenance." *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 3(1), pp. 45-56.
- Cook, R. M. 1997. *Greek Painted Pottery*, London.
- Crane, Gregory R. (ed.). 2005, 20 April. The Perseus Project, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu> (22 April 2005).
- Fittschen, Klaus. 1969. *Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagendarstellungen bei den Griechen*, Berlin.
- Folsom, Robert S. 1975. *Attic Black-Figured Pottery*, New Jersey.
- Gantz, Timothy. 1993. *Early Greek Myth*, Baltimore.
- Galinsky, G. Karl. 1972. *The Herakles Theme*, New Jersey.
- Gill, David W.J. 1994. "Positivism, Pots and Long-Distance Trade," in *Classical Greece: Ancient histories and modern archaeologies*, Ian Morris, ed., New York, pp. 99-107.
- Goring, Elizabeth (ed.). 2004. *Treasures from Tuscany: The Etruscan Legacy*, Edinburgh.
- Grant, Michael. 1980. *The Etruscans*, London.
- Güntner, Gudrun, et. al. 1997. *Mythen und Menschen: Griechische Vasenkunst aus einer deutschen Privatsammlung*, Mainz.
- Haynes, Sybille. 2000. *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*, Los Angeles.
- Henle, Jane. 1973. *Greek Myths: A Vase Painter's Notebook*, Bloomington.
- Holmes, Linda Heisel. 1968. "An Iconographic Study of Herakles Myths in Attic Pottery" (diss. Northern Illinois University).
- Heurgon, Jacques. 1964. *Daily Life of the Etruscans*, London.
- Hostetler, Kristen L. 2003. "The Serpent's Tale: Ophidian Iconography in Etruscan Funerary Art" (diss. Florida State University).
- Hurwit, Jeffrey M. 1985. *The Art and Culture of Early Greece, 1100-480 B.C.*,

Ithaca.

- Kampen, Natalie Boymel (ed.). 1996. *Sexuality in Ancient Art*, New York.
- Kluiver, Jeroen. 1992. "The 'Tyrrhenian Group: Its Origin and the Neck-Amphora in The Netherlands and Belgium," *BaBesch* 67, pp. 73-109.
- Kluiver, Jeroen. 1993. "The Potter-Painters of 'Tyrrhenian' Neck-Amphorae: A Close Look at the Shape," *BaBesch* 68, pp. 179-194.
- Kluiver, Jeroen. 1995. "Early 'Tyrrhenian': Prometheus Painter, Timiades Painter, Goltyr Painter," *BaBesch* 70, pp. 55-103.
- Kluiver, Jeroen. 1996. "The Five Later 'Tyrrhenian' Painters," *BaBesch* 71, pp. 1-58.
- Korshak, Yvonne. 1987. *Frontal Faces in Attic Vase Painting of the Archaic Period*, Chicago.
- Kurtz, Donna. 2005, 30 March. The Beazley Archive. <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk> (22 April 2005).
- Lawson, Pamela Jane. 1993. "The Iconography of Herakles and the 'other' in archaic Greek vase painting" (diss. Harvard University).
- Linders, R. et al., *LIMC* 1992. (Herakles, Nessos, Amazons)
- Mayer-Emmerling, Stamatia. 1982. "Erzählende Darstellungen auf "Tyrrhenischen" Vasen" (diss. Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main).
- Morris, Ian (ed.). 1994. *Classical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies*, Cambridge.
- Nibbi, Alessandra. 1969. *The Tyrrhenians*, Oxford.
- Osborne, Robin. 1998. *Archaic and Classical Greek Art*, Oxford.
- Padilla, Mark W. 1998. *The Myths of Herakles in Ancient Greece: Survey and Profile*, Lanham.
- Pallottino, Massimo. 1975. *The Etruscans*, London.
- Pfiffig, Ambros J. 1980. *Herakles in der Bilderwelt der Etruskischen Spiegel*, Graz.
- Piccardi, Luigi. 2005. "The Head of the Hydra of Lerna (Greece)," in *The Bronze Age in Europe and the Mediterranean (BAR International Series 1337)*, R. Laffineur, J. Driessen, E. Warmenbol, eds., pp. 179-185.

