

TROILOS INFELIX

**The Prevalence of the Achilles and Troilos Death Myth on Attic “Tyrrhenian”
Group Neck-Amphorae and in the Etruscan Pictorial Tradition.**

by

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Abstract

This thesis will look at the depiction of the Achilles and Troilos death myth on the Attic Black-Figure “Tyrrhenian” Group and its possible influence in Etruria from the mid 6th century BC to the Hellenistic period. The appearance of this Attic-made export ware in Etruscan sites of the 6th century BC, distribution of extant group pots with known provenance along with the emulation of the “Tyrrhenian” neck-amphora style and narrative frieze content in mid to late 6th century BC Etruscan pottery supports evidence for the popularity of the group amongst the Etruscan population. I will approach my investigation in Chapter Three by first giving an overview of the construction and decoration of the Attic-made “Tyrrhenian” Group and listing the variety of traits that characterize this group as being a true case of Athenian export product to Etruria.

In Chapter Four I will focus on the appearance of the Achilles and Troilos myth on pots of the “Tyrrhenian” Group and trace the development of the myth’s iconography in Greek art starting in the mid 7th century BC. In Chapter Five I will focus on the appearance of the myth in Etruscan art in the mid 6th century BC and its subsequent development in Etruscan mythology through the analysis of Etruscan-made specimens. I will also attempt to give a reasoning behind the Etruscans’ adaptation of the Greek myth into their corpus.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The various critical approaches to the Black-Figure neck-amphorae of the “Tyrrhenian” Group are seen as an interesting point in scholarship, constantly shifting in purpose and intent since the first discoveries of Attic manufactured pottery at Etruscan sites during the initial years of the 18th century. As a result, there is much confusion in scholarship regarding the origin and purpose of the group, and its role within the context of the Athenian and Etruscan Black-Figure pottery movements of the mid to late 6th century BC. It is the enigmatic nature of this pottery group that serves to obscure the group’s position in both Attic and Etruscan Black-Figure pottery research and dissuades many scholars from analyzing the group, despite the fact that the group’s specimens hold much contextual evidence for the early Attic Black-Figure style.

Primarily constructed in the ovoid neck-amphora shape, pottery of the “Tyrrhenian” Group are almost exclusively found in Etruscan excavations dating to the mid-6th century BC, but the group’s manufacture origin is securely traced to workshops in the Athenian area through the petrographical analysis of clay temper.¹ Furthermore, contextual analysis of the c. 260 known works of the group show that trends that were popular in late 7th BC Corinthian pottery and early 6th BC Attic Black-Figure pottery influenced the artistry of the group. It is the group’s large extant numbers and near-exclusive provenance in Etruscan sites that give scholars probable cause to conclude that the group was the earliest known Attic attempt at initiating a successful export product to Etruria. This theory is further validated by the existence of Etruscan made works dating from the mid to late 6th century BC that seem to emulate the ovoid neck-amphora shape, painting style and mythical frieze content of this group.

¹ This aspect is analyzed at length in Chapter Three.

The focus of my research will use a detailed analysis of the “Tyrrhenian” Group’s neck-amphora form and painted decoration in an attempt to explain the Attic-based design of the ovoid neck-amphora and to properly chart its popularity in Etruria and subsequent effect upon Etruscan artisans of the mid to late 6th century BC. Luckily, the extant works of the group provide an excellent example of an early Attic Black-Figure pottery stream whose design can be contextually traced to an Athenian influence and whose find-context, and whose iconography is clear enough to be tied to such subsequent Etruscan-made works of the mid to late 6th century BC as the Vulci-based Pontic Group.²

This research will not focus upon the construction and decoration of “Tyrrhenian” pottery alone. To this end, I will analyze the iconographical layout of the Trojan Epic Cycle-derived Achilles and Troilos myth to trace the adoption of this Greek myth into the Etruscan mythological corpus during the Archaic period. I will also go over the myth’s subsequent appearance within Etruscan art of the mid to late 6th century BC. As the Achilles and Troilos episode is a myth that survives in fragmentary form, I will use some ancient literary sources to flesh out the depictions of the myth and use the numerous depictions of the myth in Greek pottery (while specifically focusing on “Tyrrhenian” Group neck-amphorae) to reconstruct the probable tale variation that the “Tyrrhenian” artisans used.

Although the group takes a dominant role in my scholarship, I will also focus upon a number of other specific pottery groups whose context plays a role in my research. To effectively incorporate these various pots into my work, I will now set out to quickly outline the format of pottery analysis that I am going to use with the selected “Tyrrhenian” Group specimens, along with their earlier Corinthian and Attic counterparts and subsequent Etruscan works that are

² Lise Hannestad, *The Paris Painter: An Etruscan Vase-Painter* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1974), p. 33.

defined as being directly or indirectly influenced by the group. These varied styles of pots all share a common characteristic of having a central painted narrative frieze band that often shows a mythological-themed scene, whose central placement dominates the surface of the pot.

While the majority of these selected pots tend to have secondary frieze bands that derive from the depiction of animals and plant life, I have decided not to focus upon these elements in my work, with the exception of my “Tyrrhenian” Group overview in Chapter Three. Instead, I will focus upon the mythical content of the selected “Tyrrhenian” specimens that I have chosen to document in my thesis, as it is necessary to explain these various aspects in detail in order to know of the works’ period context, influences and stylistic nuances. I hope that these traits will aid the reader to comprehend the group’s subsequent popularity and influence in Etruria. On the other hand, I tend to avoid the analysis of these traits on works outside of the group, and a handful of concise studies dealing with Corinthian-made Black-Figure pottery, early Attic Black-Figure and the Etruscan-made Pontic, La Tolfa and Micali Painter School Groups are readily available for further research into the topic at the reader’s discretion.³

I have chosen to organize my thesis as follows: Chapter Two: Literature Review will first focus upon the development of scholarly research dealing with the “Tyrrhenian” Group, drawn from publications describing the initial findings of the group as an archaeological phenomenon from early Etruscan excavations of the 18th and 19th century to recently-published articles that suggest newly-developed theories. I have chosen to survey this matter chronologically, as this is a format that I feel is effective to explain the often-contradictory scholarship of the group and

³ See Humfry Payne, *Necrocorinthia: A Study of Corinthian Art in the Archaic period* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), John Boardman, *Attic Black-Figure Vase Painting: A Handbook* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974), Lise Hannestad, *The Paris Painter: An Etruscan Vase Painter* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1974), Nigel Spivey, *The Micali Painter and His Followers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), Marina Martelli, ed., *La ceramica della Etruschi: la pittura vascolare* (Novata: Istituto geografico de Agostini, 1987) and J.D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase Painting* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1976) for more information on these pottery styles.

serves to characterize its development in a proper context from the second quarter of the 19th century onwards. In effect, I have set out to assess the various sources that I have considered as important during the course of my research that provide a brief overview (space permitting) of each scholar's take on the group while often eschewing the larger context of their work, which did not relate to the subject matter of my work. I will also focus upon scholarship that deals with representations of the Achilles and Troilos episode, both within the "Tyrrhenian" Group canon and in Etruscan art of the mid 6th century BC and thereafter. As it is my opinion that this specific mythical episode and its iconography can hint at the possible motives behind the incorporation of some Greek myths into the Etruscan mythical corpus during the Archaic period, I feel it is important to provide my assessment of various sources that have contributed relevant scholarship on this matter.

Chapter Three: An Overview of the "Tyrrhenian" Group will center on an exhaustive summary of the various aspects that make up the group's oeuvres. As the group is often seen as completely separate from the other works of the early Attic Black-Figure period, it is necessary to analyze the group's contextual similarities with other Attic and Corinthian works in order to place the group in context amongst the Athenian pottery artisans of the 570s-550s BC and to give the reader an understanding of the group and its nuances. Beginning with a brief section that outlines a consideration of the group's manufacture origin as being Athenian and a production date that falls within the second quarter to mid 6th century BC, the chapter will then go on to detail the find-places of the group in Etruria and the probable usage of these Attic neck-amphorae amongst the Etruscan people. Subsequently, I will list a study detailing the various construction characteristics of the "Tyrrhenian" Group's ovoid neck-amphora style, along with a brief appended consideration that deals with the speculative probability of eight different potter-painters working within the group's production. This is followed by a section listing the

preferences for painted decoration on each section of the “Tyrrhenian” ovoid neck-amphora, which contains brief sections on the type of mythical and non-mythical genre scenes that are typically seen upon the narrative shoulder frieze band. Within this section, I will also analyze the numerous examples of sensible and nonsensical inscriptions amongst the artisans of the group. I feel that this section is important to the understanding of Attic pottery and mythical influence in mid 6th century Etruria and this chapter will help enlighten the reader on this Attic export product.

In Chapter Four: The Achilles and Troilos Myth on “Tyrrhenian” Group Neck-Amphorae, I will focus on the origin and development of the Achilles and Troilos episode in Corinthian and Attic pottery with an emphasis upon the nine extant Attic-made works of the group that show this tale. I will start with a section that briefly reviews the ancient literary sources that outline the story of Troilos’ tragic end at the hands of Achilles. These brief excerpts will serve to guide the reader to better understand the narrative friezes that decorate the specimens I have selected to illustrate this chapter. I will then look at the myth’s earliest origins in Greek art, which shows that artisans as early as the mid 7th century BC knowingly drew the important parts of the mythical episode in the form of three separate scenes.⁴ Although many earlier artistic examples lack uniformity, it is apparent that the mythical episode existed in a cohesive form, which allowed the transmission of common iconography onto later artistic works such as the “Tyrrhenian” Group. I will then turn my attention to the nine extant “Tyrrhenian” Group specimens that show the Achilles and Troilos myth. These pots seem to draw from the same iconographical variant seen in works preceding the group and share many details of composition amongst each other, with some variances between each specimen’s iconography that

⁴ The three iconographical acts of the myth consist of the ambush of Troilos, the pursuit of Troilos and the murder of Troilos. The iconography used by the “Tyrrhenian” Group artisans seems to be of a unique variant that deals with the aftermath of Troilos’ murder.

serve to show the artisans' successful attempts at creativity without sacrificing the integrity of the mythical tale.

Chapter Five: The Achilles and Troilos Myth in Etruria will shift the focus of my work to numerous examples drawn from artistic creations made outside of Greece by Etruscan artisans who, based upon speculation pertaining to resemblance, were directly or indirectly influenced by the form and/or mythological iconography seen within the "Tyrrhenian" Group. I will achieve this by looking at Etruscan neck-amphorae of the Pontic, La Tolfa and Micali Painter School Groups, the *Tomba dei Tori* tomb fresco, along with further examples dating from the Hellenistic period. I will also briefly speculate on the possible reasons why the Etruscans favored this Greek myth and what possible use the mythical tale held in ancient Etruria.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The ideology behind our modern day views on the “Tyrrhenian” Group in modern scholarship comes as a result of two centuries of scholarly trial and error, affected by heated debate through the continual discovery of archaeological evidence and incorporation of contextual evidence into the subject matter. The “Tyrrhenian” Group has undergone many different guises during this time period and the many aspects of the group’s composition and context have been hotly contested, encouraging theories on the group’s purpose and intent to develop concurrently alongside theories on Athenian-Etruscan trade in the mid-sixth century BC, and alongside theories dealing with the Etruscan peoples acceptance, incorporation and usage of Greek mythological subjects. Views on the “Tyrrhenian” Group as an archaeological phenomenon, its point of origin and manufacture, its position as a sub-group of early Attic Black Figure, its provenance in Etruscan sites and possible role in Archaic Etruscan culture have drawn the attention and opinions of many scholars, resulting in a rich and diverse group of sources which occasionally disagree, but nonetheless aid one to come to his or her own conclusions on the matter.

2.2 The Development of the “Tyrrhenian” Group Theory in Scholarly Research

2.2.1 Initial Excavations of Attic-Made Pottery in Etruria and the Findings of Eduard Gerhard

The earliest known evidence of scholarly attention towards the discovery of early Attic Black Figure pottery in ancient Etruria began following a series of amateur excavations during the course of the early 18th century, with Berlin-based excavation teams undertaking various

excavations in Marciano, Orvieto and Sarteano.¹ The large amount of pottery finds that were recovered during these excavations led to some of the earliest known scholarship on Greek-styled pottery found within the Italian peninsula, and some of the earliest debates on the origin of these specimens of “*den griechischen charakter*”.²

The spring of 1828 saw the German archaeologist Eduard Gerhard discover a large Etruscan necropolis in the ancient Etruscan polity of Vulci.³ Gerhard took it upon himself upon publication of his findings in 1831 and 1840 to divide all the c. 3,500 specimens of pottery found into four categories: “Greek”, “Tyrrhenian”, “Etruscan” and “*Ägyptisierende*”.⁴ Gerhard used the term “Tyrrhenian” to describe all the pottery that he had difficulty categorizing,⁵ while designating the term as “*Ägyptisierende*” to describe all the pottery that would later be known as “Tyrrhenian”.⁶ Unfortunately, the pottery that was found during his excavations was quickly sold off into various private collections throughout Europe without regard for paperwork or provenance, rendering his finds almost unusable in a modern archaeological context.⁷ It is thought that the majority of extant “Tyrrhenian” Group specimens that lack provenance were

¹ These specific digs took place between 1705 and 1706. Hermann Thiersch, *Tyrrhenische Amphoren: eine Studie zur Geschichte der altattischen Vasenmalerei* (Leipzig: Verlag von E.A. Seemann, 1899), p. 10.

² *Ibid.*, p. 1 n. 1.

³ Jeroen Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases: From the Athenian Kerameikos to the Tombs of South Etruria* (*Studies of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society, New Series, Volume One*) (Amsterdam: The Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society, 2003), p. 11.

⁴ Thiersch, p. 1 n. 2.

⁵ Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 12.

⁶ Thiersch, p. 2.

⁷ Brigitte Ginge, “A New Evaluation of the Origins of Tyrrhenian Pottery: Etruscan Precursors of Pontic Ceramics,” in *Proceedings of the Third Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery: Copenhagen, August 31st-Sept 4th 1987*, ed. Jette Christiansen and Torben Melander (Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1988), p. 207.

found during Gerhard's excavations in Vulci, and the various other amateur excavations from the 18th century that preceded Gerhard's work.⁸

2.2.2 Developments in the Study of "Ägyptisierende"-Style Black-Figure During the Mid-to-Late 19th Century

No major effort was undertaken in the decades after Gerhard's 1840 publication to either refine the divisions established by Gerhard or to develop theories behind the origin and purpose of these recently found Etruscan discoveries. However, by the late 1870s, a few scholars started to investigate the strong Corinthian undercurrent that was prevalent in the Gerhard-assigned "Ägyptisierende" Black-Figure style. Starting with Loeschke in 1878, a wave of developing theories emerged that focused on the style of Black-Figure pottery that would soon become known as the "Tyrrhenian" Group. Loeschke's article can now be seen as an early stylistic analysis of the group, which concluded with the author arguing for the group's Corinthian origin.⁹ Subsequent scholars in the late 19th century (like A.E.J. Holwerda) would go on notice some Athenian traits in these pots and elaborate upon Loeschke's initial Corinthian origin theory and classify this group of Black-Figure pottery as being "*Korinthisch-attische*" in style.¹⁰

Further developments in the analysis of "*Korinthisch-attische*" styled pots in subsequent years saw F. Hauser suggest in 1893 that the group was of an Etruscan origin, after noticing similarities between these "*Korinthisch-attische*" pots and examples from the Etruscan-made

⁸ Margit von Mehren, "The Trojan Cycle on Tyrrhenian Amphorae," in *Danish Studies in Classical Archaeology: Pots for the Living, Pots for the Dead*, ed. Annette Rathje, Marjatta Nielsen and Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen (Copenhagen, University of Copenhagen Press, 2002), p. 33.

⁹ Georg Loeschke, "Über Darstellungen der Athena-Geburt," *Archäologische Zeitung* 34 (1876), p. 108-145, qtd. in A.E.J. Holwerda, "Korinthisch-attische Vasen," *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 5 (1890), p. 237.

¹⁰ H.B. Walters, "On Some Black-Figure Vases Recently Acquired by the British Museum," *Journal of Historical Studies* Vol. 18 (1898), p. 282.

Pontic Group.¹¹ This analysis showed an early example of noting the similarities between the two groups and the possible influence of the former upon the latter.

Subsequently, the year 1898 saw the publication of an article, “On Some Black Figure Vases Recently Acquired by the British Museum”, by H.B. Walters in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. In his article, Walters managed to foreshadow subsequent research by focusing on a specific “Tyrrhenian” vase, London 97.7-27.7, which is known as the sole Attic Black-Figure vase to depict the sacrifice of Polyxena by Neoptolemos.¹² In his description of the vase, Walters describes the pot as “*Corintho-Attic*” in style¹³ and a “slavish imitation of Corinthian prototypes”, but summarizes the specimen’s style as “coarse and clumsy, but rises to a higher standard of merit”.¹⁴ Walters also makes an interesting reference to the origin of Greek inscriptions on the vase, describing them as derived from Corinthian or Chalcidian-style letter-forms.¹⁵

2.2.3 The Inception of the “Tyrrhenian” Group and the Publication of “*Tyrrhenische*” Amphoren: eine Studie zur Geschichte der altattischen Vasenmalerei by Hermann Thiersch

The first monograph devoted to the “Tyrrhenian” Group, “*Tyrrhenische*” Amphoren: *Eine Studie zur Geschichte der altattischen Vasenmalerei* was published by the German Hermann Thiersch in 1899. In this monograph, Thiersch took it upon himself to dissect the group’s pottery construction and decoration style through the detailed analysis of specimens previously known to scholars as either “*Ägyptisierende*“, Etruscan or “*Korinthisch-attische*” in style. Stating the group’s title as “Tyrrhenian”, Thiersch took strides to justify that the name was not used literally, but as a misnomer. While the name represented the group’s find-place, Thiersch concluded that

¹¹ Friedrich Hauser, “Eine tyrrhenische Amphora der Sammlung Bourguignon,” *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* Vol. 8 (1893), p. 93-94.

¹² This mythical episode is thought to originally derive from the Epic *Iliou Persis*. Walters, p. 286.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

these pots were distinctively Athenian and produced for export to Etruria, rejecting the recently published claims for a Corinthian or Etruscan origin.¹⁶ Despite his assumption that the group was created and decorated by one painter,¹⁷ his initial attempts to chronologically plot the group's progression resulted in a compiled list of 76 pots that were further grouped into two categories: those depicting a painted band of dicing underneath the main narrative frieze band (which Thiersch termed *Punktband*) and those without this band of dicing. Thiersch also noted that a number of early Attic Black-Figure painters had a great influence on the "Tyrrhenian" Group (especially singling out the painter Sophilos), despite giving an extremely conservative date of c. 600 BC for the group's inception.¹⁸ Thiersch also proposed that the success of the "Tyrrhenian" Group in Etruria allowed for the development of the Attic Nikosthenes Painter and the export of his works from Athens, thus being the earliest scholar to elaborate upon the chronology of the "Tyrrhenian" Group in the context of the Attic Black-Figure import market.¹⁹

2.2.4 The Publications of Dietrich von Bothmer and J.D. Beazley, and Their Subsequent Effect on "Tyrrhenian" Group Scholarship

While a handful of scholarly works on this topic were published during the course of the early 20th century, it was not until 1944, with the publication of Dietrich von Bothmer's "The Painters of Tyrrhenian Vases" in the *American Journal of Archaeology* that scholarship regarding the "Tyrrhenian" Group saw further growth. Using theories that he developed through private correspondence with J.D. Beazley, von Bothmer agreed²⁰ with Thiersch's Athenian export product theory,²¹ but refuted his single painter theory²² and conceived a list of eight "Tyrrhenian"

¹⁶ Thiersch, p. 14.

¹⁷ Henry Immerwahr, *Attic Script: A Survey* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 39.

¹⁸ Thiersch, p. 134-35.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 134-35.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

²¹ Dietrich von Bothmer, "The Painters of Tyrrhenian Vases," *American Journal of Archaeology* 48.2 (April-June 1944), p. 162.

Group painters,²³ which he named as the Prometheus Painter, the Timiades Painter, the Goltyr (Goluchow-Tyrrhenian) Painter,²⁴ the Kyllenios Painter, the Castellani Painter, the Pointed-Nose Painter, the Komos Painter²⁵ and the Fallow Deer Painter.²⁶ Von Bothmer's assignment of the eight separate painters into earlier (without diced bands) and later works (with diced bands) was based upon each specimen's usage of the Thiersch-assigned *Punktband*,²⁷ and these tentative groupings have proven as essential in the study of the "Tyrrhenian" Group, holding up to over half a century of subsequent scholarly theory. Von Bothmer would further expand his theories with the publication of his monograph *Amazons in Greek Art* in 1956, which featured the listing of additional "Tyrrhenian" specimens.

1958 saw the publication of J.D. Beazley's exhaustive *Attic Black-Figure Vase Painters*, a highly detailed index of all the known extant works in the Attic Black-Figure canon. Within this large index, significant space was given for a listing of 130 "Tyrrhenian" Group specimens, which Beazley arranged by shape and iconographical subject, supplementing these listings with detailed accounts. While this index would soon become obsolete with the constant discovery of pots in private collections across the world, this work is still regarded as highly essential to all subsequent scholarly work on all subjects pertaining to Attic Black Figure pottery, including the "Tyrrhenian" Group.

The close of the 1970s saw the publication of a unique and important article for the research of the "Tyrrhenian" Group in the French journal *Revue Archéologique*. Written by Mauro Cristofani, the article "*Reconstruction d'un mobilier funéraire archaïque de Cerveteri*"

²² Thiersch, p. 13-14.

²³ von Bothmer, "The Painters of Tyrrhenian Vases," p. 163.

²⁴ According to von Bothmer, Beazley initially suggested the name Goltyr (Goluchow-Tyrrhenian) to him via private correspondence. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

²⁵ Later known in scholarship as the Guglielmi Painter.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 164-169.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

dealt with the inventory of an undisturbed Etruscan tomb complex in Cerveteri, which when first excavated in 1881 was shown to contain a handful of “Tyrrhenian” pots. These finds were of great importance to the research of the “Tyrrhenian” Group, as many extant pots of the group were excavated improperly, which resulted in a lack of recorded information detailing their initial find context and usage amongst the Etruscans. Cristofani’s article showed a rare circumstance of an undisturbed tomb that contained works of Attic origin that he concluded were placed within the tomb to accompany the deceased as grave goods amongst such items as female *accoutrements* and other pots of Etruscan origin²⁸ that were all datable to the first half of the 6th century BC.²⁹ Evidence such as this gives the modern scholar a plausible reason to stipulate that many Etruscans of the mid-6th century BC valued the imported pots of the “Tyrrhenian” Group as items of possession.

2.2.5 Scholarship of the 1980’s

A major advancement in the study of the “Tyrrhenian” Group was seen with the publication in 1982 of Stamatia Meyer-Emmerling’s *Erzählende darstellungen auf “Tyrrhenischen” Vasen*. Expanding the number of works in the “Tyrrhenian” Group previously listed by Thiersch, von Bothmer and Beazley, Meyer-Emmerling listed a total of 171 extant pots. While previous scholars created listings of the many different works in the group, Meyer-Emmerling went further in specifically sorting the specimens by iconographical subject matter. As a result, the bulk of her dissertation was based upon the division and analysis of the 171 specimens that fell into two main categories based upon “*Mythologisches*” and “*Alltagsgeschehen*” frieze context, and were further analyzed by specific iconographical

²⁸ Mauro Cristofani, “Reconstruction d’un mobilier funéraire archaïque de Cerveteri,” *Revue Archéologique: Monuments et Memoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 63 (1980), p. 2.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

subject.³⁰ It is these in-depth analyses that enabled Meyer-Emmerling to relate the subjects portrayed upon the narrative friezes together in order to make logical and realistic conclusions and to note the limited spectrum of narrative scenes in the “Tyrrhenian” Group. While Meyer-Emmerling reaffirmed the Corinthian compositional influence on the early Attic Black Figure narrative scenes which was already noted in 19th century scholarship,³¹ she also elaborated on von Bothmer’s painter theory by proposing that cross pollination accounted for many of the similarities shared between the works of the eight painters, arguing that it may have occurred as a result of group artisans copying from common models and influence from Corinthian Black-Figure ceramics from the recent past.³²

Meyer-Emmerling also took care to mention the originality of some “Tyrrhenian” narrative scenes that have few equivalents outside the group, among which is the sacrifice of Polyxena by Neoptolemos and Achilles and Hektor fighting over the decapitated body of Troilos.³³ It is such scenes as this one that led Meyer-Emmerling to conclude that the many iconographic images in the “Tyrrhenian” Group were purposely rendered with a drastic style of composition, which found popularity with the mid-6th century BC Etruscan people, whose tastes may have had a hand in the production of the early Attic foreign trade market.³⁴

Subsequently, the next two years saw the publication of two consecutive articles in the *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* by T.H. Carpenter, 1983’s “On The Dating of The “Tyrrhenian” Group” and 1984’s “The “Tyrrhenian” Group: Problems of Provenance”. These two articles can be seen as attempts to reassess the collected scholarship concerning the “Tyrrhenian” Group, with

³⁰ Stamatia Meyer-Emmerling, *Erzählende Darstellungen auf “tyrrhenischen” Vasen* (Frankfurt: Goëthe Universität zu Frankfurt am Main, 1982), p. 160.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 162.

³³ This narrative frieze is regarded by Meyer-Emmerling as one of the most savage and uncompromising narrative scenes within the “Tyrrhenian” oeuvre. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 163, 168.

the former proposing a new theory to reassess the dating of the group and the latter arguing for the group's place of manufacture. In his 1983 article, Carpenter proposed that the "Tyrrhenian" Group's dating was in need of reassessment, as the group's middling quality showed that the group's artisans would have not had the foresight to develop any innovative traits, instead relying on previously developed iconography.³⁵ To this end, Carpenter argued that adjustment to the group's dating was necessary to link these "Tyrrhenian" works to specimens that are thought as dating from a later period but share the same iconographical characteristics.³⁶ Furthermore, he states that letter-forms found upon the some inscriptions of the "Tyrrhenian" Group also support this dating readjustment.³⁷

T.H. Carpenter's subsequent 1984 article, also published in the *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* stood as his attempt at reassessing the original location of the group's manufacture.³⁸ To prove his hypothesis that the group was made outside the city of Athens proper (but within the city-state's boundaries), Carpenter analyzes the copious instances of rare mythological friezes shown in the group, the confused jumbling of myths on some "Tyrrhenian" pots, and the usage of nonsensical inscriptions with non-Attic letter-forms in some specimens, along with presenting evidence of potter's quarters in Corinth that was located outside of the ancient city.³⁹ While these arguments do support the possibility of non-Attic painters contributing to the production of the "Tyrrhenian" Group, Carpenter's speculation does not guarantee that these artisans would have worked outside of Athens proper, as the author alleges. While it is

³⁵ Thomas H. Carpenter, "On the Dating of the "Tyrrhenian" Group," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 2.3 (1983), p. 288.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 279-280.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 280-281.

³⁸ Thomas H. Carpenter, "The "Tyrrhenian" Group: Problems of Provenance," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 3.1 (1984), p. 53.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

possible that these non-Athenian artisans worked in and around Attica, there is no circumstantial evidence to prove the idea that these artisans would have only worked outside of the city gates.

2.2.6 Recent Scholarship

While the study of the “Tyrrhenian” Group and its Etruscan audience received increased attention during the later years of the 20th century, the last decade saw further research in the field that culminated with the work of Jeroen Kluiver. Kluiver’s various articles on the subject have all served to illuminate and speculate upon the many mysterious aspects that constitute this branch of early Attic Black-Figure in a cumulative fashion not seen since the publication of Hermann Thiersch’s 1899 monograph. While much of Kluiver’s research, first published in the 1992, 1993, 1995 and 1996 editions of the *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving*, summarized all the collective research into the group until that point, his initial article, “The Tyrrhenian Group: Its Origin and the Neck-Amphora in The Netherlands and Belgium” included a major breakthrough that effectively proved the “Tyrrhenian” Group’s position in early Attic Black-Figure. To this end, his 1992 article summarized the petrographic findings on clay analysis conducted in 1983 at the National Research Institute of the Netherlands, which effectively proved that the “Tyrrhenian” Group was of a clay composition similar to wares with a known Attic origin.⁴⁰

Subsequent articles by Kluiver would give an in-depth analysis of the “Tyrrhenian” neck-amphora shape (1993), the works of the early “Tyrrhenian” painters (1995), and the works of the later “Tyrrhenian” painters (1996). Kluiver also attributed and listed newly found specimens to the group during the course of his research and, as such, continued in the collective tradition of Thiersch, von Bothmer, Beazley and Meyer-Emmerling. These four articles, after being revised with the addition of a further expanded list of c. 260 specimens, would go on to be published as a

⁴⁰ Jeroen Kluiver, “The Tyrrhenian Group: Its Origin and the Neck-Amphora in the Netherlands and Belgium,” *Stichting Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 67 (1992), p. 73-76.

monograph in 2003 under the title *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases: From the Athenian Kerameikos to the Tombs of Southern Etruria*, which included a newly composed chapter on the popularity of the group in Etruria.

The exhaustive work of Kluiver came at a period of renewed scholarly interest in the group, which resulted in new research into the mythical iconography seen on the group's pots. To this end, the last years of the 20th century saw the publication of a symposium paper by Margit von Mehren, 1997's "Two Groups of Attic Amphorae as Export Ware for Etruria: The So-Called "Tyrrhenian" Group and Nikosthenic Amphorae", which further refined the previously existing speculation that the "Tyrrhenian" Group was made as export ware. Through the analysis of the "Tyrrhenian" Group alongside the later works of the Attic Nikosthenic Painter, von Mehren speculated that a large percentage of mythical narrative friezes represented upon works of the group were specifically chosen to satisfy Etruscan taste and, by extension, could be studied to enable a greater understanding of Archaic period Etruscan culture.⁴¹

2.3 Representations of the Achilles and Troilos Myth on "Tyrrhenian" Neck-Amphorae

As shown in the previous section, the publication of Hermann Thiersch's 1899 monograph resulted in the first widespread and successful attempt at summarizing the variations of style and decoration seen in the "Tyrrhenian" Group. To this end, the influence of Thiersch can be felt in an article published in the December 1907 edition of the *American Journal of Archaeology*. Written by William Bates, this article provides a study of one specific "Tyrrhenian" neck-amphora that portrayed a mythical episode drawn from the Epic Cycle-

⁴¹ Margit von Mehren, "Two Groups of Attic Amphorae as Export Ware for Etruria: the So-Called "Tyrrhenian" Group and the Nikosthenic Amphorae" in *Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis 12, The Internordic Colloquium on Ancient Pottery, 13-15 June 1997*, ed. Charlotte Scheffer (Stockholm: Almqvist and Withsell/Motala Grafisky, 2001), p. 46.

derived *Kypria*, dealing with Achilles' ambush of the Trojan king Priam's young son Troilos. As the story does not survive in a complete literary form, Bates concludes that the whole story, as it stood in the 6th century BC, could be reconstructed from this amphora and others, a valid theory which would be expounded upon by subsequent scholars and is investigated in detail in a subsequent chapter of this thesis.⁴² Bates also made an early attempt to compare the known representations of the Achilles and Troilos myth in the "Tyrrhenian" Group, which he lists as totaling three, to those outside of the "Tyrrhenian" oeuvres, which he lists as totaling nine.⁴³ A final relevant point proposed by Bates in his article is that the work of the "Tyrrhenian" Group was made by more than one artisan, dispelling the earlier single painter theory and setting the tone for subsequent research on the subject.⁴⁴

J.D. Beazley, within the pages of his 1956 tome *Athenian Black-Figure Vase Painters* (and its addendum, *Paralipomena*, published in 1971), makes useful mention of eight distinct examples of "Tyrrhenian" Group neck-amphorae that depict iconography that can be traced to the mythical episode of Achilles and Troilos, along with accompanying listings that reference the scholarly works that were published about each vase in question. It is these eight examples (with the addition of one "Tyrrhenian" pot discovered by Jeroen Kluiver the collection of a private Swiss collector) that form the basis of the Achilles and Troilos mythical episode within the "Tyrrhenian" Group, which will be investigated in a subsequent chapter.

Published in the 1957 issue of the *Revue Archéologique*, Charlette Mota's article "Sur les représentations figurées de la mort de Troilos et la mort d'Astyanax" gave a detailed analysis of the Achilles and Troilos myth and its representations within archaic Greek pottery in a similar

⁴² William N. Bates, "A Tyrrhenian Amphora in Philadelphia," *American Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 11.4 (October-December 1907), p. 433.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 433.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 440.

fashion to Bates' article. Mota, however, went one step further through the analysis of the variations of the tale that are inherent on various Greek specimens and compared these with Archaic period depictions of the death of Astyanax, which bears some iconographical resemblance to the Achilles and Troilos myth.⁴⁵ With this evidence, Mota speculated that at least one variation of the myth rendered by Archaic Greek vase painters shows fundamental similarities with the death of Troilos scene.⁴⁶ To Mota, these various artistic works show the possibility of cross-pollination between both mythical scenes in Greece at some point in the 570s BC.⁴⁷ It is Mota's opinion that the Achilles and Troilos myth influenced the depiction of the death of Astyanax in Archaic period Greek art (and not the other way around), as the hair grabbing and beheading seems more suitable for what we know about the Troilos episode.⁴⁸

The initial volume of the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythae Classicae*, published in 1981, was the first of a series dedicated to the listing of ancient mythological figures as they appeared in ancient art. As such, the format was quite different than Beazley's stylistically sorted *Athenian Black-Figure Vase Painters*, but proved extremely valuable for research and comparative study due to the *LIMC*'s tendency to group specimens by mythological characters and specific mythical episodes that involved their participation. To this end, A. Kossatz-Deissmann's entry on Achilles and "das Troilosabenteuer" grouped each variant of the mythical episodes' representation in Greek art and listed all the known Greek-made variances of the three iconographical acts that represented the myth in archaic Greek art: the ambush of Troilos, the pursuit of Troilos and the death of Troilos. On the other hand, Giovannangelo Comporeale's entry on the Etruscan manifestation of "Achle" lists all the known instances of this mythical figure in Etruscan art,

⁴⁵ This tale was first recorded in either the non-extant *Iliou Persis* or the non-extant Little Iliad

⁴⁶ Charlette Mota, "Sur les représentations figurées de la mort de Troilos et de la mort d'Astyanax," *Révue Archéologique: Monuments et Memoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 50 (1957), p. 33.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

which includes multiple references to Etruscan representations of the Achilles and Troilos myth and enables one to draw from a wide database of information to properly research the subject.

