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Band VIII

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INSZENIERUNG VON IDENTITÄTEN

Unteritalische Vasenmalerei zwischen Griechen und Indigenen

VERLAG DER BAYERISCHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN

IN KOMMISSION BEIM VERLAG C.H.BECK

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Vorwort

Die Aufsätze in diesem Band basieren auf den Vorträgen der Autoren bei einer Tagung gleichen Themas, die im Oktober 2016 in Berlin stattgefunden hat. Äußerer Anlass des Treffens war die Ausstellung *Gefährliche Perfektion – Antike Grabvasen aus Apulien,* mit der die Ergebnisse eines langjährigen, gemeinsamen Forschungsprojekts der Berliner Antikensammlung und des J. Paul Getty Museums, Malibu vorgestellt wurden. Der Komplex von Grabvasen aus Ceglie del Campo in Apulien, der bei dieser Gelegenheit in neu restauriertem Zustand präsentiert wurde, spielte daher auch in den Tagungsbeiträgen eine besondere Rolle. Der weitere Blick galt daneben der Interpretation bemalter Vasen als Quellen für Identitätskonstruktionen der verschiedenen Bevölkerungsgruppen im antiken Unteritalien. Der Großteil der Beiträge und der Diskussionen dieser Tagung sind in den vorliegenden Band eingeflossen.

Die Durchführung der Tagung wurde großzügig unterstützt von der Gesellschaft der Freunde der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, der unser ganz besonderer Dank gilt. Die Veranstaltung konnte in Räumen des Bode-Museums und der Humboldt-Universität stattfinden, wofür wir den entsprechenden Institutionen und insbesondere Julien Chapuis und Bernd Rottenburg seitens der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin und Agnes Henning vom Lehrbereich Klassische Archäologie – Winkelmann-Institut danken. Für die wohlwollende Begleitung des Projekts gebührt unser Dank Matthias Steinhart, dem Projektleiter der deutschen Sektion des Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum sowie Andreas Scholl, dem Direktor der Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. Zum Gelingen der Tagung haben Ulrike Papadopoulos, Ines Bialas und Thomas Hintermann beigetragen. An der Redaktion des Bandes haben dankenswerterweise Veronika Gromes, Katy Soar und Annarita Doronzio mitgearbeitet.

Allen Teilnehmern der Tagung sei an dieser Stelle für die lebhaften und weiterführenden Diskussionen ganz herzlich gedankt, vor allem aber den Autoren dieses Bandes für ihre engagierte Mitarbeit.

Die Herausgeber

Unteritalische Vasenmalerei zwischen Griechen und Indigenen

Ursula Kästner und Stefan Schmidt

Im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. begannen Handwerker in Süditalien, Keramikgefäße herzustellen, die sie nach dem Vorbild der erfolgreichen attischen Keramik rotfigurig bemalten. Im Laufe des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. entwickelte sich aus den Anfängen in vielen Regionen Unteritaliens und Siziliens eine umfangreiche Produktion, die den Ausstoß der zeitgenössischen attischen Vasenindustrie in Qualität und Menge überflügelte. Die offensichtlich mit der griechischen, genauer der athenischen Keramik verknüpfte Genese der unteritalisch rotfigurigen Vasen hat die Forschung in der Vergangenheit dazu veranlasst, die Gefäße und ihre Bilder vorrangig unter einer griechischen Perspektive zu betrachten. So wurde nach direkten Verbindungen der frühesten unteritalischen Vasenmaler mit Athen gesucht, sei es die Einwanderung von dort oder eine Ausbildung in athenischen Werkstätten.[1] Zudem vermutete man den Sitz der Werkstätten für die rotfigurige Keramik in den großen griechischen Koloniestädten an den Küsten und postulierte dementsprechend als primäre Nutzer der Gefäße die griechischstämmigen Bewohner Unteritaliens. Die Bilder auf den Vasen wurden vielfach als Zeugnisse für deren kulturelle Interessen interpretiert, etwa wenn die häufigen Darstellungen aus dem Umfeld des griechischen Dramas als Hinweise auf die besondere Theaterbegeisterung der Kolonisten und deren Nachkommen gewertet wurden.

Werkstätten in Griechenstädten oder im Binnenland?

In jüngerer Zeit hat die stärkere Beachtung der Fundkontexte von unteritalisch rotfiguriger Keramik zu einem Perspektivwechsel geführt. Produktionsweisen und Abnehmerkreise erweisen sich als deutlich komplexer als bisher angenommen. Zwar lassen sich in Metapont, der großen Koloniestadt an der Küste Lukaniens, inzwischen tatsächlich Werkstätten nachweisen, in denen am Ende des 5. und im frühen 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. rotfigurige Gefäße hergestellt wurden.[2] Diese Betriebe waren aber keineswegs vorwiegend auf den lokalen Bedarf der griechischstämmigen Bevölkerung der Stadt ausgerichtet. Der Beginn der unteritalischen, genauer der lukanisch rotfigurigen Produktion war vielmehr deutlich exportorientiert. Insbesondere Kratere und größere Gefäße wurden in das Landesinnere von Lukanien und Apulien verhandelt, vereinzelt sogar noch darüber hinaus nach Etrurien und Illyrien.[3] Noch differenzierter erweist sich die Situation in Tarent und Apulien. Tonanalysen haben für frühe rotfigurige Gefäße, die bislang tarentinischen Werkstätten zugewiesen wurden, zwei unterschiedliche Materialien nachgewiesen: einen blassen, kalkhaltigen Ton und einen rötlichen, stärker eisenhaltigen. Diskutiert wird die Interpretation dieser Befunde: Haben die einzelnen Werkstätten in Tarent aus technologischen oder ästhetischen Gründen unterschiedliche Tonsorten verwendet, oder weist die Verwendung des rötlichen Tons auf eine Lokalisierung der entsprechenden Werkstätten außerhalb der griechischen Koloniestadt hin?[4] Auffällig ist immerhin, dass gerade diejenigen Gefäßformen, die in den von indigener Bevölkerung dominierten Gebieten beliebt waren, wie Kolonetten- und Volutenkratere, aus dem rötlichen Ton gefertigt wurden. Es wäre also denkbar, dass Werkstätten, wie etwa die, in der der Sisyphosmaler arbeitete, bereits in der Anfangsphase der unteritalisch rotfigurigen Produktion in der Nähe ihrer wichtigsten Kundschaft angesiedelt waren.

Für die späteren Phasen der unteritalischen Keramik im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. ist eine solche Produktion vor Ort in den indigenen Gebieten in der Forschung unstrittig. Die späteren lukanischen Werkstätten werden aufgrund der Fundverteilung in der zentralen Basilikata vermutet;[5] Werkstätten für apulisch rotfigurige Keramik der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts lassen sich nicht zuletzt aufgrund von Tonanalysen im peuketischen Ruvo und Canosa lokalisieren.[6]

Bis auf diese immer noch wenigen Untersuchungen des Tonmaterials sind bislang die meisten Versuche, die Werkstätten der unteritalisch rotfigurigen Keramik zu bestimmen und zu lokalisieren, vor allem von den Vasenmalern ausgegangen. Da wir jedoch von der attischen Produktion wissen, dass die Töpfer als Betreiber der

Werkstätten die entscheidenden Akteure bei der Herstellung waren, die Maler dagegen eher beweglich und für verschiedene Töpfer tätig, wird sich die Forschung in Zukunft verstärkt mit den Formen der Gefäße befassen müssen. Die Verknüpfung von Töpferarbeit, Tonqualität und Fundverteilung wird voraussichtlich genaueren Aufschluss über die Lokalisierung der Produktion geben können als die Korrelation zwischen Malerhänden und Tonqualität. Hinweise, dass Vasenmaler an verschiedenen Orten gearbeitet haben, gibt es bereits.[7] Ob dies auch für die Töpfer und ihre Werkstätten galt, bleibt zu untersuchen.

Griechen oder Indigene als Abnehmer?

Schon von Beginn an wurde die Produktion rotfiguriger Keramik in Unteritalien offenbar von der Nachfrage und den Bedürfnissen der einheimischen Bevölkerung bestimmt.[8] Dabei traten die in Unteritalien hergestellten Vasen an die Stelle von attischen Importen, die während des gesamten 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. in Unteritalien und Sizilien Verwendung fanden.[9] Bereits die rotfigurigen Vasen aus Athen waren vorrangig aufgrund des besonderen Interesses der italischen Bevölkerung in die landeinwärts gelegenen Gebiete gelangt. Im vorliegenden Band kann Valentina Garaffa die „aktive Aufnahme" von griechischen Objekten durch Italiker in archaischer Zeit exemplarisch vorführen. Die Funde griechischer, bemalter Keramik in einigen Orten der Basilikata machen deutlich, dass die frühe Verwendung der Importe nicht unbedingt als Hinweis auf eine Hellenisierung zu werten ist, also keine angemessene Rezeption von Bildern und Formen der Gefäße vorausgesetzt werden muss. Vielmehr lässt sich die Verwendung ohne spezifische Interessen an den bildlichen Darstellungen durch Distinktionsprozesse und Repräsentationsbedürfnisse innerhalb der indigenen Gesellschaften erklären. Die griechischen Importstücke dienten als Zeichen von „Internationalität" und weitreichenden Kontakten zur Aufwertung des eigenen sozialen Status.

In den Griechenstädten Tarent und Metapont war die Nachfrage nach Importen aus Athen eher schwächer ausgeprägt.[10] Insbesondere bei Bestattungen wurde bemalte Keramik dort Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. nur sehr sparsam eingesetzt. Sowohl in Metapont als auch in Tarent lässt sich – wie in vielen griechischen Städten in der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. – eine starke Einschränkung der Grabausstattung feststellen. Einzelne attische Lekythen waren zumeist die einzigen figürlich verzierten Gefäßbeigaben.[11] Dieses Bild änderte sich nur graduell mit dem Aufkommen unteritalisch rotfiguriger Gefäße seit der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. Produkte der lokalen Werkstätten lassen sich sowohl in Metapont als auch in Tarent durchaus in großem Umfang und verschiedenen Kontexten nachweisen.[12] Für die im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. neu gegründete Griechenstadt Herakleia gibt darüber hinaus Francesca Silvestrelli in diesem Band einen Überblick über die Verwendung bemalter Gefäße in Häusern, Heiligtümern und Gräbern. Besonders repräsentative Gefäßformen und -größen blieben gleichwohl eine Domäne der indigenen Verwendung.

Seit dem ausgehenden 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. wurden in den Griechenstädten zwar wieder verstärkt rotfigurige Vasen in die Gräber mitgegeben. Es handelt sich jedoch vorrangig um kleinere Gefäße wie Oinochoen, Schalen, Hydrien, Peliken, Lekythen oder Lebetes Gamikoi.[13] Kratere bleiben dagegen die absolute Ausnahme.[14] Daneben lässt sich allerdings die Sitte nachweisen, Glocken- oder Kelchkratere als *sema* auf Gräbern aufzustellen.[15] Gegenüber den Gräbern der indigenen Oberschicht blieb jedoch die Verwendung von unteritalisch rotfiguriger Keramik in den Nekropolen der Griechenstädte auf einem deutlich niedrigeren Niveau. Möglicherweise muss die „Wiederentdeckung" bemalter Keramik in den Küstenstädten sogar als Einfluss indigener Begräbnisbräuche auf die Gräber der griechischstämmigen Bevölkerung angesehen werden.[16]

Die besonders repräsentativen Formen und Größen der unteritalisch rotfigurigen Keramik wurden vor allem in den indigenen Gebieten Unteritaliens verwendet. Sie dienten dort nach wie vor zur Ausstattung reicher Bestattungen. Kolonettenkratere etwa wurden nach der Fundverteilung wie auch nach ihrer Ikonographie ausschließlich für italische Kunden hergestellt.[17] Ähnliches gilt für Volutenkratere, die vor allem in den reichsten peuketischen Gräbern zum Standard gehören.[18] Die aufwendige Ausstattung der Gräber einheimischer Krieger in Apulien seit der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. nimmt der Beitrag von Andrea Montanaro in den Blick. Er zeigt, dass die Gefäße und ihre Bilder dort sehr wohl in die einheitlichen Aussagen der Beigabenkomplexe einbezogen wurden. Sie wurden ganz bewusst zur Darstellung des sozialen Status und der Wünsche nach einer heroengleichen Existenz im Jenseits ausgewählt und eingesetzt. Die griechische Kultur war dabei kein Wert per se, sondern lediglich ein Vokabular, mit dem eigene Lebensstile und Vorstellungen zum Ausdruck gebracht werden konnten.

Nach dem derzeitigen Forschungsstand zeichnet sich also ab, dass weniger die Nachfrage der griechischstämmigen Bewohner der Küstenstätte, sondern vielmehr der Bedarf der einheimisch italischen Bevölkerung die Produktion der unteritalisch rotfigurigen Keramik auslöste und bestimmte. Bereits seit dem 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr. hatte es in den Orten des italischen Hinterlandes eine durchgehende Tradition gegeben, griechische Keramik

als Prestigeobjekte und Ausweis kultureller Errungenschaften zu verwenden. Diese besondere Wertschätzung hielt auch im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. an. Dagegen wurden die bemalten Gefäße in den griechischen Bereichen mehr und mehr zu Preziosen in weiblichen Lebenskontexten. Die gegenüber den zeitgenössischen attischen Produkten hohe Qualität vieler unteritalischer Vasen des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., die gerne als letzte Blüte der Vasenmalerei bezeichnet werden, ist vor allem aus der stabilen Nachfrage der Italiker nach „griechischen" Repräsentationsobjekten und nicht aus einer Nostalgie der Nachkommen griechischer Kolonen zu verstehen.

Vasen ohne Kontext

Unter der Voraussetzung, dass die unteritalisch rotfigurige Vasenproduktion vorrangig auf eine italische Kundschaft ausgerichtet war, eröffnen sich vor allem für die riesigen Bestände von unteritalischen Vasen in den Museen und Sammlungen neue Deutungsansätze. Dieses umfangreiche Material kann wichtige Aufschlüsse über die Menschen und die sozialen und religiösen Verhältnisse in den indigenen Gesellschaften Unteritaliens geben, von denen wir so gut wie keine schriftlichen Überlieferungen besitzen.

Noch vor den attischen Vasen, die in großer Zahl erst durch die Ausbeutung der Nekropolen im etruskischen Vulci auf den Kunstmarkt kamen, bildeten die unteritalisch rotfigurigen Gefäße die ersten großen Vasenkonvolute, die im 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert in die Antikensammlungen gelangten – in manche Kunstkammern und Fürstensammlungen sogar bereits früher.[19] Dass die unteritalischen Gefäße so früh Interesse fanden, erschwert jede Interpretation, denn es handelt sich bei den alten Beständen um zumeist kontextlose, manchmal sogar herkunftslose Gefäße, die oft lediglich wegen ihres ästhetischen Wertes erworben wurden. Zudem wurden mit dem Anwachsen der städtischen Bevölkerung in Süditalien seit der Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts und dem dadurch verursachten Bauboom viele antike Siedlungsgebiete und Nekropolenareale zerstört. Dieser Prozess war in Städten wie Tarent mit massenhafter Raubgräberei verbunden. Unkontrolliertes Ausgraben ist auch ein Problem in ländlichen Gegenden. Da durch neue landwirtschaftliche Techniken häufiger Grabkammern entdeckt wurden, hat sich daraus eine gezielte Form von illegaler Grabsuche entwickelt. Bei solchen Aktionen ist meist das Sondern von attraktiver bemalter Keramik für Verkaufszwecke und die Entsorgung von eher bescheidenen antiken tönernen und metallischen Gebrauchsgegenständen üblich. So sind Tausende Vasen auf den Kunstmarkt gelangt – wiederum ohne ihren antiken Kontext.[20] Die dadurch geförderte Ankaufseuphorie privater und öffentlicher Sammlungen hat gerade im Fall der unteritalischen Keramik die „Nachfrage" zusätzlich gesteigert und das Geschäft mit der Kunst angekurbelt.

Aufgrund der Sammlungssituation lag es für die Vasenforschung nahe, die bemalten Gefäße zunächst nach Malern und Werkstätten zu klassifizieren. Dies entsprach einerseits den kunsthistorischen Forschungsintentionen des 20. Jahrhunderts. Andererseits nutzte dieser Zugang diejenigen Hinweise auf die Herstellungskontexte, die mit den Gefäßen selbst verbunden und zumeist die einzig zur Verfügung stehenden waren.[21] Für die attischen Vasen hatte John Davidson Beazley diese umfangreiche Aufgabe zu seinem Lebenswerk gemacht, Arthur Dale Trendall und Alexander Cambitoglou übernahmen sie für die unteritalischen und sizilischen Vasen.[22] Die Grundlage der Klassifizierung bilden dabei die Kategorien lukanisch, apulisch, sizilisch, kampanisch und paestanisch für verschiedene Kunstlandschaften oder auch Malerschulen. Damit ist die Klassifizierung jedoch keineswegs ein abgeschlossenes Projekt. Es gilt genauer zu bestimmen, inwieweit sich darin die tatsächlichen Produktionsverhältnisse und Lokalisierungen widerspiegeln. Etwa wenn es vereinzelt Abgrenzungsprobleme zwischen dem Lukanischen und dem Apulischen gibt.[23] Am Beispiel des Palermomalers zeigt Martine Denoyelle im vorliegenden Band, dass durch Neufunde, Restaurierungen etc. ihm heute etwa doppelt so viele Vasen zugewiesen werden können wie zu Trendalls Zeiten. Damit ist es auch möglich, die künstlerische Entwicklung dieses Vasenmalers zu verfolgen und seinen Platz in der Vasenproduktion von Metapont zu verankern.

Formen und Bilder aus indigener Perspektive

Dass zu den meisten italisch rotfigurigen Gefäßen in den Sammlungen und Museen die archäologischen Kontexte fehlen, ist zwar zu beklagen, doch ist gerade bei diesem Material die Ausgangslage für eine Auswertung als Quellen für die Lebensstile und Vorstellungen der indigenen Nutzer vergleichsweise gut. Attische Importe konnten an die Bedürfnisse der italischen Kunden lediglich durch eine gezielte Auswahl der vorgegebenen Gefäßformen und Bilder angepasst werden. Nur bei genauer Kenntnis der Fundplätze und Vergesellschaftung sind daher Schlüsse auf die Wahrnehmung der einzelnen Vasen durch die Nutzer möglich. Bei der unteritalischen Produktion dagegen erlaubte die Nähe zu den Hauptabnehmern bereits bei der Gestaltung der Gefäße präzise Bezugnahmen auf deren Repräsentationswünsche. Auch Vasen ohne eindeutige Fundkontexte beziehen sich bereits durch ihre Form und Darstellungen auf die italische Kundschaft.

Bekannt – aber tatsächlich eine eher seltene Ausnah-

me – ist die Aufnahme der Nestoris, die die messapische Trozzella nachahmt, in das Formenrepertoire der Werkstätten für Rotfiguriges.[24] Edward Herring bietet in diesem Band einen Überblick und die statistische Grundlage für dieses Phänomen in Apulien. Darüber hinaus kann er belegen, dass die Form eng mit der rituellen Verwendung durch Frauen verbunden war. Häufiger zu beobachten ist die italische Vorliebe für bestimmte griechische Gefäßformen, die mit abweichenden Bedeutungen aufgeladen wurden, wie dies etwa bei den Pseudopanathenäischen Preisamphoren der Fall war.[25] T. H. Carpenter legt in diesem Band nun eine Synthese für den apulischen Kolonettenkrater vor. Er weist nach, dass dies nicht nur eine Vasenform ist, die fast ausschließlich im peuketischen Gebiet gefunden wurde, sondern auch, dass auf den weitaus meisten Gefäßen (90 %) Krieger dargestellt wurden, zudem oft in einheimischen Trachten. Diese besondere Bezugnahme auf die indigene Bevölkerung lässt sich durch eine weitere statistische Beobachtung stützen: 80 % der als Indigene gekennzeichneten Figuren in der gesamten apulischen Vasenmalerei finden sich auf Kolonettenkrateren.[26] Diese repräsentativen Gefäße waren demnach eindeutig für peuketische Männer bestimmt und können Hinweise auf deren Selbstwahrnehmung und Selbstdarstellung geben.

Da die Darstellung einheimischer Männertrachten auf den unteritalischen Vasenbildern fast immer mit Kriegerfiguren verbunden ist, wurde die indigene Bevölkerung Unteritaliens in der Vergangenheit zumeist als besonders kriegerisch angesehen. Vor einer solch einseitigen Interpretation warnt Christiane Nowak in ihrem Beitrag, der die indigenen Trachten in der kampanischen Vasenmalerei behandelt. Sie bezieht die Ikonographie kampanischer Vasen insgesamt auf die einheimische Bevölkerung als Zielgruppe und kommt zu dem Ergebnis, dass die Verwendung von griechischen Figurenschemata bzw. einheimischen Trachten vorrangig von dem funktionalen Status der Figuren abhängig ist. Während die Krieger und die Frauen in Opferszenen indigene Kleidung tragen, werden andere Rollenbilder der kampanischen Gesellschaft in der lokalen Ikonographie durchaus in „griechischen" Formen wiedergegeben. Dionysische oder Symposionszenen etwa sind dort nie mit einheimischen Trachtelementen verbunden, obwohl auch diese Situationen zur Lebenswirklichkeit der kampanischen Bevölkerung gehörten.

Aus einer anderen Richtung wird diese Schlussfolgerung bestätigt. Keely Heuer widmet sich in ihrem Beitrag der Beliebtheit dionysischer Ikonographie im gesamten Gebiet Unteritaliens. Die Verehrung des Gottes ist in den griechischen Koloniestädten schon seit dem 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr. belegt; dafür gibt es sowohl archäologische Zeugnisse als auch Schriftquellen. Auch die nicht-griechische Population war vertraut mit den Dionysos-Bildern und nahm teil an dionysischen Kulten. Entsprechende Zeugnisse sind dionysische Szenen auf Vasen nicht nur in Kampanien, sondern eben auch vermehrt im peuketischen, messapischen und daunischen Gebiet. Dort wurden nun tatsächlich Frauen und Männer in nicht-griechischem Habitus in dionysischen Szenen gezeigt. Zwar konnten bisher keine italischen Heiligtümer für Dionysos nachgewiesen werden. Nach Grabungsbefunden wird jedoch davon ausgegangen, dass an einigen Orten öffentliche rituelle Bankette stattfanden. Zudem sind im privaten Bereich entsprechende Grabbeigaben (auch Terrakotten und Wandmalereien) bekannt.

Mit einem besonders weit verbreiteten Bildschema beschäftigt sich Luigi Todisco in diesem Band. Die Darstellungen von Grabnaiskoi auf vielen apulischen Vasen – meist als Rückseitenbilder – entsprechen den Kalksteinarchitekturen, wie sie vor allem in Tarent und Umgebung gefunden wurden. Todisco lenkt die Aufmerksamkeit auf den Iliupersismaler, dessen Vasen besonders viele solcher Grabtempeldarstellungen schmücken. Die Vasen dieses Malers, die vor allem in indigenen Zentren gefunden wurden, werden allerdings früher datiert (zweites Viertel 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.) als die erst ab ca. 340 v. Chr. nachgewiesenen Kalksteinnaiskoi. Damit stellt sich die Frage, welchen Vorbildern der Vasenmaler folgte. Todisco untersucht in diesem Zusammenhang den Einfluss der Grabarchitektur aus Griechenland auf die daunischen Grabformen als Ausdruck der eigenen Identität. Darüber hinaus wäre zu fragen, ob das Aufkommen der Naiskoi in Tarent möglicherweise sogar als eine Übernahme einheimischer Repräsentationsformen in der griechisch geprägten Stadt gewertet werden muss.

Theater für Griechen oder Italiker?

Ein Bereich der unteritalischen Vasenikonographie, der immer schon besondere Aufmerksamkeit erfahren hat, sind die Bezüge der Vasendarstellungen zum Theater.[27] Sowohl die große Zahl außergewöhnlicher Bilder von griechischen Mythen, die mit griechischen Dramen in Verbindung gebracht werden können, als auch die vielen Darstellungen von Komödien- oder Possenaufführungen legen eine enge Beziehung der Maler und/oder der Zielgruppe der rotfigurigen Vasen zum Theater nahe.

Im vorliegenden Band klärt zunächst Luca Giuliani aufs Deutlichste, wie die Bezüge zwischen den Vasenbildern und dem Drama funktionieren. Während die Darstellungen von Possen tatsächlich das Bühnengeschehen zeigten und die Mechanik des Theaters zum Thema machen, sind die Bilder vieler griechischer Mythen lediglich von den Plots griechischer Tragödien inspiriert, jedoch ohne die Absicht, Theateraufführungen abzubilden. Dass gleichwohl in den unteritalischen Vasenbildern im-

mer wieder Elemente auftreten, die mit der Aufführungspraxis der Theater zu tun hatten, sollte dabei nicht verwirren. Belegen sie doch lediglich, dass im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. in Unteritalien und Sizilien das griechische Theater offenbar in großem Umfang gepflegt und rezipiert wurde.

Welchen Anteil diese Kenntnis und das Interesse am Theater an den jeweiligen Lebensstilen und Identitätskonstruktionen der Bewohner der griechisch geprägten Küstenstädte bzw. der Italiker des Hinterlandes hatte, ist jedoch noch weitgehend unklar. Ein Ansatz, diese Frage zu beantworten, liegt sicher in einer weiteren Differenzierung der Phänomene. Lilian Schönheit unternimmt in diesem Band einen Versuch, regionale Unterschiede festzustellen anhand der Fundverteilung von Vasen, die in irgendeiner Form Theaterbezüge zeigen. Wie komplex die Befunde sein können, lässt sich an den Schauspielerdarstellungen des apulischen Tarporleymalers ermessen. Auf den ersten Blick scheinen die auf seinen Gefäßen mehrfach dargestellten jungen Männer mit Masken und Kostümen sehr konkret auf die vermutlich lebendige choregische Praxis in Tarent zu verweisen.[28] Dort würde man die Nutzer und Interessenten solcher Bilder vorrangig erwarten. Zugleich gibt es aber für derartige Choregenbilder gerade auch im indigenen Hinterland eine ausgeprägte Nachfrage, für die die attische Pronomosvase im peuketischen Ruvo als bekanntestes Beispiel stehen kann.[29]

Mit den Bildern andersartiger Vorführungen beschäftigt sich Stine Schierup in diesem Band. Ausgehend von drei spätlukanischen Vasen im Dänischen Nationalmuseum verbindet sie die Darstellungen von Kampfspielen und Kriegerakrobatik mit der kriegerischen Selbstdarstellung von indigenen Eliten. Als bildliche Verweise auf mögliche Leichenspiele in italischer Tradition waren solche Gefäße sicher für einheimische Kunden gedacht. Unstimmigkeiten in der Ausführung lassen die Autorin allerdings vermuten, dass die Vasenmaler entsprechende Veranstaltungen nie gesehen haben.

Restaurierung und Wiedergewinnung authentischer Bilder

Um das Potential der italisch rotfigurigen Vasenmalerei als Quelle für die historischen Verhältnisse in Unteritalien und Sizilien auszuschöpfen, reicht es also nicht aus, nur neugefundene und aus gesicherten Kontexten stammende Vasen zu befragen und zu interpretieren. Die Befunde geben zwar entscheidende Hinweise, aus welcher Perspektive die Gefäße und Bilder betrachtet werden müssen, viele Fragen lassen sich aber erst durch einen neuen Blick auf die Vasen in den bereits erwähnten alten Sammlungen beantworten. Dieser Blick ist uns allerdings oftmals erschwert durch raffinierte und verschönernde Restaurierungen vorwiegend des 19. Jahrhunderts: Szenen wurden neu erfunden, Attribute verändert, Details entfernt oder hinzugesetzt. Solche Veränderungen bereiten bei einer Interpretation der Vasen als Zeugnisse der Antike Probleme, die eigentlich nur durch die Freilegung des antiken Bestandes gelöst werden könnten.

Es fällt uns heute jedoch schwer, den Spagat zwischen antikem Original und der kunsthistorisch bzw. kunsthandwerklich nicht selten anspruchsvollen Zutat zu meistern und die Werke namentlich bekannter Restauratoren oder bekannter Künstler des 19. Jahrhunderts durch erneute Restaurierungen anzugreifen oder gar zu zerstören. Die Praxis des Neapler Nationalmuseums zeigt allerdings, dass man sich mit aller Sorgfalt dieser Aufgabe stellen kann. Viele der Kunstwerke dort – nicht nur Vasen – stammen entweder aus der Sammlung des bekannten Restaurators und Händlers Raffaele Gargiulo oder wurden von ihm bzw. seiner Werkstatt restauriert. Zwar war Gargiulo am Real Museo Borbonico in Neapel angestellt, doch arbeitete er in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts auch für zahlreiche private Auftraggeber aus ganz Europa. Daher finden wir heute die Ergebnisse seiner Arbeiten in vielen europäischen Antikensammlungen, so etwa in St. Petersburg, Kopenhagen, Leiden, München und Berlin.[30]

Luigia Melillo demonstriert im vorliegenden Band anhand des Amazonomachiekraters aus Ruvo und einer schwarzfigurigen Amphora die Arbeitsweise des zu seiner Zeit bewunderten, aber auch schon umstrittenen Neapler Restaurators. Marie Svoboda hat in einem sechsjährigen Kooperationsprojekt mit der Berliner Antikensammlung vier monumentale Grabvasen aus Ceglie del Campo restauriert und an ihnen ebenfalls Spuren von Gargiulos Arbeit gefunden, teilweise durch aufwendige naturwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen. Sie lässt teilhaben an den Entscheidungen, die Archäologen und Restauratoren aus Berlin und Los Angeles gemeinsam getroffen haben, um Restaurierungsstrategien festzulegen. Das Ergebnis dieses Projektes ist in Ausstellungen in Los Angeles und in Berlin präsentiert und publiziert worden.[31] Die Entfernung von phantasievollen Ergänzungen und Übermalungen führt in einigen Fällen zu neuen Deutungen. David Saunders führt die revidierte Ikonographie vor und untersucht an Vasen dieser Gruppe besonders die Rolle von Aphrodite und Eros.

Es gehört zu den seltenen Ausnahmen, dass wir in diesem Fall für die Vasen einer alten Sammlung nicht nur den Fundort Ceglie del Campo und das ungefähre Funddatum (ca. 1825) recherchieren konnten, sondern auch einen archivalischen Hinweis auf die Fundumstände haben („dans trois tombeaux contigus")[32]. Das lässt mehrere Möglichkeiten der Interpretation offen. Ausgrabungen im peuketischen Gebiet (Monte Sannace, Timmari)

zeigen paradigmatisch *semicamera*-Grabanlagen. Andererseits ist in Ceglie del Campo auch ein Hypogäum gefunden worden. Stammen die Gefäße also aus verschiedenen Gräbern oder nur aus drei Grabkammern eines größeren Komplexes? Es schließen sich weitere Fragen an: Welche Gefäße lassen sich jeweils einer Bestattung oder einem Grab (Grabkammer) zuordnen, wenn der Datierungszeitraum dieser „Gruppe" ca. 50 Jahre umfasst – oder ist hier ein „Fundkomplex" nachträglich zusammengestellt worden?[33] An diesem konkreten Beispiel wird damit deutlich, wie schwierig es trotz genauer Recherchen ist, ältere Sammlungsstücke zu re-kontextualisieren.

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Vor den rotfigurig bemalten Vasen: griechische Formen und Mythenbilder in den indigenen Kontexten Süditaliens

Valentina Garaffa

Die Verbreitung griechischer Vasen im Mittelmeerraum ist eine wertvolle Informationsquelle für die Vasenproduktion. Die Verteilungskette, die in Griechenland mit der Produktion beginnt, setzt sich mit einem Abschnitt fort, der im Mittelpunkt dieses Beitrags stehen soll: der Erwerb und die Verwendung der Objekte durch die fremden Kunden.

Die Literatur zu diesem Thema ist umfangreich.[1] Einige der vorgeschlagenen Konzepte und Theorien sollen hier für eine Analyse im antiken Gebiet Oinotrien genutzt werden *(Abb. 1)*. Um die unterschiedlichen Herangehensweisen aufzuzeigen, die heute in der Forschung Anwendung finden, bedarf es verschiedener Fallbeispiele. Zu ihnen gehören die Nekropolen von Tortora San Brancato und Guardia Perticara; mit Garaguso wird eine weitere oinotrische Siedlung vorgestellt, deren Kultkontexte und Gräber Gegenstand einer von mir jüngst durchgeführten Vergleichsstudie gewesen sind.[2]

Oinotrien

Das Gebiet, das wir heute als Oinotrien bezeichnen, erstreckt sich von den ersten Erhebungen nahe der Ionischen Küste weit in das Hinterland und reicht stellenweise bis ans Tyrrhenische Meer.[3] Die oinotrischen Zentren

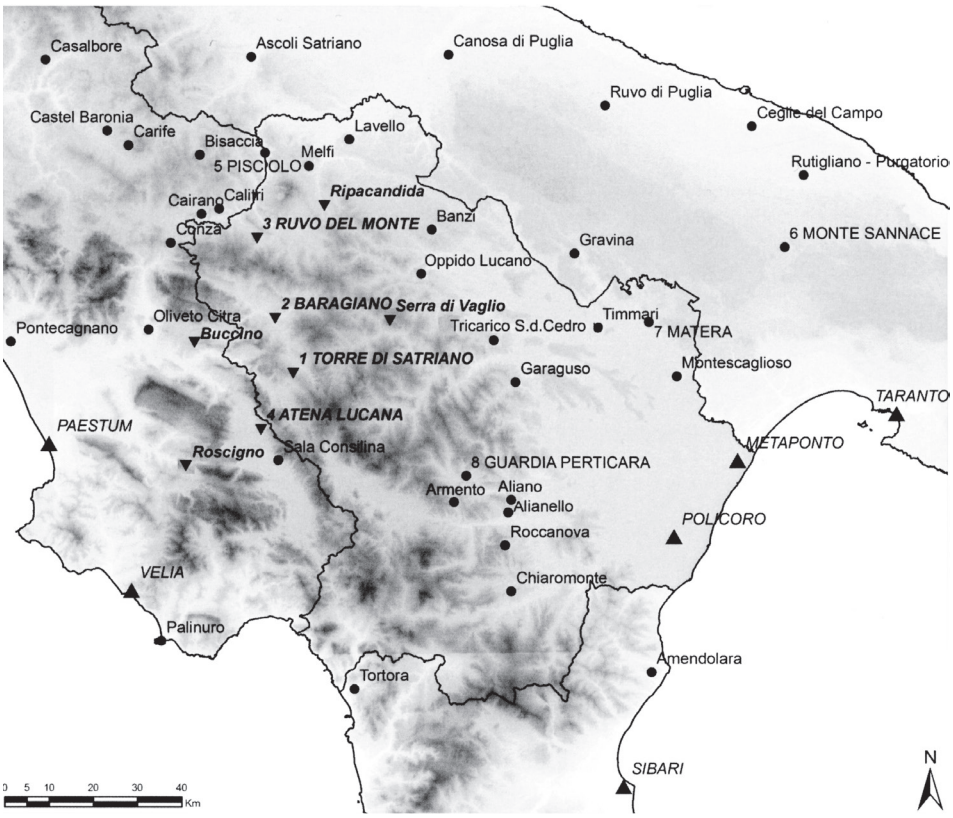

Abb. 1 Karte Süditaliens mit den im Text erwähnten Orten.

der antiken Basilikata lagen zumeist innerhalb der Flusstäler, und kontrollierten die Routen durch das Landesinnere.[4] Die kulturelle Pägung dieser oinotrischen Gruppen ist durch ihre Mittlerrolle zwischen den griechischen Kolonien an der Ionischen Küste und der etrusko-kampanischen Welt auf der tyrrhenischen Seite der Italienischen Halbinsel erklärt worden. Gemäß dem Modell von sukzessivem Austausch waren die Nachbarn der Oinotrier auf die indigenen Gemeinschaften im Inland angewiesen, um zu interagieren und den Verkehr auf dieser langen Distanz zu vermitteln. Auf diese Weise haben die griechischen Produkte die indigenen Gemeinschaften erreicht und stellten eine Art Vergütung für deren Rolle dar.

Tortora-San Brancato

Aus Tortora-San Brancato, im sogenannten tyrrhenischen Oinotrien, sind aus einer Gräbergruppe der Zeit zwischen der Mitte des 6. und der Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. einige Fossa-Gräber bekannt.[5] Die Grabinventare setzen sich aus lokaler Keramik mit geometrischer Dekoration und importierten Gegenständen zusammen. An den Gräbern lassen sich mehrere Phasen beobachten. In der ersten, vom Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts bis 490 v. Chr., finden sich bereits Belege für attische Keramik, die überwiegend dionysische Szenen zeigen.[6] In dieser Zeit treten auch Waffen in den männlichen Gräbern auf. Eine größere Vielfalt sowohl in den Vasenformen als auch in den Themen ist in einer anschließenden Phase, zwischen 490 und 470 v. Chr., zu beobachten. Es gab zwar weiterhin die dionysischen Darstellungen auf den Vasen. Hinzu kamen nun jedoch auch Geschirrsätze, die auf das Symposion verwiesen. Dies sind Trinkgeschirr und Gefäße, die für den Wein bestimmt waren, wie Amphoren und Oinochoen.[7] Wie schon in der ersten Phase gab es auch in dieser Phase vereinzelt andere importierte Szenen und Objekte.[8] Darüber hinaus nahmen ab 480/470 v. Chr. die Szenen zu, die sich auf den Sakralbereich beziehen, wie Niken oder Gottheiten, die an Altären Libationen vollziehen.[9]

Die Daten stellen für die Herausgeber der Ausgrabungsberichte, Luigina Tomay und Roberta Donnarumma, wichtige Hinweise auf das Verständnis der Bilder und Gefäße, die mit dem Symposion oder mit anderen Bereichen der griechischen Kultur verbunden waren, bei den indigenen Eliten dar.[10] Bilder und Gefäße dienten dazu, so die Autorinnen, den aristokratischen Status ihrer Nutzer hervorzuheben. Zugleich sind sie Belege für die Übernahme griechischer Gebräuche, wie des Symposion.

Grundsätzlich war die Praxis des gemeinsamen Trinkens in den indigenen Gemeinschaften nicht unbekannt. Die literarische Überlieferung scheint die Existenz von Momenten der Gemeinschaft in den indigenen Bevölkerungsgruppen Süditaliens zu bestätigen. Dafür spricht die Legende von Oinotro, dem mythologischen König der Italiker, dem man die Praxis der syssitia – dem gemeinsamen Mahl – zuschreibt, auch die Etymologie der Landschaft Oinotrien (von oinos, Wein) deutet auf Ähnliches hin.[11] Zu den schriftlichen Zeugnissen gesellen sich andererseits die archäologischen Daten des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., welche die Verbreitung von lokalen Gefäßen belegen, die in der Forschung dem Gebrauch von Wein zugeschrieben werden, wie die kantharoiden Vasen mit geometrischem Dekor.[12] Von diesen sind auch in Tortora viele dokumentiert.[13] In diesem Fall ist die materielle Kultur eine primäre Quelle für Informationen zu den herrschenden Sozialpraktiken. Wahrscheinlich bedingten die bestehenden Kontakte zwischen den indigenen Gemeinschaften das gemeinsame Essen und Trinken, noch bevor fremdartige Gegenstände, wie die Objekte für das Symposion und die dionysische Ikonographie, übernommen wurden.[14] Auch die nicht-dionysischen Szenen auf Vasen sind mit der Bevorzugung von mythologischen Darstellungen und dem Wunsch der indigenen Eliten in Verbindung gebracht worden, sich an die griechischen Gebräuche anzupassen. So scheinen die Darstellungen von Kriegern und jene vom Kampf zwischen Herakles und Apoll um den Dreifuß das Interesse an diesen Bildern geleitet zu haben.[15]

Zugleich ließen sich diese Eliten mit ihren Waffen bestatten. Doch auch diese Praxis bestand in vielen Teilen der indigenen Welt bereits vor der Begegnung mit der großgriechischen Kultur.[16] Ein anderer Bereich, auf den verschiedene Szenen anspielen, ist der Sakralbereich. Nach Luigina Tomay bezeugen diese Szenen die Übernahme von Opferpraktiken.[17] Dieser Bezug ist jedoch ohne die Überprüfung der indigenen sakralen Praktiken schwer nachzuweisen.

Die importierten Grabbeigaben belegen also weniger die Akzeptanz und Übernahme von griechischen Praktiken, vielmehr zeichneten sie die Verstorbenen als Angehörige einer Elite aus, die sich solche Gegenstände als Prestigeobjekte leisten konnte. Mit ihnen konnte der Status des Verstorbenen vorgeführt werden, in einem Moment, als sich die oinotrischen Eliten formierten. Diese Hypothesen sollen im Folgenden weiterentwickelt werden.

Guardia Perticara

Die Analyse der Rezeption steht auch im Zentrum der anderen Fallstudie. Guardia Perticara liegt im Agrital im Südwesten Oinotriens.[18] Zur antiken Siedlung gehörte eine Nekropole, in der Hunderte von Gräbern gefunden

wurden. Bei den Grabbeigaben ist eine Tendenz zu beobachten, die sich auch in anderen Nekropolen oinotrischer Zentren abzeichnet: In der Eisenzeit begannen sich Anzeichen für eine soziale Artikulation zu mehren. Grabbeigaben wurden zur Kennzeichnung eines Ranges eingesetzt: Waffen für die Männer und Schmuck für die Frauen. Der kontinuierliche Kontakt mit der griechischen Welt bewirkte den Import von griechischen Objekten, die am Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. vergleichbare lokale Gegenstände gänzlich verdrängten.

Aus dem Grab 192 stammt ein schwarzfiguriger Skyphos, der dem Theseus-Maler zugeschrieben wird. Sein schwer zu deutendes Bild zeigt einen Bogenschützen, der einen Löwen reitet und ein Monstrum mit einem Wolfskopf attackiert. Nach verschiedenen Interpretationen der Darstellung (Herakles gegen Lamia, Amazone gegen Monstrum, Arimaspen gegen Greifen), haben Massimo Osanna, Chiara Pilo und Catia Trombetti zu Recht darauf hingewiesen, dass die Oinotrer von Guardia vermutlich nicht in der Lage waren, die originale Bedeutung der Szene zu erfassen, da sie mit einem für die indigene Gemeinschaft fremden Wertesystem verbunden war.[19]

Aus dem Grab 218 stammen ein Skyphos des Theseus-Malers, der Mädchen zeigt, die Kraniche reiten, sowie ein monumentaler Krater und ein Alabastron mit weißem Boden. In diesem Fall scheint die Zusammenstellung der Vasen kein sinnvolles System zu ergeben. Allerdings ist es bei der Kombination der Grabbeigaben üblich, dass sich das Bild der Form unterordnet. Hinzu kommt ein großer Anteil von ‚Exotismus', der offenbar für den Erfolg der Vasen bei den Indigenen von Guardia verantwortlich war.[20] Wie die Herausgeber der Publikation zu Recht betonen, scheinen die Vasenformen, die häufig mit dem Symposion verbunden werden können, die einstigen eisenzeitlichen Indikatoren für Rang und Status abgelöst zu haben. Möglich ist dabei sowohl, dass diese Vasen im Rahmen der Grabzeremonie verwendet wurden, als auch, dass man sie als bloßes Symbol für Prestige verstanden hat. Zwar scheinen in einigen Fällen die Vasenformen in das Grabinventar zu passen, jedoch waren die Bilder außerhalb der Kultur, aus der sie stammten, schwer zu verstehen oder völlig fremd.[21]

Diese Analyse der attischen Keramik aus Guardia Perticara hat somit eine Lesung der ikonographischen Vasendaten ergeben, die sowohl Herkunfts- als auch Verwendungskontexte der Objekte berücksichtigt.

Garaguso

Ebenfalls aus Attika stammen einige Gefäße, die in Garaguso gefunden wurden. Der Ort war ein Knotenpunkt im Netz der Routen im Innern der Basilikata zwischen dem Flusstal des Basento und dem Fluss Salandrella, der in direkter Verbindung zur ionischen Küste und vor allem zur griechischen Kolonie Metapont im Süden steht. Für das 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. sind in Garaguso verschiedene Siedlungsreste, mehrere Nekropolen sowie mindestens zwei Sakralareale bekannt *(Abb. 2)*.[22] Hierzu muss angemerkt werden, dass das Vorkommen eines Kultareals in einem indigenen Zentrum Lukaniens in der archaischen Zeit eine absolute Ausnahme darstellt. Die Indigenen „markierten" bis zum 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. den sakralen Raum nicht, um einen Begriff von Mario Torelli zu verwenden.[23] Vielmehr war er nicht vom alltäglichen Raum zu trennen. Einer der Sakralorte von Garaguso in der Contrada Filera ist der bekanntere, da aus ihm die berühmte marmorne Statuette einer Göttin mit einem Tempelmodell stammt;[24] der zweite in der Contrada Grotte delle Fontanelle hat hingegen Tausende von Keramikfragmenten hervorgebracht.[25] Das Fundmaterial aus diesem Votivdepot besteht hauptsächlich aus Objekten großgriechischer Produktion. Die mutterländisch griechische Keramik ist rar und wird hauptsächlich durch wenige attische Vasen vertreten *(Abb. 3)*.[26]

Weitere attische Vasen wurden hingegen in den zeitgleichen Gräbern niedergelegt. Die Grabinventare entsprechen denen der anderen Nekropolen in der indigenen Welt: Es kommt Keramik mit geometrischer Bemalung im ‚Westlukanischen Stil'[27] sowie Gebrauchskeramik zum Essen und zur Vorratshaltung vor. Zusätzlich gab es Objekte, die den sozialen Status des Verstorbenen artikulieren sollten wie Waffen, Webutensilien und Schmuckgegenstände.[28] Unter den attischen Vasen sind zwei Bandschalen belegt. Die eine wird dem Elbows Out Maler zugeschrieben und zeigt einen einfachen Fries mit Schwänen und Hühnern *(Abb. 4)*.[29] Die andere Schale ist mit einem Tierfries sowie einem Reiter und einer stehenden Figur bemalt.[30] Eine weitere Schale im Typus Kassel unter den Trinkgefäßen ist ein Unikum in diesem Kontext,[31] ebenso wie eine wahrscheinlich attische Schale mit einem Graffito auf dem Fuß, das sich vermutlich auf ihren Handelsweg bezieht.[32]

Eines der interessantesten Zeugnisse ist ein großer Schalenskyphos aus attischer Produktion, hergestellt von der CHC-Gruppe zwischen 500 und 490 v. Chr. *(Abb. 5)*.[33] Der Skyphos zeigt eine Darstellung von Herakles und Nereus: Die Szene bezieht sich auf die Aufgabe des Herakles, in den Gärten der Hesperiden die goldenen Äpfel zu pflücken.[34] In der Vasenkunst kommt das Motiv häufig vor, vor allem auf den Schalenskyphoi. Einen dieser Becher kennen wir von der Athener Akropolis,[35] wohingegen der bekannteste aus dem Heraion von Capo Colonna bei Croton stammt.[36] Ähnlich im Darstellungsschema, aber fragmentarisch ist auch der Schalenskyphos aus dem Heiligtum von Santa Venere bei Paestum.[37] Somit sind diese Becher sowohl im griechischen wie auch im großgriechischen Raum ein Ob-

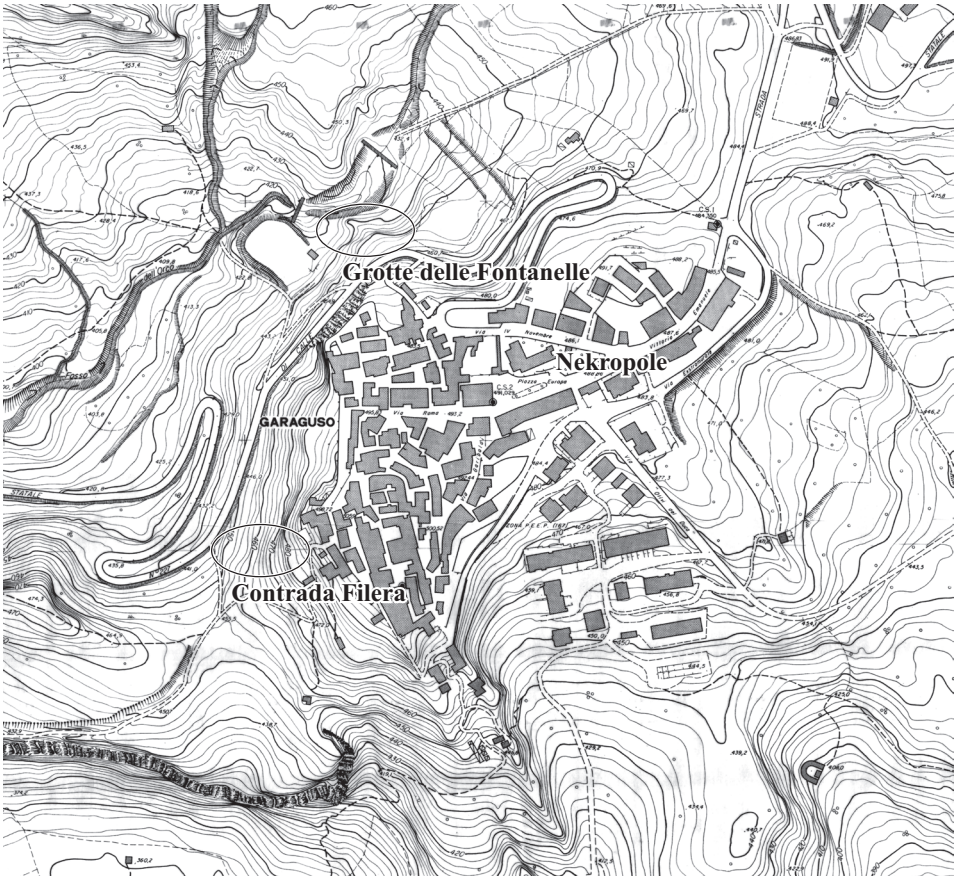

Abb. 2 Garaguso. Auszug aus der „Carta Tecnica Regionale" (S. M. Bertesago und V. Garaffa).

Abb. 3 Garaguso, Attische Keramik aus dem Votivdepot ‚Grotte delle Fontanelle'.

Abb. 4 Garaguso, Bandschale Inv. 121445 und Beigaben aus Grab 2.

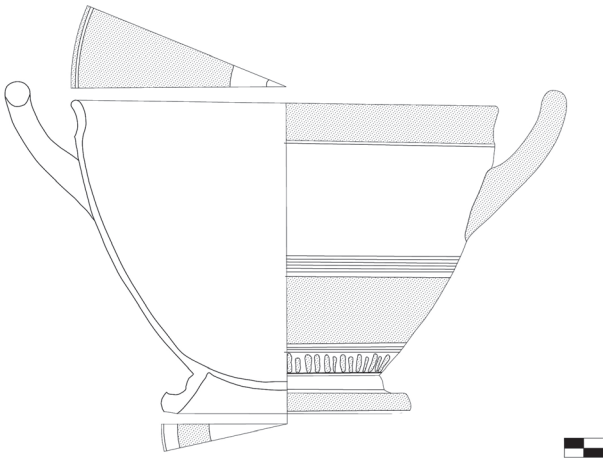

Abb. 5 Garaguso, Schalenskyphos Inv. 131967.

jekt, das in sakralen Kontexten Verwendung fand. Der Becher von Garaguso hingegen wurde an einem besonders identitätsstiftenden Ort verwendet: im Grab, obwohl es hier gleich zwei Sakralareale gab, die vielleicht auch von Griechen frequentiert wurden.[38] Mit dem Objekt waren in diesem Kontext vermutlich nicht die eigentliche Funktion und seine ursprüngliche Bestimmung verbunden. Hier diente es ausschließlich dazu, das Ansehen seines Besitzers zu vermehren.

Schließlich fehlt auch Dionysos nicht in Garaguso. Er erscheint auf einer schwarzfigurigen Oinochoe zusammen mit einer weiblichen Figur *(Abb. 6)*.[39] Die Verbreitung von dionysischen Motiven in anderen oinotrischen Zentren wurde als Beleg einer ab dem 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. zunehmenden Hellenisierung interpretiert. Zu dieser Zeit seien die dionysischen Mysterien eingeführt worden, um die Angst vor dem Tod zu überwinden. Die Vasenikonographie habe derartige Ideologien transportiert.[40] Das Vorkommen lediglich einer einzigen Vase in Garaguso und das Fehlen von anderen Elementen, welche die Annahme von dionysischen Praktiken bestätigen würden, macht diese Hypothese in unserem Kontext wenig plausibel. Der Bezug zwischen Vase und Bildthema reicht einzig dazu aus, ihre Funktion im Bereich des Symposions zu bestimmen.[41]

Dass die Objekte griechischer Tradition eine starke symbolische Kraft besaßen, bestätigt ihre Imitation in einer indigenen Keramikklasse, der sogenannten ‚Matt Painted'-Keramik mit geometrischem Dekor. So wurden in der Nekropole von Garaguso Teller im korinthischen Typus niedergelegt wie auch Oinochoen, sog. Thymiateria und ein Kalathos, die als Imitationen oder hybride Formen angesprochen werden können.[42] Charakteristisch für diese Vasen ist, dass sie die Dekorationssyntax der ‚Matt Painted'-Keramik zeigen. Somit hat sich die Form dem lokalen Repertoire angenähert. Mit der Form ist aber nicht immer die Funktion übertragen worden. Der Fall der Thymiateria ist hier symptomatisch. Von den in der Nekropole bezeugten Typen besitzen diejenigen mit einer kleinen Schale die morphologisch-funktionalen Charakteristika für das Verbrennen von Duftsubstanzen. Die gemalte Dekoration innerhalb der Schalen scheint jedoch den Vorgang der Verbrennung auszuschließen *(Abb. 7)*. Vielmehr kann sie die Hypothese bestätigen, dass die Schalen Wasser oder andere Flüssigkeiten aufnehmen sollten, so dass es kleine Louteria oder Perirrantheria waren.[43] Es kann aber auch sein, dass es sich um Gefäßständer handelt. Das einzige hohle Exemplar hingegen besitzt die Charakteristika eines für Libationen bestimmten Gefäßes, wie es auch für andere Kontexte Süditaliens vorgeschlagen wurde, wie z. B. in Botromagno.[44] Im oinotrischen Bereich wird diese Art als „Gefäßröhre" bezeichnet und mit den kantharoiden Gefäßen in Verbindung gebracht. Man hat sie für Trankopfer genutzt, die für chtonische Gottheiten in die Erde eingebracht wurden.[45] Ebenso bedeutungsvoll ist das Vorkommen von Imitationen Ionischer Schalen im Typus B2 *(Abb. 8)*.[46] Diese wurden allerdings mit umlaufenden Bändern verziert, anstatt mit lokalen Dekormotiven. Auf diese Weise wurde die Absicht der Imitation betont. Das bewusste Vermeiden der geometrischen Dekorationssyntax zeigt, dass die Schalen im lokalen Formenschatz der Vasen nicht assimiliert wurden.

Der Umlauf der Objekte endete demnach nicht beim Erwerb und beim Gebrauch. Vielmehr wurde ein neuer Moment in der Kette aktiviert, indem die griechischen Vasenformen imitiert und neu funktionalisiert wurden. Damit geht möglicherweise einher, dass in einigen Fällen

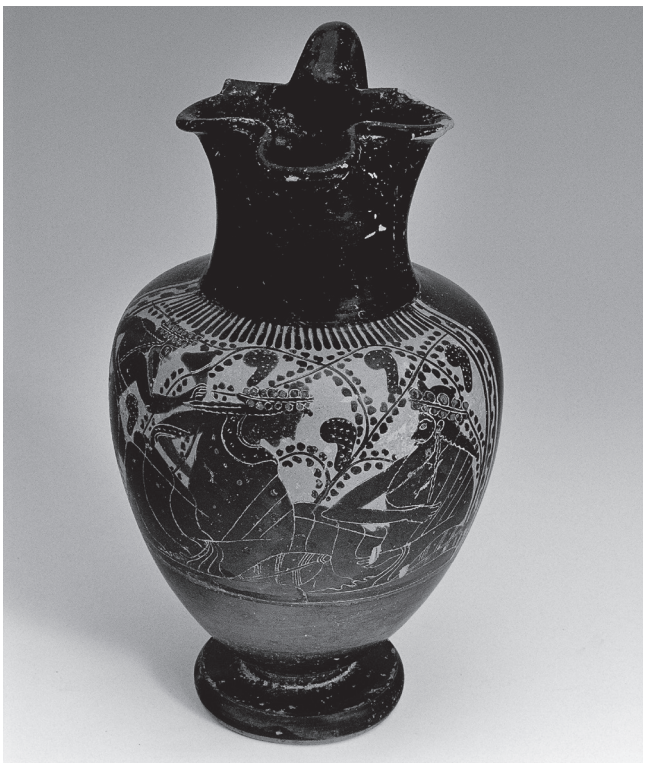

Abb. 6 Garaguso, Oinochoe Inv. 122144.

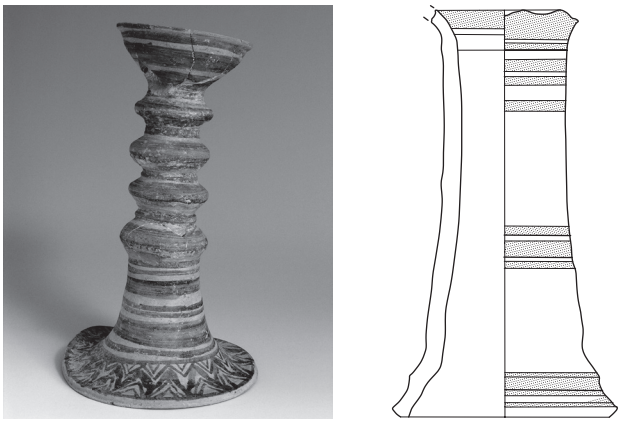

Abb. 7 Garaguso, ‚Thymiateria' Inv. 121579. 121841.

Abb. 8 Garaguso, Imitationen Ionischer Schalen im Typus B2, Inv. 22799. 121502.

eine ‚Neu-Semantisierung' der Bilder beobachtet werden kann, die als eine Art lokaler Interpretation von Mythen und griechischen Gottheiten anzusprechen ist. Wir kennen die Mythologie der indigenen Gemeinschaften nicht, jedoch zeigen die Darstellungen in der lokalen Keramik, dass die indigenen Werkstätten für die griechischen Modelle sensibilisiert waren und bisweilen lokale Versionen griechischer Mythen anfertigten, und zwar bereits vor der archaischen Zeit.[47] Dies lässt sich zwar nicht für Garaguso verifizieren, da es im lokalen Dekorationsrepertoire keine narrativen Bilder gab. Jedoch ist aus dem oinotrischen Bereich beispielsweise die Schale von Aliano-Santa Maria La Stella bekannt; auf ihr ist eine Darstellung zu erkennen, die als Herakles im Kampf mit den Stymphalischen Vögeln gedeutet wird.[48]

Schlussbetrachtungen

Im Süditalien der archaischen Zeit nahmen die lokalen Gemeinschaften an der Verbreitung der griechischen materiellen Kultur teil, die zu einem wiederkehrenden Element in den indigenen Kontexten wurde. Man ging in der älteren Forschung davon aus, dass Objekte und Bilder bestimmte griechische Praktiken, wie das Symposion, transportiert hätten; diese seien von den indigenen Eliten angenommen worden, die sich auf diese Weise an die griechischen Verhaltensweisen anglichen.[49] Jedoch bedeutet die Verwendung von auswärtigen Objekten in einer Gemeinschaft nicht notwendigerweise die Übernahme von Verhaltensweisen oder von fremden Traditionen. Objekte können vermittelt werden, ohne dass auch ihre Funktion transportiert wird.[50] In manchen Fällen mag man einfach eine indigene Vorliebe für die Praktiken und Bilder annehmen, die Analogien und Zustimmung in den lokalen Kontexten fanden.[51]

Jüngste Studien und Interpretationen, vor allem zu den messapischen Kontexten durch Gert-Jan Burgers und Grazia Semeraro, zeigen die aktive Rolle der indigenen Gemeinschaften bei der Aufnahme griechischer Objekte.[52] Auch wenn sie nicht wegen ihrer Funktion, ihres Motivs oder der damit verbundenen Praktiken ausgewählt wurden, waren sie doch ein Symbol, das in seiner Machart und in seinem Dekor als exotisch galt und für Prestige stand; die griechischen Objekte zeigen die Verbindungen der Eliten mit denen, die derartige Güter zirkulieren ließen. Vielleicht handelte es sich um direkte Verbindungen zu den griechischen Städten, was eine privilegierte Beziehung zu den Auswärtigen bedeutete. Dies war dann ein noch deutlicheres Symbol für Prestige, das den Einfluss einiger Mitglieder auf den Rest der Gemeinschaft, in einigen Fällen vielleicht sogar die Superiorität über andere Gemeinschaften rechtfertigen konnte.

Für die Siedlung von Garaguso erscheint mir die hier geschilderte Interpretation derartiger Objekte sinnvoll. Am Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. existierten die griechischen Kolonien Siris und Sybaris nicht mehr. Gleichzeitig ist in den Grabbeigaben der oinotrischen Zentren im Agri- und im Sinnital eine nahezu vollständige Übernahme der griechischen materiellen Kultur zu beobachten, welche die traditionelle ‚Matt Painted'-Keramik ersetzte. Mit dem Verschwinden der Bezugspersonen für den kommerziellen Austausch, durch den die Indigenen einen gewissen Wohlstand genossen hatten, verschwand die Sitte, die Grabinventare hauptsächlich mit Materialien zu bestücken, die für die Identität der Gemeinschaft wichtig waren.[53] Zeitgleich erlebte Metapont eine Periode der Blüte, und in Garaguso, das mit dieser Kolonie direkte Kontakte hatte, wurden die Sakralbereiche und die Nekropolen eingerichtet. Dort lässt sich zum ersten Mal griechische materielle Kultur nachweisen. Die indigene Siedlung begann möglicherweise in genau diesem Moment, wirtschaftliche Beziehungen zu Metapont zu knüpfen, das sich zuvor bezüglich seiner Bedürfnisse immer an das Binnenland gewandt hatte. Es lässt sich also vermuten, dass Metapont eine zentrale Rolle in der Verbreitung griechischer Kultur spielte. Wenn die ‚Matt Painted'-Keramik in der Nekropole für die Gemeinschaft als identitätsstiftend angesehen werden muss, so galt die griechische Keramik vielleicht als ein Symbol der Macht der aufstrebenden Elite, die nun die Rolle als Vermittler mit der griechischen Welt ‚geerbt' hatte, die zuvor andere oinotrische indigene Zentren innehatten.

Grundsätzlich lässt sich am Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. in Garaguso innerhalb der rituellen Praktiken, sowohl im kollektiven Kult als auch im Grabritual, die Aneignung auswärtiger Elemente beobachten, die zu politischen Symbolen wurden. Die Inhaber derartiger Objekte waren auch die Inhaber der Verbindungen, welche diese Gegenstände kennzeichneten. Damit wird deutlich, dass Kontakte und Beziehungen die Basis des Wohlstands der indigenen Gemeinschaft von Garaguso bildeten.

Die Verwendung der Vasen in indigenen Kontexten ist ein Prozess der aktiven Aneignung und Veränderung von Elementen aus der griechischen Welt gewesen. Man hat sie mit Bedacht ausgewählt und in das System der lokalen Praktiken übernommen. Gleichzeitig waren es Symbole, mit denen die indigenen Eliten Status und Einfluss verhandelten. Die materielle Kultur war ein hervorragendes Instrument der Kommunikation, mit der sich die Eliten selbst darstellten und auf diese Weise ihren eigenen Einfluss gegenüber der Gemeinschaft legitimierten.

ABBILDUNGSNACHWEIS

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Abb. 3 Nach Bertesago – Garaffa 2015, Taf. 36. 26. 22. 23.
Abb. 4 Bandschale Inv. 121445; Grab 2, Beigaben: Inv. 121460, 121461, 121445, 121446, 121451, 121449, 121453, 121452, 121447, 121450, 121448, 121456, 121459, 121462, 121457, 121454. Fotos M. Calia.
Abb. 5 Inv. 131967: nach Garaffa 2016, Abb. 14c; Zeichnung: V. Garaffa.
Abb. 6 Inv. 122144: Foto M. Calia.
Abb. 7 Inv. 121579: Foto M. Calia; Inv. 121841: Zeichnung V. Garaffa.
Abb. 8 Inv. 22799, 121502, nach Garaffa 2016, Taf. XIIId. Zeichnung N. Montemurro.

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2 Dieses Thema war Gegenstand meiner Promotion an der Universität Bonn, die von der Gerda Henkel Stiftung Düsseldorf finanziell gefördert wurde.
3 Vgl. S. Bianco – A. Preite, Identificazione degli Enotri. Fonti e metodi interpretativi, MEFRA 126, 2014, 405–428.
4 Die oinotrischen Siedlungen waren in einzelnen Nuklei organisiert und zeichneten sich durch spezialisierte Keramikproduktionen aus. In den Nekropolen wurde das Ritual der ausgestreckten Beisetzung praktiziert, Bianco 2011, 41.
5 Donnarumma – Tomay 1999; Tomay 2003.
6 Ausnahmen sind eine Darstellung von Kriegern mit Pferden, aus Grab 4, und eine mit dem Kampf zwischen Herakles und Apoll um den Dreifuß, aus Grab 29, Tomay 2003, 131.
7 Ebenfalls vorhanden sind Transportamphoren, die auch in anderen tyrrhenischen oinotrischen Zentren vorkommen, Donnarumma – Tomay 2009, 56. 58.
8 So etwa eine Strigilis, die an eine Lekythos mit dionysischer Szene angelehnt war und zu der sich ein Aryballos aus vergänglichem Material gefunden hat, wobei die Dokumentation nicht festgehalten hat, welches Material es war (Grab 13); dies ist eine Anspielung auf den Bereich der Palästra. – In einem anderen Grab (Grab 33) mit Oinochoe, Schalenskyphos und Skyphoi sind neben den bekannten dionysischen Szenen auch Darstellungen eines Zweikampfs zwischen Kriegern auf einem Alabastron, einer Quadriga auf einer Kleeblattkanne, und auf einer nolanischen Amphora eine fliegende Nike mit Kithara belegt, Tomay 2003, 134f.
9 Tomay 2003, 135–137.
10 Tomay 2003, 131. 133. 139.
11 Laut der aristotelischen Überlieferung, Aristot. pol. 7, 9, 2, habe Italo, König der Oinotrer, dieses Volk von Nomaden in Bauern verwandelt, indem er ihm Gesetze und die Praxis der syssitia gab.
12 C. Vandermersch, Vigne, Vin et économie dans l'Italie du Sud grecque à l'époque archaïque, Ostraka 5, 1996, 156.
13 Donnarumma – Tomay 1999, 53 Taf. XXII, 2.
14 S. Bianco, Vino e simposio nelle comunità dell'Enotria, in: G. Di Pasquale (Hrsg.), Vinum Nostrum: arte, scienza e miti del vino nelle civiltà del Mediterraneo antico. Catalogo della mostra (Florenz 2010) 120–131; J.-P. Brun, La produzione del vino in Magna Grecia e in Sicilia, CMGr 49, 2009 (2011) 97–142.
15 Siehe Anm. 6.
16 Siehe z. B. A. Bottini (Hrsg.), Armi. Gli strumenti della guerra in Lucania (Bari 1993).
17 Siehe Anm. 9.
18 Zur Siedlung siehe zusammenfassend Bianco 2011.
19 Pilo in: Osanna et al. 2007, 147–153; für die verschiedenen Interpretationen siehe Pilo a. O., Anm. 37–40.
20 Trombetti in: Osanna et al. 2007, 154–161.
21 Osanna in: Osanna et al. 2007, 161f.
22 Zur Siedlung: Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione Greca in Italia e nelle isole Tirreniche 8. Siti: Gargara – Lentini (Pisa 1990) 549–552 s. v. Garaguso (J. P. Morel), und Bertesago – Garaffa 2015.
23 M. Torelli, Greci e indigeni in Magna Grecia: ideologia religiosa e rapporti di classe, Studi Storici 18, 1977, H. 4, 45–61.
24 M. Sestieri Bertarelli, Il tempietto e la stipe votiva di Garaguso, AttiMemMagnaGr N. S. 2, 1958, 67–78; J.-M. Moret, I marmi di Garaguso. Vittorio di Cicco e l'imbroglio della loro scoperta (Venosa 2014).
25 Der Sakralbereich, den ich jüngst in einer Studie zusammen mit Silvia Bertesago vorgelegt habe, siehe Bertesago – Garaffa 2015, wurde bis in das 3. Jh. frequentiert.
26 Eine vollständige Oinochoe, Bertesago – Garaffa 2015, 116 Nr. 251 Abb. 36 Taf. IX; Fragmente einer Lekythos mit der rotfigurigen Darstellung einer Frau, die dem Umkreis des Malers der Geburt der Athena zugeschrieben wird, a. O. 274 Nr. 970 Abb. 26; eine Lekythos aus der Klasse des Leoncino, a. O. 253 Nr. 880 Abb. 26 Taf. XXX; ein Schalenskyphos aus der Haimongruppe, a. O. 197 Nr. 568 Abb. 26 Taf. XIX; weitere Fragmente von figürlich verzierter Keramik und Krateren, Schalen und Schälchen sowie Kylikes des Typus C a. O. 114–116. Hier liegt der Schwerpunkt der Untersuchung jedoch auf der attischen Keramik der Gräber in Analogie zu den Beispielen anderer oinotrischer Zentren.
27 J. P. Morel, Garaguso (Lucania): traditions indigènes et influences grecques, CRAI 1974, 379–385. Diese Produktion setzt um das 8. Jh. in Sala Consilina, Vallo di Diano, ein und ist nach der Einteilung durch D. Yntema charakteristisch für eine ganze Reihe indigener Zentren Süditaliens, D. Yntema, The Matt-painted Pottery of Southern Italy. A General Survey of the Matt-painted Pottery Style of Southern Italy During the Final Bronze Age and the Iron Age (Galatina 1990).
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29 Inv. 121445. Die Schale stammt aus dem Grab 2 und wird in die zweite Hälfte des 6. Jhs. datiert. Garaffa 2016, 77, Abb. 14a. Zum Elbows Out: ABV, 248–252; Beazley, Para 69. 89. 112f. 518; Beazley, Addenda² 64f. Vgl. u. a. ein Exemplar aus Ruvo del Monte (Grab 25): A. Bottini, Ruvo del Monte (Potenza) – necropoli in contrada S. Antonio: scavi 1977, NSc 35, 1981, 259–261. 285–288 Nr. 244 Abb. 68, und einen Bandskyphos aus Athen, NM 17582: CVA Athen, National Museum 4, 22 Taf. 11, 3. 4.
30 Inv. 121919. Die Schale stammt aus dem Grab 26 und findet bislang weder einen Vergleich noch eine sichere Zuschreibung; der Stil ist ähnlich einer Bandschale in München SH 2222: CVA München 11, Taf. 32, 1–4, mit weiterer Bibliographie sowie einer weiteren in Tarent: CVA Taranto, Museo Nazionale 2 III He Taf. 5, 2.
31 Inv. 132194, aus Grab 17. Garaffa 2016, 77 Abb. 14b. Zu den Kasselschalen: H. A. G. Brijder, Simply Decorated, Black Siana Cups by the Taras Painter and Cassel Cups, BABesch 68, 1993, 129–145; A. Ciancio, CVA Gioia del Colle, Museo Archeologico Nazionale I, 26 zu Taf. 24, 2.
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35 B. Graef – E. Langlotz, Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen I (Berlin 1925) 1322 Taf. 62; aus Korinth: CVA Athen, National Museum 4 Taf. 50, 1–3; zu anderen Beispielen: Ahlberg-Cornell a. O. (Anm. 34) 73.
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39 Inv. 122144, aus Grab 31. Vgl. ABV 426, 11. Unter den Grabbeigaben befindet sich auch ein Schalenskyphos mit Satyrn: Garaffa 2016, 77 Abb. 14b.