- Rasmussen, Tom and Nigel Spivey (eds.). 1997. *Looking at Greek Vases*, Cambridge.
- Säflund, Gösta. 1993. *Etruscan Imagery*, Jonsered.
- Schauenburg, Konrad. 1973. "Parisurteil und Nessosabenteuer auf attischen Vasen hocharchaischer Zeit," *AK* 44, pp. 15-42.
- Schwarz, Shirley Jean. 1974. "The Iconography of the Archaic Etruscan Herakles: a study of three adventures, Nessos, Pholos and Acheloos" (diss. University of Maryland).
- Schwarz, Shirley Jean. 1992. *LIMC* V, s.v. Hercle, pp. 196-253.
- Scullard, H. H. 1967. *The Etruscan Cities and Rome*, Baltimore.
- Shapiro, H. A. 1994. *Myth into Art*, London.
- Skalsky, Randall L. 1997. "The Waterfowl of Etruria: A Study of Duck, Goose, and Swan Iconography in Etruscan Art" (diss. Florida State University).
- Spivey, Nigel. 1987. *The Micali Painter and His Followers*, Oxford.
- Spivey, Nigel and Simon Stoddart. 1990. *Etruscan Italy*, London.
- Steingräber, Stephan. 1986. *Etruscan Painting*, New York.
- Steuernagel, Dirk. 1998. *Menschenopfer und Mord am Altar: Griechische Mythen in etruskischen Gräbern*, Wiesbaden.
- Thiersch, Hermann. 1899. "Tyrrhenische" Amphoren, Leipzig.
- Tripp, Edward. 1974. *The Meridian Handbook of Classical Mythology*, New York.
- Tuna-Nörling, Yasemin. 1997. "Attic Black-Figure Export to the East: The 'Tyrrhenian Group' in Ionia" in *Athenian Potters and Painters (The Conference Proceedings)*, J. Oakley, W. Coulson and O. Palagia, eds., Oxford.
- Van der Meer, L. B. 1995. *Interpretatio Etrusca: Greek Myths on Etruscan Mirrors*, Amsterdam.
- Von Bothmer, D. 1944. "The Painters of 'Tyrrhenian' Vases," *AJA* 48, pp. 161-170.
- Von Bothmer, D. 1957. *Amazons in Greek Art*, Oxford.

Von Bothmer, D. 1985. *The Amasis Painter and His World*, New York.

Von Cles-Reden, Sibylle. 1956. *The Buried People: A Study of the Etruscan World*,
Bristol.

Wellard, James. 1973. *The Search for the Etruscans*, New York.