Timothy Gantz's 1993 publication *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources* provides a wide-ranging summary of all extant sources for Greek mythology, with a specific focus upon Greek myth in the Archaic period. A large portion of this tome is devoted to the non-extant portions of the Epic Cycle, of which the Achilles and Troilos episode plays a role in the latter part of the *Kypria*.⁴⁹ Closely analyzing all the known sources that make reference to this story, Gantz listed a general outline for the myth while keeping his summary open for all the known variances of this tale in Greek art and literature. The work of Gantz, in his detail and scope, displays Archaic period Greek myth as being more fluid than typically thought, and thus open to many variations.

Margit von Mehren, who made a significant contribution to the development of the "Tyrrhenian" Group export product theory with 1997's "Two Groups of Attic Amphorae as Export Ware for Etruria: The So-Called "Tyrrhenian" Group and Nikosthenic Amphorae", was also responsible for the composition of 2002's "The Trojan Cycle on Tyrrhenian Amphorae", a conference paper that analyzed and attempted to explain the Etruscans' adaptation, modification and emulation of selected myths of the Trojan Epic Cycle featured on pots of the "Tyrrhenian" Group. Much of the paper was devoted to the appearance of the Achilles and Troilos myth episode in "Tyrrhenian" Group specimens and included some speculation on the myth's influence in Archaic period Etruria.⁵⁰ To prove this, von Mehren listed all the known examples of the Achilles and Troilos myth within the "Tyrrhenian" Group and compared these with similar examples found on Etruscan works of the mid to late 6th century BC. From her research and

⁴⁹ Timothy Gantz, *Early Greek Myth: A Guide of Literary and Artistic Sources* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Publishing, 1993), p. 597-603.

⁵⁰ Margit von Mehren, "The Trojan Cycle on "Tyrrhenian" Amphorae", p. 34.

findings, it was von Mehren's opinion that the Attic narrative scenes that exhibited a war-like atmosphere (*causa bellis*) were of great popularity in the "Tyrrhenian" Group, and influenced the adaptation of Greek mythical tales into the Etruscan mythological corpus.⁵¹ To this end, it was von Mehren's opinion that Etruscan iconographical representations of Greek myths, which incorporated some modifications to the original Greek iconography, were consciously selected from Greek examples such as those of the "Tyrrhenian" Group.⁵²

2.4 Analysis of the Achilles and Troilos Myth in Etruscan Art of the Mid 6th Century BC and Thereafter

While significant steps were made in the development of research within the "Tyrrhenian" Group during the early to mid 20th century, there was little scholarly research on the influence of the group on Etruscan pottery from the latter half of the 6th century BC.

Konrad Schauenburg's article "Zu griechischen Mythen in der etruskischen Kunst", published in the 1970 edition of the *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, was an early attempt to compare and contrast the mysterious relationship between the portrayal of Greek myth on Athenian pottery and the subsequent usage of Greek myth in Etruscan art. Schauenburg's article provided relevant information regarding the study of the Etruscan emulation of Greek mythological templates,⁵³ based upon the analysis of Greek-made works and Etruscan works filtered through the indigenous Etruscan tradition.⁵⁴ This article proves itself as especially useful for research as Schauenburg's specific focus is on the Achilles and Troilos episode. Stating that the myth occurred "*relativ früh auf*" in Etruscan art of the mid to late 6th century B.C., Schauenburg proposes the idea that the myth held special significance for the

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁵³ Konrad Schauenburg, "Zu griechischen Mythen in der etruskischen Kunst," *Jahrbuch des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 85 (1970), p. 31.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

archaic Etruscans, as it seemed to project a certain ideal regarding the heroic sense of a violent life and death.⁵⁵ Through detailed descriptions of various examples of the myth on neck-amphorae of the Etruscan Pontic Group,⁵⁶ Schauenburg theorizes that the Etruscans consciously altered the Greek version of this mythical episode through their own indigenous ideals in order to use this Greek mythical tale in their own artwork.⁵⁷

Another attempt to trace the effect of the Achilles and Troilos episode on 6th century Etruscan art was made by J.P. Oleson in his 1975 article “Greek Myth and Etruscan Imagery at the Tomb of the Bulls, Tarquinia”, as published in the *American Journal of Archaeology*. This article centered upon the fantastic fresco depicting the ambush of Troilos found in the mid-6th century BC *Tomba dei Tori* at Tarquinia, Oleson discussed the various factors that may have contributed to the Etruscan tomb painter rendering the Greek mythical episode on a tomb wall. Like Schauenburg, it is the speculative opinion of Oleson⁵⁸ that the Etruscans took a liking to Greek myths involving heroic displays of war-like behavior during the mid 6th century BC, of which the Achilles and Troilos myth was a prime example.⁵⁹ As Oleson speculated that the appearance of the Achilles and Troilos myth on wares imported from Greece was one of the prominent ways that the myth became well known in Etruria, he chose to analyze the effect of this influence by looking at a representation of the Achilles and Troilos myth seen at the archaic *Tomba dei Tori* in Tarquinia.⁶⁰

Oleson further illustrated the possibilities behind the hybridization of Greek myth and Etruscan culture by proposing the Etruscans’ conscious integration of their own mythical ideals

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁵⁶ The Etruscan Pontic Group is commonly dated to 550-510 BC.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 46, 65-71.

⁵⁸ Oleson’s opinion is based on his interpretation of contextual evidence.

⁵⁹ J.P. Oleson, “Greek Myth and Etruscan Imagery in the Tomb of the Bulls at Tarquinia,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 79.3 (July 1975), p. 191.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

into the adapted tale. Making reference to the fragmentary literary sources that describe this mythical episode, Oleson incorporated passages of the obscure ancient writers such as Proculus into his work and related them verbatim with the “*Tomba dei Tori*” fresco. With this survey, Oleson detailed an early manifestation of the Greek myth’s influence in the Archaic Etruscan world and attempted to explain the usage of the myth within the Tarquinian *Tomba dei Tori*.

1985 saw the publication of *Etruscan Life and Afterlife*, edited by Larissa Bonfante, which dealt with the various aspects of Etruscan daily life and religious beliefs. Specifically, a particular chapter written by the author, “Daily Life and Afterlife”, served to shed light on the possible reasons for the popularity of the many violent Greek myths that found popularity in 6th century B.C. Etruria, relating to the possible reasons behind the popularity of such myths as the Achilles and Troilos episode and its subsequent influence upon works of the Pontic Group, the Troilos fresco located at the *Tomba dei Tori* in Tarquinia and a wide assortment of Etruscan funeral urns from the Hellenistic period. It is noted by Bonfante that a large part of extant contextual information dealing with Etruscan mythological iconography shows a large amount of Etruscan religious beliefs being centered on “scenes of sacrifice, cruelty and dismemberment” and the frequent representation of “ritual connotations... (of) bloody scenes” on such noted Etruscan works as the mid to late 4th century BC *François* tomb frescoes.⁶¹ Bonfante’s research merits further investigation as it shows the possible reasons behind the popularity of the Achilles and Troilos myth in Archaic period Etruria and gives a window into a culture whose religious beliefs are all but known to us now.

The mysterious religious beliefs of the Etruscan peoples and their adaptation of selected Greek myths were investigated in Nancy Thomson de Grummond’s 2006 monograph *Etruscan*

⁶¹ Larissa Bonfante, “Daily Life and Afterlife,” in *Etruscan Life and Afterlife: A Handbook of Etruscan Studies*, ed. Larissa Bonfante (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1986), p. 262.

Myth, Sacred History and Legend. While de Grummond admitted that the analysis of Etruscan myth can be an elusive and difficult subject,⁶² she nevertheless attempted to explain the sacred rituals and beliefs of these ancient peoples through the investigation of funeral art and textual references in Greek and Latin literature. De Grummond saw that the incorporation of selected Greek myths was undertaken by consciously filtering the myth through the pre-existing indigenous beliefs and tastes of the Etruscan people.⁶³ It was with this opinion that de Grummond analyzed the various Etruscan manifestations of Achilles (known as *Achle*), who she sees as one of the most popular subjects of Etruscan reinterpretation and whose representation is shown as regularly portrayed in artistic iconography involving bloodshed.⁶⁴ Through her analysis, de Grummond concludes that the usage of the Troilos myth in Etruscan funeral art was used in a symbolic fashion,⁶⁵ to substitute for actual bloodshed in the appeasement of the dead.

⁶² Nancy de Grummond, *Etruscan Myth, Sacred History and Legend* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2006), p. xii.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

Chapter 3

Overview

3.1 A Consideration of Manufacture Origin and Date

The “Tyrrhenian” Group is a pottery group of the 6th century BC early Black-Figure style that primarily consists of ovoid shaped neck-amphorae (see Figure 1 below),¹ which are typically found in large concentrations throughout various 6th century BC sites in southern Etruria.



Figure 1: Boston 98.916 (Beazley # 46), Attic Black-Figure neck-amphora of the “Tyrrhenian” Group attributed to The Timiades Painter (von Bothmer), obverse and reverse. Second quarter of the 6th century BC. Provenance: Vulci. Photo: Dietrich von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pl. III and IV.

Traditionally known by the misnomer “Tyrrhenian”, the group was known as having many differing points of manufacture origin throughout the past two centuries of scholarly

¹ Other styles of Black-Figure pottery that were also made by the artisans of the “Tyrrhenian” Group in much smaller numbers include a few column-kraters, volute-kraters, dinoi, hydriae and at least one plate. These styles of pottery, due to their exceptional status, small extant corpus and lack of relevant mythical friezes will not be analyzed in this work.

research, with scholars at different times arguing the group as being Corinthian,² Ionian,³ a foreigner-made work manufactured outside of the boundaries of Ancient Athens,⁴ or as an Etruscan emulation of Attic Black-Figure.⁵ It was only with H. Kars' completion of petrographical analysis at the National Research Institute in Amersfoort, The Netherlands in 1983 (with the aid of the Institute of Earth Sciences at the University of Utrecht) that the group's probable Athenian origin was proven with solid physical evidence.⁶ In this characterization study, specimens of "Tyrrhenian" works were analyzed under a high-powered microscope alongside numerous works of known Attic and Etruscan origin, in order to determine whether the clay and temper of the "Tyrrhenian" Group specimens bore any resemblance to the pots of known Attic or Etruscan origin. After analyzing all three groups, it was concluded that the specimens of the "Tyrrhenian" Group were similar in clay and temper composition to the specimens of known Attic origin.⁷ From these findings, one can theorize that the Black-Figure "Tyrrhenian" Group is most likely of Attic manufacture origin and was exported by trade to southern Etruria, where they are typically found.

Based upon the style of construction and decorative traits inherent on extant "Tyrrhenian" Group neck-amphorae, it is also probable that the group was manufactured at some point during the second quarter of the 6th century BC. Factors such as the group's ovoid-amphora shape, choice of mythical scene composition, general decorative scheme and noticeable Corinthian influence show a strong resemblance to the works of such early Attic Black-Figure

² Holwerda, p. 237-238.

³ John Boardman, *The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 237-239.

⁴ Carpenter, "The Tyrrhenian Group: Problems of Provenance", p. 54.

⁵ Ginge, p. 203.

⁶ Kluiver, "The Tyrrhenian Group: Its Origin and The Neck-Amphora in The Netherlands and Belgium", p. 73-75.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

painters as the C Painter, Kletias, the KX Painter, the Painter of London B76, Lydos and Sophilos: Athenian artists who produced their pottery in Athens during the mid to late 570s BC.⁸ Furthermore, instances of “Tyrrhenian” Group specimens found in tomb excavations throughout southern Etruria (specifically shown in Mauro Cristofani’s description of the Banditaccia Necropolis “double burial” tomb in Cerveteri) show the “Tyrrhenian” Group reaching prominence in southern Etruria during the mid-6th century BC.⁹ Given the contextual evidence, it seems that production of the group started following the rise of the group’s Attic Black-Figure influences, thus giving the group a start date of the early 560s BC. It is also likely that the beginnings of the “Tyrrhenian” Group occurred alongside the Attic-based production of the earliest Panathenaic prize amphorae. Sharing a similar shape and decoration traits (clusters of palmettes, tongue bands, narrative friezes), one may suppose that both groups were developed and launched around the same time around the period of the earliest Panathenaic games, which the tyrant Peisistratus initiated in 566 BC.¹⁰

It is also probable that the majority of the group was produced with an eye to the Etruscan market. Findings bear out that the group was continually shipped from Athens to Etruria for an extended period of time starting in the early 560s BC, before ceasing at some point during the third quarter of the 6th century BC, as is seen through the lack of “Tyrrhenian” Group specimens in Etruscan sites after c. 540 BC. The popularity of the group on Etruscan soil is affirmed by evidence for the construction and distribution of the “Tyrrhenian”-derivative Etruscan Pontic Group of pottery in the mid 6th century BC, which was dominated by the

⁸ Güven Bakir, “Der Maler von Istanbul 7314,” *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 93 (1978), p. 40-41.

⁹ Cristofani, p. 1-2.

¹⁰ Although there are some doubts on the connection between the production of prize amphorae and the launching of the Panathenaics, it is apparent that both the “Tyrrhenian” Group and the Panathenaic prize amphorae share some construction and decorative similarities. Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 114-115.

production of an ovoid neck-amphora shape that was probably influenced by the ovoid neck-amphora of the “Tyrrhenian” Group (see Figure 2 below).¹¹

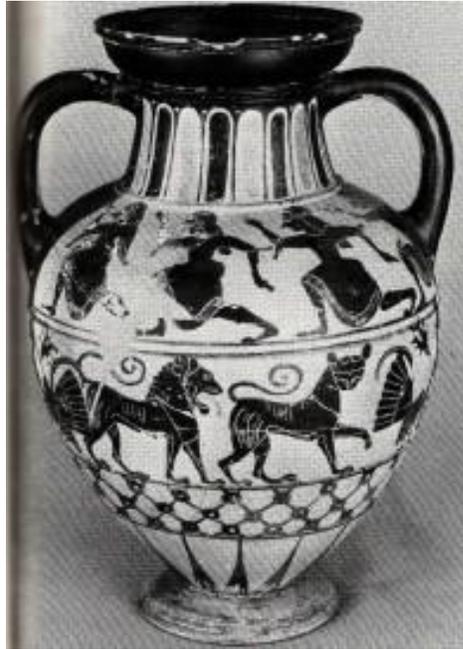


Figure 2: Rome, Musei Capitolini 91, Etruscan Black-Figure neck-amphora of the Pontic Group, obverse. Photo: J. Lund and A. Rathje, “Italic Gods and Deities,” in *Proceedings of the Third Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery, Copenhagen: August 31st-September 4th 1987*, ed. Jette Christiansen and Torben Melander (Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1988), p. 359.

It therefore seems that the popularity of the “Tyrrhenian” Group’s Attic-made pots influenced the Etruscan production of the Pontic neck-amphora and may have even resulted in the termination of the “Tyrrhenian” Group’s distribution in Etruria.¹² Further speculation suggests that the success of the group in the export market may have encouraged the development of the

¹¹ Jean Macintosh Turfa, “International Contacts: Commerce, Trade and Foreign Affairs,” in *Etruscan Life and Afterlife*, ed. Larissa Bonfante (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1986), p. 72.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 118-119.

Etruscan Bucchero-inspired works of the Athenian Nikosthenic Painter in the late 530s BC (see Figure 3 below).¹³



Figure 3: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR.3.1962 and GR.10.1937, Attic Black-figure bucchero-styled amphora and kyathos attributed to the Nikothenes Painter. Photo: David W.J. Gill, “Positivism, Pots and Long Distance Trade,” in *Classical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies*, ed. Ian Morris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) p. 101.

3.1.1 The Find-Places of the “Tyrrhenian” Group in Etruria.

A large percentage of the 74 works of the “Tyrrhenian” Group with known provenance emanate from a small group of sites in southern Etruria, while the remaining 186 specimens of the c.260 known works of the “Tyrrhenian” Group likely originate from sites in Etruria, but lack specific provenance due to the primitive excavation techniques used during the 18th and 19th centuries.¹⁴ It is therefore necessary to mention that the large percentage of group specimens without provenance do cause some obstacles in the study of these pots. Therefore, we can only use a relatively small proportion of the group in the study of find-places, thus rendering these conclusions incomplete but reliable.

¹³ It is generally agreed that the pots of the Athenian Nikosthenic Painter were specifically produced for foreign trade. *Ibid.*, p. 118-119.

¹⁴ Large percentages of the group were discovered during excavations in Etruria (specifically in Vulci and Orvieto) in the 18th and early 19th centuries and were quickly sold off to private collectors and museums without consideration for detailing their initial find spots. Despite the lack of specifics, it is known that these works without provenance do originate from the early excavations of southern Etruria. These early excavations are covered in Chapter Two.

Of the specimens with known provenance, 27 were found within the ancient coastal polity of Vulci, another 19 were found within the ancient coastal polity of Cerveteri,¹⁵ and a smaller number of specimens can be traced back to the ancient polities of Tarquinia, Orvieto and Chiusi (see Figure 4 below).¹⁶

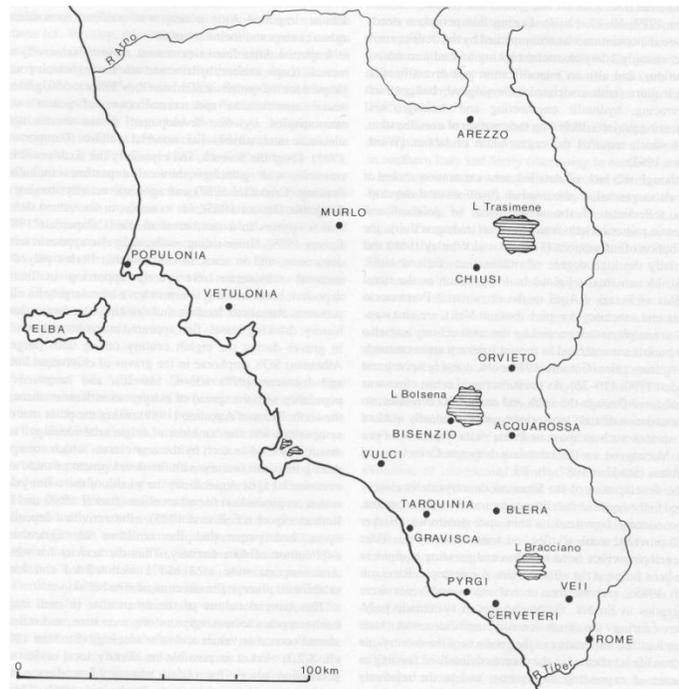


Figure 4: Map of major Etruscan polities, c. early 6th century BC. Photo: Karim Arafat and Catherine Morgan, “Athens, Etruria and the Heuneberg: Mutual Misconceptions in the Study of Greek-Barbarian Relations,” in *Classical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies*, ed. Ian Morris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 11.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

¹⁶ Nigel Spivey, “Greek Vases in Etruria”, in *Looking at Greek Vases*, ed. Tom Rasmussen and Nigel Spivey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 132.

A few isolated finds from the group were found outside of southern Etruria, in ancient sites such as Tharros in Sardinia and Megara Hyblaea in Sicily,¹⁷ along with two isolated neck-amphora finds in Rhodes¹⁸ and a possible fragment in Athens,¹⁹ but are insignificant enough to argue that the majority of the group was specifically manufactured for distribution throughout the coastal polities of Southern Etruria. From these few finds, one can suppose that the group was occasionally traded elsewhere, whether directly with Athens or through down-the-line trade with Etruscan peoples. Based upon the overwhelming number of specimens with provenance that are centered around the Etruscan polities of Vulci and Cerveteri, it seems safe to state that the coastal polities of Etruria were the recipients of most “Tyrrhenian” Group wares manufactured and exported from Athens.²⁰

3.1.2 Usage of the “Tyrrhenian” Group Neck-Amphora in Etruria

The ovoid-shaped carrying vessel, which was traditionally used in Greek pottery for the purpose of a liquid storage and transport container, makes clear that these amphorae originally contained olive oil, wine or perfume.²¹ Furthermore, it seems likely that Etruscans enjoyed these vases for their appearance, given the evidence for the group’s subsequent influence under the guise of the Etruscan Pontic Group, alongside the growth of Greek-styled symposium culture in Archaic Etruria.²² One point that is possible, as outlined by Stamatia Meyer-Emmerling, is that

¹⁷ Margaret Curry, “The Export of Attic Black-Figure Pottery in the Early 6th Century BC,” in *Periplous: Papers on Classical Art and Archaeology Presented to Sir John Boardman*, ed. G.R. Tsetskadze, A.J.N.W. Prag and A.M. Snodgrass (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000), p. 82.

¹⁸ Yasemin Tuna-Nörling, “Attic Black-Figure Export to the East: The “Tyrrhenian” Group in Ionia” in *Athenian Potters and Painters: The Conference Proceedings*, ed. John H. Oakley, William D.E. Coulson and Olga Palagia. (Oxford: Oxbow Monographs, 1997), p. 435.

¹⁹ Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 118.

²⁰ Gill, p. 45.

²¹ Robert S. Folsom, *Attic Black-Figure Pottery* (Park Ridge NJ: Noyes Press, 1975), p. 17; Thiersch, p. 8-9.

²² It is possible that these vases’ owners occasionally displayed these amphorae at symposium gatherings in order to show their appreciation and knowledge of Greek myth to their guests. Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 120.

the group acted as “*eine Art Massenware*” for their foreign owners and gave them an opportunity to align themselves more closely to the Athenian mythical ideal through the appearance of these works.²³ It is known, by the period of the group’s initiation, that pre-existing trade relations had existed between Athens and Etruria for a number of decades and one would assume that the Athenian traders knew what aspects of Greek pottery would be the driving force for the Etruscan customers’ interest.

These pots are occasionally found within the confines of mid 6th century BC Etruscan tombs. While there are at least two known instances of the amphorae of the “Tyrrhenian” Group used as cinerary urns, this low number of vases containing ash makes it difficult to effectively conclude that this was the singular use for these imported pots.²⁴ It is likely that many of these pots found in Etruscan tombs held special significance and were placed as grave furnishings to satisfy the deceased. While a number of scholars have attempted to justify the group’s usage as grave goods to conclude that the group was solely used in Etruria as funeral wares,²⁵ one cannot suppose that the group held this sole purpose with the Etruscan peoples. Mauro Cristofani’s 1980 article “Reconstruction d’un mobilier funéraire archaïque de Cerveteri” supports this idea further, in which he describes a mid 6th century BC Etruscan double burial-style tomb, discovered in the eastern section of the Banditaccia Necropolis in Cerveteri. Excavated in the late 19th century, this tomb is known to have contained two neck-amphorae of the “Tyrrhenian” Group alongside at least twenty-five other objects of Athenian and Etruscan origin.²⁶ Although the publication of this find was of great importance due to the excavator’s great detail in describing the objects *in situ*, an important point is shown through the position of the two neck-amphorae of

²³ Meyer-Emmerling, p. 168.

²⁴ Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 120.

²⁵ Spivey, p. 145-148.

²⁶ Cristofani, p. 1-2.

the “Tyrrhenian” Group amongst the other objects of the group, showing these two specimens as grave furnishings which the deceased valued during his or her lifetime.²⁷

3.2 Characteristics of Construction with the “Tyrrhenian” Group Neck-Amphora

The ovoid shaped neck-amphora of the “Tyrrhenian” Group represents a work that is reflective of trends used the early Attic Black-Figure period. As such, these pots show a distinctive design whose style was conceived in Athens but likely directed towards the Etruscan population. These pots, rendered with the recent advances of early Attic Black-Figure design, also contained influence from Corinthian pottery decoration of the late 7th and early 6th century BC.²⁸ It is this idea, combined with the primarily Etruscan archaeological sources, which leads to the speculation that this group of Attic Black-Figure pottery was specifically designed for and exported to the Etruscan consumer who was familiar with wares traded from Corinth in previous decades and was open to the present-day innovation of Athens.²⁹ This idea will be further discussed and elaborated upon in the following paragraphs.

Given the decline of Corinthian pottery in Etruria between 580-560 BC and the subsequent intensification of Attic pottery in Etruria during 560-520 BC,³⁰ the Athenian-produced neck-amphorae of the “Tyrrhenian” Group may have served as a stable foreign trade opportunity for Athens, a city that would have still been profiting from the results of Solon’s 593 BC economic reforms during the early years of tyranny under Peisistratus.³¹

²⁷ These two “Tyrrhenian” pots were shown as placed alongside other personal objects such as combs, cheese graters and cauldrons in Cristofani’s article. While perishables (especially liquids) could have once been inside of these pots, it is difficult to effectively trace them without modern testing such as gas-chromatography.

²⁸ John Boardman, *Athenian Black-Figure Vases: A Handbook* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974), p. 37.

²⁹ Folsom, p. 111, 115.

³⁰ B.L. Bailey, “The Export of Attic Black-Figure Ware,” *Journal of Historical Studies* 60 (1940), p. 65.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 69; Curry, p. 80.

3.2.1 Size and Construction Characteristics

The “Tyrrhenian” neck-amphora possesses an average height of 40 cm, while its range of size typically falls between 31 cm and goes as large as 50 cm.³² The largest known neck-amphora of the group measures 52.0 centimeters tall, while the smallest measures 22.0 cm.³³ This variation is best shown by Jeroen Kluiver’s characterization of the c.260 known group specimens into four separate size groups: normal-sized, small, slender and large.³⁴ Most of these pots are further denoted by a thick one-piece construction, with no trace of a joint between the neck and body that denotes clay throwing for the amphora neck.³⁵ This aspect of clay thickness seems to have lost popularity by the end of the group’s production, resulting in flimsily constructed specimens.³⁶

The neck rim is characterized by a grooved echinus-shaped lip, which is slanted upwards and bent towards the inner wall (see Figure 5 below).³⁷

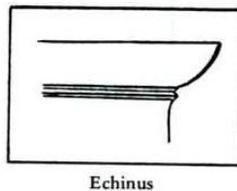


Figure 5: “Tyrrhenian” Group echinus-shaped rim. Photo: Folsom, p. 157.

The neck of the amphora tends to have exceeding clay thickness and is joined with two handles that project and rise vertically on each side from the shoulder and meet halfway up the neck from

³² Some exceptions exist that are both smaller and larger than the common range of size. Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 27.

³³ Kluiver, “The Potter-Painters of the Tyrrhenian Neck Amphorae: A Close Look at the Shape” *Stichting Bulletin Anteike Beschaving* 68 (1993), p. 181.

³⁴ Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 19.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25. See Toby Schreiber, “The Turn of the Wheel,” *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum: Occasional Papers on Antiquities* 1 (1983). p. 149-153.

³⁶ Kluiver, “The Potter –Painters of Tyrrhenian Neck Amphorae: A Close Look at the Shape”, p. 36.

³⁷ Bates, p. 429.

the shoulder.³⁸ It is likely that these handles were attached after the formation of the body, as they often appear uneven and rushed when compared to the body's construction.³⁹ The neck and shoulder meet at an angle, and occasionally give the appearance of being joined by a plastic ring. Some pots that lack this plastic ring give the appearance of a continuous curve upon their surface.⁴⁰

The bottom of the shoulder slope is denoted as the point of greatest diameter, and often signals the bottom half of the narrative frieze scene that is painted upon the upper shoulder surface. This portion is followed downwards, as with the neck, by an increasing wall thickness towards the base.⁴¹ The body is slender and of a distinctive ovoid shape which decreases in size downwards towards the foot.⁴² The foot has many similarities with the rim, as a grooved mark joins the foot with the bottom end of the body and juts outward with an echinus shaped profile. The inside of the foot is also inverted towards the bottom, with a convex underside (see Figure 6 below).⁴³

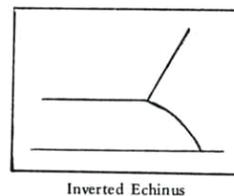


Figure 6: “Tyrrhenian” Group inverted echinus-shaped foot. Photo: Folsom, p. 157.

³⁸ Kluiver, “The Potter-Painters of the Tyrrhenian Neck Amphorae: A Close Look at the Shape”, p. 181.

³⁹ Schreiber, p. 152.

⁴⁰ Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 26.

⁴¹ Kluiver, “The Potter-Painters of the Tyrrhenian Neck Amphorae: A Close Look at the Shape”, p. 179-181.

⁴² Folsom, p. 21.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

3.2.2 The “Tyrrhenian” Ovoid Shape

An ovoid shape characterizes the “Tyrrhenian” Group neck-amphora, which sharply juts out to its largest point halfway down the body of the pot and tapers downward to the foot. This liquid-holding ovoid shape was probably a conscious factor in the “Tyrrhenian” group’s construction, as this style was previously used in the production of the Athenian “SOS” transport amphora,⁴⁴ which was used in early Athenian trade with the Etruscans, judging by the prevalence of these pots in the coastal polities of Vulci and Cerveteri that date to the turn of the 6th century BC (see Figure 7 below).⁴⁵ Some late examples of the “SOS” group show further parallels with the “Tyrrhenian” style, with an echinus shaped lip along with a concave and flaring neck.⁴⁶



Figure 7: Athenian ovoid transport amphora of the “SOS” style. Late 7th / early 6th century BC. Photo: Johnston and Jones, “The SOS Amphora”, pl. 18b.

⁴⁴ It is the opinion of Docter that the Solonian laws of 593 BC prohibited further usage of this amphora style for the olive oil trade. Roald F. Docter, “Athena VS. Dionysos: Reconsidering the Contents of SOS Amphorae,” *Stichting Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 66 (1991), p. 45-46.

⁴⁵ Alan W. Johnston and R.E. Jones, “The SOS Amphora,” *Annual of the British School of Athens* 73 (1978), p. 119.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

A similar shape was also used in some instances of early Attic Black-Figure pottery construction, with noted instances of an ovoid shape (with echinus profile and jutting foot) in the Athenian-made works of The Camtar Painter, The KX Painter, The Painter of London B76 and Lydos, all of whom are thought to have produced their works during the 570s BC, in a period just before the proposed initiation of the “Tyrrhenian” Group.⁴⁷

One can assume, given the repeated occurrence of this ovoid shape, that the Attic “Tyrrhenian” Group neck-amphora was consciously constructed using a shape which seemed to be familiar to Athenian craftsmen and accepted by the both the recipients of Athenian localized and foreign trade, as borne out by the prevalence of the Athenian “SOS” transport amphorae in Etruscan sites dating from the turn of the 7th century BC onwards and borne out by the occasional usage of the ovoid shape in early Attic Black-Figure pottery.

3.2.3 The “Tyrrhenian” Group Neck-Amphora and the Potter-Painter Theory

It is probable that a number of separate workshops were involved in the group’s manufacture. While Hermann Thiersch argued in his 1899 monograph *Tyrrhenische Amphoren: eine Studie zur Geschichte der altattischen Vasenmalerei* that there was a single potter and painter that held sway over the entire group, he did note differences between specimens, primarily based upon the usage of a painted dicing band which divided the main narrative frieze from the lesser subsidiary friezes, which he termed *Punktband*.⁴⁸

This idea was expanded upon in Dietrich von Bothmer’s 1944 article “The Painters of Tyrrhenian Vases”, where von Bothmer first distinguished a variety of painter workshops working within the “Tyrrhenian” Group style, with the attribution of eight different painters based

⁴⁷ Jeroen Kluiver, “Early Tyrrhenian: Prometheus Painter, Timiades Painter, Golytyr Painter,” *Stichting Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 70 (1995), p. 55.

⁴⁸ Thiersch, p. 15, 50.

upon notable variances within their works. Furthermore, he attempted to divide the group chronologically through each specimen's usage of *Punktband*. From his research, von Bothmer concluded that the works that lacked a diced band were of a higher artistic quality and dated earlier. He further divided the pots that fit this criterion into five painters, assigning them as the Timiades Painter, the Golyr Painter, the Kyllenios Painter, the Prometheus Painter and the Pointed-Nose Painter based upon minor variances between specimens.⁴⁹ Secondly, von Bothmer attributed the specimens whose bodies included dicing and whose artistic quality was lower to three later painters of the group, and noted these painters as the Castellani Painter, the Fallow Deer Painter and the Komos Painter.⁵⁰ This proposed division has proven as largely immune to criticism and has formed the basis for the current proposed "Tyrrhenian" Group painter chronology, despite some subsequent reorganization.⁵¹

While there is enough variance in decorative aspects to justify von Bothmer's proposal, a similar variance between the eight painters seems to also exist in pottery construction. This coincidence has led Jeroen Kluiver to conclude that the workshops of these eight different artisans also specialized in individual pottery manufacture, resulting in their designation as both potters and painters who each put their own spin on the group's construction.⁵² To this end, Kluiver theorizes that broad shoulders and thick clay walls characterize the pots of the earlier "Tyrrhenian" Group, attributed to the Prometheus, Timiades and Golyr Painters. On the other hand, significant drops in manufacture quality, uneven handle attachment and flimsy clay walls

⁴⁹ von Bothmer, "The Painters of Tyrrhenian Vases", p. 164-166.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 166-168.