40 Bianco 2011, 28f. Zum Symposion in der Grabideologie und zur Überwindung des Todes durch Dionysos mit Hilfe von Wein, siehe L. Cerchiai, Culti dionisiaci e rituali funerari tra poleis magnogreche e comunità anelleniche, CMGr 49, 2009 (2011) 483–514.

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47 L. Todisco, Temi narrativi nella ceramica apula prima delle figure rosse, in: F.-H. Massa-Pairault, L'image antique et son interprétation, Collection de L'École Française de Rome 371 (Rom 2006) 156. „Manipulation, resémantisation ou bricolage: la production du sens est ici liée à un ensemble de paramètres extrêmement divers et complexes", Lissarrague a. O. (Anm. 41) 269.

48 Tagliente a. O. (Anm. 1) 425f. Abb. 8; Bianco a. O. (Anm. 1) 70. Zu ähnlichen Darstellungen im messapischen Raum: G. Gadaleta – M. A. Sisto, Narrare „alla greca". La ceramica arcaica della Messapia tra originalità ed imitazione, in: Massa-Pairault a. O. (Anm. 47) 131–148; A. C. Montanaro, La ceramica a figure nere in area apula. Produzione, diffusione e contesti, Mediterranea 7, 2010, 203–226.

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Death is not for me: Funerary Contexts of Warrior Chiefs from Pre-Roman Apulia

Andrea C. Montanaro

The discoveries of the last thirty years in Apulia have highlighted the leading role of this region, and especially ancient Peucetia, in the evolution of Lucanian and Apulian red-figured pottery. In fact, from the last decades of the fifth century BC onwards the aristocratic classes of Apulia (in the fourth century also those of the Daunian district) were the main patrons and consumers of the products of Italic workshops.

As the most complex elements of the funerary assemblage there was a specific demand for those objects. They were entrusted with the ideological messages and representative needs of the deceased, displaying their wealth, the social role they played in life, and their adoption of cultural and ideological models of Hellenic origin. They also refer to the deceased's forms of religiosity and to their adherence to and participation in beliefs of 'salvific type', albeit filtered through their own cultural values and ideologies. In fact, it is highly likely that the needs of such a rarefied patronage influenced Italic figured production from the beginning their specific requests governed the selection of themes and compositions.[1]

Within the cemeteries of these aristocracies there were several male figures of exceptional rank whose status was expressed through the monumentality of their tomb structure as well as through the complexity and richness of the funerary assemblage. The objects within these assemblages were not merely evidence of lavish opulence but were intended to mirror the social standing of the deceased in order to project a specific image and ideology. They were warrior-chiefs whose graves were furnished with the weapons and armour that they took with them at the moment of death – weapons and armour of great value, probably imported from Greece and from the colonies of Magna Graecia (Metapontum and Taranto). Although often ceremonial, they highlight the position of both leader and chief that the deceased held in life. These weapons, along with Italic vases decorated with scenes reflecting a warlike ideology, and imported bronze vases (Etruscan and Greek) and metal tools for the symposium, constitute a homogeneous set in terms of the contents and messages they are intended to evoke and transmit. As a whole the funerary assemblages represent the desire on the part of the aristocracy to be distinguished from the rest of society and to achieve an afterlife like that of the heroes of myth.[2]

Focusing on the most important complexes, we will first consider the settlement of Rutigliano (the ancient site of Azetium) situated in the central area of Peucetia, which has yielded some of the richest and most valuable evidence for red-figured pottery in central Apulia, attributable to the most important workshops of proto-Lucanian and proto-Apulian production. Here, a sector of the large necropolis at "Contrada Purgatorio" was excavated between 1976 and 1980: 367 tombs were found, covering a chronological span from the Archaic period through the entire 4th century BC. In this phase, the burial assemblages of tombs belonging to members of the elite reflect several different themes. These graves have produced bronzes of Greek and Etruscan production, Attic black and red-figured and Italic red-figured pottery, figured ambers of exceptional manufacturing, and glass balsam containers from the Near East (which may have contained the precious aromatic substances used in the preparation of the body for funeral rituals).[3]

An important example is tomb 11/1976, dated to around 430–400 BC, in which the deceased is represented as a warrior and was buried with iron spears and bronze armour consisting of an Apulian-Corinthian helmet (decorated with an animalistic frieze), a sword-belt and a pair of greaves. It is likely that the deceased's chest was protected by a leather bodice, indicated by bronze studs and the presence of strings.[4] At the same time, two bronze strigils evoke the deceased's athletic qualities, an allusion already seen in the aristocratic burials of the Tarentine necropoleis. Bronze vases of great artistic value accompanied the deceased: a basin with a long handle in the shape of a reptile, a large basin with mobile handles on tripod, a lebes on a tripod, a strainer, a krater, and a

bronze sieve, all of which allude to the banquet and to the symposium. There were also iron plates, flat or volute shaped, with wooden remains, possibly from a kline. The compartment adjoining the sarcophagus contained Attic and Italiote vases alongside indigenous examples.[5] Among these a great number were either imported or local imitations of Attic black-paint vases, with a prevalence of drinking shapes such as cups, kylikes and skyphoi. Amongst the Italiote vases, the volute krater of proto-Lucanian production, recently attributed by M. Denoyelle to the Pisticci Painter *(Fig. 1),* stands out.[6] On the main side is a scene from the Trojan cycle – Ajax trying to tear Cassandra away from the Palladium – and on the neck is a libation scene. On the other side of the neck is a departure scene but most interesting is the libation scene represented on the body, showing a Nike pouring wine into a phiale held by a young warrior reaching out to her. The scene depicts the return of a warrior, being greeted by a Nike as an immortal hero after completing his glorious deeds in war; it clearly refers to the role played in life by the deceased *(Fig. 2)*. Another remarkable vase from this tomb is a pelike depicting an Amazonomachy on the main side (a conversation scene is on the opposite side) ascribed to the Painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl, one of the most important artists of the proto-Apulian workshops. The scenes depicted on the opposite side of the krater (a parting scene of a warrior on the neck, and the triumphant return of the warrior received by a Nike) and on the pelike emphasize the warrior role of the deceased, already highlighted by the armour, and his heroic deeds in life, metaphorically represented by the mythological scenes on the vases. The burial represents the deceased as a warrior-chief, an athlete and a symposiast, and these multiple allusions exemplify the high level of sophistication attained by Peucetian communities during the fifth century BC.

Fig. 1 Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: funerary assemblage of tomb 11/1976 from Rutigliano.

Even more interesting is tomb 24/1976, dated to around 430–420 BC. This is a monumental grave of the semi-chamber type, with traces of painted decoration and a compartment with a very rich assemblage (more than eighty vases), which indicates the high social status of the deceased.[7] He was represented as a warrior and buried with bronze and iron armour and weapons, such as an Apulian-Corinthian helmet, two ankle guards, a belt, and perhaps horse's trappings, along with swords, spears and knives. The rich funerary assemblage also included several bronze and iron vases and instruments of Greek and Etruscan production, including a lebes, a basin with mobile handles, two paterae (one of which had an anthropomorphic handle), two strainers, a thymiaterion, a small jug and a keagra. The identification of the deceased as warrior-chief, already clear by the presence of weapons and prestigious armour, is repeated in the iconography of the vases, seven of which are attributed to the Painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl; these were very probably purchased in bulk and produced with this precise funerary context in mind.[8] In fact, iconographic themes depicted on these vases seem to have the exaltation of the deceased as their primary function. Themes of fighting warriors and heroes, which include scenes of departure for war (for example, the panathenaic amphora with a warrior ready to attack, or the skyphos with parting scenes), or crowning after victory (e.g., the scene with Achilles crowned as a winner by Nike in the presence of Athena, depicted on the main side of the volute krater), all exalt the heroic deeds of the warrior, which are ennobled by reference to the heroes of myth (for example, the panathenaic amphora with Adrastus on the chariot who encourages Argive leaders to take up arms against Thebes, and the pelike depicting Peleus against an Amazon). According to Robinson, the scene on the large volute-krater was chosen with the knowledge that this specimen was destined for the tomb of a

Peucetian warrior. It represents the end of the duel between Achilles and Memnon: victorious Achilles, crowned by Nike, is in the centre of the scene. Memnon, depicted falling back into the arms of his mother Eos, is also a very significant figure. These scenes were fitting illustrations of the main objectives and desires encapsulated within the tomb of a deceased warrior. As Robinson says: "*according to Proclus' summary of the* Aethiops, *Eos appealed to Zeus after the duel, and her dead son was thereby granted immortality. There is a growing body of evidence to suggest that the elites of the Italic centres were becoming interested, at just this period, in the hope of spending an afterlife in the company of the gods*". Representations of Eos appear in several tombs of the Italic elites, dated to the second half of the 5th century BC. The most famous example comes from tombs 64/65 at Ruvo del Monte, in which a Lucanian calyx-krater by the Pisticci Painter and an Etruscan bronze candelabrum both represent Eos carrying young men; this suggests that the deceased in these tombs wished to be similarly transported in order to spend eternity in the company of the gods.[9] The figurative and auto-celebrative programme of the Rutigliano vases seems to find its conclusion on an oinochoe (a chous) depicting the capture of Cerberus by Heracles, with its clear eschatological message: a metaphor of victory over death and the achievement of immortality as a just reward for one who had accomplished heroic deeds in battle. Particularly significant for its metaphorical content is the hydria depicting a Nike running towards a naked, standing young man on its main side; the vase is perhaps to be understood in the same way of the chous, as representing the deceased as an athlete, similar to side B of the krater *(Fig. 3)*.[10]

Materials of high quality also accompany burial in tomb 9/1976, dated between 420 and 400 BC, a blood relative of the woman buried in the neighboring tomb 10/1976. The presence in the tomb and in the adjoining compartment of both offensive (cusps of spears and javelin placed at the hips) and defensive weapons (a belt, also positioned at the hips) qualifies the deceased as a high-ranking warrior who promoted his position by referencing Greek cultural models, albeit adapted to his own cultural and ideological needs. The rich ceramic furnishings of the compartment (almost totally Attic) were assembled according to a complex system of functions, which included vessels for containing (kraters), pouring (oinochoai, olpai and jugs), and drinking (skyphoi, cups and kantharoi), and refer to the practice of wine consumption and the symposium. This was a practice assimilated by the indigenous communities of Peucetia, and through

Fig. 2 Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: volute krater by the Pisticci Painter from tomb 11/1976 of Rutigliano.

Fig. 3 Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: vases from tomb 24/1976 of Rutigliano. Volute krater, panathenaic amphora and hydria by the Painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl.

which images and symbols of Dionysus – which promised the 'overcoming of death' and the immortality of the soul – spread quickly. The ceramic service was focused on the proto-Lucanian column-krater by the Amykos Painter, which depicts pairs of satyrs and maenads – characteristic figures of the Dionysian world. The service for the symposium was completed by vases and metal tools, with shapes used for cooking meat, either by boiling (bronze lebetes and basins on tripods of Tyrrhenian production) or roasting (a beam of iron spits), as well as a krater (to mix cheese and wine) and a strainer. The provenance of the pottery from Attica and the colonies of Magna Graecia (black-painted and red-figured vases) and the attribution of some of the metal instruments to Etruscan-Campanian bronze workshops demonstrate the complex relationships of the emerging classes during the second half of the 5th century BC. Moreover, amongst the distinctive elements of the aristocratic status of the deceased, the bronze strigil stands out, alluding to athletic practices which were also depicted (in the scene of the discus throw) on the main side of the bell-krater by the Sisyphus Painter *(Fig. 4)*.[11] The high rank of the deceased can also be seen by their expensive and sumptuous ceremonial dress, probably worn during the funeral ceremony, and which incorporates glass balsamaria from the East which may have contained the precious aromatic

Fig. 4 Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: funerary assemblage of tomb 9/1976 from Rutigliano.

substances used in the preparation of the body. The dress was decorated with thirteen silver fibulae of double arch type, found on the chest and to the side of the body, some of which are adorned with figured amber (one with a satyr's head), and by two large figured amber pendants, placed on the chest of the deceased and characterized by a high stylistic manufacture. One depicts a bearer of hydria (perhaps a Danaid), the other an armed character with shield, spear and a lion skin on his head. They were probably deities linked to the Underworld who accompanied the deceased on his 'Long Journey', allowing him to 'overcome death' and attain the immortality of the soul. To this symbolic arena we can also add the amber satyr's head which decorated the arch of a fibula and belonged to the complex decoration of the funeral dress.[12]

The settlement of Gravina has also yielded material of great interest in terms of quality, function and significance. The role of this material, found in burial assemblages at the Botromagno and Padre Eterno necropoleis, offers a direct reflection of the community's ideological heritage, social structure, productivity, and commercial relationships. The objects found indicate the leading role of Peucetia in the evolution of the red-figured tradition. This area had strong economic links with the territory of Lucania and the Metapontine hinterland, and as such there had been a market for the acquisition of Attic products since the middle of the 5th century BC. Highly significant are funerary assemblages that have yielded vases belonging to the early phases of Italiote productions and which reveal different elements of the transmission and interpretation of Italiote iconographic models into the indigenous environment.[13]

An important example can be found in the material from tomb 2/1994 of Botromagno, a large semi-chamber tomb with traces of painted decoration.[14] Amongst the most representative elements of the funerary assemblage, the figured vases of Early Lucanian production (from the workshop of the Amykos Painter) constitute a group of great value, both aesthetically and stylistically. In regard to the images represented and the ideological messages they carry, they provide tangible evidence for the main values and ideologies of the dominant social classes of the city. The images allude to two fundamental themes, which were key to the ideological expression of the client: heroism in war, and the centrality of the cult of Dionysus. The theme of heroism is evoked by scenes of duels represented on the hydria which recall the Iliad, and depict characters from the Homeric epic as protagonists (Patroclus slumped to the ground with Ajax Telamon supporting him, and Menelaus throwing himself into the fray to avenge the death of his friend) *(Fig. 5)*. The individual role of the warrior and its associated values are emphasized: war, victory, death in combat. These were values with which the recipient of the vase identified himself – as a warrior who, through his glorious death in battle, became a symbolic figure and would be remembered forever, 'immortal' like the heroes of myth.[15] The second theme is alluded to in the scene painted on the

Fig. 5 Gioia del Colle, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (storeroom): hydria by the Amykos Painter from tomb 2/1994 of Gravina-Botromagno.

Fig. 6 Gioia del Colle, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (storeroom): column krater by the Tarporley Painter from tomb 4/1988 of Gravina-Padre Eterno.

main side of the bell-krater (where two young nymphs are surprised by a group of satyrs while they make their toilet at a louterion) and in the representation of two satyrs on a chous, which also depicts the main elements of the symposium (krater, drinking cup horn and tirso).[16]

Similar themes are expressed on the figured vases from two other important contexts in the Padre Eterno necropolis, tombs 4/1988 and 10/1999, dated between the end of the 5th and the first thirty years of the 4th century BC. During this chronological phase, parts of this area include burials of individuals who belonged to aristocratic families and who chose to make their position in society explicit through the monumentality of the tomb structure (in this case, larger-than-average pits) and the complexity and richness of their funerary assemblages. These two tombs are burials of adult male warriors united by ties of kinship, and buried with the hoplite armaments which identified them as warrior-chiefs. In tomb 4/1988, elements of the armour were still worn, including an Apulian-Corinthian helmet on the head, a belt placed on the hips, a leather bodice with bronze studs that protected the chest, and a pair of ankle guards. A spear and an iron javelin were deliberately placed on the chest to emphasize the deceased's warrior role. The most representative element is the helmet, with all that it celebrates and highlights. In fact, the scene painted on the main vase of the funerary assemblage, an Apulian red-figured column-krater by the Tarporley Painter dated to around 380 BC, focuses on such a symbolic object, and is highlighted by metal gilding with added yellow color. The scene depicts the departure of a warrior (no doubt linked to the role played by the deceased in life) who, at the moment of death, wanted to bring with him the helmet and weapons which were representative of his role as both fighter and leader, and through which he could earn a favourable otherworldly outcome. All in all it is evocative of and a reminder of their 'last journey' *(Fig. 6)*.[17]

In tomb 10/1999, dated to the late 5th century BC, the association of the deceased with military leadership is shown by a bronze belt placed on the pelvis, a pair of ankle guards still worn, the remains of a leather breast piece, and the iron weapons placed at his side and on the chest (a broken spear next to its tip, a tip of javelin). The figured pottery is comprised of proto-Lucanian productions, and here a pelike, decorated with a young athlete standing between cloaked female figures, and a column krater depicting a Dionysiac thiasos by the Amykos Painter, stand out. Linked to the ceramic service – which also includes black-painted pottery and kantharoi of the Xenon Group, of Metapontine production – are bronze and iron objects related to the sym-

posium (a krater, a kantharos, a lebes on tripod, a bundle of spits, and a lamp on a support).[18]

The group of Attic and Italiote ceramics, dated to the last decades of the 5th century BC and coming from tomb 1/1974 of Gravina-Botromagno, are particularly significant. They are characterized by a high level of quality and represent a unified and homogeneous group. Amongst the Attic specimens, as well as the Italiote, are vases depicting specific mythological themes, such as a kantharos by the Eretria Painter with episodes from the Trojan War (Menelaus coming to Ilium with Odysseus to demand the return of Helen) or the cover of a lekanis by the Achilles Painter, depicting the rape of the Leucippides who were abducted by the Dioscuri. In association with the Attic products, this context also included a group of proto-Apulian vases, amongst which is a monumental volute krater and five Panathenaic amphorae; these represent the most important and challenging elements of the assemblage from a stylistic and iconographic perspective. Complex narrative themes appear on the volute-krater by the Gravina Painter, including the events of the Trojan myth (including episodes from the start of the Trojan War, such as the banquet given by Menelaus in honor of Paris and Helen which took place in the presence of the Dioscuri). On the other side is a large scene of the Calydonian boar hunt, a heroic enterprise mentioned by Homer and attended by the Dioscuri and Meleager. The presence of the Dioscuri can be read as an expression of an aristocratic class who created their own distinctive status within society through the use of equestrian art. This interpretation seems to correspond to the image of two knights painted on one of the tomb's walls, perhaps belonging to a complex scene depicting a sumptuous funeral ceremony celebrated in honor of the deceased, which, together with the vases of the assemblage, was meant to exalt the chief's heroic deeds in life which were comparable to those of the heroes of myth.

Representations linked to warlike ideology appear frequently on amphorae, such as the amphora offered at a funerary monument which show the deceased's statue placed on a plinth and depict him naked with only his armour (a helmet and shield) and the cloak on his shoulders to highlight their status as a warrior who has become immortal *(Fig. 7)*. Other representations are more specifically related to the Trojan myth and the Homeric tales. Distinctive amongst these is the amphora by the Gravina Painter which depicts a rare image of the hero Bellerophon on Pegasus and the death of the perfidious Stheneboea. The reference to Pegasus is deliberate and serves to heroise the status of a knight.[19]

The site of Ruvo di Puglia, in northern Peucetia, produced perhaps the most valuable red-figured pottery in

Fig. 7 Gioia del Colle, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (storeroom): volute krater and panathenaic amphora by the Gravina Painter from tomb 1/1974 of Gravina-Botromagno.

the region. However, the majority of these objects have no archaeological context, having been excavated during the 19th century – only a few have ended up in well-known collections that remain intact today. However, several funerary assemblages have recently been reconstructed thanks to studies based on the analysis of manuscripts and archive documents of the period, which have provided valuable information about these discoveries. Thanks to these it is now possible to go beyond the level of mere stylistic analysis of the figured finds, and to evaluate their function and significance in relation to other associated artifacts and in relation to the funerary assemblages recovered during the two last decades, which allow us to study the specific features of their owners.[20]

Amongst the new finds, one of the most interesting comes from the burial assemblage of tomb 1/1993, a grave of sarcophagus type reused several times, which included two inhumations (one anatomically intact), while the remains of another individual were found outside the sarcophagus. Amongst the objects in this burial was a red-figured bell-krater of proto-Lucanian production, attributed by A. Riccardi to the Anabates Painter and datable to the first decades of the 4th century BC. It depicts a scene of a cavalryman, armed with spear and shield, advancing toward a Nike who arrives in flight to crown him *(Fig. 8)* and was related to the first internment (the one found outside the tomb): a male burial associated with a strigil and a large banded lid which allude to the military status of the deceased, celebrating his deeds and his victories in battle. The strong symbolism of the vase's iconography would not have been lost on later users of the tomb, who would have reused it in their grave assemblages in order to affirm their membership of the highest social class.[21]

Equally important is tomb 39/1929, a semi-chamber tomb with a funerary assemblage consisting of thirty ceramic pieces from the late Apulian phase (which dates the complex to between 345 and 320 BC), and a set of armour. The membership of the deceased to a high-ranking military class is further underlined by representations on the volute-krater by the Gioia del Colle Painter and on the panathenaic amphorae. The iconography here exalts the deceased, who is represented both as a warrior surrounded by his arms (which are hung inside a naiskos) and, through his nudity, as a hero. The role of the deceased as warrior-chief is emphasized by the bronze armour found in the burial, whose highlights include the short anatomical breastplate of Italic type, with its links to the Lucanian-Samnitic world. There is also a wide belt with hooks of palmette type and a pair of greaves. The warrior's role as a hoplite is seemingly confirmed by the shield episema in bronze sheet, with its embossed decoration of a traditional indigenous boar in heraldic form.[22]

Tomb B/2001 contained the remains of an older warrior buried between the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd centuries BC (the date confirmed by a silver diobol from the mint of Heraclea which was placed on his jaw). The man was wearing a bronze belt, repaired in antiquity, and he was furnished with three iron daggers, a strigil, and metal cooking equipment (tripods and spits). The ceramic service included different types of vases, largely belonging to Daunian production of the early Hellenistic period, such as a pair of amphorae and an unhandled loutrophoros, consistent with the typical group-

Fig. 8 Bari, Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Puglia (storeroom): bell krater by the Anabates Painter from tomb 1/1993 of Ruvo di Puglia.

Fig. 9 Bitonto, Museo Archeologico: volute krater by the Baltimore Painter from tomb B/2001 of Ruvo di Puglia.

ings of large red-figure vases manufactured in Daunia. The amphorae and the loutrophoros were executed in tempera, imitating the decorative syntax and iconographic motifs of red-figure versions of the same shapes, and were probably made in the workshops of Arpi. Amongst the red-figure vases, a large volute-krater by the Baltimore Painter is a stand out. Its principal side depicts a naiskos in which a horseman, armed with a spear and wearing a short tunic held at the waist by a belt, holds his horse by the reins. The theme represented is 'the return of the warrior', executed here in an atmosphere of serenity *(Fig. 9)*. The depiction is a 'self-celebration' and clearly alludes to the military status of the deceased (see the belt and the spear, which are also present in the funerary assemblage), and to the glories and victories he amassed during his lifetime. The choice of subject represented cannot be considered random, nor can the preference accorded within the assemblage to a 'masterwork' of the Baltimore Painter, one of the most important artists of the period.[23]

Conversano is another important settlement of Adriatic Peucetia in which the evidence from the necropoleis includes abundant examples of red-figured vases of Italic production. Particularly interesting is the northwest necropolis, with seventy-two tombs, several of which are characterized by very rich funerary assemblages.[24] Tomb 10/1958 is a semi-chamber type which contained an exceptional funerary assemblage, including a complete set of armour: a Phrygian helmet, an anatomical bivalve cuirass, a pair of shin guards, and a belt (all of which were in bronze), together with a curved sword, a spear, and an iron knife. This rich burial assemblage also includes a terracotta group of the chariot of Nike and figured vases representing a collection of exceptional examples of Apulian red-figure products, dating to the last quarter of the 4th century BC. Altogether, these objects identify the deceased as a *princeps* and a military leader, a prominent figure both economically and socially in comparison to the average individual who comprised the bulk of those interred in the necropolis. The precious armour was not worn by the deceased at the time of his burial, but was placed in an external compartment adjacent to the tomb. As A. Ciancio recently said: "*This circumstance suggests the significance of the 'parade' of armours, which would have been deposited when the tomb was closed at the conclusion of the funerary ceremony, making clear the highest rank of the deceased and his importance within the society*". It is not clear if these objects were the spoils of war or if they were purchased from either central Magna Graecia at Taranto or Greek Alexandria; either way, the intrinsic value of these items remains clear, as well as the significance of their deposition as sign of financial resources and distinction. A similar message of distinction comes from the figured ceramics deposited in the tomb: vases of monumental dimensions attributed to the workshop of the Darius Painter and characterised by complex iconography and themes. In several cases, the scenes represented depict otherwise unfamiliar versions of myths, demonstrating a different level of communication and testifying to an alternative, more exclusive, production sector. The best preserved of the monumental amphorae bears a rare image of Herakles fighting the Amazons, or a representation of Hippolyte spontaneously giving her belt to the hero, similar to a scheme that appears on a small group of late Apulian figured vases from Canosa, attributed to the workshop of the Baltimore and Darius Painters. From this we can see the emergence of less centralized artisans groups who focused their production towards more challenging and sophisticated works, which were intended for the limited, specific needs and commissioned consumption of the wealthy elite *(Fig. 10)*.[25]

One of the most important complexes in the region comes from Altamura, an important settlement located in the heart of Murge in inner Peucetia. Here, tomb 1/1974 has produced Apulian red-figured vases of great interest. The funerary assemblage of this semi-chamber tomb contained a large number of artifacts, amongst which red-figure vases predominate: eight of these are of monumental dimensions, and attributed to Darius, Patera and the Underworld Painters, dating the burial to the end of the third quarter of the 4th century BC. After pottery, silver relief-decorated vases are the most numerous, including cups, flasks, alabastra, pseudo-pyxes (with Herakles' head) and rhyta, and finally figured terracottas. There is a clear relationship with the Greek-Eastern world, particularly Macedonia, shown by the sumptuousness of the whole preparation, the subjects depicted on Apulian vases, and by the silvered ceramics that refer to prototypes of precious metal circulating in the Mediterranean after the Persian conquest. Several fragments from functional weapons were also found and the presence, rare in a funerary assemblage, of miniature iron weapons is very important; amongst these a double ax stands out for its symbolic meaning as a sign of power and regality, clearly stating the high rank of the deceased.

Amongst the pottery of monumental dimensions, a large volute krater by the Darius Painter dominates: the foot is decorated with a Nereid bringing new armour to Achilles; on the main side is a scene of the Battle of Gaugamela (also depicted on four other vases of the master). In the central register is the figure of the Macedonian king, on horseback and holding a long spear, pursuing King Darius who flees in his chariot, his right hand raised as a sign of desperation; between the two characters are two Persians. A loutrophoros has also been attributed to the Darius Painter and depicts on its main side a priestess, perhaps Pythia, standing before the Delphic altar of

Fig. 10 Gioia del Colle, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: funerary assemblage of tomb 10/1958 from Conversano.

Apollo. Also from the tomb comes an amphora by the Patera Painter, characterized by a scene set in the Underworld (depicting Hermes, Herakles with Cerberus, Hekate, Orpheus playing the lyre facing Hades, and Persephone) located in the upper register, and by the representation of the Danaides' fate (condemned to fill a bottomless vase) in the bottom. This representation is strongly symbolic and possesses several different meanings, all related to the theme of water – a key element in rites of passage, initiation and metamorphosis because of its values of purification and fertility. Equally significant for its content is the scene with Herakles in the Underworld, who has defeated Cerberus and stands in victory in front of Hades. From the same burial comes a second vase (a hydria) by the Patera Painter which illustrates another myth with strong references to the Underworld: the abduction of Kephalos by Eos, who is depicted on a chariot led by a Nike. The myth, which alludes to the transportation of the soul in the Afterlife, expresses "the hope of salvation" offered by life after death, a hope also revealed by the scenes depicted on the amphora with Herakles and the Danaids *(Fig. 11)*. But this destiny is reserved only for those individuals who have a prominent position in the community (as confirmed by presence in the assemblage of a symbol of power like the iron double ax) and have accomplished heroic deeds during their lifetime, reflected here in the scenes of the Battle of Gaugamela.[26]

Shifting our discussion to Daunia, the focus is here on some recently discovered contexts, omitting however the most famous funerary assemblages of Canosa, which has already been widely analyzed. At Minervino Murge, an important Daunian settlement located on the edge of the Ofanto valley which was in frequent contact with the centers of the Melfese area and Canosa, a large grave was found – tomb 21/1993 – characterized by a very rich funerary assemblage.[27] It is a chamber tomb formed by a single cell in axis with a stepped dromos, dated to the last decades of the 4th century BC. The hypogeum was intended for a young warrior, a member of the dominant aristocracy of the city, who was accompanied by armour consisting of a pileus helmet and a wide bronze belt, and by long iron weapons (cusps of a spear and a javelin). A laurel wreath was placed on the deceased's head with the clear intention of celebrating his triumphs in battle and representing him as an immortal hero of myth. The particular social position of the deceased is indicated by a rich ceramic complex, dominated by the monumental Apulian red-figured vases by the Baltimore Painter. The grave assemblage highlights several themes in the life of the deceased: exalting the warlike value of his character, celebrating the possession of prestige goods (see the bronze griffphiale), and finally, through the presence of a large achromic olla and an amphora of local production, acknowledging control of the economic resources of the settlement. The monumental vases – a pair of volute

Fig. 11 Altamura, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: panathenaic amphora and hydria by the Patera Painter of tomb 1/1974 from Altamura.

kraters and a pair of amphorae – seem to constitute "personal property" related to the complex of gifts which would accompany a wedding, reflected in the duplication of male and female characters in the scenes of naiskoi *(Fig. 12).* Aside from their role as part of the symposium, the selection of images is also deliberate – the vases become an instrument of communication to celebrate a high ranking couple via a repeated sequence which identifies the character of the deceased. As well as the political and military identity of the warrior, membership of a *gens* is also highlighted, with a showy celebration of the *domina*. In conclusion, the armour, vases, and, above all, the wreath constitute a celebration of the deceased who, through such objects, projects the following message: *"let me walk on the Sacred Way, hero among immortal heroes".* In this regard the scene depicted on the bell-krater by the Anabates Painter from Ruvo (discussed above), with a cavalryman advancing toward a Nike, who arrives in-flight to crown him, is highly significant. But most significant is the picture painted in the pediment of a chamber tomb from Arpi – the 'Tomb of the Nike' – which depicts a triumphant horseman who defeats his enemy and is crowned by a Nike *(Fig. 13)*.[28]

To conclude this paper, it is useful to consider a very rich funerary assemblage recently found at Ordona (the ancient Herdonia): tomb 382/2012 has produced some exceptional items, although red-figured vases are absent, perhaps taken during illegal excavations. It consists of a pair of pit tombs (male and female) located on a raised level (compared to the rest of the necropolis), in the "Contrada Cavallerizza", located south-east of the modern town of Ordona. The tomb was designed for the

Fig. 12 Minervino Murge, Museo Civico Archeologico: funerary assemblage of tomb 21/1993 from Minervino Murge.

Fig. 13 Foggia, Museo Civico Archeologico: figured fresco from the "Ipogeo della Nike" of Arpi.

burial of an adult male member of the aristocratic community of Herdonia, dated between the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 4th century BC. The burial emphasises the importance of the funerary apparatus, although the accompanying grave goods and personal ornaments are only partially preserved due to the illegal excavations which altered the level of deposition at the bottom of the tomb. The warrior (30–35 years old) was laid on a wooden and bronze bed, and was accompanied by a panoply consisting of a helmet, sword, and long weapons, as well as equipment for the symposium. An outstanding set of seven bronze belts, wrapped with special care in an embroidered cloth, was placed across the body, emphasising the value of these items as symbols of power and prestige which highlight the preeminent position of the deceased. Seventy fragments of cloth in embroidered wool have been found here, perhaps belonging to dresses and ceremonial textiles linked to the funerary sphere. Several wooden artifacts were also recovered: four carved elements (two elongated acorn and two pomegranates) of uncertain function, but – in relation to funerary ritual – with a clear symbolic meaning of strength and regeneration. A two-wheeled chariot was also found which has been proposed as a tool of war, but also constitutes a further sign of exaltation of the aristocratic ideology and their social distinction.[29]

PHOTO CREDITS

Fig. 1 Montanaro 2015, fig. 54 pl. 13, 2.
Fig. 2 Montanaro 2015, pl. 12, 3; *Andar per mare* 1998, p. 66 fig. 25,1 (lato B).
Fig. 3 Montanaro 2015, fig. 56. 155. 157.
Fig. 4 Montanaro 2015, fig. 57.
Fig. 5 Montanaro 2015, pl. 11, 3. 4
Fig. 6 Montanaro 2015, fig. 42.
Fig. 7 Montanaro 2015, pl. 54, 1. 3.
Fig. 8 Riccardi 2014, fig. 6.8.
Fig. 9 Montanaro 2007, pl. 72.
Fig. 10 Ciancio 2013a, fig. 1.
Fig. 11 Montanaro 2015, fig. 171; pl. 60, 3.
Fig. 12 Corrente – Maggio 2008, fig. 13.
Fig. 13 Mazzei 2015, p. 6.

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NOTES

1 For the diffusion of Italic red-figured pottery in Peucetia, see above all, Todisco 2012; Ciancio 2014, 152–167; Riccardi 2014, 133–151; Robinson 2014, 218–234; Montanaro 2015, 230–261; and bibliographic references.

2 On these aristocratic tombs, for Peucetia, see Ciancio 1997 (Gravina); Ciancio 2010, 225–237; Mazzei 2010 (Daunia); Montanaro 2007 (Ruvo di Puglia); Montanaro 2015, 37–86; Riccardi 1989, 69–89, to which reference is made to further bibliographical insights.

3 The assemblages from a portion of the southern section of the necropolis were published in 2007, the area where most of the tombs dating to the 4th century BC were located (*Rutigliano I* 2006). The tombs excavated by F. G. Lo Porto, concentrated in the northern sector of the necropolis, are still unpublished except for some short papers about the most important complexes: Lo Porto 1977; Lo Porto 1978; *Andar per mare* 1998, 65–81; *Ornarsi d'ambra* 2004, 19–33; Riccardi 2010, 345–357; Montanaro 2015, 68–77. 88–90. 93 f. 179–190.

4 On tomb 11/1976 see Lo Porto 1977, 740 f.; *Arte e artigianato* 1996, 408–411; *Andar per mare* 1998, 65 f.; *Vigna Dioniso* 2010, 100–103; Montanaro 2015, 70 f.

5 Only three vases are of indigenous production: a *stamnos* with linear decoration, a *pelvis* and a *chytra*, both achromatic.

6 Denoyelle 2008, 345; Denoyelle 2013, 208 f. A lekythos attributed to the workshop of the Pisticci Painter, depicting an Eros racing towards the left, was also included in the assemblage. These specimens, and above all the volute krater – originally attributed to an Attic pottery painter, the Peleus Painter – appear to be a genuine and highly accurate imitation of both the shapes and the Attic style

7 The tomb has yet to be properly published and was partially described in Lo Porto 1977, 741 f. pls. 112–114; Robinson 2014, 225–228; Montanaro 2015, 71 f. pls. 55. 56; 231 f. pls. 156. 157.

8 RVAp Addenda to Volume I, 433–435. According to Trendall, the tomb also contained two vases from the early phase of the Lucanian Creusa Painter: LCS III, C6 and C13.

9 On the volute krater, see Robinson 2014, 225 f., with further bibliographical references. On the opposite side, there is a gymnasium scene with three athletes. This may be a deliberate choice, if one considers the presence in the assemblage of two bronze strigils. Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. 140639.

10 On the hydria, see Robinson 2014, 225 Fig. 1. Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. 140230.

11 For tomb 9/1976 see, above all, Lo Porto 1977, 742 f.; *Arte e artigianato* 1996, 411–414; *Ornarsi d'ambra* 2004, 28–33. 43–45; *Ambre* 2007, 245; Riccardi 2010, 350 f.; Montanaro 2012, 47–49; Montanaro 2015, 71–74.

12 About the figured ambers found in this tomb, see *Ornarsi d'ambra* 2004, 43–45; Riccardi 2010, 350 f.; Montanaro 2012, 132–140; Montanaro 2015, 183 f.

13 On Gravina, see Ciancio 1997; Ciancio 2003; Ciancio 2005; Ciancio 2010; Montanaro 2015, 60–68.

14 See especially Ciancio 1997, 32. 101–112. 204 f.; Ciancio 2005, 47–49; Montanaro 2015, 64 f. 233–235, and references to previous literature.

15 For the meanings and the themes represented on the hydria, see Ciancio 1997, 102–112; Montanaro 2015, 233–235.

16 See Ciancio 1997, 102–108 figs. 132–137; Ciancio 2005, 48 f.

17 On tomb 4/1988 from Gravina-Padre Eterno, see Ciancio 1997, 35–38; Ciancio 2003, 29–31; Ciancio 2005, 52 f.; Montanaro 2015, 61 f., for further bibliographical insights.

18 For tomb 10/1999 from Gravina-Padre Eterno, see Ciancio 1997, 35–38; Ciancio 2003, 32–34; Ciancio 2005, 49–52; Montanaro 2015, 62 f.

19 For the tomb 1/1974, see Ciancio 1997, 69–73. 99–101. 120–122 figs. 115–129, with references to earlier literature; Ciancio 2005, 53–56; Montanaro 2015, 64. 222 f. 237.

20 For these studies see, above all, Montanaro 2007; Montanaro 2008, 99–116; Montanaro 2014, 11–80, and bibliographical references.

21 On the krater by the Anabates Painter from tomb 1/1993, see Riccardi 2014, 142–144 fig. 6.8. This krater (Bari, Storeroom of the Soprintendenza, Inv. 57884) was accompanied by plain, banded, and glazed wares, with shapes appearing at times in duplicate or triplicate with only slight morphological variations.

22 On tomb 39/1929, see Montanaro 2007, 307–331; Montanaro 2015, 79 f.

23 On tomb B/2001, see Montanaro 2007, 149 f. 804–814; Riccardi 2008, 46–52; Riccardi 2014, 146–148. The other red-figured vases, linked to the Baltimore Painter and other contemporaneous artists, are characterized by small or medium dimensions, decorated with the usual female heads, or with figures of satyrs, erotes and women.

24 For the archaeological evidences from Conversano, see, above all, Ciancio – L'Abbate 2013, with a very rich bibliography.

25 On tomb 10/1958, see Chieco Bianchi Martini 1964; Ciancio 2013a, 258–260; Ciancio 2013b, 295–300; Ciancio 2014, 162–166, with further bibliography.

26 On tomb 1/1974 from Altamura, see Lo Porto 1987, 35–38; Canosa 2003; Montanaro 2015, 114–116. 255 f., with other bibliographical references. The princely tomb from Timmari (tomb 33), near Matera, attributed to the burial of Alexander the Molossian (see Canosa 2007), the uncle of Alexander the Great, is very similar in regard to the materials and the composition of the funerary assemblage.

27 For the settlement of Minervino Murge, see Corrente 1993, 7–42; Corrente – Maggio 2008, 73–84, with a very rich bibliography.

28 For tomb 21/1993 from Minervino, see Corrente 1993, 33; Corrente 2002, 185–187; Corrente 2005, 72–74; Corrente – Maggio 2008, 82–84. For the "Ipogeo della Nike" from Arpi: Mazzei 2002/2003, 153–158; Mazzei 2015, 7 f.

29 For the tomb from Herdonia, see Strappavecchia 2016, 1–3; Corrente et al. forthcoming.

La ceramica italiota a figure rosse ad Eraclea (ultimo quarto del V – prima metà IV secolo a. C.)

Francesca Silvestrelli

L'ipotesi di riconoscere in Eraclea la sede delle più antiche officine di ceramica a figure rosse italiota nasce nel momento stesso della definizione della fisionomia di questa produzione, distinta da quella attica ma da essa profondamente influenzata: la fondazione (444–443 a. C.) da parte ateniese, di Thurii prima e la sua partecipazione insieme a Taranto alla fondazione della colonia mista di Siris furono, infatti, indicate da A. Furtwängler come la probabile occasione dell'arrivo di artigiani attici, portatori del sapere tecnico e della cultura figurativa necessarie alla creazione delle prime botteghe;[1] Eraclea era dunque una candidata ideale, come suggerito anche dalla presenza del monogramma HE (ricorrente nella monetazione della città) dipinto sull'anfora raffigurata nel cratere a volute ora a Ruvo con il mito di Fineo.[2] La scoperta, nel 1963, della „Tomba del Pittore di Policoro" *(Fig. 3)* diede una prima conferma archeologica a questa ipotesi, tanto che nel 1967 A. D. Trendall, discutendo la localizzazione dei luoghi di produzione della ceramica a figure rosse, scriveva: „The recent discovery at Policoro (the site of the ancient Heraclea) of a tomb containing a number of vases associated with the Amykos Painter and his followers [...] provides additional evidence in support of Heraclea, and further excavations there will give us a definite answer."[3] La risposta fu, tuttavia, di segno diverso: il rinvenimento, alla fine degli anni '60, delle officine dei pittori di Amykos, Dolone e Creusa permise di identificare in Metaponto il luogo di nascita della produzione italiota, relegando Eraclea in secondo piano.[4]

Se al momento dell'identificazione delle officine metapontine le evidenze eracleote si limitavano sostanzialmente al complesso della „Tomba del Pittore di Policoro" e a pochi altri frammenti pubblicati negli articoli che, con grande rapidità, rendevano conto delle intense ricerche condotte nel sito in quegli anni,[5] gli scavi condotti a partire della seconda metà del ventesimo secolo hanno aumentato in modo considerevole la quantità di vasi a figure rosse rinvenuti nel sito. Larga parte delle attestazioni è stata, tuttavia, riportata alla luce dopo gli ultimi viaggi di Trendall in Italia meridionale, che non ha inserito le nuove evidenze nella sua classificazione; è venuto così a mancare quel quadro di insieme che egli, invece, ha contribuito a creare per altre realtà (quali Metaponto e Taranto), e che ha costituito un solido punto di partenza per le ricerche posteriori. Un importante contributo alla definizione della fisionomia del centro di Eraclea che tiene conto anche dei rinvenimenti effettuati fino al 1996 si deve, invece, ad A. Pontrandolfo, che ha messo in luce elementi che contraddistinguono le ceramiche figurate qui rinvenute, caratterizzate da un lato da una „mescolanza di elementi formali e stilistici, riconducibili in parte ad un fare ‚lucano' e che meglio potremmo definire metapontino, in parte ad una tradizione ‚apula' ossia tarantina, dall'altro dalla ricorrenza di iconografie quali le scene di offerte alla stele".[6]

Le evidenze eracleote sono al momento *disiecta membra* solo parzialmente utilizzabili nella ricostruzione della identità di Eraclea come eventuale centro di produzione e come sicuro centro di consumo e/o di ridistribuzione. Le incertezze che gravano sul quadro complessivo non corrispondono, tuttavia, ad una assenza di materiale: vasi a figure rosse sono attestati tra la parte finale del V e l'intero IV secolo a. C. in una pluralità di contesti (necropoli, santuari e abitato). È, dunque, utile delineare un primo quadro, principalmente basato sull'edito, delle testimonianze note, analizzando in modo particolare le fasi anteriori alla metà del IV secolo a. C.

La ceramica a figure rosse ad Eraclea: i contesti.

Le necropoli di Eraclea, situate ad ovest, sud ed est della Collina del Barone e della cinta muraria che delimita la città bassa *(Fig. 1, 7–10)*, sono ancora largamente inedite; delle oltre 2500 tombe rinvenute, solo una percentuale molto ridotta è stata, infatti, oggetto di pubblicazione. Le poche sepolture edite databili tra il momento della fondazione della città e i decenni iniziali del IV a. C., appartengono a due tipi: a) inumazione semplice in fossa senza corredo o con corredo limitato, b) incinerazione con vasi acromi, o alternativamente, anfore di tipo panatenaico,

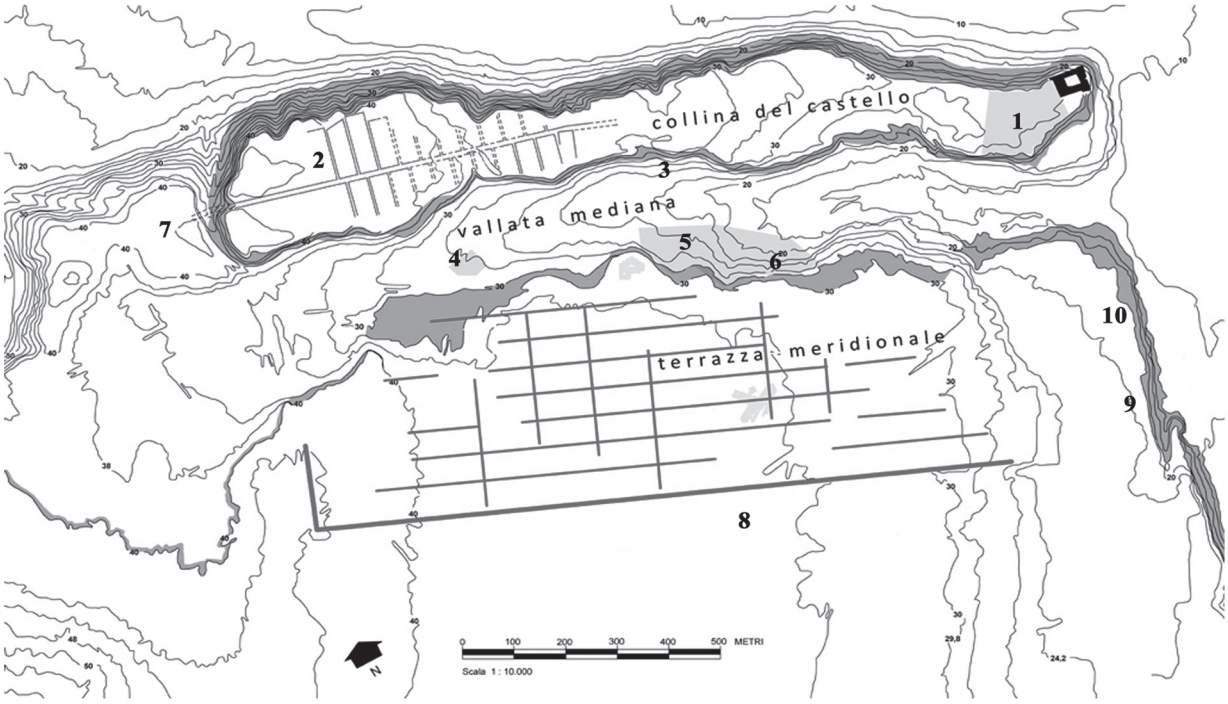

Fig. 1 Pianta di Eraclea. 1. Santuario di Atena; 2. Quartiere Occidentale; 3. Saggio B 2014–2017; 4. Santuario del Vallo; 5. Santuario della cosiddetta „agorà"; 6. Santuario di Demetra; 7. Necropoli occidentale; 8. Necropoli meridionale; 9. Necropoli orientale; 10. Tomba del Pittore di Policoro.

hydriai, o *pelikai* a figure rosse usati come cinerari,[7] solo raramente accompagnati da altri oggetti di corredo. I vasi figurati, tutti di grande modulo, sono decorati da scene dionisiache,[8] o legate alla sfera femminile (come la *pelike* frammentaria della tomba 60[9] con donna ed Eros, e l'*hydria* della tomba 81,[10] raffigurante una donna con *phiale* accompagnata da un'ancella con ventaglio e giovane con strigile e *aryballos*). Un'*hydria*[11] e un'anfora di tipo panatenaico[12] sono, invece, decorate con scene di offerta alla stele. L'anfora di tipo panatenaico della tomba 53 di via Avellino restituisce una delle più antiche scene di *naiskos,* non ancora standardizzata e forse allusiva al momento della cremazione: il *naiskos,* posto in secondo piano, è vuoto e la scena è dominata dal giovane nudo che si appoggia ad un'anfora.[13]

Agli esempi citati potrebbe essere aggiunta anche una terza anfora recentemente passata sul mercato d'arte e attribuibile al Pittore di Amykos *(Fig. 2)*. Già nota a A.D.

Fig. 2 Anfora di tipo panatenaico del Pittore di Amykos.

Trendall, che ne segnala la provenienza da Policoro, essa era conservata in una collezione privata di Taranto.[14] Mancano informazioni relative al momento e alle modalità del rinvenimento, comunque anteriore al 1965, data cui si riferisce una lettera dello stesso Trendall con l'attribuzione del vaso. Qualora l'indicazione della provenienza fosse corretta, si potrebbe pensare che essa facesse parte di una tomba a incinerazione sul tipo di quelle precedentemente descritte.

In questo quadro emerge la „Tomba del Pittore di Policoro" *(Fig. 1, 10),* casualmente rinvenuta nel 1963 durante la costruzione di edifici situati a sud-est della Collina del Barone, eccezionale sia per la tipologia (una fossa rettangolare di m 2,32 × 0,76 con le pareti interne intonacate in bianco e decorate in alto da una fascia rossa e chiusa da due grandi blocchi in calcare), sia per la ricchezza e la composizione del corredo funerario. Dei 19 vasi ad esso attribuiti (sei *hydriai,* cinque *pelikai* e due *skyphoi* di tipo A a figure rosse,[15] *Fig. 3. 4* e una *hydria,* una *pelike,* una coppa a labbro distinto su alto piede, una *oinochoe* VIIIa e due coppette biansate tipo Bolsal a vernice nera[16]), solo 3 furono rinvenuti ancora in situ,[17] mentre la restante parte del materiale fu recuperata in un secondo momento in case private. La presenza di un corredo così ricco, inusuale in ambito coloniale (ma che presenta significative assonanze con l'*heroon* di Poseidonia[18]), e le circostanze del rinvenimento hanno sollevato dubbi sull'interpretazione del contesto e sulla sua unitarietà.[19] Databile alla fine del V secolo a. C., essa è una sepoltura a incinerazione[20] di carattere eccezionale, probabilmente da riferire ad un membro del gruppo che contribuisce alla fondazione della città.[21] Straordinario è l'insieme dei vasi figurati, decorati da scene di corteggiamento e preparativi nuziali *(Fig. 4, 1. 2. 6),* soggetti epici e tragici (trasporto del corpo di Sarpedonte, Medea, gli Eraclidi, Dirce, *Fig. 4, 3. 5. 7. 9*) e mitici (Pelope e Ippodamia, gara tra Atena e Poseidone, Polinice ed Erifile, *Fig. 3, 10; 4, 4. 8*). La tomba non era isolata: nelle sue vicinanze si rinvennero altre quattro sepolture, ugualmente depredate[22]; il solo corredo noto è quello della tomba a fossa 2, situata accanto a quella del Pittore di Policoro e databile all'inizio del IV secolo a. C.; ad esso sono attribuiti, oltre ad una coppetta e ad una *kylix* tipo *Delicate Class* con decorazione a palmette impresse, entrambe a vernice nera, anche la *pelike* del Gruppo Delepierre[23] e una *oinochoe* di forma III raffigurante una figura femminile con timpano ed Eros con *phiale*[24] *(Fig. 5)*.

Analogamente a quanto riscontrato anche in altre aree funerarie delle città della Magna Grecia, sono numerosi i frammenti di ceramica figurata rinvenuti all'esterno delle tombe. I materiali noti appartengono soprattutto a crateri,[25] la cui funzione (*semata* o vasi utilizzati in pratiche rituali contestuali alla deposizione o posteriori ad essa[26]), in assenza di dati di rinvenimento, è di difficile determinazione; forse da interpretare come *semata* sono due crateri, il primo a calice, il secondo a volute, entrambi riconducibili ai modi dell'officina del Pittore dell'Ilioupersis. Del cratere a calice, proveniente dalla necropoli orientale, si conservano solo le figure di un vecchio con in mano un remo, la testa di una figura femminile e un erote.[27] Lo spazio in cui essa si svolge è segnato da una colonna ionica su cui è un ippocampo e da una *phiale*. Il cratere a volute, rinvenuto nel 1959 nella necropoli sud-orientale a breve distanza da una tomba infantile,[28] rappresenta un soggetto praticamente unico nella ceramografia italiota; assistito da Atena e Iolao, Eracle armato di clava combatte contro l'idra alla presenza di un satiro e di due figure femminili, identificate con Persefone e Deme-

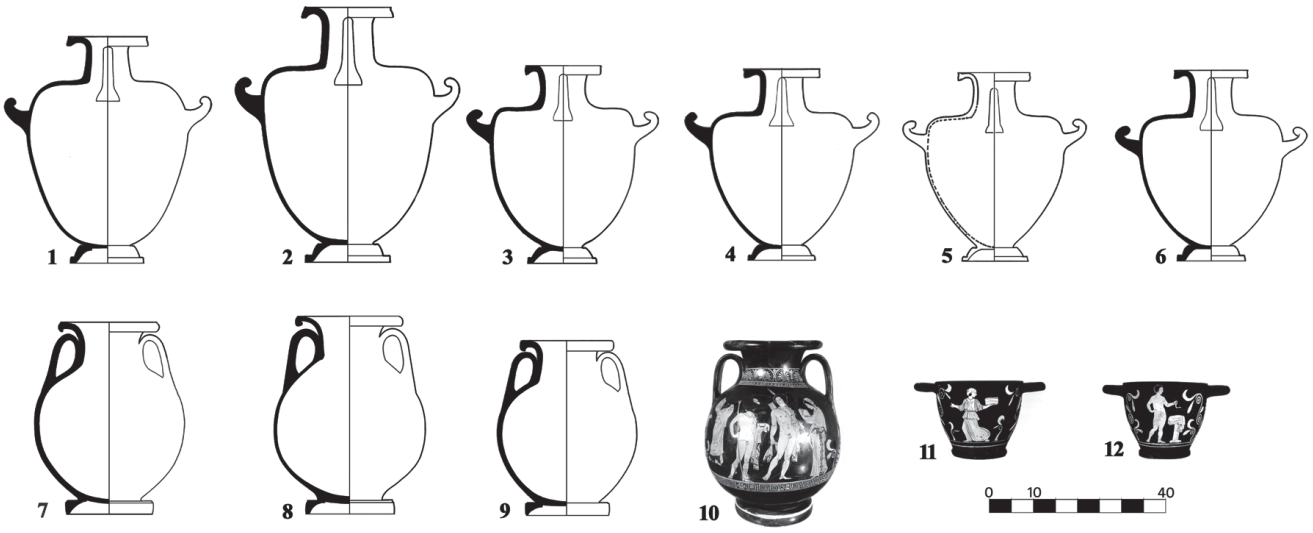

Fig. 3 Policoro, Museo Nazionale della Siritide, vasi a figure rosse della „Tomba del Pittore di Policoro". 1. Inv. 35303; 2. Inv. 35298; 3. Inv. 35294; 4. Inv. 35300; 5. Inv. 35296; 6. Inv. 35295; 7. Inv. 35302; 8. Inv. 35304; 9. Inv. 35297; 10. Inv. 35292; 11. Inv. 35684; 12. Inv. 35528.

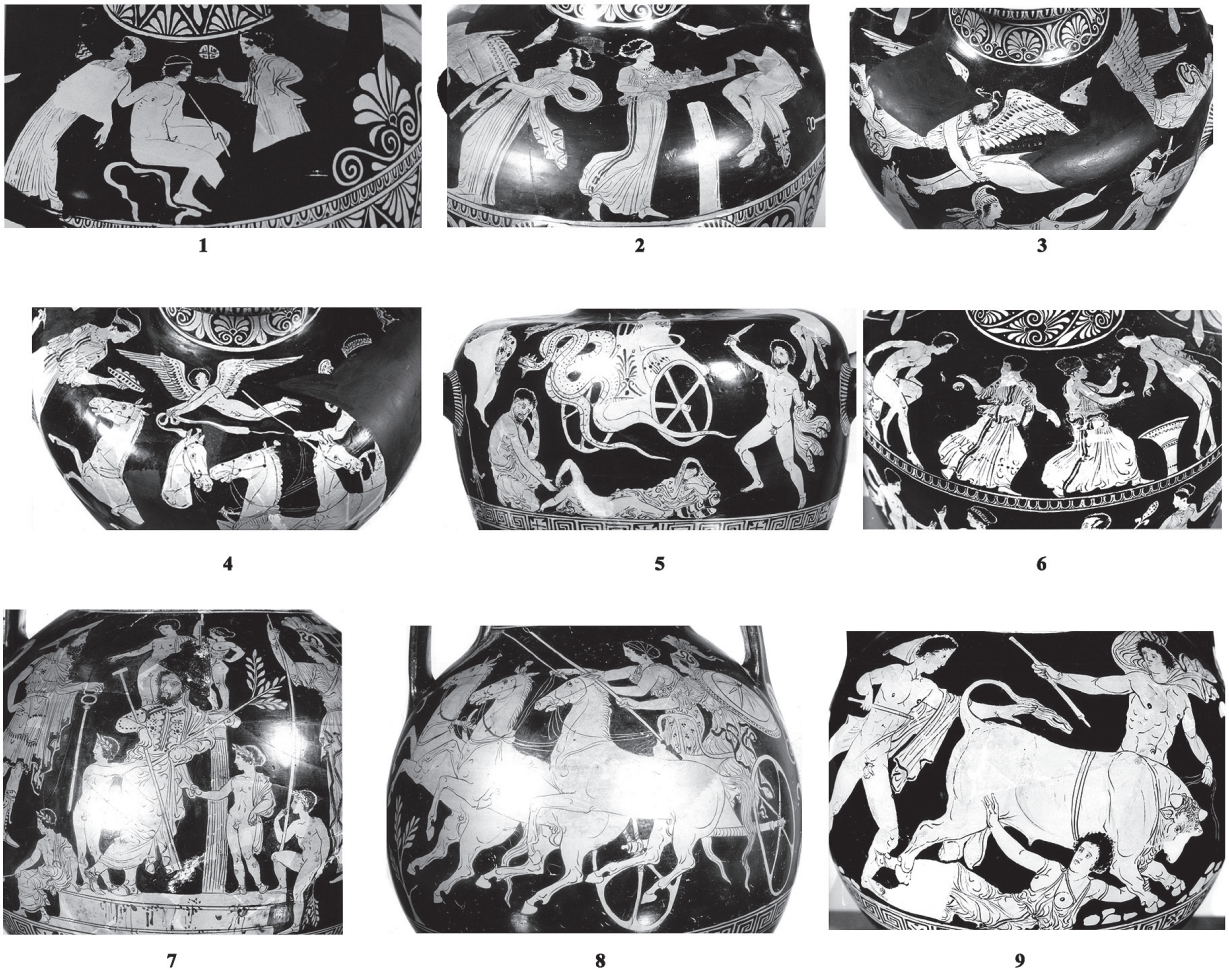

Fig. 4 Policoro, Museo Nazionale della Siritide, vasi a figure rosse della „Tomba del Pittore di Policoro". 1. Inv. 35303; 2. Inv. 35298; 3. Inv. 35294; 4. Inv. 35300; 5. Inv. 35296; 6. Inv. 35295; 7. Inv. 35302; 8. Inv. 35304; 9. Inv. 35297.

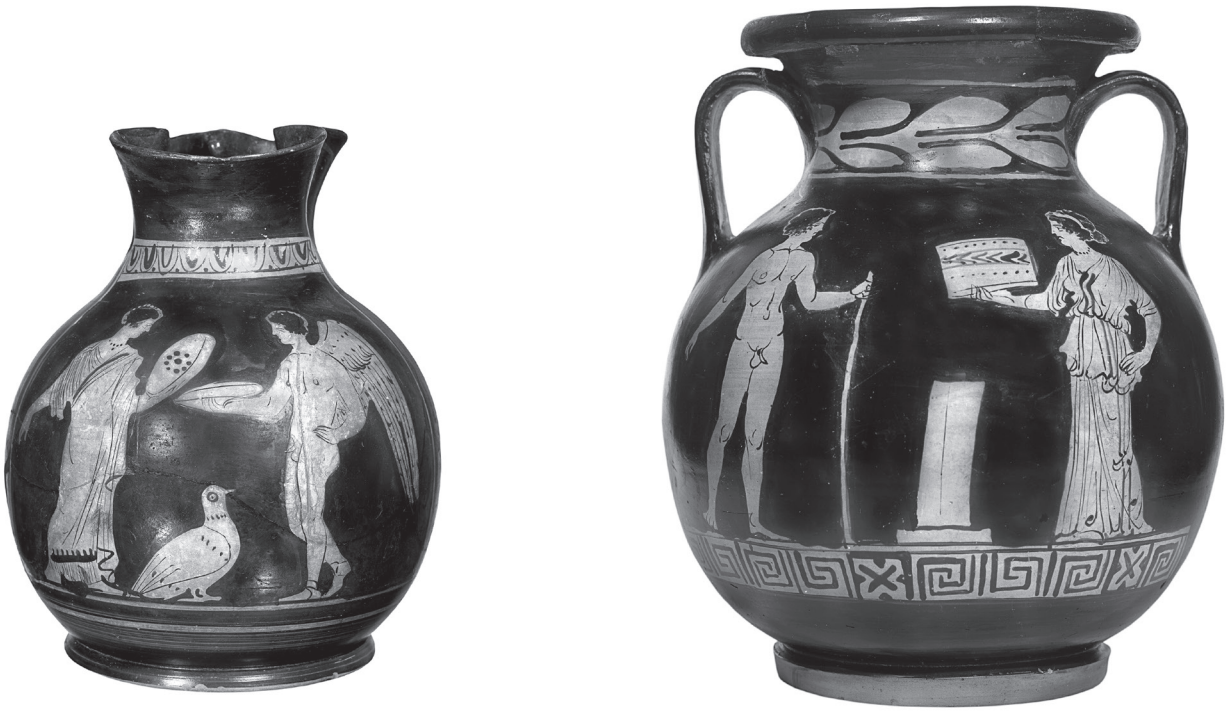

Fig. 5 Eraclea, necropoli orientale, Tomba 2. Oinochoe forma III inv. 35303 e pelike inv. 35529.

tra[29] e completato, sul lato posteriore, da una scena di offerta alla stele.

La ceramica figurata è presente anche nei santuari urbani e in quelli della *chora*. Alcuni frammenti figurati, tra cui si segnala uno *skyphos* del Pittore del Parasole[30] raffigurante una figura femminile in movimento con una palla, provengono dall'area orientale della Collina del Castello, probabile sede dell'Acropoli e del santuario forse dedicato ad Atena Polias *(Fig. 1, 1)*[31]. Rinvenuti in giacitura secondaria in strati disturbati degli isolati 1, 2 e 7 del Quartiere Occidentale *(Fig. 1, 2),* occupato soltanto a partire dalla seconda metà del IV secolo a. C.,[32] sono tre *skyphoi* di grande modulo e un cratere a calice di piccolo formato[33] databili nell'ambito della prima metà del IV a. C. La loro presenza potrebbe essere da riferire ad un'area sacra la cui esistenza in questa parte della collina è indiziata anche da altre evidenze.[34]

Sono maggiori le informazioni disponibili, invece, per la vallata mediana, area posta tra la Collina e la cosiddetta „città bassa", percorsa dal corso d'acqua del Varatizzo e ricca di sorgenti dove sono situate le aree sacre dedicate a Demetra, a Dioniso e ad Afrodite e ad una divinità salutare. Se la presenza di ceramica a figure rosse è scarsamente documentata nell'area sacra del Vallo *(Fig. 1, 4),* forse sede di un culto salutare e frequentata solo dall'epoca tardo-classica,[35] più consistenti sono le testimonianze relative al santuario della cosiddetta „agorà" *(Fig. 1, 5),* complesso situato nella parte centrale della vallata mediana forse destinato ad ospitare rituali di passaggio di *paides* e *parthenoi*[36] e organizzato su due terrazze: la terrazza meridionale, dove si è rinvenuto un altare dedicato a Dioniso e ambienti destinati al consumo di pasti rituali, e quella settentrionale, posta a quota inferiore e organizzata intorno ad un edificio templare periptero forse dedicato ad Afrodite.[37]

L'area ha restituito numerosi frammenti[38] in parte provenienti dalle cosiddette *escharai-bothroi*.[39] Essi sono riferibili a crateri, *choai, pelikai,* piatti, *lekythoi, lekanai* e, soprattutto, *skyphoi* (forma predominante anche a vernice nera e per la quale si è proposta una funzione legata a pratiche di libazione[40]) databili, con le sole eccezione di un frammento protolucano,[41] tra il secondo quarto e la fine del IV secolo a. C. Lo stato molto frammentario dei materiali preclude la lettura delle iconografie; figure femminili[42] decoravano gli *skyphoi* di piccole dimensioni e le *lekythoi,*[43] mentre un frammento di cratere raffigurante la testa di un satiro doveva appartenere ad una scena di soggetto dionisiaco.[44] L'assenza di un'analisi della distribuzione e dei contesti di rinvenimento rende, tuttavia, problematica l'interpretazione complessiva. Si può comunque segnalare la presenza di *skyphoi* di grande modulo,[45] forma piuttosto rara che ricorre in modo sistematico nelle aree sacre di Eraclea.