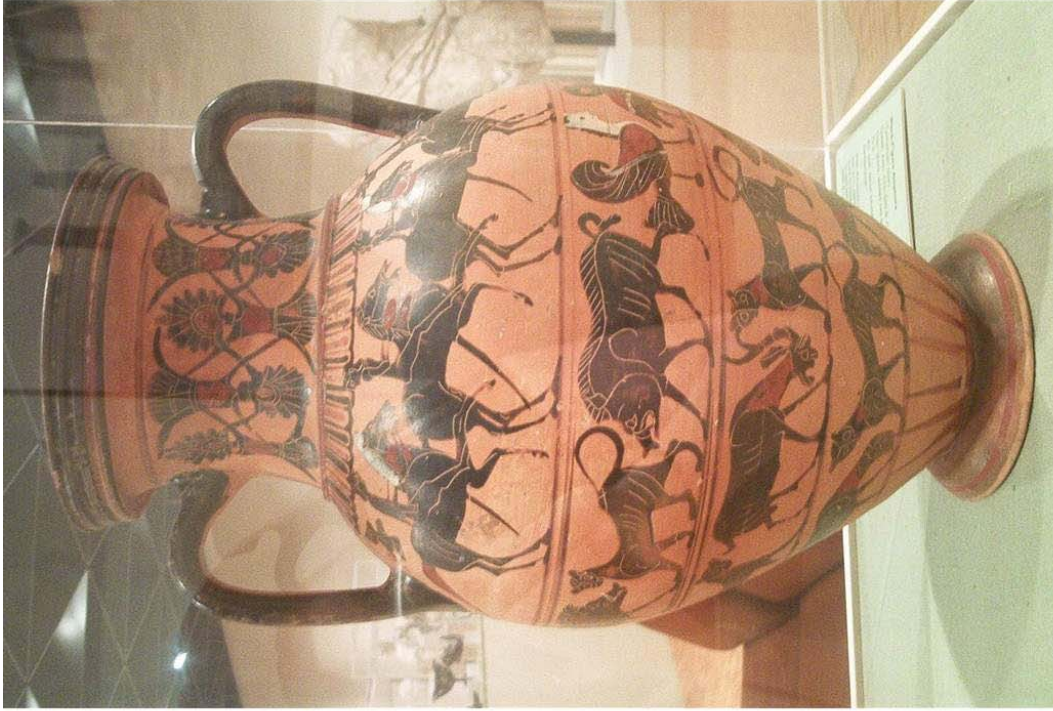
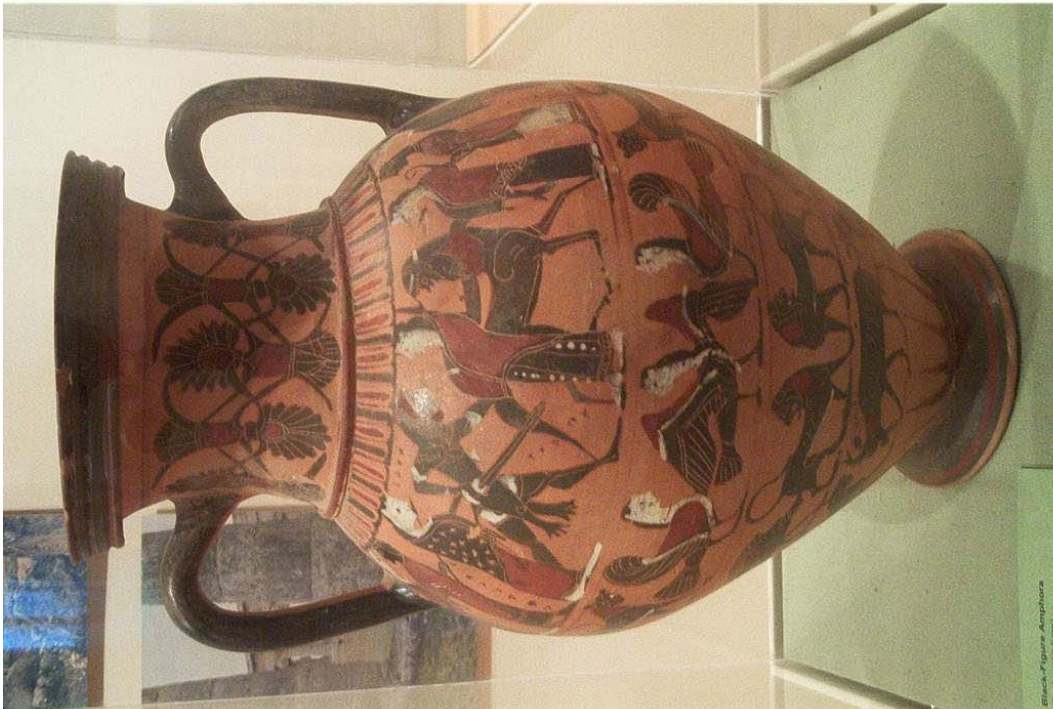


Fig. 1: Tyrrhenian Amphora by Guglielmi Painter. Bloomington, IUAM 73.6. Photos taken by Megan Thomsen



Fig. 3: Tyrrhenian Amphora (Beazley #310045) by Timiades Painter (name vase). Boston, MFA 98.916. Vulci. Photo taken by Megan Thomsen.



Fig. 10: Tyrrhenian Amphora by Timiades Painter. Columbia, UM 74.101.
Photos courtesy of Museum of Art and Archaeology.



Fig. 17: Detail from Tyrrhenian Amphora (Beazley #310045) by Timiades Painter. Vulci, Boston, MFA 98.916. Photo taken by Megan Thomsen



Fig. 20: Detail from Tyrrhenian Amphora by Timiades Painter. Columbia, UM 74.101. Photo courtesy of Museum of Art and Archaeology.