⁵¹ Subsequent reorganization has placed The Prometheus Painter, The Timiades Painter and The Golyr Painter as being from the early period, while The Kyllenios Painter, The Castellani Painter, The Pointed-Nose Painter, The Guglielmi (Komos) Painter and The Fallow Deer Painter are typically designated as being from the later period. See Appendix A for more information. The appendix covers, in detail, modifications in the chronology that have taken place since von Bothmer's 1944 proposal, along with information supporting the proposed dating of each painter.

⁵² Kluiver, "The Potter-Painters of Tyrrhenian Neck Amphorae: A Close Look at the Shape", p. 186.

characterize the pots of the later “Tyrrhenian” Group, attributed to the Kyllenios, Castellani, Pointed-Nose, Guglielmi and Fallow Deer Painters.⁵³ This parallel variation between the artisans’ construction and decorative styles draws strong parallels with what Karim Arafat proposes as a household-based system of small-scale Attic Black-Figure potter painters working within close contact with one another.⁵⁴ Drawing parallels with the previously mentioned potter-painter theory proposed by Kluiver,⁵⁵ the decorative and construction-based variations that define and separate the 8 potter-painters’ extant specimens from each other support Arafat’s proposal of a small scale business model, as it is likely that the small workshops of each “Tyrrhenian” Group painter worked closely together and influenced one another through their work while maintaining a distinct individualism.⁵⁶

3.3 Characteristics of Decoration with “Tyrrhenian” Group Neck-Amphorae

As the majority of the group’s specimens were found within the context of Etruscan archaeological sites, it seems plausible to say that the painted decorations upon these pots hold valuable insight into what would have sold this Athenian product to the Etruscan consumer.⁵⁷ It is this opinion that has led some scholars to speculate that the group was consciously manufactured to appeal to the Etruscan market, as the group seemed to “summarize all Greek amphorae imagery to date”⁵⁸ and to “offer... all the improvements ... of Athens and Corinth” to

⁵³ The clay walls seem to be thin in a flimsy sense, as opposed to the thin clay walls associated with finer pottery. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁵⁴ Arafat and Morgan, p. 114.

⁵⁵ Kluiver proposes a parallel division of decorative style and construction technique between the 8 artisans of the group. Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 116.

⁵⁶ Arafat and Morgan, p. 114.

⁵⁷ See Appendix A for more information, which includes a review of the eight painters’ painting variations.

⁵⁸ John Henderson, “Timeo Damos: Amazons in Early Greek Art and Pottery,” in *Art and Text in Ancient Greek Pottery*, ed. Simon Goldhill and Robin Osborne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 49.

the foreign customer.⁵⁹ To this end, neck-amphorae of the “Tyrrhenian” Group are seen as a hybrid work of multiple influences, with the frequent usage of central narrative scenes showing the narrative depiction of myths and human figurative scenes which had recently become common in Athenian Black-Figure pottery, while the palmette-lotus clusters situated around the neck and the subsidiary animal-dominated friezes upon the body represented conventions prevalent in mid-to-late 7th century BC Corinthian pottery.⁶⁰

It is speculated that the “Tyrrhenian” Group started production in the early years of the 560s BC⁶¹ with the works of the von Bothmer-assigned Prometheus and Timiades Painters, whose iconographical style draws strong stylistic parallels with the works of other early Attic Black-Figure painters such as The C Painter, Lydos and Sophilos.⁶² Further similarities in the painting style of these two painters are seen with the earliest specimens of the Attic-produced Panathenaic amphorae.⁶³ These initial “Tyrrhenian” productions are of good quality, but subsequent later works by the later painters appear to be of a lower quality of execution, as later potter-painters of the group such as the von Bothmer-assigned Komos (Guglielmi) Painter tend to falter in decorative quality when measured against their early Attic Black-Figure contemporaries.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ John Boardman, *The History of Greek Vases: Potters, Painters and Pictures* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2001), p. 49.

⁶⁰ Shelley C. Stone III, “The Timiades Painter and Tyrrhenian Painting at Athens: Abstract” in “The 87th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 90.2 (April 1986), p. 188.

⁶¹ Bakir, p. 40-41.

⁶² Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 108.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁶⁴ See Appendix A for further details. Kluiver, “The Potter-Painters of Tyrrhenian Neck-Amphorae: A Close Look at the Shape”, p. 179.

3.3.1 Decoration Characteristics: The Neck

The decoration of the “Tyrrhenian” Group neck-amphora appears to follow a set formula influenced by preceding Attic Black-Figure painters. Given the group’s limited find-spots in Etruria and elsewhere, it is possible that the eight “Tyrrhenian” Group artisans relied on both the familiar and the innovative to appeal to their target audience.

Starting from the top, the lip of the neck is covered with a solid black rim that occasionally has red lines upon its edge. Moving downwards, the typical neck decoration at the center consists of continuous palmette-lotus clusters that spread out around the neck.⁶⁵ Rare exceptions of this rule are shown with the occasional usage of a heraldic animal-dominated band.⁶⁶ These elaborate interlaced floral chain patterns probably draw their influence from late 7th century BC Corinthian ware⁶⁷ and fall under two distinct variations: the palmette-lotus festoon (see Figure 8 below) and the palmette-lotus cross (see Figure 9 below).⁶⁸



Figure 8: Lotus-palmette festoon of the “Tyrrhenian” Group, detail. Photo: Kluiver, “Early Tyrrhenian: Prometheus Painter, Timiades Painter, Golyr Painter”, p. 85.



Figure 9: Lotus-palmette cross of the “Tyrrhenian” Group, detail. Photo: Kluiver, “Early Tyrrhenian: Prometheus Painter, Timiades Painter, Golyr Painter”, p. 86.

⁶⁵ Kluiver, “Early Tyrrhenian: Prometheus Painter, Timiades Painter, Golyr Painter”, p. 56.

⁶⁶ Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 37.

⁶⁷ Bates, p. 430.

⁶⁸ Kluiver, “Early Tyrrhenian: Prometheus Painter, Timiades Painter, Golyr Painter”, p. 56.

Below these clusters, a red-colored plastic ring crowns a tongue pattern that spreads around both sides of the neck. Averaging 2.5 centimeters in height, the tongue pattern is of an alternating red and black square pattern and marks the point of connection between the neck and body of the pot (see Figure 10 below).⁶⁹



Figure 10: Tongue pattern of the “Tyrrhenian” Group, fragment detail. Photo: Ingrid Krauskopf, “Die Ausfahrt des Amphiaros auf Amphoren der tyrrhenischen Gruppe” in *Tania: Festschrift für Roland Hampe, 2 Dezember 1978*, ed. H.A. Cahn and Erika Simon (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1980), pl. XV fig. 1.

3.3.2 Decoration Characteristics: The Narrative Frieze Band

The area denoted by the narrative frieze band begins at the base of the neck and extends to the body’s point of largest diameter. The distinctive narrative frieze is typically divided into two sections, which are typically described as the obverse and reverse sections of the band.⁷⁰ The obverse narrative frieze often contains a human narrative frieze scene that often deals with mythical subject matter (see Figure 11 below). It is possible that this group of pots consciously served to offer a sensationalistic insight into Athenian myth and culture for the majority of its probable target audience: the Etruscans, and were designed as such.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Bates, p. 430.

⁷⁰ A few exceptions are known to exist which contain a continuous narrative scene, which stretches over both sides of the neck-amphora body.

⁷¹ Robin Osborne, *Oxford History of Art: Archaic and Classical Greek Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 87.



Figure 11: Carlsruhue 200 (Beazley # 65), Attic Black-Figure neck-amphora of the “Tyrrhenian” Group attributed to the Castellani Painter (Kluiver), obverse narrative frieze detail. Second quarter of the 6th century. Provenance: Cerveteri. Photo: Thiersch, pl. VI.

Some scholars have used the occasionally wavering quality of the collective group and the subject matter of their narrative friezes to argue that the foreign Etruscan customers were artistically immature and thus willing to buy any amphora that contained a Greek-made narrative frieze without any regard for quality.⁷² While these arguments over simplify and obscure the possible reasoning behind the decoration of these pots, these theories stress the possible role that the foreign clientele had in the incorporation of narrative scenes upon these neck-amphorae of the “Tyrrhenian” Group. Although this speculation is based solely upon context, one can argue that the traders and artisans behind an Attic-based specialized foreign trade market as the “Tyrrhenian” Group would have had a hard time getting their product through to Etruria without knowing what would trigger a popular reaction amongst their target audience.⁷³

The narrative frieze band style used by the artisans of the group is of Athenian origin and is filled with depictions of human figures.⁷⁴ Vertically divided in two at the area of handle

⁷² See Jan Bazant, “On ‘Export Models’ in Athenian Vase Painting,” *Dacia* 26 (1982), p. 145-152.

⁷³ Arafat and Morgan, p. 115.

⁷⁴ Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 38.

placement,⁷⁵ the narrative frieze band presents a mythical or non-mythical human-dominated scene on the obverse and a human or animal portrayal scene on the reverse, which vary among *komos* scenes of revelry, satyr and maenad scenes and sporting scenes. The human figures depicted within the narrative frieze band are known for a lack of facial expression and movement variation, giving the human figures a primitive appearance that is a major stylistic characteristic of early Attic Black-Figure artistry.⁷⁶ Black-Figure artisans typically used a common style for the portrayal of human figures, with flesh colors often differentiating between male (black) and female (white), while eye shape tended to differ between the sexes as well, showing a round profile for the male figure and a half closed eye for the female.⁷⁷ The occasional use of decorative animals that flank these frieze bands denotes a distinct Corinthian influence upon these works (see Figure 12 below).⁷⁸



Figure 12: Philadelphia MS 2522 (Beazley #1), Attic Black-Figure neck-amphora of the “Tyrrhenian” Group attributed to the Timiades Painter (von Bothmer), reverse narrative frieze detail. Second quarter of the 6th century. Provenance: Unknown. Photo: Bates, p. 431 fig. 3.

⁷⁵ See footnote n. 70.

⁷⁶ Boardman, *Athenian Black-Figure Vases: A Handbook*, p. 37.

⁷⁷ Subsequent examples displayed in Chapter Four show that “Tyrrhenian” Group painters did not always use differing colors for male and female figures. Boardman, *Athenian Black-Figure Vases: A Handbook*, p. 37.

⁷⁸ Kluiver, “Early Tyrrhenian: Prometheus Painter, Timiades Painter, Golytyr Painter”, p. 57.

The obverse narrative friezes vary in subject matter throughout all the extant “Tyrrhenian” specimens, and draw from a limited palette of Greek mythical scenes. Mythically, the obverse narrative frieze scenes derived from Trojan and Heraklean themes form the most popular themes of myths portrayed on the obverse, with Trojan themes forming 20 percent and Heraklean themes accounting for 12 percent of all human and god scenes in the group.⁷⁹ Some specimens portray scenes that are non-mythical while a few are seen to connect the obverse and reverse narrative scenes into a continuous portrayal.⁸⁰

3.3.3 Decoration Characteristics: The Depiction of the Trojan Epic Cycle on the Obverse Narrative Frieze

Judging by extant finds, the Trojan Epic Cycle-derived frieze themes of the “Tyrrhenian” Group draw from eight specific cycle-derived mythical tales.⁸¹ Duels tend to be the most popular obverse scene theme,⁸² and Epic Cycle-derived scenes with iconographical references to dueling are relatively common, with a large amount of extant pots that portray either the Trojan Amazonomachy or the fight between Achilles and Memnon. The Achilles and Memnon duel frieze is known to have at least twenty-five extant “Tyrrhenian” specimens.⁸³ Less copious in number is the depiction of the Achilles and Troilos episode from the Homeric *Kypria*, which survives on nine specimens. Amazingly, these nine pots serve to show the full extent of the mythical episode: the ambush of Troilos, the pursuit of Troilos and the unique fight between Achilles and Hektor over the body of Troilos.⁸⁴ Other Epic-cycle derived frieze scenes include the Judgment of Paris, the ransom of Hektor, and the violent sacrifice of Polyxena by Neoptolmeos (see Figure 13 below).

⁷⁹ Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 86.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁸¹ von Mehren, “The Trojan Cycle on Tyrrhenian Amphorae”, p. 34.

⁸² Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 87.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁸⁴ The representation of this mythical tale in the “Tyrrhenian” Group will be covered in Chapter Four.



Figure 13: London 1897.2-27.2 (Beazley # 27), Attic Black-Figure neck-amphora of the “Tyrrhenian” Group attributed to the Timiades Painter (von Bothmer), obverse narrative frieze detail. Second quarter of the 6th century BC. Provenance: Unknown. Photo: Walters, pl. XV.

3.3.4 Decoration Characteristics: The Depiction of Heraklean Myths and Other Myths of Note on the Obverse Narrative Frieze

Pots showing the various mythical exploits of Herakles are almost as copious as those showing the various tales of the Trojan Epic Cycle and the most popular out of these Heraklean scenes is the portrayal of the Amazonomachy. Numbering twenty-six known specimens amongst the extant works of the “Tyrrhenian” Group, it seems that this episode was popular amongst most of the painters⁸⁵ who often managed to present interesting variations on the scene.⁸⁶ “Tyrrhenian” artisans typically depicted battle scenes (such as the Heraklean Amazonomachy) as two or more duels within the frieze (see Figure 14 below).⁸⁷

⁸⁵ The Amazonomachy was Herakles’ ninth labor and subsequent battle against the Amazons in his quest for the belt of Andromache, queen of the Amazons, for Eurystheus, the king of Mycenae. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁸⁶ All the painters, with the distinct exception of the later Kyllenios Painter, managed to offer their own take on the myth. While von Bothmer designated the Kyllenios Painter as being an “early” artisan, subsequent scholarship based upon contextual details has indicated that the Kyllenios Painter was, in fact, closely aligned to the group’s later artisans. *Ibid.*, p. 92

⁸⁷ von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, p. 15.



Figure 14: Boston 98.916 (Beazley # 46), Attic Black-Figure neck-amphora of the “Tyrrhenian” Group attributed to The Timiades Painter (von Bothmer), obverse narrative frieze detail. Second quarter of the 6th century BC. Provenance: Vulci. Photo: von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, pl. V.

In the “Tyrrhenian” three-duel depiction of this event (see Figure 14 above), Herakles is situated at the center as poised to attack Andromache, while his companion Telamon is fighting an Amazon on his left and a third Greek warrior fights on Herakles’ right. These three duels are typically shown in varying stages of action.⁸⁸ Archaeological evidence shows that the “Tyrrhenian” Amazonomachy is derivative of specimens that the early Attic Black-Figure Camtar Painter produced during the 570s BC.⁸⁹ Another popular Heraklean topic, seen on twelve group specimens, depicts Herakles attacking the centaur Nessos.⁹⁰ Other Heraklean-themed scenes include three extant depictions of Herakles freeing Prometheus (see Figure 15 below), two depictions each of Herakles fighting the Pholoe Centaurs and the Heraklean Gigantomachy.⁹¹

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁸⁹ Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 92.

⁹⁰ “Tyrrhenian” artisans often show Nessos holding Deianeira hostage. Meyer-Emmerling, p. 47-51.

⁹¹ The Gigantomachy was the mythical battle of rebel giants against the gods, with Herakles as the appointed mortal fighting alongside the gods. Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 95-96.



Figure 15: Florence 76359 (Beazley #28), Attic Black-Figure neck-amphora of the “Tyrrenian” Group attributed to the Prometheus Painter (von Bothmer), obverse narrative frieze detail. Second quarter of the 6th century BC. Provenance: Unknown. Photo: Elizabeth Goring, ed., *Treasures of Tuscany: The Etruscan Legacy* (Edinburgh: The National Museum of Scotland Press, 2004), p. 111.

One known example portrays and at least one portrayal of Herakles and Iolaos against the Lernaean Hydra while another shows Herakles’ encounter with the Hind of Keryneia. A fragmentary pot attributed to the later Kyllenios Painter is thought to depict a scene from Herakles’ apotheosis on Mount Olympos.⁹²

Some non-Trojan or Heraklean mythological frieze examples include three examples of the departure of Amphiaraos, and two dealing with the Birth of Athena (see Figure 19) and the myth of Apollo and Tityos (see Figure 16 below). Two separate specimens show interesting Dionysos-related scenes, one showing Dionysos sitting upon a folding chair and holding a kantharos in a bridal procession and another showing an Ithyphallic satyr taking the place of the god on a donkey. These two works are seen as uniquely rendered, as scenes depicting the kantharos-wielding Dionysos and the satyr substituting for Dionysos are typically seen on works painted from the early 530s BC onwards.⁹³

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁹³ Carpenter, “On The Dating of The Tyrrenian Group”, p. 285.



Figure 16: Tarquinia T2 (Beazley # 32), Attic Black-Figure neck-amphora of the “Tyrrhenian” Group attributed to the Fallow Deer Painter (von Bothmer), obverse narrative frieze detail. Second quarter of the 6th century BC. Provenance: Tarquinia. Photo: Henle, p. 36.

3.3.5 Decoration Characteristics: The Non-Mythical Obverse Narrative Frieze

While a good number of group amphorae depict mythological scenes in the narrative frieze band,⁹⁴ there are many narrative friezes that depict non-mythological events such as anonymous dueling scenes, sporting events, *komos*-related revelry and satyr and maenad themed scenes, which often show the occasional depiction of heterosexual or homosexual fornication and masturbation. These scenes are typically designated as obverse when accompanied by textual inscriptions (see Figure 17 below).⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 101.

⁹⁵ Textual inscriptions are only ever seen on one side of the narrative frieze, and typically accompany mythical obverse friezes. For that reason, it is assumed that textual inscriptions help one to determine the obverse or reverse narrative frieze on the pot.



Figure 17: Munich 1432 (Beazley # 98), Attic Black-Figure neck-amphora of the “Tyrrhenian” Group attributed to the Guglielmi Painter (Beazley), obverse non-mythical narrative frieze detail. Second quarter of the 6th century BC. Provenance: Vulci. Photo: Boardman, *Attic Black Figure Vases, A Handbook*, fig. 61.

These bold depictions are attributed to Athenian artistic invention and are regarded as some of the earliest examples in Greek pottery of such daring material, as Athenian pottery specimens dating before the late 540s BC do not typically incorporate such graphic detail.⁹⁶ These sexual scenes often depict the participation of maenads and tailless satyrs (that are designated by red torsos) provoking and performing various sexual acts with women, with the occasional participation of men. Furthermore, it is possible that these scenes were specifically designed and painted with the Etruscan clientele in mind, who were known to partake in Greek-like displays of symposium activity.

3.3.6 Decoration Characteristics: The Reverse Narrative Frieze

The reverse narrative friezes that dominate the majority of “Tyrrhenian” Group pots are similar to the subject matter of the non-mythical narrative friezes described above, and are only described as reverse when they are shown along side a mythical frieze or a frieze that contains inscriptional evidence.⁹⁷ Like the non-mythical narrative friezes, these examples are best known

⁹⁶ Homosexual scenes are seen in a couple of instances on Siana Cups of the Athenian C Painter that are traditionally dated to c. 570-560 BC. Carpenter, “The Tyrrhenian Group: Problems of Provenance”, p. 46.

⁹⁷ Henderson, p. 108. See footnote n. 95 for more information.

for the representation of *komos* scenes of revelry involving dancing processions and feasting, which often show the occasional depiction of heterosexual or homosexual fornication and masturbation.⁹⁸ Various examples of sporting events and horse races also are known to exist among the neck-amphorae of the “Tyrrhenian” Group. Most horse races are shown facing the right side of the narrative frieze, with the exception of the early Prometheus Painter, who typically depicted his horse racing scenes running to the left. Heraldic animals are often seen flanking these reverse narrative frieze scenes (see Figure 12).⁹⁹

3.3.7 Decoration Characteristics: The Usage of Sensical and Nonsensical Inscriptions

While textual inscriptions were already prevalent during the early 560s BC, the inscriptions on some group specimens show themselves to be distinct from most Attic works of the period. Written on approximately one half of the “Tyrrhenian” Group neck-amphorae,¹⁰⁰ these inscriptions litter the obverse narrative frieze and are written out in a horizontal, vertical or retrograde fashion (see Figure 18 below).¹⁰¹ Due to the busy style of frieze decoration, these inscriptions are placed in areas where room is available (often in front of a figure’s mouth).¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Boardman, *Athenian Black-Figure Vases: A Handbook*, p. 210.

⁹⁹ Osborne, p. 97.

¹⁰⁰ Carpenter, “On The Dating of The Tyrrhenian Group”, p. 288.

¹⁰¹ Retrograde, a typical form of textual style used amongst the early Attic Black-Figure painters, denotes an inscription spelled out with the letters facing backwards and the text going from right to the left. Ginge, p. 204.

¹⁰² Henderson, p. 112.



Figure 18: London 1897.2-27.2 (Beazley # 27), Attic Black-Figure neck-amphora of the “Tyrrhenian” Group attributed to the Timiades Painter (von Bothmer), obverse narrative frieze detail. Second quarter of the 6th century BC. Provenance: Unknown. Photo: Walters, pl. XV.

“Tyrrhenian” inscriptions are known for their informal and mistake-laden style. To this end, only one quarter of extant vases with inscriptions contain sensible text: the remainder contain nonsensical inscriptions and are thought to be from the later “Tyrrhenian” period,¹⁰³ as there seems to be no known instances of nonsensical inscriptions on any pottery thought to come from the early “Tyrrhenian” painters, or even from painters whose period precedes the dawn of the group.¹⁰⁴ Various scholars have proposed many diverse theories to give a reason for these inscriptions, either arguing that it was a joke at the expense of the Etruscans,¹⁰⁵ or an artisan writing in a non-Greek language using Greek letters.¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, it is most likely that the group’s imperfect script can be attributed to the literary incompetence of artisans who had no

¹⁰³ Carpenter “On The Dating of The Tyrrhenian Group”, p. 288.

¹⁰⁴ von Mehren, “Two Groups of Attic Amphorae as Export Ware for Etruria: The So-Called Tyrrhenian Group and Nikosthenic Amphorae”, p. 46.

¹⁰⁵ Gill, p. 102.

¹⁰⁶ Anthony Snodgrass, “The Uses of Writing in Early Greek Painted Pottery,” in *Edinburgh Leventis Studies I: Word and Images in Ancient Greece*, ed. N. Keith Rutter and Brian A Sparkes, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p. 40.

regard for hiding their lack of competency beyond their basic knowledge of Greek letter-forms.¹⁰⁷

A few exceptions from the later period include the Kyllenios Painter's usage of sensical inscriptions on three of his works (see Figure 19 below),¹⁰⁸ and one sensical painter's signature that is seen on a specimen from the hand of the Guglielmi Painter.¹⁰⁹



Figure 19: Berlin 1704 (Beazley # 14), Attic Black-Figure neck-amphora of the “Tyrrhenian” Group attributed to the Kyllenios Painter (von Bothmer), obverse narrative frieze detail. Second quarter of the 6th century BC. Provenance: Cerveteri. Photo: Boardman, *Attic Black-Figure Vases: A Handbook*, fig. 62.

While the early period Prometheus and Timiades Painters seem to be responsible for a few text laden specimens, the majority seem to come from the hand of later group painters who were completely illiterate but proud enough of their knowledge of Greek letter-forms to use them without discretion,¹¹⁰ and selling their pots to a buying public who seemed to be indifferent to this drop in quality.¹¹¹ It is also thought that these later “Tyrrhenian” artisans displayed their pride in their basic alphabet knowledge by occasionally rendering their inscriptions in creative ways. One example is seen in some works of the later Guglielmi and Fallow Deer Painters, who repeatedly

¹⁰⁷ Illiteracy amongst the later “Tyrrhenian” painters seems to reach its nadir with the later Pointed-Nose Painter, who avoided using letters by making impressions with a thick brush stroke. Henry R. Immerwahr, “Nonsense Inscriptions and Literacy,” *Kadmos* 45 (2006), p. 154.

¹⁰⁸ Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 60.

¹⁰⁹ ΔΙΕΣ ΠΟΕΤΕΣ, written in retrograde on Louvre E 831. *Ibid.*, p. 76-77.

¹¹⁰ Immerwahr, “Nonsense Inscriptions and Literacy”, p. 146.

¹¹¹ Extant finds dictate that the later potter-painters had a larger production number than the earlier potter-painters, despite the group's drop in quality. Spivey, p. 146.

inscribed “NONON” within their frieze scenes to form a pattern resembling sensical text (see Figure 20 below).¹¹²



Figure 20: Vatican G. 13 (Beazley # 56), Attic Black-Figure neck-amphora of the “Tyrrhenian” Group attributed to the Guglielmi Painter (Beazley), obverse narrative frieze detail. Second quarter of the 6th century BC. Provenance: Vulci. Photo: von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, pl. XXV.2.

A similar trend is also seen with the later Castellani Painter, who occasionally used repeated combinations of the letters Tau and Chi,¹¹³ while the later Guglielmi Painter occasionally used continual strings of 14-21 random letters to achieve a similar effect.¹¹⁴

The analysis of textual inscriptions in the later “Tyrrhenian” Group also highlights the occasional use of atypical letter-forms by the group’s painters. To this end, T.H. Carpenter proposed that the later “Tyrrhenian” Group painters often wrote their inscriptions with out-of-date or non-Athenian letter-forms, earliest among which is the later Kyllenios Painter, who is known to have used a non-Attic Diagamma in at least four instances. The later Fallow Deer Painter is also seen to use this Diagamma on a handful of occasions as well.¹¹⁵ Based upon this evidence, Carpenter goes as far as to speculate that the Kyllenios and Fallow Deer Painters may have

¹¹² This “NONON” style of nonsensical inscription is also seen in the works of the Princeton Painter. Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 80, 84.

¹¹³ Jeroen Kluiver, “The Five Later Tyrrhenian Painters,” *Stichting Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 71 (1996), p. 13.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹¹⁵ Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 84.

originated from an area where this letter may have still been used (Carpenter proposes Corinth, Boeotia or Euboea as a possibility).¹¹⁶ Further instances of atypical textual forms are seen with the usage of a non-Athenian Gamma (of a possible Corinthian or Euboean style, according to Carpenter) and a Chi (of a possible Boeotian or Euboean style according to Carpenter) amongst most of the later “Tyrrhenian” artisans.¹¹⁷

Although controversial, recent speculation proposes that this mysterious inscriptional trait may derive from the participation of migrant workers who could have gravitated to Athens to aid in supplying the demand for the growing Athenian trade market, which seemed to expand in the decades following Solon’s reforms of 593 BC. As it is theorized that it was probable for many of these migrants to be involved in manufacturing as opposed to agriculture,¹¹⁸ one may assume that a fair sized percentage of this migrant (and possibly non-Greek) work force was eventually enlisted to craft pottery in Athens¹¹⁹ and relied upon a flawed understanding of the Greek alphabet to craft their textual forms.¹²⁰

3.3.8 Decoration Characteristics: Subsidiary Friezes and Base-Rays

Below the narrative frieze band is a group of horizontal lines that aesthetically serve to divide the narrative frieze band from the subsidiary friezes below. Ranging in number from one to four, these horizontal lines are a predominant feature of the early “Tyrrhenian” works, while later works use a band of dicing, known as *Punktband*, which is made up of two to three rows of staggered dots that are bordered by horizontal lines (see Figure 21 below).

¹¹⁶ Carpenter, “The Tyrrhenian Group: Problems of Provenance”, p. 53.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

¹¹⁸ Arafat and Morgan, p. 115.

¹¹⁹ Curry, p. 84.

¹²⁰ The early Prometheus and Timiades painters, whose inscriptions are sensical, seem to have a firmer grasp on textual inscriptions and iconography when compared to the mediocre quality of the later “Tyrrhenian” painters. Carpenter, “The Tyrrhenian Group: Problems of Provenance”, p. 52.



Figure 21: *Punktband* detail typical of later “Tyrrhenian” Group specimens. Photo: Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 217, fig. 42.

The usage of the Thiersch-named *Punktband* is a decorative aspect that is often used to distinguish the early “Tyrrhenian” Group painters from their later counterparts.¹²¹ This speculation is further validated by the fact that all neck-amphorae of the “Tyrrhenian” Group that contain a *Punktband* tend to also contain nonsensical inscriptions.¹²²

Below this point of division is group of subsidiary friezes that on average comprise two to three in number.¹²³ Derived from depictions seen on Corinthian-produced works of the late 7th and early 6th century BC, these bands spread continuously around the body and often show groups of heraldic and non-heraldic animals¹²⁴ standing in opposition to each other in groups of two to five, often agreeing in axial symmetry.¹²⁵ The heraldic animals typically consist of sphinxes, sirens and griffins,¹²⁶ while the non-heraldic animals include lions, panthers, boars, goats, geese, bulls, stags and cocks, both in solitary groups and alone amongst other animals (see Figure 22

¹²¹ All the later “Tyrrhenian” Group painters tended to use this *Punktband* style, with a few exceptions. This dating theory was first analyzed in von Bothmer, “The Painters of Tyrrhenian Vases”, p. 164.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 164.

¹²³ Some exceptional examples contain up to five subsidiary friezes.

¹²⁴ John Boardman, *The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 230, 238.

¹²⁵ The later Castellani Painter occasionally substitutes a lotus-palmette chain for the topmost subsidiary band. Kluiver, “Early Tyrrhenian: Prometheus Painter, Timiades Painter, Goltyr Painter”, p. 58.

¹²⁶ Boardman, *Athenian Black-Figure Vases: A Handbook*, p. 36.

below).¹²⁷ These subsidiary bands also, on rare occasions, display hybridized creatures that combine the bodies of cocks with the foreparts of different animals.¹²⁸



Figure 22: Philadelphia MS 2522 (Beazley #1), Attic Black-Figure neck-amphora of the “Tyrrhenian” Group attributed to the Timiades Painter (von Bothmer), subsidiary frieze detail. Second quarter of the 6th century. Provenance: Unknown. Photo: Bates, p. 436.

The subsidiary frieze bands are followed below by a decorative element of probable Corinthian origin extending from the bottom to the top of the foot and known as base rays.¹²⁹ Often haphazard and uneven, these base rays are black in color, average 6.8 centimeters in height and consist of vertical lines that rise towards the lowest subsidiary frieze band (see Figure 23 below). The base rays lead downward to the black-painted amphora foot, which occasionally shows outer red lines that wind around the body at the top of the base rays or at the top of the solid black colored foot.¹³⁰



Figure 23: “Tyrrhenian” Group neck-amphora, base rays detail. Second quarter of the 6th century BC. Photo: von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, pl. I.

¹²⁷ Folsom, p. 115.

¹²⁸ The early Timiades Painter depicts these hybridized creatures on a frequent basis, and is known for decorating a large percentage of his extant neck-amphorae with representations of boars, panthers and even women in this hybrid form. von Bothmer, “The Painters of Tyrrhenian Vases”, p. 166.

¹²⁹ Bates, p. 430.

¹³⁰ Kluiver, “Early Tyrrhenian: Prometheus Painter, Timiades Painter, Golytyr Painter”, p. 58.

Chapter 4

The Troilos and Achilles Myth on “Tyrrhenian” Group Neck-Amphorae

4.1 The Troilos and Achilles Myth in Corinthian and Attic Pottery

Little written evidence has survived from the ancient period to describe the Troilos and Achilles myth.¹ Tragic in subject and bold in outcome, this tale seemed to resonate with both Archaic period Greek pottery artisans and their audience. Luckily, extensive iconographical portrayal of the myth is seen on Greek art from the mid 7th century BC onwards that serves to flesh out the fragmentary literary sources.

4.1.1 Literary Sources of the Achilles and Troilos Myth

Best known as a portion of the *Kypria* that formed part of the Homeric Epic Cycle, this mythical episode depicted Troilos, the teenaged son of the Trojan King Priam, as a fated character who was destined to die by the hand of Achilles during the preliminary events of the Trojan War. The king refers to his young son in passing during the last book of Homer’s *Iliad*:

ὦ μοι ἐγὼ πανάποτμος, ἐπεὶ τέκον υἱᾶς ἀρίστους
Τροίη ἐν εὐρείῃ, τῶν δ’ οὐ τινὰ φημι λελεῖφθαι,
Μῆστορά τ’ ἀντίθεον καὶ Τρωῖλον ἵππιοχάρμη
Ἐκτορά θ’, ὃς θεὸς ἔσκε μετ’ ἀνδράσιν... (Homer, *Iliad*, 24.255-258)²

(Oh for me, my evil destiny. Since I have had the noblest
of sons in wide Troy, but I say not one of them is left to me,
god-like Mestor and horse-delighting Troilos
and Hektor, who was just like a god among men....)³

Unfortunately, this short excerpt from Homer’s *Iliad* does not give much evidence for the mythical episode. Luckily, enough scattered references exist throughout ancient literary sources

¹ von Mehren, “The Trojan Cycle on Tyrrhenian Amphorae”, p. 37.