Il limitrofo santuario tesmoforico dedicato a Demetra[46] *(Fig. 1, 6)* ha restituito circa 160 frammenti, databili a tutto il IV secolo a. C. e relativi a crateri, *choai* e *lekythoi*; la forma maggiormente attestata è quella dello *skyphos,* presente anche con esemplari di grande modulo, come quello raffigurante Persefone con in mano la fiaccola a croce, attributo simbolo del santuario; l'iscrizione incisa sull'orlo consente di interpretarlo come un'offerta votiva.[47] Lo stato estremamente frammentario degli altri reperti impedisce di giungere ad attribuzioni sicure; è tuttavia possibile riconoscere uno *skyphos* probabilmente del Pittore del Parasole ed un frammento di parete di cratere che richiama i modi dell'officina metapontina dei pittori di Creusa e Dolone.

Il contesto certamente più ricco ed interessante anche grazie allo studio sistematico di cui è stato oggetto è il santuario extra-urbano in loc. Masseria Petrulla, probabilmente dedicato alle Ninfe e teatro di un culto che comprendeva elementi legati ai riti di passaggio dalla fanciullezza all'età adulta, sia maschili sia femminili. Situato a 4 km dalla costa ionica presso l'antico letto del fiume Sinni, esso è costituito da un recinto che racchiude un'area di circa 100 mq in cui sono un altare e un *naiskos* destinato forse a contenere le statue di culto. La ceramica a figure rosse *(Fig. 6. 7. 9. 10),* come il restante materiale rinvenuto, proviene principalmente dal deposito situato in corrispondenza di un'area del portico già crollata e realizzato probabilmente al momento della chiusura del santuario; esso è testimonianza di un rituale di abbandono[48] che potrebbe giustificare sia l'eterogeneità del materiale rinvenuto al suo interno (che ha restituito, oltre alla ceramica e alle terrecotte figurate, anche tre teste femminili e parti del corpo di due figure sedute di grandi dimensioni) sia l'eccellente stato di conservazione dei manufatti rinvenuti e soprattutto dei vasi figurati. Le forme attestate *(Fig. 6)* si riferiscono soprattutto a vasi per bere (*skyphoi* a figure rosse e vernice nera e *kylikes,* queste ultime solo a vernice nera) e per contenere e versare acqua e vino (crateri, *hydriai, oinochoai, pelikai,* questi tutti a figure rosse tranne per un *hydria* acroma[49]) probabilmente usati nelle pratiche libatorie, cui si aggiungono anfore vinarie, funzionali al trasporto del vino per la celebrazione dei rituali. Significativa l'incidenza, oltre che dei crateri e, soprattutto, degli *skyphoi*, delle *hydriai (Fig. 7, 1–3)* di cui si conservano almeno 9 esemplari a figure rosse e uno acromo, forse da collegare all'uso cerimoniale dell'acqua della sorgente situata nei pressi dell'area sacra nell'ambito degli aspetti „salutari" del culto, di cui sono spia gli ex-voto anatomici rinvenuti nel deposito. Altrettanto legate ai culti praticati all'interno del santuario sono le immagini, che ruotano sia intorno alla sfera dionisiaca, sia al mondo dei *paides* e delle *parthenoi* (raffigurati nei numerosi *skyphoi* rinvenuti nel deposito) e alle modalità del loro ingresso nel tessuto sociale. Ad esse si riferiscono, per i giovani, i rimandi all'ambito atletico e all'acquisizione

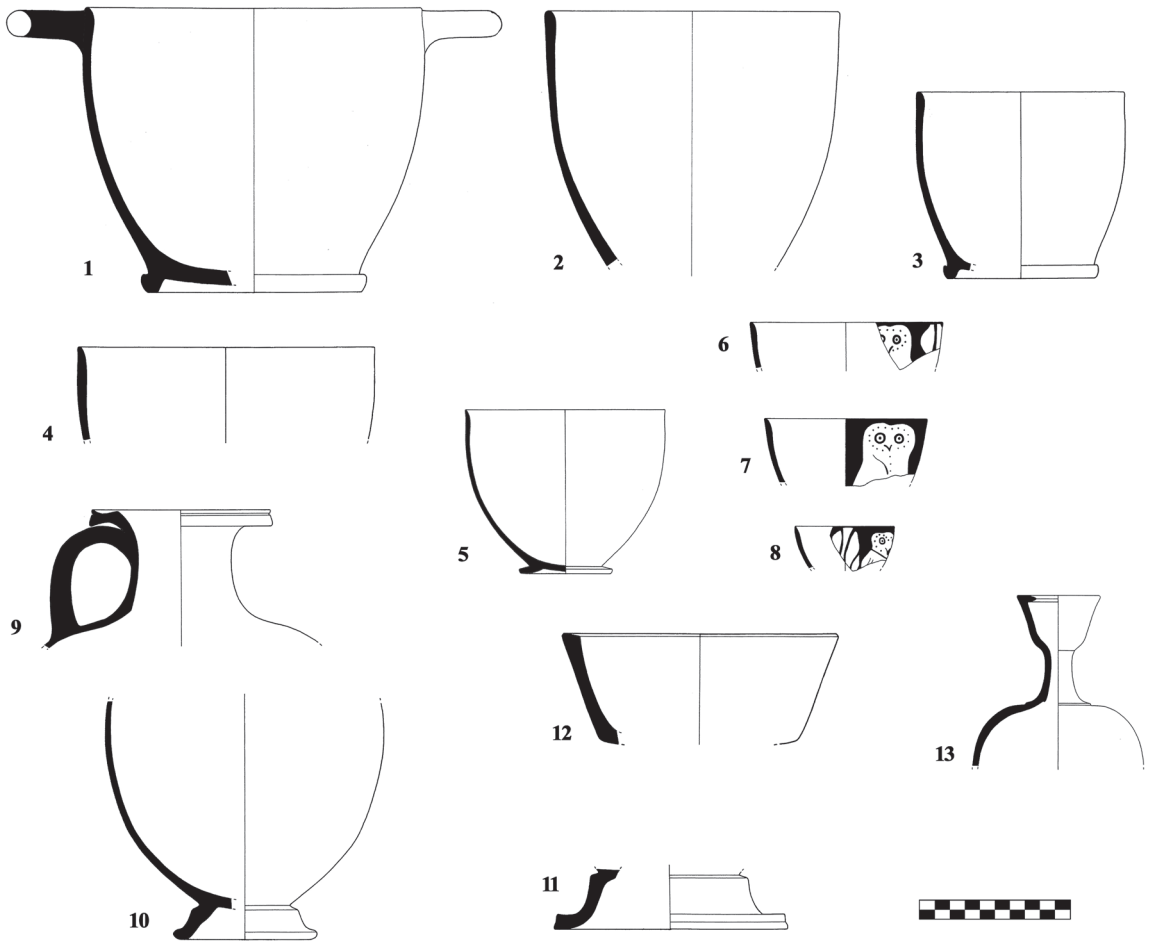

Fig. 6 Eraclea, santuario in loc. Masseria Petrulla. Ceramica a figure rosse. Forme. 1–3. Skyphoi tipo A, inv. 43854. 43806+43802+43807. 43717; 4. 5. Skyphoi tipo C, inv. 43877. 43812; 6–8. Glaukes, inv. 43880. 43862/2. 200414; 9–11. Hydriai, inv. 43818+200416. 200399. 43805; 12. Anfore di tipo panatenaico, inv. 43850; 13. Lekythoi, inv. 43857.

dello statuto di eroe adombrato nel cratere *(Fig. 9, 2)* raffigurante Pegaso e Bellerofonte (e che potrebbe spiegare anche la presenza di anfore di tipo panatenaico, *Fig. 6, 12*),[50] per le donne le scene allusive all'ambito matrimoniale, come la *pelike* con Giudizio di Paride attribuibile al Pittore di Policoro.[51] Grande interesse ha, inoltre, la presenza di *hydriai* con scene di offerta alla stele *(Fig. 7)* e al *naiskos*, le sole note provenienti da un santuario e da leggersi, in questo contesto, come scene legate al culto.[52]

Una sfera di consumo diversa può essere invece ipotizzata per i crateri rinvenuti in un deposito contenente materiale dell'inizio del IV secolo a. C. riportato alla luce nel corso dei recenti scavi condotti sul lato meridionale della Collina del Castello *(Fig. 1, 3)*.[53] Il contesto, preservato solo parzialmente a causa della costruzione dell'isolato databile al III secolo a. C., ha restituito ceramica comune, da fuoco, anfore da trasporto e ceramica a vernice nera. Il primo cratere, del tipo a campana, che presenta la parte posteriore della figura di un cavallo *(Fig. 8, 3)*, trova confronti con il Pittore dell'*anabates* ed è probabilmente una importazione metapontina. Il secondo frammento appartiene ad una cratere a calice monumentale del diametro di 49,5 cm *(Fig. 8, 1)*; argilla e decorazione accessoria (onda corrente al di sotto dell'orlo) rendono probabile l'ipotesi che si tratti di un esemplare apulo, forse un'importazione da Taranto.

È dunque evidente come la ceramica figurata conosca, sin dalle fasi iniziali della storia della città, una pluralità di usi. Se le scarse informazioni al momento disponibili per quanto riguarda le aree residenziali non consentono di formulare considerazioni, è possibile notare alcune caratteristiche nella selezione delle forme e delle iconografie operata nelle necropoli e nelle aree sacre. I vasi di grandi dimensioni sono principalmente riservati alle necropoli; se le anfore di tipo panatenaico sembrano limitate alle sepolture a cremazione della prima metà del IV secolo a. C., *hydriai* e *pelikai* continuano ad essere utilizzate anche in seguito sia nelle tombe ad incinerazione[54] sia, con esemplari di modulo inferiore, nei corredi delle più frequenti tombe ad inumazione.[55] I crateri, assenti, come nelle altre città greche, dai corredi funerari, compaiono invece all'esterno delle sepolture. Significativa è la presenza di crateri a calice e a volute monumentali della prima metà del IV secolo a. C.; attestati a Taranto,[56] essi sono, invece,

Fig. 7 Eraclea, santuario in loc. Masseria Petrulla. 1–3. Hydriai, inv. 43484. 43782. 43852+43827; 4. Cratere a campana, inv. 43783.

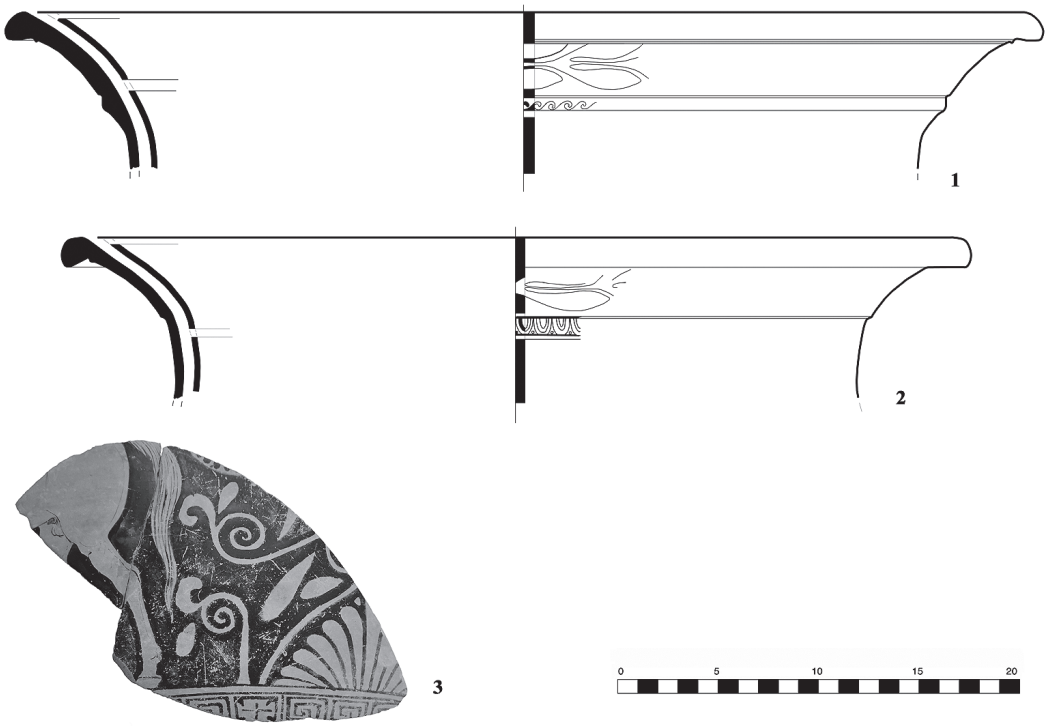

Fig. 8 Eraclea, Collina del Castello, Saggio B 2015. Crateri. 1–3. SH15B_0136–0138.

assenti nella necropoli di Metaponto, dove compaiono solo a partire dalla seconda metà del IV secolo a. C.[57]

La ceramica a figure rosse rinvenuta nelle aree sacre è costituita principalmente da vasi di piccole e medie dimensioni, di norma decorati con figure maschili e femminili; frequente è anche la ricorrenza di forme di dimensioni maggiori (come crateri, *hydriai* e *pelikai*) che ospitano scene complesse, probabilmente legate ai rituali in cui esse erano utilizzate, come il caso di Masseria Petrulla sembra indicare. Da segnalare è, inoltre, la sistematica ricorrenza di *skyphoi* di grande modulo, presenti nelle necropoli[58] ma attestati soprattutto nei santuari.

Pittori ed officine ad Eraclea

In base ai dati attualmente a disposizione, i più antichi vasi a figure rosse si datano nella parte finale dell'ultimo quarto del V secolo a. C. e sono da attribuire a Metaponto. Non sono stati, al momento, riconosciuti vasi protoapuli e la presenza di officine di norma riferite all'ambito tarantino inizia con il Pittore di Tarporley e con la sua cerchia. Al Pittore di Amykos e alla sua officina si devono, oltre alla già citata anfora di tipo panatenaico *(Fig. 2)*, l'*hydria* della Tomba del Pittore di Policoro *(Fig. 3, 1)* e frammenti provenienti dalle necropoli.[59] Ad un cratere con scena dionisiaca appartiene invece il frammento del santuario di Masseria Petrulla[60] *(Fig. 9)* e ad ambito protolucano va probabilmente riferito anche il cratere con la stessa provenienza *(Fig. 7, 4)*.[61] Alla fase iniziale dell'attività del Pittore di Creusa può essere attribuita l'*hydria* della Tomba del Pittore di Policoro *(Fig. 3, 2)*;[62] se ad ambito metapontino va probabilmente riferita anche la *pelike* della tomba 2 della necropoli orientale *(Fig. 5)*,[63] la presenza di vasi del Pittore dell'*anabates*[64] conferma come la relazione con le officine della colonia achea si sia mantenuta anche nel corso del primo quarto del IV secolo a. C. Argilla e caratteristiche tecniche dei vasi considerati rendono, infatti, probabile che essi siano da considerare importazioni.

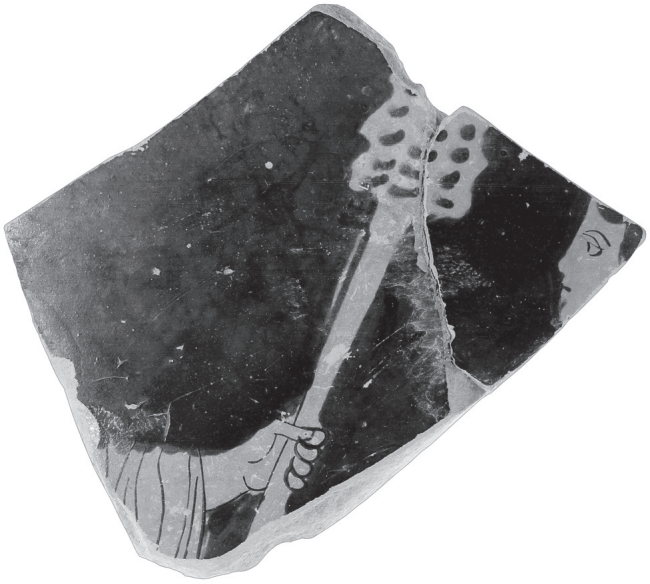

Fig. 9 Eraclea, santuario in loc. Masseria Petrulla. Cratere del Pittore di Amykos, inv. 43804.

Numerosi sono, inoltre, i vasi riconducibili al Pittore del Parasole, cui sono attribuibili i già citati *skyphoi* rinvenuti nel settore orientale[65] e nel Quartiere Occidentale della Collina del Castello[66] e uno *skyphos* di tipo A e due *hydriai*[67] dal santuario di Masseria Petrulla *(Fig. 7, 2. 3)*. Essi confermano il legame di questo pittore con l'area ionica compresa tra Metaponto ed Eraclea, dove sono stati rinvenuti i vasi di provenienza nota.[68]

Le tombe di Eraclea hanno restituito vasi del Pittore di Brooklyn-Budapest.[69] Se la sua formazione in ambito metapontino è confermata sia da elementi stilistici sia dal rinvenimento a Metaponto di *pelikai* della fase iniziale,[70] più complessa è la determinazione della collocazione della sua officina nella seconda parte dell'attività del pittore, caratterizzata da una marcata influenza apula e da una distribuzione che interessa principalmente la Val d'Agri; questi elementi hanno indotto A. Pontrandolfo ad ipotizzare la possibilità di un suo trasferimento ad Eraclea,[71] proposta suggestiva per la quale al momento mancano, tuttavia, elementi decisivi.

Alla mano del Pittore di Tarporley sono attribuibili frammenti di crateri dal santuario di Masseria Petrulla *(Fig. 10)* mentre collegabile alla sua officina è la *pelike* da una sepoltura a cappuccina della necropoli orientale.[72] Usata come cinerario è l'*hydria* monumentale della tomba 403 della necropoli occidentale di Eraclea, che M. Denoyelle ha ricondotto al Pittore di Adolphseck;[73] al Pittore di Hoppin è stata attribuita da A. D. Trendall una *hydria* frammentaria raffigurante due figure femminili una con timpano e la seconda con flauto.[74] Avvicinabili all'officina del Pittore dell'Ilioupersis sono, inoltre, il cratere a volute della necropoli sud-orientale,[75] l'anfora di tipo panatenaico della Tomba 414b[76] e il cratere a calice rinvenuto nella necropoli orientale.[77]

Questo scenario sembra trovare la sua sintesi nella figura del Pittore di Policoro, la cui formazione eclettica che guarda a Metaponto da un lato e a Taranto dall'altro è chiara sia negli elementi stilistici che iconografici[78] e i cui vasi, di numero piuttosto ridotto, provengono, oltre che dalla stessa Eraclea, da Taranto.[79]

Se il quadro delle presenze di ceramica a figure rosse si mostra, anche per il periodo compreso tra l'ultimo quarto del V e la prima metà del IV secolo a. C., molto articolato, più evanescente è, invece, quello della produzione. Fornaci ed officine destinate alla coroplastica si datano, infatti, a partire dalla seconda metà del IV secolo a. C. mentre bisogna attendere il III secolo a. C.[80] per trovare

Fig. 10 Eraclea, santuario di Masseria Petrulla. 1–3. Frammenti di crateri, inv. MP37. 43933. 43736.

indicatori che attestino la presenza di officine ceramiche; il riconoscimento di una produzione locale di ceramica a vernice nera almeno a partire dall'inizio del secondo quarto del IV secolo a. C. si basa, infatti, sulla constatazione della sistematica ricorrenza del tipo di impasto riscontrata, ad esempio, nei materiali della cosiddetta agorà.[81] Differenti sono le motivazioni che possono contribuire a spiegare questa assenza. È, infatti, possibile che essa sia dovuta ad un problema di visibilità archeologica: non è improbabile che fornaci o altri indicatori di produzione possano non essere stati ancora rinvenuti (sono pochissimi i contesti sicuramente databili all'ultimo quarto del V e al primo quarto del IV secolo a. C. finora identificati[82]) o che essi siano andati perduti al momento della ristrutturazione della città, avvenuta nel IV secolo a. C.

La scarsa visibilità dell'artigianato nel primo periodo della vita della colonia, che trova confronti anche in altre città di fondazione classica (come Thurii, Amphipolis, Chersonesos, Issa e Corcira Melaina) potrebbe, tuttavia, trovare una sua spiegazione nell'assetto politico ed economico che caratterizza Eraclea all'inizio della sua storia, principalmente concentrata sullo sfruttamento agricolo del suo ricco territorio.[83] Non bisogna, inoltre, dimenticare che alcuni degli elementi che hanno contribuito all'immediato successo della produzione metapontina – la possibilità di inserirsi all'interno di una consolidata tradizione di produzione e di scambi e la presenza di un' estesa clientela nella città, nella *chora* e in ambito indigeno[84] – sono certamente assenti ad Eraclea nella fase iniziale della sua storia: sebbene l'ipotesi che singoli artigiani si siano spostati da Taranto o da Metaponto verso Eraclea per la realizzazione di commissioni particolari anche per quanto riguarda la ceramica[85] non possa essere esclusa, queste circostanze rendono meno probabile l'esistenza di una produzione locale consolidata nei primi decenni della vita della colonia.

Il quadro stesso dell'organizzazione artigianale della costa ionica dell'Italia meridionale, caratterizzato da produzioni legate alle singole realtà urbane,[86] unito all'evidente coerenza nella selezione delle forme operata nei vari contesti di Eraclea e alla possibilità di individuare predilezioni in termini delle iconografie adottate, rendono comunque plausibile l'ipotesi dell'esistenza di officine locali.

Si pensi, da un lato, alla frequenza delle scene di offerta alla stele che ricorrono in ambito funerario e santuariale, o alla scelta di temi praticamente unici quali la lotta di Eracle, patrono di Eraclea, contro l'idra, significativamente accompagnato da Demetra e Persefone, cui si aggiungono alcune particolarità nella distribuzione dei pittori qui attestati, come il Pittore di Policoro, del Parasole e di Brooklyn-Budapest.

La loro caratterizzazione e la definizione del momento dell'inizio di una produzione stabile di ceramica a figure rosse necessitano di un attento riesame della documentazione edita ed inedita, condizione indispensabile

per far sì che Eraclea cessi di essere il convitato di pietra della produzione a figure rosse italiota.

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Fig. 3 Da Degrassi 1967, figg. 48–56, tavv. 65,2; 69,1; 71,2.
Fig. 4 Da Degrassi 1967, tavv. 63,2; 63,1; 59,1; 58,1; 51; 62,1; 64; 67; 65,1.
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16 Degrassi 1967, 226–228.
17 Si tratta dello *skyphos* inv. 35684 (LCS 64, n. 310; Degrassi 1967, tav. 71, 1. 2), della coppa su alto piede e delle due coppette biansate tipo Bolsal (Degrassi 1967, 227, fig. 58): Degrassi 1967, 196.
18 Torelli 1998; Zuchtriegel 2017, 84.
19 Si veda, a questa proposito, Pianu 1997, 162 nota 9.
20 In base a testimoni della scoperta, l'*hydria* del Pittore di Creusa si trovava, infatti, al centro della sepoltura e conteneva ossa umane: Degrassi 1967, 196.
21 Sul contesto cfr. da ultimo Zuchtriegel 2017, 78–88, con bibliografia precedente.
22 Degrassi 1967, 194 fig. 46b. e; 196 s. nota 7.
23 Policoro, Museo Nazionale della Siritide, inv. 35529: H. cm 19,5, diam. piede 11,5: LCS Suppl. III 36 n. F11.
24 Policoro, Museo Nazionale della Siritide, inv. 35303: H. cm 17, diam. piede 11.
25 Parete di cratere con testa di ammantato del Pittore di *Amykos*: LCS Suppl. I 8, n. 210b; parete di cratere con Dioniso e parte di figura femminile seduta, necropoli meridionale, inv. n. 33563: Adamesteanu 1987, 101 fig. 54; parete di cratere raffigurante la caccia al cinghiale calidonio inv. n. 33574: Orlandini 1986, 519, fig. 618.
26 Lippolis 1994, 112; Elia 2003.
27 Policoro, Museo Nazionale della Siritide, inv. 35551: RVAp I 201; Battiloro et al. 2010, 249, fig. 23, dove il cratere è erroneamente riferito al santuario di Masseria Petrulla. Ringrazio Fabio Caruso per la segnalazione.
28 Tomba B: Lo Porto 1961, 141–143; Neutsch 1967, 151 s., tavv. 13, 3; 18, 1–3.
29 Roscino et al. 2012, 193. La lotta con l'idra di Lerna ricorre solo in un altro vaso conservato al Fitchburg Art Museum, Fitchburg, Massachusetts, USA. Ringrazio C. Roscino per la segnalazione.
30 Hänsel 1973, fig. 43.
31 I vasi a figure rosse rinvenuti in questa parte della città provengono, tuttavia, dall'area del fossato che delimitava in epoca arcaica l'acropoli e potrebbero non essere direttamente collegabili con il santuario: Osanna 2008, 35–38 (con bibliografia precedente); Osanna 2014, 75.
32 Giardino 2012, 99.
33 *Skyphoi*: 1. inv. 11025, con figura femminile con fiaccola (Pittore del Parasole): H. cm 17, diam. orlo cm 22,5, diam. piede cm 15; 2. inv. 209313, raffigurante un giovane con strigile: H. cm 20,5, diam. orlo cm 23; 3. Meandro e piedi di due figure maschili, diam. piede cm 22. Cratere a calice: inv. 209452: H. max. cm 13: Giardino 2012, fig. 6, 13–16.
34 Giardino 2012, 103. 110.
35 Sulle proposte di identificazione si veda Osanna 2014, 78. I pochi frammenti rinvenuti sono riferibili a crateri, *skyphoi* di tipo A e C, ad una coppetta biansata probabilmente decorata da una

civetta e ad un *bombylios:* D'Esposito – Galioto 2012, 147, fig. 5, 5–10.
36 Osanna 2014, 77.
37 Pianu 2002, 11–33; Osanna 2008, 41–47; Osanna 2014, 76 s.
38 Quantificazioni sono disponibili solo per l'area della „piazza settentrionale", che ha restituito 244 frammenti di vasi a figure rosse su un totale di 13948 frammenti ceramici: Casagrande 2002, 119–133. 208.
39 Pianu 2002, 16–19, a proposito dei quali cfr. Osanna 2008, 42 s. Particolare interesse riveste la fossa n. 36, identificata presso l'edificio interpretato come *hestiatorion,* che ha restituito circa 70 frammenti, principalmente *skyphoi,* tra i quali si segnala il frammento di orlo raffigurante un erote con dedica ad Afrodite, che attesta la presenza del culto della dea: Pianu 2002, 22, fig. 11b; 25.
40 Casagrande 2002, 18.
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44 Casagrande 2002, 130, n. 44.
45 Casagrande 2002, 124 s., nn. 23. 26. 27 (secondo quarto del IV secolo a. C.). 30 (340–300 a. C.). I diametri degli orli sono compresi tra i cm 16.5 e i cm 25.
46 Osanna 2008, 38–41; Otto 2008, 69–94, con bibliografia precedente. Osanna 2014, 77 s. Lo studio della ceramica a figure rosse italiota è ancora in corso e i dati presentati vanno considerati come preliminari.
47 Policoro, santuario di Demetra, ambiente B: Neutsch 1968, 774 s., fig. 27, a. b. e; LCS Suppl. II 157, n. 290a (associato al Pittore di Policoro). Sull'iscrizione: Sartori 1980, 403, tav. 74, 4.
48 Osanna 2008, 51–62, tav. XVIII; Battiloro et al. 2010, 257.
49 Osanna 2008, tav. XVIII, 2.
50 Inv. 43933: Battiloro et al. 2010, 245, fig. 21.
51 Inv. 43705: Battiloro et al. 2010, 246, fig. 22.
52 Inv. 43781: Battiloro et al. 2010, fig. 12; Söldner 2011, 114.
53 Policoro, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. di scavo SH15B_0136–0138 (US 1033). Per le ricerche condotte a Policoro a partire dal 2014 dalla Scuola di Specializzazione in Archeologia dell'Università della Basilicata e dall'École Pratique des Hautes Études (UMR 8546-AOROC) di Parigi cfr. Osanna et al. 2015 e Osanna et al. c. d. s.
54 Necropoli meridionale, Tomba 1, *hydria* inv. 38462 raffigurante, sul registro superiore, Poseidone e Amimone, e, su quello inferiore, le Danaidi (RVAp I 407, n. 59, Gruppo Schneider-Hermann). Necropoli occidentale, loc. Madonelle, Tomba 69, *pelike* inv. 46983, H. cm 52 (Berlingò 1992, 14 s., fig. 8).
55 In questo caso si tratta di *pelikai*: si veda, ad esempio, il corredo della tomba femminile 1486 (necropoli meridionale: Crupi – Pasquino 2014, 107, fig. 11).
56 D'Amicis 2014.
57 Silvestrelli 2014b.
58 Necropoli occidentale, Tomba 2 (1959): Neutsch 1967, 160, tav. 19, 1. 2; Necropoli orientale, Tomba del Pittore di Policoro: cfr. nota 15.
59 Parete di cratere: cfr. nota 25; frammenti di *pelike:* LCS Suppl. I 9, n. 237a.
60 Inv. 43804: Battiloro et al. 2010.
61 Policoro, Museo Nazionale della Siritide, inv. 43783: Adamesteanu 1982, tav. 123,1.
62 Pittore di Creusa: *hydria* inv. 35298 (LCS 87, n. 425, tav. 40, 6).
63 Policoro, Museo Nazionale della Siritide, inv. 35529: LCS Suppl. III 36, n. F11 (Pittore Delepierre).
64 Per il Pittore dell'*anabates*, oltre al già citato cratere rinvenuto nel Saggio B, si veda il frammento di cratere con figura femminile: LCS Suppl. I 18, n. 513a, tav. III, 4.
65 Cfr. nota 30.
66 Cfr. nota 33.
67 *Skyphos* inv. 43802. 43806. 43807: Adamesteanu 1982; Battiloro et al. 2010, fig. 14. 15. *Hydria* inv. 43827. 43852: Battiloro et al. 2010, fig. 17. *Hydria* inv. 43782: Adamesteanu 1982, tav. 122,2; Denoyelle 2005, 106 nota 18.
68 Denoyelle 2005, 106 s.; Silvestrelli 2008, 286.
69 Cfr. nota 13.
70 Silvestrelli 2014a, 104 s.
71 Pontrandolfo 1996, 208.
72 Policoro, Museo Nazionale della Siritide, inv. 33373: RVAp I 59, n. 90, tav. 20,1. 2 (Pittore Baisi).
73 Denoyelle 2005, 110, fig. 6.
74 Necropoli occidentale, Tomba 2: Neutsch 1967, tav. 20, 3. 4; RVAp I 110, n. 68.
75 Neutsch 1967, tav. 1–3.
76 RVAp Suppl. II 49, n. 107b (Pittore Geddes).
77 Cfr. nota 27.
78 Denoyelle – Iozzo 2009, 110. 129.
79 Cratere a calice dall'Arsenale: LCS 59, n. 291, tav. 28,3.
80 Per un quadro d'insieme si veda Giardino 1996; per le officine ceramiche di via Napoli dove si producono ceramica a vernice nera, a bande, da fuoco e anfore da trasporto cfr. Calvaruso 2012.
81 Casagrande 2002, 221.
82 Osanna et al. c. d. s.
83 Zuchtriegel 2017, 117–124.
84 Silvestrelli 2016.
85 A maestranze tarantine è, ad esempio, attribuita la costruzione, nella prima metà del IV secolo a. C., delle mura di Eraclea. Sull'influenza dell'artigianato tarantino ad Eraclea si veda Zuchtriegel 2017, 197–215.
86 Sul sistema produttivo italiota cfr. Lippolis 2008, 395 s.

Trendall and After: Some News from the Palermo Painter

Martine Denoyelle

A. D. Trendall passed away in 1995, over twenty years ago, leaving us as a legacy a seminal work of classification and attributions which still represents the basis for every student and scholar of South Italian red-figure pottery production. But the second supplement of *RVAp*, published in 1992, is also the last updated edition of his work.[1] For the last 25 years, anyone wishing to take into account recently excavated or recently published vases would have to make their way through a veritable jungle of diverse, scarce, and often inaccessible publications; with many pieces being unpublished, or only partially published, doubts over the exhaustiveness of his research would always remain.

Obviously, the development of South Italian pottery studies is held back by this unchanging situation. Compared to the corpus of Attic vase-painters' formulated by Beazley, and made accessible and updated on the internet by the Beazley Archive Pottery Database in Oxford (where the records of Attic vases published *after Beazley* are also searchable),[2] the content of Trendall's books is gradually losing its impact: for instance, in the case of the Metaponto workshops, about a quarter of the information provided in Trendall's first chapters of *Lucania, Campania and Sicily* may now be regarded as outdated, as F. Silvestrelli pointed out to me recently. Various factors are involved: the results of the intense archaeological activity in the surroundings of ancient Metaponto; recent changes in the locations of the pottery (such as the restitutions operated by American museums and the subsequent new affectation of the vases to Italian museums); new campaigns of restoration (including the *Dangerous Perfection* project that we are here to discover and celebrate); new studies on local workshops; new attributions, whether published or not (as everyone knows, attributions spread in multiple ways and many of them are not officially recorded or explained in dedicated publications); or even new attributions which have been quoted in publications but require strong reconsideration.

It is therefore our responsibility to reflect on how we can avoid the continuation of this situation, and perhaps this point will come under discussion during the present colloquium. But rather than try to expose here a strategy for a happier future, I've chosen instead to illustrate the state of affairs through the case of a specific vase-painter, whom I consider to encompass many aspects of this post-Trendall situation. I shall try to show how complex the landscape of attribution has become, and also to demonstrate the importance of an understanding of a painters' stylistic and iconographic personality for the study of visual languages, cultural identities and local productions.

Trendall's Palermo Painter

As established by Trendall, the Palermo Painter is one of the most interesting of the Early South Italian red-figure artists. Not only is he an outstanding creator of new images, marked by a highly independent style and language, but his corpus of vases has been significantly updated since the last supplement of *LCS* (1983),[3] producing more information about the distribution of his vases and of the shapes he decorated. However, this extension of his corpus means we need to reevaluate some fundamental issues, such as his relationship with the Cyclops and Amykos Painters, as well as reconsidering some of the attributions previously ascribed to him.

The initial corpus, as presented by Trendall in *LCS* and its supplements, is small, restricted to 16 vases and fragments. These are mainly bell-kraters (including the eponymous vase in the Museo Archeologico of Palermo), pelikai, and type A skyphoi of unusual size. In Trendall's manual of 1989,[4] the painter is placed in the "PKP Group", a group of close followers of the Amykos Painter and named after the initials of its members: the Palermo, Karneia, and Policoro Painters. The links between these painters are purely stylistic, since the range of their shapes and their distribution, so far as they are known, seem quite dissimilar at first view. The Karneia Painter was eventually shown to be a Metapontine, or at least to have worked near to the Amykos Painter in the Metaponto *Kerameikos*,[5] and the provenances of

Fig. 1 Fragmentary skyphos by the Palermo Painter. Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 52229.

his vases, apart from the name-vase found at Ceglie del Campo, include the chora of Metaponto, Ruvo, Rutigliano and Sibari.[6] The Policoro Painter, on the other hand, is mostly known from the famous Heraklea-Policoro find and seems in some ways to be connected to the early Tarentine workshops.[7] These three painters are mostly connected through their taste for ambitious compositions "which places them among the finest of the early Lucanian vases and comparable to the best Tarentine of the same period."[8]

The majority of the Palermo Painter's vases are without provenance, two exceptions being a skyphos and a fragmentary pelike from the city of Taranto.[9] The large skyphos[10] comes from a pit in the urban necropolis, and is decorated with the representation of a young female athlete, whom Trendall identifies as Atalanta on the basis of several similar Attic examples. As fragmentary as the vase is, one can still see that she wears a bra and shorts *(Fig. 1)*[11] and bends forward slightly, her right arm across her belly; near to her stands a bearded man with a stick, who watches her. On the other side of the vase, an Eros with a phiale and a garland of leaves flies towards another figure. The context is clearly that of the palaestra, enhanced by the presence of Eros and the mythic heroine. We should also note that a fragment reproduced nearby, on the plate of the Taranto *CVA* (number 5) and clearly attributable to a vase by the Amykos Painter, comes from the same pit. Finds from the Metaponto workshop in the Taranto necropolis are not exceptional[12] and we cannot suppose that some of these vases were locally produced, as Trendall alludes in *LCS*'s introduction to the PKP Group. However, at the time he made this suggestion, he obviously had the Policoro find in mind and was arguing in the global context of the group – the kind of contextualization that we have to take into account when considering Trendall's statements.

Fig. 2 Skyphos fragment by the Palermo Painter. Metropolitan Museum of Art 12.235.4, Rogers Fund 1912.

The vase is nevertheless very significant as it belongs to a series of large skyphoi, all fragmentary, which are decorated by the same painter and show him at the height of his abilities as a creator of unusual and sophisticated images; none of the others has a provenance or a context. The most famous of them is certainly the fragment in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, depicting Marsyas resting on a pillar where his name is inscribed *(Fig. 2)*.[13] Facing him are Artemis and perhaps Leto, her face seen in three-quarter, while Apollo is thought to have been depicted on the left, in the missing part. On the other side,[14] a seated Athena is identifiable through her spear and the crest of her helmet. On both parts, the distinctive elements of the painter's style emerge clearly: the treatment of male anatomy and of the hands (with their supple and mannered fingers), profiles with a continuous line between the forehead and the nose, the rounded head, and the virtuosity in using the dilute glaze to create volume and shadows. The figure of Athena derives from a type he favours: a woman wrapped in her clothes sitting on a rock.

As for the iconography, the representation of the satyr with the huge *machaira* on his shoulder is totally new: it is unknown in the Attic tradition and only to be found twice in Lucanian and Apulian vase-painting.[15] The same remarks about the style and the ambitious iconography can be made for another skyphos fragment in the Metropolitan Museum, featuring an enthroned Zeus facing a woman and ready to be crowned by a little Eros with a three-quarter face *(Fig. 3)* – perhaps a scene of *hierogamia*.[16]

New vases, new contexts: the Greek market

The first change to Trendall's corpus stems from here: it regards a small fragment from a skyphos wall in the Ashmolean Museum, with an extraordinary scene which had already drawn Beazley's attention and to which he dedicated a part of his article "Icarus" *(Fig. 4)*.[17] The point of view adopted by the painter for the story of Daedalus and Icarus is unique, and after having seen his other skyphos fragments, one understands how he constructed the scene, as the young Icarus derives from an Eros figure (compare with the one flying towards Zeus on the previous fragment) while Daedalus derives from his figures seated on a rock, which had become one of his specialties by this time.

All the skyphoi in this series, including the simpler one in Palermo with the frontal figure of the satyr Onnaseuas seated on a rock[18], delighted by the sound of the aulos (and reminiscent of Marsyas), probably belong to the same period of activity. It can be considered the painter's high point, as his mastering of the different stock-figures is complete, and the influence of the Amykos Painter has been integrated. The lack of provenances and contexts is all the more regrettable, as the size and the iconographic originality of these vases doubtless points towards a special use. Their themes, the fact that (with the exception of the Palermo skyphos, which is not mythological) they were found in fragments, the case of the Atalanta skyphos from the pit of via Giovanni Giovine could suggest that they were conceived for ritual use in the Taranto necropolis; indeed, as we shall see, the ter-

Fig. 3 Skyphos fragment by the Palermo Painter. Metropolitan Museum of Art 11.212.12, Rogers Fund 1911.

Fig. 4 Skyphos fragment by the Palermo Painter. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1922.208.

ritory of Metaponto and the other sites do not provide any comparable work by the painter. As the relevance in the funerary imagery of athletics scenes is obvious, such themes as Icarus or Marsyas could also be understood as eschatological. Thus the relationship of the painter with Taranto (already highlighted by Trendall) would have laid in his capacity to provide exceptional images on shapes corresponding to certain ritual functions.

Another newly acquired vase by the painter raises similar questions. The small *guttus* acquired in a public sale by the Louvre in 2009 comes from a nineteenth century French collection, and is therefore without any provenance.[19] It shows on its two sides encounters between a woman and an Eros and a woman and a youth, and is unusually decorated with ivy friezes on the shoulder and on the handle. One easily recognizes the stylistic traits of the painter, especially in the Eros seated on a rock, adapted to his stance.

The shape is unusual in both Metapontine production and in the necropoleis; however it is well-represented in the Taranto necropolis, with examples in both red-figure and black glaze.[20] The presence of *phlyakes*, maenads and satyrs points towards the Dionysiac world, alluded to on the Palermo Painter's *guttus* only through the ivy friezes, while the scenes are composed from figures of his repertoire. Other examples, either in black-glaze or in red-figure, are also known from Italic (Peucetian) sites, such as Rutigliano or Monte Sannace. Whatever the destination of the vase, and this may well have been the Taranto necropolis, the basic personal language of the painter remains consistent, and the destination is marked through the decorative motifs only. The eponymous bell-krater in Palermo[21] combines most of the elements of this language, as well as showing his taste for the presence of couples – male and female, female and Eros – and for figures holding crowns, in an erotico-athletic context.

All these vases, including those newly added, are therefore coherent in their reflection of the same individual style, and form an initial corpus that allows to *see* the painter. But, as usual, a certain amount of other vases or fragments makes things less clear. This is the case, for instance, for a krater fragment once in the Virzi collection in New York[22] considered by Trendall as "close in style", which – despite the mannered treatment of Athena's hand and the gest of crowning – is so different in the depiction of the heads and the profiles that I think it must be kept separate from the main corpus.

Among the new attributions made after Trendall, two vases have added to our knowledge of the painter's fascinating capacity to create original images, raising both archaeological questions and questions of art history. The Nicholson amphora, attributed and published by Alexander Cambitoglou in 1995, displays the most accomplished of all his winged "rock-figures" with the remarkable Eros meditating, his face frontal, and his chin supported by his hand seen in foreshortening *(Fig. 5)*.[23] The vase is 15 centimeters higher than the pseudo-panathenaic amphorae's average size, and to the side of the stock-figures of young athletes and a woman holding out a crown, the figure of the seated Eros, much more elaborate, is notable by his three-dimensional and relaxed stance. Cambitoglou sees him as the *Eros enagonios* of the gymnasia, and the crown as a ritual offering in a cultic context.[24] The author also seeks iconographical and sculptural parallels, and alludes to the *Herakles epitrapezios* created by Lysippus for Taranto, but at a much later date. Therefore the question arises, when looking at this extraordinary composition, of a link to sculptural models; as is frequent on early Metapontine vases, for example by the Amykos or Karneia Painters, all the artistic improvements are concentrated on one figure, while the rest belong to the current repertoire. The taste for representing isolated figures seated on rocks is consistent in the Metapontine workshops, and one can rightly address the question of what contemporary models the painters used. But the diversity and the originality of the Palermo Painter's compositions also calls for a consideration of studies executed after nature; this is very interesting for our understanding of ancient artistic practices.

The exceptional dimensions and the aesthetic value of this vase also raise questions about the clients it was created for. At the time of Cambitoglou's article, it was the only known pseudo-panathenaic by the painter, but things have changed since, with the recent finds from the urban necropolis and the chora at Metaponto, published in the 2010 Cincinnati symposium papers by Francesca

Fig. 5 Panathenaic amphora by the Palermo Painter. Sydney, Nicholson Museum inv. 82.32.

Silvestrelli. These come from different Metapontine workshops. Two vases are attributed to the Palermo Painter's early phase, of which one is a pseudo-panathenaic amphora found with some other goods – small vases, a mirror and an alabastron in alabaster – in a child's grave.[25] The iconography is typical, with facing pairs of youths and women. The vases secure the presence of the Palermo Painter at Metaponto in this phase of his production and confirm the presence of the pseudo-panathenaic amphora in these contexts as well, its role in the Italic funerary contexts having by now been well identified.[26] From the examples found in the territory of Metapontine and its immediate hinterland (Pisticci), it seems that this type of scene was usually intended for local use, but although the Nicholson amphora clearly belongs to the same series, nothing more precise can be said about its possible destination.

Another vase found in context was published in 2008 by Didier Fontannaz, who is responsible for its attribution to the Palermo Painter.[27] The vase, a two-register hydria, is typical of the Amykos Painter's workshop, but stands out through the iconography of the upper register, which shows Orpheus' *katabasis* to the Underworld, and more precisely the moment where he is separated by Hermes from Eurydike, who can be seen on the right near to Persephone *(Fig. 6)*. All the details of the scene, including the presence of Charon and of Argos holding Cerberus, or the demonstrative grief expressed by Orpheus, are equally amazing. The hydria (the only example of the shape in the painter's corpus) was found in a "*bothros*" in the sanctuary of the spring of Saturo, situated near Taranto, and an important place of worship since the Archaic period. Both the shape as well as the Orphic subject could be connected to the identity of the female divinity (or divinities) honored in the sanctuary, the chthonic aspects of which have been highlighted by Massimo Osanna[28], which suggest an offering made by a woman. Although a polysemantic value of the scene is probable, according to Fontannaz, this case throws a fascinating light on the possibilities provided by the analysis of iconography in context. In the case of our painter, one can therefore assume, as already seen with the skyphos from the Taranto necropolis, that his capacity for inventing new images of the myth through use of his own personal language was employed to fulfill specific orders, either funerary or religious, of the Greek communities and the Tarantine community in particular.

Fig. 6 Fragmentary hydria by the Palermo Painter. Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, from Saturo.

The Italic Market

There are some clues on his relationships to Italic communities, and I'd like, as a final example of the evolution of the corpus, to return to the two nestorides of type I that I have discussed in previous publications,[29] and to the consequences of their change in attribution. These nestorides were both in American museums, but their fate diverged after the restitution of the Boston example to Italy[30] – it is now displayed in the Dinu Adamesteanu Museum of Potenza, another example of a change of location that can be difficult to track through various publications. They had both been attributed by Trendall to the Amykos Painter,[31] but the one formerly in Boston has been reattributed to the Cyclops Painter, whose typical crossed meander, anatomies, gestures, and usual tendrils are clearly visible *(Fig. 7)*. The second one, a little smaller, is an early work by the Palermo Painter, and depicts four different versions of his 'figure on a rock', including the female one; the stock-figures, however, display the strong influence of the Amykos Painter *(Fig. 8)*. From both the potting and the decoration, they could be considered a pair, but the difference in size should be noted. They may not be strictly contemporaneous, but were produced in the same workshop at different times. Nevertheless, they display a common spirit in the figured zones (decorated with generic scenes and without any representation of Italic warriors) and in the decoration of the body, where one can observe some unusual types of friezes, made of chevron patterns or concentric ovals. This latter decoration also appears on some nestorides by the Amykos and Dolon Painters, and is an element borrowed from the decorative language of native Peucetian and Messapian pottery.[32] As is well known, the shape itself is inspired by the indigenous *trozzella*, a ritual vase for wine, and Stine Schierup has rightly pointed out[33] that the type I, produced by the Metapontine workshops, refers more specifically to an indigenous shape typical of the North Lucanian area of Potentino, including such sites as Satrianum. This was probably where the nestorides of the Amykos workshop were sent, and the demand of this area is what prompted the production of nestorides at an early date in the development of South

Fig. 7 Nestoris by the Cyclops Painter. Potenza, Museo Archeologico della Basilicata "Dinu Adamesteanu" (formerly Boston, MFA). Detail.

Italian red-figure workshops. The similarity in the shape and general composition with some type I nestorides by the Amykos Painter[34] shows that they all came from the same workshop, using various solutions to establish visual interrelationships with the Italic consumer. But as the Amykos Painter was considered until now to be the first to have produced this shape,[35] one also has to highlight the joint presence of the Cyclops and Palermo Painters at the origin of its production.

Reshaping the painter's career?

Finally, I will address the haunting issue of the Palermo Painter's link to the Cyclops Painter. I have already expressed in the Cincinnati 2010 symposium my long lasting conviction, based on the comparison of different types of clues, that the Palermo Painter and the Cyclops Painter are one and the same;[36] the Palermo Painter is simply the later stage of the Cyclops Painter, who began his work with the Pisticci Painter and later integrated some stylistic features of the Amykos Painter while working in his workshop, and – as the Palermo Painter – finally reaches his maturity and independence. Their two repertoires seem separate at first, but a group of vases, among which is the Palermo name-vase and the amphora from the tomb 358 of Metaponto, display mixed elements of their respective languages, and could therefore be considered as transitional. The ratio between the known vases by the Palermo Painter (about 30 with the addenda *infra*) and by the Cyclops Painter (about 40) is interesting too, as these two corpuses are unusually limited in regard to their peers,[37] and their combination would revise the corpus closer to normal standards. The activity of this "new hand" could have occurred between 430 (the first phase in the Pisticci workshop) and about 400 BCE.[38]

The two "hands" have in common a similar sense for frontal faces, foreshortenings, audacious stances, pending hands, and rocks as supports, as shown even on the early vases by the Cyclops Painter, thus betraying an extreme proximity. The versatility of their art, the fluidity of their drawing, and their sense of innovation are also similar. Most of these clues were already pointed out by Trendall[39] who was nevertheless reluctant to recognize them as a single painter, as he told me some time ago. This was a sign of his great wisdom and rigorous methodology, since the two corpuses he was aware of were indeed identifiable as separate. But at the time, in the early 1990s,

Fig. 8 Nestoris by the Palermo Painter. Richmond, Virginia Museum of Art 81.71.

the context in which he was operating was different; and this underlines once again the gap between observation, which provides objective results, and interpretation of what is seen, which is deeply conditioned by personal experience and context. With the continual additions that have practically doubled the corpus (see the updated list), I would like to propose a thorough reconsideration of this hypothesis. Beyond reconsidering the painter's personal evolution, such a reconstruction of his career would be useful to better assess the workshop's production and distribution through time, and the specialization of its members.

To conclude, attribution is an action; in fact, it could be defined a "propositional action". A. D. Trendall knew this well, and that is why he spent his lifetime publishing updates and supplements in which he constantly adjusted his attributions or reshaped his painters on the basis of new information. I think it would be an appropriate tribute to him to think about the way we could perpetuate his work by integrating it into the present; new technologies and the web provide us with the possibility of creating links and multilingual vocabularies, of sharing high quality photographs and their metadata, to register information about vases previously on the market, and to collectively conduct research, in order to give it a new legitimacy.

ADDENDA TO TRENDALL'S VASE-LIST

1. Column-krater, Cincinnati Museum X 1958. LCS 41, no. 181 (Amykos Painter) [M. Denoyelle].
2. Bell-krater (fragmentary), once New York Market (1996). Herakles chained and Busiris. Unpublished [M. Denoyelle].
3. Bell-krater fragment, Gottet collection 276. Head of a youth [C. Aellen].
4. Panathenaic amphora, Nicholson Museum 82.32. Athletes, Nike and Eros. Cambitoglou – Robinson 1995 [A. Cambitoglou].
5. Panathenaic amphora, Metaponto, from Pisticci prop. La Torre, T 358. Youths and women. Silvestrelli 2014, 104 [F. Silvestrelli].
6. Pelike fragment, Metaponto, from prop. Corrado T. 125. Youths and women. Silvestrelli 2014, 104 and WF 049 [F. Silvestrelli].
7. Oenochoe (chous), Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum inv 14020. Aulos-player and discobolus. *Een gids voor de collecties vh Allard Pierson Museum* 2002, fig. 129; <http://hdl.handle.net/11245/3.1484> (but although the aulos-player bears some resemblance to the one on the Nicholson Museum fragment *infra*, the discobolus' anatomy and face seem more related to the Amykos Painter).
8. Hydria, Taranto, from Saturo. Orpheus and Eurydike. Fontannaz 2008 [D. Fontannaz].
9. Nestoris, Richmond, Virginia Museum of Art 81.71. LCS Suppl. III 15, no. 188a, pl. II, 2–4 (where Amykos Painter); Denoyelle 2014, 124 [M. Denoyelle].
10. Skyphos fragment, Oxford 1922.208. Icarus and Daedalus. RVAp I 21, no. 1/92 (close to the Sisyphus Painter) [M. Denoyelle].
11. Skyphos fragment, Kiel B 912. Woman holding a mirror. Schauenburg 1972, 5, pl. 6, 1 [M. Denoyelle].
12. Skyphos fragment, Nicholson Museum, the University of Sydney. Aulos-player. CVA Nicholson Museum 2, pl. 13, 2 [A. Cambitoglou, M. Turner].
13. Guttus, Louvre MNE 1329. RLouvre 5, 2009, 32, no. 7 [M. Denoyelle].

PHOTO CREDITS

Fig. 1	After CVA Taranto 3 pl. 14.
Fig. 2. 3	Metropolitan Museum of Art, Public Domain.
Fig. 4	Author.
Fig. 5	After Cambitoglou – Robinson 1995, pl. 4.
Fig. 6	After Fontannaz 2008, fig. 2.
Fig. 7	After *Cat Nostoi* 2008, p. 171.
Fig. 8	Virginia Museum of fine Arts, Richmond. Arthur and Margaret Glasgow Fund © Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.

ABBREVIATIONS

Beazley 1927	J. D. Beazley, Icarus, JHS 47, 1927, 222–233.
Bottini 2013	A. Bottini, Elementi di continuità: il caso della *nestoris*, in: M. Osanna – M. Vullo (eds.), Segni del potere: oggetti di lusso dal Mediterraneo nell'Appennino lucano di età arcaica. Polieion (Venosa 2013) 39–45.
Cambitoglou – Robinson 1995	A. Cambitoglou – E. G. D. Robinson, Classical Art in the Nicholson Museum, Sidney (Mainz 1995).
Cat. Nostoi 2008	S. de Caro – L. Godart (eds.), Nostoi Capolavori ritrovati. Exhibition Catalogue, Roma, March 29–September 7 2008 (Loreto 2008).
Cat. Taranto 1997	Catalogo del Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Taranto, I, 3. Atleti e guerrieri. Tradizioni aristocratiche a Taranto tra VI e V sec. a. C. Catalogo della mostra Taranto, Museo Nazionale Archeologico 9 aprile 1994 (Taranto 1997).
Colivicchi 2004	F. Colivicchi, L'altro vino. Vino, cultura e identità nella Puglia e Basilicata anelleniche, Siris 5, 2004, 23–68.
Colivicchi 2014	F. Colivicchi, "Native" Vase Shapes in South Italian Red-Figure Pottery, in: T. H. Carpenter – K. M. Lynch – E. G. D. Robinson (eds.), The Italic People of Ancient Apulia. New Evidence from Pottery for Workshops, Markets and Customs (Cambridge 2014) 213–242.
Denoyelle 1995	M. Denoyelle, Iconographie mythique et personnalité artistique dans la céramique italiote, in: Modi e funzioni del racconto mitico nella ceramica greca, italiota ed etrusca dal VI al IV secolo a. C. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Raito di Vietri sul mare, maggio 1994 (Salerno 1995) 83–101.
Denoyelle 2014	M. Denoyelle, Hands at Work in Magna Graecia: the Amykos Painter and His Workshop, in: T. H. Carpenter – K. M. Lynch – E. G. D. Robinson (eds.), The Italic People of Ancient Apulia. New Evidence from Pottery for Workshops, Markets and Customs (Cambridge 2014) 116–129.
Denoyelle – Iozzo 2009	M. Denoyelle – M. Iozzo, La céramique

grecque d'Italie méridionale et de Sicile (Paris 2009).

De Siena 2007 — A. De Siena, L'attività archeologica in Basilicata nel 2006, Atti Taranto 46, 407–463.

Fontannaz 2008 — D. Fontannaz, L'entre-deux mondes. Orphée et Euridyce sur une hydrie proto-italiote du sanctuaire de la source à Saturo, AntK 51, 2008, 41–72.

LCS — A. D. Trendall, The Red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily (Oxford 1967).

LCS Suppl. III — A. D. Trendall, The Red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily, Third Supplement, BICS Suppl. 41 (London 1983).

Osanna 1990 — M. Osanna, Sui culti arcaici di Sparta e Taranto: Afrodite Basilis, PP 45, 1990, 81–94.

RVAp Suppl. II — A. D. Trendall – A. Cambitoglou, Second Supplement to The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia, BICS Suppl. 60 (London 1992).

Schauenburg 1972 — K. Schauenburg, Frauen im Fenster, RM 79, 1972, 1–15.

Schierup 2012 — S. Schierup, A Heroic Emblem: the Cultural Transformation of the Panathenaic Amphora in Southern Italy, in: S. Schierup – B. Bundgaard Rasmussen (eds.), Red-figure Pottery in its Ancient Setting (Aarhus 2012) 117–132.

Schierup 2015 — S. Schierup, The Nestorides: Innovation and Ambivalence in the Early South Italian Red-Figure Production, in: J. Fejfer – M. Moltesen – M. Rathje (eds.), Tradition. Transmission of Culture in the Ancient World (Copenhagen 2015) 387–426.

Silvestrelli 2014 — F. Silvestrelli, Red-Figure Vases from Metaponto: the Evidence from the Necropoleis along the Coast Road, in: T. H. Carpenter – K. M. Lynch – E. G. D. Robinson (eds.), The Italic People of Ancient Apulia. New Evidence from Pottery for Workshops, Markets and Customs (Cambridge 2014) 96–115.

Sisto 2006 — M. A. Sisto, Nestorides, Ostraka 15, 2006, 363–406.

Trendall 1989 — A. D. Trendall, Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily (London 1989).

NOTES

1 RVAp Suppl. II.

2 The new faceted interface (https://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/XDB/ASP/searchOpen.asp) includes a lot of South Italian vases that are also recorded in the database, but as the information being drawn from the CVA's digitized fascicles is neither updated nor corrected, they are hardly searchable.

3 Palermo Painter: LCS 50–54, no. 266–279; LCS Suppl. III 20, no. 269 a. b; see also Fontannaz 2008, note 21. One may however challenge at least two attributions: the bell-krater Berlin F 3179, from Telese, LCS 52, no. 267 which seems more coherent with the Brooklyn-Budapest Painter; and the volute-krater CVA J. Paul Getty Museum IV, pl. 209–211 (closer to the Amykos Painter).

4 Trendall 1989, 21, fig. 20–22.

5 Silvestrelli 2014, 104.

6 There is no reason to see the two vases from the Policoro find as being by his hand. They should be re-integrated into the Policoro Painter's work. See Silvestrelli 2014, 104 f., fig. 4.4 for a panathenaic amphora by the Karnéia Painter from Proprietà la Torre, T. 376.

7 He may well be responsible for some small vases found in the necropolis and placed in the Intermediate Group, as for instance the squat lekythos Taranto 4653, *Cat. Taranto* 1997, 382 f., 155.1.

8 Trendall 1989, 21.

9 Taranto 52229; LCS 53, no. 276, pl. 23, 4; CVA Taranto 3 IV D, pl. 14, 1–3; *Cat. Taranto* 1997, 69–370, 143.1. The pelike: Taranto 12561, LCS 53, no. 272, pl. 23, 3; CVA Taranto 3 IV D, pl. 12, 1–3. Two other provenances are recorded, from Campania: Telese in the Samnium, LCS 52, no. 267 (but I do not consider it to be by the Palermo Painter, see note 3) and 53, no. 270 (provenance from the market).

10 Height: 26 cm.

11 As on LIMC II (1984) 945, pl. 695 s. v. Atalante 60 (Euaion Painter). The record of the Taranto skyphos in the same volume (948 s. v. Atalante 100 [John Boardman]) rejects the identification as Atalante because of the second figure on the right, and lists it as another girl. However, there is not enough of the figure left to be sure of their gender

12 See for instance *Cat. Taranto* 1997, 353, 125.10; 125.15 (Pisticci Painter); 371, 147.1 (Dolon Painter); 373, 149.1 (Amykos Painter); 381, 151.1 (Creusa Painter); 152.1 (Parasol Painter).

13 LCS 53, no. 273, pl. 23, 1; Denoyelle – Iozzo 2009, 108, fig. 157.

14 The link between the two groups of fragments, besides their dimensions, is secured by the extraordinary triple bell shaped flower issuing from the palmette, of which the superior part is preserved behind the pillar.

15 Denoyelle 1995, 90 f.

16 LCS 53, no. 274; <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/248593>.

17 Beazley 1927; RVAp I 21, no. 92; re-attributed in Denoyelle – Iozzo 2009, 108.

18 LCS 53, no. 275, pl. 23, 2; Denoyelle – Iozzo 2009, 108, fig. 156.

19 Louvre MNE 1329. Published as being by the Palermo Painter in RLouvre 5, 2009, 32, no. 7; the attribution was mine. *Cf.* also <http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=30249&langue=fr>.

20 For instance *Cat. Taranto* 1997, 125, 13; 397, 173.1; 173.5; 173.6. One example in Copenhagen, LCS 68, no. 342, belongs to the Schwerin Group, whose majority of known provenances are Taranto.

21 LCS 52, no. 266, pl. 22, 1. 2.

22 LCS 54, no. 277, pl. 23, 5.

23 Cambitoglou – Robinson 1995, 107; CVA Nicholson Museum 2, pl. 14–18.

24 For Eros as athlete on Metapontine vases, see Silvestrelli 2014, 100 f. See also Nike crowning Eros in an athletic context on the Palermo Painter's pelike, LCS 53, no. 271.

25 De Siena 2007, 440 f., pl. XIII, 3; Silvestrelli 2014, 104.

26 Schierup 2012; Silvestrelli 2014, 98.

27 Fontannaz 2008. The vase should belong to his early phase.

28 Osanna 1990, 92 f.

29 LCS Suppl. III 15, no. 188 a, pl. II, 3. 4, and 390, no. 188 b; Denoyelle 2014, 23–124; Bottini 2013, 41 f. On the nestoris, see Colivicchi 2004; Sisto 2006; Colivicchi 2014, 219–224; Schierup 2015, 407–409.

30 *Cat. Nostoi* 2008, 168, no. 47.

31 Indeed the potting and the general composition are similar to some nestorides attributed to him, such as Louvre K 539 (LCS 44, no. 215, pl. 17, 1).

32 Denoyelle 2014, 122.

33 Schierup 2015, 388. 393.

34 Louvre K 539, Schierup 2015, 405, fig. 11.

35 Bottini 2013, 41.

36 Denoyelle 2014, 123 f.

37 137 vases in the Trendall database for the Pisticci Painter, 257 for the Amykos Painter.

38 On the dating of the PKP Group and the Palermo Painter, cf. LCS 50 f.; Cambitoglou – Robinson 1995, 111.

39 LCS 51.

Identity, Gender and the Nestoris in Apulian Red-Figure

Edward Herring

The nestoris *(Fig. 1)* is one of the most distinctive features of Apulian red-figure – one of only two shapes described by Trendall as "purely local".[1] Even in the days when Apulian red-figure was seen as an unproblematic expression of the culture of the Greek residents of South-East Italy, the nestoris was acknowledged as a sign of influence from the native or indigenous population, even if the implications of such "influence" were never explicitly discussed.

The distinctiveness of the shape ensured that the nestoris received considerable scholarly attention. Indeed, whole monographs have been devoted to the topic.[2] This paper attempts to place the nestoris within the wider context of the production of Apulian red-figure. It then briefly discusses the nestorides which depict indigenous people and the depictions of nestorides on other vases, and what this might say about indigenous identity in South-East Italy. Finally, it considers the issue of gender in the use of this vase shape.

Fig. 1 Apulian Type I nestoris (Naples 2307, inv. 81832), name vase of the Painter of Naples 2307 (RVAp I 133, no. 296). Eros standing between two women.

The nestoris in the context of production

As already noted, the nestoris has piqued the interest of scholars in the past. Ironically, the level of interest that the shape has attracted may be disproportionate to its importance in antiquity. Of the 13 578 vases and fragments given detailed attention in RVAp and its Supplements,[3] only 37 are described as nestorides and one of these may be discounted, as it appears to have been an amphora that was incorrectly restored as a nestoris *(Appendix 1)*. Thus, nestorides account for only 0.27 % of the surviving output of the Apulian industry, as represented by the sample discussed here. While we cannot assume that what survives is an entirely accurate representation of the original production, as the surviving vases come mostly from funerary contexts, it would be difficult to argue that the nestoris was ever an important part of the output, at least in numeric terms.

If we look at production over time *(Table 1)*, the nestoris appears to have mirrored the general output of the industry. Using the (albeit flawed) chronology of Trendall and Cambitoglou, 11.78 % of all vases in the sample belong to the Early Apulian phase, 19.31 % of all vases belong to the Middle Apulian phase, and 68.91 % are Late Apulian. In the case of the nestoris, 11.11 % (i.e. four vases) belong to the Early Apulian phase, 19.44 % or seven vases belong to Middle Apulian, and the remaining twenty-five vases (69.44 %) are Late Apulian. It is, of course, necessary to issue a "health warning" when citing percentages derived from a sample of only 36 vases; the discovery of just a few new counterexamples could completely transform the pattern outlined here. Nevertheless, present evidence suggests that the nestoris enjoyed no significant peaks and troughs of production.

Table 1. Patterns in the production of nestorides over time compared with the total output of Apulian red-figure.

Traditional chronology	**Early Apulian (c. 425–370 BC)**	**Middle Apulian (c. 370–330 BC)**	**Late Apulian (c. 340–300 BC)**	**Grand Total**
No. of surviving vases per phase	1600	2622	9356	13578
Percentage of total surviving vases by phase	11.78	19.31	68.91	100
No. of surviving nestorides per phase	4	7	25	36
Percentage of total surviving nestorides by phase	11.11	19.44	69.44	100

Given the tiny number of surviving examples, we might reasonably ask whether the nestoris deserves the attention that it has received and to which this paper adds. Three factors may serve to justify our interest. First is the distinctive nature of the shape and its connection to indigenous ceramic traditions. Second, a number of the surviving nestorides depict indigenous people. And third is the fact that nestorides are themselves depicted on a number of other vases showing indigenous people. All three factors connect to the theme of identity; each will be considered in turn.

The shape and its origins

The shape itself and its connections to indigenous South Italian ceramic traditions have been extensively commented upon in the past. The earliest red-figure examples are in the Lucanian fabric[4] and the connections between Lucanian and early Apulian production remain a rich topic for research.[5]

The main source of inspiration for the Lucanian nestoris and, therefore, also for the Apulian version, has traditionally been considered to be the Messapian trozzella,[6] itself derived from an olletta that initially entered the repertoire of South-Italian Matt-Painted in the Salento region, as a result of imports from Albania.[7] Colivicchi[8] succinctly outlines the history of kantharoid shapes in South Italy and demonstrates how shapes that are close to the red-figure nestoris can be found across Basilicata and Central and Southern Puglia. Therefore, we need not consider the Apulian nestoris to be closer to the Messapian trozzella than to any of the other contemporary prototypes available within the indigenous communities. What is not in doubt, however, is that the shape derives from native traditions. Therefore, it is a reasonable assumption that the nestorides were made for an indigenous clientele by vase-painters familiar with the form. Such producers may well have been based in indigenous communities.

Colivicchi[9] makes two other important points in relation to Athenian versions of kantharoid shapes, namely that the vases in question were "often the only distinctly 'native-looking' object in the grave assemblages of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E." and that "the Athenian vases are copies of no ordinary shapes". The same points apply to the Apulian nestorides. They were presumably being made for use in indigenous tombs at a time when such shapes carried a particular resonance in respect to native heritage and identity. This perhaps helps explain why a good proportion of the surviving nestorides depict indigenous people: a matter to which we shall return shortly.

Thus, we might imagine that for consumers the nestoris shape was a ceramic signifier of an indigenous identity, one of only few that remained in currency.[10] However, the style of the vase followed contemporary tastes and carried with it any special association that came with red-figure, such as access to particular valued products and connectedness to the Greek communities.

Nestorides depicting indigenous people

Of the 36 surviving nestorides documented in RVAp and its Supplements, eight show depictions of indigenous people. Although actual numbers are tiny, the proportion of nestorides (22%) decorated in this way is noteworthy. No doubt, the sense that the form was "indigenous" complemented the choice of decoration.

The nestoris was the most popular form for such scenes after the column-krater – it comes second, but a very long way behind *(Table 2)*. Compared to the eight nestorides, there are 217 column-kraters showing indigenous people. It is true that the column-krater is a much more common form than the nestoris (602 survive in the sample) but scenes showing indigenous people are even more popular on column-kraters. 36% of all column-kraters are decorated in this way. If, as Tom Carpenter argues, we should consider the column-krater as effec-

Table 2. Number and percentage of vases showing indigenous people for the five forms most frequently decorated in this fashion.

Type of vase	Total number of vases of that shape	Number of vases of that shape showing Native people	Percentage of all vases of that shape
Column-krater	602	217	36.05
Nestoris	36	8	22.22
Bell-krater	1865	5	0.27
Volute-krater	786	5	0.64
Kantharoid skyphos	44	6	13.64

tively an indigenous form, then again we would have complementarity between form and decoration.[11]

Scenes of indigenous people occur on 14 other forms but only in the case of the bell-krater, the volute-krater, and the kantharoid skyphos are there even a handful of examples that survive. The bell-krater is the most common of all the wine-mixing forms in Apulian red-figure, with 1865 vessels in the sample; only just over of a quarter of one per cent of these (five vases or 0.27 %) were decorated with scenes of native life. The volute-krater is somewhat more common than the column-krater, with 786 vessels in the sample. Trendall describes the form as "the most characteristic of all Apulian shapes",[12] but less than two-thirds of one per cent of these (five vases, or 0.64 %) are decorated with indigenous people. The kantharoid skyphos is a relatively rare form with only 44 examples in the sample; of these, six (or 13.64 %) are decorated in this fashion.

Looking from the point-of-view of production, we can say that nestorides were seldom manufactured. Many workshops would never have produced the form at all. However, when examples were made, they were quite frequently decorated with indigenous scenes. This certainly looks like a niche production to serve customers for whom commemorating indigenous identity was significant.

In an ideal world, find-spots would give us more information on the production and usage of these vessels but provenances are generally not well preserved for Apulian red-figure. Only one of the 36 nestorides in the sample has a provenance recorded by Trendall and Cambitoglou.[13] This example, a type 3 nestoris, was found at Pomarico in Eastern Basilicata and is now in Matera Museum (Matera 157223).[14]

None of the nestorides decorated with indigenous people has a recorded provenance. Nevertheless, all of the vessels of other shapes that are decorated in a similar fashion, and which have a recorded provenance, were found in Central Puglia or adjacent parts of Eastern Basilicata.[15] On this basis, I would contend that the nestorides decorated in this manner would also have been destined for Central Apulian graves. Indeed, given the comparative rarity of the form, it is very possible that all nestorides were made for use in that area and may well have been made in that area.

Depictions of nestorides on other vessels

Although nestorides were quite rare, they are depicted surprisingly frequently on other vessels. It should be acknowledged, however, that it is clear that not all of the nestorides depicted were meant to be in red-figure.

All of the surviving depictions occur on vases, which portray the native population – a point to which I shall return – and all are on column-kraters, which is perhaps not surprising given that form's pre-eminence when it comes to such scenes. There are 23 column-kraters which have nestorides depicted upon them *(Appendix 2)*. Therefore, more than 10 % (10.56 %) of column-kraters depicting indigenous people have them shown with one or more nestorides.[16] This underscores the point about the nestoris and identity. The expression or commemoration of identity was central to the production of vessels portraying indigenous people. The fact that they are sometimes depicted with a local vase form – the nestoris – which also seems to be linked to identity, is further complementarity between vessel form, decoration, and social use.

An analysis of the depictions is quite revealing. On 21 of 23 vases, a single nestoris is depicted. On 19 vases, the single nestoris is carried or used by a woman. On two vases, a woman holds one nestoris while a man holds the other (New York 17/120.241 and Copenhagen 1682). Only on one vase is the sole nestoris held by a man (once New York market). The final vase shows a nestoris on top of an Ionic column, perhaps as a commemoration of the dead (Louvre K 521).

The scenes fall into the general repertoire of those depicting indigenous life. Most can be categorized as hon-

ouring an individual, sometimes a returning or departing warrior and sometimes a standing or seated individual, usually male but occasionally female. On a couple of occasions, the nestoris is held by a female participant in a Dionysiac procession. Mostly, the nestorides are simply being held or are held out towards another participant in the scene. On the rare occasion that they are shown in use, they hold liquid (perhaps wine), which is being poured out into another vessel, e.g. on BM F174 *(Fig. 2)*.

The shape of the nestorides is quite faithfully depicted; they may be easily classified according to the standard three types used in the modern literature.[17] The painters were clearly familiar with the shape.

Different types of decoration are shown on the various nestorides. Some have geometric patterning, which would suggest that they are intended to be Matt-Painted vessels. Again this shows the painters familiarity with aspects of indigenous culture. Other nestorides are depicted with figured decoration, shown as black figures against an orange background. As black-figure had not been seen in South Italy since the 5th century, I would suggest that the depictions were meant to be of red-figure nestorides but that the limitations of the style meant that the decorative scheme was shown in reverse, as it were. This suggests that indigenous and Greek versions of the same shape could be used interchangeably, which is supported by actual practice, for example in the use of the column-krater as a replacement for, or perhaps the modern version of, the large, indigenous vessel that traditionally accompanied the dead in the tombs of Central Puglia.

The nestorides are not the only vessels shown on these vases. Others include oenochoai, which would also have been used in the pouring of wine, kantharoi, which might be seen as a form related to the nestoris, and dishes of various types, which, at least on some occasions, were for the receiving of wine, although some dishes seem to have been used for food offerings. The patera, one type of dish, was another distinctive feature of Apulian red-figure.[18] There are individual examples where a nestoris is depicted on the same scene as a drinking-horn, used for the consumption of wine, a column-krater, for the mixing of wine, and a situla, perhaps another vessel associated with libations.

Fig. 2 Apulian column-krater (London, BM 1836,0224.188; F 174) attributed to the Sisyphus Painter (RVAp I 16, no. 55). A woman pours a libation (presumably of wine) from a nestoris into the phiale held by the departing indigenous youth.

One final factor that may be noteworthy is that all the column-kraters depicting nestorides belong to the Early and Middle phases of production. So, although red-figure nestorides continued to be made in the later 4th century, they no longer seemed to be depicted on other vases. However, the sample size is so small that this may not be meaningful at all.

Conclusions – wine, women and identity

What can we draw from these observations? The exclusive association of depictions of nestorides with indigenous people is telling. For the painters of the column-kraters in question, the depiction of the nestoris added to the credibility of scenes in reinforcing messages about identity, which, no doubt, were important to their customers. The fact that the depictions only occur on scenes with indigenous people serves to reinforce the fact that this form was conceptually connected to that population. It seems likely that this comparatively rare form, of local inspiration, was made solely for the indigenous population and probably entirely for use in their tombs.

More than twenty years ago, I argued that the matt-painted, Messapian trozzella became a conscious symbol of indigenous identity, at least by the 4th century BC when its use was entirely restricted to tombs.[19] Fabio Colivicchi has rightly corrected an error that I made in that article.[20] Trozzelle were not present in almost every adult tomb, as I had stated in my 1995 paper, but they were present in virtually every adult woman's tomb of the period. I believe that my original argument about the status of the trozzella as an "emblem of identity" holds up but that there needs to be a gender dimension added to the argument. I intend to return to this point in a future paper. However, it has implications for the present discussion.

The trozzella was a vessel form, which became an indicator of indigenous identity in the tombs of women in Southern Puglia. The red-figure nestoris was related to the trozzella, as well as to other shapes from the repertoire of indigenous ceramics. The nestoris too can be linked to indigenous identity. This can be argued from the origins of the form itself and from the propensity for nestorides to be decorated with scenes showing the indigenous population and to be depicted on column-kraters showing indigenous life. In the depictions, nestorides are

far more commonly associated with women than with men. Although the association is not exclusive, it would seem reasonable to suggest that the Apulian red-figure nestoris was an ethnic indicator for indigenous women.

The iconography of the surviving nestorides lends some support to this argument. Of the eight vases depicting indigenous people, women are present in all of the relevant scenes. On Naples 2338 (inv. 81831) scenes of indigenous life occur on both sides of the vase: women figure in both scenes. Furthermore, on the vase that has an indigenous scene only on the reverse (Naples, priv. coll. 352), the obverse shows a scene interpreted as Aphrodite presenting Helen to Paris with Eros in attendance: this may be tentatively related to sexual desire and the domain of women. Of the remaining 28 vases that do not show indigenous people, women occur on the obverse of all but five of them. 17 vases show one or two women accompanied by one or two naked or semi-draped youths. In seven of these cases, one or more of the figures carries an object with Dionysian associations, which is consistent with the function of the vessel and indicates the importance of women in the worship of that god. There is also one example (Naples 2215 [inv. 81833]) showing a Maenad and a Satyr. Eight vases show depictions of Eros, who is associated with women only on five of these vessels (Naples 2307 [inv. 81832], Bari 5835, Naples 2343 [inv. 81823], Naples 2366 [inv. 81822], Naples, Stg.15). On the other three vases (Matera 157120 and Naples 2364 [inv. 81825]), Eros is depicted alone or, in one case (Kiel B724), with a second Eros figure. The link between Eros and women is strong and may have connections with marriage. There is a single example of a vase (Matera 157223) showing a woman on her own and, similarly, one example of vase showing an unaccompanied youth (Bari 5866) Thus, the links between the nestoris and women find reasonable correlation within the iconography and the connections to wine are also supported.

The iconography of the reverses adds a little to the discussion. Out of the 36 surviving nestorides, the vast majority (24) have draped youths on the reverse – generally two but on one occasion (Louvre K 92) three. Of the twelve vases that remain, two show scenes of indigenous life on the reverse (Naples 2238 [inv. 81831] and Naples, priv. coll. 352) and have been discussed above. Three vases (Naples 2364 [inv. 81825], Bari 5866, and Matera 157223) show simply a female head. Two examples (the vases once on the London market, Robin Symes) show two women associated with two youths, reflecting the same theme as occurs on many of the obverses. Two vases (once Geneva market, Marie Laforet [ex Kiel, priv. coll.] and The Hague, Gemeente Museum, O.C. 83.34 [ex Scheuleer coll.]) show women associated with Eros, one of which (that in The Hague) also depicts a Satyr. One vase (Matera 157120) shows Eros on his own. One (Naples 2211 [inv. 81830]) has a seated woman on her own and one (Kiel B 724) shows a winged female figure. Where the iconography varies from the completely formulaic draped youths, women or female themes are prominent.

Returning to the Apulian red-figure vessels that depict indigenous people, it is noteworthy that men can easily be identified by their costume, while the women in the same scenes generally wear Greek-style dress and, only occasionally, are there additional elements of their costume, such as a bronze belt or pendant ornaments, that reveal their origins.[21] So it would seem that, while costume remained an ethnic indicator for men in the 4th century BC, this was no longer as true for Central Apulian women, although it had fulfilled this role in earlier times.[22] Thus, the nestoris may have been quite significant as an indicator of a woman's heritage and identity.

As a wine-serving vessel, the nestoris is conceptually connected to the column-krater, which was, by far, the most common vessel depicting the native population, and it connects women to the serving of wine on ritual occasions, often, but not exclusively, held in honour of men. But the role of women should not be understated, just because they are often shown serving wine to men. That task was important in the context of the ritual. Some of the rituals depicted were associated with the departure and return of a warrior. These rituals can be interpreted as necessary to allow the community to adjust to the departure and/or return and reintegration of an important member of society.[23] Crucially, women were significant mediators in these processes. Furthermore, as a warrior's departure can be seen as a metaphor for death; women play a central role in helping the community to come to terms with the loss and to make proper acknowledgement of the individual's passing. The role of women in the different rituals depicted demonstrates female access to wine, which appears to have been a valuable and symbolically important product. Moreover, through the nestoris form, female ethnic identity can be shown to have continued to be significant to the indigenous population during the 4th century BC.

APPENDIX 1 – NESTORIDES LISTED IN RVAP AND ITS SUPPLEMENTS

Location as given in RVAp	*RVAp ref.*
Naples, 2135 (inv. 81829)	I 113, no. 84
Naples, 2326 (inv. 81826)	I 113, no. 88
Naples, 2307 (inv. 81832)	I 133, no. 296
Naples, 2321 (inv. 81827)	I 153, no. 148
Once Geneva market, Marie Laforet (ex Kiel, priv. coll.)	I 343, no. 34
*London, Society of Antiquaries	I 358, no. 206
*†Naples, 2238 (inv. 81831)	I 358, no. 207
†Naples, priv. coll. 352	II 511, no. 137
*The Hague, Gemeente Museum, O.C. 83.34 (ex Scheuleer coll.)	II 524, no. 232
*Louvre, K 92	II 568, no. 75a
Naples, 2215 (inv. 81833)	II 571, no. 105
Naples, 2220 (inv. 81828)	II 571, no. 106
Naples, 2206 (inv. 81824)	II 571, no. 107
*Sèvres, 21	II 574, no. 137
Bari, 5865	II 582, no. 206
Naples, 2343 (inv. 81823)	II 591, no. 292
Naples, 2366 (inv. 81822)	II 591, no. 293
Naples, Stg. 15	II 595, no. 329
Once Rome market, previously Sotheby's London	II 597, no. 343
Matera, 157120	II 600, no. 374
Louvre, K 94	II 600, no. 375
Berlin, F 3261	II 600, no. 376
Erbach, 67	II 600, no. 377
Naples, Stg. 571	II 600, no. 378
*Louvre, K 93	II 600, no. 379
Once New York market, Minassian	II 600, no. 380
Sèvres, 20	II 600, no. 381
Naples, 2364 (inv. 81825)	II 711, no. 767
*Naples, 2211 (inv. 81830)	II 1021, no. 26
Bari, 5866	II 1030, no. 86
Once London market, Robin Symes	Suppl. 1 46, no. 34,1
Once London market, Robin Symes	Suppl. 1 46, no. 34,2
Kiel, B 724	Suppl. 2 89, no. 34,3
Once London market, Sotheby's	Suppl. 2 101, no. 241a
Bari, Loiudice coll.	Suppl. 2 183, no. 343a
Matera, 157223 (from Pomarico)	Suppl. 2 215, no. 469a

Key
* Vases showing indigenous people on the obverse.
† Vases showing indigenous people on the reverse.
*† Vases showing indigenous people on both the obverse and the reverse.

The fragmentary vase, Berlin F3260 (RVAp I 410, no. 72), was restored as a nestoris but was probably originally a panathenaic amphora.

APPENDIX 2 – COLUMN-KRATERS SHOWING DEPICTIONS OF NESTORIDES

Location as given in RVAp	*RVAp ref.*
BM, F174	I 16, no. 55
*Once Berlin, Hitler coll.	I 51, no. 42
*New York, 17.120.241	I 53, no. 61
Copenhagen, 1682	I 53, no. 62
Bologna, 501	I 98, no. 234
Ruvo, 1090	I 98, no. 240
Taranto, A.I. 174	I 98, no. 241
Naples, Stg. 29	I 148, no. 99
Trieste, S 388	I 152, no. 146
Altenburg, 343	I 154, no. 163
BM, 1928.1-17.66	I 241, no. 115
Tampa, Museum of Art, 86.102	I 249, no. 187
New York, 96.18.42 (GR 640)	I 251, no. 206
^Louvre, K 521	I 251, no. 207
Budapest, 57.5 A (ex Letet coll., 135)	I 251, no. 208
Vienna, 708	I 323, no. 53
New York, 06.1021.215	I 345, no. 54
Trieste, S 399	I 368, no. 75
†Once New York market (ex Alejandro Groizard coll.)	I 370, no. 92
Lecce, 775	I 420, no. 38
Once London market, Christie's	I (Add.) 438, no. 202a
Bari, Rizzon coll. 49	Suppl. 2 21, no. 217a
Once Paris market, Antonovich	Suppl. 2 21, no. 217b

Key
All vases show a woman holding a nestoris except:
* Vases showing a woman and a man each holding a nestoris.
† Vase showing a man holding a nestoris.
^ Vase showing a nestoris on an Ionic column.

All of the nestorides are shown on the obverse of the column-krater with the exception of the vase in the Rizzon coll., Bari, which shows a woman holding a nestoris on the reverse.

PHOTO CREDITS

Fig. 1 Photograph courtesy of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli.
Fig. 2 Photograph courtesy of the British Museum. © The British Museum.

ABBREVIATIONS

Carpenter – Lynch – Robinson 2014 — T.H. Carpenter – K.M. Lynch – E.G.D. Robinson (eds.), The Italic People of Ancient Apulia. New Evidence from Pottery for Workshops, Markets, and Customs (Cambridge 2014).

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LCS — A. D. Trendall, The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania, and Sicily (Oxford 1967).

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RVAp II — A. D. Trendall – A. Cambitoglou, The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia. Volume II: Late Apulian (Oxford 1982).

RVAp Suppl. 1 — A. D. Trendall – A. Cambitoglou, First Supplement to The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia (London 1983).

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Yntema 1985 — D. G. Yntema, The Matt-painted Pottery of Southern Italy. A General Survey of the Matt-painted Pottery Styles of Southern Italy during the Final Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (Utrecht 1985).

NOTES

1 RFVSIS, 10.
2 Schneider-Herrmann 1980.
3 In this paper, only vases catalogued in RVAp and its Supplements are considered; material which was not listed in these works or which has appeared since 1992 is not discussed. Robinson (2014b, 219 fn. 1) estimates that there could be a similar number of unattributed vases.
The sample of 13,577 consists of those vases and fragments, which have a reasonable attribution and description. There are some other vases and fragments briefly mentioned but not described in detail in RVAp and its Supplements, which are not included in the total of 13,577 vases mentioned here.
4 Schneider-Herrmann 1980, 31.
5 See, for example, Robinson 2014a and Silvestrelli 2014.
6 LCS p. 29; RFVSIS, 10.
7 Yntema 1985, 81 f.
8 Colivicchi 2014, 215 f., fig. 10.1.
9 Colivicchi 2014, 216.
10 Most of the pottery found in 4th century tombs consists of plain ware, wheel-made painted, which has links to both Greek and indigenous ceramic traditions, and styles of Greek origin, e. g. black glaze and Apulian red-figure. Traditional Matt-Painted geometric pottery became increasingly rare over time and its survival as funerary ware seems to be linked to the expression of native identity.
11 Carpenter, this volume.
12 RFVSIS, 9.
13 Unfortunately, provenances were not always noted in RVAp and its Supplements even when information was available, see Giannotta 2014, 186.
14 RVAp Suppl. 2 215, no. 469a.
15 Herring 2014, 89.
16 8.88 % of all vases portraying indigenous people have one or more nestorides depicted upon them.
17 LCS p. 29 f.
18 RFVSIS, 10 f.
19 Herring 1995.
20 Colivicchi 2014, 242 fn. 136.
21 Herring 2009.
22 Herring 2000, 167–172.
23 Heuer, this volume.

A Vase Shape as a Marker of Identity: A Case Study from 4th Century B.C. Apulia

T.H. Carpenter

As early as 1971 Dale Trendall alluded to an iconographic phenomenon on some South Italian pottery that has never been properly addressed.[1] The phenomenon is this: for nearly four decades, from the late 5th century B.C. to c 370 B.C., the only figures, with very rare exceptions, that appear on the obverses of Apulian red-figure column kraters are warriors, the majority of them wearing distinctive local dress. During the same period these figures in local dress do not appear on other Apulian shapes, and depictions of all mortal warriors are largely limited to column kraters. My contention here is that the combination of shape, subject and dress form a carefully constructed expression of identity for a specific group or groups of Italic people living in central Apulia.

The earliest example we have of the phenomenon, a vase which clearly illustrates the characteristic conjunction of shape, subject and dress, is an Apulian red-figure column krater now in the British Museum which dates to slightly before 400 B.C. *(Fig. 1)*.[2] The column krater has a long history in Corinth and Athens, though by the time this vase was made, the shape had already fallen out of favor in Athens. The red-figure technique of the decoration was invented in Athens during the later part of the 6th century and continued to be used there into the 4th century. The subject of the scene on the vase, common in Attic red-figure, is usually called the departure of a warrior, and shows a libation being poured for a young warrior who is presumably headed off to battle. But this vase was not made in Athens; rather, it was produced in a workshop in South Italy using Attic techniques and conventions but modifying those conventions for the use of local people. The dress worn by the warriors and woman, the vessel she holds, and the shield held by one of the warriors, never appear on Attic vases. As for use, all our Apulian column kraters were found in tombs not far from the place of manufacture and were a key element in funerary assemblages, which is not to say that they could not have been used prior to deposition.[3]

Before we turn to the individual elements that characterize the phenomenon, a brief discussion of contexts for the vases will be useful. Geography is a key factor in this story *(Fig. 2)*. Apulia is the name used for the ancient region of southeastern Italy that stretches along the Adriatic coast from the Gargano down to the tip of the heel and inland to the Bradano river. By the 8th century B.C. three archaeological cultures can be distinguished here on the basis of local pottery and burial customs, and while ancient authors are inconsistent in naming them, archaeologists usually use the conventional terms: Daunians to the north, Messapians to the south and Peucetians in the center.[4] Taranto, said to have been founded in 706 B.C., was the only Greek colony in all of Apulia, and it controlled a chora with a radius of roughly 15 km. The rest of that vast region was inhabited by local people who were living there by the beginning of the first millennium B.C.; they are the subject here, and I will refer

Fig. 1 London, British Museum F 174: Apulian red-figure column krater attributed to the Sisyphus Painter, c 400 B.C.

to them as Italic people, in contrast to colonial Greeks. Almost all of the Apulian red-figure column kraters for which we have a provenance come from Peucetia, that is, central Apulia.[5] They never appear in Greek contexts, nor do they appear in neighboring Messapia.

Most of what we know about the Italic people of Apulia comes from tombs and from archaeological exploration of several sites. They left little or no writing, and comments by Greek writers tend to be hostile.[6] Armor and weapons found in many rich tombs point to the existence of what is often called a warrior aristocracy. Corinthian and Attic black-figure vases found in tombs indicate trade with mainland Greece at least by the early 6th century. Images and inscriptions on vases show that by the mid-5th century B.C. there were some in Italic settlements in Peucetia who read Greek and were familiar with Greek tragedies, though we should probably assume that such literacy was limited to people whom we know only from their richly furnished tombs.[7] I should note, however, that the number of professionally excavated tombs is still relatively small.

It is generally agreed that the earliest South Italian red-figure workshops were established in Lucania during the third quarter of the 5th century, in all likelihood by Attic potters or by locals who had been trained in Athens, and the earliest Apulian workshops were established soon thereafter.[8] Evidence from kilns at Metaponto shows that there were Lucanian red-figure workshops there before the end of the century.[9] The traditional view of Apulian pottery has been that it was made by colonial Greeks, for colonial Greeks. Received opinion has been that Apulian red-figure vases were all produced in Greek Taranto at least until about 340 B.C. There is scant archaeological evidence to support this assumption;[10] however, recent analyses of the clay used in the production of the pots have raised new questions about the location of Apulian workshops.

Through PIXE-PIGME chemical analysis of clay from a range of 49 Apulian red-figure vases in the Nicholson Museum at the University of Sydney, Ted Robinson has identified two major groups.[11] Vases from Group 1 tend to have a "rich orange clay" while those of Group 2 have a "pale buff clay". The potters of the two groups consistently use distinctly different clays. Early Ornate vases, "found overwhelmingly in Taranto", are restricted to Group 2 and support the assumption that they were made there. But for the purposes of our discussion of column kraters, Group 1 is particularly significant.

While none of the five early Apulian painters from Robinson's Group 2 paints a column krater, five of the eight painters in Group 1 do paint them, some many. For example, the Tarporley Painter and the Dijon Painter together, both from Group 1, paint a third of the 89 Early Apulian column kraters in Trendall's lists.[12] Peucetia seems to have been the principal market for Early Apulian vases from Group 1, and it is not unreasonable

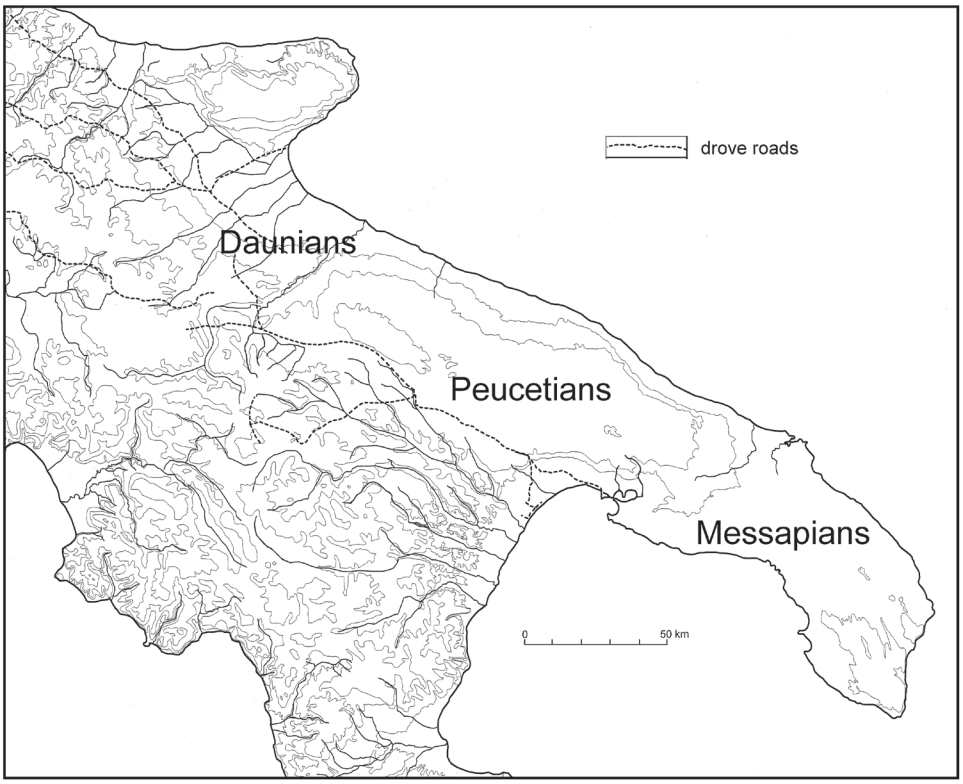

Fig. 2 Map of Apulia.

to assume that workshops might have been someplace other than Taranto. Furthermore, the vast majority of Apulian kraters for which we have reliable provenances come from Italic tombs rather than from Greek settlements.[13]

Apulian red-figure quickly became the dominant style in South Italy and remained so throughout the 4th century B.C. – more than 13 000 vases have been attributed by Trendall and Cambitoglou.[14] Of Apulian potters and painters we know only what the pots themselves tell us. There are no signatures and there is very little archaeological evidence for workshops. Wherever they were made, Apulian vases were seldom exported outside of southern Italy. The proximity of painters to markets means that the painters could know and respond to the interests and needs of those various markets, making it unlikely that the pots were randomly distributed and the images randomly chosen. Virtually all of the Apulian red-figure vases we have come from tomb contexts.

Elements that define the phenomenon: shape, imagery and subject

SHAPE: The shape of the vase is a fundamental element. Lucanian workshops did produce a few column kraters, some of which have scenes of departing warriors on them, but the warriors are not depicted in Italic dress.[15] On the other hand, warriors in Italic dress do appear on a few other Lucanian shapes, mostly on nestorides, a local shape.[16] For example, a nestoris by the Amykos Painter with a warrior in Italic dress is contemporary with the London column krater discussed earlier.[17] Many Lucanian red-figure vases, starting with the earliest workshops, went to Peucetian markets and continued to do so until about 370 B.C., after which Apulian vases entirely replaced Lucanian productions there.[18] It is likely that the depictions of Lucanian warriors, like the Lucanian column kraters, were produced as an attempt to respond to a particular Peucetian market. The key point here is that in Lucanian red-figure the three elements – shape, subject and imagery – were never combined together as they were so consistently in Apulian red-figure for more than three decades.

The column krater, which represents only 6% of all Apulian vases produced during the first quarter of the 4th century, was explicitly adopted to be the vehicle for the depiction of warriors, mainly warriors in Italic dress. The principal markets for them seem to have been in Peucetia. As I mentioned earlier, they are not found in Greek colonial contexts, nor are they found in neighboring Messapia.[19] The loss of provenance for so many of the vases makes it difficult to be more specific. I should note that tombs in Peucetia were plundered by treasure hunters from the late 18th century down to the 1990s, which means that a large number of vases have no reliable provenance. Greek and Apulian vases and armor from tombs brought high prices. Sir William Hamilton, British envoy to the court at Naples from 1764 to 1800, is the most famous of the early collectors, and until quite recently Christie's and Sotheby's in London and New York auctioned, on a regular basis, large numbers of unprovenanced vases that were usually laundered through Switzerland. Fortunately several families in Ruvo di Puglia, an extraordinarily rich Peucetian site, established collections early on which give a general provenance for a significant number of vases: the Jatta collection is still in Ruvo;[20] the Caputi collection is now in Vicenza,[21] and the Lagioia collection is now in Milan.[22] Also, most of the Apulian vases from the Temple collection in the British Museum are said to come from Ruvo.[23] Recent archival research by Andrea Montanaro has allowed the identification of groups of finds from more than 400 of the tombs often inexpertly excavated by locals.[24] Scientific excavations are, of course, indispensable.

The Attic red-figure column krater, many of which have been found in Peucetian tombs,[25] was a model for the Apulian version; however, the choice of the shape was most likely due to its similarity to a local Peucetian shape frequently found in tombs that can be traced back to the 7th century B.C. By the end of the 6th century locally made non-figural column kraters appear in tombs in Peucetia, a shape that evolved from the olla into what De Juliis calls an "olla-cratere".[26] During the 5th century locally made black-figure column kraters are found in Peucetian tombs,[27] and locally made non-figural column kraters continue to appear in Peucetian tombs through the 4th century.[28] Thus, the unfigured form existed side by side with the figure decorated form.

In most Apulian tombs during the 5th and 4th centuries for which we have evidence a krater is the largest vessel. The vast majority of Early Apulian kraters (80%) are bell kraters, while column kraters represent only a small fraction of the total. A review of Apulian painters quickly shows that most painters did not paint column kraters, but that those who did often painted many. These painters knew their market well and by the end of the 5th century it seems clear that these painters were aware of the special significance the column krater had in Peucetia.

IMAGES: Early Apulian painters adopt many Attic red-figure conventions. So, for example, facial profiles and body types on Apulian vases are, at first, indistinguishable from Attic models. However, the appearance of figures in distinctive local dress as protagonists in scenes on the column kraters is something entirely new, with no parallel in Attic vase painting. Oddly, Trendall consistently called these figures Oscans, which is the one thing they are not. Oscan speaking people inhabited

Samnium to the north of Apulia and Lucania to the west, but the Italic people of Apulia spoke Messapic.

The males usually wear a short, belted tunic that covers their genitals but leaves the buttocks bare. Early on some men are shown wearing a kind of belted loin-cloth – both types of garments are usually decorated with geometric designs sometime including swastikas.[29] The short, belted tunic as the principal male costume remains essentially unchanged for nearly a century down to the end of the Apulian red-figure style.

The belt is a consistent element in the imagery, and such metal belts are also found in tombs. Women wear long chitons, often with a wide belt at the waist, and they usually sport jewelry – necklaces, bracelets and earrings.[30] The vessel women sometimes carry, as on the London vase, is a local shape called a trozzella or a nestoris, which has no parallels in Attic pottery.[31]

Most of the males are beardless and their hair is almost always long.[32] In fact, long hair becomes the *sine qua non* for Italic warriors on Apulian vases throughout the 4th century,[33] while the comparable warriors on Lucanian vases have short hair. Italic warriors are the only figures on Apulian vases, aside from gods (Apollo and Dionysos in particular) who are depicted with long hair.

On a few column kraters the warriors are depicted as 'Greeks', which is to say they are naked with short hair. Two vases by the same painter dated to the early 4th century illustrate well the difference *(Figs. 3. 4)*.[34] The subjects are the same, but the clothing and the vessels are noticeably different. On the New York vase local nestorides replace the oinochoe and phialai on the Geneva vase, a local shield type replaces the hoplite shield, and a broad belt at the waists of the women replaces delicate ribbons. With the shape, the subject and the painter the same, the 'Greek' version may be considered as "a more neutral representation", allowing choice but not changing meaning.[35] Both types have been found in tombs from the same sites.

SUBJECT: To make sense of these different approaches we need to turn to the subject itself, the departure of a warrior or warriors, which is the most common subject on Apulian column kraters. It first appears on Attic red-figure vases early in the 5th century B.C. and then continues to appear on Attic pots throughout that century.[36] The scene on an Attic stamnos in London illustrates this well *(Fig. 5)*.[37] A young warrior holds out a phiale to make a libation as a woman prepares to pour into it from an oinochoe. A key difference is that Attic warriors in these scenes are always clothed unless they are explicitly identified by inscriptions as heroes; only then can they be nude.[38] Both types of the Apulian scenes reflect the Attic model, and I suggest that both were aimed at similar Italic markets. The difference is that the person who obtained the Geneva vase chose to emphasize the heroic implications of nudity, perhaps holding a more cosmopolitan outlook, while the one who chose the New York

Fig. 3 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 17.120.241: Apulian red-figure column krater attributed to the Tarporley Painter, c 380 B.C.

Fig. 4 Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire 15042: Apulian red-figure column krater attributed to the Tarporley Painter, c 380 B.C.

Fig. 5 London, British Museum E 448: Attic red-figure stamnos attributed to the Achilles Painter, c 450 B. C.

Fig. 6 Once Milan Market: Apulian red-figure column krater attributed to the Maplewood Painter, c 370 B. C.

vase emphasized the local dimension. A large majority of the warrior scenes on Apulian column kraters have figures in local dress.

Scenes of combat also show that painters can distinguish between different groups of Italic people.[39] So, for example, on a vase from Ruvo, a long haired warrior with a spear and a hoplite shield attacks a wounded warrior who seems to plead for his life.[40] To the left, another warrior sitting on a rock is tied to a tree. The aggressor in the center is naked except for a himation over his left shoulder belted at his waist. The two defeated warriors wear short striped belted tunics. Beside the bound warrior and to the right of the wounded warrior are Italic shields.

On another krater by a different painter from a decade later *(Fig. 6)*,[41] two warriors in short, belted tunics attack two other warriors to the right in similar short belted tunics, while Nike with a wreath flies toward the first group. One of the aggressors has a hoplite shield, the other fights beside his horse. The defeated warriors hold what appear to be Italic shields. The main differences between the two groups are the designs on their tunics. The painter has made a point of distinguishing one from the other. Both of the aggressors have a wide black stripe down the center of the tunic, while the others are plain except for a faint horizontal design. This must depict conflict between settlements or tribes.

But I should also mention a unique vase from Ruvo di Puglia where Italic people fight with Greek warriors. The scene is on a volute krater from c 370 B. C. – one of only two Early Apulian vases I know where Italic warriors appear on a shape other than a column krater *(Fig. 7)*.[42] Two long haired Italic warriors on horseback, wearing short belted tunics, confront four Greeks, one on horseback wearing armor and wielding a long Macedonian type spear, and two with hoplite shields, one of whom holds a long spear with a butt spike clearly indicated. We know of no historical event with which this scene may be connected, but the clear, careful distinction made between the Italic warriors and the Greeks is noteworthy.

Fig. 7 St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum 585: Apulian red-figure volute krater attributed to a follower of the Tarporley Painter, c 370 B. C.

Contexts

As noted earlier, for the large majority of Apulian vases we have no reliable provenances; however, accounts of armor and weapons among rich tomb goods from several sites point incontrovertibly to the prevalence of warriors as significant figures in some settlements. For example, armor, helmets, corselets, spears and even horse armor from tombs at Ruvo di Puglia can be found in the Louvre and the British Museum in addition to several private collections.[43] In a tomb at Ruvo, dating to c 450 B.C., carefully excavated in 1908, an Attic red-figure column krater with a depiction of a departing warrior was part of the funerary goods along with an Apulo-Corinthian helmet, two swords and spear heads.[44] Two tombs excavated at the Italic site of Gravina in 1988 and 1999 in a sector of a necropolis belonging to aristocratic family groups are informative here.[45] In each an Apulian red-figure column krater was the largest vessel. Each contained the skeleton of a male in the traditional contracted position, with a bronze belt across his hips, and both contained other elements of armor. Osteological analysis has shown that both were men in their 50s who had led very active lives, suffering multiple injuries over the years.[46] Skeletal evidence shows that at least one of them was a horseman. Bronze belts and other armor have been found in many tombs at Ruvo as well, and current excavations at Bitonto have revealed numerous warrior graves.[47]

In addition, literary sources tell us of hostilities between the Italic people of Apulia and the Greek colonists. Herodotus (7.170) tells that the worst defeat ever suffered by a Greek army took place in South Italy in about 466 B.C. when the Tarentines were defeated by the Italic forces. Then in the 340s and 330s the Tarentines sought help from Archidamus III, king of Sparta, and later Alexander the Molossian to help defend them against Italic forces.

There can be little doubt that warrior aristocracies existed in Italic settlements at least from the early 5th century on through the 4th.

Now, having probed the elements of the phenomenon, what can we conclude? First of all we have to admit that our data set is woefully incomplete. We simply do not have reliable evidence of funerary assemblages from enough tombs to establish a physical correlation between column kraters and warriors. As a result, we must rely on circumstantial evidence. We know the following:

1. Independent of images, the shape of the column krater has deep roots in Peucetia, and Peucetians seem to have provided the principal markets for red-figure column kraters.
2. Column kraters made up a very small proportion of the Early Apulian red-figure output (6%).
3. Italic warriors in distinctive local dress appear quite suddenly c 400 B.C. on Apulian red-figure column kraters and appear exclusively on the column kraters for nearly four decades. During the same four decades, depictions of warriors are limited for the most part to column kraters.
4. There is substantial evidence from tombs for a warrior class in Peucetian settlements like Ruvo, Gravina, and Bitonto, and we have textual evidence for armed conflict between Italic people of Apulia and colonial Greeks from the early 5th century on through the 4th. We also have visual evidence from pots for conflict between groups of Italic people.

The selection of the column krater to be the unique vehicle for depictions of warriors was not accidental. It seems to have happened quite suddenly, and the connection between image and shape remains exclusive and constant for nearly four decades.

Though some column kraters may have been used prior to deposition, all those we have were found in carefully constructed tombs, and we should probably think of them in funerary terms. As work on the archaeology of death has made clear, "nearly every burial constitutes a highly symbolic act".[48] Objects deposited in the tomb are not chosen at random. The shape itself has meaning for those who obtained it, and the choice of warrior imagery – particularly with the focus on the departing warrior – together with the inclusion of Italic dress add layers to a kind of semiotic system. The objects, presumably used during the funeral, make a statement to those present, and as the largest vase in the assemblage, the column krater conveyed a conspicuous message. The combination of shape, subject and dress points to an expression of identity that no single element could – one might even imagine it to be a sign of membership for discrete groups of families.

Around 360 B.C. the production of Apulian red-figure pottery expanded hugely, into what one scholar has called "the first craft production for the 'masses' in antiquity".[49] At that time the column krater lost its exclusivity as the range of images broadened including Dionysiac scenes, which in all likelihood refer to perceptions of an afterlife.[50] Dionysian elements even start to intrude into warrior scenes *(Fig. 8)*.[51] While warriors in Italic dress continue to appear on column kraters, they also appear on other shapes – bell kraters, nestorides, volute kraters.[52] An elite image appears to have been popularized, and with this popularization of the shape and image, new groups could participate in the elitism, while at the same time the image's original significance was diluted.

Fig. 8 Vicenza, Banca Intesa inv. 180 (C 325): Apulian red-figure column krater attributed to the Trieste Owl Group, c 330 B. C.

As outsiders we can only guess at the deeper levels of meaning, but once Dionysiac imagery is included, I suspect that a divergent meaning connected with an afterlife may have overshadowed the earlier group meaning with its focus on identity.

PHOTO CREDITS

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Fig. 2 Courtesy of Professor Alastair Small.
Fig. 3 © Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Fig. 4 © Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Ville de Genève.
Fig. 6 Gli indigeni nella pittura italiota (Taranto 1971) Fig. 36.
Fig. 7 © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Svetlana Suetova.
Fig. 8 © Banca Intesa San Paolo, Vicenza.

ABBREVIATIONS

Carpenter – Lynch – Robinson 2014 — T.H. Carpenter – K.M. Lynch – E.G.D. Robinson (eds.), The Italic People of Ancient Apulia: New Evidence from Pottery for Workshops, Markets, and Customs (Cambridge 2014).

Colivicchi 2014 — F. Colivicchi, "Native" Vase Shapes in South Italian Red-Figure Pottery, in: Carpenter – Lynch – Robinson 2014, 213–242.

Denoyelle et al. 2005 — M. Denoyelle – E. Lippolis – M. Mazzei – C. Pouzadoux (eds.), La Céramique apulienne: bilan et perspectives (Naples 2005).

LCS — A.D. Trendall, The Red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily (Oxford 1967).

Montanaro 2007 — A. Montanaro, Ruvo di Puglia e il suo territorio: le necropoli: I corredi funerari tra la documentazione del XIX secolo e gli scavi moderni (Rome 2007).

RVAp — A.D. Trendall – A. Cambitoglou, The Red-figured Vases of Apulia (Oxford 1978–1982).

NOTES

1 A.D. Trendall, Gli indigeni nella pittura italiota (Taranto 1971) 8. See also Trendall in: M. Schmidt – A.D. Trendall – A. Cambitoglou, Eine Gruppe apulischer Grabvasen in Basel (Basel 1976) 110 f.

2 London F 174: RVAp I 16, no. 55. Attributed to the Sisyphus Painter. On a companion piece by the same painter (Boulogne 653: RVAp I 16, no. 56) the woman pours from an oinochoe, instead of the Italic vessel, into a phiale held by a seated Italic youth with a spear.

3 The main evidence for the following discussion comes from my data-base of some 500 Apulian red-figure column kraters that were produced over a period of more than a century.

4 See D. Yntema, The Archaeology of South-East Italy in the First Millennium BC (Amsterdam 2013) 41 for a more focused delineation of "cultural entities".

5 Ibid., Yntema's Tavoliere and Ofanto districts.

6 For sources, see M. Lombardo, Iapygians: Indigenous Populations of Ancient Apulia in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BCE, in: Carpenter – Lynch – Robinson 2014, 53–67.

7 T.H. Carpenter, A Case for Greek Tragedy in Italic Settlements in Fourth-Century B.C.E. Apulia, in: Carpenter – Lynch – Robinson 2014, 265–280; O. Taplin, How was Athenian Tragedy Played in the Greek West?, in: K. Bosher (ed.), Theater Outside Athens: Drama in Greek Sicily and South Italy (Cambridge 2012) 247–250.

8 M. Denoyelle – M. Iozzo, La céramique grecque d'Italie méridionale et de Sicile (Paris 2009) 97–99. 119 f.

9 For an overview, see F. Silvestrelli, Le fasi iniziali della ceramica a figure rosse nel kerameikos di Metaponto, in: Denoyelle et al. 2005, 113–123.

10 For a discussion of evidence for production in Taranto, see D. Fontannaz, Production and Functions of Apulian Red-Figure Pottery in Taras: New Contexts and Problems of Interpretation, in: Carpenter – Lynch – Robinson 2014, 70–95. For recent clay analysis see E.G.D. Robinson, New Pixme-Pigme Analysis of South Italian Pottery, MedA 26, 2013, 15–41 and id., Archaeometric Analysis of Apulian and Lucanian Red-Figure Pottery, in: Carpenter – Lynch – Robinson 2014, 243–264.

11 Robinson loc. cit. 2013 (n. 10). Using Neutron Activation Analysis. See also J. Thorn – M. Glascock, New Evidence for Apulian Red-figure Production Centres, Archaeometry 52, 2009, 777–795 who found similar divisions. Robinson (17) notes that "Group 1 is high in Iron, Titanium and Aluminum, while Group 2 has high concentrations of Calcium and Strontium".

12 E.g. Tarporley Painter: RVAp I 48, no. 22; 51, nos. 41. 42; 52, no. 59; 53, nos. 60. 60a; 61–63; Dijon Painter: RVAp I 148, nos. 99. 99a; 150, nos. 117. 117a; 152, no. 146; 153, no. 147; 154, nos. 159–164. 164a; 165. 166; 155, nos. 167–171.

13 T.H. Carpenter, The Native Market for Red-Figure Vases in Apulia, MemAmAc 48, 2003, 1–24.

14 RVAp and supplements.

15 An exception is Taranto 141529: LCS Suppl. III 46, no. C25 from Rutigliano. Martine Denoyelle kindly called this vase to my attention.

16 There are relatively few Lucanian vases with Italic warriors: e.g. Louvre K 539: LCS 44, no. 215; Potenza 409446 (once Boston 1971.49): LCS Suppl. III 14, no. 137b; Louvre K 405: LCS 79, no. 401.

17 Potenza 409446 (once Boston 1971.49): LCS Suppl. III 14,

no. 137b. See M. Denoyelle, CVA Louvre 25, 21f. and Keely Heuer in this volume fig. 1.

18 Colivicchi 2014, 229 has argued that Lucanian column kraters were largely exported to Peucetia and that production stopped when Apulian took over the market.

19 M. Giannotta, Apulian Pottery in Messapian Contexts, in: Carpenter – Lynch – Robinson 2014, 187–210. In fact, two of the four column kraters in the Lecce CVAs are from Ruvo di Puglia (RVAp I 229, no. 27a and 420, no. 38).

20 A. Riccardi, CVA Ruvo, Jatta 1, 6 of the Jatta collection: "La gran parte degli oggetti proviene dal territorio di Ruvo".

21 G. Sena Chiesa (ed.), Ceramiche attiche e magnogreche. Collezione Banca Intesa (Milan 2006) 12–18.

22 G. Sena Chiesa (ed.), La collezione Lagioia (Milan 2004) 20 of the Lagioia collection "per la maggioranza dei quali è possibile ipotizzare la provenienza dalle numerose necropolis del territorio di Ruvo".

23 Sir William Temple, brother of Prime Minister Palmerston, was British Ambassador to Naples from 1832 to 1856. He bequeathed his collection to the British Museum on his death in 1856.

24 Montanaro 2007.

25 For examples from Ruvo see Montanaro 2007, tombs 110. 112. 116. 300. 325. 326. From Rutigliano, E. De Juliis (ed.), Catalogo del Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Taranto II, 2 (Taranto 2006) tombs 55. 65.

26 See E. De Juliis, La ceramica geometrica della Peucezia (Rome 1995) 31. 68.

27 E.g. E. De Juliis, Archeologia in Puglia (Bari 1983) pl. 26 fig. 33 from Rutigliano; pl. 63 fig. 113 from Bari.

28 E.g. De Juliis loc. cit. (n. 25) tombs 2. 4. 7. 16. 22. 27. 32. 38. 42. 48. 49. 55. 68–72. 76. 77.

29 See H. Frielinghaus, Einheimische in der apulischen Vasenmalerei (Berlin 1995) for a comprehensive review of the figures.

30 M. Dewailly, Les femmes de guerriers indigènes dans les scènes de libation représentées sur les vases à figures rouges d'Italie du Sud au IVe siècle, MEFRA 95, 1982, 581–623.

31 For the shape, see Colivicchi 2014; G. Schneider-Hermann, Red-figured Lucanian and Apulian Nestorides and their Ancestors (Amsterdam 1980) and Edward Herring in this volume.

32 Bearded figures do appear on occasion, particularly toward the middle of the 4th century and later, e.g. Trieste S 388: RVAp I 152, no. 146; Naples 1981: RVAp I 153, no. 147.

33 An exception amongst the Apulian Pioneers is the Ariadne Painter who gives Italic youths short hair on a column krater, Boston 1970.236: RVAp I 26, no. 118, with a depiction of a boar hunt. With reference to this painter, Trendall emphasizes (RVAp p. 26) "the stylistic connections between the two schools of Early South Italian vase painting" which may account for this. M. Denoyelle, L'approche stylistique: bilan et perspectives, in: Denoyelle et al. 2005, 104f. has recently reattributed the works of the Ariadne Painter, giving his column kraters to the Painter of Sydney 46.48.

34 Geneva 15042: RVAp I 53, no. 60; New York 17.120.241: RVAp I 53, no. 61.

35 Colivicchi 2014, 224.

36 Matheson 1995, 270.

37 London E 448: ARV 992, 65.

38 For full discussions of Attic scenes of the departing warrior, see S. Matheson, A Farewell with Arms: Departing Warriors on Athenian Vases, in: J. Barringer – J. Hurwit (eds.), Periklean Athens and its Legacy. Problems and Perspectives (Austin 2005) 23–35 and id., Beardless, Armed and Barefoot: Ephebes, Warriors, and Ritual on Athenian Vases, in: D. Yatromanolakis (ed.), An Archaeology of Representations. Ancient Greek Vase-Painting and Contemporary Methodologies (Athens 2009) 373–413. They rarely appear on kraters.

39 Five vases are by a painter Trendall calls the Prisoner Painter because of the repeated motif of the bound warrior. For one of these, London F 173: RVAp I 76, no. 73, the scene is identified in LIMC I (1981) 549 s. v. Achilleus (A. Kossatz-Deißmann) as Achilles and Lykaon. In the context of the Italic imagery on column kraters, I see no evidence to support this identification.

40 Ruvo, Jatta 1709: RVAp I 75, no. 71.

41 Once Milan Market: RVAp I 249, no. 188.

42 St. Petersburg 585: RVAp I 85, no. 140.

43 See Montanaro 2007, 193–208.

44 M. Jatta, Tomba greche in Puglia, RM 23, 1908, 330–348. The column krater is NY 10.210.14: ARV 585, 24.

45 Tomb 4/II, D. Venturo, Gravina in Puglia (Bari) Padreterno, Taras 8, 1988, 112–114; id., Gravina in Puglia (Bari) Padreterno, Taras 9, 1989, 202–204. 227f.; A. Ciancio, Gravina in Puglia (Bari) Padre Eterno, Taras 10, 1990, 362–367. Tomb 10/II; A. Ciancio, Gravina in Puglia (Bari) Padre Eterno, Taras 20, 2000, 59f.; G. Andreassi, L'attività archeologica in Puglia nel 1999, in: Atti del trentanovesimo convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia (Taranto 2000) 772f.

46 A. Ciancio, Museo Civico Archeologico, Gravina in Puglia (Gravina 2000) 29–34.

47 A. Riccardi, Donna e guerrieri da Ruvo e Bitonto (Bari 2008).

48 C. Renfrew, The Archaeology of Religion, in: C. Renfrew – E. Zubrow (eds.), The Ancient Mind: Elements of Cognitive Archaeology (Cambridge 1994) 52.

49 A. Ciancio, The Diffusion of Middle and Late Apulian Vases in Peucetian Funerary Contexts: A Comparison of Several Necropoleis, in: Carpenter et al. 2014, 152.

50 T.H. Carpenter, Dionysos and the Blessed on Apulian Red-Figure Vases, in: R. Schlesier (ed.), A Different God: Dionysos in Ancient Polytheism (Berlin 2011) 253–261.

51 Vicenza, Banca Intesa inv. 180 (ex Milan H.A. coll. 325): RVAp 23, no. 188.

52 Starting with the Iliupersis Painter after c 370, Italic warriors can appear in naiskoi usually on volute kraters. Both the shape and the images seem to be aimed largely at the Peucetian market.

„Griechen“ und „Einheimische“ auf rotfigurigen Bildern kampanischer Vasen. Eine zulässige Dichotomie?

Christiane Nowak

Bei der Erforschung Großgriechenlands ist es heute nahezu selbstverständlich, der Interaktion von „Griechen“ und „Einheimischen“ ein besonderes Interesse entgegenzubringen.[1] Dies war jedoch nicht immer so. In Deutschland, aber auch in anderen europäischen Ländern, wurde der indigenen Bevölkerung Italiens bis in die 80er-Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts wenig Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. Erforschung der *Magna Graecia* bedeutete die Erforschung der griechischen Kolonien. Diese Fokussierung war die Konsequenz eines spezifischen Geschichtsverständnisses der Zeit der Aufklärung und des Humanismus, in der die griechische Kultur als Wurzel und Ideal der europäischen Geschichte stilisiert worden war.[2] Die Suche nach diesen zwar konstruierten, aber sehr wirkmächtigen Wurzeln führte europäische Intellektuelle nach Griechenland und Unteritalien, um die eigenen Ursprünge zu finden und zu studieren. Die indigenen Kulturen spielten aufgrund des vorrangigen Interesses an den Griechen daher lange Zeit in intellektuellen Diskursen eine eher untergeordnete Rolle.[3]

Der Blick auf Großgriechenland und die dortigen griechischen Kolonien war darüber hinaus maßgeblich von den Erfahrungen des Imperialismus, Kolonialismus und dem ideologischen System der Nationalstaaten beeinflusst.[4] Charakteristisch für diese imperialistisch geprägte Perspektive auf Kolonisationsprozesse war die Betonung der zivilisatorischen Leistung der Griechen, wobei die indigene Bevölkerung in dieser Interpretation als passiver Part die Kultur der Griechen übernahm. Der Blick auf Unteritalien und Sizilien änderte sich ab den 1980er-Jahren. Inspiriert durch die aus einer vorrangig britischen Forschungsperspektive hervorgegangenen *postcolonial studies* versuchte man, in Archäologie und Geschichtswissenschaft einen differenzierten Blick auf die komplexen Prozesse von Migration und Kolonisation zu gewinnen, bei denen Diffusions-, Transfer- und Vermischungsmodelle sowie Hybridisierung als neue Theorien eingeführt wurden, in denen Griechen und Indigene als gleichberechtigte historische Partner interagieren.[5] Für die Siedlungs- und Feldarchäologie führte die Nutzung dieser neuen Denkmodelle bereits zu differenzierteren Interpretationen.[6]

Anders stellt sich die Forschungssituation im Hinblick auf die Thematisierung von „Indigenen“ und „Griechen“ in der unteritalischen Vasenmalerei dar. Bis heute herrschen Denkmuster in der Interpretation der Bilder vor, die auf eine starke Dichotomisierung von „Einheimischen“ und „Griechen“ abzielen. In ihrer inhaltlichen Ausdeutung sind diese Interpretationen letztlich nationalistischen Denkmustern verpflichtet.[7] Der Grund für diese Prägung des Denkens ist wiederum eng mit der Forschungsgeschichte zur Ikonografie der unteritalisch-kampanischen Vasen verknüpft. Diese begann am Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts, einer Zeit, die bekanntlich durch Nationalismus, Imperialismus und Kolonialismus geprägt war. Nationalistisch geprägte Deutungsmuster äußern sich beispielsweise in der Herausarbeitung von Trachtelementen, die als „Nationaltracht“[8] der Einheimischen bezeichnet wurden. Die damals gelegten Grundlagen sind bis heute das Fundament, auf dem alle weiteren Studien aufbauten. Vor dem Hintergrund der Weiterentwicklung der Theorien zu Kulturkontakten gilt es jedoch, die damals aufgestellten Prämissen zu problematisieren.

Im Folgenden soll daher die Frage gestellt werden, ob der in der Forschung konstruierte Dualismus von „Griechen“ und „Einheimischen“ für das Verständnis der Vasenbilder Kampaniens überhaupt weiterführend ist. Lässt sich die ikonografische Unterscheidung von Griechen und Nicht-Griechen, die in der attischen Vasenmalerei in einer bestimmten historischen Situation für Thraker, Skythen oder Amazonen eingeführt worden war,[9] auf eine Untersuchung der Ikonografie der unteritalischen Vasen einwandfrei adaptieren, obwohl die historische Situation Unteritaliens eine gänzlich andere war? Und letztlich: Führt der konstruierte Dualismus zwischen „Griechen“ und „Einheimischen“ tatsächlich zu einem besseren Verständnis der Beziehung dieser beiden Entitäten untereinander und damit der Bevölkerung, die diese Vasen nutzte? Um sich dieser Fragestellung zu nähern, werden kurz die historischen Zusammenhänge in den Blick genommen, vor dem die kampanisch-rotfigurige Vasenproduktion zu verstehen ist. Anschließend

wird einerseits die gängige Ikonografie von sog. Einheimischen auf kampanisch-rotfigurigen Vasen vorgestellt, andererseits aufgezeigt, wie mit dieser Ikonografie bisher umgegangen wurde, um Aspekte der Lebenswirklichkeit der einheimischen Bevölkerung zu rekonstruieren. Dieser vereinfachenden Betrachtungsweise soll abschließend eine neue Sichtweise gegenübergestellt werden, die nicht den Dualismus von „indigenen" und „griechischen" Elementen als maßgebliche inhaltliche Aussage der Vasenbilder ansieht. Vielmehr muss für das Verständnis des „Einheimischen" darauf hingearbeitet werden, die gesamte Thematik der Vasenmalerei mit all ihren Facetten als Spiegel der einheimisch-kampanischen Gesellschaft zu begreifen, denn nur so kann ein komplexeres und der damaligen historischen Situation entsprechendes Bild dieser Gemeinschaft gezeichnet werden.

Zum historischen Hintergrund

Antike Autoren berichten für die Zeit des späten 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., also der Zeit, in der die kampanisch-rotfigurige Vasenproduktion begann, von verschiedenen Stadteinnahmen im heutigen Kampanien, die die sogenannte kampanische Phase einleiteten.[10] So berichtet Diodor, dass sich im Jahre 438 v. Chr. das Volk der Kampaner in Capua zusammenschloss.[11] Weitere Textstellen berichten von blutigen Übernahmen der wichtigsten Städte Capua und Kyme durch Kampaner und Samniten, die sich ebenfalls in dieser Zeit zugetragen hätten.[12] Mit diesen Textstellen zu den Stadteroberungen verbinden sich eine komplexe Forschungsdiskussion und die Frage, wer diese Kampaner bzw. die Samniten eigentlich waren.[13] Lange wurde davon ausgegangen, dass die Kampaner Abkömmlinge der in den Abruzzen wohnenden Samniten wären und sowohl die etruskische Stadt Capua als auch die griechische Kolonie Kyme im Zuge einer Samnitisierungswelle eingenommen hätten. Samniten und Kampaner wurden in dieser Interpretation als synonyme Bezeichnungen für ein und dasselbe Volk verstanden. Aktuelle Forschungen sehen diesen Prozess der Stadteinnahmen jedoch wesentlich differenzierter. Man ist davon abgekommen, als Grund für die Einnahmen der Städte eine externe Invasion von Samniten anzunehmen, für die es auch im archäologischen Befund kaum Spuren gibt. Die Okkupationen von Capua und Kyme in der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. scheinen vielmehr ein interner Prozess gewesen zu sein, der in der modernen Forschung mit Stasisphänomenen gleichgesetzt wurde, wie sie auch aus anderen Städten Griechenlands bekannt sind.[14] Sozialhistorisch werden diese Revolten in den kampanischen Städten als Aufbegehren der sozial unterdrückten Schicht der kampanisch-einheimischen Stadtbevölkerung gedeutet, die es nach politischer Partizipation drängte. Diese sozialen Umwälzungen, die in den schriftlichen Quellen als Stadteinnahmen geschildert werden, führten nach aktueller Forschungsmeinung zur Bildung einer neuen Elite – der der *Campani* bzw. Kampaner.[15]

Die Art der konkreten historischen Umwälzungen ist für die Interpretation der Bilder von entscheidender Bedeutung, da sich durch den Wandel des Interpretationsmodells die Sicht auf die „Einheimischen" auf den Bildern der rotfigurigen Vasen zwangsweise ändern muss. Im aktuellen historischen Deutungsmodell der Stasiserscheinung in den kampanischen Städten spielt implizit das Zusammenleben von Griechen, Etruskern und kampanischer Bevölkerung seit den Stadtgründungen von Capua im 9. Jahrhundert und von Kyme im 7. Jahrhundert eine wichtige Rolle. Die Kampaner sind demnach keine „samnitischen" Zuwanderer aus anderen gern als zivilisatorisch unterentwickelt betrachteten Gebieten Samniums, sondern es sind Bevölkerungsgruppen, die seit dem Beginn der Stadtgründungen dort gemeinsam mit den Griechen und Etruskern lebten, wenn auch möglicherweise in anderen sozialen und politischen Rollen als diese. Einheimisch bzw. kampanisch bedeutet für die historische Situation des späten 5. bzw. 4. Jahrhunderts nicht zwangsweise barbarisch, extern und damit anders. Aufgrund dieses drei Jahrhunderte langen Zusammenlebens von Griechen, Etruskern und Kampanern muss viel eher von einer Angleichung der Bevölkerungsgruppen in Lebensstil, Aussehen und Kleidung ausgegangen werden, als von einem Beharren auf Differenz. Dafür sprechen auch die Bestattungsrituale. Innerhalb der großen städtischen Zentren Kampaniens wie dem „griechischen" Kyme und dem „etruskischen" Capua lassen sich keine explizit etruskischen, griechischen oder kampanischen Bestattungsrituale identifizieren. Vielmehr finden sich Grabformen, wie beispielsweise die der Würfelgräber, die im kulturellen Kontakt zwischen den kampanischen Städten entstanden waren und auf soziale Dynamiken und transstädtische Netzwerke schließen lassen, bei denen die ethnische Kategorie nebensächlich war.[16] Hinzu kommt, dass die Übernahme der Städte durch die Kampaner die Griechen dort nicht vollständig beseitigte. Vorstellbar sind verschiedenste Modelle von Assimilation und Integration, bei denen auch die „Griechen" unter dem *label* der Kampaner in diesen Städten weiterleben, ja sogar an der Elite partizipieren konnten. Ist daher die gängige Erklärung einer starken Dichotomie zwischen „Griechen" und „Kampanern" – wobei sowieso zu fragen wäre, wo eigentlich die „Etrusker" in diesem Modell bleiben – auf den rotfigurigen Vasen ein sinnvolles Scheidungskriterium? Mit dieser Frage soll auf die Betrachtung der kampanischen Vasen übergeleitet werden.

Die Ikonografie von Einheimischen auf kampanisch-rotfigurigen Vasen

In den antiken Quellen lassen sich für die Bevölkerung Kampaniens verschiedene Bezeichnungen finden, die von den antiken Autoren als zeitliche Abfolge von unterschiedlichen Völkern in diesem Gebiet verstanden wurden.[17] Uneinigkeit herrscht jedoch sowohl über die genaue Reihenfolge als auch darüber, ob mit Namen wie Osker und Opiker ein Volk oder zwei Völker gemeint waren. Aktuell sieht man in den Genannten ein Volk und die älteste Bevölkerung Kampaniens.[18] Auf diese folgten die Etrusker und Griechen, auf jene wiederum die Samniten bzw. Kampaner, die häufig ebenfalls als ein Volk verstanden werden. Am Ende steht die Herrschaft der Römer. Diese unterschiedlichen Volksbegriffe führten zu einer gewissen Variabilität der Bezeichnungen innerhalb der Forschungsliteratur. So finden sich Begriffe wie Osker, Samniten und Kampaner, die letztlich alle die einheimische Bevölkerung der tyrrhenischen Küste beschreiben. Fritz Weege und Margarete Láng benutzten am Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts, zu Beginn der Erforschung der Ikonografie der Vasenbilder, zumeist die Bezeichnung Osker, da sich die Vasen auf dem Sprachgebiet des Oskischen verteilten.[19] Spätere Forscher bevorzugten die Bezeichnung Samniten, aktuelle Arbeiten hingegen den Begriff der Kampaner. Außerdem ist häufig die verallgemeinernde Bezeichnung „Einheimische“ oder „Indigene“ belegt, die die Problematik umgeht, sich auf ein konkretes italisches Volk beziehen zu müssen.[20] Aufgrund der hier dargelegten historischen Gegebenheiten scheint zumindest für die kampanische Vasenmalerei, die ihre Blütezeit im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. hat, der Begriff der Kampaner eine adäquate Bezeichnung zu sein.

Lassen wir aber die Problematik der historischen Benennung der Einheimischen beiseite und verwenden die Begriffe oskisch, samnitisch, kampanisch oder einheimisch als Bezeichnung für ein *Figurenschema,* welches zu einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt für Männer und Frauen in die Bildsprache der unteritalischen Vasen eingeführt worden war, und sich teilweise von dem der attischen Vasenmalerei, aus der die unteritalisch-rotfigurige Vasenmalerei hervorgegangen ist, unterscheidet. Männer werden in diesem Bildschema zumeist in kurzen Tuniken mit teilweise bunter Musterung in Form von Streifen, Punkten und Mäandern wiedergegeben *(Abb. 1. 2)*.[21] Die Tunika wird durch einen breiten, bronzenen Gürtel gehalten. Darüber kann eine Panzerung getragen werden, dazu Beinschienen und ein Helm, der häufig mit Federn geschmückt ist. Panzerungen geben meistens die lokale Form des Dreischeibenpanzers wieder, aber es kommt auch der anatomische Panzer vor. Neben dem Figurenschema, welches den Mann in voller Rüstung als Krieger wiedergibt, gibt es Abwandlungen, bei denen z. B. auf Panzerung und Beinschienen verzichtet oder anstatt der Tunika ein kurzer Schurz getragen wird.[22] Mit einer relativen Regelmäßigkeit kommt der bronzene Gürtel auf den Bildern vor, sodass man diesen als eine Art kleinsten gemeinsamen Nenner in der Ikonografie des Figurenschemas „Kampaner“ bezeichnen könnte. Bei Frauen wurden hingegen ein Schultermantel, verschiedene Arten von Kopfbedeckungen, eine bestimmte Art des Faltenwurfs und die Gürtung des Chitons durch einen breiten Gürtel als typisch einheimische Elemente herausgearbeitet *(Abb. 2. 3)*.[23] Die Kopfbedeckungen reichen von turbanähnlichen Hauben bis hin zu komplizierteren Variationen, bei denen ein bandartiges Diadem um den Kopf geführt wird, das ein Tuch hält und damit das gesamte Haar bedeckt. Der Schultermantel ist zumeist kurz und bedeckt nur den oberen Teil des Rückens. Eine Besonderheit ist der bogenförmige Faltenverlauf unterhalb des Gürtels, der auf eine leicht veränderte Gürtung bzw. Drapierung des Chitons schließen lässt.

Abb. 1 Zurückkehrender Krieger auf einem kampanischen Glockenkrater des Libationsmalers, Privatbesitz.

Abb. 2 Kriegerabschied auf einem kampanischen Glockenkrater des Libationsmalers, Privatbesitz.

Abb. 3 Kriegerrückkehr auf einem Skyphos des Libationsmalers, Bochum S 996.

Neben den Vasen spielten für die Erarbeitung der italisch-einheimischen Ikonografie auch Grabmalereien Kampaniens eine wichtige Rolle, die vor allem in Capua und Nola, aber auch in Paestum, zutage gefördert worden waren.[24] Diese Grabmalereien stammen aus der Zeit nach den politischen Umwälzungen in den griechischen und etruskischen Städten, die in die Bildung neuer Eliten von Lukanern und Kampanern gemündet hatten. Die Einbeziehung der Grabmalereien in die Analyse der einheimischen Ikonografie wurde damit begründet, dass die Darstellungen, die in solchen rituellen Momenten wie der Grablegung geschaffen worden waren, sehr wahrscheinlich am wenigsten ideologisch überformt seien.[25] Auch die Realienfunde aus den Gräbern, insbesondere die Waffen, wurden als einheimisch deklariert, besaßen sie doch Formen, die aus Griechenland und den griechischen Kolonien nicht bekannt waren.[26] Dazu gehörten insbesondere der Dreischeibenpanzer und der bronzene Gürtel.

Die Ikonografie Einheimischer, die sich sowohl auf den kampanischen Vasen als auch in den Grabmalereien nachweisen lässt, gehörte nicht von Anfang an zum Bildrepertoire der kampanisch-rotfigurigen Vasenmalerei. Die kampanisch-rotfigurige Produktion beginnt gegen 370 v. Chr. in Capua mit zwei Manufakturen, Capua I und Capua II, deren Produktionsbeginn nur wenige Jahre auseinanderliegt.[27] Die dritte Manufaktur befand sich wahrscheinlich in Kyme und begann gegen 350 v. Chr. mit der Herstellung rotfiguriger Keramik. Szenen mit kampanisch gekleideten Figuren kamen, mit wenigen Ausnahmen aus der Anfangszeit, verstärkt um 360 v. Chr. in der Werkstatt des Capuamalers aus der Manufaktur Capua II auf. Es ist der erste Vasenmaler, der das ikonografische Schema von „Einheimischen" der tyrrhenischen Küste in der Vasenmalerei verwendete.[28] Das gleiche Figurenschema kann bereits 20 Jahre früher, d. h. um 380 v. Chr, in der paestanischen Grabmalerei nachgewiesen werden.[29] Die Manufaktur Capua I verwendete hingegen ein Kriegerschema, welches eher auf Vorbilder der lukanischen Vasenmalerei zurückzuführen ist *(Abb. 4)*.[30] Hier tragen die Krieger Piloshelme und sind weniger gerüstet. Auch zeigen die Bilder aus der Frühphase der kampanischen Vasenmalerei zahlreiche Darstellungen von nackten Kriegern mit Lanze im ‚griechischen' Figurenschema *(Abb. 5)*. Zu Beginn der kampanischen Vasenproduktion existierten demnach mehrere Darstellungsmöglichkeiten für Krieger. Diese Varianz schränkte sich um die Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts immer mehr ein und führte zu einer Standardisierung des Kriegerbildes in der oben beschriebenen Art des kampanischen Kriegers. Bezeichnend dafür sind die kurzen Tuniken, der bronzene Gürtel, Beinschienen, Dreischeibenpanzer und chalkidisch-italischer Helm, wobei in der Kombination dieser Merkmale auch weiterhin eine gewisse Variation möglich bleibt, die an das

Abb. 4 Kämpfende mit Piloshelmen, Beinschienen und Rundschild, kampanischer Skyphos, St. Peterburg, Eremitage 1670.