² All ancient text is taken from the most recent Oxford Classical text available. Homer, *Iliad*, Books XIII-XXIV, ed. D.B. Monro (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888), p. 245.

³ English translations are those of the author, composed in consultation with the best available Loeb Classical Text. In the case of Homer, I have decided to compose my translation in consultation with Richmond Lattimore’s translation. Richmond Lattimore, trans. *The Iliad of Homer* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), p. 482.

to give these vase depictions a background and context.⁴ Foremost amongst these fragments is a brief reference seen in the *Chrestomathy* of the 5th century AD Neo-Platonist Proculus:⁵

κάπειτα ἀπελάυνει τὰς Αἰνείου βόας, καὶ Λυρνησὸν καὶ Πήδασον πορθεῖ καὶ
συχνὰς τῶν περιοικίδων πόλεων, καὶ Τρωΐλον φονεύει.
(Proculus, *Chrestomathy*. i)⁶

(...and then he drives off the oxen of Aeneas, sacks Lyrnesos and Pedasos and many of
the neighboring cities, and murders Troilos.)⁷

Other extant sources give sparse details to flesh out the account: one example, given by the First Vatican Mythographer, recalls an ancient legend that a prophecy received by Achilles warned that Troy could never be destroyed if Troilos was to live past his twentieth birthday.⁸ Another fragmentary poem written by the Greek poet Ibycos tells of the young man being slain outside the Trojan city walls, in the district of Tymbraion, in a sanctuary traditionally thought of as being sacred to Apollo.⁹ An alternate version of Troilos' untimely end exists in book one of Virgil's *Aeneid*, which speaks of the young Troilos as a battlefield casualty of the Trojan War:

Parte alia fugiens amissis Troilus armis,
infelix puer atque impar congressus Achilli,
fetur equis, curruque haeret resupinus inani,
lora tenens tamen; huic cervixque comaeque trahuntur
per terram, et versa pulvis inscribitur hasta. (Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1.474-478)¹⁰

⁴ It is known that Troilos was also the subject of a non-extant work by Sophokles and a lyric poem of Ibycos. A fragmentary commentary for Sophokles' play and fragments of Ibycos' poem have been found amongst the Oxyrhynchus Papyri scraps and analyzed in detail. See E.A.B. Jenner, "Troilus and Polyxena in Archaic Greek Lyric: Ibycos fr. S224 Dav.," *Prudentia* 30.2 (1998), p. 1-15 and Sophocles, "Troilos," in *Sophocles: Selected Fragmentary Plays, Volume 1*, ed. and trans. A.H. Sommerstein, D. Fitzpatrick and T. Talbot (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2006), p. 196-247.

⁵ Piero Boitani, "Antiquity and Beyond: The Death of Troilos," in *The European Tragedy of Troilus*, ed. Piero Boitani (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 9.

⁶ Proculus, "Chrestomathy, i," in Hesiod et al., *The Homeric Hymns and Homerica*, trans. Hugh G. Evelyn-White (London: William Heinemann, 1914), p. 494.

⁷ Hugh G. Evelyn-White, trans., *Hesiod: The Homeric Hymns and Homerica* (London: William Heinemann, 1914), p. 495.

⁸ See Boitani, p. 5 and Gantz, p. 602.

⁹ Known as Apollo Tymbraios. Gantz, p. 597, Boitani, p. 9.

¹⁰ P. Vergilius Maro, *Opera: Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis*, ed. R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 117-118.

(Elsewhere Troilus, his arms flung away in flight –,
un happy boy, and ill-matched in conflict with Achilles – ,
is borne by his horses and clings to the empty car,
however clasping the reins; his neck and hair are dragged
over the ground and the dust is scored by his reversed spear.)¹¹

4.2 The Achilles and Troilos Myth and Its Origins in Greek Art

This mythical episode, based upon the artistic evidence, found favor with the artisans of the “Tyrrhenian” Group, whose works include a number of specimens that show three distinct acts of the myth.¹² Drawn from individual scenes of anticipation (known as the ambush of Troilos), desperation (known as the pursuit of Troilos), and aftermath (the fight between Achilles and Hektor over Troilos’ body), the many representations of the Achilles and Troilos episode used in the “Tyrrhenian” Group can be traced back to the mid 7th century BC and allow one to both trace the myth’s development in art and expand the extant literary sources in order to give a balanced account of the myth.

4.2.1 The Depiction of the Ambush of Troilos and Its Origins in Greek Art

The earliest known depiction of the ambush of Troilos comes from a Corinthian Black-Figure flask, known as Athens National Museum 277, which is thought to date from the beginning of the 6th century BC (see Figure 24 below).¹³ Achilles, fully greaved and hiding behind a fountain on the far right, kneels in wait to attack the unsuspecting Troilos, who appears nude at the left of the scene and leads two horses behind his sister Polyxena. Polyxena, located at the centre of the scene, is shown drawing water from the fountain into a hydria. The Trojan King Priam is also seen at the far left of the scene, standing near his son and daughter. Despite the

¹¹ Henry Rushton Fairclough, trans. *Virgil I: Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid Books 1-6* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1916), p. 275.

¹² Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 86.

¹³ Listed as *Archaische Vasen, nicht attisch* n. 251 in A. Kossatz-Deissmann, “Achilleus: VII. Das Troilosabenteuer,” in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae I: Aara-Aphiad* (Zurich: Artemis Verlag, 1981), p. 76-77.

uncommon inclusion of King Priam, this piece shares many characteristics with subsequent variations of the ambush episode, which typically show Achilles and Troilos at opposite ends of the frieze.¹⁴



Figure 24: Athens, National Museum 277, Corinthian Black-Figure water-flask, narrative frieze detail. Early 6th century BC. Provenance: Cleonae. Photo: Carpenter, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece*, fig. 21.

Extant evidence shows that this ambush episode become prominent in the works of the early Athenian Black-Figure artisans during the second quarter of the 6th century BC.¹⁵ One Attic example from this period comes from an Attic Black-Figure hydria painted by the Painter of London B 76, New York Metropolitan Museum 45.11.2,¹⁶ which bears a narrative frieze that is similar in basic composition to depictions of the ambush that would grace subsequent “Tyrrhenian” pots (see Figure 25 below).¹⁷ This narrative scene shows Achilles at the far left, holding a shield and crouching behind a fountain, while Polyxena is pictured drawing water at his immediate right. Troilos is also depicted in the nude on horseback behind his sister. A large bird

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁵ Although arguments for the prominence of certain mythical scenes is linked to the happenstance of archaeological finds, it is theoretically likely that the frequency of these thematic depictions amongst these archaeological finds reflects the total amount of pottery that would have been available during the ancient period. Furthermore, it is thought that the Troilos ambush episode was once used as the subject of a *poros* pediment upon the Archaic period Acropolis at Athens. Fragmentary evidence is shown at the Acropolis museum in Athens as Athens, Akropolis 52 and it seems to be the opinion of a handful of scholars that this pediment was in fact a depiction of the ambush of Troilos, although I am of the opinion no evidence exists to support this. Kossatz-Deissmann, p. 79-80. Gantz, p. 599.

¹⁶ J.D. Beazley, *Athenian Black-Figure Vase Painters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), p. 85 n. 2.

¹⁷ Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 89.

is shown perched upon the fountain, which is thought to denote the role of Apollo's sanctuary in the subsequent portions of this myth.¹⁸ The scene's iconography is completed with three dressed warriors that flank the far right while a wreath-bearing female (either Thetis or Athena) and two spear-carrying men are seen at the far left.¹⁹



Figure 25: New York Metropolitan Museum 45.11.2 (Beazley #2), Attic Black-Figure hydria attributed by the Painter of London B 76 (Beazley), obverse narrative frieze detail. Second quarter of the 6th century BC. Photo: Kossatz-Deissmann, fig. Achilles 234.

4.2.2 The Depiction of the Pursuit of Troilos and Its Origins in Greek Art

The earliest extant rendering of Achilles' pursuit of Troilos comes from a Proto-Corinthian aryballos, Kanellopoulos Coll. 1319, which is thought to date from the mid 7th century BC (see Figure 26 below).²⁰ The center of its continuous frieze scene shows a bearded Troilos on horseback who is attempting to escape a sword-brandishing Achilles, depicted at the far right. This scene is also accompanied by a set of inscriptions that denote the two figures as Troilos and Achilles. While this depiction of the pursuit is primitive, this specimen and its two legible inscriptions are important as they give evidence that this portion of the Achilles and Troilos death myth was known amongst Corinthian potters of the mid-7th century BC. Further evidence may exist to support this speculation in the form of one early 7th century BC Proto-Corinthian

¹⁸ Similar raven-styled birds are typically seen in some Attic manifestations of the ambush iconography.

¹⁹ Kossatz-Deissmann, p. 75-76.

²⁰ See *Ibid.*, p. 84 and Gantz, p. 598.

aryballos that displays a group of armored men following a man on horseback, but the ambiguous nature of the scene makes it difficult to determine the inspiration behind this scene.²¹



Figure 26: Kanellopoulos Coll 1319, Proto-Corinthian aryballos, obverse. Mid-7th century BC. Photo: Kossatz-Deismann, fig. Achilles 331.

The earliest known Attic-made depiction of the pursuit episode is found on an early 6th century BC volute-krater found at Chiusi, Florence 4209, which is better known as the *François* vase. This pot shows the full extent of the pursuit in great detail, incorporating aspects that are otherwise unseen on all other portrayals in Greek art.²² A superb and elaborately detailed example of early Attic Black-Figure craftsmanship, the *François* vase, decorated by the painter Kletias, is known as one of the foremost extant works of the Attic Black-Figure period (see Figure 27 below).

²¹ Gantz specifically mentions an early 7th century BC Proto-Corinthian aryballos, listed as London 1969.12-15.1. Gantz, p. 598.

²² Kossatz-Deissmann, p. 81-82 lists this pot as Florence 4209, *Attisch Scharzfigurige Vasen* n. 292.



Figure 27: Florence 4209, Attic Black-Figure volute-krater by Kletias, obverse. Second quarter of 6th century BC. Photo: Antonio Minto, *Il Vaso François* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1960), pl. 2.

Despite some serious damage,²³ enough of the Achilles and Troilos-themed narrative band survives to merit an in-depth analysis. This left portion of frieze scene (see Figure 28 below) depicts the young Troilos at center, who is denoted by an inscription and is seen attempting to flee on horseback from a greaved figure, whose depiction does not survive above his waist. Given the layout of the scene, it is probable that this greaved man is Achilles, as he is shown in a similar fashion on other artistic depictions of the period.²⁴ To the left of this central scene, Apollo is shown flanking a fountain house where a young man appears to be drawing water, followed to his immediate right by the depictions of a woman inscribed as Rhodia, Achilles' mother Thetis, and the gods Hermes and Athena. Athena is holding out her hand, possibly to encourage the warrior Achilles in his undertaking.²⁵

²³ Gantz, p. 598.

²⁴ Carpenter, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece: A Handbook*, p. 17.

²⁵ Gantz, p. 598.



Figure 28: Florence 4209, Attic Black-Figure volute-krater by Kletias, obverse frieze detail. Second quarter of 6th century BC. Photo: Brigitte Knittlmayer, *Die attische Aristokratie und ihre Helden: Untersuchungen zu Darstellungen des trojanischen Sagenkreises im 6. und frühen 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Heidelberg: Verlag Archäologie und Geschichte, 1997), pl. 20 n.1.

The right portion of the frieze scene (see Figure 29 below) shows a damaged depiction of a woman's skirt, which is likely a depiction of the fleeing Polyxena. Her hydria, which was once used to collect water at the fountain, is now under the hooves of Troilos' horses, as it was thrown aside in her haste to escape Achilles' wrath.²⁶ The far right the scene also shows two armored Trojans, inscribed as Hektor and Polites, emerging from the gate to Troy beside which is shown King Priam and his counselor Antenor.²⁷

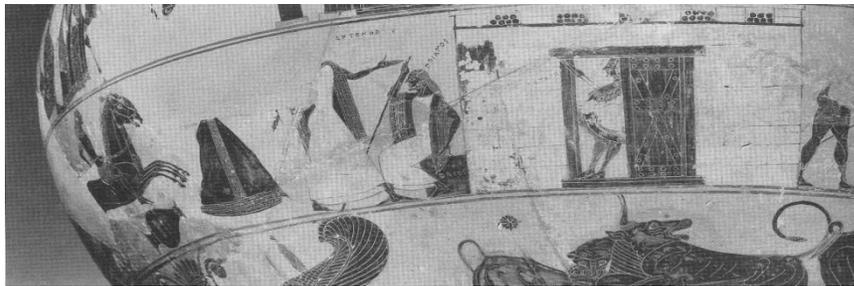


Figure 29: Florence 4209, Attic Black-Figure volute-krater by Kletias, obverse frieze detail. Second quarter of 6th century BC. Photo: Knittlmayer, pl. 20 n. 2.

²⁶ The damage to the hydria prevents us from seeing any possible inscription denoting Polyxena. Nevertheless, the fallen hydria under the hooves of Troilos' horse is typical in period portrayals of the pursuit episode. Kossatz-Deissmann, p. 81.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

As the reproduction of this scene is rendered in significant detail on the *François* vase, one can make out where Troilos and Polyxena are running.²⁸ Caught unguarded outside the walls of Troy in the Tymbraios district, it looks as if they are attempting to run for the safety of their city and their father Priam to save themselves from imminent doom. From this vase, it is also apparent that subsequent depictions of this scene are distilled to the scenes' most essential elements: the armed Achilles' pursuit, the fleeing of Troilos (on horseback) and Polyxena (on foot) and the fallen hydria beneath the hooves of Troilos' horse.²⁹ These basic elements of the pursuit form the framework for many subsequent depictions of the pursuit scene, both Attic and non-Attic, during the remainder of the 6th century BC.³⁰

4.2.3 The Depiction of the Murder of Troilos and Its Origins in Greek Art

Depictions of Troilos' murder, although present in Greek art, seem to be small in number and varied in iconographical elements.³¹ Although the various representations of the ambush and pursuit of Achilles, seen above, show the possibility of common Greek iconographical traits, it seems there was no set depiction for Troilos' murder in the years preceding the appearance of the "Tyrrhenian" Group. To this end, the various works that show the murder bear no relation to one another except for the prominence of an altar, which may represent the sanctuary of Apollo Tymbraios.³² It is interesting to note that the painters of the "Tyrrhenian" Group neglected to depict the specific murder on their pots, preferring instead to depict the murder's aftermath.³³

²⁸ Gantz, p. 598.

²⁹ Early instances of this simplified scene are known to appear on at least one extant Siana Cup (NY 01.8.6) painted by the Athenian C Painter, which is dated to c. 570 BC. *Ibid.*, p. 599.

³⁰ This scene was often prone to variation, although the majority of depictions show the basic elements mentioned above. At least one later depiction of this scene, painted by the Attic Red-Figure Brygos Painter in the early 5th century BC, shows Troilos being dragged off his horse by a tuft of his hair. Carpenter, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece: A Handbook*, p. 19.

³¹ See Kossatz-Deissmann, p. 87-90.

³² Carpenter, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece: A Handbook*, p. 20.

³³ Mota, p. 33.

The earliest possible representation of Troilos' murder comes from a late 7th century BC bronze tripod leg-band, found at Olympia,³⁴ which shows an armed and greaved man preparing to stab a young boy on a raised, altar-like platform (see Figure 30 below).

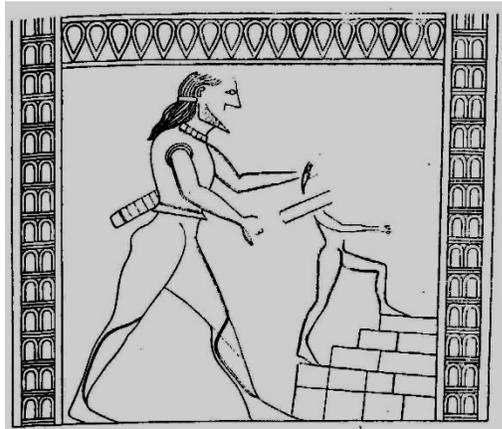


Figure 30:Olympia B 3600, Bronze Tripod leg-band. Provenance: Olympia. Late-7th century BC. Photo: Kossatz-Deissmann, p. 89.

Two bronze shield-bands, also found at Olympia and thought to date from the early 6th century BC, show what appears to be the actual act of murder,³⁵ depicting two separate instances of a sword-wielding and armored figure holding a young boy upon an altar. The former depiction (see Figure 31 below) shows the young boy grasping a tree and the warrior's sword at rest, while the latter depiction (see Figure 32 below) lacks the representation of a tree and instead shows the armed warrior preparing to stab the young boy with his sword.³⁶

³⁴ Listed as *Toreutik* n. 375, Olympia B 3600. Kossatz-Deissmann, p. 89.

³⁵ Listed as *Toreutik* n. 376, Olympia B 988; B 1801; B 1802; B 4962 and as *Toreutik* n. 377, Olympia B 987; B 1803; B 1912. *Ibid.*, p. 89-90.

³⁶ See Gantz, p. 598.

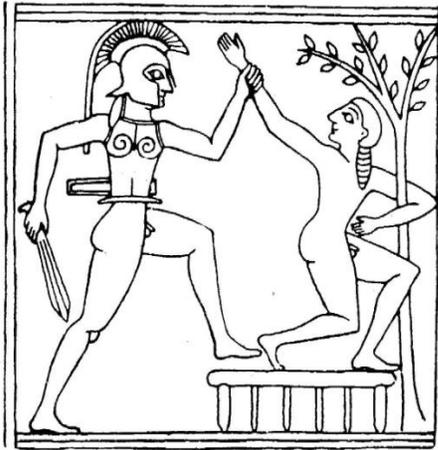


Figure 31: Olympia B 988; B 1801; B 1802; B 4962, Bronze shield-band. Provenance: Olympia. Early 6th century BC. Photo: Kossatz-Deissmann, p. 89.

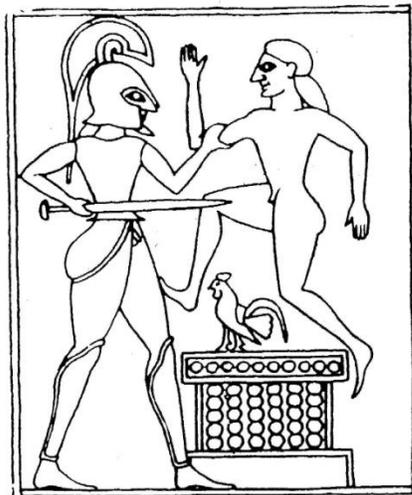


Figure 32: Olympia B 987; B 1803; B 1912, Bronze shield-band. Provenance: Olympia. Early 6th century BC. Photo: Kossatz-Deissmann, p. 90.

Also conspicuous on the second shield-band is the presence of a cock on the raised altar platform, which may serve to convey a message to the perspective viewer in the same fashion as the Apollo-referencing bird seen upon the New York Metropolitan Museum specimen (see Figure

25 above).³⁷ While these three bronze relief depictions are speculated to be the earliest depictions of Troilos' end, their ambiguous and inscriptionless nature have caused some to argue that these three bronze specimens depict the death of Astyanax, the first-born son of Hektor and Andromache, who the warrior Neoptolemos was occasionally represented as murdering in Archaic period art.³⁸ Whatever the nature of these three bronze laminae, all three draw strong parallels with subsequent depictions of the young boy's tragic death at the hands of Achilles.

A clearer depiction of Troilos' death comes in the form of a column-krater of Corinthian origin, which was probably found at Cerveteri and is thought to date from the early years of the 6th century BC (see Figure 33 below).³⁹ Although fragmentary, this pot contains some inscriptions showing the various characters in the scene, of which Troilos, Aeneas and Hektor are noted. The narrative frieze band shows Achilles holding the young Troilos upside-down over a rectangular altar (similar to the altars shown in Figures 31 and 32 above) while Hektor, Aeneas and other Trojan warriors charge in from the right. The appearance of the charging Trojan warriors on this pot,⁴⁰ which was manufactured at least a decade before the dawn of the "Tyrrhenian" Group,⁴¹ seems to draw strong parallels with the handful of subsequent examples in the "Tyrrhenian" Group which deal with the murder episode in a similar fashion. These "Tyrrhenian" Group pots that show the fight between Achilles and Hector will be analyzed in detail at a later point in this chapter.

³⁷ "This last element inevitably causes one to think... of Achilleus' sexual passion for Troilos, with the cock here as love gift; to dismiss it as nothing more than a coincidence here is difficult, to accept such as the theme this early perhaps equally so". See Gantz, p. 598.

³⁸ Mota, p. 27, 35.

³⁹ Listed as *Archaische Vasen, nicht attisch* n. 365, Louvre E 638. See Kossatz-Deissmann, p. 88.

⁴⁰ While the pursuit episode on the *François* vase shows Hektor and Polites leaving the gates of Troy, this Corinthian depiction of the murder episode shows the Trojan warriors arriving to save Troilos from Achilles. It is apparent from "Tyrrhenian" Group examples that this effort was in vain, as Troilos is shown beheaded beside the altar.

⁴¹ Carpenter lists this work as produced c. 580 BC. Carpenter, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece: A Handbook*, fig. 32.

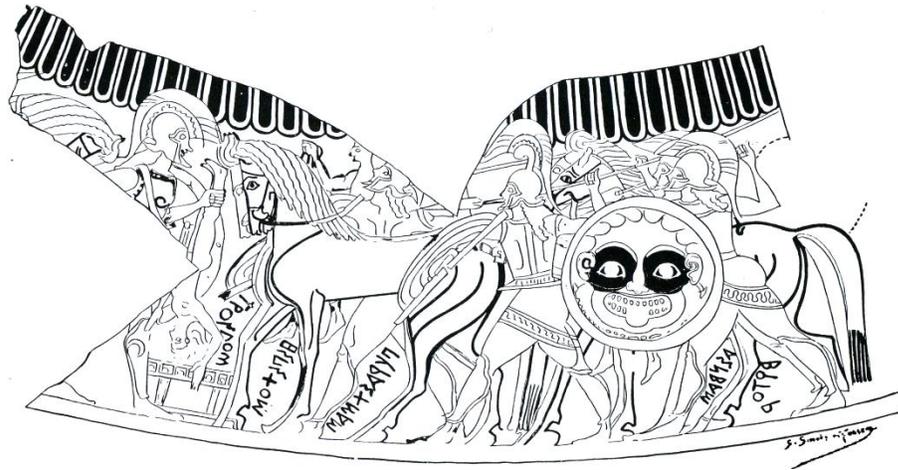


Figure 33: Louvre E 638, Corinthian Black-Figure Column krater, obverse. Early 6th century BC. Photo: Mota, p. 32 fig. 6.

4.2.4 The Achilles and Troilos Myth: Mythical Traits Inherent in Early Artistic Works

It is apparent from the Corinthian and Attic works analyzed above that the physical attributes of the Achilles and Troilos episode's characters were already established before the dawn of the "Tyrrhenian" Group. It is therefore probable that the common artistic conventions seen between the different works listed above may show the development of a common iconographic tradition and a common mythical source amongst the various artisans of Corinth and Athens.⁴² In the examples mentioned above, Achilles is rendered as an armored warrior, with greaves, corselet, sword, and occasional shield. His depiction in each artistic rendering of the tale also seems to express his determination to catch and slay Troilos. Whether crouching behind the fountain in ambush, running after the young boy with a drawn sword in pursuit, or going through the process of killing the boy in the act of murder (which is occasionally portrayed in front of his brother Hektor), it is apparent that Achilles is motivated to carry this act out.⁴³

⁴² Carpenter, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece: A Handbook*, p. 21.

⁴³ It is possible that these depictions of an Achilles that is driven to carry out this macabre deed validate the prophecy explanation that was given by the First Vatican Mythographer.

With the exception of the bearded Troilos on the mid 7th century BC proto-Corinthian aryballos seen above, Troilos' youth is continually emphasized on these mythical depictions. In representations of the ambush episode, Troilos is portrayed in the nude, unarmed and on horseback alongside his sister Polyxena as they go for water beyond the Trojan gates. This common iconographic detail only confirms the unoffending nature of the young man,⁴⁴ and the surprise of Achilles' sudden attack: although innocent, he is nevertheless destined to cruel fate by the sword of Achilles.⁴⁵ Furthermore, if we are to believe the account of the First Vatican Mythographer, it is probable that Achilles' motive to commit this act was to ensure that his men emerge from Troy with victory.⁴⁶ Taking this into account, one can speculate that this myth held significance with Greeks who identified with the Trojan War victory as a defining moment in their ancestral heritage.⁴⁷

4.3 The Depiction of the Achilles and Troilos Myth on “Tyrrhenian” Group Neck-Amphorae

It appears that the Achilles and Troilos episode was a favored mythical subject amongst some artisans of early Athenian Black-Figure in the years before the “Tyrrhenian” Group's inception.⁴⁸ This popularity, in turn, probably influenced the artistic output of the “Tyrrhenian” Group, as pots showing Trojan themes seem to form a substantial percentage amongst portrayals of mythical scenes in the group.⁴⁹ Furthermore, it seems that the scenes involving the Achilles

⁴⁴ Gantz, p. 597-598.

⁴⁵ Boitani, p. 10.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁴⁸ Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 86.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 86 - 87.

and Troilos myth account for one of the most popular mythical portrayals in scenes dealing with the Trojan Epic Cycle.⁵⁰

The representation of the Achilles and Troilos myth on these nine pots consists of nine extant examples from the hands of multiple “Tyrrhenian” Group painters⁵¹ and shows three distinct phases of the story, with five extant specimens dealing with the ambush of Troilos, while the pursuit of Troilos and the uniquely rendered fight between Achilles and Hektor account for two examples each.⁵² As each act draws from an apparently common iconographical prototype (with the exception of the fight between Achilles and Hektor), these works share many similarities in scene composition amongst each other with some variances.

4.3.1 The Depiction of the Ambush of Troilos on “Tyrrhenian” Group Neck-Amphorae

It appears that the majority of extant “Tyrrhenian” Group specimens that portray the Achilles and Troilos myth show narrative scenes detailing Achilles’ initial ambush of Troilos. Consisting of five extant neck-amphorae from the hands of two different (von Bothmer-assigned) artisans, these “Tyrrhenian” pots that portray Achilles’ ambush of Troilos all follow a similar scene composition,⁵³ with each showing some distinct variations on the ambush episode.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 138. According to Kluiver, the Troilos and Achilles episode was one of the most common Trojan myths displayed in the group, but trailed the number of extant “Tyrrhenian” pots that show scenes with Achilles and Memnon dueling. See *Ibid.*, p. 138, 143 for more information.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 88. While Stamatia Meyer-Emmerling lists seven extant “Tyrrhenian” specimens that portray the scene in her 1982 dissertation, Kluiver adds two extant neck-amphorae: Vatican 39514 (attributed to the Timiades Painter) and Switzerland, Private (attributed to the Kyllenios Painter). See Meyer-Emmerling, p. 77-83 and Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 152, 157.

⁵² Uniquely rendered in the sense that there seems to be no preceding works that are completely similar to the “Tyrrhenian” Group’s depiction. *Ibid.*, p. 77-79; Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 138, 142.

⁵³ The five extant “Tyrrhenian” Group neck amphorae that portray the ambush of Troilos are listed as follows: Philadelphia MS 2522 (attributed to the Timiades Painter by von Bothmer); Kiel, Private Collection, B 595 (attributed to the Timiades Painter by Kluiver); Munich 1436 (attributed to the Timiades Painter by von Bothmer); Vatican (Marchesa Isabella Guglielmi) 39514 (attributed to the Timiades Painter by Kluiver) and Rome, Conservatori 96 (attributed to the Castellani Painter by von Bothmer). See von Bothmer, “The Painters of Tyrrhenian Vases”, p. 166-170; Beazley, *Athenian Black-Figure Vases*, p. 95 n.

Four of these specimens are thought to come from the hand of the Timiades Painter, while one is attributed to the Castellani Painter's workshop. None of these specimens show any evidence of inscriptions, sensical or nonsensical. Both Philadelphia 2522 (attributed to the Timiades Painter; see Figures 34 and 35) and Kiel B 595 (attributed to the Timiades Painter; see Figures 36 and 37), show a basic representation of the ambush, while Munich 1436 (attributed to the Timiades Painter; see Figure 38), Vatican 39514 (attributed to the Timiades Painter; see Figure 39) and Rome, Conservatori 96 (attributed to the Castellani Painter; see Figure 40) depict additional (and occasionally unique) details from the ambush episode that will be analyzed in a subsequent paragraph.

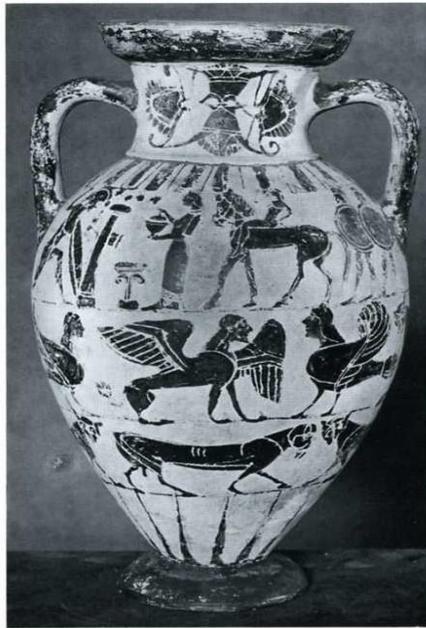


Figure 34: Philadelphia MS 2522 (Beazley #1), Attic Black-Figure neck-amphora of the “Tyrrhenian” Group attributed to the Timiades Painter (von Bothmer), obverse. Second quarter of the 6th century BC. Provenance: Unknown. Photo: Schauenburg, p. 47 pl. 11.

1-4; Beazley, *Paralipomena: additions to Attic Black-Figure and Red-Figure Vase Painters* (2nd edition) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 36, n. 1-3, 4; Meyer-Emmerling, p. 77 n. A1-A4; Kossatz-Deissmann, p. 75-76; Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 151-153, 162.



Figure 35: Philadelphia MS 2522 (Beazley #1), Attic Black-Figure neck-amphora of the “Tyrrhenian” Group attributed to the Timiades Painter (von Bothmer), obverse narrative frieze detail. Second quarter of the 6th century BC. Provenance: Unknown. Photo: Bates, p. 431 fig. 2.

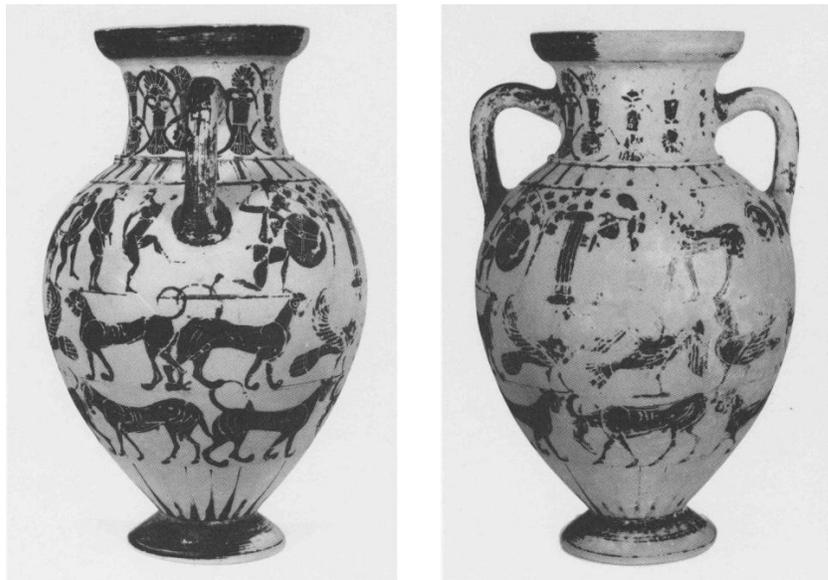


Figure 36: Kiel B 595 (Meyer-Emmerling #73), Attic Black-Figure neck-amphora of the “Tyrrhenian” Group attributed to the Timiades Painter (Kluiver), obverse and side profile. Second quarter of the 6th century BC. Provenance: Unknown. Photo: Brigitte Freyer-Schauenburg, ed., *CVA Deutschland Band 55: Kiel: Kunsthalle, Antikensammlung, Band 1* (Munich: C.H. Beck’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1988), pl. 9 n. 1-2.

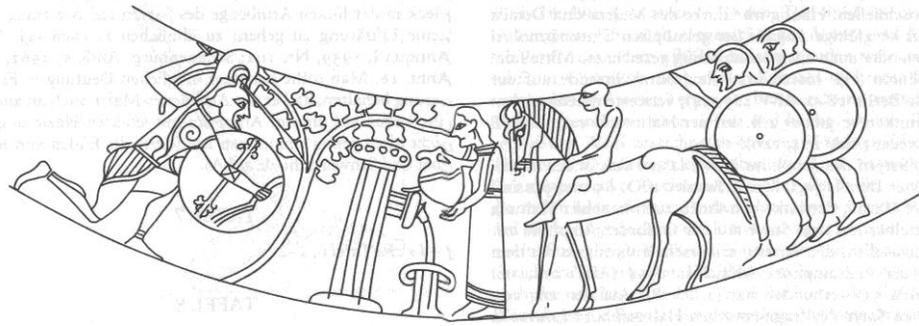


Figure 37: Kiel B 595 (Meyer-Emmerling #73), Attic Black-Figure neck-amphora of the “Tyrrhenian” Group attributed to the Timiades Painter (Kluiver), obverse narrative frieze detail. Second quarter of the 6th century BC. Provenance: Unknown. Photo: Freyer-Schauenburg, p. 18.