Abb. 5 Darstellung eines nackten Kriegers mit Lanze und Schild auf einer Bügelhenkelamphora des VPH-Malers, Philadelphia, Penn Museum L-64-219.

Bildthema gekoppelt ist.[31] Typische Bildthemen in der kampanischen Vasenmalerei sind der Kriegerabschied und die Rückkehr des Kriegers, das Duell und verschiedene Libationsszenen, die wiederum in Untermotive eingeteilt werden können.[32]

Sowohl die Darstellung des einheimisch-kampanischen Kriegers bzw. der einheimisch-kampanischen Frau als auch der szenische Kontext, in dem sie vorkommen, sind keine völligen Neukonzeptionen der kampanischen Vasenmaler, sondern wurden aus dem ikonografischen Repertoire der attischen Vasenmalerei übernommen, dann jedoch partiell weiterentwickelt und an lokale Bedürfnisse angepasst.[33]

Um das zu illustrieren, sollen eine rotfigurige attische Bauchamphora des Andokidesmalers *(Abb. 6)*[34] (um 530 v. Chr.) und eine kampanische Halshenkelamphora des Ixionmalers *(Abb. 7)*[35] (um 340 v. Chr.), beide mit der Darstellung eines Duells, verglichen werden. Auch wenn das Kampfschema ein völlig anderes ist, lässt sich die Kleidung der Krieger durchaus miteinander vergleichen. Auf beiden Vasen tragen die Krieger ein kurzes Untergewand, in der attischen Vasenmalerei als *Chitoniskos* bezeichnet, in der unteritalischen Vasenmalerei als *Tunika,* und darüber einen Brustpanzer. Bei beiden Kriegern werden die Unterschenkel durch Beinschienen und der Kopf durch einen Helm geschützt, auf der attischen Amphora durch einen korinthischen, auf der Bauchhenkelamphora des Ixionmalers durch einen chalkidischen Helm. In den Händen tragen die Krieger Schilde und eine Lanze. Was die Krieger auf der Vase des kampanischen Malers von den attischen Kriegern unterscheidet, ist der bronzene Gürtel und die Form der Brustpanzerung. Aus diesem Vergleich geht klar hervor, dass der Vasenmaler der kampanischen Gefäße das gerüstete Kriegerbild der attischen Vasenmalerei übernimmt. Durch die Verwendung von lokalen Waffenformen und Kleidungsstücken wird jedoch ein aktueller Bezug hergestellt und das Bild des Kriegers an lokale Gegebenheiten angepasst. Besonders durch den Vergleich zur attischen Konzeption des Barbarenbildes von Skythen, Persern oder Thrakern[36] wird deutlich, an wem die kampanischen Vasenmaler sich in ihrer Konzeption des kampanischen Kriegers orientierten.[37] Es ist das Kriegerbild des attisch-griechischen Hopliten und nicht das der in langärmeligen, bunten Kleidern und ohne Panzerung dargestellten Barbaren. Dieses Kriegerbild des voll gerüsteten Hopliten scheint jedoch nicht aus der zeitgenössischen attischen Vasenmalerei, sondern aus der spätarchaischen attisch-rotfigurigen Produktion übernommen worden zu sein, wie sie zuhauf als Beigabe in den Gräbern Kampaniens des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts verwendet worden war. Die zeitgenössische attisch-rotfigurige Vasenproduktion, aber auch die Reliefplastik des 4. Jahrhunderts, verwendete für Krieger nackte oder nur in Chiton oder Exomis gekleidete männliche Figurenschemata und selten gepanzerte.[38]

Diese Aneignung und Umformung der attischen Formensprache lässt sich auch bei der Betrachtung des Bildmotivs Kriegerabschied beobachten. Dieses Bildmotiv wurde in der attisch-schwarzfigurigen Vasenmalerei entwickelt und bis in die attisch-rotfigurige Produktion tradiert *(Abb. 8)*.[39] Auf einem Stamnos des Kleophonmalers in den Antikensammlungen München ist ein Krieger dargestellt, der eine Omphalosschale auf der Höhe seines Kopfes hält, ihm gegenüber eine Frau mit gesenktem Kopf und einer Oinochoe in der gesenkten rechten Hand. Hinter der Frau steht ein bärtiger Mann, möglicherweise der Vater, und hinter dem Krieger eine Frau, wohl die

Abb. 6 Kampfdarstellung mit zwei Kriegern auf einer Bauchamphora des Andokidesmalers, Paris, Musée du Louvre G 1.

Abb. 7 Kampfdarstellung mit zwei Kriegern auf einer Halsamphora des Ixionmalers, Berlin, Antikensammlung 4982,45.

Mutter. Thematisiert wird der Moment des Abschieds, der bekanntlich auch für immer sein kann. Dieses Motiv wird von der unteritalisch-rotfigurigen Produktion aufgegriffen, wie die aus einer griechischen Koloniestadt Unteritaliens stammende Amphora im Universitätsmuseum Erlangen zeigt *(Abb. 9)*. Auch hier ist ein Kriegerabschied dargestellt, wobei der Spendeakt anders umgesetzt wurde. Die Frau hält die Oinochoe in der erhobenen Hand und ist im Ausschenken begriffen. Der Mann hat die Omphalosschale gesenkt und scheint die Spende zu empfangen. Auch ein lukanischer Glockenkrater zeigt die Adaption dieses Motivs.[40] Vor einer ionischen Säule steht eine Frau, gekleidet in Chiton und Mantel. In ihrer Linken hält sie eine Oinochoe, in der Rechten eine Omphalosschale. Gegenüber steht ein gerüsteter Krieger. Schräg über den Körper ist der Gurt geführt, an dem das Schwert hängt. Der Helm ist noch nicht aufgesetzt, sondern liegt im Nacken. Hinter dem Krieger steht ein zweiter, der ebenfalls ein Kurzschwert mit Gurt um den Körper trägt, sich auf eine Lanze stützt und den Helm bereits aufgesetzt hat. Der sich verabschiedende Krieger ist nicht in das Spenderitual einbezogen. Die beiden zentralen Spendegefäße, Oinochoe und Omphalosschale, werden durch die Frau gehalten. Das Ritual, welches auf dem Münchner Stamnos von Mann und Frau zusammen ausgeführt wird und dessen wesentliche Bestandteile auf der Seite der Frau die Spendekanne und auf der Seite des Mannes die Spendeschale sind, wird auf dem lukanischen Glockenkrater alleinig dem weiblichen Part zugeordnet. Der männliche Part hingegen präsentiert sich in voller Rüstung, zum Aufbruch bereit. Diese Aufteilung in einen männlichen und einen weiblichen Aufgabenbereich lässt sich nicht nur in der lukanischen Umsetzung des Themas beobachten, sondern auch in der Ikonografie der kampanisch-rotfigurigen Vasenmalerei, wo dieses Motiv um 360 v. Chr. eingeführt wurde. Auch hier stehen sich Frau und Mann einander gegenüber. Sowohl auf einer Halsamphora des Libationsmalers im British Museum[41] als auch auf einem Glockenkrater des Libationsmalers in Privatbesitz *(Abb. 2)* tragen die Frauen die sogenannte einheimische Tracht und halten in der einen Hand eine Oinochoe, in der anderen einen Skyphos.[42] Der Krieger auf der Halsamphora im British Museum ist stehend und voll gerüstet dargestellt, der auf dem Glockenkrater in Privatbesitz hingegen gerüstet, aber ohne Brustpanzer. Auf der linken Bildseite steht jeweils die Frau, die dem Krieger die Spendegefäße, Skyphos und Oinochoe, reicht. Während der Spende tragen die Frauen immer eine Kopfbedeckung, es ist jedoch nicht zwangsläufig der Mantel, der über den Kopf gelegt wird, sondern es sind verschiedene Kopfbedeckungen bildlich überliefert, von der anliegenden Kappe bis hin zu einem mit Diadem befestigten Tuch *(Abb. 2. 3)*.[43]

Abb. 8 Kriegerabschied auf einem attisch-rotfigurigen Stamnos des Kleophonmalers um 430 v. Chr., München, Antikensammlungen SH 2415.

Abb. 9 Kriegerabschied auf einer rotfigurigen Amphora vom Ende des 5. Jhs. v. Chr., Erlangen, Universität I 871, Nachlass der Sammlung Preiss.

Neben dem Motiv des Kriegerabschieds zeigen viele Bilder die Rückkehr des Kriegers,[44] ein Thema, welches in der attischen Ikonografie keine Verwendung fand.[45] Die Rückkehr wird in der kampanischen Bilderwelt durch Kriegsbeute in Form von blutigen Hemden oder bronzenen Gürteln, die die Krieger auf Lanzen aufgespießt nach Hause bringen, umgesetzt *(Abb. 1. 4)*. Im Motiv des zurückkehrenden Kriegers haben wir es daher nicht nur mit einer Anpassung der Realia (Panzerung und Kleidung) zu tun, sondern gleichzeitig mit einer inhaltlichen Umgestaltung der Szene. Der in der attischen Ikonografie wiedergegebene Moment, der Aufbruch der Hopliten in den Krieg, lässt inhaltlich die Möglichkeit des Todes offen. Die triumphale Rückkehr des Kriegers idealisiert hingegen einzig den Sieg. Der unsichere Moment des Abschieds und die Möglichkeit des Todes werden damit aus dem Bild verdrängt und in Sieghaftigkeit umgewandelt. Das von Krieger und Frau ausgeführte Spenderitual in diesen Rückkehrszenen wird als Reinigungsgestus verstanden, der den Eintritt in die zivile, häusliche Welt erneut ermöglicht.[46]

Funktionale vs. ethnische Rollenbilder

Die Aktualisierung bzw. Anpassung an lokale Gegebenheiten wird bei genauer Analyse der Szenen nur für die Krieger- und die mit ihnen interagierenden Frauen vollzogen. Anders ausgedrückt, gibt es nur die Ikonografie eines einheimischen Kriegers, nicht aber die eines einheimischen Mannes in einer anderen sozialen Rolle. Dies ist bei der kampanischen Frauenikonografie ähnlich. Frauen in einheimischer Tracht werden nahezu ausschließlich in szenischen Zusammenhängen mit Opferritualen und Kriegern gezeigt. In anderen Bildmotiven und Szenen werden auch in der kampanischen Vasenmalerei häufig die üblichen ‚griechischen‘ Figurenschemata verwendet, d. h. Frauen in einfach gegürteten Chitonen und Männer im nackten Figurenschema oder im Himation, wie es z. B. die zahlreichen Manteljünglinge auf den Rückseiten vieler kampanisch-rotfiguriger Glockenkratere belegen. Diese Beobachtung legt nahe, in den Trachtelementen keine „Nationaltracht“ anzunehmen, wie dies von Fritz Weege, Gisela Schneider-Herrmann und Margarete Láng explizit oder implizit vertreten wurde. Vielmehr sind die Rüstungsteile bei den Männern und die Besonderheiten in der Kleidung der Frauen auf einen bestimmten rituellen Moment bezogen und möglicherweise einer bestimmten sozialen Schicht vorbehalten. Bei den Trachtelementen handelt es sich daher nicht um die Tracht eines Volkes, sondern um eine soziale Tracht, die möglicherweise nur zu bestimmten Gelegenheiten genutzt wurde.[47]

Diese Beobachtung verweist auf einen weiteren wichtigen Punkt bei der Erschließung kultureller Aspekte der einheimischen Bevölkerung Kampaniens anhand der Bilder auf kampanisch-rotfigurigen Vasen. Die Betrachtung darf nicht nur auf Szenen beschränkt bleiben, die Figurenschemata sogenannter Indigener zeigen. Diese Beschränkung führte bisher zu einer äußerst eingeschränkten Perspektive auf die Handlungsbereiche der indigen-kampanischen Bevölkerung. Selbstverständlich überwogen auf diese Weise bei den Männern Szenen mit Kriegern und Kampfdarstellungen und bei den Frauen Opferszenen.[48] Die Bilder der kampanischen Vasen lassen sich aber nicht nur auf diese Darstellungen beschränken. Um alle bildlichen Diskurse der kampanischen Gesellschaft zu verstehen, müssen daher selbstverständlich auch die Bilder mit in die Analyse einbezogen werden, die keine typisch einheimischen Elemente aufweisen, stellen doch diese einen wesentlichen Teil des Bildrepertoires der kampanischen Vasen dar. Dazu gehören mythologische Darstellungen, Szenen aus dem dionysischen Bereich, wie Satyrn und Mänaden, Trauerszenen und die Welt des Symposions *(Abb. 10)*. In all diesen Bildern weisen die Figuren häufig keine Besonderheiten in der Kleidung auf. Die Akteure als „Griechen“ zu bezeichnen, ist jedoch aufgrund des Kontextes, in dem diese Gefäße produziert und verwendet worden sind, nämlich in Capua und Kyme des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., nicht adäquat.[49] Der Kontext und die Adressaten der Bilder sind für alle Arten von Figurenschemata die gleichen, nämlich die lokale kampanische Bevölkerung.[50] Dies bedeutet nun wiederum, dass sowohl die Kriegerdarstellungen mit

Abb. 10 Symposiondarstellung auf einem kampanischen Glockenkrater, Würzburg L 875.

lokalen Elementen als auch das Bildrepertoire mit griechischen Figurenschemata zur Sichtbarmachung von Aspekten und Idealvorstellungen der Lebenswirklichkeit dienten und die kampanische Bevölkerung sich in diesen Schemata wiederfand. Die häufige Inszenierung des Kriegers auf den kampanisch-rotfigurigen Vasen zeigt ohne Zweifel eine entscheidende Funktion dieser Rolle in der kampanischen Gesellschaft, die überzeugend mit einem männlichen Leitbild erklärt werden konnte.[51] Die Bilder von Krieger und Frau in lokaler Tracht inszenieren jedoch weder eine ethnische Identität noch ein Gegenbild zu den Griechen. Dies wird u. a. auch durch die Beobachtung unterstrichen, dass es in der kampanisch-rotfigurigen Vasenmalerei keine Darstellungen gibt, in denen Personen im griechischen Figurenschema gegen solche im einheimischen Figurenschema kämpfen oder interagieren würden. Vielmehr sind häufig gleich gerüstete Männer im Kampf miteinander verbunden, wie ein Glockenkrater in Neapel,[52] ein Glockenkrater in Wien,[53] aber auch die Berliner Halsamphora des Ixionmalers zeigen *(Abb. 7)*.[54] Auch eine aus Paestum stammende Grabplatte thematisiert die Rückkehr eines Kriegers, der von seiner Frau mit Spendegeräten empfangen wird *(Abb. 11)*. Neben der üblichen auf einer Lanze aufgespießten Beute in Form von einem bronzenen Gürtel und Schilden, führt er des Weiteren zwei Gefangene hinter sich her. Diese sind in der gleichen sogenannten indigenen Tunika gekleidet und tragen einen bronzenen Gürtel wie er selbst. Sie sind explizit nicht in einem griechischen Figurenschema dargestellt. Die Intention der Vasenmaler lag daher nicht darin, Figurenschemata zu schaffen, die den historischen Griechen, Kampanern und Etruskern entsprachen und damit ereignisgeschichtliche Momente auf den Vasen bildlich umzusetzen. Vielmehr ging es um eine Differenzierung der sozialen Rollen und die Artikulation wesentlicher Momente im Leben der kampanischen Bevölkerung. Um die Wirkmächtigkeit dieser Bilder zu steigern, wurde daher eine Anpassung an lokale Gegebenheiten in den Bildern vollzogen, die es ermöglichte, eine Aktualität der Bilder und damit einen Zeitbezug herzustellen.

Abb. 11 Grabmalerei mit der Rückkehr eines Kriegers, Paestum, Nekropole Andriuolo Grab 1937, Inv. 5005–5008.

Zusammenfassung

Ziel dieses Beitrages ist es, die Ikonografie unteritalischer Vasen und der Figuren, die auf ihnen agieren, aus einer stärker postkolonialen Perspektive zu betrachten. Die ältere Forschung konstruierte in die Interpretation der Bilder einen starken ikonografischen Dualismus und glaubte, „Einheimische“ und „Griechen“ anhand von Kleidung, Tracht und Waffen voneinander scheiden zu können. Weiterführend versuchte man, durch die Analyse nur jener Szenen, die Figuren in lokalen Figurenschemata wiedergaben, Rückschlüsse auf die Lebenswirklichkeit der einheimisch-kampanischen Bevölkerung zu ziehen. Diese Fokussierung auf Szenen mit lokal gekleideten Personen führte dazu, die kriegerischen Aspekte der kampanischen Bevölkerung hervorzuheben, sind es doch ausschließlich das Kriegerbild bzw. die Ikonografie der Frau im Bildmotiv der Kriegerrückkehr und damit verbundener Libationsszenen, in denen eine lokale Umformung und Aktualisierung vollzogen wurde und die daher bildanalytisch zu entschlüsseln waren.[55] Nicht in die Untersuchungen einbezogen wurden jedoch all jene Szenen der kampanischen Vasenmalerei, die Figuren im sog. griechischen Figurenschema zeigten, d. h. mythologische Szenen, dionysische Szenen, Symposiumsszenen und unspezifisch gekleidete Personen. Diese Szenen verweisen jedoch in gleicher Weise auf Aspekte der Lebenswirklichkeit der Kampaner und müssen integraler Bestandteil bei der Frage nach der Inszenierung von Identitäten im bildlichen Diskurs der kampanisch-rotfigurigen Malerei spielen. Die Einbeziehung dieser Szenen löst die so einseitig betonten kriegerischen Aspekte der kampanischen Gesellschaft auf und verweist gerade durch die Bilder griechischer Mythen, Symposiumsszenen und dionysische Szenen auf das Verwobensein der kampanischen Gesellschaft mit der griechischen Kultur. Die Entwicklung der kampanisch-rotfigurigen Malerei lässt sich als ein Prozess von Umformung, Aktualisierung, aber auch Beibehaltung von Bildmotiven beschreiben, die in ihrer Wandelbarkeit betrachtet werden müssen, um Einblicke in die gesellschaftlichen Ideale der sich ebenfalls im Wandel befindlichen kampanischen Identität zu erhalten.

ABBILDUNGSNACHWEIS

Abb. 1 nach: K. Schauenburg, Studien zur Unteritalischen Vasenmalerei IX/X (Kiel 2006) 211 Abb. V.
Abb. 2 nach: K. Schauenburg, Studien zur Unteritalischen Vasenmalerei VII/VIII (Kiel 2005) 168 Abb. 7.
Abb. 3 nach: CVA Bochum 3, Taf. 38, 1.
Abb. 4. 5 nach: L. Todisco (Hrsg.), La ceramica a figure rosse della Magna Grecia e della Sicilia. I. Produzioni (Rom 2012) Taf. 337, 2; Taf. 331, 2.
Abb. 6 nach FR II Taf. 111 unten.
Abb. 7 © Antikensammlung Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Foto: R. Mai).
Abb. 8 © Antikensammlungen München (Foto: R. Kühling).
Abb. 9 © Universitätssammlung Erlangen (Foto: G. Pöhlein).
Abb. 10 © Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg (Foto: P. Neckermann).
Abb. 11 nach: B. Andreae — N.S. Schepkowski (Hrsg.), Malerei für die Ewigkeit. Die Gräber von Paestum (München 2007) S. 68.

ABKÜRZUNGEN

Láng 1915	M. Láng, Zur oskischen Frauentracht, ÖJh 18, 1915, 233–251.
Láng 1940	M. Láng, Beiträge zur altitalischen Tracht, ÖJh 32, 1940, 35–53.
LCS	A.D. Trendall, The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily (Oxford 1967).
Roscino 2012	C. Roscino, Indigeni, in: L. Todisco (Hrsg.), La ceramica a figure rosse della Magna Grecia e della Sicilia. II. Inquadramento (Rom 2012) 326–332.
Schneider-Herrmann – Herring 1996	G. Schneider-Herrmann – E. Herring, The Samnites of the Fourth Century BC. as Depicted on Campanian Vases and in other Sources, Accordia Specialist Studies on Italy 2 (London 1996).
Weege 1909a	F. Weege, Bewaffnung und Tracht der Osker, JdI 24, 1909, 141–162.
Weege 1909b	F. Weege, Oskische Grabmalerei, JdI 24, 1909, 99–141.

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ANMERKUNGEN

1 Programmatisch für die Einbeziehung der einheimischen Bevölkerung in den wissenschaftlichen Diskurs zu Unteritalien war die 11. Konferenz der Studi sulla Magna Grecia, publiziert als Le genti non greche della Magna Grecia. Atti dell'undicesimo Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto, 10–15 ottobre 1971 (Taranto 1972). Erneut wurde dieses Thema aufgegriffen in G. Nenci (Hrsg.), Modes de contacts et processus de transformation dans les sociétés anciennes. Actes du colloque. Forme di contatto e processi di trasformazione nelle società antiche, Collection de l'École française de Rome 67 (Rome 1983). Die Forschungsliteratur, die ab den 1990ern zu diesem Thema erschienen ist, kann an dieser Stelle nicht umfassend zitiert werden. Ein wichtiges Instrument wurde durch die monografischen Vorlagen der archäologischen und schriftlichen Zeugnisse zu den einzelnen Völkern der Magna Graecia geschaffen. Vgl. A. Pontrandolfo, I Lucani etnografia e archeologia di una regione antica, Archeologia (Milano 1982); G. Tagliamonte, I Sanniti: Caudini, Irpini, Pentri, Carricini, Frentani, Biblioteca di archeologia 25 (Milano 1996); L. Cerchiai, I Campani, Biblioteca di archeologia 23 (Milano 1995); L. Cerchiai, Gli antichi popoli della Campania archeologia e storia, Studi superiori (Roma 2010). Des Weiteren grundlegend S. Bianco (Hrsg.), Greci, Enotri e Lucani nella Basilicata meridionale. I Greci in Occidente, Policoro, Museo Nazionale della Siritide, 4 maggio 1996 (Napoli 1996); M. Cipriani (Hrsg.), Poseidonia e i Lucani. I Greci in Occidente, Paestum, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 27 aprile 1996 (Napoli 1996); G. Pugliese Carratelli (Hrsg.), I Greci in occidente (Milano 1996); S. Bourdin, Les peuples de l'Italie préromaine. Identités, territoires et relations inter-ethniques en Italie centrale et septentrionale (VIIIe–Ier s. av. J.-C.), Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 350 (Rome 2012). Besondere Fortschritte wurden in den letzten 15 Jahren auf dem Gebiet der Archäologie der Basilicata gemacht, wo systematisch Grabungen aufgearbeitet und publiziert worden sind. Stellvertretend und mit weiterführender Literatur M. Osanna (Hrsg.), Verso la città. Forme insediative in Lucania e nel mondo italico fra IV e III sec. a.C. Atti delle giornate di studio, Venosa 13–14 maggio 2006 (Venosa 2009); M. Osanna (Hrsg.), Segni del potere. Oggetti di lusso dal Mediterraneo nell'Appennino lucano di età arcaica (Venosa 2013).

2 Dieses Geschichtsverständnis wirkte durch den Dritten Humanismus in das 20. Jh. hinein. Dieser Dritte Humanismus führte bis in die 70er-Jahre des 20. Jhs. zu einer großen Popularität des Fachs Klassische Archäologie, als es zum guten Ton für Wissenschaftler unterschiedlicher Disziplinen gehörte, Vorlesungen in diesem Fach zu besuchen.

3 In Italien selbst wurde die Erforschung Unteritaliens und Siziliens auf andere Weise praktiziert als im übrigen Europa. Ab dem späten 18. Jh. wandte man sich in Italien bereits auch den italischen Bevölkerungsgruppen zu, denen eine wichtige Rolle im Prozess der Einung Italiens zum Nationalstaat zugeschrieben wurde. Vgl. allgemein G. Ceserani, Italy's lost Greece. Magna Graecia and the Making of Modern Archaeology, Greeks Overseas (New York 2012); L.M. Urquhart, Competing Traditions in the Historiography of Ancient Greek Colonization in Italy, Journal of the History of Ideas 75,1, 2014, 23–44; zur Forschungsgeschichte der unteritalischen Keramik siehe R. Higginson, A History of the Study of South Italian Black- and Red-figure Pottery, BAR international series 2226 (Oxford 2011).

4 Gerade in Deutschland kam es in der Zeit des Kaiserreichs zu einem ersten Höhepunkt der Disziplin der Klassischen Archäologie. Anschaulich schildert S. Altekamp, Postkoloniale Studien, in: K. Hitzl (Hrsg.), Methodische Perspektiven in der klassischen Archäologie. Schriften des Deutschen Archäologen-Verbandes 16 (Tübingen 2005) 27–38, bes. 30–32 die Auswirkungen und das Verwobensein von europäischem Kolonialismus und der Entwicklung der Klassischen Archäologie, die zu dieser Zeit an den deutschen Universitäten als eigenständige Wissenschaft etabliert und gefördert wurde. Konkret zur Archäologie in der Zeit des Kolonialismus C. Trümpler (Hrsg.), Das Große Spiel. Archäologie und Politik zur Zeit des Kolonialismus (1860–1940), Begleitbuch zur Ausstellung Ruhr-Museum Essen 11. Februar – 13. Juni 2010 (Köln 2008). Zur britischen Perspektive auf die griechische Kolonisation John-Paul Wilson, Ideologies of Greek Colonization, in: G.J. Bradley (Hrsg.), Greek and Roman Colonization. Origins, Ideologies and Interactions (Swansea 2006) 25–57.

5 Zur Forschungsgeschichte der *postcolonial studies* in der Archäologie zusammenfassend und mit weiterführender Literatur P. van Dommelen, Colonial Matters. Material Culture and Postcolonial Theory in Colonial Situations, in: C. Tilley (Hrsg.), Handbook of Material Culture (London 2006) 104–124; P. van Dommelen, Postcolonial Archaeologies between Discourse and Practice, WorldA 43,1, 2011, 1–6. Zu alternativen Erklärungsmodellen im Zusammenhang mit der Aneignung von materieller Kultur siehe S. Schreiber, Archäologie der Aneignung. Zum Umgang mit Dingen aus kulturfremden Kontexten, Forum Kritische Archäologie 2, 2013, 48–122.

6 Besonders fruchtbar waren auf diesem Gebiet die Forschungen der niederländischen Schule. Vgl. dazu D. Yntema, Mental Landscapes of Colonization. The Ancient Written Sources and the Archaeology of Early Colonial-Greek Southeastern Italy, BABesch 2000, 1–49; P. Attema u. a. (Hrsg.), New Developments in Italian Landscape Archaeology. Theory and Methodology of Field Survey, Land Evaluation and Landscape Perception, Pottery Production and Distribution. Proceedings of a three-day Conference Held at the University of Groningen, April 13–15, 2000, BAR international series 1091 (Oxford 2002), preface; G.-J. Burgers – J. P. Crielaard – J. Biesiekirska (Hrsg.), Greci e indigeni a l'Amastuola (Mottola 2011); darüber hinaus F. D'Andria, Greek Colonization and Romanization from a Native Perspective, in: P. Attema u. a. (Hrsg.), New Developments in Italian Landscape Archaeology (Oxford 2002) 52–59; T. Hodos, Local Responses to Colonization in the Iron-age Mediterranean (London 2006).

7 Dieses Denkmuster findet sich im Zusammenhang mit kampanisch-rotfiguriger Keramik besonders stark ausgeprägt in Schneider-Herrmann – Herring 1996, 3. Auch vertreten in H. Frielinghaus, Einheimische in der apulischen Vasenmalerei. Ikonographie im Spannungsfeld zwischen Produzenten und Rezipienten (Berlin 1995); Roscino 2012.

8 Vgl. Weege 1909a; Láng 1915.

9 Zu Nicht-Griechen auf attischen Vasen W. Raeck, Zum Barbarenbild in der Kunst Athens im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr., Habelts Dissertationsdrucke 14 (Bonn 1981); B. Cohen (Hrsg.), Not the Classical Ideal. Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art (Leiden 2000); F. Lissarrague, The Athenian Image of the Foreigner, in: T. Harrison (Hrsg.), Greeks and Barbarians (New York 2002) 101–124; B. Cohen, The Non-Greek in Greek Art, in: T. J. Smith – D. Plantzos (Hrsg.), A Companion to Greek Art, Companion to Greek Art 2 (Malden 2012) 456–479. Auch für die Figurenschemata von Nicht-Griechen auf attischen Vasen wird kritisch diskutiert, ob das Tragen von thrakischer oder skythischer Kleidung/Tracht den Träger tatsächlich auch als Skythen oder Thraker identifizieren muss.

10 Plin. nat. 3, 60 und Strab. 5, 4, 3 beschreiben die Geschichte Kampaniens als Abfolge verschiedener Herrschaften. Vor der Herrschaft durch die Römer wird eine Herrschaft der Kampaner bzw. Samniten erwähnt. Detaillierter dazu C. Nowak, Bestattungsrituale in Unteritalien vom 5. bis 4. Jh. v. Chr. Überlegungen zur sogenannten Samnitisierung Kampaniens, Italiká 3 (Wiesbaden 2014) 22–24.

11 Diod. 12, 31, 1.

12 Dion. Hal. 15, 3, 7; Liv. 4, 37, 1–2; 10, 38, 51; 28, 28, 6.

13 Zusammengefasst siehe Nowak a. O. (Anm. 10) 23 f.

14 B. D'Agostino, Greci, Campani e Sanniti: Città e Campagna nella regione Campana, in: G. Maetzke (Hrsg.), La Campania fra il VI e il III secolo a. C. Atti del XIV Convegno di Studi Etruschi e Italici, Benevento 24–28 giugno 1981 (Galatina 1992) 73–83; G. Tagliamonte, I figli di Marte. Mobilità Mercenari e Mercenariato Italici in Magna Grecia e Sicilia (Venosa 1994) 112; Cerchiai 1995 a. O. (Anm. 1) 187–190.

15 Zusammenfassend mit weiterführender Literatur Cerchiai 2010 a. O. (Anm. 1) 103–111.

16 Zum Bestattungsritual in Capua des 6.–5. Jhs. v. Chr. und zum Phänomen der Würfelgräber siehe E. Thiermann, Capua – Grab und Gemeinschaft. Eine kontextuelle Analyse der Nekropole Fornaci (570 bis 400 v. Chr.), Italiká 1 (Wiesbaden 2012) 147–152; zur Nekropole von Kyme vgl. C. Rescigno, Dati topografici dalla necropoli, in: N. Valenza Mele – C. Rescigno – N. Barella (Hrsg.), Cuma. Studi sulla necropoli. Scavi Stevens, 1878–1896, Supplementi e monografie della rivista Archeologia classica 6 (Roma 2010) 259–289. Zur kritischen Sicht auf ethnische Kategorisierung allgemein Nowak a. O. (Anm. 10).

17 Plin. nat. 3, 60; Strab. 5, 4, 3.

18 E. Lepore, La tradizione storica delle entità regionali in Italia meridionale, in: E. Campanile (Hrsg.), Lingua e cultura degli Oschi, Testi linguistici (Pisa 1985) 55–65; S. Capasso, Gli Osci nella Campania antica, Civiltà campana 9 (San Arpino 1997) 12–14; Cerchiai 2010 a. O. (Anm. 1) 30–32.

19 Weege 1909a, 100; Láng 1915, 233. In ihrem 1940 publizierten Artikel benutzt Láng den Begriff „Altitalische Tracht", da sie sich nicht nur auf die kampanischen Vasen, sondern insgesamt auf die unteritalischen Vasen bezieht: Láng 1940.

20 So M. Dewailly, Les femmes des guerriers indigènes dans les scènes de libation représentées sur les vases à figures rouges d'Italie du Sud au 4e siècle, Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome, Antiquité 94, 1982, 581–623; U. Kästner, Fremde und einheimische Völkerschaften auf unteritalischen Vasen, Das Altertum 35, 1989, 87–94; Frielinghaus a. O. (Anm. 7).

21 Zum samnitischen Krieger Schneider-Herrmann – Herring 1996, 4–76, wobei nicht nur die kampanische Keramik, sondern etwas unsystematisch alle unteritalischen Vasen betrachtet werden. Hingegen betrachtet E. Mugione, L'iconografia del guerriero nelle produzioni tirreniche, in: Alessandro il Molosso e i „condottieri" in Magna Grecia. Atti del Quarantatresimo Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto – Cosenza 26–30 settembre 2003 (Taranto 2004) 729 nur die kampanische Keramik.

22 Dieses Figurenschema wird häufig für Duellanten benutzt, wie etwa die Hydria Capua 7539 des Washington-Combat-Malers (LCS 328 Nr. 757; Schneider-Herrmann – Herring 1996, Taf. 121) und die Hydria Neapel 127961 des Boston-Ready-Malers (LCS 517 Nr. 619 Taf. 202, 3; Schneider-Herrmann – Herring 1996, Taf. 115) zeigen.

23 Zur Kleidung von einheimischen Frauen Kampaniens: Láng 1915; G. Schneider-Herrmann, The Oscan Woman on Campanian Red-figured Vases and her Costume, BABesch 57, 1982, 147–151; Schneider-Herrmann – Herring 1996, 95–102.

24 A. Pontrandolfo – A. Rouveret, Le tombe dipinte di Paestum (Modena 1992); R. Benassai, La pittura dei Campani e dei Sanniti, Atlante tematico di topografia antica Suppl. 9 (Roma 2001).

25 Láng 1940, 33.

26 Weege 1909b.

27 Zuletzt L. Todisco (Hrsg.), La ceramica a figure rosse della Magna Grecia e della Sicilia. I. Produzioni (Roma 2012) 405 mit weiterführender Literatur.

28 Eine der ersten Jünglinge mit sog. samnitischem Gürtel in der kampanisch-rotfigurigen Vasenmalerei lässt sich auf einem Skyphos des Laon-Malers in Capua nachweisen (LCS 233 Nr. 50 Taf. 91. 3). Die Erfindung eines ersten indigenen Kriegerschemas in der unteritalischen Vasenmalerei wird in der lukanischen Vasenmalerei dem Amykos-Maler zugeschrieben, siehe Roscino 2012, 326 mit Anm. 6787. Vom gleichen Maler stammt die Nestoris Louvre K 539 (LCS 45 Nr. 215 Taf. 17, 1; Dewailly a. O. [Anm. 20] 596 Abb. 8), mit einem Kriegerabschied, ebenfalls in einem indigenen Kriegerschema, bei dem die Frau dem Mann eine Nestoris überreicht. Dieses Kriegerschema entspricht jedoch nicht den gängigen Kriegerschemata der tyrrhenischen Küste, sondern kann als lukanische Variante bezeichnet werden.

29 Das erste Grab, welches Personen in diesem Figurenschema zeigt, stammt aus Paestum, Andriuolo-Nekropole, Grab 20, siehe Pontrandolfo – Rouveret a. O. (Anm. 24) 90–93. 309–311. Es wird aufgrund der darin gefundenen Keramik um 380 v. Chr. datiert.

30 So auch Roscino 2012, 330 f. In der lukanischen Vasenmalerei, der ersten rotfigurigen Produktion Unteritaliens, die noch enge Verbindungen zur attischen Vasenmalerei aufweist, ist vor allem in der ersten Phase, d. h. bis zur Mitte des 4. Jhs., ein anderes Kriegerschema vorherrschend. Es überwiegen nackte Krieger mit Lanzen und Piloshelmen. Generell scheint sich dann in der lukanischen Vasenmalerei keine Standardisierung im Kriegerschema abzuzeichnen, wie dies für die kampanische Vasenmalerei nachzuweisen ist. Das eher griechisch geprägte Kriegerschema findet sich bis zum Cassandramaler auch in der kampanischen Malerei, vgl. Halshenkelamphora Capua 7554, Kassandramaler (LCS 225 Nr. 1 Taf. 88, 2): zwei Krieger an einer Stele sich gegenüberstehend; Hydria Berlin 4533 (LCS 228 Nr. 9 Taf. 88, 5): Krieger mit Piloshelm, Mantel, Schuhen, Lanze, ein Pferd führend.

31 Mugione a. O. (Anm. 21) 729 f.

32 Vgl. dazu Schneider-Herrmann – Herring 1996, 77–88.

33 Der Prozess der Vermittlung der attischen Motive an die kampanische Vasenmalerei müsste genauer untersucht werden. Es stellt sich beispielsweise die Frage, inwiefern der direkte attische Import nach Kampanien Auswirkungen auf die spätere rotfigurige Produktion hatte, oder ob eher das *know how* der Vasenmaler und die Tradition innerhalb der Malerschulen ausschlaggebend für die Bildgestaltung waren. Ähnliche Fragen wurden in einer durch das CVA organisierten Tagung 2010 diskutiert, siehe S. Schmidt – A. Stähli (Hrsg.), Vasenbilder im Kulturtransfer. Zirkulation und Rezeption griechischer Keramik im Mittelmeerraum, CVA Deutschland Beih. 5 (München 2012). Ähnliche Phänomene der Übernahme von Bildelementen und der lokalen Aktualisierung lassen sich immer wieder in anderen Gegenden des Mittelmeerraums nachweisen, z. B. auch im Bosporanischen Reich, vgl. P.-A. Kreuz, Die Grabreliefs aus dem Bosporanischen Reich, Colloquia antiqua 6 (Leuven 2012).

34 Paris, Louvre G1, Canino Collection (BAPD 200002; M. Denoyelle, Chefs-d'œuvre de la céramique grecque dans les collections du Louvre [Paris 1994] 92 f. Nr. 41).

35 Berlin, Antikensammlung 4982,45 (LCS 338 Nr. 784 Taf. 131, 1; Schneider-Herrmann – Herring 1996, Taf. 14).

36 Vgl. oben Anm. 7.

37 Das griechische Barbarenbild wurde ebenfalls übernommen, allerdings auf das Figurenschema des Persers reduziert und in ähnlicher Weise in der Bildsprache eingesetzt wie in Attika, wie überzeugend herausgearbeitet wurde von A. Greco Pontrandolfo – A. Rouveret, La rappresentazione del barbaro in ambiente magno-greco, in: Nenci a. O. (Anm. 1) 1051–1066.

38 F. Lissarrague, Der Krieger, in: C. Bérard u. a. (Hrsg.), Die Bilderwelt der Griechen. Schlüssel zu einer fremden Kultur, Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt (Mainz am Rhein 1985) 51–72 = Autour du guerrier, in: C. Bérard et al. (Hrsg.), La cité des images (Paris 1984) 35–47. Für die Reliefplastik T. Schäfer, Andres Agathoi. Studien zum Realitätsgehalt der Bewaffnung attischer Krieger auf Denkmälern klassischer Zeit, Quellen und Forschungen zur antiken Welt 27 (München 1997) 38–42; F. Pirson, Ansichten des Krieges. Kampfreliefs klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit im Kulturvergleich, Archäologische Forschungen 31 (Wiesbaden 2014) 105 f.

39 A. B. Spieß, Der Kriegerabschied auf attischen Vasen der archaischen Zeit, Europäische Hochschulschriften 38 (Frankfurt am Main 1992); S. B. Matheson, Polygnotos and Vase Painting in Classical Athens, Wisconsin Studies in Classics (Madison, Wisc. 1995) 269–276 widmet ein Kapitel dem Kriegerabschied in der klassischen attisch-rotfigurigen Vasenmalerei. Eine monografische Vorlage dieses Bildmotivs in der rotfigurigen Malerei klassischer Zeit fehlt. Eine erste Liste findet sich in E. G. Pemberton, The Name Vase of the Peleus Painter, The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery 1977, 65.

40 Schweizer Kunsthandel (LCS Suppl. 3, 47 Nr. C 39 Taf. 8, 3. 4).

41 Halsamphora, BM F 197 (LCS 406 Nr. 306; Schneider-Herrmann – Herring 1996, Taf. 22).

42 Generell überwiegen in den kampanischen Vasenbildern Skyphoi als Spendegefäße anstatt der Omphalosschalen. Eine Ausnahme bildet ein Glockenkrater, Louvre K 261 des Libationsmalers, auf dem der Mann sogar der Frau die Omphalosschale zurückreicht (LCS 406 Nr. 299 Taf. 159, 1. 3; Schneider-Herrmann – Herring 1996, Taf. 68). Die häufig dargestellten Skyphoi finden sich auch in vielen Keramiksets als Grabbeigaben. Vgl. Nowak a. O. (Anm. 10) mit detaillierter Auflistung der verwendeten Vasenformen zahlreicher Nekropolen Unteritaliens.

43 Vgl. oben Anm. 23.

44 Zum Motiv A. Rouveret – A. Greco Pontrandolfo, Pittura funeraria in Lucania e Campania. Puntualizzazioni cronologiche e proposte di lettura, Dialoghi di archeologia 1983, 98 f.

45 T. J. McNiven, Gestures in Attic Vase Painting. Use and Meaning 550–450 B. C. (Ann Arbor 1989) 37 f. plädiert dafür, in den Abschiedsszenen auch Ankunftsszenen zu sehen. Ähnlich Lissarrague a. O. (Anm. 38) 59; Matheson a. O. (Anm. 39) 271 f. sieht in den Szenen eher Zeremonien oder Initiationsszenen, die nicht nur als Aussendung in den Krieg verstanden werden sollen, sondern als Übergang vom Epheben- in das Erwachsenenalter, bei dem die jungen Athener als wehrtüchtige Männer in die Hoplitenphalanx oder Reiterei aufgenommen wurden.

46 Zur Interpretation des Bildmotivs Rückkehr des Kriegers in der kampanischen und lukanischen Grabmalerei Pontrandolfo – Rouveret a. O. (Anm. 24) 451 f.; Rouveret – Greco Pontrandolfo a. O. (Anm. 44) 98 f.; zu weiteren Vergleichen triumphaler Bilder in mittelrepublikanischer Zeit A. Rouveret, Les lieux de la mémoire publique. Quelques remarques sur la fonction des tableaux dans la cité, Opus 6–8, 1987–89, 110–114 mit Bibliographie.

47 Grundlegend S. Burmeister, Zum sozialen Gebrauch von Tracht. Aussagemöglichkeiten hinsichtlich des Nachweises von Migrationen, Ethnografisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift 38, 1997, 177–203.

48 Vergleiche hier besonders das Buch von Schneider-Herrmann – Herring 1996.

49 Ähnlich H. Cassimatis, Les vases italiotes comme expression du barbare?, in: F. Giudice – R. Panvini (Hrsg.), Il greco, il barbaro e la ceramica attica. Immaginario del diverso processi di scambio e autorappresentazione degli indigeni 4. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi 14–19 maggio 2001, Monografie della scuola di specializzazione in archeologia dell'università di Catania 4 (Roma 2007) 57–66, bes. 64, die herausarbeitet, dass die unteritalischen Vasen jeweils in ihrem kulturellen Zusammenhang zu verstehen sind, keine griechischen Produkte darstellen, sondern explizit, wie sie sagt, als „barbarische“, nicht griechische Vasen zu verstehen sind. Sie sind in ihren Bildaussagen heterogener als attische Vasen und jeweils auf die Bedürfnisse der Gemeinschaften ausgerichtet, in denen sie produziert werden. Es gibt daher Unterschiede zwischen kampanischer und apulischer Vasenikonografie, die herausgearbeitet werden können. Ihr Barbarenbegriff ist explizit nicht mit unzivilisiert und unkultiviert gleichgesetzt, sondern einfach mit nicht-griechisch, vgl. Cassimatis a. O. 64.

50 Exporte kampanisch-rotfiguriger Vasen lassen sich zwar nachweisen, fallen aber quantitativ eher gering aus.

51 Zu dieser Rolle: Cerchiai 1995 a. O. (Anm. 1); Tagliamonte a. O. (Anm. 14) 112.

52 Glockenkrater Neapel des Branickimalers, Sammlung I, Inv. I/147 (K. Schauenburg, Studien zur Unteritalischen Vasenmalerei VI [Kiel 2003] 106 Abb. 69a–d). In diesem Bild eine Amazonomachie zu sehen, wie Schauenburg vorschlägt, scheint mir nicht überzeugend, weist doch kein ikonografisches Element darauf hin. Das Figurenschema des in die Knie Gegangenen steht allgemein für Unterlegener, vgl. Pirson a. O. (Anm. 38). Die Amazonen des Branickimalers werden zudem normalerweise im Schema mit langen Ärmeln und Hosenbeinen wiedergegeben, wie eine Oinochoe in Privatbesitz zeigt, siehe Schauenburg a. O. Abb. 71 b.

53 Wien IV 750 (LCS 540 Nr. 781; Schauenburg a. O. [Anm. 52] 107 Abb. 70).
54 Siehe oben Anm. 35.
55 Besonders stark in Schneider-Herrmann – Herring 1996, wo bereits in der Gliederung zu sehen ist, dass es nur den einheimischen Krieger, nicht aber den einheimischen zivilen Bürger gibt. Die Aktivitäten des Kriegers sind daher auch alle dem militärischen Bereich zugeordnet.

Detecting Dionysos in Indigenous Contexts: Clues in South Italian Vase-Painting

Keely Elizabeth Heuer

In Sophocles' *Antigone,* the chorus addresses Dionysos as "you who watch over far-famed Italy."[1] Worship of the wine god in the Greek settlements of Magna Graecia is well attested in the literary and archaeological record, leading one to wonder if the veneration of Dionysos extended to the Greeks' indigenous neighbors.[2] South Italian vases depicting Italic peoples offer tantalizing evidence of the native population's awareness of and interest in this deity and his iconography as well as how Dionysos' cult was adapted to suit their societal needs.

Native peoples are distinguished from "Greek" figures in South Italian vase-painting by their dress.[3] Men wear short tunics or triangular loincloths that may be embellished with patterns such as stripes, rows of dots, or swastikas, sometimes trimmed with fringe.[4] Frequently characterized as warriors, males are often armed with spears and shields and may wear a helmet with a central crest and vertical plume to either side or conical caps, at times decorated with a pattern suggestive of an animal pelt.[5] Other distinctive armour include the three-disc cuirasses worn by indigenous men on Campanian vases, identical to those uncovered in grave assemblages.[6] Men and women sport wide bronze belts lined with leather, many examples of which are found in Italic burials. Indigenous female dress is closer to its Greek counterpart, but peploi may have particularly long overfolds, and women may wear short, rounded capes and headdresses of draped fabric on Campanian vases.[7] Figures in this attire have been labeled as "Oscan," "Samnite" and "Messapian" in scholarship, but their precise ethnic identification are generally indeterminate. The men are typically young and appear in the company of women, who offer refreshment or a libation in their honor, and the scenes are interpreted as the arrival or departure of warriors.[8] Similar imagery occurs in the painted 4th century B.C. indigenous tombs of Campania and Lucania, most notably at Paestum.[9]

Various combinations of Dionysian elements with representations of Italic peoples appear on Apulian and Campanian vases.[10] Provenance studies reveal that vases with scenes of indigenous peoples were intentionally marketed towards non-Greek clientele in Apulia, especially in the area of Peucetia; in Campania, South Italian vases were produced at sites under Italic control, namely Cumae and Capua. Thus, the commingling of Dionysian iconography with Italic peoples on red-figure vases made in these regions demonstrates that non-Greek populations were familiar with this imagery and likely participated in the cult of Dionysos or a now-anonymous analogous local deity. This hypothesis is supported by the general popularity of Dionysian motifs on other vases found in Italic tombs, predominantly kraters.[11]

Dionysiac Imagery and Italic Peoples: Combination Types

On Apulian vases, Dionysian iconography and native men and women began to appear regularly together around 380 B.C. in the work of the Tarporley Painter's followers, and the practice continued for the following sixty years, primarily in the work of the Plain Style vase-painters and their successors. Unsurprisingly, indigenous peoples appear with Dionysiac motifs predominantly in Apulia on column-kraters, the favored shape for depicting non-Greek individuals.[12] Campanian vase-painters blended Italic figures with Dionysian imagery much less often; the earliest examples date to the mid-4th century B.C. , with most produced between ca. 340–330 B.C. – a decade of heavily Apulian influence, perhaps explaining their appearance.[13] They are concentrated in the workshop of the CA Painter, and the preferred shape is the bell-krater.

Dionysian imagery occurs on red-figure imitations of indigenous shapes in southern Italy, such as bail-amphorae and nestorides.[14] A nestoris by the Amykos Painter, now in Potenza, exemplifies how scenes with Italic people are also paired with Dionysiac tableaux on opposing sides of a vase *(Fig. 1)*.[15] On the obverse is the earliest known depiction of a person in native dress in South Italian vase-painting: a seated warrior with spear and shield wearing a striped tunic, a tall, spotted conical cap, and a

Fig. 1 a. b Potenza, Museo Archeologico Nazionale "Dinu Adamesteanu" inv. 409446: Lucanian nestoris, attributed to the Amykos Painter, ca. 410 B. C.

himation wrapped around his legs. He extends his left hand towards the approaching woman on the right, who brings him a sheathed sword. On the reverse, a satyr in a dance-like pose pursues or follows a thyrsos-carrying maenad, who looks back at him.

Occasionally, Italic figures participate in banquets that resemble Greek symposia, reclining on a kline or drawing wine from a krater.[16] In such scenes, where both natives and Greeks are present, the Italic males are always standing, as if servants or entertainers.[17] However, non-Greek individuals interact most frequently with the realm of Dionysos in South Italian vase-painting by holding or being in the presence of objects with Dionysian associations. Such figures sit or stand in a relatively static tableau, at times engaging in a libation *(Fig. 2)*[18], or they move swiftly together in the same direction, indicating a procession or thiasos *(Fig. 3)*.[19] Some attributes held by indigenous peoples, like phialai and oinochoai, are common to religious rites honoring a myriad of Greek deities. Even tympana and torches, arguably connected to the mysteries of Dionysos, have associations with other divine figures such as Demeter and Persephone. Nevertheless, there is a significant frequency of unequivocally Dionysian objects such as kantharoi[20], bunches of grapes[21], situlae[22], and thyrsoi[23] *(Fig. 4)*. The sacral nature of these scenes is underscored by the occasional presence of altars, such as on the column-krater Trieste S 399 *(Fig. 5)*.[24] Here, a youth with long hair in Italic

Fig. 2 Los Angeles, County Museum of Art M.81.256.16: Apulian column-krater, attributed to the Patera Painter, ca. 340–330 B. C.

Fig. 3 Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico inv. 580: Apulian column-krater, attributed to the H. A. Group, ca. 360–350 B. C.

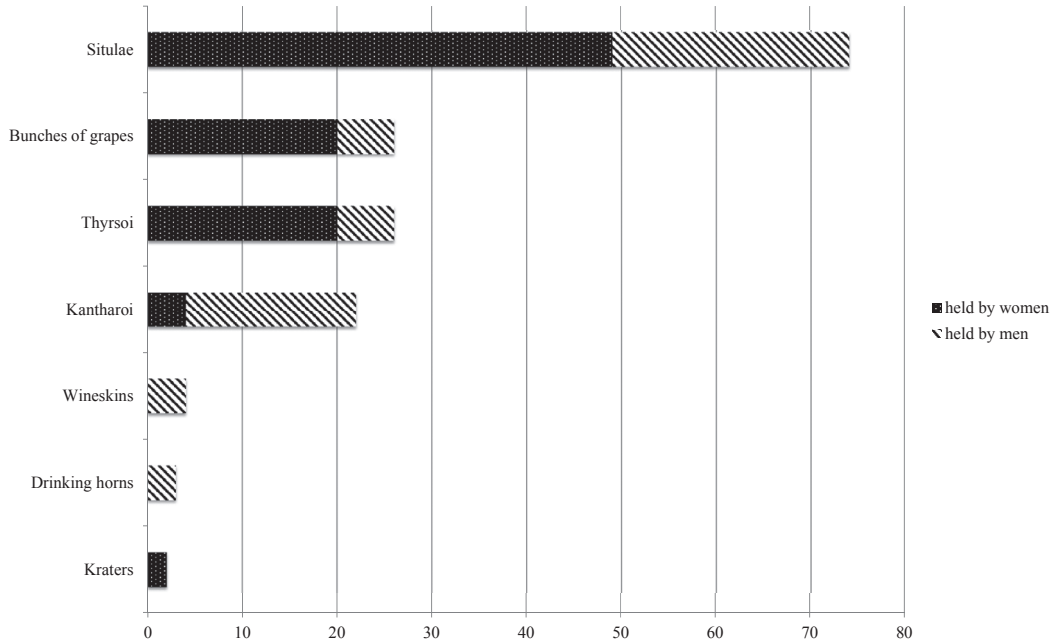

Fig. 4 Dionysian attributes held by indigenous figures on Apulian and Campanian vases.

dress stands next to his horse, which rests a hoof upon the base of the altar, and holds a spear and a kantharos. To the right of the altar is a veiled woman, presumably his wife or close family member, who extends a wreath toward him in her right hand and holds a nestoris (a vessel associated with wine consumption in the Italic realm) in her left. Behind her, and below a suspended phiale, stands a bearded, downcast captive, wearing typical indigenous garb, his hands bound behind his back. Native figures on Campanian vases mainly hold situlae, but bunches of grapes and thyrsoi occasionally appear.[25] Women hold Dionysian attributes 1.5 times more frequently than men and nearly exclusively on Campanian vases.

Scenes of indigenous individuals engaging with Dionysiac objects have counterparts with all-Greek figures, giving one a sense that the compositions were highly formulaic in vase-painters' minds and that the interchangeability of Greeks and native peoples made sense to both producer and consumer.[26] The Italic thiasos scenes, generally consisting of a male-female pair or two men and one woman, are strongly reminiscent of the many depictions of a nude youth and woman carrying Dionysian attributes moving in the same manner (possibly representing the god in the company of Ariadne, a nymph, or a maenad) and the three-figure variation in which the couple are joined by a satyr.[27] Likewise, the static scenes of Italic figures with Dionysiac objects are similarly staged with Greek men, characterized by their nudity.[28] The iconographic parallels between Dionysian scenes of Greek and Italic figures is well illustrated by two pieces painted by the Patera Painter: a column-krater in Los Angeles *(Fig. 2)*[29] and a volute-krater in Ruvo *(Fig. 6)*.[30] In both, the central male figure is seated with a phiale in his left hand, his head turned back to the left to face a woman behind him. The thyrsos held by the nude youth on the Ruvo vase is even visually reminiscent of the berried branch rising behind the hand of the native warrior. The stance of the women on the right side of each scene and the objects they hold (a wreath and thyrsos) are identical.

On rare occasions, indigenous peoples appear with Dionysos' mythological devotees, such as on a column-krater by the Baltimore Painter once on the New York market with satyrs flanking the central couple of a woman leaning over her raised leg toward a seated warrior

Fig. 5 Trieste, Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte di Trieste inv. S 399: Apulian column-krater, attributed to the Roermond Painter, ca. 350 B. C.

Fig. 6 Ruvo inv. 1485: Apulian volute-krater, attributed to the Patera Painter, ca. 340–330 B.C.

Fig. 7 Once New York market, Christie's 9 December 2005 lot 190: Apulian column-krater, attributed to the Baltimore Painter, ca. 340–330 B.C.

(Fig. 7).[31] On a volute-krater attributed to the Virginia Exhibition Painter, now in a private collection in New York, a satyr holding a thyrsos and oinochoe stands to the right of a naiskos containing an Italic warrior controlling a rearing horse.[32] The mixture of native individuals in funerary naiskoi and Dionysian elements take other forms on Apulian volute-kraters, such as mourners bearing Dionysiac objects arranged around the grave monument containing the Italic warrior.[33] In other instances, the Italic youth in a naiskos is paired with a Dionysian scene elsewhere on the krater, either on the neck or the other side of the body.[34]

Beyond Vases: Other Evidence for the Italic Cult of Dionysos

To date, no indigenous sanctuaries in southern Italy have been identified as being dedicated to Dionysos or a syncretic deity with native origins. Persuasive indicators of ritual banqueting in public religious sites do exist, such as the large room with a central fireplace and banquette with birds' bones found in situ on the upper terrace of the Sanctuary of Herakles at Serra Lustrante in Armento.[35] While silen antefixes have been discovered at this site, there is little conclusive evidence to tie the activity in this room and other dining facilities in Italic communal cult contexts directly to Dionysos.[36] The only indicator of Dionysian cult practiced at a civic or ethnic level are the bronze coins of the late 6th/early 5th century B.C. with the legend ΣΕΡ/ΣΕΡΔ associated with the Serdaioi, who are mentioned on a bronze tablet recovered from a 4th century B.C. fill in the stadium of Olympia and believed to have occupied southern Campania and northern Lucania. On the obverse is a bearded head of Dionysos in profile, and the reverse bears a cluster of grapes.[37]

Sporadic Dionysian imagery has been uncovered in indigenous sanctuaries' votive deposits, but not in amounts significant enough to confirm an established cult. Examples include the terracotta votive female bust wearing an ivy wreath from Timmari[38], a gilded silver lamina from Pietrabbondante[39] with the young ivy-crowned god accompanied by his typical attributes (kantharos, thyrsos, and panther) inside a naiskos decorated with orgiastic percussion instruments, and possibly the bronze statuette of a satyr from Armento.[40] Italic peoples could have adopted Dionysos into their respective pantheons as other Greek deities were clearly venerated at native sanctuaries. Charred pig bones, wheat, and fruit mixed with terracotta female busts, statuettes of enthroned goddesses, and standing offering bearers in votive deposits at Timmari[41] and the Sanctuary of Monte Papalucio at Oria[42] attest to a thesmosphoric cult of Demeter, who is called Damatra in graffiti at Monte Papalucio. The walls of the Porcinara cave on the Leuca promontory are heavily inscribed with the name of Zis Batas, a lightning god with clear connections to Zeus who protected sailors, perhaps the identity of the small bronze statue placed on top of a column at Ugento.[43] The Greek dedicatory inscription on an Attic krater fragment in the votive deposits buried in front of the cave attests to Greek participation in the cult.[44]

Most evidence for indigenous exposure to and interest in Dionysian imagery comes from the private sphere in the form of grave goods. Foremost are the many imported Attic vases depicting the realm of Dionysos and his entourage.[45] The earliest, dating to the second quarter of the 6th century B.C., were unearthed in Campania at Nola, and slightly later examples have been uncovered in

the native settlements of Apulia. Such vases continued to enter Italic communities until the late 5th or early 4th century B.C., particularly at Ruvo, where spectacular examples like the Pronomos Vase have been found.[46] Included among the Athenian exports are many kraters, indicating that the indigenous elite had adopted Greek modes of wine consumption, i.e. mixing it with water and other ingredients before serving.[47] At Banzi, a miniature Attic chous decorated with a running satyr holding a lyre was placed in an infant burial, reminiscent of the Greek practice of including these vases in the graves of children who presumably died before their first taste of wine as toddlers during the Anthesteria, a festival celebrated in certain western Greek settlements like Syracuse.[48] Similar vases discovered at Ruvo and near Bari unfortunately do not have exact find spots.[49] Terracotta figurines of satyrs and maenads[50] made from or modeled after western Greek types were uncovered in burials at Roccagloriosa[51], Arpi[52], Ordona[53], and Oria[54], among others. Italic carved ambers depicting Dionysos' followers are also uncovered in tombs, such as those from Armento and Canosa.[55] In an elite late 6th–early 5th century B.C. tomb at Rosigno, near Paestum, the deceased male wore a silver ivy wreath and was buried with a silver kantharos decorated with satyr heads.[56] Fragments of a similar silver kantharos were found at Muro Leccese.[57] A final example is the Lucanian warrior on horseback, presumably the deceased, painted on the western slab of tomb 58 at Contrada Andriuolo at Paestum. He rides towards a black calyx-krater from which emerges a tall yellow object strongly resembling a thyrsos tied with red ribbons *(Fig. 8)*.

Fig. 8 Paestum, Andriuolo necropolis, Tomb 58, west slab, ca. 340 B.C.

It has been argued that banquet sets of imported and locally produced vases and serving utensils in Italic tombs were used in a funerary feast or were prestige goods to accentuate social status rather than indicators of collective drinking and dining as part of daily life. However, remains of Greek and Etruscan bronze and ceramic vases including oinochoai, kraters, and cups have been located in aristocratic structures as early as the late 7th–early 6th century B.C. at sites like Canosa-Toppicelli[58], Torre di Satriano[59], Lavello[60], and Serra di Vaglio.[61] These typically rectangular structures were entered though a portico and were decorated with architectural terracottas including friezes of men on horseback, a traditional aristocratic motif in Greece and pre-Roman Italy. Such dining rooms are roughly contemporary with the earliest banquet sets in graves.[62] Spaces well suited for communal imbibing and dining are identified in later elite Italic homes as well. In the Casa Ellenistica at Monte Sannace, two rooms along the western side of the structure are potential locations for such an event.[63] The smaller space can accommodate five standard sized klinai, while the larger could fit seven couches, both regular numbers for a Greek symposium.[64] However, the rooms' arrangement is different than the traditional andron as the doors are centered on the main axis of the room rather than to the left of it. Finds from the smaller room include a fragment of an Apulian red-figure bell-krater, pieces of five black-glaze skyphoi, and fragments of three transport amphorae, one of which was stamped with a kantharos symbol, suggestive of its contents. Similar vessel fragments were discovered in the larger room. Loom weights were uncovered in both spaces, showing that, at least at certain times, women likely occupied these rooms.

During the 4th century B.C., native aristocratic homes clearly served as locations for cultic ritual involving a limited group, such as an extended family. Religious activities appear to have taken place in courtyards opening off the living quarters and were focused around a small shrine. In the naiskos in Complex A at Roccagloriosa, which probably resembled the marble model from Garaguso (ca. 470 B.C.), terracotta statuettes, mainly female figures either enthroned or seated on a bench, sometimes holding a patera or a basket of fruit, were lined along the shrine's back wall facing the entrance.[65] Also discovered in the shrine's bothros-like interior were over a 100 miniature coarse and fine ware vases (louteria, jugs, kala-

thoi, and lekanides), a black-glaze mesomphalos patera, a red-figure epichysis, lamps, and the remains of ten young sheep or goats. The naiskos probably served as a locus for the worship of a chthonic goddess, perhaps Mefitis based on parallels with the offerings at the divinity's larger sanctuary at Rossano di Vaglio.[66] A second example is the shrine in the courtyard of the Great Edifice at Pomarico Vecchio of the second half of the 4th century B.C.[67] It consists of a naiskos, a stone altar, and a statue base. The burned animal bones, 61 skyphoi fragments, 60 cup fragments, and various pieces of paterae and plates in the votive deposits point to communal meals involving the consumption of wine, maybe in honor of Dionysos.

Dionysos and Italic Familial Bonds

Current archaeological evidence and the manner in which Dionysian elements and Italic figures are combined on South Italian vases indicate that indigenous worship of a wine god occurred primarily within the home and extended to the grave. The imagery of native peoples on Apulian and Campanian vases in turn suggests that Dionysian rites reaffirmed and reestablished the bonds of marriage and the family unit as a whole, perhaps particularly at times before and after a physical separation, whether due to warfare, trade, or death. Societal expectations of the respective genders could thereby also be reinforced. As indigenous females so frequently hold Dionysian objects on South Italian vases, it seems clear that consumption of wine and worship of the god involved both sexes, a conclusion supported by the presence of kraters and other equipment for drinking and dining in male and female burials.[68] The acceptability of men and women participating in such events is demonstrated by the terracotta group from the Tomb of the Banquet at Egnazia, dated to the 3rd century B.C.[69] *(Fig. 9)*. On one kline are two reclining men, while on the other is a recumbent male wearing an ivy wreath with a woman seated at his feet, presumably his wife – a posture reminiscent of Etruscan banqueting couples, such as Velia Seitithi and her husband Larth Velcha, on the back wall of the Tomb of the Shields at Tarquinia. They are attended by a servant girl, and two tables, one round and one rectangular, support plates of food.

Fig. 9 Bari, terracotta banqueting group from the Tomb of the Banquet at Egnazia, 3rd century B.C.

Male-female pairings are a common component on vases with Italic peoples and Dionysian elements, a third of which feature a scene of an indigenous man and woman. Similarly interacting couples occur frequently in scenes containing three or more native figures in conjunction with Dionysiac imagery, bringing the number of vases with a clear male-female dyad up to roughly two-thirds of the total corpus.[70] The Italic men, characterized as warriors with their arms and armour, are the receivers of wine from women, consistently holding Dionysian objects from which wine is consumed, namely kantharoi and drinking horns.[71] The only wine storage or serving container that indigenous men carry more than women is the wine-skin, which appears in only four instances.[72] Most men are youthful and beardless, and military victory may have been considered proof of eligibility for marriage, conceivably illustrated by the Apulian column-krater Bari 3003, found in tomb 7/1992 at Conversano *(Fig. 10)*.[73] On the obverse, Nike stands at the far left, holding a situla and kantharos, from which she pours wine into the phiale held by the young warrior seated on a pile of rocks in the center of the scene, his elbow resting on his shield and his spear in his left hand. On the right, a woman approaches them, carrying a dish of cake and a tendril, presumably to honor the victorious youth and the goddess. Strabo records the Samnite practice of marrying the ten best youths and maidens to one another each year, a dissolvable union if the husband did not maintain his standard of excellence.[74] The high status of Italic women on South Italian vases is indicated by their fine clothing and multiple pieces of jewelry including earrings, necklaces, diadems, and bronze belts.[75] Unlike female companions at symposia on Attic vases, indigenous women are always dressed and do not serve as entertainers or sexual partners. They are the providers of wine to men, holding objects like situlae, kraters, and bunches of grapes, the original source of the liquid.[76] Sometimes the offering woman makes the gesture of the anakalypsis, alluding to a nuptial relationship between the pair.[77] Fabio Colivicchi's study of funerary objects in relation to gender in Messapian tombs support these gendered patterns in the supplying and consumption of

Fig. 10 Bari 3003: Apulian column-krater from Tomb 7/1992 at Conversano, attributed to the Verona Painter, ca. 350–340 B. C.

wine by Italic figures in South Italian vase-painting. He noted that men were often accompanied by a kantharos or miniature trozzella, while women were buried with trozzelle of normal size to symbolize their duty to care for the wine.[78] Other native feminine responsibilities in the family unit, namely producing textiles and the bearing and raising of children, are occasionally alluded to by the presence of babies or young children, and wool-working objects such as distaffs and kalathoi.[79]

Perchance the heavy emphasis upon male-female couples on vases blending Dionysian elements with representations of indigenous figures was due to Italic aristocrats viewing Dionysos and his consort Ariadne as a marital model due to their unusual fidelity among the Greek pantheon. Dionysos' associations with fertility and abundance might also have been attractive to native couples. Of the 25 Apulian vases with unmistakable depictions of Dionysos and Ariadne listed by Trendall, six have known provenance, all in indigenous contexts (e.g. Ruvo, Conversano, and Arpi). The many ambiguous yet clearly Dionysian scenes with a nude youth, a woman, and sometimes a satyr, so popular on vases found in indigenous contexts and after which many depictions of indigenous peoples seem to have been modeled or were considered analogous to, may be further representations of the divine couple or mortals emulating them through the god's rites and mysteries. Dionysos and Ariadne as a paradigm of marriage in Italic communities, at least among the elite, might well explain the repeated presence of Eros in Dionysian tableaux on South Italian vases. A particularly interesting juxtaposition of the realms of love, wine, and Italic peoples occurs on the obverse of the column-krater in Fig. 7. On the tall neck, a seated Eros in the center is flanked by two women. A sacral context is suggested by the bucranium suspended above the woman on the right, the phiale at her feet, and possibly the long-handled patera held by Eros. The world of Dionysos is invoked through the thyrsos leaning against the right leg of the woman on the left, the situla in her left hand, the two bunches of grapes above her, and the ivy leaf in the field behind Eros. Eros' posture and location in the scene is mirrored by the Italic youth below on the body of the vase. He interacts with a standing woman whose pose and appearance are reminiscent of the woman with Dionysian attributes in the scene above, and she holds out to him a wreath and a bird, perhaps love gifts. They are unusually flanked by two satyrs, and the objects scattered on the ground and suspended in the field between the figures are nearly identical to those in the scene on the neck. The interconnectedness of Eros and Dionysos in the minds of Italic peoples might also explain the frequent depictions of erotic pursuit, abduction, and seduction on Apulian red-figure nestorides in which one or more of the human characters are replaced by figures from the Dionysian and Aphrodisian realm.[80]

The inclusion of wine consumption in scenes of departure and reunion among Italic figures suggests that Dionysos was invoked at these moments to strengthen and celebrate familial bonds, particularly between husband and wife. Such images might even be considered as the re-assimilation of the warrior into the family and broader community post-conflict as the warrior transitioned back to civilian life through the communal drinking of wine. In light of this interpretation, the inclusion of the prisoner of war in the homecoming scene on Trieste S 399 *(Fig. 5)* is noteworthy. If the captive is not a sacrificial offering in gratitude for military success, presumably his fate is to be a slave in the household of the Italic couple flanking the altar. Perhaps his presence underscores the warrior's achievements and indicates the servile dependent's formal integration into the family as the warrior is likewise welcomed and his station in the oikos reaffirmed through the rituals taking place. The invocation of Dionysos by Italic peoples at times of physical separation and reunification potentially explains the appeal of vases combining indigenous figures and Dionysian imagery as grave goods, including those monumental volute-kraters with indigenous figures in naiskoi, as death simultaneously brought about division from one's mortal family and a plausible reunion with ancestors in the hereafter.