Upon all five specimens,⁵⁴ Achilles is shown armed, wearing a helmet, greaves and spear, and clutching what appears to be a spear in his raised right hand. In the case of Munich 1436 (see Figure 38 below), an additional armed warrior is shown to the far left of the frieze, flanking the armed Achilles, while Vatican 39514 (see Figure 39 below) shows one armed warrior flanking the right side of the scene: both Philadelphia 2522 (see Figures 34 and 35 above) and Kiel B 595 (see Figures 36 and 37 above) show two armed warriors at the far right.

⁵⁴ Rome, Conservatori 96 was painted with Achilles crouching down at the far right of the frieze and Troilos on horseback at the far left: this opposing layout applies to this specific specimen in the context of the traits that are described for the ambush scene.



Figure 38: Munich 1436 (Beazley #4), Attic Black-Figure neck-amphora of the “Tyrrhenian” Group attributed to the Timiades Painter (von Bothmer), obverse. Second quarter of the 6th century BC. Provenance: Vulci. Photo: Ingeborg Tetzlaff, *Griechische Vasenbilder* (Koln: DuMont Buchverlag, 1980), fig. 26.



Figure 39: Vatican 39514 (Beazley #3), Attic Black-Figure neck-amphora of the “Tyrrhenian” Group attributed to the Timiades Painter (Kluiver), obverse. Second quarter of the 6th century BC. Provenance: Vulci. Photo: Buranelli, pl. 19.

Additional traits are seen in the frieze bands of both Munich 1436 (see Figure 38 above) and Rome, Conservatori 96 (see Figure 40 below), as the appearance of a group of armed warriors

appear on the reverse side that are dressed in a similar fashion to the solitary warrior flanking Achilles on the obverse side gives the appearance of a continuous frieze band scene.⁵⁵

Philadelphia 2522 (see Figures 34 and 35 above), Kiel B595 (see Figures 36 and 37 above) and Munich 1436 (see Figure 38 above) all have tall and flowing trees that emanate from the left side of the fountain-base, while Vatican 39514 (see Figure 39 above) and Rome Conservatori 96 (see Figure 40 below) lack this prominent feature. This tree seems to further obscure the armed Achilles from his victims and reinforce the role of the fountain in hiding Achilles.



Figure 40: Rome, Conservatori 96 (Beazley #2), Attic Black-Figure neck-amphora of the “Tyrrhenian” Group attributed to the Castellani Painter (von Bothmer), obverse and reverse. Second quarter of the 6th century BC. Provenance: Unknown. Photo: Giulio Quirino Giglioli, ed., *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Italia Fascicolo 36: Roma: Musei Capitolini di Roma, Fascicolo 1* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato P. V., 1962), pl. 12.

⁵⁵ Meyer-Emmerling, p. 119.

Directly beside the tree is a fountain that serves both as Achilles' hiding place and as the source of water for Polyxena's hydria. The majority of these scenes depict the fountain as a column-like structure, streaming water into a basin that is in the shape of a smaller column that is crowned with an Ionic capital.⁵⁶ Rome Conservatori 96 (see Figure 40 above) is the exception to this rule, and depicts the fountain as being a rectangular structure with a lion-head spout.⁵⁷ While Munich 1436 (see Figure 38 above) seems to be the only example to show water flowing from the fountain, the other ambush scenes all convey the action of a working fountain by showing Polyxena either tipping her hydria towards the fountain, in the act of filling it up with water,⁵⁸ or holding it upright just after filling it up.⁵⁹

Polyxena is clothed in all five depictions, wearing what appears to be a chiton. It is interesting to note that Munich 1436 (see Figure 38 above) is the only vase to portray Polyxena with added white paint to accentuate her feminine features,⁶⁰ as the other four specimens all portray the young woman as having dark-colored skin.⁶¹ Troilos is depicted on the five specimens as sitting beside Polyxena on horseback. Shown in the nude and with long hair, Troilos is occasionally seen leading a second horse in his hand, as shown on the narrative friezes of Munich 1436 (see Figure 38 above) and Rome Conservatori 96 (see Figure 40 above).⁶²

It is important at this point to look at the additional scene traits that characterize Munich 1436 (see Figure 38 above), Vatican 39514 (see Figure 39 above) and Rome, Conservatori 96 (see Figure 40 above). While Rome, Conservatori 96 shows an varied composition of the ambush

⁵⁶ von Mehren "The Trojan Cycle on Tyrrhenian Amphorae", p. 38.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁵⁸ See Munich 1426, Kiel B595 and Rome, Conservatori 96.

⁵⁹ See Philadelphia 2522. Damage to Vatican 39514 prevents the viewer from accurately seeing the position of Polyxena's hydria.

⁶⁰ As per the trends of human representation used by Black-Figure painters discussed in Chapter Three.

⁶¹ This might not have been the case originally, as added white color in Attic Black-Figure vase painting is prone to fade over time.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 38.

scene (with Achilles crouched at the far right and with Troilos positioned at the far left of the scene), both Munich 1436 and Vatican 39514 contain added elements that could very well be interpreted as being omens to warn the viewer of the impending event. The former specimen, Munich 1436 (see Figure 38 above), shows the presence of a flying bird to the immediate right of Troilos. It seems probable, based upon the instance of this bird on multiple specimens of this scene in Attic pottery (see Figure 25 above and Figure 41 below)⁶³ and the ancient tale of Troilos' murder in the sanctuary of Apollo Tymbraios, that the depicted bird is the artist's way of making it clear to the reader that the sanctuary of Apollo plays a role in the mythical episode.⁶⁴



Figure 41: London 97.7-21.2 (Beazley #8), Attic Black-Figure amphora attributed to the Painter of London B 76 (Beazley), obverse narrative frieze detail. Second quarter of the 6th century BC. Provenance: Unknown. Photo: Kossatz-Deissmann, p. 79 fig. Achilles 225.

Vatican 39514 (see Figure 39 above) makes this warning all the more blatant to both Troilos, Polyxena and the viewer by placing an unnamed woman dressed in a chiton into the middle of the narrative frieze behind Polyxena. Based upon her gestures, it seems that this woman is pointing

⁶³ See Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase Painters*, p. 86 n. 8.

⁶⁴ Schauenburg, p. 47.

towards the hiding Achilles and warning Polyxena and Troilos about the impending attack.⁶⁵ One can further interpret the tense stare of Polyxena and the rigid stance of Troilos' horse adequately signaling that her warning message was already noted.

4.3.2 The Depiction of the Pursuit of Troilos on “Tyrrhenian” Group Neck-Amphorae

The two “Tyrrhenian” Group pots that portray Achilles' pursuit of Troilos are both thought to come from the hand of the later Kyllenios Painter.⁶⁶ While both specimens are almost identical in scene composition and usage of nonsensical inscriptions, the positioning of a lunging Achilles seen in the fragmentary Louvre C 10509 (see Figure 42 below) shows itself as being a variant on the more common Black-Figure depiction seen on the private “Tyrrhenian” Swiss specimen (see Figure 43 below) and elsewhere, as it shows particular characteristics of the scene that are rarely observed in early Attic Black-Figure artistry.⁶⁷ The Louvre C 10509 specimen is the more published of the two specimens, but is in an extremely fragmentary state and missing many details from its narrative frieze. Strangely enough, a few of these missing fragments are accounted for in the private Swiss Valleggia collection, which includes the missing image of a frightened Troilos on horseback over the image of a broken hydria.⁶⁸

These two “Tyrrhenian” pots show scenes that closely resemble pursuit episode that is seen on Kletias' *François* vase.⁶⁹ Both specimens show Achilles at the far left of the frieze scene,

⁶⁵ Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 88.

⁶⁶ These two “Tyrrhenian” Group neck-amphorae are listed as follows: Switzerland, Private Collection (attributed to the Kyllenios Painter by Kluiver) and Louvre C 10509 (attributed to the Kyllenios Painter by von Bothmer). See Mario A. del Chiaro, “Classical Vases in the Santa Barbara Museum of Art,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 68.2 (Apr. 1964), p. 108; Beazley, *Paralipomena*, p. 40; Meyer-Emmerling, p. 79, n. B5; Kossatz-Deissmann, p. 83; Von Mehren, “The Trojan Cycle on Tyrrhenian Amphorae”, p. 41-42, 53; Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 157.

⁶⁷ von Mehren, “The Trojan Cycle on Tyrrhenian Amphorae”, p. 41.

⁶⁸ Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 157.

⁶⁹ Kossatz-Deissmann, p. 81 dates the *François* vase as being manufactured c. 570-560 BC while Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 90 argues that the work can be contextually dated to 575-570 BC.

clutching a spear and shield and running forth after leaping up from his hiding place behind the fountain.

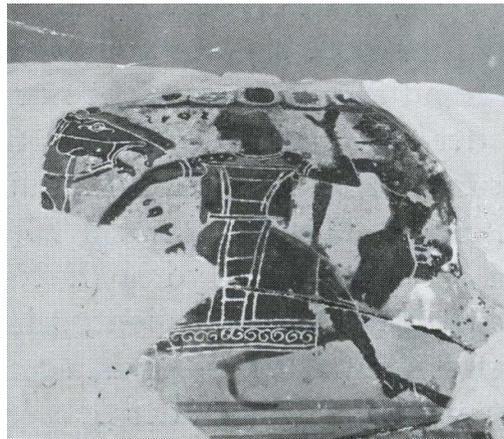
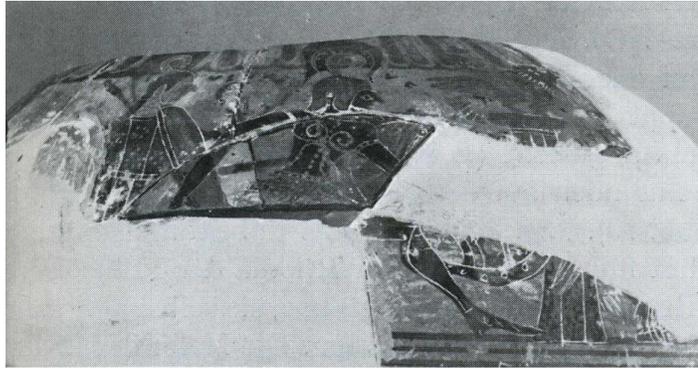


Figure 42: Louvre C 10509 (Meyer-Emmerling #76), Attic Black-Figure neck-amphora of the “Tyrrhenian” Group attributed to the Kyllenios Painter (von Bothmer), obverse narrative frieze detail. Second quarter of the 6th century BC. Provenance: Unknown. Photo: Ingrid Krauskopf, “Eine Attisch Schwarzfigurige Hydria in Heidelberg,” *Archaischer Anzeiger* 92 (1977), p. 33 fig 16-17.

While the private Swiss specimen (see Figure 43 below) shows the common depiction of Achilles running past the fountain, the fragmentary Louvre C10509 (see Figure 42 above) depicts Achilles running behind the fountain. This trait is only seen on one other extant Attic vase, a Siana-styled kylix made by the Attic C Painter during the second quarter of the 6th BC.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ von Mehren, “The Trojan Cycle on Tyrrhenian Amphorae”, p. 41, 53.

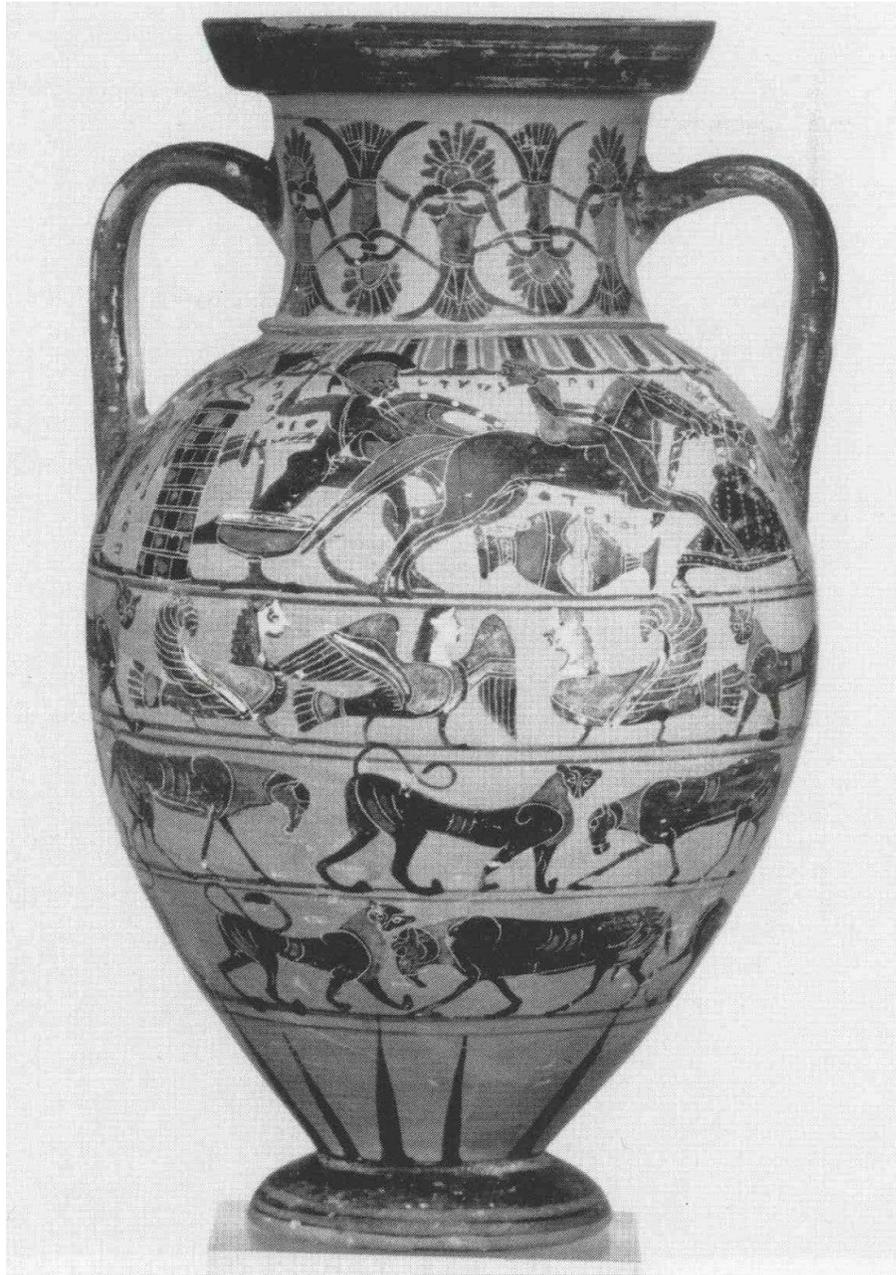


Figure 43: Switzerland, Private Collection (Kluiver #112), Attic Black-Figure neck-amphora of the “Tyrrhenian” Group attributed to the Kyllenios Painter (Jeroen Kluiver), obverse. Second quarter of the 6th century BC. Provenance: Unknown. Photo: Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 233 fig. 112a.

To the left of Achilles, a solitary woman is shown wearing a crested helmet and grasping a shield and spear.⁷¹ It is likely that this woman is Athena, who is seen in the Homer's *Iliad* as the patroness of Achilles.⁷²

The Kyllenios Painter portrays the fountain that serves as Achilles' hiding place in the ambush scene in two distinct variations. On the one hand, the fragmentary Louvre C 10509 (see Figure 42 above) portrays the fountain as the same column-like structure that is seen in the majority of the "Tyrrhenian" pots portraying the ambush episode,⁷³ while the private Swiss specimen (see Figure 43 above) shows a fountain that is very similar to the lion-spouted rectangular structure shown on the Castellani Painter's Rome, Conservatori 96 specimen (See Figure 40 above). Both pots also lack the presence of any trees growing out of the fountain base. The conspicuous presence of a raven is seen perched on top of the fountain on both specimens depicting the pursuit episode.⁷⁴ Remarkably similar to the raven seen in Munich 1436 (see Figure 38) and both examples by the Painter of London B 76 used in this chapter (see Figures 25 and 41 above), it seems that the artist depicted this bird to denote that the sanctuary of Apollo Tymbraios will soon play a role in the tale.⁷⁵

Both specimens show the young Troilos riding on horseback to the immediate right of the fountain, and it is apparent that the boy is in a hurry to get away from the approaching Achilles, as the pained expression of his horse on the fragmentary Louvre C 10509 (see Figure 42 above) bears this out.⁷⁶ The composition of Troilos on the private Swiss specimen (see Figure 43 above)

⁷¹ Both armed women portrayed in the fragmentary Louvre C 10509 (see Figure 42) and in the private Swiss specimen (see Figure 43) are shown with a face that is painted white.

⁷² del Chiaro, p. 108.

⁷³ The fragment showing the basin on Louvre C 10509 is missing.

⁷⁴ It is apparent, despite the low resolution of Figures 42 and 43, seen above, that ravens are pictured in both scenes.

⁷⁵ Schauenburg, p. 47. See Section 4.3.1 also.

⁷⁶ von Mehren, "The Trojan Cycle on Tyrrhenian Amphorae", p. 41.

is executed in a similar fashion, portraying the nude and long haired young boy as looking back to the attacking warrior in horror while his horse gallops ahead.⁷⁷ In both instances, Troilos is seen riding one horse and leading another beside him, a trait that is similar to the ambush depictions shown on Munich 1436 (see Figure 38 above) and Rome, Conservatori 96 (see Figure 40 above).⁷⁸

Both depictions also show Polyxena running away from Achilles to the immediate right of her brother. Wearing a chiton, Polyxena is shown with white skin on the private Swiss specimen (see Figure 43 above), while shown with dark-colored skin on the fragmentary Louvre C 10509 (see Figure 42 above). Her hydria is also shown on the private Swiss specimen to have fallen to the ground and broken in two beneath the hooves of Troilos' horses.⁷⁹ Like the pained expression of Troilos' horse on the fragmentary Louvre C 10509, both "Tyrrhenian" pots showing the pursuit episode depict an expression on the face of Polyxena, who appears in one instance to gesture with her left hand, while glancing back to the approaching Achilles.⁸⁰ An additional detail that is shown on the fragmentary Louvre C 10509 (see Figure 42 above) is the inclusion of an additional nude and bearded male character at the far right of the scene. Shown running in front of Polyxena and Troilos, he is painted in the same fashion as the running Polyxena as he looks back at the approaching Achilles.⁸¹ The appearance of the bearded male is unique and serves to add an air of drama and panic to what is already a chaotic scene.⁸²

⁷⁷ While the fragment showing Troilos on horseback from Louvre C 10509 is known to be in the Swiss Valleggia Collection, a picture could not be retrieved for this analysis.

⁷⁸ See section 4.3.1.

⁷⁹ Kluiver mentions a fragment belonging to the Swiss Valleggia collection that shows the depiction of a fallen *hydria*. A picture of the fragment could not be retrieved for research purposes. Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 157.

⁸⁰ The Swiss specimen shows no raised hand gesture. Meyer-Emmerling, p. 79.

⁸¹ del Chiaro, p. 108

⁸² "Die dichte Beruherung der Figuren im Bildraum verstärkt noch die Dramatik der Situation." See Meyer-Emmerling, p. 79.

4.3.3 The Depiction of Achilles and Hektor Fighting over Troilos on “Tyrrhenian” Group Neck-Amphorae

Thought to be from the hands of two different (von Bothmer-assigned) artisans, the “Tyrrhenian” pots that portray the fight between Achilles and Hektor for the corpse of Troilos share many similar iconographical characteristics.⁸³ While similar in scene composition and usage of sensical inscriptions, a number of factors distinguish the Prometheus Painter specimen, Florence 70993 (see Figures 44 and 45 below) from the work of the Timiades Painter-attributed Munich 1426 (see Figure 46 below).

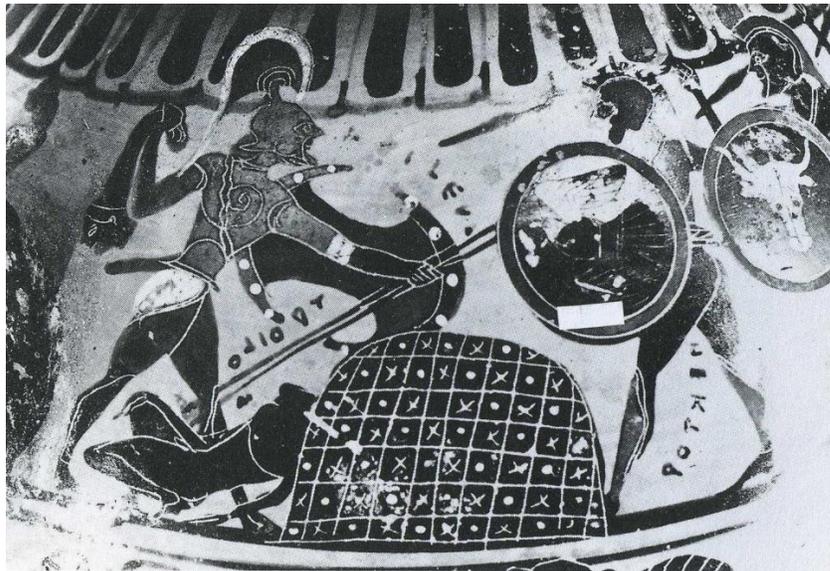


Figure 44: Florence 70993 (Beazley #6), Attic Black-Figure neck-amphora of the “Tyrrhenian” Group attributed to the Prometheus Painter (von Bothmer), obverse narrative frieze detail. Second quarter of the 6th century BC. Provenance: Pescia Romana. Photo: Carpenter, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece*, fig. 33.

⁸³ These two “Tyrrhenian” Group neck-amphorae are listed as follows: Florence 70993 (attributed to the Prometheus Painter by Von Bothmer) and Munich 1426 (attributed to the Timiades Painter by von Bothmer). See Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase Painters*, p. 95 n. 5-6; Beazley, *Paralipomena*, p. 36 n. 5-6; Meyer-Emmerling, p. 79 n. C6-7; Kossatz-Deissmann, p. 87; von Mehren, “The Trojan Cycle on Tyrrhenian Amphorae”, p. 42-44; Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 149-150.

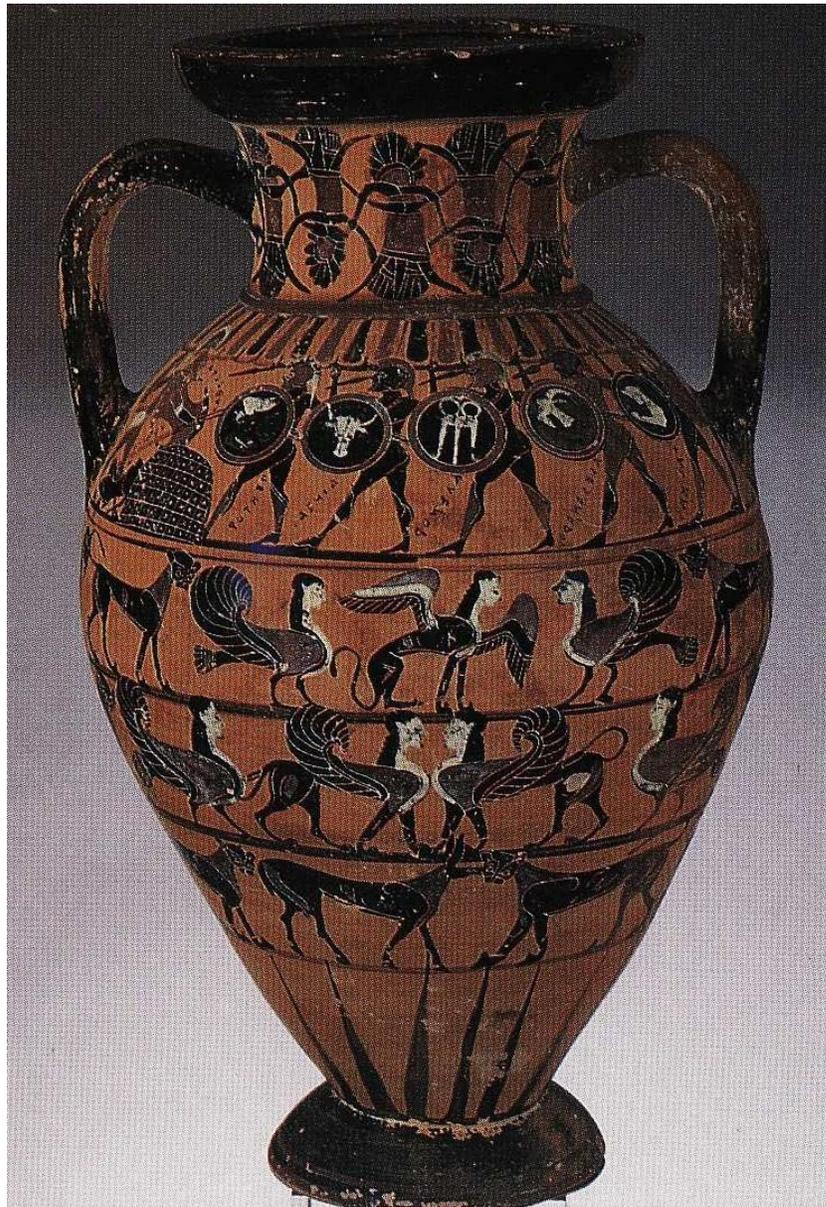


Figure 45: Florence 70993 (Beazley #6), Attic Black-Figure neck-amphora of the “Tyrrhenian” Group attributed to the Prometheus Painter (von Bothmer), obverse. Second quarter of the 6th century BC. Provenance: Pescia Romana. Photo: Anna Maria Esposito and Giandomenico de Tomasso, eds., *Vasi Attici: Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze Antiquarium* (Firenze, Edizioni Il Ponte 1993), p. 25 fig. 20.

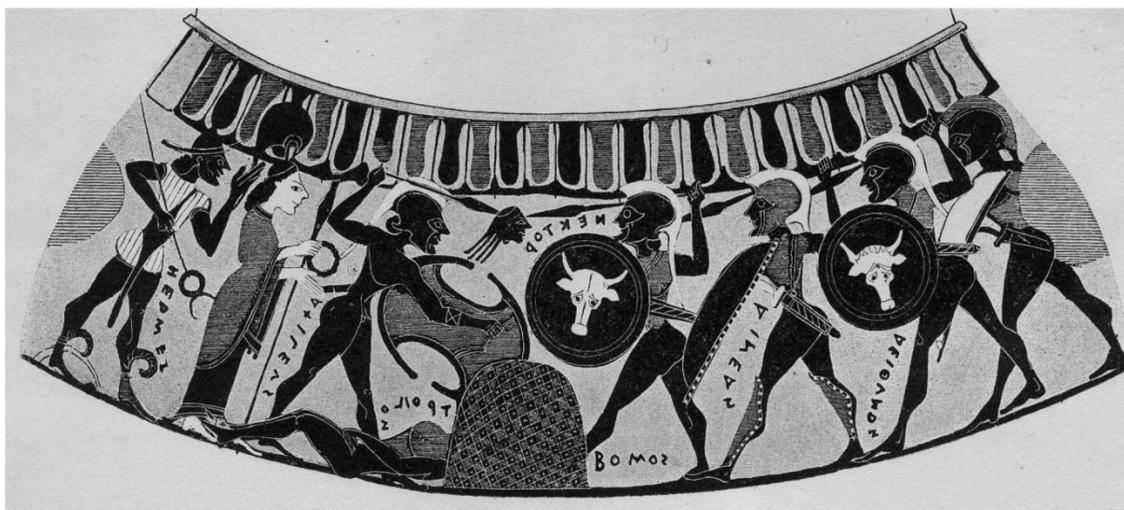


Figure 46: Munich 1426 (Beazley #5), Attic Black-Figure neck-amphora of the “Tyrrhenian” Group attributed to the Timiades Painter (von Bothmer), obverse narrative frieze detail. Second quarter of the 6th century BC. Provenance: Vulci. Photo: Thiersch, pl. 1.

Based upon the extant archaeological evidence, it seems that the “Tyrrhenian” Group’s representation of this event a unique representation of the myth’s final act. While a late 6th century BC Attic Black-Figure hydria from the artisans of the Leagros group⁸⁴ is known to exist (see Figure 47 below) showing a similar scene,⁸⁵ it seems that the two extant “Tyrrhenian” Group depictions of the scene⁸⁶ date from an earlier period and are the earliest known instances of the beheaded Troilos in Greek vase painting.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Attributed to the Leagros group by Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase Painters*, p. 362 n. 28.

⁸⁵ Mota, p. 33.

⁸⁶ Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 89.

⁸⁷ von Mehren, “The Trojan Cycle on Tyrrhenian Amphorae”, p. 42.



Figure 47: London B 326, Attic Black-Figure hydria attributed to the Leagros Group (Beazley, *Athenian Black-Figure Vase Painters* p. 362 n. 28), Obverse detail. Late 6th century BC. Photo: Knittlmayer pl. 22 n. 2.

The two “Tyrrenian” examples show the beheaded corpse of Troilos lying to the left of a navel-shaped mound, which is accompanied by the inscription ΒΟΜΟΣ on Munich 1426 (see Figure 46 above). Based upon the prominence of the altar in the scene, it seems probable that these two pots are making reference to the heinous murder occurring in the sacred sanctuary of Apollo Tymbraios.⁸⁸ Furthermore, the young victim’s name, ΤΡΟΙΛΟΣ, is inscribed in retrograde beside his body on both pots (see Figures 44-46 above). The two painters each show Troilos’ body in a separate fashion, with the Prometheus Painter specimen presenting the dead boy as lying with his legs bent underneath him and the Timiades Painter specimen showing Troilos lying flat on his back with bent knees. The stance and positioning of Achilles, who is denoted as ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ on both pots, differs as well.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Gantz, p. 602.

⁸⁹ Immerwahr, *Attic Script*, p. 40.

The depiction of gruesome details varies between both specimens. Florence 70993 (see Figures 44 and 45 above) shows the warrior Achilles in a fighting stance, fully clothed with shield, greaves, helmet and cuirass, holding his spear in his left hand while grasping the hair of the decapitated Troilos' head. Based upon the artist's detail, it appears that this head is in the process of being flung at the group of Trojan warriors that dominate the right side of the narrative frieze.⁹⁰ Munich 1426 (see Figure 46 above) shows Achilles holding the same fighting stance as seen in the Prometheus Painter's example but completely naked save for his shield and his helmet. Furthermore, his right hand is raised and clutches a spear that is either directly in front of or in the process of piercing the decapitated head of Troilos, which is seen in mid-air and heading towards the approaching Trojan warriors.⁹¹

The Prometheus Painter's rendering of Achilles, the altar and the deceased Troilos occupy the far left of his depicted scene, as the center and far right of the frieze are dominated by representations of five armed Trojan warriors (see Figures 44 and 45 above). On the other hand, the depiction of Achilles, the *bomos* and the dead Troilos in Munich 1426 (see Figure 46 above) are prevented from occupying the far left of the scene by the appearance of Hermes (denoted as ΗΕΡΜΕΣ) and a helmeted woman holding a wreath and spear (a possible representation of Athena)⁹² standing to the immediate left of Achilles.

The right side of both fight scenes is dominated by the appearance of a massed group of advancing Trojan warriors, led by Troilos' brother Hektor, whose name is inscribed in retrograde on both pots as ΗΕΚΤΟΡ. Both renderings of Hektor are identical, with the Trojan warrior being depicted in fighting stance, holding a round shield with his left hand while raising a spear in his

⁹⁰ von Mehren, "The Trojan Cycle on Tyrrhenian Amphorae", p. 43.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁹² See Meyer-Emmerling, p. 80.

right hand. These two pots also show Hektor wearing his helmet, greaves and shield and carrying a dagger in a sheath hanging from his torso. Nevertheless, the similarities end there, as Hektor's shield protomes vary between the two specimens. While a 19th century drawing of Munich 1426's narrative frieze shows Hektor's shield with a bull protome (see Figure 46 above), the protome represented on the shield of Hektor on Florence 70993 shows a raven (see Figures 44 and 45 above). Hektor's close companion on both examples is the Trojan Aeneas, denoted on the two pots as ΑΙΝΕΑΣ in retrograde. Dressed in a similar fashion as Hektor, Aeneas is shown on the Florence 70993 specimen (see Figures 44 and 45 above) as holding his round shield to face the viewer while he is shown on the Munich 1426 specimen (see Figure 46 above) as directing his round shield to face the spear-wielding Achilles. The depiction of his round shield on Florence 70993 is dominated by what appears to be a protome of a bull's head.

The appearance of Hektor and Aeneas on both "Tyrrhenian" Group depictions is followed by the inclusion of multiple armed Trojans who charge for Achilles alongside the two warriors and both specimens give a different take on Hektor and Aeneas' companions. Florence 70993 (see Figures 44 and 45 above) shows three additional armed Trojan warriors, who are given the names ΑΓΕΝΟΡ, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΟΣ and ΧΑΛΚΑΣ in retrograde.⁹³ These three warriors are also shown in the exact same fighting stance and dress as Hektor and Aeneas, and are given individual protomes upon their separate shields.⁹⁴ On the other hand, Munich 1426 (see Figure 46 above) shows two additional armed warriors, of which only one, ΔΕΙΘΥΝΟΣ, is written in retrograde.⁹⁵ Both warriors are armed and holding a similar fighting stance as both Hektor and

⁹³ While Immerwahr does not list the names of ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΟΣ or ΧΑΛΚΑΣ, it is apparent that these two inscriptions do exist on the pot, as they are plainly seen upon pictures of the vase, and are written out in Kluiver's monograph. Immerwahr, *Attic Script*, p. 40 n. 167.

⁹⁴ The shield of ΑΓΕΝΟΡ seems to show a protome of a tripod, while the protome of ΧΑΛΚΑΣ appears to show a lion. However, the protome of ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΟΣ was not made out due to picture resolution.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 40

Aeneas. The shield of ΔΕΙΘΥΝΟΣ appears to have the protome of a bull's head and is held facing the viewer, while the unnamed Trojan warrior appears to hold his shield in a similar fashion to Aeneas.

It is simply impossible to account for the reasons behind each iconographic alteration for all the Achilles and Troilos episode variants shown above. It is apparent however that the vase-painters never changed any of the important details of the myth, instead choosing to alter some minor and inconsequential details that serve to individualize the specimen without detracting from the story. While one may find it easy to say that these variations were as a result of the artisans being ignorant of or unfamiliar with Trojan Epic Cycle mythology,⁹⁶ the variations seen on these nine specimens of the “Tyrrhenian” Group only attest to the imagination and creativity of the “Tyrrhenian” artisans. As a result, it is seen that the extant works of the “Tyrrhenian” Group which depict this scene were all derived from a shared variant of this mythical episode (despite their small iconographical variances), which easily meshes with the extant literary sources, seen above. It is apparent that many pots of the early Attic Black-Figure period tend to deviate from one another in the minor details of mythical iconography, and it is likely that these deviations were only a product of artistic license and creativity that paralleled the fluidity of the oral poetic tradition that spawned the Trojan Epic Cycle myths themselves.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Steven Lowenstam, “Uses of Vase-Depictions in Homeric Studies,” *Transactions of the American Philological Association* (1974-) 122 (1992), p. 168.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

Chapter 5

The Achilles and Troilos Myth in Etruria

5.1 Introduction

It is apparent that the surge of Athenian trade with Etruria that intensified during the mid-6th century BC¹ produced an immediate effect on the Etruscan people, a development that can be seen today through the increased Athenian artistic influence on extant Etruscan artistic works of the mid 6th century BC and thereafter. It is also evident that a number of Greek mythical subjects were quickly adapted into the Etruscan mythological corpus during the third quarter of the 6th century BC, which followed the production and distribution of the Athenian “Tyrrhenian” Group.² Along with the various myths of Herakles’ labors, it is apparent that selected tales from the Trojan Epic Cycle, including the Achilles and Troilos myth, were used on works of local Etruscan origin beginning in the mid-6th century BC.

Whether depicted upon Attic-styled ovoid neck amphorae of the Pontic, La Tolfa and Micali Painter School Groups, or painted with prominence upon the back wall of the *Tomba dei Tori* in Tarquinia, the mythical tale of Troilos and his early fate struck a chord with the Etruscan people that would continue until the Hellenistic period, when the myth is seen on a wide assortment of stone and alabaster ash urns. As the Attic “Tyrrhenian” Group is the foremost extant instances of Archaic period Athenian influence on Etruscan taste,³ it would not be difficult to speculate that the group’s depictions of this tale would have given a large amount of inspiration and influence to the local potters and artisans of mid to late 6th century BC Etruria.

¹ Bailey, p. 65.

² Hannestad, *The Paris Painter: An Etruscan Vase Painter*, p.21.

³ von Mehren, “The Trojan Cycle on Tyrrhenian Amphorae”, p. 33.

5.2 Etruscan Interpretations of the Achilles and Troilos Myth on Etruscan Neck-Amphorae

5.2.1 The Pontic Group and Its Debt to the “Tyrrhenian” Group

It is likely that one immediate repercussion of the Athenian-produced “Tyrrhenian” Group’s prominence and popularity in Southern Etruria is the appearance of the Etruscan⁴ Pontic Group of vases during the second half of the 6th century BC⁵. Although the group’s potters drew their repertoire from 17 known vase shapes, it is apparent that the Pontic Group’s most popular shape (in extant finds) is the exact same style of ovoid neck-amphora form that was produced by the “Tyrrhenian” Group artisans.⁶ Further similarities with the “Tyrrhenian” Group are also seen through the decorative scheme of the group’s neck-amphorae, as the frieze arrangement and ornamental decoration of the Pontic Group is extremely similar to its “Tyrrhenian” counterpart.⁷ Findings with provenance from the group also tend to be found in the “Tyrrhenian”-dominated ancient polities of Vulci and Cerveteri, with smaller concentrations of Pontic Group finds seen at Tarquinia and Orvieto.⁸

It is probable that the many mythical frieze subjects used in the “Tyrrhenian” Group influenced the painters of the Pontic Group, as a similar selection of Heraklean and Trojan cycle-based mythical scenes were adopted into the group’s oeuvres.⁹ As such, a handful of extant specimens depicting the Achilles and Troilos myth are known to have come from the hands of the

⁴ Pontic Group ceramics are exclusively found in Etruria and their production seems to have centered on the Etruscan polity of Vulci. Ginge, p. 202.

⁵ Beazley attributes the Pontic Group as being “very Greek” in influence, enough so that he raises the possibility that the group’s workshops could have been “...founded by a Greek immigrant”. J.D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase Painting* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1976), p. 1.

⁶ Lund and Rathje, p. 354.

⁷ Works of the Etruscan-made Pontic Group are attributed to the hands of the Paris Painter, the Amphiaros Painter, the Tityos Painter, the Painter of Bibl. Nat. 178 and the Silen Painter. Hannestad, *The Paris Painter: An Etruscan Vase-Painter*, p. 27.

⁸ Lise Hannestad, *The Followers of the Paris Painter* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1976), p. 53.

⁹ Lund and Rathje, p. 359.

three different Pontic Group painters, and offer an opportunity to view an example of Archaic period Etruscan artisans integrating borrowed Greek iconography from Athenian vase-paintings into their own mythical repertoire and adapting traditional Greek iconography to their own tastes.¹⁰

5.2.2 Depictions of the Achilles and Troilos Myth on Neck-Amphorae of the Etruscan Pontic Group.

While it seems that the Pontic Group was heavily indebted to the style and content of the “Tyrrhenian” Group, the vase-painters of this Etruscan-made group were also responsible for creative variations on Greek iconography upon their pots. An example of this unique perspective is shown on the narrative band of Louvre E 703 (see Figures 48 and 49 below), which is dated to c. 530 BC and attributed to the hand of the Pontic Silen Painter.¹¹ This neck-amphora depicts two frieze scenes that show a creative variation on the traditional archaic portrayal of the Achilles and Troilos pursuit episode that is not seen on any extant Greek or Etruscan pottery.¹²

The obverse narrative frieze of Louvre E 703 shows Achilles in the process of pursuing Troilos while tearing him off from his horse by the hair. Unlike previous Greek examples, this representation is unique in the aspect that it shows the very moment that Achilles, portrayed at center, appears to have caught up with Troilos, shown at right on horseback, and is in the process of taking him away to his fate (see Figure 48 below).¹³

¹⁰ Jean-René Jannot, *Religion in Ancient Etruria*, trans. Jane Whitehead (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), p. 185.

¹¹ Hannestad attributes this vase to the Pontic Silen Painter, as it contains distinctive painting traits such as a subsidiary frieze containing dancing silens. Hannestad, *The Followers of the Paris Painter*, p. 42-43.

¹² von Mehren, “The Trojan Cycle on Tyrrhenian Amphorae”, p. 42.

¹³ Schauenburg, p. 64.



Figure 48: Paris, Louvre E 703 (Hannestad, Followers of The Paris Painter #49), Etruscan Black-Figure neck-amphora of the Pontic Group attributed to the Silen Painter (Hannestad), obverse narrative frieze detail. 530-510 BC. Provenance: Unknown. Photo: Eduard Gerhard, *Auserlesne griechische Vasenbilder: Hauptsächlich etruskischen Fundorts* (Berlin: Gedruckt und Verlegt bei G. Reimer), pl. CLXXXV.2.

Achilles is portrayed in full armor, with raised knife, helmet, breast plate and greaves, while the young Troilos is shown as proportionally smaller to the warrior, with the long hair and lack of clothes that characterize the young boy in previous Athenian and Corinthian depictions. The small size of Achilles' knife has also caused some scholars to consider that Achilles is in fact holding a machaira, or small ritual knife, to carry out the murderous deed.¹⁴ The prominence of a large fountain with a lion-headed spout and vertical tree-like shrubbery at the scene's far left draws parallels between this Etruscan variant and the "Tyrrhenian" examples shown in Chapter Four.¹⁵

On the other hand, the reverse narrative shoulder frieze of Louvre E 703 (see Figure 49 below) shows the portrayal of two armed warriors chasing a woman who is walking up the stairs of a structure that is remarkably similar to an altar.

¹⁴ Luca Cerchiai, "Achille e Troilo in Etruria: Alcune ipotesi su due cippi Chiusini," *Dialoghi di Archeologia* 8 (1990), p. 64.

¹⁵ As opposed to beside the fountain structure, that is typically seen in Attic representations of the myth.

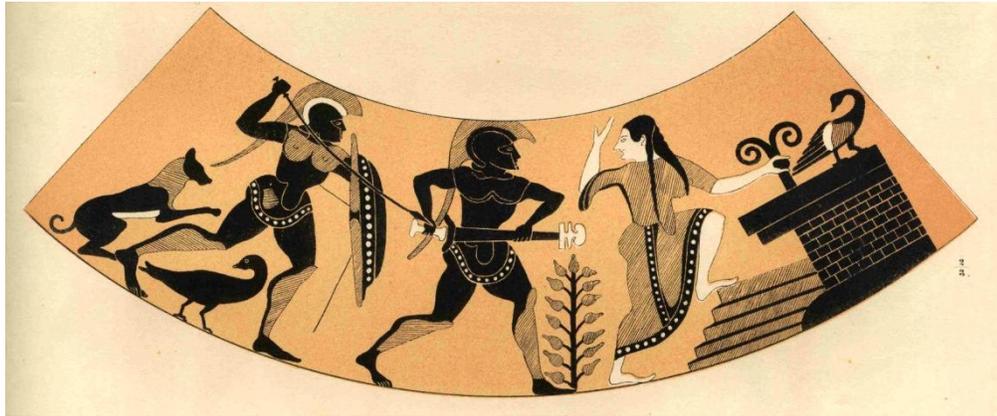


Figure 49: Paris, Louvre E 703 (Hannestad, Followers of The Paris Painter #49), Etruscan Black-Figure neck-amphora of the Pontic Group attributed to the Silen Painter (Hannestad), reverse narrative frieze detail. 530-510 BC. Provenance: Unknown. Photo: Gerhard, pl. CLXXXV.3.

Despite the lack of a known iconographical precedent, it is likely that the woman with a raised hand shown at the far right is Polyxena, the older sister of Troilos who is typically depicted alongside her fated brother in many Athenian depictions of the ambush and pursuit episodes. Although this identity of Polyxena is likely, some disagreement in scholarship regarding this frieze scene is based on the absence of young Troilos in the scene, resulting in speculation that the scene depicts the pursuit of Polyxena by Neoptolemos and one of his companions during the fall of Troy.¹⁶ However, another theory proposes that this depiction is part of a continual band scene that is closely related to the obverse (see Figure 48 above). If this is the case, it is probable that the artist attempted to portray a representation of Achilles chasing Troilos on the obverse and Achilles chasing Polyxena on an animal-flanked reverse scene.¹⁷ The usage of continuous narrative frieze bands was common in Etruscan pots of the period, so it is not illogical to conclude that this is also the case with Louvre E 703.¹⁸ Nevertheless, this hypothesis does not

¹⁶ Hannestad, *The Followers of the Paris Painter*, p. 44.

¹⁷ Hannestad, *The Paris Painter: An Etruscan Vase Painter*, p. 12.

¹⁸ Schauenburg, p. 64-65.

fully explain the presence of a second standing warrior seen at the far left of the scene, who could very well be nothing more than a superfluous but inventive addition by the Pontic artisan.

A second example of apparent Athenian influence and indigenous creativity is seen on the narrative shoulder frieze of Reading 47.VI.I (see Figures 50 and 51 below), which is dated to c. 530 BC and attributed to the hand of the Pontic Tityos Painter.¹⁹ As with the case of Louvre E 703, this neck-amphora depicts two scenes that can be read to show a unique portrayal of the final moments of Troilos' life. Unlike Louvre E 703 however, these two scenes on the Reading amphora are only alluded to, but not explicitly seen on any extant works of Attic, Corinthian or Etruscan origin.²⁰ The obverse narrative frieze of Reading 47.VI.I (see Figure 50 below) shows the portrayal of two men, with one dressed in full armor, riding on horseback over the prostrate body of a young boy who is interpreted as being Troilos.²¹

¹⁹ Hannestad attributes this vase to the Pontic Tityos Painter, as this vase contains distinctive painting traits that are very similar to those of the Pontic Paris Painter, but lack the attention to detail and consistency that characterizes the Paris Painter's human figural depictions. Hannestad, *The Followers of the Paris Painter*, p. 27.

²⁰ P.N. Ure, "A New Pontic Amphora," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 71 (1951), p. 198.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 198.



Figure 50: Reading, University of Reading, 47.VI.I (Hannestad, *Followers of The Paris Painter #30*), Etruscan Black-Figure neck-amphora of the Pontic Group attributed to the Tityos Painter (Hannestad), obverse narrative frieze detail. 530-510 BC. Provenance: Unknown. Photo: Schauenburg, p. 33 abb. 33.

The Troilos figure looks upwards under the two horses that the foremost warrior appears to be riding and/or leading towards the left of the scene. As the warrior on horseback that is depicted at the frieze's center appears to be riding one horse and leading another, it is probable that this central armed figure is Achilles, who has just un-horsed Troilos (who is seen underneath the galloping horses) and is in the process of leaping upon one of Troilos' horses, while leading the other.²² A unique portrayal, one may conclude that this scene represents both the pursuit itself and its aftermath.²³ Furthermore, the far right of the frieze shows a second man riding on horseback outside the main area of action. If one is to look closely at the damaged neck-amphora, it is immediately apparent that this figure on horseback at far right is wearing the same clothing as the

²² Hannestad, *The Followers of the Paris Painter*, p. 27.

²³ "...ist bisher eines der interessantesten Zeugnisse für die übernahme griechischer Mythen in Etrurien". Schauenburg, p. 68.

prostrate Troilos figure. Given that the usage of Synoptic narrative was occasionally used in both Archaic period Greek and Etruscan art and that the Achilles figure is only portrayed once,²⁴ it is possible that the figure on horse back at the far right is Troilos in a past tense, portrayed during his attempted escape from the running Achilles, at the exact moment before his capture (which is seen to great effect on the narrative frieze of Louvre E 703). However, Lise Hannestad stipulates that this additional figure on horseback may be an additional Etruscan element of the myth, as this third figure is occasionally seen in Hellenistic period Etruscan representations.²⁵ A third theorized possibility is that the figure on horseback at the far right represents the Trojan warrior Hektor attempting to save his brother Troilos.²⁶

On the other hand, the reverse narrative frieze of Reading 47.VI.I (see Figure 51 below) shows an Achilles-like warrior figure in the process of carrying Troilos over his shoulder to what appears to be a rectangular altar-styled structure.²⁷

²⁴ Schauenburg, p. 64. See Anthony M. Snodgrass, *The Eleventh J.L. Myres Memorial Lecture: Narration and Allusion in Archaic Greek Art: New College Oxford, 29th May 1981* (London: Leopard's Head Press, 1982), p.5-6 for more information on Synoptic narrative in Archaic Greek art.

²⁵ A few of these Hellenistic period representations will be analyzed later in this chapter. Hannestad, *The Followers of the Paris Painter*, p. 27,

²⁶ See Sections 4.2.2, 4.2.3 and 4.3.3 for additional Greek representations of Hektor attempting to save his younger brother from the wrath of Achilles.

²⁷ This structure resembles a fountain, but shows no evidence for any waterspout jutting out of its side.

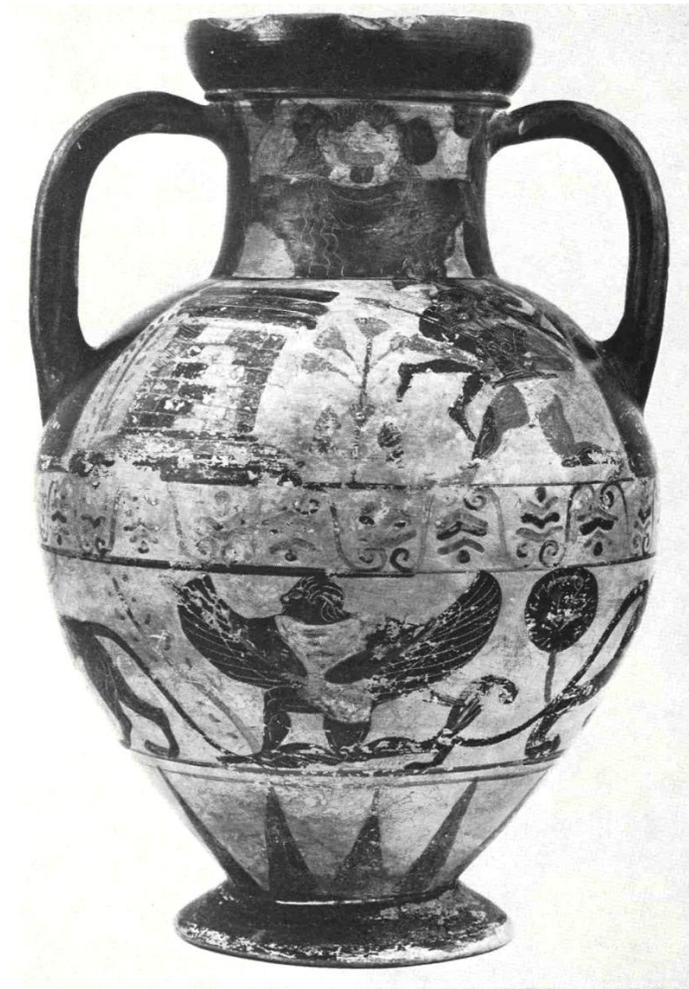


Figure 51: Reading, University of Reading, 47.VI.I (Hannestad, Followers of The Paris Painter #30), Etruscan Black-Figure neck-amphora of the Pontic Group attributed to the Tityos Painter (Hannestad), reverse. 530-510 BC. Provenance: Unknown. Photo: Schauenburg, p. 67 abb 34.

As the two known “Tyrrhenian” representations of Achilles and Hektor fighting over Troilos’ body both portray a navel shaped altar at centre, and ancient literary evidence portrays Troilos as murdered at Apollo’s sanctuary, it is likely that the rectangular altar-shaped structure seen at the far left is an altar that represents the sanctuary of Apollo Tymbraios where Troilos would soon be killed by Achilles. It is also probable that the vase-painter adapted some of the iconography in

this frieze from Greek depictions of the death of Astyanax at the hands of Neoptolemos.²⁸

Whatever the origin or cause for this portrayal, these two frieze scenes can be seen as a missing iconographical link between the pursuit episode and the fight between Achilles and Hektor episode, thus similar in subject to the depictions of Achilles and Troilos-like figures shown on the bronze tripod-leg (datable to the late 7th century BC) and two shield-bands (datable to the early 6th century BC) found at Olympia.²⁹

A third and final Pontic example of what is likely a scene derived from the Achilles and Troilos myth is shown on the obverse narrative frieze of Heidelberg, Universität 59/5, which is dated to c. 550-530 BC³⁰ and attributed to the hand of the Pontic Paris Painter (see Figure 53 below).³¹ The obverse narrative frieze scene of this pot shows a fight scene between two armed warriors that is often identified as the duel between Herakles and Kyknos.³² The warrior on the right lunges fully armed and with spear in hand towards the warrior at the left, who is denoted by a large circular shield and a large spear. The warrior on the left appears wounded, as blood is shown flowing down from his upper torso towards the ground.³³ This wounded warrior also seems to be accompanied by another armed figure, who stands with spear and sword at the far left of the frieze.

²⁸ See Chapter Four for more information on the Astyanax death myth. Schauenburg, p. 66.

²⁹ Hannestad, *The Followers of the Paris Painter*, p. 27.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

³¹ Hannestad attributes this vase to the Pontic Paris Painter, as it is of moderate quality and contains distinctive painting traits such as the usage of detailed and elaborate lotus-palmette ornaments on the neck and on the subsidiary friezes, and a characteristic facial profile for the human figures that is dominated by almond-shaped eyes and body renderings that are rich with white definition-showing incisions. Hannestad, *The Paris Painter: An Etruscan Vase-Painter*, p. 46.

³² Roland Hampe and Erika Simon, *Griechische Sagen In der frühen etruskischen Kunst* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1964), p. 1.

³³ von Mehren, "The Trojan Cycle on Tyrrhenian Amphorae", p. 46.



Figure 52: Heidelberg, Universität 59/5 (Hannestad, Paris Painter #18), Etruscan Black-Figure neck-amphora of the Pontic Group attributed to the Paris Painter (Hannestad), obverse. 550-530 BC. Provenance: Unknown. Photo: Hampe and Simon, pl. 1.

A mysterious 3-winged head is seen at the center of the scene, which levitates above a blossoming plant between the two dueling warriors. Although this scene is rendered ambiguously, it must be noted that the layout of this scene resembles the portrayal of Achilles and Hektor fighting over the body of Troilos, as seen on the “Tyrrhenian” specimens Florence 70993

(see Figures 44 and 45) and Munich 1426 (see Figure 46) that were analyzed in Chapter Four.³⁴

Using these two rare depictions of the fight for Troilos' corpse as comparison points, it is possible that the Paris Painter, when rendering this scene, attempted to show the dismembered head in-flight through the usage of painted wings.³⁵ Furthermore, the armed warrior depicted at the far left could be a representation of Hektor or any one of the Trojan companions that are shown in extant Greek depictions of the battle between Achilles and Hektor for Troilos. The presence of a black bird is noted at the far right of the scene, which draws parallels with the multiple Attic Black-Figure depictions of the Achilles and Troilos myth attributed to the Painter of London B 76 and to the "Tyrrhenian" Group painters seen in Chapter Four that make the role of Apollo's sanctuary in the myth clear to the reader.

5.2.3 Depictions of the Achilles and Troilos Myth on Neck-Amphorae of the Etruscan Micali Painter School and La Tolfa Groups.

A few Etruscan-made pots datable to the same general period as the Pontic Group show additional Archaic period examples of a possible Etruscan take on the Achilles and Troilos episode. Although these three specimens, assigned to the hands of the Micali Painter School and La Tolfa Groups, all date to the mid to late 6th century BC,³⁶ these three specimens all show parallels with the ambush-of-Troilos iconography that is seen on early Attic (and specifically "Tyrrhenian" Group) Black-Figure pottery, albeit with some creative and sometimes confusing variations of the better known Greek iconography.³⁷

³⁴ Further parallels are seen with the "Tyrrhenian" Group specimen Munich 1426 (see Figure 46), which portrays the dismembered head of Troilos as being in midair.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

³⁶ Giovannangelo Camporeale, "Achle" in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae 1: Aara-Aphiad* (Zürich: Artemis Verlag, 1981), p. 202.

³⁷ As previously covered in Chapter Four.

The first specimen shown, the black-figure neck-amphora Villa Giulia 5200 (See Figures 53 and 54 below), is thought to come from the artisans of the Etruscan Micali Painter School Group and is contextually dated to the late 6th century BC.³⁸ Works of the Micali Painter School Group³⁹ are typically known for their usage of a single large frieze across the shoulder⁴⁰ and belly of the pot, a lack of subsidiary decoration and the spacious placement of human and animal figures throughout the pot's frieze.⁴¹ It appears that the narrative frieze of this pot is a continuous band, as the ambush scene is spread out over both sides of the amphora belly.

The obverse side of the amphora (see Figure 53 below) shows a bearded and fully armed warrior with helmet, armor, greaves and sword, crouching down behind a large fountain that is denoted by a lion-headed spout on the structure's left side. A warrior figure, who some scholars see as representing Achilles, is represented at the far left of the scene clutching his sword with his right hand while a small bird sits on his left hand.⁴² The warrior figure also kneels behind a mass of vegetation, which serves to mask the hiding warrior from his unsuspecting victim.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

³⁹ The Micali Painter School group was named after the Italian scholar who first grouped together many of the vases in the 19th century. Works of the Micali Painter School group are thought to typically date from the late 6th century BC. J.D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase Painting*, p. 1-2.

⁴⁰ Bruno d'Agostino, "Achille e Troilo: immagini, testi e assonanze" *Annali di Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli: Archeologia e Storia Antica* 7 (1985), p. 2.

⁴¹ Cook, p. 148.

⁴² Representations of birds (specifically ravens) are occasionally seen in Greek representations of the Troilos ambush scene and are thought to denote the role that the sanctuary of Apollo Tymbraios plays in the mythical episode, as seen in Chapter Four. While the bird in this scene appears to be a dove, it may represent a similar purpose. d'Agostino, p. 4.

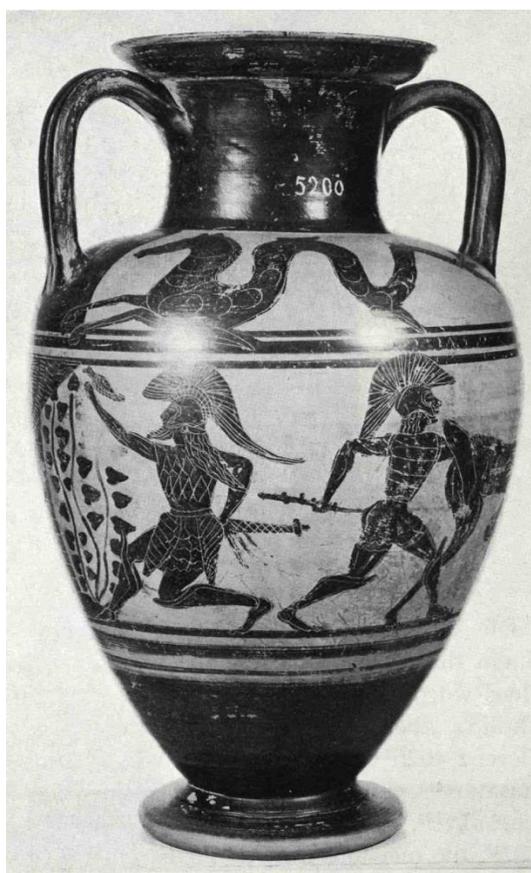


Figure 53: Villa Giulia 5200 (Camporeale, Achle #13), Etruscan Black-Figure neck-amphora attributed to the Micali Painter School Group (Camporeale), obverse. Late 6th century BC. Provenance: Unknown. Photo: Bruno d'Agostino and Luca Cerchiali, "L'Immagine di Apollo nell'Agguato di Troilo: osservazioni su Tre Anfore Etrusche a Figure Nere," in *Il mare, la morte, l'amore: Gli etruschi, I Greci e l'immagine*, ed. Bruno d'Agostino and Luca Cerchiali (Rome: Donzelli Editore, 1999), pl. 49.

The reverse side of the amphora (see Figure 54 below) shows a beardless but armed young man, who is typically identified as Troilos, positioned to the immediate left of a lion head-spouted fountain. This figure, who has a small bird sitting on his right hand, is shown raising both of his

arms while carrying two spears in his left hand.⁴³ A single horse is seen to the immediate left of him, behind which stands a mysterious third figure, who is also armed and beardless.⁴⁴

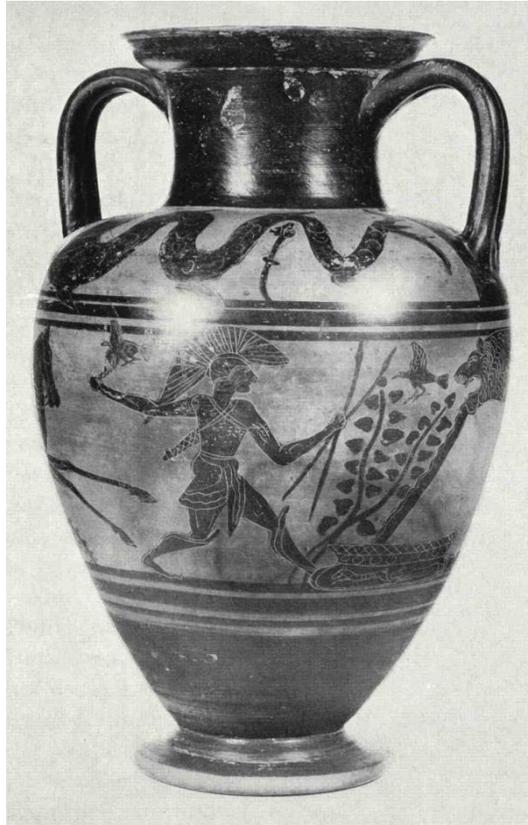


Figure 54: Villa Giulia 5200 (Camporeale, Achle #13), Etruscan Black-Figure neck-amphora attributed to the Micali Painter School Group (Camporeale), reverse. Late 6th century BC. Provenance: Unknown. Photo: d’Agostino and Cerchiali, pl. 50.

This frieze is notable for the absence of a Polyxena-like figure, a detail that also extends to the subsequent representations of the ambush upon the two La Tolfa Group specimens, and upon the wall frieze of the *Tomba dei Tori* at Tarquinia.⁴⁵ Based upon the evidence, one can speculate that

⁴³ While Troilos is typically portrayed as being defenseless, the addition of a small knife may be an Etruscan addition to the myth. See Footnote n. 42 for a possible theory pertaining to the portrayal of birds on this vase.

⁴⁴ Schauenburg, p. 63.

⁴⁵ This panel will be analyzed at a later point in this chapter.

the vase-painter responsible for this pot was either using the Greek-derived story to present his own variation, or not fully familiar with the myth. To this end, one sees the young victim dressed in military garb, while the space that the absent sister Polyxena leaves is replaced by a third mysterious armored figure. It is nevertheless apparent that this frieze draws many parallels with the ambush-of-Troilos iconography seen on Greek and Etruscan specimens, as the positioning of Achilles hiding behind the fountain is an unmistakable trait of all ambush scene representations. The prominence of birds in the narrative frieze also draws further parallels with Greek representations of the tale, which seem to use it as a foreshadowing device. Although this amphora from the Micali Group School is not as heavily indebted to the “Tyrrhenian” Group as the emulatory decorative scheme of the Pontic Group,⁴⁶ this archaic pot is one of a number of extant specimens that serve to highlight the influence of the Achilles and Troilos mythical episode in Etruria during the late 6th century BC and the popularity of this myth amongst Etruscan customers who may have first known of this myth by means of Attic imports like the “Tyrrhenian” Group.⁴⁷

The latter two specimens are both thought to have come from the artisans of the Etruscan La Tolfa Group, which Camporeale dates to c. 530 BC,⁴⁸ although it would be safer to generally date these two specimens to the third quarter of the 6th century BC.⁴⁹ The Etruscan La Tolfa Group is in many ways similar to the Micali Painter School Group (see Figures 53 and 54 above), as the group’s works are characterized by simple ornamentation upon the neck and a single human or animal-figured frieze spread out across the shoulder and belly of the pot. Furthermore,

⁴⁶ A lack of “Tyrrhenian”-styled ornamental decoration and the usage of multiple colors and subsidiary friezes affirms this idea. It is the opinion of R.M. Cook that this group would have likely found more inspiration from the Etruscan Pontic Group instead of any Athenian source. Cook, p. 148.

⁴⁷ A similar idea is expressed in Jannot, *Religion in Ancient Etruria*, p. 168.

⁴⁸ Camporeale, p. 202.

⁴⁹ von Mehren, “The Trojan Cycle on “Tyrrhenian” Amphorae”, p. 40.

the La Tolfa Group tends to favor a variant on neck-amphora shape seen in the Attic “Tyrrhenian” and Etruscan Pontic Groups that has a less pronounced Attic influence than its Pontic counterpart.⁵⁰ It also appears that the narrative friezes of these two neck-amphorae continuously spread around the body.

The first specimen, Vatican, Astarita Coll. 742 (see Figures 55 and 56 below), shows an ambush scene that is similar to its Attic and Etruscan counterparts in its iconography but with the addition of some mysterious details. The obverse portion (see Figure 55) shows a fully armed and oversized Achilles crouched behind a rectangular fountain structure that has a lion-headed spout protruding from its left side. The rendering of this fountain is notable for the absence of any tree outgrowth that is typically shown beside the fountain.⁵¹ Holding a large circular shield and spear, the hiding Achilles appears ready to attack. However, the fountain deviates from common ambush iconography with the addition of a small dog-headed creature on the top of the fountain, who holds a stick⁵² or small knife⁵³ in its raised left hand. The identity of this dog-eared figure is unknown,⁵⁴ but it is possible that this mysterious animal figure was probably the painter’s attempt to use obscure or confused iconography to denote the presence of Apollo’s sanctuary in the mythical episode.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Cook, p. 148.

⁵¹ d’Agostino and Cerchiali, p. 116.

⁵² Schauenburg, p. 70.

⁵³ According to d’Agostino and Cerchiali, this small object is a machaira, a small knife used by both the Greek and Etruscan peoples for acts of sacrifice. It is their opinion that this figure and the item it is clutching only serve to further outline the act of ritual murder that is about to occur in the sanctuary of Apollo Tymbraios. d’Agostino and Cerchiali, p. 116.