Looking at the later visual culture of Italy in the Roman era, an earlier indigenous connection between Dionysos, domestic cult, and family ties might well explain the presence of Dionysos/Bacchus at times in the

lararia of Roman homes, perhaps best-known from the House of the Centenary. Such ties might also support the appropriateness of the famous Mystery Frieze's location in a suburban villa outside of Pompeii. While hypotheses regarding the precise nature of the cult of Dionysos outside of Greek contexts in Magna Graecia remain speculative, the frequent presence of Dionysian imagery and attributes on vases with depictions of Italic peoples, along with Dionysiac iconography on earlier Attic imports and in other media uncovered in indigenous communities, provide solid evidence for indigenous knowledge of and interest in this multi-faceted divinity.

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Fig. 9 Courtesy of the National Museum of Egnazia – Polo Museale, Apulia.
Fig. 10 Photo courtesy of Soprintendenza per I Beni Archeologici della Puglia.

ABBREVIATIONS

Adam-Veleni – Kefalidou – Stefanì 2011 — P. Adam-Veleni – E. Kefalidou – E. Stefanì (eds.), Il dono di Dioniso: mitologia del vino nell'Italia centrale (Molise) e nella Grecia del Nord (Macedonia) (Thessaloniki 2011).

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NOTES

1 Soph. Ant. 1118 f.

2 On the cult of Dionysos in Magna Graecia, see G. Casadio, Dioniso Italiota: un dio greco in Italia meridionale, AIONArch 16, 1994, 79–107; Nava 1999; G. Casadio, Dionysos in Campania: Cumae and C. Isler-Kerényi, New Contributions of Dionysiac Iconography to the History of Religions in Greece and Italy, in: G. Casadio – P. A. Johnston (eds.), Mystic Cults in Magna Graecia (Austin 2009) 33–45 and 61–72 respectively; Cinquantaquattro – Lombardo – Alessio 2011. For discussion of evidence for the cult of Dionysos to the north of Magna Graecia in Samnite-controlled territories, refer to Adam-Veleni – Kefalidou – Stefanì 2011, 212–223.

3 Regarding the depiction of Italic peoples on South Italian vases: Trendall 1971; Frielinghaus 1995; Schneider-Herrmann 1996; Carpenter 2003, 10–16; Herring 2014, 79–95.

4 Examples can be found on Ruvo 620 (RVAp I 154, no. 165) and New York 17.120.241 (RVAp I 53, no. 61, pl. 16, 3. 4).

5 See Louvre K 121 for examples of spotted caps and Zurich, Archäologisches Institut der Universität 3580 (LCS Suppl. III 245, no. 619a) for a plumed crested helmet.

6 Such as those found in tombs 136, 164, and 174 of the late 5th–early 4th century B. C. in the Gaudo necropolis at Paestum, all currently on display in the Museo Nazionale di Paestum. On arms and armour in indigenous burials: Colivicchi 2009, 69–72; A. Small, Pots, Peoples, and Places in Fourth-Century B. C. E. Apulia, in: Carpenter – Lynch – Robinson 2014, 27 f. An example of this type of breastplate appears on New York 91.1.444 (LCS 460, no. 68).

7 For discussion of depictions of feminine indigenous dress and societal roles, see Dewailly 1982, 581–623 and Frielinghaus 1995, 139–151.

8 Frielinghaus 1995, 72–83. 90 f.; Schneider-Herrmann 1996, 117.

9 Such as the following burials from the Andriuolo necropolis at Paestum: tomb 12 (east slab), tomb 84 (west slab), and tomb 86 (west slab). Refer to A. Pontrandolfo – A. Rouveret – M. Cipriani, The Painted Tombs of Paestum (Paestum 2004) 35 f.

10 An exception is the Lucanian nestoris by the Amykos Painter (Potenza inv. 409446), discussed below.

11 For example, in RVAp I and II, Dionysos appears on 380 vases, 88 % of which are kraters: Carpenter 2011, 254.

12 In the works of Trendall and Cambitoglou (RVAp and its supplements), Dionysian elements appear in combination with indigenous figures on a total of 128 pieces, 101 of which are column-kraters. Volute-kraters are the next most common shape (11 examples). Other shapes are the nestoris (4), bell-krater (2), amphora (2), patera (2), stamnos (2), dinos (1), loutrophoros (1), lebes gamikos (1), and kantharoid skyphos (1). On the prevalence of Italic peoples on column-kraters in Apulia and their significance: Carpenter 2003, 10–19 and F. Colivicchi, "Native" Vase Shapes in South Italian Red-Figure Pottery, in: Carpenter – Lynch – Robinson 2014, 216 and 229 f.

13 In Trendall's catalogs (LCS and its three supplemental volumes), figures in native dress occur together with Dionysian iconography on only 25 vases, over half of which are bell-kraters (13 total). Other shapes include the hydria (4), squat lekythos (2), bail-amphora (2), calyx-krater (1), oinochoe (1), skyphos (1), and neck-amphora (1).

14 E. g. London F 179 (LCS 113, no. 582). On links between nestorides/trozzellae and depictions of Italic peoples: Trendall 1971, 7 f.

15 Potenza inv. 409446: LCS Suppl. III 156, no. 137b, pl. XXX, 1; M. Denoyelle, Hands at Work in Magna Graecia: the Amykos Painter and His Workshop, in: Carpenter – Lynch – Robinson 2014, 120 f.

16 Examples include Louvre K 121 (RVAp I 157, no. 183) and Budapest 57.5 (RVAp I 251, no. 208). See also Frielinghaus 1995, 117–127.

17 Such as on Bonn 98 (RVAp 157, no. 183) and Naples RC 145 (LCS 482, no. 302, pl. 186, 1. 2).

18 E. g. Vicenza, Banca Intesa coll. 181 (C448, RVAp I 391, no. 246) and London F 297 (RVAp I 357, no. 197). See also Dewailly 1982, 581–623.

19 For example, on Lecce 774 (RVAp II 744, no. 146) and St. Petersburg B 553 (St. 818, RVAp II 746, no. 172). On Italic thiasos scenes: Frielinghaus 1995, 127–131 and Herring 2014, 92.

20 Such as on London 1928.1-17.66 (RVAp I 241, no. 115) and New York 1974.23 (RVAp I 255, no. 245).

21 See Taranto 9872 (RVAp I 155, no. 170) and Tokyo, Bridgestone Museum 92 (RVAp II 779, no. 181).

22 E. g. on Naples 1981 (inv. 82339, RVAp I 153, no. 147) and Ruvo 793 (RVAp 332, no. 130).

23 For example, on Catania MB 4285 (RVAp II 578, no. 170) and Bologna 581 (RVAp I 365, no. 54).

24 RVAp I 368, no. 75.

25 For example, on the Campanian bell-krater from the chamber tomb at Frignano, Locanda Cappella (9/24/1907), now in Aversa, there are two pairs of a facing woman and an indigenous warrior. The woman on the far left holds a thyrsos, and her counterpart on the right holds a situla.

26 Carpenter points out how Greek imagery for the departure is adapted as a native scene: Carpenter 2003, 13.

27 Carpenter 2011, 254–261. Carpenter argues that the nude youth in these Dionysian scenes should best be understood as an assimilation of a deceased male with the divinity. Examples of such scenes with "Greek" figures: London F 161 (RVAp I 25, no. 114) and Louvre K3 (RVAp I 195, no. 17, pl. 62, 1. 2).

28 E. g. Vatican X 4 (RVAp I 239, no. 103, pl. 77, 3. 4) and Lecce 662 (RVAp I 319, no. 19).

29 Los Angeles, Museum of Art M.81.256.16: RVAp Suppl. I 132, no. 145 f.

30 Ruvo 1485: RVAp II 739, no. 95.

31 Once New York market, Christie's 9 December 2005, lot 190, attributed to the Baltimore Painter: RVAp Suppl. I 156, no. 50 a.

32 RVAp Suppl. I 174, no. 86 b, pl. 33, 2 and 34, 2. On indigenous figures in naiskoi, see Frielinghaus 1995, 93–103.

33 E. g. Baltimore 48.86 (RVAp II 864, no. 21): On the reverse, a youth in Oscan dress with a spear and shield sits in a naiskos. The youth to the right of the funerary monument holds a thyrsos and a bunch of grapes.

34 For example, on Taranto inv. 194763, a volute-krater attributed to the Darius Painter, Dionysos, flanked by a satyr and maenad, appears on the neck above a naiskos containing a youth in Italic dress on the body below.

35 Fracchia – Gualtieri 1989, 221 f.; A. Russo Tagliente, Armento: archeologia di un centro indigeno, BA 35/36, 1995; A. Russo Tagliente, Il santuario di Armento, in: S. Bianco (ed.), I Greci in Occidente. Greci, Enotri e Lucani nella Basilicata meridionale (Milan 1996) 190–193; A. Russo, Il santuario di Armento, in: Il Sacro 1998, 35–37.

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39 This piece, the earliest depiction of Dionysos in Samnium, is dated to the 4th century B.C. and is currently in the storerooms of the sanctuary at Pietrabbondante. See Adam-Veleni – Kefalidou – Stefanì 2011, 177. 211. 221 f.
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48 From Banzi, Contrada Piano Carbone, tomb 239: A. Bottini, Due casi di acculturazione nel mondo indigeno della Basilicata. Banzi. Una tomba infantile e le anthesterie. Lavello. Una rilettura dell'askos "Catarinella," PP 45, 1990, 206–231. For the celebration of the Anthesteria in Magna Graecia, see Ath. 10, 437b and G. van Hoorn, Choes and Anthesteria (Leiden 1951) 50–52. Another miniature chous was found in a child's burial in tomb 68 at Serra di Vaglio: M. Tagliente, Strumenti e iconografia del simposio, in: Nava 1999, 20.
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69 G. Andreassi – A. Cocchiaro, Necropoli di Egnazia (Fasano 1992) 48, pl. X; F. D'Andria, La Casa in Messapia, in: F. D'Andria – K. Manning (eds.), Ricerche sulla casa in Magna Grecia e in Sicilia (Galatina 1996) 430 f.; Small loc. cit. (n. 47) 533 f.
70 Of the 153 vases with Italic figures combined with Dionysian iconography known to me, scenes with at least one indigenous male-female pairing appear on 95.
71 Drinking horns are held by men on Louvre K 52 (RVAp I 251, no. 207) and Bonn 97 (RVAp Suppl. II 90, no. 53 a). Colivicchi notes the frequent use of phialai by men in these scenes, an uncommon shape in the Greek settlements other than in sanctuaries, but one used by gods and heroes as drinking vases and in Etruria by the heroicised dead in tomb paintings such as the Tomba del Triclinio and the Tomba della Bighe, as well as by later banqueting figures on Etruscan urns and sarcophagi: Colivicchi loc. cit. (n. 47) 225 f.

72 For example, on Würzburg 858 (RVAp I 368, no. 80) and Ruvo 718 (RVAp I 391, no. 247), the latter of which is the only exception to my knowledge of a depiction of an Italic male serving wine to a woman.
73 A. Ciancio, The Diffusion of Middle and Late Apulian Vases in Peucetian Funerary Contexts: a Comparison of Several Necropoleis, in: Carpenter – Lynch – Robinson 2014, 158 f.
74 Str. 5, 4, 12. See also Colivicchi 2009, 74; Colivicchi loc. cit. (n. 47) 227.
75 E.g. Ruvo 879: RVAp I 88, no. 172.
76 Colivicchi loc. cit. (n. 47) 224.
77 As on Louvre K 522: RVAp I 85, no. 141, pl. 29, 5. 6.
78 F. Colivicchi, L'altro vino. Vino, cultura, e identità nella Puglia e Basilicata anelleniche, Siris 5, 2004, 50.
79 An indigenous woman carries a distaff and krater on a column-krater attributed to the Haifa Painter in a German private collection (RVAp Suppl. II 175, no. 43 d, pl. 44, 4). An infant sits on their Italic mother's lap on Ruvo 412 (RVAp I 366, no. 58, pl. 120, 1. 2).
80 Colivicchi proposes that South Italian nestorides may have been special commissions to celebrate Greek-Italic marriages or similar practices, like guest friendship: Colivicchi loc. cit. (n. 47) 226–228.

Vasi con naiskoi tra Taranto e centri italici

Luigi Todisco

I vasi figurati con naiskoi del IV sec. a. C. furono prodotti prevalentemente da botteghe apule (oltre 2000 esemplari conservati) e sono stati oggetto di studio dall'800 ad oggi *(Fig. 1)*.[1] Il soggetto del naiskos, costituito da un'edicola quadrangolare colonnata e frontonata su podio, s'inquadra in una serie di immagini dedicate alle cerimonie celebrate presso semata di varia forma[2] ed è stato più comunemente interpretato come la riproduzione di reali monumenti funebri eretti a Taranto,[3] dei quali si conservano oggi soltanto resti frammentari.[4]

Il problema maggiore riguardante la suddetta tesi resta la datazione delle attestazioni ceramografiche del soggetto, compiutamente definito, al periodo della produzione del cosiddetto P. dell'Ilioupersis[5] e quella dei primi monumenti funerari tarantini ad anni non antecedenti il 350–340 a. C.[6] Si comprende, dunque, l'orientamento a cercare l'origine del naiskos pittorico nell'ambito della stessa ceramografia italiota, ovvero a considerare il suddetto maestro quale creatore di „eine heroisierende Fiktion" consistente nella rielaborazione delle tombe di personaggi mitologici già presenti sui vasi attici.[7] La struttura, che non avrebbe avuto rispondenze nella realtà delle necropoli tarantine come di altrove, sarebbe stata canonizzata dal pittore e dai suoi seguaci che avrebbero agito all'esterno delle colonie greche per rispondere alle esigenze di autorappresentazione delle élites indigene cui erano destinati i vasi.[8]

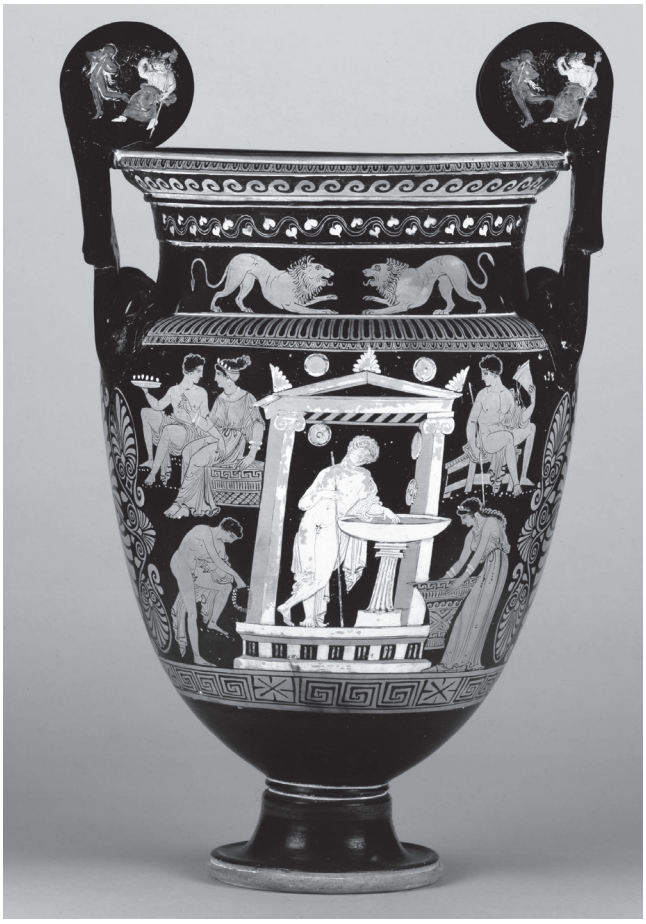

Fig. 1 Londra, British Museum, F 283, cratere, P. dell'Ilioupersis.

In questa sede aggiungerò qualche osservazione.

La bottega del P. dell'Ilioupersis si colloca in un periodo di passaggio attraversato dalla ceramografia apula la cui ricostruzione è oggi molto problematica. Il suo inquadramento, nelle linee essenziali, risale agli anni Settanta del '900, quando le fasi cronologiche della produzione, individuate sulla base di variazioni stilistiche e compositive, furono fissate tenendo conto soprattutto delle forme vascolari e non dei contesti.[9] Da allora le attribuzioni si sono incrementate attraverso testimonianze che vengono datate con ricorrenti oscillazioni tra il 375 e il 350 a. C. In altre parole, manca una revisione aggiornata che consenta datazioni più affidabili dei vasi di forma e caratteristiche differenti su cui furono riprodotti i naiskoi funerari. Si hanno, inoltre, informazioni incerte sulle provenienze dei vasi. Tra gli oltre 100 esemplari del P. dell'Ilioupersis circa 20 dispongono di dati sul rinvenimento e degli oltre 125 attribuibili a pittori a lui collegabili circa 30 sono riferibili a un contesto.[10] Non mancano, in ogni caso, vasi ritrovati in area tarantina.[11]

Che i vasi con naiskoi fossero realizzati solo per gli italici e da ceramografi che non operavano a Taranto appare discutibile almeno per il rinvenimento nella città di esemplari frammentari noti finora da una esemplificazione datata tra 340 a. C. e fine del IV sec. a. C., cui pertiene un vaso non finito di un'officina di certo locale *(Fig. 2)*,[12] e per due idrie del 340 a. C. circa nella Coll. Baisi (48 e 94), comprendente interamente vasi provenienti dalla città e dal suo comprensorio.[13]

Un'anfora del P. del Giudizio con un guerriero dentro

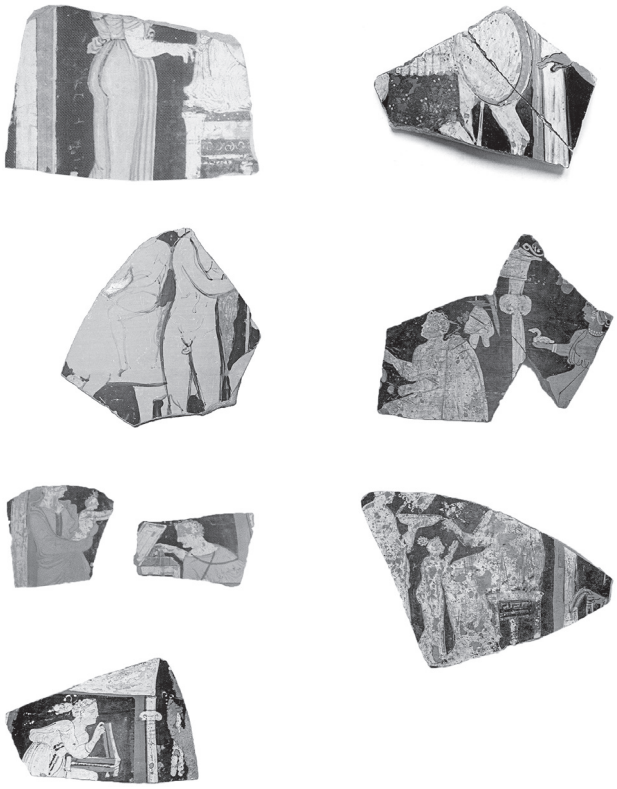

Fig. 2 Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, frammenti di vasi con naiskoi.

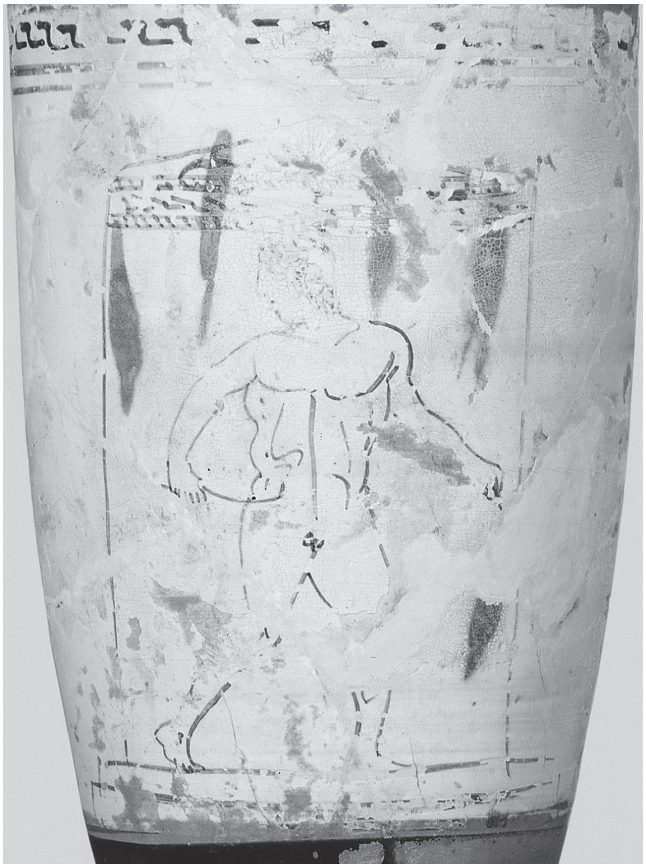

Fig. 3 Monaco, Antikensammlungen, 7662, lekythos, Bottega del P. del Tymbos.

un naiskos reso frontalmente, difficilmente databile dopo il 370 a. C., e un'anfora del P. di Karlsruhe B9 del 380–360 a. C. con un naiskos, altrettanto frontale, che contiene uno scudo e un kantharos,[14] sembrano anticipare l'interesse per il soggetto rispetto al P. dell'Ilioupersis con cui sono forse da collegare anche tre idrie dalla stipe del santuario della Valle del Sinni.[15] Una di esse riproduce un naiskos, reso di prospetto, con la statua di una defunta all'interno, le altre due presentano stele su basamenti gradinati. L'edicola frontonata, resa di prospetto e con il defunto all'interno come sui vasi apuli, non era estranea, d'altronde, alla ceramica attica. Ne è esempio una lekythos a fondo bianco della cerchia del P. del Tymbos (circa 430 a. C.) *(Fig. 3)*,[16] nella cui bottega potrebbe essersi attinto a reali monumenti funebri tridimensionali anche a forma di edicola frontonata *(Fig. 4)*.[17] Sebbene il P. del Tymbos non fosse ignoto in Italia,[18] a Taranto mancherebbero testimonianze sue e dei suoi seguaci.[19] Resta comunque da non sottovalutare a riguardo che la definizione dei caratteri architettonici essenziali, per quello che sarà il naiskos pittorico apulo, possa essersi verificata in Attica per la rappresentazione di defunti comuni e non di eroi,[20] costituendo un modello anche per i naiskoi di questi ultimi piuttosto che il contrario.[21]

Differente, soprattutto per non essere frontonato tranne in un solo vaso del P. di Telos (390–360 a. C.),[22] è il „columnar shrine" di Eracle.[23] Da questo tipo di edificio, ripreso su un'anfora lucana del P. di Amburgo (400–380

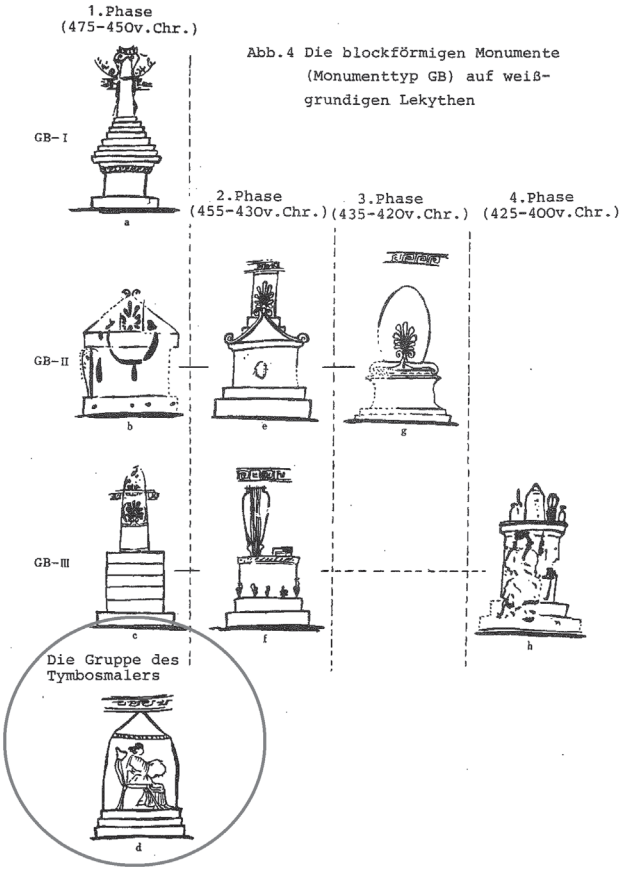

Fig. 4 Tabella da Nakayama 1982.

a. C.) e già presente con Apollo all'interno su un'anfora attica del P. di Euphiletos (540–530 a. C.),[24] derivava l'edicola funeraria su un cratere dal territorio tarantino del pittore apulo del Tirso (370–350 a. C.).[25] Il ricorso a tale tipologia architettonica, evocata con una certa frequenza con riferimento alle divinità, non ebbe tuttavia seguito nelle immagini apule del tipo che qui interessa, se non eccessionalmente.

Tra i vasi del P. dell'Ilioupersis e della sua cerchia, insieme ad esemplari in cui l'edicola è nettamente frontale,[26] non mancano altri in cui essa è dotata di soffitto e resa di tre quarti, in modo da rendere meglio la profondità della costruzione *(Fig. 5)*.[27] Risulta pertanto difficile accettare l'ipotesi che la struttura architettonica costituisca una trasposizione dalle stele attiche piuttosto che la ripresa di modelli effettivamente tridimensionali, pittorici e non.[28] Innegabile appare, in ogni caso, l'influenza esercitata dalle stele sulla composizione dei naiskoi pittorici.[29] Gran parte di esse sono tuttavia databili solo stilisticamente, con oscillazioni talvolta di più decenni, ed è molto rischioso utilizzarle in relazione al problema dei modelli cui si sarebbero riferiti i pittori per i primi naiskoi tridimensionali.[30]

Fig. 5 Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 82372, idria, Bottega del P. dell'Ilioupersis.

I naiskoi della produzione vascolare italiota mancano della parete di fondo.[31] Né la resa delle figure dipinte nei tetrastili sembra indicare una rielaborazione di rilievi.[32] Ciò costituisce un ulteriore elemento a favore del riconoscimento di strutture architettoniche tridimensionali nella complessità delle immagini. Inoltre, l'attribuzione al P. di Adolphseck (380–360 a. C.)[33] di un'idria da Eraclea potrebbe far risalire la resa prospettica del naiskos di almeno un decennio.[34]

Delle figure dipinte all'interno di naiskoi, identificabili con statue funerarie,[35] sono stati più volte analizzati gli schemi compositivi che rivelano un eclettismo funzionale al simbolismo delle immagini.[36] Ciò non vuol dire che ai pittori mancassero modelli scultorei locali da rielaborare, essendo documentato un buon numero di statue tarantine databili stilisticamente al IV sec. a. C. e attribuibili a monumenti funerari, tra i quali anche naiskoi *(Fig. 6)*.[37]

La massima parte dei realia architettonici più o meno incertamente collegabili con naiskoi è priva di dati di rinvenimento.[38] Né per essi si hanno analisi aggiornate che ne stabiliscano una cronologia meno incerta di quella avanzata partendo dallo stile dei noti rilievi in pietra tenera e dei capitelli, databili ad età ellenistica e tuttavia non indistintamente associabili agli altri resti architettonici.[39]

Diversamente da quanto documentato in numerose

Fig. 6 Taranto, Piazza Sardegna, rinvenimento dei resti di un naiskos.

immagini vascolari apule,[40] il cratere in funzione di sema è assente nelle necropoli attiche,[41] ove si preferivano vasi di altra forma riprodotti anche nei naiskoi pittorici.[42] Tuttavia, l'uso di un cratere marmoreo a volute per una tomba strutturata architettonicamente è attestato a Vergina già nel primo IV sec. a. C.[43] Il vaso è simile a quello in carparo nel Museo di Taranto (33330) *(Fig. 7)*,[44] che richiama per forma di corpo e anse anche crateri della prima produzione vascolare a figure rosse tarantina.[45] Con vasi inseriti in contesti architettonici sepolcrali della ceramografia apula è, inoltre, probabilmente associabile la forma di una brocca ad altorilievo („Choenkanne"?) dell'edicola in carparo al Museo di Taranto (33393).[46] Può poi essere un caso, ma si conservano frammenti lapidei di provenienza tarantina integrabili soltanto come lastre di chiusura laterale e non come pareti di fondo delle edicole.[47] Pausania II,7,2 menzionava tombe sicionie costituite da edifici colonnati e frontonati su basamenti litici, accompagnati da semplici iscrizioni e connessi con la tipologia del naiskos di Callitea che difficilmente può essersi distanziata troppo da precedenti ateniesi.[48] Il Periegeta non accennava alla chiusura posteriore delle strutture, presente a Callitea intorno al 340 a. C. e dunque ben dopo la comparsa del naiskos nella ceramica apula. Va altresì segnalato che sulle monete in cui si riconosce uno dei monumenti menzionati da Pausania,[49] all'interno del tetrastilo è forse riconoscibile un cratere *(Fig. 8)*,[50] forma vascolare che si è visto attestata nell'architettura funeraria della Macedonia e poi di Taranto,[51] nonché in naiskoi pittorici come quello sull'anfora del P. di Bari 12061 (350–340 a. C.).[52]

L'interpretazione del naiskos nelle scene apule non può prescindere da quella dei personaggi intorno al monumento. Il problema è stato ripreso di recente giungendo a confermare ragionevolmente il riconoscimento di mystai che, mostrando sovente attributi dionisiaci quali ad esempio il grappolo d'uva, attorniano i naiskoi nel segno della promessa salvifica di Dioniso *(Fig. 9)*.[53] Nel contesto cimiteriale rappresentato dal monumento funebre, in cui si individua una dimensione ideale di transizione tra la vita e un sereno aldilà, i personaggi parteciperebbero così al passaggio dei defunti iniziati al soggiorno ultraterreno.[54] In questo senso orienta l'associazione sullo stesso vaso tra scene con defunti nei naiskoi e scene in cui uomini e donne si accompagnano a figure del corteggio dionisiaco,[55] come l'esposizione dentro i naiskoi di vasi connessi con Dioniso e il simposio *(Fig. 10)*.[56] Oltre al cratere sull'anfora del P. di Bari 12061,[57] un kantharos è sull'anfora del P. di Karlsruhe B9,[58] nonché nelle mani del guerriero nel naiskos su un'anfora a Napoli e del giovane accanto ad una stele sul cratere a San Pietroburgo del P. dell'Ilioupersis.[59]

I naiskoi sembrano assenti nelle necropoli indigene almeno fino all'ultimo quarto del IV sec. a. C., se è esatta la datazione ipotizzata per i sepolcri di Contrada Bellavista, Ceglie Messapica, Muro Tenente e Rocavecchia, come per altri di Roccagloriosa in Lucania e di Tiriolo in territorio brettio.[60] Da ripostigli esterni alle tombe, spesso a sarcofago, da tombe a fossa, a semicamera e a camera proviene, dunque, la massima parte dei vasi con le scene di cui sopra.[61]

Si trattava in ogni caso di tombe ipogeiche, destinate ad essere sigillate a conclusione del rituale espletato in occasione dei funerali. Il soggetto del naiskos, ovvero della tomba che si rendeva visibile con le immagini dei defunti a chi entrava nelle necropoli greche, potrebbe

Fig. 7 Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, cratere in carparo.

Fig. 8 Moneta romana di Sicione.

Fig. 9 Bochum, Ruhr-Universität, S 993, cratere, P. dell'Oltretomba.

dunque essere stato tanto gradito alle famiglie italiche per ragioni intrinseche alla stessa architettura del monumento, evidentemente ancora irrealizzabile nella realtà delle necropoli indigene. In questo senso potrebbero spiegarsi sia il numero dei personaggi con i relativi attributi, variabile e combinabile in base alle esigenze della clientela, sia la varietà delle decorazioni, spesso libere e ricercate, con cui i ceramografi arricchirono i naiskoi ispirandosi probabilmente all'ampio repertorio architettonico disponibile e non soltanto a quello più ristretto dei semata funerari.[62]

Nel contesto del rituale, riprodotto realisticamente e tuttavia mediante la presenza di iniziati idealizzati – nel senso dell'imperturbabilità e dell'eterna giovinezza proprie di una sfera sovrannaturale – intorno ai naiskoi ospitanti i defunti – altrettanto idealizzati in forma di statue[63] – la rielaborazione pittorica di monumenti celebrativi della necropoli ellenica di Taranto potrebbe, pertanto, aver esercitato un ruolo di mediazione visiva e simbolica tra una realtà cimiteriale di riferimento, diversa da quella dei centri, apuli, e la consolante dimensione ultraterrena promessa da Dioniso, idonea ad attecchire e a dichiararsi nell'ambito di comunità e famiglie tradizionalmente guidate da capi guerrieri.[64]

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Fig. 2	da Denoyelle et al. 2005, fig. 32; D'Amicis 2014, tav. IV; Fontannaz 2014, fig. WF 41 a. b.
Fig. 3	da CVA Deutschland 87, tav. 17, 1.
Fig. 4	da Nakayama 1982, fig. 4.
Fig. 5	Foto Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.
Fig. 6	da Lippolis 1994, fig. 72.
Fig. 7	Foto autore.

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14 Cf. l'anfora Bruxelles R403, in RVAp I, 263 no. 28; Maggialetti 2012, 318 e l'anfora Ruvo 36729 (J417), in RVAp I, 138 no. 25; Lohmann 1979, no. A640 tav. 56, 2; CVA Italia 79 tav. 64. Più tarda è da considerarsi invece l'idria di un seguace del P. Felton con ramo all'interno di un naiskos, RVAp Suppl. I, 24 no. 108a. Non ho potuto vedere il frammento Bonn, Coll. Langlotz, segnalato in RVAp I, 166 no. 11, che per l'attribuzione al P. della Furia Nera (395–385 a. C.) potrebbe rappresentare un documento prezioso per il problema.

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22 Würzburg L 645: Kossatz-Deissmann 2005, 372 no. 7i tav. 40; Söldner 2009, 44 fig. 8. Una struttura analoga a quella dei naiskoi frontonati delle scene funerarie apule fu peraltro utilizzata per rendere la reggia sullo stamnos Boston 00.349 (425–400 a. C.) in RVAp I, 24 no. 104, l'edificio sul cratere Taranto 127081 (395–385 a. C.) in RVAp I, 169 no. 29, il tempietto sul cratere Christchurch 116/71 (circa 360 a. C.) in RVAp I, 273 no. 83 tav. 90, 5. 6. Un naiskos è anche quello del cratere lucano del P. del Primato (350–330 a. C.) in A. D. Trendall, The Red-figured Vases of Lucania Campania and Sicily (Oxford 1967) 167 no. 927.

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64 A riguardo almeno K. Mannino, L'iconografia del guerriero nel mondo apulo, in: Alessandro il Molosso e i „condottieri" in Magna Grecia. Atti del XLIII Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto-Cosenza, 26–30 settembre 2003 (Napoli 2004) 699–726. Sul richiamo al contesto familiare e sociale che s'intensifica nelle tarde scene vascolari con naiskoi a più figure, Lohmann 1979, 85–112.

Theatralische Elemente in der apulischen Vasenmalerei: Bescheidene Ergebnisse einer alten Kontroverse

Luca Giuliani

Beginnen möchte ich mit einer einfachen Rechnung. Von den drei großen attischen Tragikern des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. sind uns insgesamt 32 Tragödien erhalten; die früheste von diesen wurde 472, die späteste 401 aufgeführt; in diesem Zeitraum sind in Athen allein anlässlich der Großen Dionysien (ohne kleinere dramatische Festivals zu berücksichtigen) insgesamt 648 Tragödien zur Aufführung gebracht worden. Der erhaltene Anteil macht also knapp 5 % aus.[1] Von der gewaltigen Produktion des 4. Jahrhunderts hat sich eine einzige Tragödie erhalten, die irrtümlich unter den Werken des Euripides überliefert wurde: Hier steigt die Verlustrate auf beinahe 100 %. Auf diesen Verlust hat die Forschung durch akribische Sammelarbeit reagiert, indem sie alle möglichen Informationen über und Fragmente aus verlorenen Tragödien zusammengetragen hat.[2] In diesem Zusammenhang hat man schon früh auch die Ikonographie von Vasen auszuwerten versucht. Als besonders ergiebig erachtete man die apulische Vasenmalerei des 4. Jahrhunderts: Sie hat eine narrative Ikonographie von einzigartiger Vielfalt hervorgebracht und dabei besonders häufig auf den Stoff attischer Tragödien zurückgegriffen. Es lag also nahe, solche Vasenbilder als Quellen zu verwenden, um eine Vorstellung der ihnen zugrundeliegenden Dramen zurückzugewinnen. Die entsprechende Forschung setzt im späten 19. Jahrhundert ein und füllt mittlerweile ein stattliches Regal: Man denke nur an die einschlägigen Werke von Julius Vogel, John Huddilston, Louis Séchan oder Arthur Dale Trendall.[3] Das letzte und vielleicht bedeutendste Buch in dieser Tradition hat 2007 Oliver Taplin vorgelegt: *Pots & Plays: Interactions Between Tragedy and Greek Vase-painting of the Fourth Century B. C.*[4] Darin hat Taplin noch einmal, ebenso überzeugend wie differenziert, die kaum zu überschätzenden Impulse nachgewiesen, die von der attischen Tragödie auf die unteritalische und besonders auf die apulische Vasenmalerei ausgegangen sind. Ich kann und möchte das hier nicht wiederholen. Stattdessen möchte ich mich auf zwei einfache Fragen konzentrieren. 1) Was war es denn, das die apulischen Maler an der attischen Tragödie so interessiert hat? War es die Aufführung – oder war es die Handlung? War es das performative Geschehen auf der Bühne oder war es der tragische Plot (das, was Aristoteles in seiner *Poetik* mit einem technischen Begriff als μύθος bezeichnet)? Ein solcher Plot bedarf nicht unbedingt der theatralischen Aufführung mit ihrem ganzen Aufwand an Infrastruktur. Die wichtigste Anforderung, die Aristoteles in der *Poetik* an einen Plot stellt, ist die, dass er gut überschaubar sei, εὐσύνοπτος: Man soll ihn leicht im Gedächtnis behalten und, so kann man folgern, ihn auch leicht weitererzählen können.[5] 2) Das thematische Spektrum der apulischen Vasenmalerei ist breit: Die Maler haben *oft*, aber keineswegs *nur*, auf Stoffe von Tragödien zurückgegriffen. Woran lässt sich aber nun erkennen, ob ein bestimmtes Vasenbild sich auf eine Tragödie bezieht oder nicht? Gibt es spezifische Signale, die gegebenenfalls auf einen theatralischen Ursprung hinweisen? Die Suche nach solchen Signalen hat in der Forschung eine wesentliche Rolle gespielt; wir werden zu prüfen haben, ob dies zu überzeugenden Ergebnissen geführt hat.

Einen guten Einstieg in die Problematik liefern uns zwei Volutenkratere des Iliupersis-Malers: Dieser war im zweiten Viertel des 4. Jahrhunderts aktiv und hat als einer der ersten apulischen Vasenmaler eine deutliche Vorliebe für tragische Sujets entwickelt. Der eine Krater befindet sich in Vicenza *(Abb. 1)*,[6] der andere in Neapel *(Abb. 2)*.[7] Der Neapler Krater zeigt eine Szene aus Euripides' *Iphigenie in Tauris*: Orest sitzt auf dem Altar, auf dem er (so seine Erwartung) geopfert werden wird; links sehen wir Pylades; von rechts nähert sich Iphigenie als Priesterin (die Namen aller drei sind beigeschrieben). Der Krater in Vicenza zeigt die Ermordung des Neoptolemos in Delphi, so wie sie bei Euripides in der *Andromache* berichtet wird. Wir sehen Neoptolemos auf dem Altar kniend, tödlich verwundet; den Angriff geplant hat Orestes, der sich rechts davonstiehlt (wiederum sind die Namen beigeschrieben). In beiden Vasenbildern gibt es eine klare Unterscheidung zwischen einem unteren Register, worin sich das Drama entfaltet, und einem oberen, worin Zuschauer Platz genommen haben. Beide Szenen spielen in einem Heiligtum: Es gibt einen Altar in Dreiviertel-

ansicht; im Hintergrund sehen wir einen Tempel, dessen Tür offen steht. Neben dem Altar wächst in Tauris ein Lorbeerbaum; in Delphi sehen wir eine Palme und die aufwendige Darstellung des Omphalos, des heiligen Nabels der Erde. In Tauris sind es Apollo und Artemis, die auf das Geschehen herabblicken; in Delphi ist es nur Apollo; außer ihm sehen wir auf der anderen Seite des Tempels neben einem Dreifuß eine Priesterin, die – in diesem Fall – keine aktive Rolle in der Handlung hat.

Die Ähnlichkeiten zwischen beiden Bildern liegen auf der Hand. Aber gibt es zwischen den beiden Texten, auf die sich die Bilder beziehen, ebenfalls eine Ähnlichkeit? Wenn wir unsere Aufmerksamkeit auf die jeweils relevanten Textpartien richten, kommt ein interessanter Unterschied in den Blick. Was wir auf dem Neapler Krater sehen, entspricht ziemlich genau der zweiten Episode im Drama, nachdem Orest und Pylades gefangengenommen und zum Heiligtum gebracht worden sind (456 ff.), aber bevor Iphigenie und Orest einander als Geschwister wiedererkennen (769 ff.). Ganz anders verhält es sich beim Tod des Neoptolemos. Die Handlung der euripideischen *Andromache* spielt in Thessalien, am Hof des Königs Neoptolemos; dessen Tod ereignet sich allerdings in Delphi, weit weg vom Bühnengeschehen: Über ihn wird durch einen Boten berichtet (1085 – 1165).

Der eine Krater zeigt somit eine Szene, die in der euripideischen *Iphigenie* auf der Bühne zu sehen war; der andere hingegen zeigt eine Handlung, über die in der *Andromache* lediglich berichtet wird. Im zweiten Fall konnte der Vasenmaler beim besten Willen nicht auf das zurückgreifen, was er vielleicht in einer Aufführung hätte sehen können. Für die Struktur der Bilder spielt dieser Unterschied jedoch keinerlei Rolle. In beiden Fällen organisiert der Maler den Bildraum in Entsprechung zu den Möglichkeiten und Gepflogenheiten seines Mediums. Das Vasenbild ist das Produkt eines Malers, und nicht der Reflex dessen, was eine Theaterproduktion ihrem Publikum vor Augen geführt haben könnte.[8]

Dieser Maler hatte ganz offenkundig *nicht* die Absicht, eine Theaterproduktion widerzuspiegeln. Daraus folgt freilich noch keineswegs, dass er in seine Bilder nicht Elemente eingefügt haben *könnte*, die aus der Welt des Theaters stammen und den Betrachter auf diese verweisen sollten. In der *Iphigenie* spielt die Handlung in einem Artemisheiligtum, und eine Tempelfront könnte durchaus als Kulisse fungiert haben. Anders in der *Andromache*, deren Handlung ja in Thessalien spielt und nicht in Delphi, wo der Apollontempel steht. Dennoch *könnte* die Darstellung des Tempels auf dem Krater in Vicenza durch irgendeine andere Bühnenkulisse angeregt

Abb. 1 Volutenkrater; Vicenza, Collezione Banca Intesa Sanpaolo. Um 360: Ermordung des Neoptolemos in Delphi.

Abb. 2 Volutenkrater; Neapel, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. Um 360: Pylades, Orest und Iphigenie in Tauris.

worden sein, und dieses theatralische Element *könnte* verwendet worden sein, um den theatralischen Ursprung der Geschichte insgesamt in Erinnerung zu rufen, wie wenn der Maler dem Betrachter hätte sagen wollen: „Merke dir wohl, hinter diesem Bild steht eine Tragödie, und diese Tragödie wurde auch auf der Bühne präsentiert." Eine solche Signalfunktion ist gewiss möglich – aber ist sie auch plausibel?

Prüfen wir diese Frage anhand einer Darstellung, die Taplin als ein Paradebeispiel für die Anhäufung theatralischer Signale bezeichnet hat. Es handelt sich um das Hauptbild eines Kraters in München, der aus der Zeit um 330–320 stammt und dem Unterweltmaler zugeschrieben wird.[9] Die Szene bezieht sich auf eine Medea-Tragödie. In der Mitte des Bildes sehen wir wiederum, ähnlich wie bei den Krateren in Neapel und Vicenza, ein architektonisches Gebilde. Dessen Bedeutung hat sich allerdings verschoben: Es ist hier nicht als Tempel, sondern als Palast zu interpretieren. Nun spielen Tragödien sehr häufig vor einem Palast, dessen Front die Kulisse bildete: Demnach könnte der Palast auch auf unserem Vasenbild als theatralisches Erinnerungselement zu verstehen sein.[10] Allerdings haben wir es hier nicht mit einer Palast-*Front* zu tun. Die Architektur ist transparent, sie hat keine Wände; durch die Säulen hindurch blicken wir direkt in das Innere – und das ist gut so, denn was im Palast geschieht, ist ein wesentlicher Teil der Handlung. Wir sehen Kreon, den König von Korinth, zusammen mit seiner kollabierenden Tochter Kreonteia. Kreonteia wird sterben, und Kreon mit ihr: Das hat Medea durch einen Zauber bewirkt. Medea selbst sehen wir unten links: Sie hat ein Schwert gezückt und steht im Begriff, eines ihrer Kinder zu töten. Unmittelbar rechts davon steht ein Zaubergespann, das von zwei Schlangen gezogen wird; der Wagenlenker ist inschriftlich benannt als *Oistros*, eine Personifikation der Raserei; er wird Medea gleich an Bord nehmen und sie der Rache des Jason entziehen, der von rechts herbeieilt. Die dargestellte Handlung unterscheidet sich in manchen Einzelheiten vom Plot der *Medea* des Euripides; bei Euripides tötet Medea bekanntlich beide ihre Kinder; auf dem Münchner Krater indessen scheint einer (ganz links) dem Tod zu entkommen. Taplin plädiert daher für die Abhängigkeit des Bildes von einer anderen Medea-Tragödie, die den euripideischen Plot aufgegriffen und variiert hätte.[11] Konsens besteht jedenfalls darüber, dass das Vasenbild überhaupt von einer Tragödie abhängig sei.[12] Taplin weist in diesem Zusammenhang darauf hin, dass drei der Figuren langärmelige Gewänder tragen, die genau dem entsprechen, was wir über tragische Kostüme wissen:[13] Es handelt sich um Kreon, Medea und Medeas Vater Aietes, der als Gespenst dem Geschehen beiwohnt; ein sehr ähnliches Gewand wird ferner vom Pädagogen getragen, der im Stück (so vermutet Taplin) die Funktion eines Boten erfüllt haben könnte.[14] Wir haben also ein Gebäude, das einer Bühnenkulisse ähneln könnte, und einige Figuren, die ein tragisches Kostüm tragen: Gebäude sowie Kostüme könnten leicht als Signale dafür interpretiert werden, dass das Bild sich auf eine Tragödie bezieht.[15] Aber ist diese Interpretation auch überzeugend? Ich glaube, sie ist es nicht.

Es gibt zu dem Medea-Krater ein Zwillingsstück; es stammt aus derselben Werkstatt und befindet sich ebenfalls in München.[16] Vor allem aber wurden beide Kratere im selben Kammergrab in Canosa gefunden, wo sie als ein Paar fungierten: Der Vergleich zwischen beiden Stücken liegt umso näher, als er bereits vom antiken Betrachter gezogen werden konnte (oder sogar: sollte). Das Hauptbild dieses zweiten Kraters zeigt eine besonders elaborierte Darstellung der Unterwelt. In der Mitte steht wieder ein Gebäude: Diesmal handelt es sich um den Palast des Hades, des Königs der Unterwelt. Und wieder sehen wir eine ganze Reihe von Figuren, die ein aufwendiges langärmeliges Kostüm tragen: Das gilt für Hades selbst, für Orpheus, Tantalus und einen der drei Richter (sie werden gewöhnlich mit Minos, Rhadamanthys und Aiakos bzw. Triptolemos gleichgesetzt).[17] Zu berücksichtigen ist freilich, jenseits solcher Einzelelemente, der allgemeine Charakter des Bildes: Es zeigt die Unterwelt mitsamt ihren Bewohnern. Einige davon haben Namen (und Geschichten), andere nicht. Aber selbst dort, wo es Geschichten zu erzählen gäbe, ist dieses Bild nicht auf narrative Zusammenhänge fokussiert; was es stattdessen bietet, ist ein deskriptives Panorama der Unterwelt insgesamt. Niemand, in der ganzen Forschung, hat je den Versuch unternommen, dieses Vasenbild auf eine Tragödie zu beziehen.[18] Es liegt also auf der Hand, dass in diesem Fall weder der Palast noch die Kostüme als Signale von Theatralität zu verstehen sind. Nun geht es aber kaum an, Signale auf einem Gefäß so, und auf dem nächsten Gefäß anders zu interpretieren. Entweder wir haben es durchwegs mit theatralischen Signalen zu tun, oder aber gar nicht.

Gerade die Ähnlichkeit zwischen der Medea-Szene und dem Unterwelt-Panorama zeigt, dass der Maler keinerlei Signale gesetzt hat, um ein Bild, das vom Theater abhängig ist, und eines, das mit Theater gar nichts zu tun hat, voneinander zu unterscheiden. Dieser Unterschied, so wichtig er für Teile der heutigen Forschung auch sein mag, scheint für ihn, was die Wahl seiner Ausdrucksmittel und seiner Komposition betrifft, ganz einfach keine Rolle gespielt zu haben.

Wie verhält es sich nun, vor diesem Hintergrund, mit den langärmeligen Gewändern? Ihr Ursprung ist ganz ohne Zweifel im Theater zu suchen. Aber die Bestimmung ihrer Genese ist von geringer Hilfe, wenn es darum geht, ihre Bedeutung in der Vasenikonographie zu verstehen. Der Unterschied zwischen dem Kostüm auf der

Bühne und dem Kostüm in der Ikonographie liegt auf der Hand. Auf der Bühne trägt *jeder* Schauspieler ein Kostüm (und dazu selbstverständlich auch eine Maske). In der Vasenikonographie hingegen wird die Tracht nur für bestimmte Kategorien von Figuren verwendet, in der Absicht, diese von allen anderen (die gewöhnlich nackt sind) zu unterscheiden. Die langärmelige Tracht wird als Unterscheidungsmerkmal verwendet 1) für Könige (wie Kreon, Tantalos, Minos), 2) für Männer exotischer Provenienz (wie Orpheus) und 3) für Pädagogen und andere Diener. Es war Walter Amelung, der 1899 darauf hingewiesen hat, dass wir zwischen der theatralischen *Genese* der langärmeligen Gewänder und deren distinktiver *Funktion* im Horizont der Ikonographie deutlich zu unterscheiden haben; die Genese, so machte er deutlich, bedingt *nicht* die Funktion: Die Funktion ist von der Genese unabhängig. Amelung argumentierte 1899 gegen die Bestrebungen, langärmelige Gewänder in Vasenbildern als theatralische Zeichen zu interpretieren.[19] Er tat dies mit Scharfsinn, mit Stringenz und (wenn wir die spätere Literatur zu dem Thema überblicken) ohne den geringsten Erfolg. Aber diesem Misserfolg zum Trotz bleiben Amelungs Argumente überzeugend (sie sind im Übrigen auch nie widerlegt worden; man begnügt sich einfach damit, sie nicht zu zitieren).

Was ich über das langärmelige Gewand gesagt habe, gilt auch in Bezug auf die Figur des Pädagogen, wie sie seit der Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts auf Dutzenden apulischer Vasenbilder zu finden ist.[20] Der theatralische Ursprung dieser Figur, die auf den Vasen konstante Merkmale vorweist, unterliegt ebenfalls keinem Zweifel. Aber dies zu akzeptieren ist eines; etwas ganz anderes ist es, zu behaupten, dass „la présence du pédagogue oblige à évoquer le théâtre";[21] dass „the presence of the *paidagogos* on a vase is a means of saying ‚this is a scene from a play'" oder schließlich, dass dies ein Mittel sei „of pointing to the fact that it is a scene from a particular play, one the reader of the image knows or should know".[22] Diese letzte Behauptung basiert auf der Voraussetzung, dass hinter dem betreffenden Bild eine ganz bestimmte Tragödie gestanden haben muss, worin ein Pädagoge eine wichtige Rolle gespielt hätte; der Pädagoge im Bild wäre, so verstanden, nichts anderes als die Widerspiegelung des Pädagogen, der auf der Bühne zu sehen gewesen war.

Diese Annahme lässt sich leicht widerlegen. Was die zitierten Autoren außer Betracht lassen, ist schlicht die Fähigkeit der Vasenmaler, irgendein Bildelement, wo auch immer dieses zunächst entstanden sein mag, aufzugreifen, es mit einer neuen Funktion zu verbinden und ihrem Repertoire einzuverleiben. Betrachten wir zwei Volutenkratere des Dareios-Malers (eines Werkstattgenossen des Unterweltmalers): Der eine befindet sich in St. Petersburg,[23] der andere in Tarent.[24] Beide zeigen den Auszug des Amphiaraos zum Feldzug der Sieben gegen Theben. Amphiaraos besaß die Gabe, die Zukunft vorauszusehen; er wusste, dass der Zug in einer Katastrophe enden und er selbst mit den anderen Teilnehmern dabei den Tod finden würde; dennoch zog er mit, weil seine Frau Eriphyle, die von den Anführern des Zuges bestochen worden war, ihn zur Teilnahme zwang. Beide Kratere zeigen Amphiaraos, wie er von seinen zwei Söhnen Abschied nimmt. (Die Gattin, die man bei einer solchen Szene eigentlich erwarten würde, ist auffälligerweise abwesend.) Auf dem Krater in St. Petersburg steht oberhalb der zwei Jungen ein Pädagoge, der sich verzweifelt an den Kopf greift; auf dem Tarentiner Krater ist der jüngere Sohn im Gespräch mit einer Amme. Wieso sehen wir auf einem Krater einen Pädagogen und auf dem anderen eine Amme? Wenn wir den Pädagogen und die Amme als Widerspiegelungen dessen betrachten, was auf der Bühne zu sehen gewesen war, dann müssten wir konsequenterweise die zwei Kratere nicht auf eine, sondern auf zwei unterschiedliche Tragödien beziehen: In einer von beiden wäre ein Pädagoge, in der anderen eine Amme aufgetreten. Diese Folgerung ist indessen absurd. Viel plausibler ist die Annahme, dass beide Kratere ein und denselben Plot ins Bild setzen. Der Pädagoge und die Amme sind ganz einfach funktional äquivalente Bildformeln.[25] In der Geschichte, die hier dargestellt wird, spielen die Kinder (wie in vielen Tragödien) eine wichtige Rolle. Es liegt für die Vasenmaler nahe, die Bedeutung der Kinder dadurch zu unterstreichen, dass ihnen eine Begleitfigur beigesellt wird: eine Amme oder eben ein Pädagoge; in funktionaler Hinsicht sind beide austauschbar. In dieser ikonographischen Funktion liegt der Schlüssel zu ihrem Verständnis; es kommt ihnen eine attributive Rolle im narrativen Zusammenhang zu, und nicht eine Signalfunktion dafür, dass das Bild auf eine theatralische Vorlage zurückzuführen sei. Um Missverständnisse zu vermeiden: Ich bezweifle keineswegs, dass der Petersburger ebenso wie der Tarentiner Krater sich tatsächlich auf den Stoff einer Tragödie beziehen. Dennoch würde ich daran festhalten, dass weder der Pädagoge noch die Amme an sich als ein *Signal* zu verstehen sind, das auf eine theatralische Vorlage verweist.

Aber ich möchte noch einen Schritt weitergehen. Oliver Taplin hat zuletzt in der unteritalischen Ikonographie systematisch nach „traces of theatrical realities" gesucht und diese als „signals" gewertet, die auf den Bezug des betreffenden Bildes zu einer Tragödie verweisen. Ein Standardbeispiel dafür sind die langärmeligen Gewänder, ein anderes ist die Anwesenheit eines Pädagogen (diese Fälle haben wir bereits besprochen). Zu solchen Signalen gehören außerdem auch kulissenähnliche architektonische Gebilde sowie ein kurioser Felsenbogen, der in verschiedenen thematischen Zusammenhängen wiederkehrt: An ihn gefesselt erscheint Prometheus ebenso wie

Andromeda. Am Ende seiner Diskussion solcher Signale kommt Taplin allerdings zum Schluss, dass keines davon als „infallible proof of the theatrical connection“[26] gelten dürfe: Die Signale erweisen sich allesamt als wenig zuverlässig. Nun könnte man sagen: Als Historiker bleibt uns in vielen Fällen gar nichts anderes übrig, als mit unzuverlässigen Quellen zu leben. Aber ist solche Unzuverlässigkeit wirklich mit einer *Signal*funktion kompatibel?

Das Problem lässt sich durch ein triviales Beispiel verdeutlichen. Eine Verkehrsampel funktioniert als Signal nur deshalb, weil es ein allgemeines Einverständnis darüber gibt, was die Farben Rot und Grün zu bedeuten haben. Wären wir nicht sicher, dass Rot immer *Stopp* bedeutet, wäre die Bedeutung von Rot auch nur im Geringsten zweideutig, dann würde die Ampel die Unfallgefahr nicht verringern, sondern sie drastisch erhöhen, und ihre Signalfunktion würde kollabieren. Nun sind zwar unsere bemalten Vasen in Funktion und Bedeutung unvergleichlich komplexer als eine Verkehrsampel. Dennoch handelt es sich auch bei ihnen um Zeichenträger, die zum Zweck menschlicher Kommunikation hergestellt wurden. Als Historiker stehen wir vor der Aufgabe, ihre Bedeutung interpretierend wiederzugewinnen. Wenn wir in diesen Bildern Elemente finden, deren Bedeutung sich als nicht zuverlässig erweist, dann erscheint diese Unzuverlässigkeit ihrerseits als zuverlässiges Zeichen dafür, dass diese Elemente *nicht* als Signale intendiert waren. Die Unzuverlässigkeit der von Taplin diskutierten Theatralitätssignale resultiert ganz einfach daher, dass keines von ihnen in der Absicht ihrer Urheber dazu bestimmt war, eine Signalfunktion zu erfüllen. Für heutige Forscher, die sich mit antikem Theater befassen, spielt die Unterscheidung zwischen Vasenbildern, die auf eine theatralische Vorlage zurückgreifen, und solchen, bei denen dies nicht der Fall ist, verständlicherweise eine große Rolle: Für die antiken Vasenmaler und deren Publikum scheint diese Unterscheidung indessen keine besondere Relevanz gehabt zu haben. Für diese Einstellung von Seiten der Maler gibt es spezifische Gründe, auf die ich noch einmal zurückkommen werde.

Zuvor möchte ich allerdings einen Blick werfen auf Vasenbilder, die – anders als die bisherigen – ganz unmissverständlich ein theatralisches Geschehen vor Augen führen. Ein Glockenkrater in Boston liefert ein klassisches Beispiel dafür *(Abb. 3. 4)*.[27] Auf der Vorderseite stehen zwei Figuren auf einer erhöhten Ebene, die eindeutig als Bühne markiert ist. Beide Gestalten tragen eine komische Maske sowie ein eng anliegendes Kostüm, das bis zu den Hand- bzw. Fußgelenken reicht; zu ihm gehört ein großer Phallus; Bauch und Hintern erscheinen großzügig gepolstert. Dieses Kostüm erweist sich als zutiefst paradoxes Gebilde. Einerseits ist es eine sorgfältige Imitation nackter Haut; andererseits wirft es Falten und weist unmissverständlich darauf hin, dass das, was wir sehen, eben keine nackte Haut ist, sondern ein textiler Stoff. Das Kostüm ruft somit die Illusion von Nacktheit hervor, um diese sogleich wieder zu konterkarieren. Auf der Rückseite haben wir wiederum zwei Figuren: Aber diese zwei laufen auf der Grundlinie des Bildes; hier gibt es keine Bühne und keine Kostüme; Nacktheit ist hier wirkliche Nacktheit, und nicht textile Nachahmung nackter Haut. Kehren wir zurück zur Vorderseite: Die Komik des Bildes ist unschwer zu verstehen. Die Handlung spielt in einem Gymnasion. Links steht ein junger

Abb. 3. 4 Glockenkrater; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Um 380: Vorderseite: Possenszene; Rückseite: Komos.

Athlet; er hat seine Kleidung sowie ein Ölfläschchen auf einem Hermenpfeiler abgelegt. Rechts sehen wir einen kleinen, älteren Mann mit dickem Hintern und einem gebeugten Rücken, möglicherweise ein Sklave; jedenfalls kommt er vom Markt, wo er reichlich eingekauft hat. Das passt zu dem, was wir von der zeitgenössischen Komödie dieser Zeit wissen, in welcher dem Essen große Bedeutung zukam und der Koch oft eine wichtige Rolle spielte. Auf unserem Bild lässt der alte Mann sich Zeit: Er hat die zwei Körbe mit den Einkäufen, die zu Hause vielleicht dringend erwartet werden, abgesetzt und möchte Sport treiben. Er ist dabei, Öl in seine linke Hand zu gießen – zum fassungslosen Erstaunen des jungen Athleten. Der Betrachter des Bildes allerdings ist dazu aufgefordert, sich des Kostüms, das die Figur trägt, bewusst zu bleiben und sich konkret vorzustellen, was passieren würde, wenn jemand, der ein solches Kostüm trägt, versuchen wollte, sich einzuölen. Die Durchkreuzung der Illusion ist in sich selbst schon ein (überaus effektvolles) Mittel, um Komik zu bewirken. Hätte der Maler umgekehrt auf das Moment der Illusionsaufhebung verzichtet, wäre ein wesentlicher Teil der Komik verlorengegangen: Das Bild würde dann lediglich zwei Männer unterschiedlichen Alters in einem Gymnasion zeigen, von denen einer Einkaufskörbe bei sich hat; besonders komisch wäre das nicht. Die theatralischen Elemente wie Bühne, Masken und Kostüme erfüllen hier eine sehr präzise Funktion, auf die nicht leicht verzichtet werden könnte: Sie unterstreichen die Differenz zwischen Bühnengeschehen und dargestellter Handlung, zwischen dem Schauspieler und seiner Rolle: Und es ist eben diese Differenz, die einen guten Teil der Komik bewirkt.

Der Bostoner Krater gehört zu einer größeren Gruppe von Vasen mit komischen Bildern, die oft als Phlyakenvasen bezeichnet werden.[28] Davon zeige ich nur ein weiteres Beispiel: Es ist ein Kelchkrater in einer italienischen Privatsammlung *(Abb. 5–7)*.[29] Wieder spielt sich die Handlung zwischen kostümierten Schauspielern auf einer Bühne ab: Zwei festlich bekränzte Tänzer führen in einem Heiligtum, das durch den Altar und ein Bukranion markiert wird, ein Doppelflötenduett auf. Links lauscht ein alter Mann der Musik: Nach seiner entzückten Gebärde scheint es sich um einen Connaisseur zu handeln. Aber dies ist noch nicht die ganze Wahrheit. Ganz rechts kauert hinter einem Baum, dadurch dem Blick des Zuhörers entzogen, ein Flötenspieler; dieser trägt weder Maske noch Kostüm; er ist also kein Schauspieler, sondern Teil der Theatermaschinerie hinter den Kulissen. In Wirklichkeit ist er der Urheber der Musik; das sieht man nicht zuletzt an der für Flötenspieler typischen Mundbinde *(phorbeia)*, die er trägt; sie dient dazu, die Muskulatur der Wangen zu unterstützen. Das Bild bietet uns zwei unterschiedliche Perspektiven an: Wenn wir im Horizont der Fiktion verbleiben, sehen wir zwei musizierende Flötenspieler; sobald wir diesen Horizont verlassen und in unsere geläufige Lebenswirklichkeit hinüberwechseln, sehen wir rechts den wirklichen Flötenspieler und links zwei komische Schauspieler, die einen lautlosen Tanz aufführen; der Flötenspieler verbirgt sich hinter einem Baum, der im Boden unterhalb der Bühne wurzelt: Es handelt sich demnach um einen wirklichen Baum, und nicht um ein bloßes Bühnenrequisit. Fiktion und Lebenswirklichkeit werden einander gegenübergestellt, um den Kontrast zwischen ihnen zu betonen; und genau aus diesem Kontrast resultiert die Komik.

Unter den Vasenbildern, die das Theater zum Thema machen, gibt es nur ganz wenige, die sich nicht auf ein Possenspiel, sondern auf eine tragische Aufführung beziehen. Ein berühmtes Beispiel dafür ist ein fragmentarisch erhaltener Glockenkrater der Gnathia-Gattung in Würzburg *(Abb. 8)*.[30] Bemalt ist er mit einer Einzelfigur auf schwarzem Grund: Wir sehen einen Schauspieler im tragischen Kostüm; die Maske, die er eben noch getragen hat oder gleich aufsetzen wird, hält er in der Hand: Er schaut auf sie, und sie auf ihn.[31] Der Schauspieler steht auf einer normalen Bodenlinie, nicht auf einer Bühne: Der theatralische Zusammenhang wird lediglich durch das Kostüm und die Maske signalisiert. Die Pointe be-

Abb. 5–7 Glockenkrater; Privatsammlung. Um 350: Possenszene.

Abb. 8 Scherbe eines Glockenkraters der Gnathia-Gattung; Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum. Um 350.

Abb. 9 Amphora; Taranto, Museo Archeologico. Um 340: Ermordung des Atreus.

steht im Gegensatz zwischen der tragischen Maske (würdig, von makellosem Profil, mit langem blondem Haar und gepflegtem Bart) und dem Schauspieler: dicklich, schlecht rasiert und mit kurzem, struppigem Haar. Inszeniert wird einmal mehr der Gegensatz zwischen fiktiver Theaterwelt und Lebenswirklichkeit; und dieser Gegensatz ist, der tragischen Rolle zum Trotz, komischer Natur.

Kehren wir noch einmal zurück zu einer Darstellung, die nicht das Theater, sondern einen tragischen Mythos vor Augen führt. Eine monumentale Amphora, heute in Tarent (bis vor kurzem noch in Boston), ist mit mehreren Friesen verziert; ganz oben, in dominanter Position, wird die Ermordung des Atreus dargestellt *(Abb. 9)*.[32] Wir sehen Atreus (der Name ist beigeschrieben), den König von Mykene, wie er kopfüber, tödlich verwundet, von seinem Thron stürzt. Von rechts eilt eine Furie herbei (ihre Namensbeischrift lautet [Π]οινή: Rache). Atreus' Bruder *Thyestes* schreitet mit gezücktem Schwert nach links, den Blick zurückgewendet; neben ihm steht mit ebenfalls gezücktem Schwert, das er jedoch in der linken Hand hält, der junge *Aigisthos*, der Sohn des Thyestes. Am rechten Rand des Bildes steht *Pelopeia*, die sich mit verdecktem Antlitz von der grauslichen Szene abwendet. Pelopeia ist auf tragische Weise mit allen Männern, die am Geschehen beteiligt sind, verbunden: Sie ist die Tochter des Thyestes, der mit ihr den Ägisth gezeugt hat; sie ist daher zugleich dessen Schwester und Mutter; zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt wurde sie die Frau (bzw. just in diesem Moment die Witwe) des Atreus.