⁵⁴ It is the opinion of Schauenburg that the dog-eared figure is in fact a representation of the Egyptian god Anubis, that was placed into the myth by a painter who developed his depiction from conscious hybridizing of multiple mythical sources. Schauenburg, p. 76, 80.

⁵⁵ Apollo’s equivalent in Etruscan mythology was known as *Suri*. d’Agostino and Cerchiali, p. 116-117.

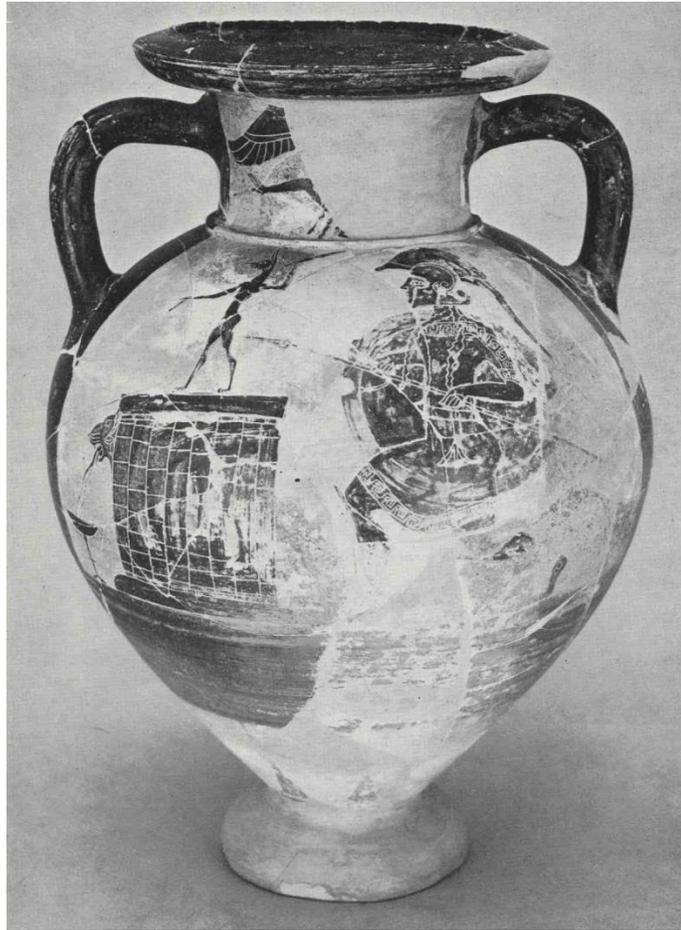


Figure 55: Vatican, Astarita 742 (Camporeale, Achle #12), Etruscan Black-Figure neck-amphora attributed to the La Tolfa Group (Schauenburg), obverse. 3rd quarter of the 6th century BC. Provenance: Unknown. Photo: Schauenburg, p. 70 abb. 38a.

The reverse frieze portion (see Figure 56 below) continues the ambush scene in a similar fashion to the Micali Painter School Group example, showing the youthful Troilos on horseback in front of the rectangular fountain. This reverse frieze is notable for the presence of a small man, who holds a stick in his raised left hand and leads the reins of Troilos' two horses with his right hand.⁵⁶ The young Troilos is depicted as partially dressed, holding a branch in his raised left

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

hand⁵⁷ while gripping the reins of the foremost horse with his right hand. Troilos is also seen looking backwards towards the fountain structure, possibly catching a first glimpse of the crouching warrior who was portrayed on the obverse portion of the frieze.

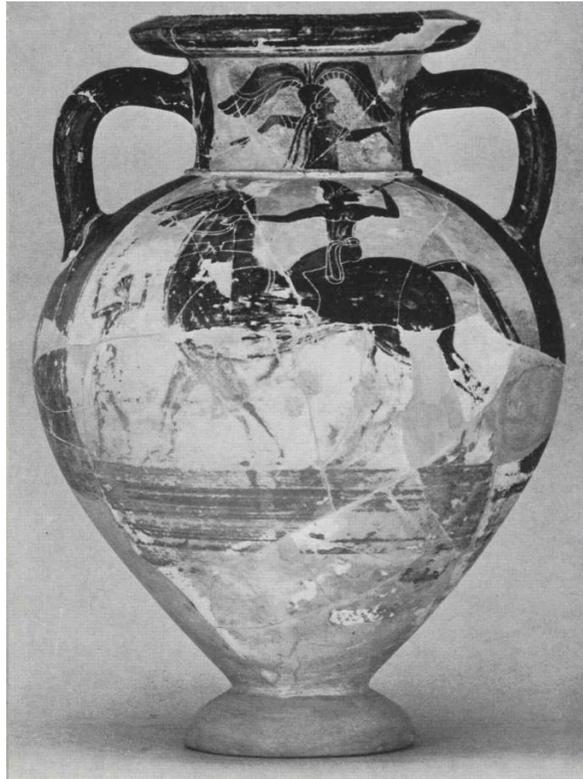


Figure 56: Vatican, Astarita 742 (Camporeale, Achle #12), Etruscan Black-Figure neck-amphora attributed to the La Tolfa Group (Schauenburg), reverse. 3rd quarter of the 6th century BC. Provenance: Unknown. Photo: Schauenburg, p. 70 abb. 38b.

The second specimen of the La Tolfa Group, initially traced from a private collection in Lucerne (see Figures 57 and 58 below),⁵⁸ suffers from a large amount of fire damage⁵⁹ but shows

⁵⁷ von Mehren, “The Trojan Cycle on “Tyrrhenian” Amphorae”, p. 40.

⁵⁸ Listed in Schauenburg, p. 68 and Camporeale, “Achle”, p. 202 as being from a private collection in Lucerne, but listed as being sold by Christie’s Fine Art Auctions to a private collector in New York on the 10th of June 1994. Christie’s Fine Art Auctions, “Antiquities Lot 169, Sale 7916: An Etruscan Black-Figure Neck-Amphora, 10 June 1994, New York, Park Avenue”, *Christie’s Fine Art Auctions*, http://www.christies.com/LotFinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=2403836.

⁵⁹ *Christie’s Fine Art Auctions*.

a moderate amount of detail through the incised outlines that remain on the vase surface.⁶⁰ Upon analysis of this damaged specimen, it is apparent that the artisan behind its creation managed to place many of the same painted details that were inherent upon the Vatican Astarita specimen, with some minor variations. This evidence raises the possibility that Vatican, Astarita Coll. 742 (see Figures 55 and 56 above) and the private Lucerne specimen were both artistically derived from a non-extant Etruscan prototype.⁶¹ This theory is probable, as both examples seem to come from the hand of the same pottery group, both contain similar iconographical layouts that spread continuously around the frieze band, both show an additional figure leading the two horses of Troilos, and both show evidence for a mysterious dog-headed figure standing on top of a rectangular fountain, holding a stick or small knife.

Nevertheless, this private Lucerne collection piece has a number of iconographical characteristics that distinguish it from its Vatican-based counterpart. The obverse portion of the continuous narrative frieze band (see Figure 57) is switched around and shows the crouching Achilles occupying the far left of the scene while the rectangular fountain is placed at the right of the scene. Furthermore, numerous vertically rising tree-like plants are seen growing either out of the top or behind the fountain.

⁶⁰ Schauenburg, p. 68.

⁶¹ d'Agostino and Cerchiai, p. 115.

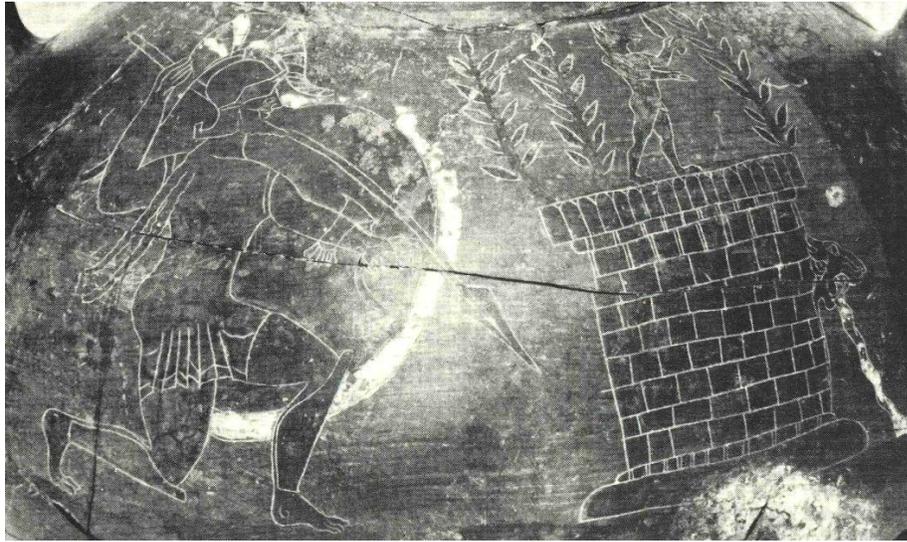


Figure 57: Lucerne, Private Collection (Camporeale, Achle #11), Etruscan Black-Figure neck-amphora attributed to the La Tolfa Group (Schauenburg), obverse narrative frieze detail. 3rd quarter of the 6th century BC. Provenance: Unknown. Photo: Camporeale, fig. Achle 11.

The reverse portion of the frieze band (see Figure 58 below) is portrayed with a similar layout to the Vatican Astarita specimen (see Figure 56 above), but is notable for the depiction of a bearded Troilos back of a horse which is painted in white and the addition of an armed and clothed warrior who is seen standing behind Troilos.⁶² A small figure with raised hands is seen on the far left, holding a stick in his left hand and leading the two horses' reins.⁶³

⁶² d'Agostino and Cerchiali propose that the addition of this third armed figure, seen in this example and upon Villa Giulia 5200 (attributed to the Micali Painter School), is evidence of an occasionally-used Etruscan variation of the myth on some Etruscan-produced pottery of the mid to late 6th century BC. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

⁶³ Due to fire damage upon the pot, the reins that were once painted upon the vase could not be seen, but it is probable that this trait was originally depicted upon the private Lucerne specimen (see Figure 58) because of the similar iconography seen upon the Vatican example (see Figure 56). Schauenburg, p. 71.



Figure 58: Lucerne, Private Collection (Camporeale, Achle #11), Etruscan Black-Figure neck-amphora attributed to the La Tolfa Group (Schauenburg), reverse narrative frieze detail. 3rd quarter of the 6th century BC. Provenance: Unknown. Photo: Schauenburg, p. 69 abb. 37.

5.2.4 Possible Reasons for the Depictions of the Achilles and Troilos Myth on Archaic Period Etruscan Vases

It seems likely, based upon these six neck-amphorae discussed above, that the popularity of the Achilles and Troilos myth was immediate with some Etruscan artisans.⁶⁴ From the “Tyrrhenian” Group-influenced pots of the Pontic Group to the distinctive works of the Micali Painter School and La Tolfa Groups, it is possible that this small selection of Etruscan-made pots show the early stages of the myth’s implementation into Etruscan Archaic period art. It is generally agreed that the earliest representations of the myth in the Etruscan figurative tradition

⁶⁴ As discussed previously, the dating of the Attic-made “Tyrrhenian” Group specimens tends to fall within the 2nd quarter of the 6th century BC, while the Etruscan Pontic Group specimens have been dated by similar means to 550-510 BC. Furthermore, works of the Etruscan La Tolfa group seem to have been made during the 3rd quarter of the 6th century BC, while the Etruscan Micali Painter School’s oeuvres tend to be dated from the late 6th century BC. These contextual dates alone show the possibility of immediate influence of mid-6th century BC Attic imports, such as those of the “Tyrrhenian” Group, upon the Etruscan artisans.

first appear around the mid-6th century BC,⁶⁵ and it is the early examples of the Pontic Group from this time period that show a strong connection to the Attic-made “Tyrrhenian” Group. Based upon the many traits shared between the two groups, it is probable that the “Tyrrhenian” Group served as a model of inspiration for the Pontic Group’s neck-amphora shape and decoration, as the specimen find-spots, amphora form, pot decoration and frieze content are very similar to one another.⁶⁶ It is therefore possible to theorize that the neck-amphora form and decoration, seen upon works of the “Tyrrhenian” Group, proved attractive enough to the Etruscan artisans to be emulated, alongside many of the mythological portrayals seen prominently upon the frieze bands of the “Tyrrhenian” Group.⁶⁷

It seems that the representations of the Achilles and Troilos myth upon Etruscan pots of the 6th century BC were all rendered with interesting variations upon the Attic myth, showing the creativity of the Etruscan painters who were inspired to work with Greek iconography in their vase-paintings.⁶⁸ The Attic influence that became prominent within Etruria during this period made itself immediately influential in indigenous production of Etruscan works, and this is seen with the specimens presented here.⁶⁹ From the more immediate works of the Pontic Group, to the less-pronounced Attic influence of the Micali Painter School and the La Tolfa Groups, it is apparent that the vase-painters took the mythical tale that was portrayed upon imported Attic pottery and rendered it in a more anonymous and ambiguous style, devoid of inscriptions and often with additional characters that diluted the plot seen upon extant Greek-made examples. It is

⁶⁵ Camporeale, p. 200.

⁶⁶ Hannestad, *The Paris Painter: An Etruscan Vase-Painter*, p. 28.

⁶⁷ One must however take into consideration the possibility that there were additional influences upon the Etruscan rendering of the myth such as the spread of the mythical tale, by means of oral poetry, throughout the Etruscan territory.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁶⁹ Pallottino, Massimo, Introduction to *Etruscan Painting: A Catalogue Raisonné of Etruscan Wall Paintings*, ed. Stephan Steingräber (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986), p. 15.

these Etruscan variants that show parallels with the fluid nature of early oral poetry, in which the Rhapsode often followed the broad outline of the tale but often changed many minor details in the course of each recital.⁷⁰ As the story was continually added to or even abbreviated, it is this fluid nature that characterized the style of the oral poet, and in a similar way, the creativity of the Etruscan vase-painters, who took their cues from imported Attic works and reworked them with added or altered details, filtered through their own ideals and traditions.⁷¹

5.3 The Etruscan Interpretation of the Achilles and Troilos Myth in a Funerary Context

The numerous examples of Etruscan variations upon the Achilles and Troilos myth from the 6th century, as seen above, show the hybridization of Attic influence with Etruscan creativity.⁷² However, based upon these pots alone, it is impossible to ascertain the reasons behind the myth's popularity in Etruria due to the ambiguous artistic style of the Pontic, Micali Painter School and La Tolfa Group vase-painters. While it seems that the Greeks favored this mythical episode for its effect upon the outcome of the Trojan War,⁷³ it is much more difficult to figure out if it appealed to the Etruscan aristocracy for the same reason. To this end, some tend to argue that it was the tale's savage nature that lent itself to the eyes of the Etruscan population,⁷⁴ but this story is not unique, as many other Greek mythical episodes also share this aspect of murder and blood. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze the instances of the Achilles and Troilos episode within the context of Etruscan funerary decoration from the 6th century BC onwards, in order to explain the tale's favor within the Etruscan world. It is these examples that, in theory,

⁷⁰ Lowenstam, p. 189.

⁷¹ Schauenburg, p. 45.

⁷² von Mehren, "The Trojan Cycle on Tyrrhenian Amphorae", p. 51.

⁷³ As previously discussed, it was the opinion of at least one ancient writer that it was necessary for Achilles to kill Troilos in order to ensure Greek victory.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

may aid one to better understand the reasoning behind the Etruscans' adaptation of the myth through the analysis of parallels between Etruscan funerary iconography and specific Etruscan religious beliefs, as the Etruscan-made evidence of the Archaic period gives one more questions than answers.

5.3.1 The Depiction of the Ambush of Troilos at the *Tomba dei Tori*, Tarquinia

The earliest and foremost example of the Achilles and Troilos myth found in Etruscan funerary art is seen on the central back wall fresco of the *Tomba dei Tori*, located in the ancient Etruscan polity of Tarquinia.⁷⁵ The tomb itself is an exceptional circumstance of 6th century Etruscan tomb painting, as it is the only known tomb of this early period to explicitly depict a mythical scene of Greek origin.⁷⁶ The tomb's back wall is dated to c. 540-520 BC⁷⁷ and dominated by a panel which depicts the ambush of Troilos (see Figure 59 below) that is artistically similar to depictions of the episode on the previously discussed 6th century BC Etruscan vases.

⁷⁵ Sibylle Haynes, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2000), p. 222.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

⁷⁷ The theorized date of the tomb's construction and painting rests on its construction and various comparisons in style with the architectural and human depictions favored by Etruscan pottery artisans of the 3rd quarter of the 6th century BC. This Banti-proposed date is generally accepted as the time frame of the tomb's building. L. Banti, "Problemi della pittura arcaica etrusca: La Tomba dei Tori a Tarquinia," *Studi Etruschi* 24 (1955-1956), p. 143-152.

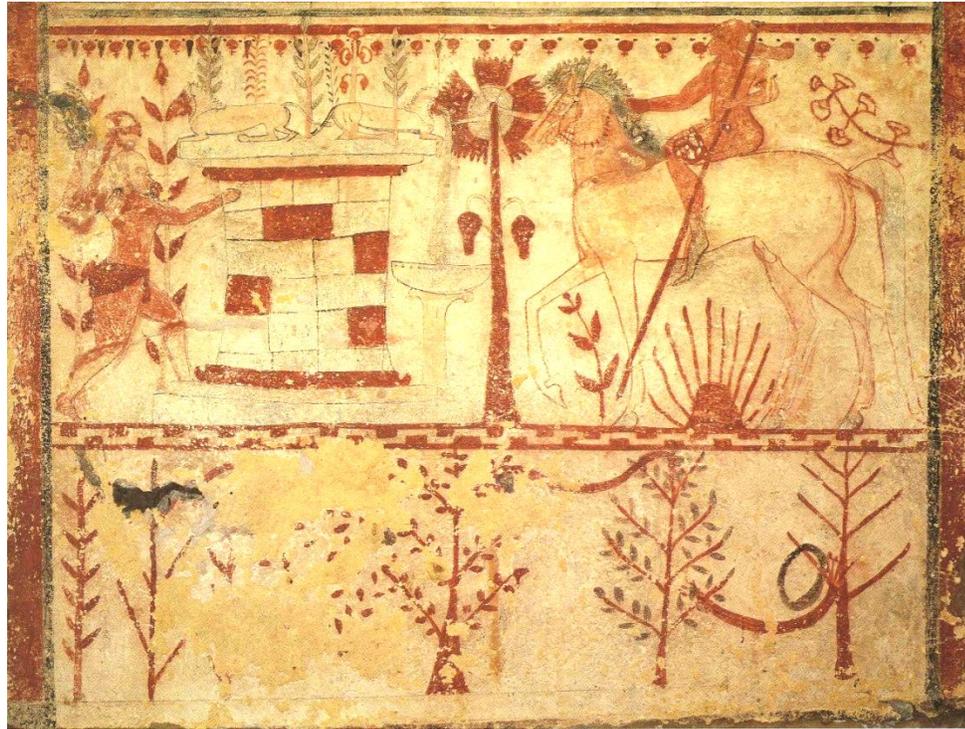


Figure 59: *Tomba dei Tori*, back wall fresco. C. 540-520 BC. Provenance: Tarquinia. Photo: Stephan Steingräber, ed., *Etruscan Painting: Catalogue Raisonné of Etruscan Wall Paintings*, D. and F. Ridgway, Trans. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986), pl. 158.

The painted panel shows Achilles dressed in helmet, sword and greaves, lying in wait at the far left behind a fountain that is decorated with two lions on its top. The scene is set amongst a wide selection of trees and foliage that extends within and into the scene underneath the main fresco panel. A large date palm stands between the fountain and Troilos and speculation attests the palm as the painter's attempt at denoting the sanctuary of Apollo Tymbraios.⁷⁸ A nude Troilos is seen at the right on horseback holding a long spear-like stick with his left hand and holding the reins with his right hand. The proximity of Troilos' horse to the fountain's basin may very well depict

⁷⁸ See also the metope from the *Foce del Sele* sanctuary at Paestum, which includes palm trees in its landscape. The date-palm tree was known throughout ancient Greek literature as being a sacred symbol of Apollo's birth in *The Homeric Hymn to Apollo* and was possibly used within this fresco in a similar fashion to the raven perched on many Greek depictions of the fountain. Oleson, p. 193.

the act of Troilos watering his horse.⁷⁹ This depiction is notable for the absence of a second horse and Troilos' sister Polyxena.

It is apparent upon closer inspection that there are some interesting traits within the panel scene that can give one an idea behind the myth's unique importance within Archaic Etruria. The small knife that Achilles holds in his hand was the subject of some scholarly attention, as it seems to resemble a machaira which may be seen in the hand of the dog-eared figure seen on the frieze band of the both the Vatican Astarita (see Figures 55 and 56) and private Lucerne specimen (see Figures 57 and 58) of the La Tolfa Group and in the hand of Achilles upon the Pontic Louvre E 703 (see Figure 48).⁸⁰ Furthermore, the fountain shown on the *Tomba dei Tori* panel takes a strange form,⁸¹ which shows great resemblance to a style of Etruscan altar that was prominent during the mid to late 6th century BC, as seen in a small handful of archaeological findings and a few artistic representations like this painted panel (see Figure 60 below) found at the Banditaccia Necropolis in Cerveteri.⁸²

⁷⁹ Cornelia Weber-Lehmann, "Style, Chronology and Iconography," in *Etruscan Painting: Catalogue Raisonné of Etruscan Wall Paintings*, ed. Stephan Steingraber (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986), p. 50.

⁸⁰ Cerchiai, p. 64.

⁸¹ Oleson, p. 193.

⁸² Haynes, p. 220, 223.

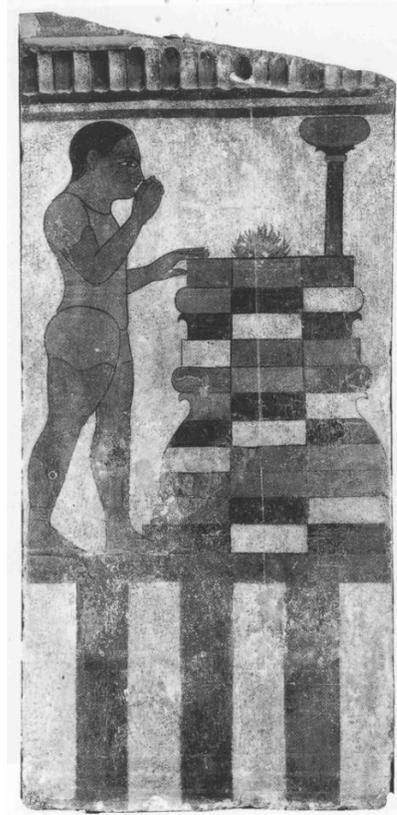


Figure 60: Louvre CP 6626, Campana painted panel, detail. Mid 6th century BC. Provenance: Banditaccia Necropolis, Cerveteri. Photo: Haynes, p. 220.

The probability the fountain shown in this scene might have served two purposes for the artisan who painted this scene poses the possibility that it was consciously rendered in order for the fresco painter to render a compressed version of the Achilles and Troilos episode within the space of the single panel. This panel, in theory, reinforces the subsequent sacrifice of the young Troilos⁸³ without the need to paint subsequent panels or even display the Achilles' pursuit, as Troilos' death is foreshadowed. Finally, the presence of a red semi-circle with 10 spreading rays on the ground under the feet of Troilos' horse may be a conscious addition to represent either an identification of Achilles' time of ambush during the early evening (as it resembles a depiction of

⁸³ Haynes, p. 223.

a setting sun), or even a cosmic manifestation of the Etruscan sun god *Usil*, who was often conflated with the god Apollo in Etruscan mythology.⁸⁴

It is apparent, based upon the examples above, that this myth found some popularity within the Etruscan corpus, as the variations in the Etruscan works analyzed raise the speculation that these artisans were consciously incorporating the specific iconographic themes seen upon Greek prototypes (such as those seen in the narrative friezes of the Attic “Tyrrhenian” Group) into their works while consciously selecting the Greek myths to be used and filtering their iconography to better fit their own pre-existing religious beliefs, a trait that cannot be analyzed through the six Etruscan vases and the *Tomba dei Tori* alone.⁸⁵ It is apparent that the Etruscans liked the Achilles and Troilos episode at this early point because it meant something to them,⁸⁶ but this reason was probably different than what it meant for the Greeks, who held it as an episode that was necessary for the Greek victory of the Trojan war. Within a couple of centuries Achilles (known as *Achle* to the Etruscans) would continue to be positioned as most beloved of Greek heroes in Etruscan myth,⁸⁷ and the various accounts of his actions, both indigenous and Greek-influenced, would be widespread within the Etruscan corpus. The episode involving Achilles and the young Troilos would be no exception.

⁸⁴ Renditions of *Usil* in Etruscan art often show extending rays around his figure, and this rendition may be a representation of *Usil* in a naturalistic form. It is also possible that this strangely painted circular mound with ray-like lines may just represent nothing more than a sort of plant. Oleson, p. 195.

⁸⁵ Jannot, p. 168-169.

⁸⁶ The depiction of the myth that is seen in the *Tomba dei Tori* wall fresco gives the impression that this myth meant something to the Etruscans in terms of the afterlife. To this end, Jannot proposes that the Etruscan adaptation of the mythical episode gave the originally Greek story a funerary meaning. I will analyze and discuss this idea in a subsequent section. *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁸⁷ de Grummond, p. 197.

5.3.2 The Depiction of the Achilles and Troilos Myth on Etruscan Funeral Art of the Hellenistic Period

It seems that the Achilles and Troilos myth continued in Etruscan art well into the Hellenistic period. The multiple instances of the tale seen in mid to late 6th BC Etruscan pottery, along with *Tomba dei Tori* fresco at Tarquinia show evidence for an immediate incorporation of the mythical tale into the Etruscan corpus from imported Greek examples like those of the “Tyrrhenian” Group,⁸⁸ but it is the many instances of the myth used within a specific funeral context during the Hellenistic period that give evidence for the continual usage of the scene in Etruscan myth.⁸⁹ These late renderings show a renewed popularity of the tale during the Hellenistic period, and give evidence for the Etruscan take on the tale that which longer relied on depictions exported from the Greek mainland.⁹⁰

Although there are many extant Hellenistic representations of the Achilles and Troilos myth that exist, it seems that only a small handful carry legible Etruscan inscriptions that serve to describe the Hellenistic Etruscan iconography of the tale. To this end, an engraved Etruscan mirror from Bolsena, dated to the 2nd century BC (see Figure 61 below),⁹¹ provides sufficient evidence to properly analyze the numerous Hellenistic Etruscan examples.⁹²

⁸⁸ Jannot, p. 168-169.

⁸⁹ Although the myth waned in popularity throughout Etruria during the Classical period, specific usage of the Achilles and Troilos myth in the Hellenistic period seems to be concentrated upon reliefs carved onto stone, alabaster and terracotta ash urns, a few of which will be analyzed in the following paragraphs.

⁹⁰ See Kossatz-Deissmann, p. 72-91.

⁹¹ Camporeale, p. 202.

⁹² A few of these urns will be analyzed in a subsequent paragraph.

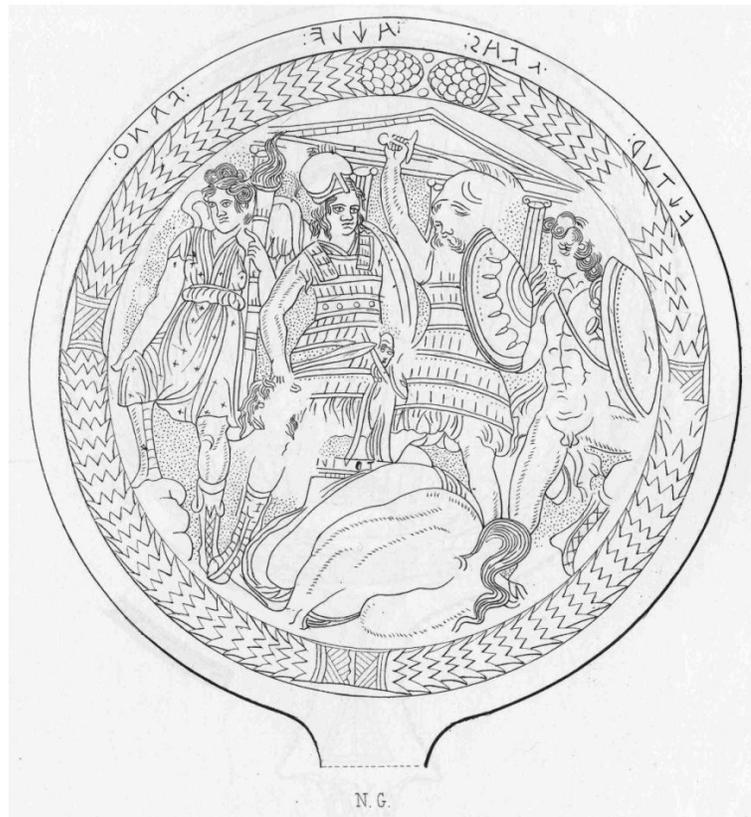


Figure 61: London, Brit. Mus. 625 (B73), Etruscan engraved silver mirror, obverse detail. 2nd century BC. Provenance: Bolsena. Photo: A. Klügmann and G. Körte, *Etruskische Spiegel (fünfter band)* (Berlin: Druck und Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1884), pl. 110.

This engraved scene is depicted in front of a sanctuary-like building and includes the obvious traits of an armed warrior at an altar and the conspicuous positioning of a dismembered human head in the hands of the warrior, while the addition of a fallen horse at the centre alludes to the previous pursuit episode. In effect, what one is seeing is an Etruscan variant on the Achilles and Hektor fight episode shown upon the narrative friezes of both Florence 70993 (see Figures 44 and 45) and Munich 1426 (see Figure 46) that were analyzed in Chapter Four. The four prominent figures in the scene are also given inscriptions above their representations at the top of the mirror. An armed warrior, second-from-left, holds the dismembered head by the hair and is denoted as

Achle, while the second armed warrior depicted to his immediate left is denoted as *Evas*.⁹³ A third nude figure, shown at far right, is denoted as *Echtur*⁹⁴ and is shown armed with a round shield and approaching the action at centre. Finally, a winged woman is depicted in dress and holding a torch at the far left of the scene, who is inscribed as Etruscan death demoness *Vanth*,⁹⁵ a figure who is widely shown in Etruscan art relating to death from the 5th century BC onwards.⁹⁶ While the depiction shown on the mirror is rare and does not have any known equivalents, it bears great similarities to the copious examples of the previously mentioned Etruscan urns of the Hellenistic period,⁹⁷ and confirms the usage of the Achilles and Troilos myth in Etruria during the Hellenistic period.

It is therefore apparent that numerous Etruscan urns, drawn from finds in Volterra and Chiusi, depict variations upon the pursuit of Troilos and the fight over Troilos' corpse episodes in varying detail, with some examples bearing great similarity to the Bolsena mirror (see Figure 61 above) and others omitting some significant iconography. These latter examples that lack iconography were either incomplete renderings of the myth or were inspired by the myth, as many of these urns still manage to show the prevalence of a beheaded corpse, approaching men

⁹³ *Evas* is thought to be the Etruscan variant of the Greek hero Aias. Dirk Steuernagel, *Menschenopfer und Mord am Altar: Griechische Mythen in etruskischen Gräbern* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1998), p. 82.

⁹⁴ *Echtur* is likely the Etruscan variant of the Trojan prince Hektor. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁹⁵ de Grummond describes *Vanth* as the female counterpart of the Etruscan death demon *Charu*. *Vanth* is typically pictured carrying a torch that will aid the soul who is about to enter the underworld. She is often shown greeting the newly dead just after their death and before they start to descend into the underworld. This seems to be the case with the Bolsena mirror. de Grummond, p. 220-221.

⁹⁶ While this mirror plainly shows the torch-bearing female figure as *Vanth*, René Rebuffat argues that the female that is seen on these depictions of the Etruscan period may very well be an artistic manifestation of the night, similar to the circular object with extending rays seen in the previously discussed mid 6th century *Tomba dei Tori* fresco. René Rebuffat, "Le meurtre de Troilos sur les urnes étrusques", *Antiquité: Les mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 84 (1972), p. 520, 524.

⁹⁷ Camporeale lists 57 total extant examples of Etruscan Hellenistic-period urns in the LIMC that depict the myth of Achilles and Troilos, while Steuernagel lists 38 examples in his 1998 monograph that depict instances of the myth of Achilles and Troilos that show iconographical allusions to human sacrifice and/or murder.

and the occasional monument or altar in the background.⁹⁸ One specific example of an stone ash urn, Palermo Mus. Reg. 846 (see Figure 62 below), found in Chiusi and thought to date from the first quarter of the 2nd century BC,⁹⁹ shows a strong example of the fight over the corpse of Troilos, with detailed iconography that is seen in some urn reliefs of the period and bears great similarity to the Bolsena mirror (see Figure 61 above).



Figure 62: Palermo, Mus. Reg. 8461, Etruscan stone relief ash urn, detail. 1st quarter of the 2nd century BC. Provenance: Chiusi. Photo: Steuernagel, pl. 40.1.

A beheaded corpse is shown at centre on a fallen horse, while a decapitated head is shown in the left hand of a warrior at centre, who is shown raising a shield with his right hand to protect

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 83-84.