Blicken wir kurz auf die Ausstattung. Atreus trägt das langärmelige Gewand, das ihn (neben Thron und Szepter) als König ausweist. Thyestes trägt Chiton und Mantel, Ägisth nur einen Mantel um die Schultern. Im ganzen Bild gibt es keine Spur von Masken oder irgendeiner anderen Art theatralischer Requisiten; kein einziges Element weist auf eine theatralische Aufführung hin. Dennoch dürfte sich das Bild, wie auch Taplin kürzlich wieder betont hat, auf den Plot einer Tragödie beziehen. Morde an Blutsverwandten, Inzest, Rache: Das sind typische Ingredienzien einer Tragödie.[33] Aber das Interesse des Vasenmalers war *nicht* auf die dramaturgische Wirklichkeit, *nicht* auf das, was auf der Bühne geschieht, sondern auf die tragische Handlung, auf den Plot gerichtet. In diesem Kontext wären Bühnenelemente, Kostüme, Masken nicht nur überflüssig, sondern ausgesprochen kontraproduktiv, denn sie würden die ästhetische Illusion konterkarieren. Durch Kostüme oder Masken hätte der Maler zu verstehen gegeben, dass das Bild nicht die Wirklichkeit des Mythos, sondern nur dessen Aufführung auf der Bühne vor Augen führt; in diesem Fall sähen wir nicht die mythischen Figuren selbst, sondern lediglich Schauspieler, und es käme auch niemand zu Tode, es flösse nur Theaterblut.

Die Tarentiner Amphora ist nur eines von Hunderten von Beispielen:[34] Wenn apulische Vasenmaler Episoden des Mythos zu ihrem Thema machen, dann vermeiden sie konsequent jeden Hinweis auf die Welt des Theaters; sie zeigen keine Masken, keine Kostüme, keine Bühne. Es ist leicht zu verstehen, warum. Der Kontrast zwischen dem Schauspieler und seiner Maske, zwischen wirklicher und vorgetäuschter Nacktheit, zwischen der Lebenswirklichkeit des Betrachters und der Fiktion dessen, was sich auf der Bühne abspielt: Dieser Kontrast ist, in all seinen Varianten, an sich schon ein Mittel, um Komik zu erzeugen. Das ist auch der Grund, weshalb komische Ikonographie diesen Kontrast immer wieder zum Thema macht. Umgekehrt gilt, dass jede Form von ernster bzw.

tragischer Ikonographie diesen Kontrast konsequent vermeiden wird. Hier geht es darum, den Mythos an sich darzustellen, und nicht seine Brechung im Theater. Zwischen den Bildern, die das Theater zum Thema machen, und denen, die einen Mythos vor Augen führen, läuft eine klare Grenze. Die langjährige Suche nach theatralischen Signalen in mythologischen Bildern hat niemals vermocht, diese Grenze zu verwischen: Sie lässt nach wie vor an Deutlichkeit nichts zu wünschen übrig.

Versuchen wir eine Bilanz. Der Einfluss des Theaters auf die unteritalische Bilderwelt kann kaum hoch genug eingeschätzt werden. Er besteht auf zwei Ebenen: Die eine betrifft die *Inhalte*, die zweite betrifft die *Formen* der Darstellung. Es ist sinnvoll, beide zu unterscheiden. Beginnen wir mit den Inhalten.

Ich erinnere daran, dass wir unter den apulischen Vasen der höchsten Qualitätsstufe niemals auf Repliken stoßen. Die Vasenmaler und ihr Publikum waren nicht auf Wiederholung, sondern auf permanente Variation ausgerichtet. Daraus ergab sich ein permanenter Bedarf nach immer neuen Sujets. Selbstverständlich konnten Sujets auch aus den Werken epischer Dichtung bezogen werden. Aber die epische Dichtung war als Gattung zu einem Ende gelangt: Die alten kanonischen Epen wurden immer wieder vorgetragen, aber es wurden keine neuen Gedichte mehr produziert. Für die Tragödie gilt gewissermaßen das Gegenteil. In Athen brachte der streng institutionalisierte jährliche Wettbewerb ständig neue Tragödien hervor, in denen die Mythen variiert und neue Plots entwickelt wurden. Was die attische Tragödie für die apulischen Vasenmaler so attraktiv machte, war nicht der theatralische Charakter des Bühnengeschehens, sondern die Fähigkeit der Gattung, unaufhörlich neue Plots zu generieren. Diese lieferten einen nie versiegenden Nachschub an Stoffen.

Daneben können wir in den mythologischen Vasenbildern auch *Formen* fassen, die von der Bühne beeinflusst zu sein scheinen. Ein Beispiel dafür sind die langärmeligen Gewänder, die sich zweifellos von theatralischen Kostümen ableiten lassen. Ein zweites Beispiel betrifft die Häufigkeit, mit der Gottheiten dem Geschehen als Zuschauer beiwohnen, und dieses eben dadurch in eine Art theatralischer Aufführung verwandeln. Drittens zu nennen wäre die seltsame Vorliebe der Vasenmaler dafür, mythologisches Geschehen als Dialog zu inszenieren: Immer wieder treffen wir auf denkbar handlungsarme Bilder mit parataktisch aufgereihten Figuren, die einen zuhörend, die anderen (unhörbar) sprechend. Ein gutes Beispiel dafür liefert ein Berliner Volutenkrater (*Abb. 10*).[35]

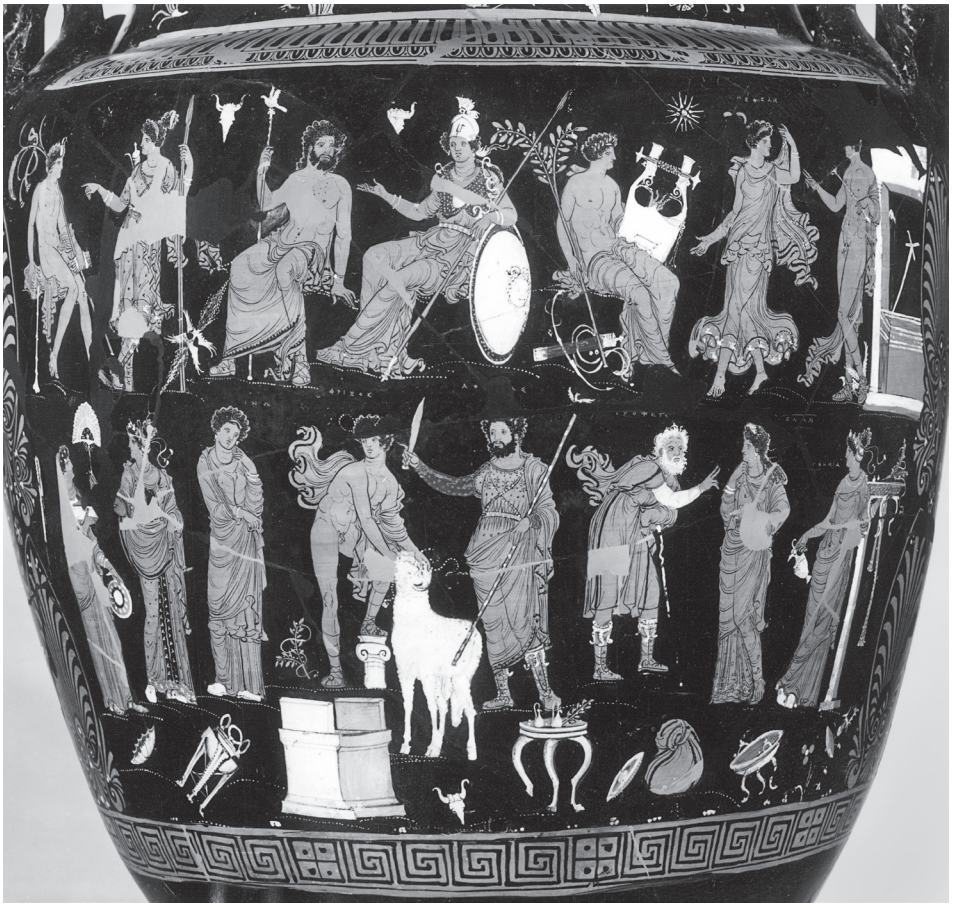

Abb. 10 Volutenkrater; Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen. Um 330: Vorbereitung zur Opferung des Phrixos.

Das Hauptbild bezieht sich auf den Mythos des Phrixos. Es folgt dem Plot einer euripideischen Tragödie. Es gab von Euripides zwei Tragödien mit dem Titel *Phrixos*: Die zweite scheint großen Erfolg gehabt und die erste weitgehend in den Schatten gestellt zu haben. Aber der Berliner Krater folgt diesem Trend nicht: Er greift nicht auf den zweiten, sondern auf den ersten Phrixos zurück. Natürlich zeigt das Bild nicht eine Theateraufführung, sondern den Mythos selbst. Aber in der *Form*, wie der Maler den Mythos vor Augen führt, macht sich doch ein theatralischer Niederschlag bemerkbar. Erlauben wir uns ein Gedankenexperiment: Stellen wir uns einen Augenblick eine Kultur vor, der jede Form theatralischer Darbietung unbekannt wäre: Hätte eine solche Kultur einen Gegenstand wie diesen Krater hervorbringen können? Ich glaube, nein. Aber halten wir uns lieber an die historische Realität. Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, dass vom Theater für die unteritalischen Griechen eine starke Faszination ausging; vermutlich dürften auch (bzw. vielleicht sogar gerade) die Nicht-Griechen im Theater einen Kulminationspunkt griechischer Kultur gesehen haben.[36] Von daher ist es kaum erstaunlich, dass wir in Unteritalien immer wieder Elemente und Formen finden, die vom Theater in die Bilderwelt der Vasen hinein diffundieren. Aber diese Diffusion beschränkt sich keineswegs auf Bilder, die auch inhaltlich vom Theater abhängig sind. So finden sich etwa theatralische Elemente auch in einem Bild, das ein Panorama der Unterwelt vor Augen führt und inhaltlich mit Theater nicht das Geringste zu tun hat. Apulische Maler haben theatralische Elemente und Darstellungsformen übernommen und für ihre Zwecke genutzt, in allen möglichen Bildern: Einige davon sind auch inhaltlich von Tragödien abhängig, andere keineswegs. Das Ergebnis dieser Überlegungen ist ebenso einfach wie bescheiden: Es gibt Hunderte apulische Vasenbilder, die *inhaltlich* auf tragische Plots zurückgreifen; und immer wieder haben apulische Vasenmaler theatralische Darstellungs*formen* benutzt. Aber die beiden Phänomene sind *nicht* deckungsgleich. Die Faszination durch das Theater ist in der apulischen Vasenmalerei mit Händen zu greifen. Auf Schritt und Tritt stoßen wir auf Elemente und Darstellungsformen, deren Wurzeln im Theater liegen und die von dort in die Vasenikonographie hinübergeschwappt sind. Aber sie finden sich keineswegs nur auf Bildern, deren Mythos auf eine Tragödie rekurriert, und sie sind nicht als Zeichen dafür gedacht, dass die betreffenden Bilder auf theatralische Vorlagen zurückgreifen.

Ich komme zum Schluss auf die beiden eingangs gestellten Fragen zurück. 1) Was hat die apulischen Maler an der attischen Tragödie interessiert? Die Antwort ist klar: nicht die Aufführung, nicht der performative Aspekt, sondern der Plot. Tatsächlich haben die apulischen Maler ihre Plots aus allen möglichen Gattungen bezogen. Wenn sie besonders häufig auf Tragödien zurückgegriffen haben, so liegt das einfach daran, dass die attische Tragödie noch im 4. Jahrhundert als eine kulturelle Maschinerie funktioniert, die unaufhörlich neue Plots auswirft. Das macht sie für die Vasenmaler, die ständig neue Bilder zu produzieren hatten, als Medium so attraktiv. 2) Lassen sich in der apulischen Vasenikonographie Signale ausmachen, die den Betrachter auf das Theater verweisen? Hier muss man unterscheiden. In der komischen Ikonographie sind Hinweise darauf, dass ein Bühnengeschehen vor Augen geführt wird, allgegenwärtig; dadurch wird eine Aufhebung der Illusion bewirkt, die an sich schon (vom *Inhalt* der Darstellung ganz unabhängig) einen komischen Effekt bewirkt. Wo es um den Ernst der Mythen geht, werden solche Signale hingegen konsequent vermieden, aus guten Gründen: Jeder Hinweis auf ein Bühnenspiel würde den illusionären Charakter der Darbietung thematisieren, damit der Illusion just entgegenwirken und die Gültigkeit des Mythos (um die es ja geht!) konterkarieren. Deshalb gibt es in der tragischen Vasenikonographie Apuliens *keine* Theatralitäts-Signale – und deshalb sollten wir auch aufhören, nach ihnen zu suchen.

ABBILDUNGSNACHWEIS

Abb. 1	Mit freundlicher Erlaubnis der Banca Intesa Sanpaolo, Segreteria Generale del Consiglio di Sorveglianza, Beni archeologici e storico-artistici.
Abb. 2	Su concessione del Ministerio dei Beni e della Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Museo Archeologico di Napoli.
Abb. 3. 4	Nach Padgett 1993, 69 Abb. 13 und Taf. V.
Abb. 5–7	Foto R. Arciuli.
Abb. 8	Nach Bulle 1930, 6 Abb. 1.
Abb. 9	Su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Museo Archeologico di Taranto – Archivio fotografico.
Abb. 10	Mit freundlicher Erlaubnis der Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Foto J. Laurentius).

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ANMERKUNGEN

1 Marx 2012, 71 f.
2 Wagner 1844–1848; Nauck 1889; Snell et al. 1971–2004.
3 Vogel 1886; Huddilston 1898; Séchan 1926 (²1967); Trendall – Webster 1971. Einen ausgezeichneten Überblick zur Geschichte der Diskussion liefert Rebaudo 2015a.
4 Taplin 2007a (dazu meine Rezension: Giuliani 2009). Zu Taplins Buch hat eine italienische Forschergruppe ein ganzes Seminar veranstaltet, an dem auch Taplin selbst teilgenommen hat; die Akten sind publiziert: Bordignon 2015.
5 Aristot. poet. 1451 a4; 1459 a33.
6 Vicenza, Collezione Banca Intesa Sanpaolo (ehemals Ruvo, Coll. Caputi; später Mailand, Coll. H. A.): RVAp I 193 Nr. 4; Sena Chiesa – Starazzi 2006, Bd. 2, 306–309 Nr. 110; Taplin 2007a, 139 Nr. 43.
7 Museo Archeologico H 3223: RVAp I 193 Nr. 3; Taplin 2007a, 150 Nr. 47.
8 Dies ist ein Punkt, den Taplin in *Pots & Plays* nicht müde wird zu betonen: „The vases are not […] ‚banal illustrations', nor are they dependent on or derived from the plays. They are informed by the plays: they mean more, and have more interest and depth for someone who knows the play in question" (Taplin 2007a, 25). „Whatever it was that viewers wanted from the mythological paintings, it was clearly not pictures of plays and not pictures of tragic performances" (a. O. 26).
9 Antikensammlungen 3296: RVAp II 533 Nr. 283; Taplin 2007a, 255–257 Nr. 102: „almost a textbook repository of the signals that tell the viewer that a painting should be enriched by the knowledge of a certain tragedy" (255).
10 Das ist, was Taplin als „portico" bezeichnet und als theatralisches Element interpretiert: Taplin 2007a, 38 f.
11 Taplin 2007a, 257; vgl. auch Catenacci 2009. Dagegen hat Himmelmann 1994, 143 f. (Anm. 62) zu zeigen versucht, dass die auf dem Krater dargestellte Handlung doch mit der euripideischen Tragödie in Einklang gebracht werden könnte; die Argumentation ist raffiniert, aber letztlich kaum überzeugend.
12 Anders zuletzt Rebaudo 2015c: „The krater in Munich is perhaps the best example one could hope for to demonstrate that South Italian vases do not represent tragedies, nor their scenic performances, but rather depict mythical tales for specific purposes, especially for funeral purposes" (311). Der These, dass hier ein Mythos vor Augen geführt werde, kann ich nur zustimmen. Aber ist es wirklich nötig, die *depiction of a mythical tale* und die *representation of a tragedy* als Gegensätze aufzufassen? Hier kommt es natürlich darauf an, was unter *representation of a tragedy* verstanden werden soll. Legt man Taplins Ausführungen zugrunde (vgl. oben Anm. 7), dann sind beide Interpretationsebenen miteinander vollkommen kompatibel, mehr noch: Es handelt sich um die sprichwörtlichen zwei Seiten ein und derselben Medaille.
13 Taplin 2007a, 38; siehe auch Wyles 2010.
14 Taplin 2007a, 256: „may well have played the part of a messenger".
15 Taplin 2007a, 37 spricht ausdrücklich von „signals", die er auch als „signs or traces […] of theatrical realities" bezeichnet. Es scheint mir wichtig, hier Missverständnisse zu vermeiden. Wenn ich im Folgenden von *Signalen* spreche, so bezeichne ich damit Zeichen als das Ergebnis einer kommunikativen Handlung; diese wiederum setzt eine entsprechende Absicht von Seiten des Senders (in unserem Fall: des apulischen Vasenmalers) voraus. Ganz anders verhielte es sich, wenn wir *Spuren* suchen würden: Spuren sind (z. B. aus der Perspektive eines Detektivs) gerade deswegen interessant, weil sie in aller Regel ohne Absicht hinterlassen worden sind und daher als Indizien auch gegen ihre Urheber ins Feld geführt werden können. Das ist allerdings hier nicht mein Ziel. Ich möchte den apulischen Vasenmalern nichts nachweisen, sondern lediglich die Botschaft besser verstehen, mit der sie sich an ihr Publikum gerichtet haben.
16 Antikensammlungen 3297: RVAp II 533 Nr. 282. Für die Herkunft beider Kratere aus dem Kammergrab Monterisi-Rossignoli in Canosa siehe M. Mazzei in: Principi 1992, 163–175.
17 LIMC I (1981) 311 f. s. v. Aiakos (J. Boardman).
18 Das ist auch der Grund, weshalb dieser Krater bei Taplin 2007a nicht behandelt wird: In einem Buch über *Pots & Plays* hat diese Darstellung der Unterwelt nichts zu suchen. Dagegen ist überhaupt nichts einzuwenden. Dennoch wird hier ein Problem deutlich: Indem Taplin seinen Horizont auf die Bilder beschränkt, die plausiblerweise mit der Tragödie in Zusammenhang gebracht werden können, entfällt die Möglichkeit eines Vergleichs mit anderen Bildern, die mit der Welt des Theaters eben nichts zu tun haben; gerade dieser Vergleich aber hätte es Taplin erlaubt, manche seiner Thesen zu überprüfen.
19 RE III 2 (1899) 2206–2217 s. v. *Cheiridotos chiton* (W. Amelung).
20 Volutenkrater Atlanta, Carlos Museum: Taplin 2007a, Nr. 68; Volutenkrater Berlin, Antikensammlung: a. O. Nr. 81; Volutenkrater London, The British Museum: a. O. Nr. 42; Glockenkrater Berlin, Antikensammlung: a. O. Nr. 82. Zum „little old man (*paidagogos* figure)" vgl. Taplins allgemeine Bemerkungen 2007a, 40.
21 Chamay – Cambitoglou 1980, 38; vgl. auch 40–43.
22 Green 1999, 49.
23 Ermitage B 1710: RVAp II 490 Nr. 21; Aellen 1994, Kat. 37.
24 Museo Archeologico Nazionale Inv. 194763 (ehemals Cleveland Museum of Art): RVAp II 496 Nr. 41; Aellen 1994, Kat. 41; Taplin 2007a, 237 f. Nr. 93.
25 Cf. Taplin 2007a, 40: „The nurse is a common figure both in tragedy and on the vases; but it would be unwise to claim her as a strong signal, since nurses appear in other forms of narrative as well".
26 Taplin 2007a, 37. Eine ausführliche Besprechung der „elementi di caratterizzazione teatrale" (es sind dieselben, die Taplin als „Signale" bezeichnet) bietet Roscino 2003, 227–357; vgl. auch Rebaudo 2015a, 74 f. Ein ganz ähnlicher Katalog von Signalen findet sich bereits bei Trendall 1989, 262. Wenig nützlich ist demgegenüber Vahtikari 2014, 24–51: Zwischen Possenbildern und tragischer Ikonographie macht er keinen Unterschied und verzichtet generell mit verblüffender Konsequenz auf jede Form von Argumentation; stattdessen stellt er Listen zusammen, deren Ordnungsprinzip meist unklar bleibt.
27 Boston, MFA 69.951: RVAp I 100 Nr. 251; Taplin 1993, 32–34. 41 f. 44 Abb. 11.3; Padgett 1993, 68–70 Nr. 13 Abb. V.13; Green 2012, 303 f. 334 Nr. 30.
28 Trendall 1967; Dearden 2012; Green 2012.
29 Ehemals in Bari (Collezione Malaguzzi-Valeri); neuerdings angeblich in Venedig oder Padua (nach einer Information der Soprintendenza, Taranto): RVAp I 400 Nr. 28; Trendall 1991, 162 f.; Taplin 1993, 70. 76. 113 zu Abb. 14.11.
30 Martin von Wagner Museum L 832: Bulle 1930, 10–22; Simon 1975, 227 Taf. 51; Güntner 1999, Taf. 51; Froning 2002, 79 Abb. 95; Roscino 2009 (u. a. mit dem erstmaligen Versuch einer Deutung für das rätselhafte, nur zum kleinen Teil erhaltene Gebilde am unteren linken Rand der Scherbe: Roscino versteht den Gegenstand – völlig überzeugend – als einen abgelegten Reisehut). Zur Produktion der Werkstatt, woraus der Würzburger Glockenkrater hervorgegangen ist, vgl. Rebaudo 2015b.
31 Verfehlt scheint mir die Deutung, wonach der Schauspieler „mit abgenommener Maske vor die Zuschauer tritt, um den Applaus in Empfang zu nehmen" (Bulle 1930, 10; ähnlich auch Simon 1975, 227); weder ist der Zeitpunkt markiert, noch gibt es einen Bezug zum Publikum; es geht vielmehr um einen stillen Dialog zwischen dem Rollenträger und seiner Rolle.
32 Taranto, Museo Archeologico Inv. 194765; ehemals in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts FA 1991.437: RVAp Suppl. 2, 148. 492 Nr. 47b; Padgett 1993, 42. 115–118 Abb. XI,42; Aellen 1994 Nr. 10 Taf. 16. 17; Nostoi 2007, 182 f. Nr. 50; Taplin 2007a, 241–243 Nr. 95; 289 Anm. 61; Taplin 2007b, vor allem 180–183. 195 f.

33 Taplin 2007b, 183: „The family violence, the gender tension, the centrality of vengeance – all are highly characteristic of tragedy. And Aegisthus, with his incestuous life story, might well be regarded as the archetypal figure of a certain kind of tragedy of unnatural family relations“.

34 Gadaleta et al. 2003, 405–492, verzeichnen 243 apulische Vasen, deren Darstellungen in Zusammenhang mit dem Plot von Tragödien gebracht worden sind; vgl. auch die Liste bei Vahtikari 2014, 249–304 (dazu oben Anm. 26).

35 Antikensammlung Inv. 1984.41: Giuliani 1995, 26–31. 88–94; Taplin 2007a, 215–217 Nr. 81.

36 Ein Großteil der ikonographisch so reichen apulischen Luxuskeramik wurde nicht in griechischen, sondern in einheimischen Nekropolen gefunden (Gadaleta 2003, 166–199). Wie weit die einheimische Population etwa im Norden von Apulien hellenisiert war, ist umstritten. Todisco 2012, 262–271, hat sogar bezweifelt, dass die daunischen Käufer solcher Keramik Griechisch verstanden hätten. In der Tat ist deren Zweisprachigkeit auf archäologischer Grundlage nicht zu beweisen; genauso wenig zu beweisen ist freilich, dass sie *kein* Griechisch verstanden haben sollten. Immerhin: Aus der hohen Verbreitung rotfiguriger Luxuskeramik in der Region wird man doch schließen dürfen, dass es nicht zuletzt die hochgradig literarisierte Ikonographie der Vasenbilder war, die auf ein verbreitetes Interesse stieß; ein solches Interesse scheint wiederum ohne ein Mindestmaß an sprachlicher Kompetenz kaum denkbar. Zu Todiscos These vgl. auch Taplin 2012, 247–250.

Theaterbilder im Spannungsfeld zwischen Italioten und Italikern

Lilian Schönheit

Unter dem Begriff Theaterbilder werden zwei grundverschiedene Bildthemen subsumiert: auf der einen Seite vielfach diskutierte Mythenbilder, die in Ikonographie und Bildthema auf Tragödienelemente zurückgreifen,[1] auf der anderen Seite Bilder mit Darstellern im Kostüm der Komödie, die oftmals auch Bühnen abbilden.[2] In diesem Beitrag werden die Theaterbilder der unteritalisch-rotfigurigen Vasenmalerei näher betrachtet. Es wird untersucht, welche ikonographischen Unterschiede je nach Herstellungsregion zu verzeichnen sind, wie verbreitet Gefäße mit Theaterdarstellungen im unteritalischen Raum waren, inwieweit die Verbreitung indigene Gebiete betraf und welchen Anteil die lokalen Bevölkerungen an der Wahl und Gestaltung der Darstellungen hatten. Voraussetzung hierfür ist ein Bewusstsein für die bereits vielfach herausgestellte Unterscheidung der divergierenden Theaterbezüge der tragischen und komischen Theaterbilder.[3]

Ziel ist es, ein Bewusstsein für die regionalen Differenzen zu schaffen, die Aufschluss geben können über die Verbreitung von Theaterkenntnissen und das Verhältnis der verschiedenen Bevölkerungsgruppen zum Theater in italiotischen und italischen Gebieten.

Italioten und Italiker

Zunächst gilt es zu fragen, inwieweit eine strikte Dichotomie zwischen Italioten und Italikern überhaupt zulässig ist und wer mit diesen Begriffen gemeint ist. Gemeinhin wird die nicht-griechische, nicht-römische und nicht-etruskische Bevölkerung Süditaliens als Italiker bezeichnet,[4] während die griechisch-sprachige und womöglich griechisch-stämmige Bevölkerung der griechischen Küstenstädte Italioten genannt wird.[5] Bei genauerer Betrachtung untergliedern sich beide jedoch in zahlreiche unterschiedliche Gruppierungen.[6]

Über Italioten existieren zahlreiche Schriftquellen, die über das Schicksal der griechischen Städte in Italien vom Beginn der sogenannten Großen Kolonisation bis in die römische Kaiserzeit berichten. Erste detaillierte Berichte zu Städtegründungen der Griechen finden sich bereits bei Herodot und Thukydides.[7] Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., zu Beginn der eigenständigen Produktion rotfiguriger Keramik in Unteritalien und Sizilien, bestand ein spannungsreiches Verhältnis der griechischen Städte in Italien sowohl zum Mutterland wie auch zwischen den Poleis. Die Spannungen auf dem griechischen Festland, die schließlich zum Peloponnesischen Krieg führten, spiegelten sich auch in den unteritalischen Städten.[8] Die schweren Niederlagen Athens in der sizilischen Expedition 415 v. Chr. und 413 v. Chr. führte in der Magna Graecia zur Festigung der Hegemonie von Syrakus.[9] Im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. erlebte Tarent unter Archytas einen politischen und wirtschaftlichen Aufschwung.[10] Auf den Niedergang der dortigen Tyrannis etablierte sich ein demokratisches System und Tarent übernahm eine eindeutige Vormachtstellung in Unteritalien.[11]

Bereits Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. mussten sich die griechischen Städte Italiens vermehrt mit Angriffen der Italiker und Sikeler auseinandersetzen.[12] Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. wurden wichtige Städte wie Capua und Kyme von Kampanern erobert.[13] Ebenso gerieten um die Jahrhundertwende Poseidonia und Laos unter lukanische Führung.[14] Eine Zerstörung oder auch nur deutliche architektonische Veränderungen lassen sich nicht nachweisen, woraus sich folgern lässt, dass die Eroberung der griechischen Stadt weniger kämpferisch geschah, als der Bericht des Strabon glauben macht.[15]

Griechische und römische Autoren haben auch über die Italiker geschrieben, jedoch wenig detailreich und aus griechisch-römischer Perspektive, so dass keine neutrale Beschreibung vorliegt und Benennungen und Bestimmungen von Siedlungsgebieten je nach Kenntnisstand und Schaffenszeit der antiken Autoren differieren.[16] Dennoch vermitteln diese Berichte ein Bild der Bevölkerungsvielfalt Süditaliens. Demnach beherrschten Iapyger die Regionen Apuliens: im Norden Daunier, in der Mitte Peuketier und im Süden Messapier.[17] In Lukanien und entlang der tyrrhenischen Küste lebten erst Oinotrier, etwas später Chonen. Die Sikuler traten um Lokri sowie im südlichen Kalabrien auf.[18] Die ursprünglich griechi-

sche Gründung Poseidonia galt im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. als Stadt der Lukaner.[19] Kampanien war zunächst von den Opikern, später von Samniten, Oskern und Kampanern besiedelt.[20] Elymer, Sikuler und Sikaner werden für Sizilien genannt.[21] Wie sich die indigenen Bevölkerungen selbst nannten, ihre genaueren Sozialgefüge, politische Organisation und territorialen Gebiete sind archäologisch bislang wenig untersucht und bleiben somit strittig.[22]

Aufgrund der sich häufig verschiebenden machtpolitischen Verhältnisse und der wechselnden Allianzen ist die Geschichte Süditaliens weniger durch strikt getrennte Bevölkerungsgruppen und ethnische Identitäten geprägt, als vielmehr durch wechselnde Bündnisse zwischen verschiedenen Städten. Zudem lässt der Versuch einer Trennung in Ethnizitäten weitere mögliche Formen von Gruppenidentitäten außer Acht, wie etwa gesellschaftliche Klassen oder Gendergruppen. Nicht allein die angenommenen ethnischen Grenzen oder die vermuteten staatlichen Einteilungen trennten oder verbanden die Bevölkerungsgruppen Süditaliens. Die verschiedensten Varianten von Kollektiven lassen sich für Italioten und Italiker gemeinsam annehmen.

Dennoch ist für die Frage nach der Relevanz des griechischen Theaters, trotz der unklaren Abgrenzungen, von mindestens zwei Kulturgruppen auszugehen: den Italioten, die durch Sprache, Religion und Abstammung primär griechisch geprägt waren, und den Italikern, die eine andere Muttersprache, andere Religion und eine indigene Abstammung hatten. Es soll hier gezeigt werden, dass beide Gruppen Rezipienten von Theaterbildern waren.

Tragödien- versus Komödienikonographie

Tragödien- und Komödienbilder unterscheiden sich nicht nur ikonographisch. Auch ihre geographische und chronologische Verbreitung differiert, sie schmücken unterschiedliche Gefäßformen und transportieren gänzlich unterschiedliche Inhalte. Während Komödienbilder keinerlei Zweifel an einem gewollten Bezug zum szenischen Theater aufkommen lassen, ist dies bei den sogenannten Tragödienbildern keineswegs so. Um die grundlegenden Unterschiede darzulegen, seien hier kurz zwei recht bekannte Beispiele einander gegenübergestellt.

Das Bild eines apulischen Volutenkraters aus Ruvo *(Abb. 1)*[23] zeigt eine Szene, die dank der Beischriften als Begegnung der Iphigenie mit Orest und Pylades in Tauris identifizierbar ist. Alle drei Hauptpersonen sind benannt. Der mit gesenktem Haupt auf einem Altar sitzende Orest lauscht der eindringlich auf ihn einredenden Priesterin Iphigenie vor ihm, die in der Linken den Schlüssel zum geöffneten Tempelgebäude im Hintergrund hält. Während sie von einer jungen Dienerin begleitet wird, steht neben Orest sein besorgter Gefährte Pylades, mit Stiefeln bekleidet. Über ihnen thronen zwei weitere Gestalten, die Göttin des Heiligtums Artemis und ihr Bruder Apoll, der Orest auf die Reise schickte.

Die dargestellte Szene entspricht sehr genau der Begegnung der Geschwister, die in der Tragödie des Euripides geschildert wird. In dieser trägt Iphigenie Pylades und ihrem bisher nicht wiedererkannten Bruder Orest einen Brief vor, den Pylades nach Argos bringen soll, während Orest als Fremder der Göttin geopfert werden muss. Hierauf löst sich die bedrohliche Situation des

Abb. 1 Apulischer Volutenkrater, Neapel 82113 (H 3223): Ilioupersismaler, FO Ruvo, ca. 360 v. Chr.

Dramas auf, die Klimax ist überschritten, die Geschwister erkennen sich und planen die erfolgreiche Flucht.[24]

Das Vasenbild macht aufgrund der inhaltlichen Übereinstimmungen eine Verbindung zum Theater deutlich: Das Bild des Kraters rekurriert offensichtlich auf die Mythenversion, die im Dramenstück des Euripides geschildert wird.

Eine darüber hinaus gehende Verbindung zu einer Theateraufführung könnten die Stiefel des Pylades, die Front des Tempels mit halb geöffneten Türen oder das reiche Gewand der Iphigenie nahelegen, Antiquaria, die zur Aufführungspraxis gehörten. Diese Indizien können jedoch keineswegs als Belege gewertet werden, dass dem Maler eine Bühneninszenierung als Vorbild gedient habe, geschweige denn, dass er bewusst versuchte, dem Betrachter eine solche in Erinnerung zu rufen. Vielmehr bilden sie regelmäßige ikonographische Elemente, die der Theaterwelt lediglich entlehnt sind und erst in der Summe auf eine Dramenvorlage verweisen können.

Eine bekannte Darstellung auf einem paestanischen Kelchkrater[25] zeigt dagegen überdeutlich die Intention, bei Komödienbildern auf das szenische Theater zu verweisen *(Abb. 2)*. Auf einem von dorischen Säulen getragenen Podest mit einer Bühnentür auf der linken Seite zerren zwei junge Männer einen weißhaarigen Greis von einer Truhe, während ein aufgeschreckter Sklave hilflos zusieht. Oberhalb der Szene hängen eine weibliche Maske und ein Kranz. Auch hier sind die Akteure beschriftet: Gymnilos, Kosilos, Charinos und Karion. Alle vier tragen ein Bühnentrikot mit langen Ärmeln und Hosenbeinen sowie das Brust, Bauch, Gesäß und Phallos aufpolsternde dunkelrote σωμάτιον. Der Alte und sein Sklave tragen über diesem Bühnennacktheit veranschaulichenden Kostüm je einen kurzen Chiton, der typischerweise den Blick auf den hängenden Phallos freilässt. Zu den eindeutig widergegebenen Kostümen kommen die gut zu erkennenden Masken. Die Gesichter weisen alle Charakteristika der griechischen Masken auf: breiter Mund mit vorspringender Mund- und Kinnpartie, große Augen mit überdeutlichen, geschwungenen Augenbrauen, faltige Stirn und voluminöse Haare, die den Kopf umschließen. Auch ohne Kenntnis des wiedergegebenen Stückes ist ein direkter Bezug zu einer Komödienaufführung offensichtlich.

Abb. 2 Paestanischer Kelchkrater, Berlin, Antikensammlung F 3044: Asteas (signiert), ca. 350 v. Chr.

Während eindeutige Indizien wie Masken und Kostüme auf allen Komödienbildern zu finden sind, fehlen sie bei allen Bildern, denen ein Tragödienbezug zugeschrieben wird. Tragödienbilder erzählen somit in der Regel einen Mythos und rekurrieren hierbei auf den Plot einer Tragödie, nicht aber auf das Theatergeschehen.[26] Komödienbilder sind dagegen in erster Linie auf das Theater bezogen, dessen Elemente ihre Ikonographie sogar bestimmen. Damit wird klar, dass bei beiden Bildthemen zwar Dramen als Grundlage gedient haben, jedoch die Intention der Darstellung nicht bei beiden die Vermittlung von Theateraufführungen war.

Regionale Eigenheiten und Verbreitung der tragödienbezogenen Bilder

Auch wenn die tragödiennahen Bilder keine Bühnenaufführungen wiedergeben, verdeutlichen sie doch die Verbreitung der Dramenstoffe und der Kenntnis von Theaterinszenierungen.

Taplin stellte in *Pots & Plays* eine Reihe ikonographischer Charakteristika zusammen, anhand derer er zwischen Mythenbildern ohne direkte Anspielung auf eine Bühnenaufführung und Tragödienbildern unterschied, die von Theaterstücken inspiriert wurden. Obwohl die Nähe der Bilder zum Theater im Einzelfall diskutiert werden muss, und in den meisten Fällen eine bewusste Wiedergabe von Theater zu bezweifeln ist, bezeugen jene Charakteristika den Einfluss des Theaters auf die Mythenikonographie.

Neben den Einzelheiten des Inhalts, die in manchen Bildern sehr eng mit bestimmten Dramenfassungen in Zusammenhang stehen,[27] gehören dazu elaborierte Gewänder, die mit langen Ärmeln reichverzierte Kostüme der Tragödie kopieren,[28] *Kothornoi*, hohe Stiefel, die typisch für männliche Rollen sind,[29] Türen, Portiken und Fensterfronten im Vorder- und Hintergrund, die an Requisiten denken lassen,[30] sowie *Paidagogos*- oder Ammen-Figuren und Furien, die als Boten und Mittler das Geschehen fernab des Handlungsortes berichten oder

dramatisierende Figuren sind.[31] Die Theaterbezüge in diesen Bildern sind zwar im Einzelnen unterschiedlich zu bewerten,[32] für diesen Beitrag sind jedoch vornehmlich die regionalen Unterschiede von Interesse.

Der Großteil der Bilder mit den genannten Merkmalen stammt aus Apulien, was angesichts der allgemeinen Mengenverteilung und der Vorliebe apulischer Maler für Mythenbilder nicht überrascht. Wie am Beispiel des Iphigenie-Kraters zu sehen war, überwiegen figurenreiche Bilder mit Namensbeischriften, Kostümen, Stiefeln und Erzählerfiguren, die dennoch vorrangig durch ihre inhaltliche Verknüpfung als Tragödienbild bezeichnet werden können.

Gleiches gilt für Vasenbilder lukanischer Werkstätten, wie es ein Kelchkrater in Cleveland[33] mit der fliehenden Medea nach Tötung ihrer Kinder zeigt. Auch dort verweist insbesondere die inhaltliche Schilderung auf die Schilderung der euripideischen Tragödie.[34] Gleichzeitig treten in diesem Bild reiche Gewänder, Stiefel, eine Amme und Furien auf.[35]

Aus Paestum beschränken sich die aufwendigen Darstellungen vor allem auf Werke des Asteas und wenige spätere Maler. Wie in Apulien werden Beischriften verwendet, um die Protagonisten zu benennen, doch können diese Benennungen von den Figuren der bekannten attischen Dramen abweichen. Die Darstellung eines Kelchkraters in Madrid[36] zeigt den Wahnsinn des rasenden Herakles und die Tötung seiner Kinder abweichend zur Schilderung der Tragödie des Euripides.[37] Obwohl dieses tradierte Drama nicht Inspiration des Bildes war, verweisen eine geöffnete Tür zur Rechten, die mit Bühnentüren vieler Komödienbilder vergleichbar ist, die ornamentierten Gewänder des Herakles und der Alkmene sowie die an Bühnenkonstruktionen erinnernde Fensterfront im Hintergrund auf Theaterkenntnis des Malers. Ein eindeutiger Bezug zu einer bestimmten Theateraufführung ist in diesem und anderen paestanischen Bildern jedoch nicht gegeben.

Vergleichbares lässt sich auf einigen kampanischen Gefäßen beobachten. Auch diese zeigen Figuren vor einem flächigen Hintergrund, der an Bühnenbauten oder Bühnenmalerei denken lässt, jedoch ohne dies ausdrücklich darzustellen. Einen behelmten Krieger beim Erklimmen einer Leiter vor dem Tor einer Stadt oder eines Palastes zeigt eine Amphora[38] im Getty Museum *(Abb. 3)*. Dargestellt ist Kapaneus, über dem schon der tödliche Blitz des Zeus schwebt, vor den mit Verteidigern besetzten Mauern Thebens. Eine ehrende Nike über einer Quadriga verrät den Ausgang des Kampfes um Theben.

Wie schon auf dem paestanischen Krater ist bei dieser Amphora und weiteren kampanischen Exemplaren die Gestaltung des Hintergrundes ausschlaggebend für eine Interpretation als Darstellung, die durch ein Bühnenstück inspiriert wurde. Eindeutige Verweise auf Bühnenkleidung oder Theaterfiguren fehlen.[39]

Auch auf sizilischen Gefäßen ist dieses Phänomen zu beobachten: Mehrere Figuren treten vor einem flächigen, öfters durch Säulen gegliederten Hintergrund auf. Besonders deutlich ist dies auf einem Fragment aus Syrakus[40] zu beobachten. Vor einem durch mehrere Säulen gegliederten Hintergrund stehen ein alter Mann mit Stab, kurzem Mantel über einem langärmligen Untergewand und Kothornoi, ein reich gekleideter jüngerer Mann, ebenfalls mit langen Ärmeln, eine Frau mit Mantel über dem gleichfalls reichverzierten Chiton, eine weniger aufwendig gewandete Frau am rechten Rand und zwei Kinder zu den Seiten des jüngeren Mannes. Die Figuren können als Ödipus und Iokaste mit ihren Kindern angesprochen werden, die die tragischen Worte des Hirten vernehmen, der von der Erfüllung des Schicksalsspruches berichtet.[41] Wie einige apulische Exemplare, kann auch dieses Bild neben seiner Hintergrundgestaltung sowohl durch sein Narrativ mit einem Dramenstück[42] verbunden werden, wie durch die Ausstattung der Figuren mit langärmligen Gewändern und Stiefeln.

Anders als bei Darstellungen der übrigen Regionen, ist der Theaterbezug in einzelnen sizilischen Darstellungen eindeutig. Ein Kelchkrater aus Caltanissetta[43] zeigt drei Frauen und einen typischerweise als Messenger ange-

Abb. 3 Kampanische Amphora, Malibu 92.AE.86: Caivanomaler, ca. 330 v. Chr.

sprochenen kleineren Mann auf einem von zwei breiten Pfeilern außen und einer schmalen dorischen Säule mittig getragenen Podest. Die Wiedergabe einer Bühne[44] in Kombination mit reich gekleideten, nicht maskierten Personen lässt die Benennung der Darstellung als Tragödienbild erstmals eindeutig zu.

Die meisten Bilder zeigen folglich keine Theateraufführungen, verweisen aber durch einzelne Bildelemente und die dargestellten Inhalte darauf, dass Dramenstoffe und die Kenntnis von Dramenelementen, wie Paidagogen und ähnlichen Gestalten zur verbalen Vermittlung von Geschehen, verbreitet waren.[45] Einzig auf Sizilien zeigen die Bilder Bühnenelemente, Kostüme und narrative Bezüge.

Die vorgestellten impliziten Charakteristika der tragödiennahen Bilder erscheinen auch in anderen Kontexten. Daraus lässt sich ableiten, dass die Tragödien Mittler der Erzählungen waren, die Darstellung von Theateraufführungen aber nicht im Interesse der Vasenmaler und ihres Publikums lag. Dennoch zeigen die Bilder, dass Tragödien in unterschiedlich starkem Maße in Unteritalien und Sizilien bekannt waren.[46] Diese Kenntnis beschränkte sich – wie die Betrachtung der genaueren Verteilung zeigen wird – keineswegs auf die griechischen Küstenstädte.

Den meisten Gefäßen fehlt ein gesicherter Fundkontext oder eine bekannte Provenienz, dennoch ermöglichen die wenigen Beispiele mit gesicherter Herkunft eine grobe Verteilungsskizze. Wie insgesamt die unteritalische Keramik sind auch Bilder mit Elementen von Tragödien insbesondere in indigenen Siedlungen verbreitet. Apulische Bilder mit verhältnismäßig vielen Indizien, die für eine Tragödie als Inspiration des Bildes sprechen, finden sich insbesondere in den daunischen Großstädten Ruvo und Canosa.[47] Der lukanische Medea-Krater, der eine ähnliche Ikonographie aufweist, stammt dagegen aus der griechischen Siedlung Policoro.[48] Die bekannten paestanischen Beispiele stammen aus dem engeren Umland der gemischt geprägten Stadt Paestum oder dem griechischen Agropoli,[49] während die erzählenden Bilder Siziliens aus den griechisch besiedelten Regionen Syrakus und Lipari stammen, die vorgestellte Darstellung mit Bühnenpodest dagegen aus dem sikanischen Capodarso.[50]

Regionale Eigenheiten und Verbreitung der Komödienbilder

Für die Komödienbilder bedarf es keiner Skala der Charakteristika, da sie stets durch Kostüme und Masken, vielfach sogar Bühnen eindeutig zu erkennen sind. Knapp 200 dieser Gefäße mit komisch kostümierten Personen listete Arthur Trendall unter dem Begriff der ‚Phlyax Vases'.[51] Im Folgenden werden auch für die Komödienbilder prägnante Charakteristika der fünf Regionen zusammengefasst, angefangen mit Apulien, aus dem gleichfalls die deutliche Mehrheit der Komödienbilder stammt.

Auch unter den Komödienbildern treten besonders in Apulien Darstellungen mit mehreren Protagonisten in deutlicher Interaktion auf. Die Schauspieler sind dabei eindeutig kostümiert und agieren auf Bühnen. So zeigt beispielsweise ein Glockenkrater des McDanielmalers in London ein Bühnenpodest *(Abb. 4)*,[52] das zum Rand hin mit einer Bühnentür in Seitenansicht abgegrenzt ist. Auf diesem steht ein Darsteller, [Xan]thias benannt, mit seinem Reisebündel und zieht von oben am Kopf eines gekrümmten Alten (Chiron) mit einer übergroßen Maske, der auf einem Krummstock gestützt die Treppen zu erklimmen sucht. Von hinten schiebt ihn ein dritter Kostümierter, bei dem auf eine Beischrift verzichtet wurde. Durch seine gebückte Haltung erscheint er wie das Hinterteil seines Herren und so ergeben sie zusammen einen komisch verzerrten Vierbeiner. Ein nicht kostümierter Jüngling rechts im Bild scheint das Geschehen teilnahmslos zu beobachten.[53] Oben rechts sitzen zwei Frauen, die eine Beischrift als Nymphen benennt. Durch die Beischriften lässt sich eine Mythentravestie um den Kentaur Chiron erahnen, auch wenn die ganze Handlung nicht zu rekonstruieren ist. Bühne, Kostüme und die dargestellten Handlungen lassen bei apulischen Komödienbildern nicht an der Intention der Wiedergabe eines komischen Bühnenstücks zweifeln.[54]

Die wenigen bekannten lukanischen Komödienbilder sind den apulischen vergleichbar. Die einfacher gehaltenen Szenen zeigen eindeutig kostümierte Figuren in

Abb. 4 Apulischer Glockenkrater, British Museum F 151: McDaniel-Maler, ca. 380–370 v. Chr.

deutlicher Interaktion, kommen hierbei jedoch ohne Beischriften und ohne Bühne aus.[55]

Aus paestanischen Werkstätten stammen wiederum zahlreiche Komödienbilder, die in etwa die Anzahl der apulischen Beispiele erreichen, allerdings größtenteils aus dem Werkstattkreis des Asteas und Python stammen.[56] Zudem beschränken sich die meisten dieser Bilder auf eine Kombination eines Komödianten oder kostümierten Papposilens mit Dionysos. Doch auch auf paestanischen Gefäßen treten aufwendige erzählende Darstellungen auf, die mehrere Schauspieler – oftmals auf einer Bühne – in Interaktion zeigen, wie bereits der Berliner Krater exemplarisch belegte *(Abb. 2)*. Die Kostüme der lebhaften Protagonisten sind gut zu erkennen, eine Bühne sorgfältig wiedergegeben und die Szene wird, wie in vielen der apulischen Darstellungen,[57] durch Beischriften näher erläutert.

Aus Kampanien stammen mehrere Komödienbilder, die in ihrer Darstellung jedoch sehr heterogen sind. Einzig ein Glockenkrater des Libationmalers in Melbourne[58] zeigt eine Bühne und Schauspieler mit detailliert wiedergegebenen Kostümen und Masken; sie sind in Interaktion mit einer Aulosspielerin vor der Bühne zu sehen. Die weiteren kampanischen Darstellungen sind einfach gehalten, wie eine Lekythos in Paris[59] mit einem Komödianten mit ungenauer Maske und Somation *(Abb. 5)*. Auch auf weiteren Beispielen der kampanischen Werkstätten verlieren Masken und Kostüme ihre Prägnanz.[60] Kostümierung und besonders Bühnen treten in Kampanien ikonographisch in den Hintergrund, teilweise sind Masken und Kostüme sehr schlecht als solche zu erkennen.

Abb. 5 Kampanische Lekythos, Paris, Cabinet de Médailles 1046: NYN-Maler, ca. 370–360 v. Chr.

Sizilien weist, wie schon im Falle der tragödiennahen Darstellungen, nicht viele Gefäße mit Komödienbildern auf, doch auch hier ist der Bezug zur Theaterpraxis besonders eng. Nahezu alle sizilischen Exemplare weisen markante Bühnenbauten auf, auf welchen sich die Schauspieler statisch mit geringer Interaktion reihen, wie beispielsweise auf einem Krater der Lentinigruppe[61] zu sehen *(Abb. 6)*. Sein Bild wird durch eine hoch aufragende Bühne mit zwei Treppen geprägt, einer Bühnentür links und weißen Säulen im Hintergrund, auf der vier Figuren stehen. Rechts und links rahmen zwei junge Frauen zwei kostümierte Männer. Wie viele Komödianten der sizilischen Werkstätten sind sie im Gespräch, nicht in einer aktiven Handlung und lenken somit den Fokus auf die hochragende Bühnenarchitektur.[62] Durch die raumgreifenden Bühnen, die die Vasenbilder gleichermaßen rahmen, wie auch dominieren, weist Sizilien wiederum trotz weniger Exemplare die explizitesten Theaterbilder auf, in denen der Fokus weniger auf dem narrativen Inhalt als der Gestaltung von Bühnen und Kostümen liegt.

Mit ihren offenkundigen Theaterbezügen vermitteln die unteritalischen Komödienbilder, dass nicht bloß die Erzählungen der Dramen in Süditalien verbreitet waren, sondern auch die dramatischen Aufführungen. Die Kenntnis dieser Bühnendarbietungen beschränkte sich keineswegs auf die griechischen Küstenstädte, wie erneut die Verteilung der bekannten Fundorte zeigt.[63]

Auch bei diesen Gefäßen sind nur für einen Bruchteil

Abb. 6 Sizilischer Kelchkrater, Louvre CA 7249: Lentinigruppe, ca. 350–340 v. Chr.

Abb. 7 Fundorte von Komödienbildern: Tarent: Tarent 121613, Tarent 17.6.1952, Amsterdam 2510, Tarent 50240; Ruvo: St. Petersburg 299 (St. 1775), Jatta 901, Jatta 1402, Jatta 1528; Bitonto: Bari 2970; Matera: Matera (ohne Nummer); Pisticci: Boston 69.951; Paestum: Lipari 927, Paestum 24294, Neapel 1778 (Inv. 82127); Agropoli: Paestum 20198; Capua: British Museum F 273, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 1046, British Museum F 189; Sant' Agata dei Goti: Sant' Agata (ohne Nummer), Neapel 3370 (Inv. 81377), Neapel 2846; Armento: Neapel 118333; Pontecagnano: Salerno 1812, Pontecagnano 36420, Salerno Pc 1813; Nola: Berlin F 3044; Montesarchio: 2 x Salerno (ohne Nummer), Benevent 614 S, Benevent 28205; Buccino: Rom, Villa Giulia 50279; Canicattini Bagni: Syrakus 47039; Grammichelle: Syrakus (ohne Nummer)

genauere Fundorte angegeben *(Abb. 7)*. Dennoch zeigen die wenigen bereits, dass apulische Fabrikate sich in den lokalen Regionen um Tarent sowie in Ruvo und Bitonto im Süden Dauniens konzentrierten, aber auch in griechisch geprägten Orten Lukaniens und samnitischen Städten Kampaniens Absatz fanden.

Für die wenigen lukanischen Darstellungen gibt es mit Matera im Hinterland Metaponts nur einen bekannten Fundort. Paestanische Gefäße mit Possenbildern waren dagegen weit verbreitet und fanden sich neben Paestum in samnitischen und lukanischen Städten Kampaniens und Nordlukaniens, bis hin ins griechische Tarent. Während kampanische Darstellungen bisher nur aus Capua bekannt sind, wurden sizilische Possenbilder an mehreren Orten nahe Syrakus gefunden.

Wie schon die Tragödienbilder treten Gefäße mit Komödienbildern in griechischen und indigenen Siedlungen auf. Beachtlich ist dabei vor allem das kampanische Hinterland, in dem zwar wenige Komödienbilder produziert wurden, aber in dessen indigenen Siedlungen recht häufig paestanische Gefäße mit Komödienbildern vorkommen.

Schlussfolgerungen

In der Verteilung der Mythenbilder, die Tragödienelemente aufweisen, und der Komödienbilder zeigen sich deutliche regionale Schwerpunkte sowohl der Quantität in den produktionsreichen Zentren Apulien und Paestum als auch der Qualität des engen Bühnenbezugs in Apulien und Sizilien, während in den Regionen Kampaniens und Paestums die Wiedergabe von Bühnenbauten und auch der Kostümierung in den Hintergrund trat.

Insbesondere in der ethno-geographischen Verteilung sind feine Unterschiede festzuhalten. In der regionalen Verbreitung unterscheiden sich apulische Bilder beider Motive: Bilder mit Tragödienbezug finden sich in Apulien größtenteils in den daunischen Städten, während Komödienbilder aus dem griechischen Tarent, dem norddaunischen Ruvo und dem peuketischen Bitonto bekannt sind.[64] Die wenigen lukanischen Theaterbilder mit Provenienzen stammen dagegen bisher ausschließlich aus eng mit Metapont in Verbindung stehenden Orten. Paestanische Bilder mit Tragödienbezug stammen bisher nur aus Paestum selbst, während Komödienbilder nicht nur dort, sondern auch im samnitischen Kampanien weit verbreitet waren. Auch Gefäße aus apulischen Werkstätten wurden nach Kampanien importiert und belegen das bestehende Interesse an Komödienbildern in den indigenen kampanischen Siedlungen. Aus kampanischen Werkstätten selbst stammen kaum Mythenbilder, die überzeugende Verweise auf Theateraufführungen bieten, und auch Komödienbilder verzichten auf Detailtreue. Gefäße mit solchen Bildern wurden jedoch bislang nur im griechisch geprägten Capua gefunden. Sizilien wiederum bietet die deutlichsten Theaterdarstellungen bei Tragödien und Komödien und dies sowohl aus dem theaterliebenden Syrakus wie auch aus dem sikelischen Hinterland.

Diese Verbreitungsskizze zeigt, dass figurenreiche Bilder mit Bühnenarchitektur sowie solche mit deutlichen Bezügen zu Tragödien aus italiotischen und italischen Orten Apuliens, Paestums und Siziliens stammen. Die Verbreitungsschwerpunkte von tragödienabhängigen Bildern in Apulien, Paestum und Sizilien legt die Vermutung nahe, dass dies Reflexe aufwendiger Theaterproduktionen sind, wie sie in Tarent und Syrakus, vermutlich auch Metapont, stattgefunden haben. Hierin spiegelt sich also der Einfluss des griechischen Theaters in den griechisch geprägten Küstenstädten wider. Dass Mythenbilder mit Tragödienelementen dabei auch in indigenen Gebieten häufig sind, belegt die Kenntnis der narrativen Inhalte und darstellerischen Details der Dramenstücke bei italischen Käufern. Man muss folglich annehmen, dass mindestens die lokalen Eliten ein Verständnis für den Inhalt der Stücke hatten[65] und mit der griechischen Theaterkultur vertraut waren.[66]

Ähnliches gilt für Komödienbilder: Diese verdeutli-

chen jedoch, dass nicht nur der Inhalt der Stücke, sondern vor allem das Theater als Vorführung großflächig bekannt und verbreitet war.

Darüber hinaus zeigen die regionalen Unterschiede der Verteilung, dass zwar die qualitativ hochwertigen Darstellungen vorrangig in Gegenden verwendet wurden, die griechisch-italiotisch geprägt waren, dass aber der Großteil der Produktion in indigen-italischen Gegenden abgesetzt wurde. Die Komödienbilder aus Paestum, Kampanien und dem indigenen Sizilien, wie auch die Funde apulischer Stücke in den indigenen Siedlungen Kampaniens belegen die Verbreitung des Interesses dortiger Bewohner am Bildthema Theater und erlauben weiter die Annahme von Theateraufführungen im Hinterland. Importe aus den griechischen Küstenstädten lassen zusätzlich eine potente Käuferschicht mit griechischer Bildung annehmen. Lokale Produkte mit eindeutigen Darstellungen von Masken und Kostümen verweisen auf die genaue Kenntnis des Theaters durch die Maler, während undeutliche Wiedergaben und freiere Interpretation des Bildthemas – wie sie besonders in Kampanien auftreten – an regelmäßigen Theaterbesuchen der Maler zweifeln lassen, wohl aber eine interessierte Käuferschicht belegen, für die produziert wurde. Somit scheint zwar nicht jeder Bewohner kampanischer Orte griechischen Theateraufführungen beigewohnt zu haben, wohl aber eine nennenswerte Anzahl, für die produziert und importiert wurde.

Das Auftreten all dieser Motive in italiotischen und italischen Siedlungen bestätigt eine weiträumige Verbreitung des griechischen Theaters in Unteritalien, wie auch das merkliche Interesse der italischen Bevölkerungen in den von griechischen Metropolen entfernteren Gegenden Kampaniens, Nordapuliens und Zentralsiziliens.[67] Es muss folglich ein Verständnis von griechischem Theater und ein Interesse sowohl an den Themen der Dramen als auch an der Darstellung des Schauspiels selbst bei einer nennenswerten Anzahl Italiker bestanden haben, die die Nachfrage an Theatermotiven entscheidend mitbestimmten.

Die ikonographischen Unterschiede zwischen den Theaterbildern der unteritalischen Regionen verdeutlichen darüber hinaus, dass nicht nur eine überregionale Verbreitung des griechischen Theaters nachweisbar ist, sondern dass es regionale Entwicklungen der Theaterdarstellungen gab, die auf die Lokalbevölkerung, wahrscheinlich sogar lokale Aufführungspraxen zurückgehen.

ABBILDUNGSNACHWEIS

Abb. 1	Nach A. Furtwängler – K. Reichhold (Hrsg.), Griechische Vasenmalerei. Auswahl hervorragender Vasenbilder (München 1932) Taf. 148.
Abb. 2	© Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (J. Laurentius).
Abb. 3	Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.
Abb. 4	© Trustees of the British Museum.
Abb. 5	© BnF – CRS – Maison Archéologie & Ethnologie, René-Ginouvès (G. Oboukhoff).
Abb. 6. 7	L. Schönheit.

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ANMERKUNGEN

1 Siehe hierzu Giuliani 1995; Taplin 2007; Giuliani in diesem Band.

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3 Ausführliche Darlegungen der unterschiedlichen Theaterreferenzen und deren Stichhaltigkeit siehe J.M. Moret, L'Ilioupersis dans la ceramique italiote. Les mythes et leur expression figurée au Ive siècle (Rom 1975) 272; Giuliani 1995, 16; Billing 2008; sowie Giuliani in diesem Band

4 L. Cappelletti, Lucani e Brettii. Ricerche sulla storia politica e istituzionale di due popoli dell'Italia antica (V–III sec. a.C.) (Frankfurt am Main 2002) S. IX.

5 Der Begriff der Ἰταλιώταις für die in Italien lebenden Griechen findet sich bereits in antiken Texten wie bei Strab. 6, 1, 1.

6 Zur Diskussion siehe Cappelletti a. O. (Anm. 4); Carpenter 2014.
7 Hdt. 1, 167; Thuk. 7, 33; 7, 57, 3.
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24 Eur. Iph. T. 725–778.
25 Berlin F 3044, Asteas (signiert), ca. 350 v. Chr.: PhV² 50, Nr. 76; RVP 84, Nr. 125, Taf. 44; IGD 130, Abb. IV, 14.
26 Vgl. Giuliani 1995, 16; Billing 2008, 235; Giuliani in diesem Band.
27 Taplin 2007, 41.
28 Taplin 2007, 38.
29 Taplin 2007, 38.
30 Taplin 2007, 39.
31 Taplin 2007, 39–41.
32 Siehe dazu Giuliani in diesem Band.
33 Cleveland 1991.1, Policoromaler, ca. 410 v. Chr.: LIMC III (1986) 837 Nr. 101 s. v. Erinys (H. Sarian); Taplin 2007, Nr. 35.
34 Eur. Med. 1291–1365.
35 Die meisten von Taplin gelisteten lukanischen Vasenbilder, denen er einen Theaterbezug zuschreibt, zeigen jedoch nur sehr wenige Indizien und sind trotz inhaltlicher Überschneidungen in der Regel nicht als Tragödienbilder haltbar, siehe hierzu beispielsweise die Gefäße Ruvo 1095: Taplin 2007, 82 oder Wien 689: Taplin 2007, 96.
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Warriors and Acrobats. A Case Study of Late Fourth Century BC Lucanian Vases in the Collection of the National Museum of Denmark

Stine Schierup

The aim of this paper is to discuss the iconography of three thematically related late fourth century BC Lucanian red-figure vessels from the National Museum of Denmark. The vessels comprise a hydria with a battle scene (Chr. VIII 12),[1] a poorly preserved amphora with a rider on horseback (Chr. VIII 4),[2] and a squat lekythos with a male figure fighting an animal (Chr. VIII 275).[3] The analysis of the three vessels will emphasize the important knowledge that can be gained from a study of these modest – in both style and quality – late Lucanian vessels. In this way they will serve as a case study to increase our understanding of the way that red-figure pottery style was transformed and adopted for a central Lucanian audience by local craftsmen. This paper will consider how the iconography of these vessels contributes to our understanding of their use, and how they can add to our knowledge of the way the late Lucanian painters worked.

The three vessels considered here all belong to the significant collection of vases bought by the Danish Prince Christian Frederik – later King Christian VIII – from the collection of the former archbishop of Taranto, Giuseppe Capece Latro, during his stay in Italy in 1820.[4] The collection included a selection of 180 vases of Campanian, Lucanian and Apulian origin, as well as a few Attic pieces, diverse in style and quality. Of these, 16 can be attributed to Lucanian workshops, predominately from the late fourth century workshops of the Roccanova Painter, the Painter of Naples 1959 and his followers, and the Primato Group.[5]

The three selected vessels have been attributed to the workshop defined by A.D. Trendall as "the Painter of Naples 1959 and his followers" – i.e. the Acrobat Painter and the Dawlish Painter. The chronology of this late fourth century Lucanian production is problematic and tentative, mainly due to the lack of contextual evidence. The group has been considered to be contemporary with the workshops of the Roccanova Painter and Primato Painter based on stylistic criteria.[6] In his descriptions, Trendall repeatedly stressed what he defines as "barbarism" in the work of the group, as in his description of the hydria discussed in this paper: "With the Copenhagen hydria the march towards barbarization gains momentum and we are not far from the final horrors of the Dawlish Painter."[7] Trendall's description epitomizes the general lack of scholarly interest in these vases as a result of the noticeable degeneration of the style and quality of the Lucanian vases during the latter part of the fourth century BC. Due to this lack of scholarly interest, as well as the lack of thorough contextual documentation, we are left with significant questions concerning the exact location and character of these workshops, although several hypotheses have been put forward.

Trendall suggested that regional production was established in the Val d'Agri area and that Roccanova, Anzi or Armento might have been possible production centers.[8] D. Adamesteanu has furthermore proposed that local red-figure workshops were also established in the more rural areas of the Sinni and Agri Valley Region. Evidence for very small and localized production has been found at the site of S. Martino d'Agri, a fourth century site that consists only of a modest farmstead, some kilns and a small necropolis.[9] Thus, the preliminary picture seems to indicate that there were several contemporary workshops producing items solely for local use.

These features of production and use distinguish this period from the early phases of Lucanian red-figure pottery, where the vessels were commonly found as funerary gifts in Apulian and Messapian tombs.[10] Thorough study of the material from this early phase, as well as from the excavation of the potter's quarters, have convincingly located the beginnings of Lucanian red-figure production to c 450–440 BC in the region of Metaponto.[11] Interestingly, the use of early Lucanian red-figure vessels has been documented only sporadically in the central region of Lucania, where the late Lucanian red-figure production is supposed to have been established.[12] The use of red-figure pottery in the tombs of Metaponto is a tradition that decreases significantly during the first quarter of

the fourth century, as the quality of the vessels produced also decreases.[13]

The hydria (Chr. VIII 12)

The hydria *(Fig. 1)* is 58.3 cm tall and placed on a high projecting foot. An inverted wave pattern decorates the lip and neck, while the lower part of the neck has a palmetto motif, followed by another wave pattern marking the transition from neck to shoulder. The vessel is decorated with two figure scenes, one on the shoulder and one on the main body, divided by a crossed meander with a star motif. An elaborate palmetto motif adorns side B of the vessel.[14] The hydria has been restored from several fragments, although the restoration work makes it difficult to identify the individual fragments.

Fig. 1 Copenhagen, National Museum Chr. VIII 12, Hydria with battle scene.

The figural style of this vessel clearly demonstrates that the decoration was carried out with little attention to detail; this is particularly evident in the figure frieze of the shoulder. The general features of the figures are characterized by the low foreheads, large eyes and protruding noses. Their mouths are commonly closed and curve downwards, giving the figures a dissatisfied look. Chins are large, rounded and often with no significant indication of the transition from chin to neck, and bodies are executed summarily, with no particular attention to the correct proportions between individual parts of the body.

The shoulder zone of the vessel shows a battle scene. On the far left of the scene – squeezed into the corner – is a standing, presumably naked, warrior, holding two spears and a shield in one hand and a spear in the other *(Fig. 2)*. He moves towards the central part of the frieze, which depicts two riders on horseback in an antithetical composition *(Fig. 3. 4)*.

The nude youth on the horse wears a conical helmet with a crest in an added white colour. He is pointing his spear towards a similarly equipped warrior lying on the ground, wearing only a white helmet. The execution of the horse indicates that it is moving; it is worth noting the rather distorted execution of the hind leg of this horse might be the painter's attempt to depict the horse stomping on the lying victim. The other rider is moving quickly towards the left. He is also naked and wears a helmet similar to the others. In one hand he holds a sword and in the other a spear, aimed at the warrior on the horse in front of him. To the far right a warrior like the one to the left completes the scene *(Fig. 5)*. However, unlike the other warriors in the scene, he is dressed in a patterned tunic with a wide belt and high-laced boots. He lifts a spear high with one hand, while in the other he holds two more spears, a shield, and a cloak.

The main scene of the hydria appears to have been carried out with a little more attention than the shoulder frieze. In this scene we see again an antithetical composition of two warriors on horseback attacking a central standing figure *(Fig. 6–8)*. The movement of the horses is emphasized by the raised tail and the representations of their legs. Two dogs accompany the horses. The dogs look almost like griffins and seem to be in clear contrast

Fig. 2–5 Copenhagen, National Museum Chr. VIII 12, Hydria with battle scene. Details.

Fig. 6–8 Copenhagen, National Museum Chr. VIII 12, Hydria with battle scene. Details.

to the more naturalistic representation of the horses in the scene.[15]

The warrior on the right side of the central standing figure is wearing a helmet similar to the one held by several warriors in the shoulder scene. The standing warrior holds his sword and spear high, fending off the attack of the two warriors on horseback. The standing figure appears taller than the others and the overall impression of this composition is theatrical.

The vessel was described and interpreted in two handwritten manuscripts from around the same time as the acquisition of the vessel in 1820: one comes from the archbishop of Taranto, Giuseppe Capece Latro, and comprises a description of 13 selected vases from his collection, and the other is written by the Danish philologist and member of the Antiquities Commission, Børge Riisbrigh Thorlacius, including 14 selected vases from the collection of Prince Christian Frederik.[16] Both considered the simple style of the vase to be an indication of an early date of production, *piú remota antiqua,* as stated in the manuscript of Capece Latro. This is probably the reason why it is singled out for description from among several hundred vessels – an interest that contrasts significantly to the research tradition of the twentieth century, evident in Trendall's comment on the hydria cited above.[17] In the first descriptions of this vessel the find spot is tentatively given as Metaponto. From our present knowledge of the use of red-figure pottery in and around Metaponto in the late fourth century, and from the considerations of the iconographic themes, it seems quite unlikely that the vessel was destined for use in this region.[18]

That the hydria was intended for the indigenous market is further emphasized by the iconography of the vessel. Here we find a number of specific characteristics that can be interpreted as identity markers, i. e. the patterned tunics, the helmets and the branding marks to be found on the hind thigh of all the horses depicted in this scene. Italic warriors are typically identified in the Italiote vase-painting through their short, patterned tunics, with little variation between Campanian, Apulian and Lucanian representations. The short tunics seem to have been very closely related to each other and individual tribes are not easily identifiable. However, there are some general differences between Italic warriors known from the fourth century production of Campanian and Lucanian on the one side and Apulian red-figure pottery on the other, as stressed by G. Schneider-Hermann in her study of the phenomenon.[19] In both cases the tunics are decorated with patterns, but while the patterns in the Apulian production are ordered along parallel vertical lines, the patterning in the Campanian and Lucanian production is ordered along horizontal lines.