⁹⁹ Camporeale, p. 205 *Achle* 77.

himself from the attacking warrior pictured at far right. Multiple men are shown approaching the scene of the murder (with some in armor) and the background of the scene denotes the proximity of the killing to either a monument or sanctuary.¹⁰⁰

A second specific example of an alabaster urn that shows a possible allusion to the fight between Achilles and Hektor over Troilos' body is found in the *Tomba della Pellegrina* in Chiusi and is thought to date from the first quarter of the 2nd century BC (see Figure 63 below).¹⁰¹



Figure 63: Chiusi, *Tomba della Pellegrina* Coll., Etruscan alabaster relief ash urn, detail. 1st quarter of the 2nd century BC. Provenance: *Tomba della Pellegrina*, Chiusi. Photo: Steuernagel, pl. 41.4.

The urn, seen above, is emblematic of the many variations that omit certain components of the Achilles and Troilos episode. Two figures, who could very well be same Achilles and Aias seen on the Palermo urn (see Figure 62) are both kneeling with one leg upon the altar, which is

¹⁰⁰ Steuernagel, p. 83-84.

¹⁰¹ Camporeale, p. 205 *Achle* 79.

prominently denoted at centre. Two attackers are seen approaching the altar, with one coming from each side. The figures are fewer and the scene is less conspicuous, but the unmistakable appearance of Achilles and Troilos-related iconography is seen with the images of a decapitated head in the hand of the figure to the left of the altar and the prominent position of the rectangular altar which draws parallels with previous depictions of the fight between Achilles and Hektor over Troilos' body.¹⁰²

It is these numerous examples of urns made in Chiusi and Volterra, manufactured between the third and first centuries BC, that show evidence for the continued usage of the Achilles and Troilos myth in Etruscan mythological iconography, thus giving evidence for the continued or renewed popularity of the story amongst Etruscans long after the first “Tyrrhenian” Group-inspired depictions of the myth on Etruscan pottery of the mid-to-late 6th century BC. This evidence gives one an opportunity to argue that the Achilles and Troilos tale, first thought to have been implemented into Etruscan consciousness during the mid 6th century BC, was still a part of the Etruscan corpus in certain polities of Etruria during the Hellenistic period.

5.4 Speculation on the Popularity of the Achilles and Troilos Myth in Etruria: A Possible Theory

It is apparent, based upon the extant evidence seen in this Chapter, that the myth of Achilles and Troilos had a lasting presence in Etruscan myth after its integration into the Etruscan figural repertoire in the mid 6th century BC. It also seems, from the instances of artistic representation shown above, that the Etruscans may have used this mythical episode outside of its Greek cyclical context and it would be helpful to consider a possible reason why this myth was

¹⁰² Steuernagel, p. 82.

endearing to the Etruscans of the mid 6th century BC and thereafter.¹⁰³ Although the early examples of the myth seen on mid 6th century BC pottery show the early spread of the myth in Etruria, the ambiguity of the myth's depiction upon these works makes it necessary to analyze the instances of the myth's portrayal in Etruscan funeral art, a form that, in theory, would sometimes convey the ritual customs of the Etruscan people.¹⁰⁴ To this end, artistic works specifically rendered to be in proximity to the dead would best show the Etruscan usage of the myth as filtered through Etruscan religious beliefs.¹⁰⁵

The idea of ritualistic blood flow, as alluded to in the Achilles and Troilos myth, appears in numerous instances of Etruscan art from the Archaic period onwards.¹⁰⁶ Far from being mere decoration, it is probable that this usage of blood flow in Etruscan art could have expressed a belief in the reanimating powers of ritualistic bloodshed.¹⁰⁷ Although little textual evidence survives to explain the subtleties of Etruscan religious beliefs, some small extant references allude to their practices.¹⁰⁸ To this end, the late 3rd CE Christian author Arnobius explains the Etruscan belief of blood sacrifice as follows:

...quod Etruria libris in Acheronticis pollicentur,
certorum animalium sanguine numinibus certis dato

¹⁰³ One must also consider the idea that the Achilles and Troilos death myth would have meant different things to both the Archaic and Hellenistic Etruscans, but I have chosen to agree with the opinion of Steuernagel, who argues that later depictions of the myth were conscious attempts on the part of Hellenistic Etruscans to identify themselves with Archaic period symbols and culture of Etruscan aristocracy. Steuernagel, p. 87-88.

¹⁰⁴ It is Pallotino's belief that Etruscan tomb paintings were consciously conceived to incorporate the religious beliefs and requirements needed to satiate the deceased. Pallotino, p. 12-13.

¹⁰⁵ Jannot, p. 168-169.

¹⁰⁶ Bonfante, p. 262.

¹⁰⁷ A similar idea is expressed in Homer, *Odyssey*, 11.35ff, in which Odysseus performs the blood sacrifice of sheep so that the blood may be drunk by the dead souls of the underworld, resulting in their ability to converse with the mythical hero.

¹⁰⁸ Sibylle von Cles-Reden, *The Buried People: A Study of the Etruscan World*, C.M. Woodhouse, trans. (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1955), p. 74.

divinas animas fieri et ab legibus mortalitatis educi.
(Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, 2.62, l. 14-16)¹⁰⁹

(... which they promise in the Acherontic Books in Etruria, that by the blood of certain animals (to certain gods), divine souls become endowed with certain numinous spirits and are led away from the laws of mortality.)¹¹⁰

It is probable that this very belief forms the basis for many representations of ritualistic death (and indirect references to the act of murder) seen on instances of Etruscan funeral art from the Archaic period onwards.¹¹¹ A late 6th century BC example from the Tomb of the Augurs in Tarquinia (see Figure 64 below) shows a dog mauling a blindfolded man while held on a leash by a mysterious figure, known in Etruscan art as *Phersu*, who seems to provoke the dog's rage.



Figure 64: Tomb of the Augurs, panel detail. Late 6th century BC. Provenance: Tarquinia. Photo: Haynes, p. 234.

¹⁰⁹ Arnobius of Sicca, *Adversus Nationes: Libri VII*, ed. Concetto Marchesi (Torino: G.B. Paravia & C., 1953), p. 138.

¹¹⁰ In the case of Arnobius, I have decided to compose my translation in consultation with de Grummond's translation. de Grummond, p. 209.

¹¹¹ Ingrid Krauskopf, "The Grave and Beyond in Etruscan Religion," in *The Religion of the Etruscans*, ed. Nancy de Grummond, Nancy Thomson and Erika Simon (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), p. 76.

A possible theory behind this fresco proposes the idea that this fresco is an instance of ritual bloodshed for the benefit of the deceased, portraying the dog's mauling of the blindfolded man (who is thought to depict a prisoner of war) to help the deceased in the afterlife.¹¹²

A further example that shows ritualistic bloodshed explicitly comes from a fresco in the 4th century BC *François* tomb in Vulci. The work shows a representation of Achilles, surrounded by the Etruscan death demoness *Vanth* and death demon *Charu*, about to slit the throat of a Trojan prisoner at the Tomb of Patroklos in a scene which is derived from lines 175-182 of the 23rd book of Homer's *Iliad* (see Figure 65 below).

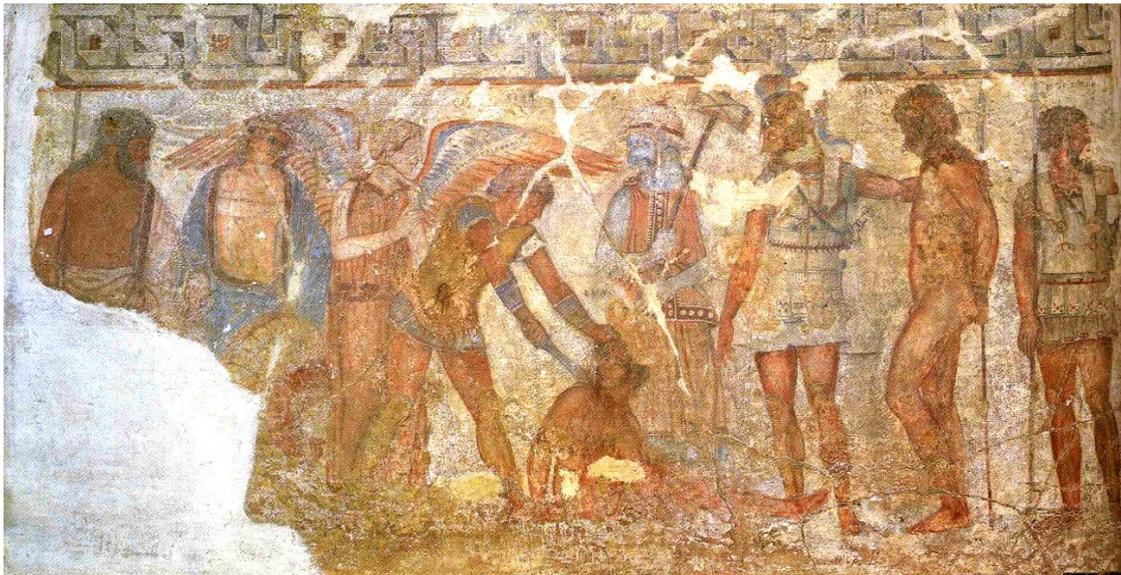


Figure 65: *François* Tomb, panel detail. 3rd quarter of the 4th century BC. Provenance: Vulci. Photo: Steingraber, pl. 183.

The shade of Patroklos is seen, designated as a *hinthal*,¹¹³ appearing amongst Achilles and the other figures in the scene, wrapped in a blue shroud and wearing bandages that cover his fatal wounds. It is likely that this fresco is supposed to portray the reanimation of Patroklos, as the

¹¹² Haynes, p. 233.

¹¹³ A *hinthal* is an Etruscan term thought to designate the dead person's shade or soul. de Grummond, p. 198-199.

throat slitting of Trojan war prisoners at his tomb seems to encourage the process.¹¹⁴ It is apparent that the Etruscans held some significance for this mythical episode, which is not known to have occurred on any Greek-made art, as it is depicted on numerous Etruscan sarcophagi and urns of the Classical and Hellenistic periods.¹¹⁵

It is possible that the Etruscans valued the representations of the scenes shown above and, by extension, the Achilles and Troilos myth for its allusion and ritual connotations to death in order to reanimate the deceased's *hinthal*, as it is likely that representations of human sacrificial scenes on Etruscan tomb paintings, altars and urns served as a substitute for the actual pouring of blood to satiate and reanimate the dead person's spirit.¹¹⁶ It is believed that Etruscan religion taught the reanimation of dead souls through the shedding of blood, and this idea is likely conveyed through the artistic funeral representation of Troilos' bloodshed, as is seen explicitly on the 4th century BC *François* tomb, in Vulci. This theory can serve to explain why the Etruscans would have found the Achilles and Troilos myth so appealing and were willing to immediately modify and adopt the episode into their mythical corpus in the years after the appearance of the "Tyrrhenian" Group in Etruria. Far from openly adopting any Greek myth that came their way, it is apparent that the Etruscans only incorporated selected Greek myths into their own indigenous corpus that seemed to agree with pre-existing beliefs.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, it is apparent that Etruscan adaptations of Greek myths did not hold the same meaning as they did in their original Greek interpretations and, as such, were often adopted with new meaning. To this

¹¹⁴ de Grummond, p. 198.

¹¹⁵ For more instances of this mythical episode in Etruscan art such as the *sarcophago dei Sacerdote*, the *sarcophago di Torre San Severo* and the *Cista "Napoleon"*, see Françoise-Hélène Pairault Massa, *Iconologia e politica nell'Italia antica: Roma, Lazio, Etruria dal VII al I secolo A.C.* (Milan: Longanesi, 1992), p. 126-135, 154-155 and 162-163, and Mario Torelli, *Ricerche di pittura ellenistica: lettura e interpretazione della produzione pittorica dal IV secolo a.c. all'ellenismo* (Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 1985), p. 78-85.

¹¹⁶ de Grummond, p. 198, 209.

¹¹⁷ Jannot, p. 169.

end, it seems that the Achilles and Troilos myth, based upon the extant evidence, was first rendered ambiguously on vase-paintings of the mid-to-late 6th century BC and bestowed at some point in time with a new afterlife-related meaning, which was probably appropriated from Greek depictions of Troilos' last moments,¹¹⁸ that may have appealed to artisans trying to articulate Etruscan religious beliefs concerning the afterlife.¹¹⁹

This theory, explained above, is merely one possible explanation for the appearance of the Achilles and Troilos myth in Etruscan art. Although the later funerary examples of Hellenistic urns (and the 6th century BC *Tomba dei Tori* fresco by extension) show the myth as having connections with Etruscan ideas of the afterlife, it is also possible that the Etruscans also adapted this mythical episode to make reference to political or traditional ideals that are unknown to us today.

¹¹⁸ Pallotino, p. 13.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The second quarter of the 6th century BC saw much growth and evolution in the early Attic Black-Figure pottery genre. This period saw a conscious shift from the animal-dominated friezes of 7th BC Corinthian-manufactured wares to a distinctively Athenian rise in popularity of narrative friezes dominated by human figures partaking in both mythical and non-mythical scenes.¹ In the midst of this Athenian-led evolution of pottery forms, a specific style of ovoid neck-amphora dominated the works of the “Tyrrhenian” Group, which a like-minded group of artisans made while working within the confines of Athens, who were influenced both by previous works of Corinthian origin and the recent innovations of some early Attic Black-Figure painters who worked during the 570s BC. However, due to the nature of this early Attic Black-Figure stream as (probable) export ware to Etruria, it is apparent that scholarship dealing with the group often analyses the group within the context of its Etruscan influence and not in terms of its Attic origins.

Nevertheless, it is my personal opinion that the “Tyrrhenian” Group was an Athenian work that was consciously influenced by pottery trends recent and otherwise, and was manufactured to play a role within the rapidly expanding Attic foreign trade with Etruria. While it is probable that the vase-painters of the “Tyrrhenian” Group were informed about Etruscan taste in pottery, it seems that Attic-based export trade, spearheaded by the “Tyrrhenian” Group, was popular enough in Etruria to inspire the Attic-led development of Nikosthenes Painter’s group of pots in the 530s BC and the Etruscan-led development of the Pontic Group during the

¹ It must be stated that human-based narrative scenes were represented occasionally on Corinthian-based wares for at least a century before the dawn of early Attic Black-Figure, but not to the same extent seen on Attic wares of the early 6th century and thereafter.

mid-6th century BC. Furthermore, it is probable that the groups' incorporation of selected Greek-based myths, seen on narrative friezes of the "Tyrrhenian" Group, had a hand in influencing the adaptation of Greek mythical figures into the Etruscan mythical corpus.

The extant works of the "Tyrrhenian" Group are seen as products of a period when the early Attic-Black Figure style was prominent, as contextual evidence shows the group as being influenced by Corinthian works of the late 7th century BC and Attic Black-Figure pottery of the early 6th century BC. Furthermore, petrographical testing by H. Kars in 1983 has sufficiently shown the group's clay composition as being Attic-derived, immediately dispelling any theories that suggest the group as originating from outside Athens. The group tends to depict figurative scenes upon their central narrative friezes, often of a mythical nature that was drawn from such sources as Herakles' labors and the Trojan Epic Cycle. One of the most popular amongst these Trojan Epic Cycle myths was the depiction of the Achilles and Troilos episode, which once formed part of the *Kypria*. Upon analysis of their work, it seems that the "Tyrrhenian" Group artisans were innovative to some extent, incorporating the occasional sexually-charged komast scene upon narrative friezes and introducing some Dionysiac scenes that were rarely seen in Greek pottery until the latter half of the 6th century BC.

In terms of mythical depictions, it is apparent that the "Tyrrhenian" artisans favored the Achilles and Troilos episode. Although this myth was already portrayed in Greek pottery, with attributable examples stretching back to the mid 7th century BC, it is seen that the "Tyrrhenian" artisans painted a distinct and detailed depiction of this story, with nine extant and accountable specimens that sufficiently detail the full extent of the story through the depiction of three different phases of the episode: the ambush of Troilos, the pursuit of Troilos and the innovative fight over the body of Troilos, which the earliest known example of this final act that was composed in such a fashion.

It is plausible that the composition of this tale in the “Tyrrhenian” Group had a hand in influencing the composition of Achilles and Troilos-themed Etruscan works of the mid to late 6th century BC, given the period of their distribution and popularity in Etruria. Multiple pottery specimens of the Pontic, La Tolfa and Micali Painter School Groups, along with one known instance of a tomb fresco from the *Tomba dei Tori* at Tarquinia attest to this adaptation during the mid-to-late 6th century BC. From these Etruscan examples, it seems that the influence of this Greek myth in Etruria was immediate and widespread. To this end, contextual evidence places the Etruscan-made works of the ovoid-shaped Pontic Group as being made just after the mid-6th century BC, in the aftermath of the “Tyrrhenian” Group’s dominance in Etruria, while the other pottery examples of the La Tolfa and Micali Painter School Groups and the sole *Tomba dei Tori* tomb fresco fall during the same general period, all dating to the mid to late 6th century BC.

From these examples it is apparent that the spread of Attic pottery in Etruria, specifically the Attic “Tyrrhenian” export group, probably contributed to the development of Etruscan artistry and mythological iconography from the mid 6th century BC onwards. Contextual evidence raises the possibility that the Etruscans, at some point, adopted and reformulated myths such as the Achilles and Troilos episode (along with other selected tales like the labors of Herakles) in order to jibe with their previously existing mythological corpus and religious beliefs. Although these early representations of the myth were rendered ambiguously on Etruscan vase-paintings, certain creative variations are noted which may be seen on later Hellenistic period Etruscan works in a more detailed fashion, such as the alteration of the story’s narrative phases and the addition of unique characters in the episode. These later representations also give us the strongest argument for the tale’s variation in Etruscan mythology. Whatever the reason, it is apparent that these early representations of the myth in Etruria marked the beginning of the tale’s incorporation into the Etruscan mythological corpus, as numerous detailed artistic examples dating from the Hellenistic

Etruscan period show iconographical depictions that attest to the continued popularity of the myth, give evidence for the myth as being used by the Etruscans in a funerary context, and are occasionally modified to include the Etruscan death demoness *Vanth*.²

Whether the popularity of the Achilles and Troilos episode was a happy accident or pre-meditated move on the part of Athenian craftsmen and exporters, it is apparent that the form and mythical content of the “Tyrrhenian” Group found a receptive audience in Etruria, whose artisans immediately emulated their form and whose culture incorporated many of their brightly decorated mythical tales into their own mythological corpus by altering their mythological iconography to fit their own tastes. It seems likely that the Achilles and Troilos myth fell into this category, as it was shaped into a mythical tale that was occasionally used in art dealing with the afterlife, as illustrated by the *Tomba dei Tori* and multiple Hellenistic period ash urns.

² This aspect is certain, as attested by the engraved mirror from Bolsena (see Figure 61) which is dated to the 2nd century BC.

Appendix A

The Eight Painters of the “Tyrrhenian” Group: A Consideration of Date and Manufacture Variation

6.1 Introduction: Research Background

While the “Tyrrhenian” Group is one of the most interesting groups of Attic Black-Figure to study, it is also one of the most difficult to research. A lack of painter signatures upon the extant works¹ ensures that the eight “Tyrrhenian” Group painters are difficult to distinguish apart without the important discoveries of a select few. To this end, it was of great importance that unique stylistic variations between specimens would determine each painter of the group.

Initially, it was thought that all the works of the group were of one hand, a point which Hermann Thiersch best emphasized in his 1899 monograph *Tyrrhenische Amphoren: eine Studie zur Geschichte der altattischen Vasenmalerei*.² In Thiersch’s aftermath, a small succession of early 20th century Attic Black-Figure experts such as John Davidson Beazley and Dietrich von Bothmer managed to develop a system of group organization based on stylistic variations between specimens. This idea was first made public in 1944 with the publication of Dietrich von Bothmer’s article “The Painters of Tyrrhenian Vases” in the *American Journal of Archaeology*. A list of eight “painters” was given within the body of the article, while von Bothmer assigned all known specimens into two groups (early “Tyrrhenian” without *Punktband* and later “Tyrrhenian” with *Punktband*) and assigned each specimen to a painter. The work of von Bothmer was successful enough that the article still holds up to modern research and forms the basis for much of the scholarly theory that followed in its wake.

¹ With one exception of a painter’s signature written in retrograde on a specimen attributed to the Guglielmi Painter (Louvre E 831): See Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 80.

² Thiersch, p. 13-14.

6.1.1 The Early “Tyrrhenian” Group: The Prometheus Painter

The painter’s von Bothmer-assigned name is drawn from the theme of Florence 76359(2), a specimen that depicts Herakles’ liberation of Prometheus.³ It is now thought that this artist was the first of the group to start production in the early 560s BC as his works show the closest similarities with Attic Black-Figure specimens of the 570s BC out of the whole group.⁴ The Prometheus Painter is thought to have been responsible for 32 extant neck-amphorae that show a wide range of subject matter.⁵ The Prometheus Painter’s style is difficult to assign, as his it is extremely similar to that of the early Timiades Painter, which has caused some to propose that his work is merely an earlier phase of the Timiades Painter.⁶

Despite the confusion between the two painters, there seems to be enough unique characteristics to justify the existence of a separate artisan. Human figures in his narrative frieze scenes tend to lack bent knees, while the composition of his reverse narrative frieze scenes are dominated by the depiction of horse races, which show the horses galloping in a westerly direction.⁷ Inscriptions, found on approximately half of the specimens that are designated to him,⁸ are all sensical and situated on the obverse narrative frieze. His Florence 76359(2) specimen best shows his usage of sensical inscriptions, which contains eight separate names that are made out without difficulty.⁹ His subsidiary frieze bands are typically painted in threes, and contain slender heraldic and non-heraldic animals that often overlap with one another.¹⁰

³ von Bothmer, “The Painters of Tyrrhenian Vases”, p. 165.

⁴ Bakir, p. 40-41.

⁵ Kluiver, “Early Tyrrhenian: Prometheus Painter, Timiades Painter, Golyr Painter”, p. 59-60.

⁶ It is possible that both the Prometheus and Timiades painters were highly influenced by the earliest Panathenaic amphorae, as both groups share many cosmetic parallels. The Panathenaic amphorae would have begun production in and around 566 BC, the year of the games’ inception by Peisistratus. See Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 115.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁹ Kluiver, “Early Tyrrhenian: Prometheus Painter, Timiades Painter, Golyr Painter”, p. 65.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

6.1.2 The Early “Tyrrhenian” Group: The Timiades Painter

The Timiades Painter’s painter name was derived by Von Bothmer from a depiction of the fallen Greek warrior on his Boston 98.916 specimen, which depicts an elaborately rendered Heraklean Amazonomachy scene and has the unique characteristic of inscribing one fallen Greek warriors name as “Timiades”.¹¹ An artist whose oeuvre closely resembles the Prometheus Painter,¹² it is thought that the Timiades Painter started production around the same time as his “Tyrrhenian” peer. He is responsible for 41 extant neck-amphorae. Known as a “canonical Tyrrhenian amphora” painter,¹³ the Timiades Painter’s works are of an exceptional quality and show a wide range of mythical subjects on his obverse narrative friezes. Works of the Timiades Painter appear to show an improvement on the Prometheus Painter’s stiff human movement, despite the fact that his human figures are almost never depicted with their feet on the ground.¹⁴ His reverse narrative scenes often portray sexually suggestive *komos* scenes that portray dancing human figures, which are occasionally flanked by animals and satyrs.¹⁵ The Timiades Painter’s inscriptions always appear to be sensical, but only appear on one quarter of his works.¹⁶ He typically uses two subsidiary bands and his depictions of heraldic and non-heraldic animals lack axial symmetry and are larger in size than those of the Prometheus Painter, due to a taller subsidiary band size.¹⁷ Heraldic animal composite hybrids (such as the panther-cock and the

¹¹ von Bothmer, “The Painters of Tyrrhenian Vases”, p. 164.

¹² It is theorized by Kluiver that the Prometheus Painter’s work started a few years before that of the Timiades Painter because of minor variations between the two painters. Nevertheless, it is more reliable to say that both painters worked within close range of each other in and around the same time, due to the many artistic similarities between the two groups. Kluiver, “Early Tyrrhenian: Prometheus Painter, Timiades Painter, Golyr Painter”, p. 81.

¹³ von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, p. 17.

¹⁴ Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 53.

¹⁵ Kluiver, “Early Tyrrhenian: Prometheus Painter, Timiades Painter, Golyr Painter”, p. 71.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

boar-cock), which combine various animals with the body of a cock, are often seen on his narrative and subsidiary frieze bands.¹⁸

6.1.3 The Early “Tyrrhenian” Group: The Goluchow-Tyrrhenian (Goltyr) Painter

The Goltyr painter’s works are best known for their unique painting style and lack of inscriptions. J.D. Beazley created the Goltyr Painter’s name in 1932 by combining the name of the vase collector Goluchow and the pre-existing misnomer “Tyrrhenian”.¹⁹ Stylistic similarities of scene composition with his early “Tyrrhenian” Group peers have led scholars to conclude that the Goltyr Painter started production on his works soon after the inception of the Prometheus and Timiades painters’ oeuvres. He is known to have created at least 23 extant neck-amphorae during his period of artistry.²⁰ Despite his unique painting style, the Goltyr Painter seems to work with a limited scope of subject matter, favoring depictions of the Heraklean Amazonomachy²¹ that portray Herakles without his distinctive lion skin.²² His human warrior figures are typically rendered with corselets that are inlaid with double spirals, and carry strangely drawn shields that are emblazoned with thunderbolts.²³ His reverse frieze scenes are characterized by the frequent usage of *komos* scenes that are flanked by pairs of animals.²⁴ The Goltyr Painter’s oeuvre is devoid of text, whether sensible or nonsensical, giving him the distinction of being the only painter of the “Tyrrhenian” Group to lack inscriptions.²⁵ His subsidiary friezes are always rendered in twos, and contain interestingly rendered bulb-headed rams and panthers.²⁶

¹⁸ von Bothmer, “The Painters of Tyrrhenian Vases”, p. 164.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

²⁰ Kluiver, “The Tyrrhenian Group: Its Origin and the Neck-Amphora in Netherlands and Belgium”, p. 74.

²¹ Kluiver, “Early Tyrrhenian: Prometheus Painter, Timiades Painter, Goltyr Painter”, p. 77.

²² von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, p. 17.

²³ von Bothmer, “The Painters of Tyrrhenian Vases”, p. 164.

²⁴ Kluiver, “Early Tyrrhenian: Prometheus Painter, Timiades Painter, Goltyr Painter”, p. 76.

²⁵ Carpenter, “The Tyrrhenian Group: Problems of Provenance”, p. 52.

²⁶ Boardman, *Athenian Black-Figure Vases: A Handbook*, p. 37.

6.1.4 The Later “Tyrrhenian” Group: The Kyllenios Painter

The Kyllenios Painter’s name was derived by von Bothmer and named after a textual inscription denoting the origin of Hermes in his Berlin 1704 specimen, which depicts the birth of Athena.²⁷ Works attributed to the Kyllenios Painter are distinguished from the earlier painters with a higher probability for mistakes. It seems that the Kyllenios painter started production at some point later than the Prometheus, Timiades and Goltyr painters, as it appears that all three influenced him in terms of narrative composition, thus placing the inception of the Kyllenios Painter group at in and around 560 BC.²⁸ Nevertheless, it seems that he learned his trade before the remaining later potter-painters, as he lacks many traits in his works that are characteristic of the later “Tyrrhenian” Group.²⁹ It is thought that 18 extant specimens can be attributed to his hand.³⁰ His obverse narrative scenes are characterized by stiffly drawn human figures³¹ while his reverse narrative scenes are characterized by the frequent usage of horse racing themes, which draw similarities with the Prometheus Painter.³² He uses nonsensical inscriptions in the majority of his oeuvre possesses, although there are a few exceptions.³³ He occasionally uses *Punktband*, and typically uses 3 subsidiary bands, which show a typical decoration of animal forms.³⁴

6.1.5 The Later “Tyrrhenian” Group: The Castellani Painter

Regarded as the artist with the largest number of extant examples and the most diverse range of pot sizes in the “Tyrrhenian” Group (ranging from 22 to 52 cm in height),³⁵ the von Bothmer-assigned Castellani Painter’s name was based on the specimen Villa Giulia 50652,

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

²⁸ Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 112.

²⁹ While the Kyllenios Painter occasionally uses *Punktband*, he lacks flanking animals on his narrative friezes and is shown to use sensical inscriptions on a handful of occasions.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

³¹ von Bothmer, “The Painters of Tyrrhenian Vases”, p. 165-166.

³² Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 58.

³³ von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, p. 26.

³⁴ von Bothmer, “The Painters of Tyrrhenian Vases”, p. 165-166.

³⁵ Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 62-63.

which was in the private collection of the Italian collector A. Castellani during the early 20th century.³⁶ It seems that both the Prometheus and Timiades painters influenced the Castellani Painter style, so the inception of the Castellani Painter's oeuvre may very well date to some point during or after late 560s BC. Many of his works have characteristics that parallel the Athenian Lydos Painter, a factor which may place his production period as continuing through c. 555-550 BC.³⁷ It is thought that 64 extant specimens are attributed to his hand.³⁸ Known for a wide variety of uncharacteristic subjects on his obverse narrative friezes, an imperfect rendering of human figures with oversized heads, eyes and feet easily differentiates the Castellani Painter from his "Tyrrhenian" peers.³⁹ He is a practitioner of *Punktband* with the occasional placement of a palmette-lotus band underneath,⁴⁰ and typically decorates his pots with three subsidiary bands.⁴¹

6.1.6 The Later "Tyrrhenian" Group: The Pointed-Nose Painter

Showing a further instance of blatant individualism amongst the "Tyrrhenian" Group painters, the von Bothmer-derived Pointed-Nose Painter is named for the characteristic human side-profiles that dominate the artist's narrative friezes.⁴² With a dominance of Timiades Painter-influenced subject matter, it seems that the production of his oeuvre occurred at some point after 560 BC. Furthermore, the usage of added white in his artistic renderings (a trait which the later Fallow Deer Painter shares) may place his work into the latter half of the 550s BC.⁴³ It is thought that 18 extant specimens are from his hand.⁴⁴ His narrative frieze scene subject matter is common

³⁶ Kluiver, "The Five Later Tyrrhenian Painters", p. 6.

³⁷ Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 112.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁴⁰ von Bothmer, "The Painters of Tyrrhenian Vases", p. 168.

⁴¹ Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 63.

⁴² von Bothmer, "The Painters of Tyrrhenian Vases", p. 167.

⁴³ Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 113.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

“Tyrrhenian” fare, and his textual inscriptions are all nonsensical. His works seem to lack the usage of *Punktband*, and uniquely drawn animals characterize his subsidiary friezes.⁴⁵

6.1.7 The Later “Tyrrhenian” Group: The Guglielmi (Komos) Painter

Regarded for his fondness for portraying *komos*-themed frieze scenes, the Guglielmi painter was initially named the Komos Painter by von Bothmer to describe this trait.⁴⁶ However, J.D. Beazley subsequently noted the artisan as being the Guglielmi Painter, naming him after a specimen known as Vatican 34526, which was formerly in the Italian Guglielmi collection.⁴⁷ With 33 extant specimens attributed to his hand,⁴⁸ it is possible that this artisan started post 560 BC as his *Komos* scenes are more advanced stylistically but show great similarities with the Timiades Painter.⁴⁹ Furthermore, the painter’s usage of “NONON” style nonsensical inscriptions in his works immediately draws parallels with the Athenian Princeton Painter, who is thought to have produced pottery during the 540s BC,⁵⁰ giving this “Tyrrhenian” Group an extended production period. Vibrant and daring *komos* scenes dominate the majority of the Guglielmi Painter’s obverse and reverse narrative scenes.⁵¹ He, like the later Fallow Deer Painter, is occasionally known to decorate the top rim of the vase.⁵² He practices the usage of *Punktband*, and typically uses three to four subsidiary bands on his pots with a high number of flanking animals.⁵³

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁴⁶ von Bothmer, “The Painters of Tyrrhenian Vases”, p. 169.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 169-170.

⁴⁸ Kluiver, “The Five Later Tyrrhenian Painters”, p. 21-22.

⁴⁹ Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 114.

⁵⁰ Boardman, *Athenian-Black Figure Vases: A Handbook*, p. 63.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

⁵² Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 74.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 74, 79.

6.1.8 The Later “Tyrrhenian” Group: The Fallow Deer Painter

Known for his characteristically painted deer, the von Bothmer-assigned Fallow Deer Painter was named for his distinctive painting trait.⁵⁴ His usage of added white paint is similar to that of the Pointed Nose Painter (placing his production at post. 560 BC), while his occasional decoration of amphorae rims and usage of “NONON” styled nonsensical inscriptions draw parallels with the Guglielmi Painter (placing is period of production between post 560 BC-c. 540 BC).⁵⁵ Responsible for 22 extant pots,⁵⁶ the Fallow Deer Painter is characterized by the small size of his neck-amphorae and low number of extant specimens.⁵⁷ His subsidiary friezes are typically painted in twos,⁵⁸ and feature asymmetrical animal placement, along with the widespread usage of deer with a single row of white dots upon their backs.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ von Bothmer, “The Painters of Tyrrhenian Vases”, p. 169.

⁵⁵ Boardman, *Athenian Black-Figure Vases: A Handbook*, p. 63.

⁵⁶ Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 81.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁵⁸ von Bothmer, “The Painters of Tyrrhenian Vases”, p. 169.

⁵⁹ Kluiver, *The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases*, p. 81.

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