Some of the earliest examples of warriors depicted in tunics similar to the ones seen in the hydria can be found in the scenes of type-1 nestorides attributed to the Lucanian workshops of the Amykos Painter and Dolon Painter.[20] This particular type of nestoris appears to have been produced for a central Lucanian market.[21] Another parallel to the warriors depicted in the hydria is the scene on a column krater in the British Museum attributed to the Sisyphus Painter; here the warrior is seen in the company of a young woman holding a nestoris also of the type-1 shape.[22] As well as the patterned tunic, the warriors in these scenes wear high-laced sandals comparable to the example from Copenhagen. What separates our example from the common depiction of the indigenous warrior in Italiote vase painting is the fact that the genitals of the central warrior of the main scene are visible. This is a noticeable feature and questions the painters understanding of the scene depicted.

The helmets worn by several of the warriors in the scene are characterized by the tall, conical pilos shape and a high crest. The helmets are executed in a summarily manner in added white colour. The pilos helmet is well-known from vase-painting in southern Italy, although they are most commonly depicted without a crest.[23] However there a few exceptions, such as on a Campanian hydria now in the British Museum,[24] a skyphoi in

Naples,[25] and an Apulian column krater by the Dijon Painter, now in Trieste.[26]

Another important feature of the scene is the branding mark (a circle with a cross and a dot in each quarter) found on the back thigh of the horses. A very similar example can be found on an Attic black-figure oenochoe in the Allard Pierson Museum[27] and included in a paper by A. Lezzi-Hafter discussing the wheel symbol in Attic vase-painting.[28] In Attic vase-painting this feature has so far only been identified on this particular oenochoe and Lezzi-Hafter furthermore draws attention to a paragraph in Aristoteles' *Athenian Constitution* (49, 1) where he states that "horses which could not be kept under control were discharged from service by branding the symbol of a wheel on their cheeks."[29] However, the use of branding marks in an Italiote context was presumably of a different character than in Athens.

Firstly, this feature is not uncommon. The depiction of branding marks – wheel-shaped as well as other types – can be found on several examples within the Lucanian red-figure. An early example can be found on a pelike from the important 'Tomb of the Policoro Painter' in the necropolis of Herakleia. In this scene we see Poseidon on horseback together with a young warrior. On the warrior's horse a branding mark, in the shape of a herald's wand, can be identified.[30] In another scene on a krater attributed to the circle of the Dolon Painter, we find a youth with a torch running towards the left, followed by a rider on a horse branded with a snake.[31] Two vessels attributed to the Choephoroi Painter can be distinguished by the depiction of branding marks: a cross can be seen on the hind thigh of the horse in a scene depicting a battle between an amazon and a naked Greek warrior on horseback.[32] On the battle scene on the neck of a Lucanian type-2 nestoris we find two horses with a circular branding mark and a swastika respectively.[33] Finally, the circular symbol can also be found on a Lucanian Type-3 nestoris now in Leiden; however, here it is not a branding mark on a horse, but a symbol on a pilos-shaped helmet held out by a warrior towards a woman.[34]

The symbol of the wheel furthermore has a long tradition in indigenous Southern Italy and is a well-known feature of the Daunian stelai dating from the 8th to the 6th century BC.[35] Examples can also be found in Daunian vase painting and in Italiote red-figure pottery.[36] The wheel symbol has been interpreted by Schneider-Hermann as a possible tribal symbol, which seems a reasonable interpretation, and one which works in the context of the Copenhagen hydria.[37]

With these features in mind, the depicted scene can be connected to an indigenous context and several features in the interpretation of the battle scene should be highlighted. First of all, there are no clear distinctions between the warriors that would indicate that the scene depicts a battle between two different groups of warriors or tribes. The theatrical composition of the main scene also seems to emphasize the showy appearance of the battle depicted. Secondly, from comparative evidence we can deduce that the context of use of red-figure vessels in this region was the burial ceremony, and as banquet equipment deposited in the tomb. As such, I contend that the scene on the shoulder of the vessel might therefore represent an actual battle, while the main scene is actually a representation of a funerary game or spectacle carried out in commemoration of the deceased. A possible depiction of funerary games on late Lucanian vessels can be further emphasized by the following examples.

Amphora (Chr. VIII 4)

Like the hydria, the amphora *(Fig. 9)* was part of the collection acquired from archbishop Capece Latro in Taranto in 1820. When it arrived in Copenhagen it was a complete vessel *(Fig. 9 a)*, but at some point, presumably in the 1940's, it was decided to remove all 18th century parts *(Fig. 9 b.c)*. The neck and body were separated from each other since they clearly originally belonged to two

Fig. 9a Copenhagen, National Museum Chr. VIII 4, pseudo-Panathenaic amphora before the restorations were removed.

Fig. 9b.c Copenhagen, National Museum Chr. VIII 4, pseudo-Panathenaic amphora with acrobat on horseback, and a generic scene of a ritual encounter between a woman and warrior on the other side.

different vessels.[38] The preserved height of the vessel is now 40 cm. The vessel is placed on a molded foot and the base is perforated – a well-known feature of large vessels used in burial contexts.[39] The shape is pseudo-Panathenaic, the most common shape of amphoras found in Italiote red-figure pottery, presumably a vessel with heroic connotations in a burial context.[40]

The vessel depicts a nude youth kneeling on horseback. In one of his raised hands he holds a whip for controlling the horse, and in the other he carries a shield decorated with a snake. The shield emphasizes that this particular vessel should be interpreted in relation to a warrior ideology, which can be further emphasized by the iconographic theme of the other side of the vessel. Here we find a well-known, generic scene in the repertoire of the Italiote red-figure pottery – a ritual encounter between a young warrior (naked, but carrying shield and spear) and a woman pouring liquid into his drinking bowl while holding a *flabellum* (a fan) in her other hand.

The scene of a rider kneeling on horseback is closely related to the scene on the name vase of the Acrobat Painter, now in Turin.[41] The Copenhagen amphora was considered by Trendall to be an earlier work than the one in Turin, although the composition of the scenes appears to have been very closely related. The Copenhagen vessel has been attributed to the Painter of Naples 1959.[42]

The appearance of the warrior in the scene, balancing with his shield on the horse, seems to emphasize an interpretation of the scene as a kind of acrobatic performance in the context of a warrior ideology. To my knowledge this, together with the amphora in Turin, is the only example of warriors performing on horseback known in the context of Italiote red-figure vases. However, acrobatic performances are not completely unknown since there are several examples of female acrobats performing on the ground or on stands, possibly on potters' wheels.[43] However, these scenes refer to a significantly different type of acrobatic performance than our male acrobats performing on horseback.

A parallel can be found on a well-known black-figure amphora of Panathenaic type from Rhodes, now in Paris.[44] The vessel depicts a youth carrying two shields jumping on or off a horse in front of an audience, and a man playing an aulos. The interpretation is debated, but undoubtedly emphasizes the spectacle of the acrobatic performances of warriors on horseback. J.D. Beazley defined it as a distinct kind of acrobatic dance and concluded – although the theme was depicted on a Panathenaic amphora – that the scene did not represent "one of the official events of the games but a side show".[45] On the contrary J.R. Vickers, in a recent dissertation entitled "The Acrobatic Body in Ancient Society", concludes that the scene shows an actual Panathenaic *agon,* based on the presence of an audience in the scene and the depiction on the obverse of Athena between columns.[46] He

further concludes, based on a study of all Greek evidence (artistic and textual) for tumblers and acrobats performing on horseback, "that almost all extant Greek examples feature elite male participants and they are linked in some way with warfare" and that "horseback tumbling was seen as indicative of dominant masculinity and military optitude".[47]

The connection between male acrobats on horseback and the warrior ideology seems to be supported by the pseudo-Panathenaic amphora in Copenhagen, as well as through the examples of Archaic bronze vessels from southern Italy depicting acrobatic performances on horseback.[48] From the written evidence we also find testimony of this type of performances: Pliny the Elder (8, 64) describes how the cavalry of the city of Sybaris used to perform a sort of ballet to the accompaniment of music. In literature warriors performing on horseback are referred to as *desultores*.[49]

The discipline of the *desultores* is therefore well-known in southern Italy. The contextual and iconographical evidence indicating that the amphora was destined for a funerary context further supports an interpretation of the scene on the Copenhagen amphora as part of the burial ceremony of a warrior aristocrat. This interpretation can also be supported by the Turin amphora with its comparable scene of an acrobat on horseback. On the B-side of this vessel we find a hydria displayed in front of a tomb, a heröon.[50]

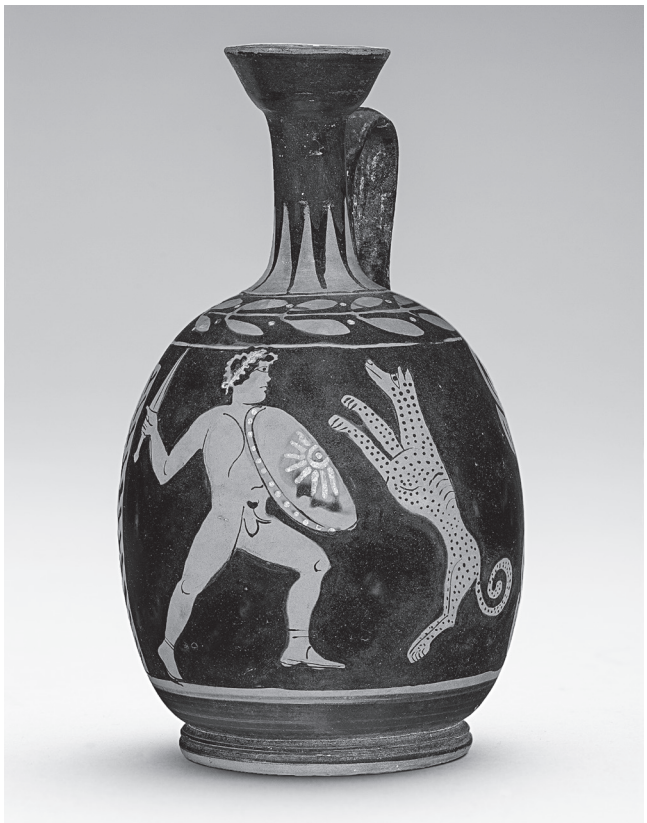

Fig. 10 Copenhagen, National Museum Chr. VIII 275, Squat lekythos with animal fight.

Lekythos (Chr. VIII 275)

The final example is a squat lekythos attributed by Trendall to the Painter of Naples 1959 *(Fig. 10)*. The lekythos is 17 cm tall and has a low ring foot. The body depicts a naked youth holding a sword in his right hand and a round shield in his left. The shield is held close to the body to protect him from an attacking animal, which is characterized by dotted fur, long narrow facial features, and a large, closed mouth, small ears and a long tail.

The scene can be interpreted as a fight between a man and an animal. The animal might be a wild dog, but the interpretation is slightly uncertain and the dotted fur seems to suggest that we are dealing with a more exotic, feline animal. It seems reasonable to draw a parallel between this scene and the Roman *bestarius,* the gladiator trained specifically to fight wild animals. In the context of the scenes already discussed it would thus be reasonable to add animal fights to the list of possible spectacles performed in an indigenous context.

A funerary spectacle?

The three late Lucanian vessels discussed here all seem to deal with acrobatic performances, animal fights, and battle as a spectacle or performance related to warrior ideologies. Based on the evidence for the use of this group of vessels in burial contexts, it seems reasonable to conclude that the scenes on these vessels relate to a funerary setting and depict examples of burial games commemorating the dead. This interpretation can be further emphasized by other examples of such funerary games, seen for example in the contemporary tomb paintings in and around Paestum, where we find depictions of chariot games and combat scenes.[51] Furthermore, the archaeological evidence can be supported by Livy (9. 40. 17) who states that the first gladiator games *(munera)* were held in 310 BC by the Campanians celebrating their victory over the Samnites. It is commonly accepted that the gladiator games developed from funerary games.

While the majority of the iconographic themes found within the repertoire of the Painter of Naples 1959 and his followers are represented by generic scenes of women and youths, the scenes discussed here might add further evidence to our understanding of the painter's choices in the iconography of late Lucanian production. The scenes are distinctive and no comparison can be found in early Lucanian vase-painting. They undoubtedly reflect the world of a warrior aristocracy, but this does not necessar-

ily mean that they were produced for use in aristocratic tombs. One of the most noticeable features of these vessels is the misrepresentation of some of the details, perhaps indicating that the vase painters either ignorantly copied scenes from another source, or that they attempted to depict spectacles that they themselves had never attended.

PHOTO CREDITS

Fig. 1–10 Photos courtesy: National Museum of Denmark.

ABBREVIATIONS

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NOTES

1 Copenhagen, National Museum Chr.VIII 12: LCS 156, no. 896; CVA Copenhagen, Musée National 6, pl. 242, 2 a. b; Schierup 2010.
2 Copenhagen, National Museum Chr.VIII 4: LCS 147, no. 815; Söldner 2007, 171, no. 1302.
3 Copenhagen, National Museum Chr. VIII 275: LCS 152, no. 872; CVA Copenhagen, Musée National 6, pl. 240, 3 a.
4 See CVA Copenhagen, Musée National 6 (K. Friis Johansen) for a presentation of the Campanian, Lucanian and Apulian vases in the National Museum in Copenhagen; for the history of the Vase Cabinet of King Christian VIII, see Rasmussen 2000.
5 For a presentation of the collection of Lucanian red-figure vessels in the National Museum of Denmark, see Schierup (forthcoming).
6 LCS 142.
7 LCS 155.
8 LCS 116. 131. 142. 159.
9 Adamesteanu 1990, 148f., pl. 9, 1–3.
10 Schierup 2014; Silvestrelli 2008a.
11 On the early production of Italiote red-figure pottery, see: D'Andria 1975; D'Andria 1980; Denoyelle 1997; Burn 1998; Silvestrelli 2005; Silvestrelli 2008a; Silvestrelli 2008b; Silvestrelli 2011; Denoyelle 2014; Schierup 2014; Silvestrelli 2014.
12 Schierup 2014.
13 Denoyelle – Iozzo 2009, 114–117. 161–163.
14 An image of side B of the vessel can be accessed through the online collection of the National Museum of Denmark: <http://samlinger.natmus.dk/AS/asset/16110> (accessed April 2017).
15 In some comparative examples, griffins and dogs can be seen side-by-side in battle scenes, such as on the Lucanian type-II nestoris in Berlin, Antikensammlung F3146, also attributed to the Painter of Naples 1959 and his followers: LCS 150, no. 854; Schneider-Hermann 1996, pl. 94b.
16 The original handwritten manuscripts can now be found in the archives of the Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities, National Museum of Denmark. The manuscripts are entitled as follows: 1) *Interpretazione* (sic) *di alcuni Vasi Etruschi esistenti nella collezione di Sua Eccellenza Monsignor Giuseppe Capece Latro, Patrizio Napoletano antico. Archivescovo di Taranto*; 2) *Fjorten vaser af hans Kongl. Höihed Prinds Christian Frederiks Musæum beskrevne og forklarede ved Etatsråd Thorlacius*.
17 See no. 7 above.
18 Burn 1998; Silvestrelli 2011; Silvestrelli 2014.
19 Schneider-Hermann 1996, 128–131.
20 Paris, Musée du Louvre K539: LCS 44, no. 215, pl. 17.1; London, British Museum F175: LCS 103, no. 539.
21 For a discussion of the nestoris shape in Italiote red-figure production, see Schierup 2015.
22 London, British Museum F174: RVAp 16, no. 55; Schneider-Hermann 1980, 39, fig. 97.
23 As seen, for example, on a nestoris in Berlin, Antikensammlung F3143: LCS 44, no. 217, pl. 17, 3.
24 London, British Museum F216: LCS 245, no. 136, pl. 98, 1.
25 Naples, Museo Archeologico 878: LCS 253, no. 180, pl. 101, 2.
26 Trieste, Museo Civico S388: RVAp 152, no. 146.
27 Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 13.310: CVA Amsterdam 5, pl. 276, 1.
28 Lezzi-Hafter 2009.
29 Lezzi-Hafter 2009, 153.
30 Taranto, Museo Archeologico (from Policoro): LCS 55, no. 282, pl. 25, 3.
31 Paris, Musée du Louvre G501: LCS 106, no. 556, pl. 54, 5.
32 New Haven, Yale University 323: LCS 121, no. 609, pl. 61, 1.
33 Schneider-Hermann 1996, 58, pl. 28 a.
34 Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden K1894/9: LCS 156, no. 893; Schneider-Hermann 1996, 58, pl. 93.
35 Nava 1984; Rocco 2002.
36 See e.g. Schneider-Hermann 1996, pl. 25 and pl. 28 a.
37 On the discussion of the use of circular symbols, see Schneider-Hermann 1996, 57f.
38 The top of the vessel (inv. Chr. VIII 4a) has been attributed to the late Primato Group: LCS 185, no. 1127.
39 See e.g. Lohmann 1982.
40 For a discussion of the use of the pseudo-panathenaic amphora shape in Southern Italy, see Schierup 2017.
41 Turin, Museo di Antichità 4482: LCS 155, no. 891, pl. 71, 1.
42 See no. 2 above.
43 See e.g. London, British Museum 1814,0704.566: CVA British Museum 2, pl. 8, 4; St. Petersburg, Hermitage B 4234: RVAp I 311, no. 266; [Muses and Masks] exh. cat. Hermitage Museum (St. Petersburg 2005) 94 no. 43.
44 Paris, Cab. Med. 243: CVA Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2, pl. 88, 1–4.
45 Beazley 1939, 11.
46 Vickers 2016, 81–108.
47 Vickers 2016, 129–136.
48 Lubtchansky 2005, 93–128.
49 For a discussion of the evidence for *desultores* in ancient Italy, see e.g. Thuillier 1989.
50 See no. 41 above.
51 Pontrandolfo – Rouveret 1998.

„Da cento pezzi inutili si restituisce in Napoli il vaso intero“: Raffaele Gargiulo e l’Officina di restauro dè vasi italo-greci del Real Museo Borbonico di Napoli

Luigia Melillo

„Da cento pezzi inutili si restituisce in Napoli il vaso intero coll’accordo del lucido, della risonanza, e delle figure da non potersi distinguere da un vaso intatto. E’ accreditato in quest’arte il sig. Raffaele Gargiulo restauratore del Real Museo“.[1] Così si esprimeva nel 1825 l’abate Domenico Romanelli a proposito della maestria dei restauratori napoletani di vasi antichi e, in particolare, di Raffaele Gargiulo che dal 1808 a oltre il 1860 fu figura di spicco non solo del Real Museo di Napoli, di cui era dipendente, ma anche del complesso mondo del commercio di antichità e dei collezionisti che proprio a Napoli ebbe una delle sedi di maggiore rilevanza e prestigio in tutta Europa.[2]

Il Real Museo di Napoli fin dal 1807, anno della nomina a Direttore del marchese Michele Arditi, era dotato di cinque officine di restauro di cui tre a servizio delle „Gallerie“ (Quadri, Statue e Vasi Etruschi, Medaglie e altre Anticaglie) e due destinate al restauro dei bronzi antichi e alla Officina de’ Pavimenti a Mosaico, cui Arditi teneva particolarmente. I restauratori costituivano la maggioranza del personale del Museo e godevano di particolari agevolazioni e privilegi quali il permesso di fare uscire gli oggetti dal museo per restaurarli nei propri laboratori personali, la mancanza di controllo sull’effettivo servizio prestato e, soprattutto, la concessione di un compenso extra alla fine di ogni restauro, stabilito con il sistema dell’apprezzo, una sorta di valutazione sulla buona esecuzione del lavoro effettuata da figure professionali denominate apprezzatori. La ferrea disciplina organizzativa adottata da Arditi eliminò, però, i privilegi prima descritti e anche i restauratori, così come tutti gli altri dipendenti, furono tenuti a rispettare orari e regole di comportamento e a svolgere il proprio lavoro solo ed esclusivamente all’interno del Museo sotto il rigido controllo del Direttore e del Controloro, „sorvegliati e per la sollecitudine e per la esattezza del lavoro“.[3]

L’Officina di restauro de’ vasi italogreci del Real Museo, così come l’Officina del restauro dei bronzi antichi, era, come noto, particolarmente famosa in Europa per la maestria dei suoi restauratori che „han saputo rinvenire una composizione di colori che regge al tempo, e fa meraviglia che trovandosi talvolta mancante qualche pezzo, con la massima destrezza o vi adattano altro frammento antico, o lo formano da nuovo e su di quello rifanno il prosieguo della pittura imitando perfettamente l’antico ne’colori, nella vernice, e nello stile del disegno“.[4] Si tratta di quella straordinaria maestria segnalata da James Millingen,[5] che rasenta la „perfection dangereuse“, quasi la fasificazione, tecnica di cui Raffaele Gargiulo e Domenico Fortunato furono gli artefici più famosi. La figura di Gargiulo, espertissimo e raffinato restauratore di vasi ma anche di bronzi archeologici, abile falsario, spregiudicato mercante d’arte, è stata in questi ultimi anni oggetto di numerosi studi e ricerche.

In questa sede non si ripropongono, pertanto, ulteriori considerazioni sulla figura di questo controverso personaggio, sulla vita e sull’opera del quale si rinvia all’ampia bibliografia esistente,[6] ma si presenteranno nuove informazioni ricavate da alcuni lavori eseguiti da Raffaele Gargiulo e da Domenico Fortunato, suo collaboratore, documentate in occasione di recenti restauri effettuati nel 2015 – 2016 dal Laboratorio di Conservazione e Restauro del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, da me diretto, su oltre 30 vasi facenti parte della collezione venduta da Gargiulo al Real Museo nel 1855. In particolare, si presenteranno due tra i restauri di maggiore interesse recentemente condotti: il celeberrimo Vaso dell’Amazzonomachia da Ruvo di Puglia e l’anfora attica a figure nere con Peleo e Tetide, proveniente dall’Etruria, facente parte della Collezione venduta da Gargiulo al Real Museo nel 1844 sotto lo pseudonimo di Giuseppe Aurelio De Gennaro. La scelta di intervenire con un nuovo restauro su oggetti già restaurati che testimoniano le tecniche di realizzazione e la capacità esecutiva dei restauratori borbonici non solo nel caso dei vasi ma anche per le altre tipologie di materiali (sculture, dipinti murali, bronzi ecc.) richiede grande attenzione ed esperienza e deve essere valutata caso per caso in base alle condizioni di conserva-

zione e solo quando è necessario, sempre agendo nell'osservanza del principio del minimo intervento e conservando, per quanto possibile, gli interventi antichi, consapevoli che nostro compito non è solo preservare la stabilità degli oggetti ma anche documentare la vita dell'oggetto nel tempo.

Il Vaso colossale dell'Amazzonomachia, inv. 81667, *(Figg. 1. 2)*, attribuito al Pittore di Dario, databile nel 330

Fig. 1 Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Vaso dell' Amazzonomachia inv. 81667: lato A dopo il restauro del 2013.

Fig. 2 Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Vaso dell' Amazzonomachia inv. 81667: lato B dopo il restauro del 2013.

a. C. circa, fu rinvenuto nel 1834 a Ruvo di Puglia e nel 1835 fu venduto al Real Museo Borbonico di Napoli dai collezionisti napoletani Antonio Pizzati e Carlo Lamberti insieme con altri vasi provenienti dalle necropoli ruvesi. Il Vaso fu rinvenuto in frammenti e tale circostanza è confermata da Emil Braun, che pubblicò il cratere nel 1836.[7] Ed è lo stesso Braun a testimoniare un restauro effettuato poco dopo il rinvenimento da un restauratore, di cui ignoriamo il nome e il luogo in cui operò (forse Ruvo stessa), che eseguì un invasivo intervento di ricostruzione mimetica così commentato dallo studioso tedesco: „nelle composizioni, che adornano il vaso, di cui stiamo parlando, il restauratore ha adoperato a meraviglia per quello che sia il materiale lavoro, ma contuttociò non possiamo sapergliene grado, essendochè la spiegazione invece di essere aiutata, vien resa impossibile, siccome il vero fregio dell'antico dipinto n'è tolto in più di un punto". L'invasivo intervento di ricostruzione mimetica è documentato da Braun nelle tre tavole che accompagnano la pubblicazione del 1836 nelle quali, come precisa lo studioso, „con tenuissima punteggiatura abbiamo accennato il procinto delle restaurazioni". Esse sono di notevole interesse poiché mostrano l'aspetto che il Vaso dell'Amazzonomachia doveva avere nel 1836, a circa due anni dal rinvenimento, all'epoca della vendita al Museo di Napoli. L'ignoto primo restauratore, inoltre, secondo quanto riferito da Braun che afferma di aver appreso la notizia dal cavalier Zahn suo corrispondente a Napoli,[8] avrebbe commesso il gravissimo errore di montare il collo del cratere al contrario e, riferisce Braun, „attualmente siffatta gara di Pelope ed Enomao si trova collocata nel lato postico del vaso; ma ciò avvenne per fallo del restauratore, che con falso intendimento scambiò il verso del collo".

Il restauro effettuato prima dell'acquisizione è documentato anche nel verbale di immissione nel Real Museo del 1835 nel quale si rileva che esiste „un manico moderno e che esistono delle positive mancanze supplite a talento del restauratore".[9] Entrato a far parte delle collezioni napoletane, il Vaso cominciò ben presto a mostrare un sensibile aggravamento delle condizioni di conservazione. Nel 1841, quindi a sei anni dall'arrivo a Napoli, Raffaele Gargiulo, concluso il restauro del Cratere di Archermoros, affidato a Domenico Fortunato ma da lui diretto, propose a Bernardo Quaranta, Controloro del Real Museo, di intervenire sul Vaso dell'Amazzonomachia riferendo che è „questi tutto screpolato nel ristauro e segnatamente nella parte inferiore ove poggia tutta la grande mola, così facendo non solo si evita un pericolo, ma si bene si toglierà tutto il moderno aggiunto, e la grande quantità di colori e vernici impiastrato da mano d'inesperto restauratore".[10] Il restauro, quindi, nelle intenzioni di Gargiulo doveva servire non solo a garantire la sicurezza strutturale del Vaso ma doveva anche assicurare la corretta lettura della decorazione originaria dell'opera attraverso l'eliminazione dell'invasivo intervento del primo, inesperto restauratore. Le osservazioni di Gargiulo dovettero essere considerate convincenti e Quaranta gli affidò l'incarico di fornire una valutazione tecnica sul da farsi. Ispezionato il vaso, il restauratore riferì che anche per il Vaso dell'Amazzonomachia sarebbe stato opportuno utilizzare le procedure già adottate per il restauro del Vaso di Archermoros e cioè „scioglierlo in acqua, e ridurlo in frammenti, qual'era quando fu rinvenuto, pulirne tutta la colla, stucco, colore e vernice impiastrata da inesperto restauratore, indi incollarlo con colla forte da resistere a qualunque intemperie ed umido, impernarlo con grossi perni d'ottone internamente; rifarci di bel nuovo li pezzi mancanti, senza però aggiungere figure, ma che apparisca il restauro".[11]

Gargiulo propose di affidare il restauro al suo aiutante Domenico Fortunato che, da lui già consultato, aveva chiesto per il lavoro a farsi 360 ducati più 80 ducati per le spese, richiesta ritenuta, però, troppo elevata da Gargiulo il quale valutava, invece, più congrua la cifra di 300 ducati per il restauro, da compiere in un anno, e 60 ducati per le spese. Il lavoro, nonostante il cattivo stato di conservazione del Vaso dell'Amazzonomachia, per motivi che non ci sono noti, non fu, però, intrapreso. Si decise di intervenire solo dopo due anni quando lo stato di conservazione era peggiorato al punto tale che i custodi del Museo e Gargiulo stesso avevano segnalato alla Direzione che „le lesioni sono tali che mettono al pericolo che il detto vaso da un giorno all'altro possa crollare".[12] Finalmente il 21 febbraio 1844 il Ministro Santangelo, accogliendo le accorate segnalazioni pervenutegli, autorizzò il restauro ma stabilì che il lavoro fosse eseguito secondo precise condizioni. Dispose, infatti, che il restauro fosse affidato a Domenico Fortunato il quale avrebbe dovuto realizzarlo in 15 mesi con un compenso di 300 ducati più 60 ducati per le spese; che dei 360 ducati complessivi sarebbero stati dati come anticipo 60 ducati e la restante parte a rate in base al progredire dei lavori; che il restauro doveva essere eseguito con l'assistenza e sotto la direzione di Gargiulo che avrebbe dovuto controllare, tra l'altro, che i frammenti venissero assemblati correttamente e, in particolare, avrebbe dovuto verificare con attenzione che non avvenisse „qualche viziosa inversione" così come si diceva fosse avvenuto nel restauro eseguito prima dell'immissione nel Real Museo; che le integrazioni moderne fossero realizzate acrome „a color di argilla" e che quelle effettuate nel primo restauro fossero asportate e conservate, „che le parti moderne debbano essere restaurate a color di argilla senza pittura conservandosi i pezzi oggi esistenti",[13] una metodica d'intervento, quest'ultima, oggi consueta ma sicuramente all'avanguardia per i tempi.

Le disposizioni del Ministro Santangelo, quindi, erano precise e chiare. Gargiulo avrebbe dovuto dirigere i lavori e controllare personalmente che tutti i frammenti fos-

sero correttamente assemblati in modo da evitare maldestre ricollocazioni di parti del Vaso; che le integrazioni moderne frutto del precedente restauro, forse eseguito a Ruvo,[14] fossero asportate e conservate (nessuna è prevenuta, però, fino a noi) e che le lacune fossero integrate „con argilla senza pittura“ così come disposto a suo tempo dal Real Rescritto del 1818 e come adottato da Francesco Maria Avellino anche per il restauro del Vaso di Archermoros. La consapevolezza che si sarebbe dovuto procedere al restauro di „monumento estremamente importante“ è dimostrata anche dal fatto che Avellino impartì ai restauratori la disposizione che nessuna procedura venisse intrapresa senza la sua preventiva autorizzazione „perché tutto possa farsi colla ponderazione che la cosa esige“. Con queste premesse il restauro del Vaso dell'Amazzonomachia venne quindi finalmente avviato.

Visto il precario stato di conservazione, si decise di non sottoporre il cratere ad eccessive movimentazioni e si scelse di spostarlo di poco in una stanza vicina al luogo di esposizione e per consentire a Domenico Fortunato di lavorare con la necessaria tranquillità e discrezione venne realizzato un recinto costituito da uno steccato coperto da teli verde scuro all'interno del quale si sarebbe dovuto eseguire l'intervento. E' verisimile che venissero utilizzate le stesse procedure messe in atto in occasione del restauro del Vaso di Archermoros[15] e cioè mettere „a terra della tela imbottita di paglia, affinché ove cadesse qualche pezzo nell'atto di smontarsi non si rompesse sul nudo pavimento [...] Quindi [...] che si metta il vaso smontato in un gran recipiente di acqua per iscioglierlo e per pulirlo con acido nitrico dalla colla, gesso ed ogni altra lordura, e poi che debba asciugarsi e pulirsi con l'alcale dalla cattiva vernice appostavi. Fatto ciò si dovranno commettere i pezzi con colla forte e con perni di ottone internamente, e rimpiazzare diligentemente le mancanze, sempre conservando con scrupolosità l'antico“.[16]

Nelle sintetiche ma precise informazioni sul restauro del Vaso dell'Amazzonomachia riportate da Braun non si fa alcun accenno alle numerose grappe metalliche utilizzate per assemblare i frammenti, i cui alloggiamenti a canaletto, lunghi e stretti scavati nello spessore della ceramica con un foro passante a ciascuna estremità, sono ancora oggi perfettamente conservati *(Fig. 3)*.[17] Non sappiamo quale fosse il metallo utilizzato per tali grappe perché di esse non restano tracce né siamo in grado di stabilire con certezza in quale momento esse furono realizzate. E' da segnalare, però, che in due casi nella parte inferiore del cratere sono presenti suture a lingotto che conservano ancora all'interno residui di piombo *(Fig. 4)*. Analisi del metallo recentemente eseguite hanno dimostrato che i rapporti misurati sono tipici del piombo delle miniere di piombo argentifero delle Cicladi/Laurion attive tra gli inizi del V sec. a. C. e il III sec. a. C. Appare assai probabile, quindi, che la presenza delle grappe in piombo possa riferirsi ad un restauro avvenuto già in epoca antica.[18]

Le informazioni sui restauri eseguiti nel tempo sul Vaso dell'Amazzonomachia sono piuttosto scarne e basate per lo più su indizi. La descrizione di Heydemann del 1872[19] è molto vicina a quella riportata da Braun nel 1836 e A. Ruesch nella Guida del Museo Nazionale di Napoli del 1908 ricorda ancora che „l'intelligenza completa dei soggetti è resa impossibile non meno dai danni subiti dal monumento che dai restauri di mano moderna“[20] e sottolinea che non sarà possibile apprezzare la decorazione originale del cratere se prima il vaso non sarà scomposto e riassemblato in maniera critica eliminando i vecchi restauri. Nel 1931, però, come attesta un'unica fotografia inedita da me rinvenuta presso l'Archivio Fotografico del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, nella parte centrale del lato A del Vaso è chiaramente visibile l'ampia lacuna, tuttora presente, integrata senza rifacimento pittorico *(Fig. 5)*. È possibile, ma purtroppo non ne abbiamo la certezza, che la foto documenti un intervento di restauro successivo a quello eseguito da Dome-

Fig. 3 Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Vaso dell'Amazzonomachia inv. 81667: dettaglio del lato B con gli alloggiamenti delle grappe metalliche.

Fig. 4 Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Vaso dell'Amazzonomachia inv. 81667: sutura a lingotto con resti di piombo.

nico Fortunato sotto la direzione di Gargiulo, intervento che prevedeva che le lacune fossero integrate „con argilla senza pittura“ e che i frammenti fossero assemblati mediante grappe di ottone. Ovviamente, non è possibile stabilire con esattezza quando avvenne tale restauro nel corso del quale furono asportate le grappe metalliche e gli alloggiamenti delle stesse furono riempiti con gesso bianco.

Non si conoscono altre documentazioni su restauri per gli anni successivi almeno fino agli anni '80–'90 del secolo scorso. Il devastante terremoto avvenuto il 23 novembre 1980 che colpì la Campania e la Basilicata provocò seri danni al Museo Archeologico di Napoli. Particolarmente colpita fu la Collezione Vascolare esposta che fu trasferita per ragioni di sicurezza nei depositi collocati nei sottotetti del Museo. Anche il Vaso dell'Amazzonomachia fu spostato e collocato in ambienti ove le sollecitazioni dovute alla movimentazione e le condizioni ambientali non favorevoli aggravarono fortemente uno stato di conservazione già preoccupante tanto che il cratere subì un vero e proprio cedimento strutturale e nel 1992 fu necessario effettuare un nuovo restauro eseguito, questa volta, con moderne metodiche d'intervento.[21] Si operò su ben 440 frammenti raccolti in 17 cassette e nel corso dei lavori si rinvennero anche frammenti con resti di giornali utilizzati per rinforzare la parte interna del vaso che testimoniano un restauro, non altrimenti documentato, avvenuto negli anni '70 del secolo scorso. Nel 2004, poi, il Vaso dell'Amazzonomachia subì un nuovo, considerevole danno in seguito a un incidente avvenuto nel corso di un trasferimento da Roma, ove era stato esposto in una mostra, a Napoli.

Il nuovo e, si spera, definitivo restauro, realizzato nel 2013[22] sotto la direzione di chi scrive, ha costituito un'ulteriore occasione per acquisire nuove informazioni. Sono state effettuate indagini sia su una delle anse sia sui residui di piombo di grappe ancora conservate nella parte inferiore del Vaso. Sui risultati di quest'ultime si è già parlato in precedenza. Le analisi chimiche e minero-petrografiche eseguite con la collaborazione del Dipartimento di Chimica e del Dipartimento di Scienze della Terra e Geoambientali dell'Università degli Studi Aldo Moro di Bari su una delle anse che si sospettava di restauro borbonico hanno confermato che essa non è antica.[23] Si tratterebbe, quindi, del „manico moderno“ riportato nel verbale di immissione nel Real Museo del 1835 con l'annotazione „esistono delle positive mancanze supplite a talento del restauratore“. Nel corso del recente restauro si è valutato di non riposizionare né l'ansa moderna, poiché il suo notevole peso rappresentava un aggravio per il vaso, né il cercine, la struttura circolare d'argilla che serviva a raccordare la parte inferiore del cratere al piede, realizzato in tempi moderni come hanno accertato le indagini eseguite dal Dipartimento di Fisica dell'Università degli Studi di Milano nel 1993.[24]

Fig. 5 Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Vaso dell'Amazzonomachia inv. 81667: 1931, foto inedita del lato A con l'ampia integrazione acroma e gli alloggiamenti per le grappe metalliche riempite con gesso.

E' stato giustamente osservato che il Real Museo Borbonico di Napoli rappresentò per i tempi quasi un laboratorio d'avanguardia in cui venivano sperimentate soluzioni nel campo del restauro che furono di esempio per l'intera Europa.[25] E se fin dagli inizi delle scoperte di Ercolano e di Pompei per i dipinti murali fu adottata la scelta, quanto mai vicina alle attuali metodiche di intervento, di non eseguire integrazioni della decorazione dipinta in modo che la parte antica fosse chiaramente leggibile,[26] per i vasi e per i bronzi si seguì, invece, la via del restauro mimetico e ricostruttivo nel quale la grande maestria dei restauratori napoletani era universalmente riconosciuta, una scelta che incontrava, tra l'altro, il favore del gusto imperante negli ambienti dei collezionisti europei. Non a caso il Direttore Arditi esaltava con grande orgoglio l'abilità dei suoi restauratori Giacomo Ceci, Raffaele Gargiulo e Raffaele Trapani nell'imitare la patina antica dei bronzi archeologici e l'abate Romanelli affermava con orgoglio che i restauratori di vasi, Gargiulo in testa, erano in grado di restituire „da cento pezzi inutili [...] il vaso intero coll'accordo del lucido, della risonanza, e delle figure da non potersi distinguere da un vaso intatto“. Una maestria pericolosa che spesso rasentava la falsificazione tanto che, a un certo punto, la Reale Accademia Ercolanese si vide costretta a porre un freno ispirando il Rescritto Reale del 15 gennaio 1818, un documento innovativo e rivoluzionario rispetto al gusto del tempo, ma molto vicino al nostro metodo d'intervento, che proibiva qualunque restauro mimetico e integrativo su tutti i tipi di oggetti antichi e che stabiliva, per quanto riguardava i vasi, che „le antiche opere di arti si lascino nello stato in cui si trovano, commettendo solo i frammenti in modo che i contorni antichi non ne vengano alterati“. Principio condivi-

so da Francesco Maria Avellino, direttore del Real Museo di Napoli dal 1840 al 1850, e da lui applicato per il restauro del Vaso di Archermoros, il quale sosteneva: „io credo che i restauri de'Vasi dipinti consister debbono solamente nell'incollare i pezzi e supplire i mancanti in creta con lasciare questi supplitamente senza pittura alcuna. So per altro che un tal sistema non è universalmente gustato e forse dovranno passare ancora degli anni perché vincansi i pregiudizi che si elevano tuttavia contro di esso“.[27]

Il Real Rescritto, come è noto, comportò un'immediata sospensione di tutti i restauri fino alla fine del 1821 e anche Gargiulo dovette adeguarsi sia pure a malincuore. Non mancò, però, di lamentarsi con Arditi, che non era tra gli estimatori del metodo imposto dal Real Rescritto, sostenendo che „non compete al mio decoro, ed a quello del mio Ajutante, che ci occupiamo alla sola operazione dell'incollare. Vi supplico perciò caldamente, che c'impetriate la libera e completa restaurazione per l'onore comune, e fraditanto non si risolva tal affare vi prego a commettermi altre occupazioni, acciò in faccia ad i miei compagni, non fo' una figura da disutile, e che l'istesso fa' il mio ajutante“.[28] Da queste affermazioni appare evidente quale fosse il concetto di restauro per Gargiulo! Alla ripresa delle attività alla fine del 1821 non si poteva, però, non tenere conto delle disposizioni reali e, nello stesso tempo, non si poteva ignorare la maestria napoletana nel restauro dei vasi. Occorreva, quindi, trovare una mediazione che permettesse da una parte di rispettare il Real Rescritto e dall'altra di non rinnegare la straordinaria capacità nella reintegrazione pittorica che era alla base della fama dei restauratori napoletani. Un'apparente contraddizione che trovò la sua soluzione nell'adozione della tecnica del „mezzo restauro“, una via intermedia tra il rigore voluto dall'Accademia Ercolanese e il „restauro completo“.

La tecnica del „mezzo restauro“ consiste nel riequilibrio estetico delle parti mancanti della decorazione pittorica del vaso mediante integrazioni non mimetiche che si raccordano con la decorazione originale ma che sono facilmente riconoscibili ad una visione ravvicinata. Potremmo quasi affermare che si tratti dell'attuazione ante litteram del principio della riconoscibilità della Teoria del Restauro di Brandi! Gargiulo stesso è l'artefice di questa tecnica che nel 1839 adotta nel restauro del bel cratere attico a calice con Gigantomachia da Ruvo, inv. 81521, attribuito al Pittore di Pronomos, databile nel 410–400 a. C., del quale si conserva solo la parte inferiore frammentata *(Fig. 6)*.[29] Per restaurare questo vaso Gargiulo dichiara che è sua intenzione di integrare i frammenti originali superstiti „con qualche pezzo moderno necessario al sostegno degli antichi, così se ne conoscerà anche la forma e la grandezza; quali pezzi nuovi aggiunti [saranno] da distinguersi dagli antichi restaurandoli a mezzo restauro“.[30]

Fig. 6 Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, cratere a calice attico da Ruvo con Gigantomachia inv. 81521 restaurato da Gargiulo a „mezzo restauro“.

Gli interventi conservativi recentemente effettuati sul cratere a calice con Gigantomachia, inv. 81521, hanno permesso di apprezzare al meglio la metodica di intervento e la tecnica utilizzata dal restauratore. Il „mezzo restauro“ sembra utilizzato anche per l'anfora attica a figure nere con Peleo e Tetide, inv. 81178, databile nel 530–510 a. C., recentemente sottoposta a restauro sotto la mia direzione nel Laboratorio di Conservazione e Restauro del Museo di Napoli *(Fig. 7)*. Il restauro si è reso indispensabile a causa del pessimo stato di conservazione del vaso che presentava ampie fessurazioni e cedimenti dei vecchi restauri tali che ne avrebbero potuto determinare il collassamento. Il vaso mostra ampie aree di restauro ottocentesco che sembrerebbero realizzate a „mezzo restauro“ *(Fig. 8)*. Sappiamo molto poco di questa anfora. Sappiamo che faceva parte di un gruppo di ventuno vasi a figure nere e cinque bronzi provenienti dall'Etruria (Canino, Vulci e Veio) venduti al Real Museo nel 1844 da Gargiulo sotto lo pseudonimo di Giuseppe Aurelio De Gennaro e forse da lui stesso restaurati.[31] Il fatto che l'anfora sembrava non essere mai stata restaurata in tempi recenti, almeno da quello che è noto, ci ha indotti a prelevare campioni di adesivo per verificare se Gargiulo avesse utilizzato per questo restauro la colla di sua invenzione che gli aveva procurato fama e privilegi.

I campioni sono stati analizzati presso il Getty Villa di Los Angeles con il quale il Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli ha un rapporto di collaborazione da molti anni. L'obiettivo era quello di confrontare i campioni napoletani con quelli documentati da Marie Svoboda sui vasi della collezione von Koller del Berliner Antikensammlung.[32] I risultati non hanno confermato la presenza della colla a base di gommalacca inventata da Gargiulo.[33]

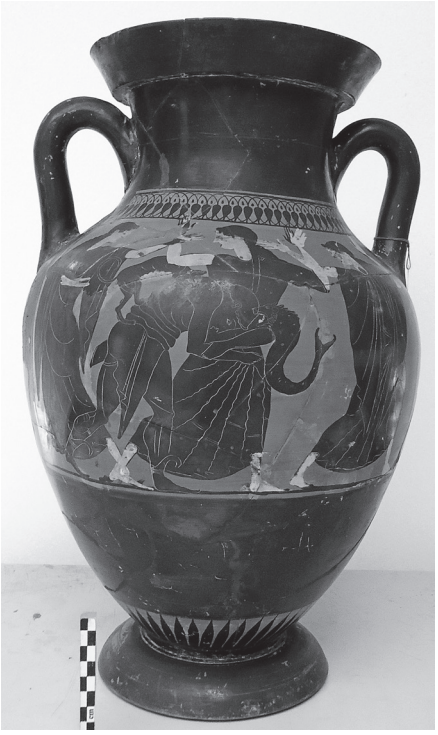

Fig. 7 Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Anfora attica a figure nere con Peleo e Tetide inv. 81178: prima del restauro.

Le analisi attestano, infatti, un tipo di collante solubile in acqua che non corrisponde alle caratteristiche innovative della colla del famoso restauratore: resistente all'umidità e agli acidi, liquida, che non ha bisogno di fuoco per essere utilizzata. Tali risultati erano, d'altra parte, già apparsi evidenti nel corso del nostro restauro quando si è riscontrato che gli incollaggi (a base di colla animale, forse colla di pesce) si sono facilmente sciolti con tamponi di acqua calda. L'anfora è risultata ricomposta da circa sessanta frammenti. Lo smontaggio del vaso ha anche rivelato la presenza di frammenti di ceramica a vernice nera riutilizzati per colmare alcune lacune, frammenti di tessuto per rinforzare gli incollaggi e frammenti acromi moderni, facilmente identificabili nella parte interna del vaso per il colore leggermente più scuro dell'argilla antica, sui quali è stata incisa una croce nell'argilla cruda per rendere più facile e sicuro l'assemblaggio *(Fig. 9)*. Sono stati individuati anche due tipi di collanti non moderni: uno di colore verde scuro, molto fragile, che si trova su tutto il vaso, solubile in acqua calda, probabilmente colla di pesce, e un adesivo rosso scuro sui bordi dei frammenti del collo, forse gommalacca. Saggi effettuati su alcune integrazioni dipinte hanno dimostrato che esse si rimuovono facilmente con alcol e le indagini effettuate presso il Getty Villa hanno confermato che la vernice nera di restauro contiene proteine di origine animale.

Alla luce della documentazione raccolta nel corso del recente restauro credo che si possa affermare che sicuramente vi è stato un intervento eseguito con la tecnica del „mezzo restauro" realizzato in alcuni punti in maniera piuttosto grossolana (certamente non al livello del cratere a calice da Ruvo) prima dell'immissione nel Real Museo (nell'Inventario Generale nella descrizione si riporta „anfora rotta e restaurata"); che nel corso di tale restauro non è stata utilizzata la famosa colla inventata da Gargiulo nel 1820; che in epoca moderna sono stati eseguiti limitati incollaggi dei frammenti del collo con una resina epossidica. Per quanto riguarda il restauro più antico, se esso sia da attribuire o meno a Gargiulo in persona, questo, a mio parere, resta al momento, sulla base di ciò che attualmente ci è noto, del tutto incerto.

Fig. 8 Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Anfora attica a figure nere con Peleo e Tetide inv. 81178: lato B, integrazione realizzata a „mezzo restauro".

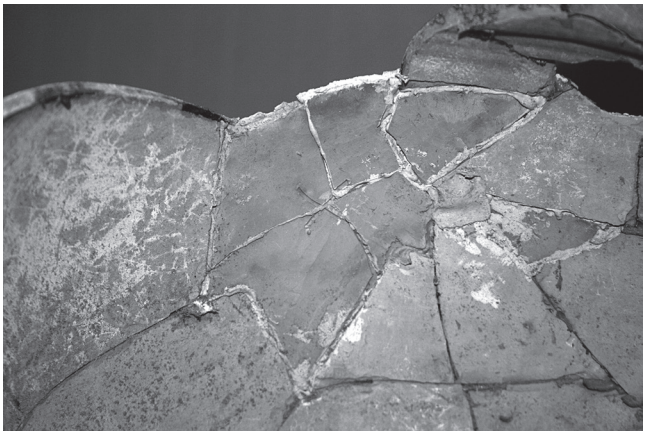

Fig. 9 Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Anfora attica a figure nere con Peleo e Tetide inv. 81178: frammenti acromi moderni sui quali è stata incisa una croce nell'argilla cruda per facilitare l'assemblaggio.

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ABBREVIAZIONI

ASSAN	Archivio Storico Soprintendenza Archeologica Napoli.
ASNa	Archivio di Stato di Napoli
Kästner – Saunders 2016	U. Kästner – D. Saunders (edd.), Dangerous Perfection. Ancient Funerary Vases from Southern Italy (Los Angeles 2016).
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Ringrazio la dott.ssa Angela Luppino, autrice di „Raffaele Gargiulo e la sua collezione di vasi al Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli. Ricerche sul restauro dei vasi antichi nella prima metà del XIX secolo a Napoli: tecniche e materiali“, Tesi di dottorato 2016, Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense, Ecole Doctorale 395, Milieux, Cultures et Sociétés du Passé et du Présent in cotutela con l'Università degli Studi di Napoli „L'Orientale“. Archeologia. Rapporti tra Oriente e Occidente, in corso di pubblicazione, per avermi generosamente anticipato parti del suo studio e per gli stimolanti scambi di idee e di informazioni.

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22 Il restauro, diretto da chi scrive, è stato effettuato presso il Laboratorio di Conservazione e Restauro del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, da Mariateresa Operetto, che ha coordinato l'intervento, e da Raffaele D'Aniello, Antonio Esposito Marroccella, Pasquale Festinese e Antonio Guerra.

23 Le indagini, ancora inedite, sono state eseguite presso l'Università degli Studi di Bari Aldo Moro sotto la direzione della prof.ssa Annarosa Mangone. Quelle chimiche, realizzate mediante spettrometria di massa al plasma induttivamente accoppiato (ICP-MS) e spettroscopia Raman, sono state condotte presso i laboratori del Dipartimento di Chimica; quelle minero-petrografiche, eseguite mediante microscopia ottica (OM), microscopia elettronica a scansione (SEM) e spettroscopia a dispersione di energia (EDS), sono state effettuate presso il Dipartimento di Scienze della Terra e Geoambientali.

24 Indagini, inedite, eseguite dal Dipartimento di Fisica dell'Università degli Studi di Milano nel 1993, hanno dimostrato che il cercine è di fattura recente.

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31 Cfr. Milanese 2014, 209, nota 37. Il restauro è stato effettuato nel 2011 presso il Laboratorio di Conservazione e Restauro del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli da Mariateresa Operetto con la collaborazione di Diane Beaugnon, allieva dell'INP – Institut National du Patrimoine (Francia) e sotto la direzione di chi scrive.

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33 Le indagini, inedite, sono state condotte nel 2011 da Marie Svoboda e Joy Mazurek presso il Getty Conservation Institute. Sono state eseguite Fourier-transform infrared spectroscopy (FTIR) e gas chromatography mass spectrometry (GC/MS) per i composti presenti negli oli di essiccazione, cere e resine di alberi. La pittura nera, analizzata mediante Pyrolysis-GC/MS, contiene proteine, probabilmente colla animale.

A Six Year Journey: the Study and Conservation of Four Apulian Vases from Ceglie del Campo

Marie Svoboda

The six year collaborative project between the Getty and the Antikensammlung Staatliche Museen zu Berlin of a group of Apulian vases provided a rare opportunity to study and conserve a collection of well-documented and historically significant artefacts. In addition to the project's main conservation goal, the investigation of the vases' historic restorations directed decisions for how to ultimately visually integrate the vases. Documenting the restoration history of the vases not only informed future preservation choices but helped develop ways of communicating findings to the public.

The preservation of historic restorations as a document of past practices is a growing and important topic in the field of art conservation (Bourgeois 2007; Tsigarida 2007; Bentz – Kästner 2007). The Getty's role in the collaboration with Berlin was to study, document and conserve four monumental Apulian vases from a group of 14 that entered the Berlin collection in 1828. The initial investigation into one of these vases, a loutrophoros (F 3264), revealed a detailed history including insightful archival documentation (Svoboda 2010, 2013). The object's condition, in conjunction with the technical and analytical study of the materials and methods used for preservation, shed light on a restoration campaign executed by the 19th century restorer Raffaele Gargiulo (1785 – after 1870). The examination influenced the current treatment and display decisions made for the loutrophoros, and while it also guided the conservation direction for the other three vases, their unstable and visually disfiguring condition required a different approach. The vases would need to be completely re-treated. However the "silver lining" was that it provided a valuable opportunity to better understand 19th century restoration materials and methodology.

The Project Background

Originating from the site of Ceglie del Campo, a region of Apulia near Bari, 14 vases, dating to the 4th century BC, were acquired for the Berlin collection in 1828. Believed to have been discovered within three adjoining tombs, their earliest documentation places them in Naples in the early 19th century (Castorina 1996/1997). After several journeys and nearly 200 years, the vases arrived in Los Angeles in the fall of 2008 when a conservation collaboration between the Antikensammlung Museum in Berlin and the antiquities conservation department at the J. Paul Getty Museum was launched.

Although the history of 19th century archaeology and the Berlin vases has been extensively published (Milanese 2014; Kästner – Saunders 2016), this study must include a brief mention of two important figures involved in their story. The first is Baron Franz von Koller (1767 – 1826), a Bohemian military attaché and avid art collector working in Naples in the early 19th century (Kästner 2002, 135; Dufková 2006, 62).[1] The 14 vases are known to have belonged to his private art collection which encompassed over 1,300 artefacts. The first records of their early history are in the form of archival drawings dating to 1825, now in the Antikensammlung collection.[2] A well-known watercolor from 1826 by the artist Carl Götzloff depicts Koller's residence in Naples, where one vase from this group, loutrophoros F 3263, is depicted fully restored, just as it appeared in 2008.[3] Documents such as this clearly show that some of the Berlin vases were fully reconstructed before 1826. This introduces the second important personality in the history of the vases, the restorer Raffaele Gargiulo, an acquaintance of Koller's. His connection to the Berlin vases was influential in the project's direction and the final outcome of treatment. The complete details of the restoration history of these artifacts, past and present, have been published in the *Dangerous Perfection: Ancient Funerary Vases from Southern Italy* exhibition catalogue (Kästner – Saunders 2016).

Raffaele Gargiulo was a well-known restorer, a dealer in the antiquities market and an active member of the scholarly Neapolitan community during the 19th century (Milanese 2007, 2008, 2010; Martino 2005; Castorina 1996/1997; Kästner 2002). At age 16, Gargiulo began his restoration career at the Royal Porcelain Factory in

Naples. By 1808 he was working as a volunteer at the Real Museo Borbonico (National Archaeological Museum) in Naples, eventually becoming chief restorer and assistant supervisor for the museum over his 56 year career (Milanese 2007, 83). Gargiulo's interests and knowledge of archaeology placed him amongst the many well-known scholars and international elite of his time (Halbertsma 2003, 155; Milanese 2008, 67; 2010, 21). As a result of these connections and his expertise in the materials and technology of archaeological materials, Gargiulo was well versed with pottery reproduction. His understanding of fabrication technology led him to publish a book in 1843 on the subject: *Cenni Sulla Maniera di Rinvenire I Vasi Fittili Italo-Greci.*[4]

Gargiulo's forward-thinking involvement with the chemist Nicolla Covelli enabled a unique approach to the study and restoration of ancient vases.[5] Covelli likely guided the methodology and material choices Gargiulo used for his restorations, which may have included the enigmatic "*colla*", a proprietary adhesive developed by Gargiulo and used to restore ceramics. The in-depth investigation of the Berlin vases through historic documents, images, archived letters and invoices provided clues about his elusive creation and signature adhesive. Its identification upheld his connection with the Berlin vases and assisted in understanding their condition after nearly two centuries. Furthermore, Gargiulo's link to these vases enriched the significance of their complex story.

Letters and invoices by Gargiulo are found in the Neapolitan archive ARISTOS, a database and resource that provides an insight into the 19th century Neapolitan art world.[6] ARISTOS offers access to the letters between Gargiulo and his contemporaries, criticisms of and by his colleagues, not to mention his itemized invoices requesting payment. The invoices are of particular interest not only because such documents still exist but because they provide clues to the materials and possible techniques Gargiulo used. Although the existing documentation in the archive is extensive, recipes and the secrets of his techniques were never revealed.

After the vases left Naples for Berlin in 1828, their complex history included two World Wars, concealment and a journey to Russia. Only 13 objects returned to Berlin in 1957; the 14th remained in Moscow as a spoil of World War II. Over the past 50 years, six vases from the group have undergone conservation treatment in Berlin, leaving eight objects requiring attention. The 2008 Berlin/Getty collaboration focused on the examination and conservation of these eight Apulian vases, each museum dealing with the study and treatment of four. One outcome of the vase project was to present the entire group fully conserved, incorporating information acquired through the investigation of their restoration history for an exhibition at the Getty Villa and the Antikensammlung, and a publication.[7] This paper addresses the four vases investigated and conserved by the antiquities conservation department at the J. Paul Getty Museum.

The four monumental red-figured vases selected for treatment at the Getty consisted of a nearly identical pair of loutrophoroi (F 3263 and F 3264) and a matching pair of volute kraters (F 3256 and F 3257) each measuring approximately 1.10 m in height *(Fig. 1. 2)*. The loutrophoroi have detached lids and only one krater arrived with its original base or stand. All vases had evidence of 19th and 20th century restorations and their overall condition varied extensively. Due to a fabric and clay lined interior and extensive overpainting on the exterior of two vases, their condition and the degree of past restoration intervention was not immediately apparent.

At the onset of the project a treatment strategy was established with Berlin that followed a standard two part protocol. Part A's aim was to disassemble, desalinate, clean, reassemble, fill and integrate the vases; part B explored the production process and investigation of the materials used to restore the vases.

Five questions were raised as each vase was examined:

What condition is the vase in?
How much is original vs ancient?
When were the restorations made?
What materials were used for the restorations?
Based on findings, what are the best options to conserve and display this vase?

The technical study of the Berlin vases began with visible inspection and imaging (ultraviolet, infrared, X-radiography) followed by chemical analysis with techniques including scanning electron microscopy with energy dispersive spectroscopy (SEM-EDS); portable X-ray fluorescence (pXRF) for elemental identification; Raman spectroscopy for the identification of compounds; and Fourier transform infrared spectroscopy (FTIR) for the identification of organic materials.

Discoveries made during the investigation and disassembly of the vases not only revealed interesting 19th century restoration techniques but more specifically supported the theory that they were the work of Gargiulo and his workshop.[8] One clue, well documented in his invoices and observed on all the Berlin vases, was the practice of using modern ceramic pieces to replace missing ancient fragments. This practice was a common technique in the 19th century (Snow 1986; Williams 1988, 147–149; Bourgeois 2007, 42 f.; Garachon 2010, 28), sometimes used to build large sections or even a completely new artefact.[9] Gargiulo's reference in his invoice requesting payment of: "clay for new pieces and for firing them" (Gargiulo 1825) and his detailed discussion

Fig. 1 Condition of loutrophoroi before treatment (F 3264, F 3263).

about the acquisition and purification of the clay, and the identification of its composition, attest to his use of this restoration technique (Gargiulo 1843, 20–22).[10]

Also cited in Gargiulo's invoices and letters is the use of his signature adhesive *colla*.[11] Using his archived documents as a guide, *colla* was reproduced in the Getty conservation lab and compared to analysis provided by the Getty Conservation Institute of all four vases. An analytical breakdown of the components corroborated the materials listed in the invoices that Gargiulo submitted for payment: shellac was identified as the primary material (binder) mixed with the pigments lead white, lead chromate, cinnabar and the volcanic mineral alunite (Mazurek 2011; Ganio – Walton 2009). Analysis of the *colla* used on the vases studied in Berlin confirmed similar components (Schilling 2006).

In general, the historic overpaint on the surface revealed a composition comparable to *colla (Fig. 3)*. Under the microscope, cross-sections prepared of the paint showed an intricate layering system based on a non-dewaxed shellac and possibly a drying oil as a binder (Mazurek 2011). Pigments mixed within the binder were identified as carbon black and lead white in the areas of black gloss with traces of vermilion, lead chromate and alunite, likely applied as a primary layer. In the areas of reserve, lead white, lead chromate, vermilion and alunite were also confirmed (Giannini – Walton 2011). The complex choice of materials and the skill in which they were

Fig. 2 Condition of kraters before treatment (F 3257, F 3256), fragments belonging to the neck, rim and handles of krater F 3256 not shown.

Fig. 3 Detail of 19th century restored area of loutrophoros (F 3264) showing flaking paint.

applied resulted in a painted surface that was difficult to distinguish from the ancient one. Its identification required careful examination using imaging techniques (UV illumination and X-radiography) to expose the true condition of the four vases.

Loutrophoros (F 3264)

The loutrophoros, a tall cylindrical vase with lid, was in good condition. The foot was detached and is recognized as a modern addition.[12] It was also later determined that, through the comparison of archived drawings, the lid did not belong to this vase's body but rather to the companion loutrophoros (F 3263). Although the structural condition of the vase's body was not immediately apparent, observations made from its technical study served as a model for the investigation of the other three vases.

Overall, the body of the loutrophoros appeared unbroken and in sound condition, however various unusual features elicited concern. The surface of the ceramic was flaking, exposing a light grey surface underneath *(Fig. 3)*. This feature prompted a more in-depth study, including imaging and technical analysis to better understand its structural condition.

The first essential technique implemented was ultraviolet (UV visible) illumination *(Fig. 4)*. This imaging technique aids in mapping and identifying modern materials such as pigments, binders and adhesives. Restoration materials can exhibit diagnostic fluorescence when exposed to UV light, not only enabling the visualization of the repairs but also the general identification of the materials. The UV images of the loutrophoros supported the theory that the areas of flaking on the surface are modern overpaint and that most of the surface had been restored in this manner.

Fig. 4 UV image of loutrophoros (F 3264) without lid and foot, revealing restored sections.

The condition of the object was partially hidden by an interior lining composed of burlap covered with a mixture of clay and animal glue. Therefore another investigative tool, X-radiography, a method of visualizing through the ceramic to observe its structural construction, was explored. The x-rays revealed the fragmentary nature of the vase and the more recent ceramic pieces used recreate the bottom third of its cylindrical body.[13] Rectangular pieces, appearing lighter (dense) in tone, were used to reconstruct the missing portion of the vase *(Fig. 5)*. This modern section was also disguised by the skilled overpaint on the surface, corresponding to the UV images. In order to characterize the modern additions a small section of the interior lining was removed, uncovering an ancient and modern fragment join. The modern fragment was light grey in color, thicker and softer relative to the ancient fragment adjoining it. In between the two fragments was a rose-colored adhesive/gap filler. This curious material was sampled for material identification and confirmed as *colla*. The discovery of these materials was a further clue associating Raffaele Gargiulo with the vase.

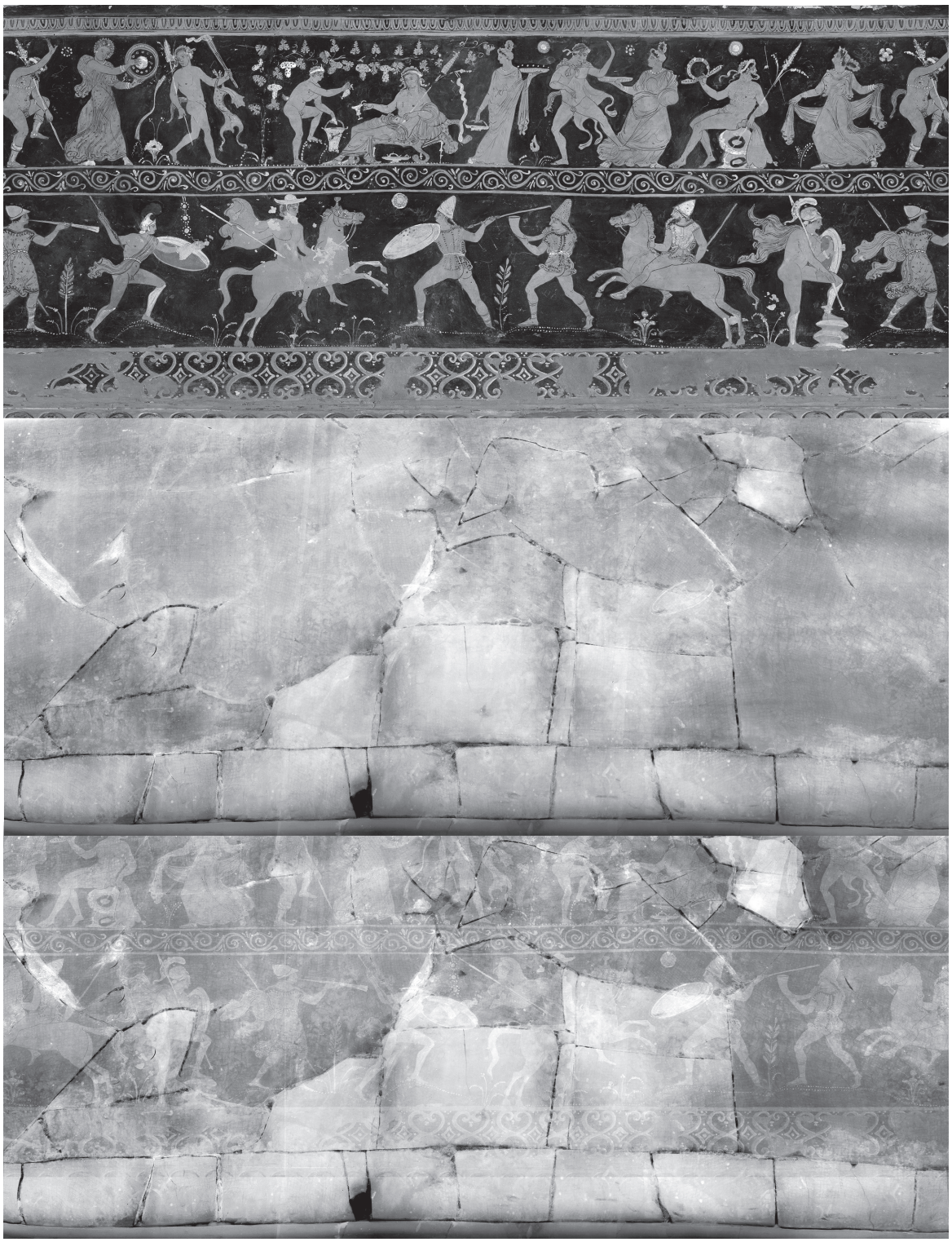

Fig. 5 Rollouts of loutrophoros (F 3264) from top to bottom: visible illumination, x-ray and overlay of both to highlight degree of intervention.

The study of this loutrophoros raised the issue about whether to remove or preserve the 19th century interventions which are now a valuable part of the vase's history. Subsequent discussions with Berlin ensued, and a decision was made to leave them intact. The choice was based on the fact that two-thirds of the vase was restored by Gargiulo and their removal would erase an integral part of its history, leaving a mostly modern (21st century) artifact. Additionally, overpaint removal tests revealed that although some areas of ancient surface were in fair condition, this was not always the case. One section where overpaint was removed exposed an intentionally dam-

aged ancient surface which likely occurred during its restoration. Exposing this damage would detract from its visual appearance. However, the most influential factor in preserving the loutrophoros' present condition was that the ancient vase with intact 19th century restorations is in stable condition. Until a better treatment strategy can be established in the future, it was agreed to leave the loutrophoros as a document of Raffaele Gargiulo's work and 19th century restoration techniques.

Loutrophoros (F 3263)

The matching loutrophoros arrived with a lid and attached ancient foot. The fragments on the upper third of the vase had detached and were cleaned and rejoined in Berlin using a modern adhesive and temporary brown paper tape bridging the joins on the reverse. This triage conservation approach was likely done to stabilize the fragments during shipment to the Getty. Unlike the two other vases, the base of the loutrophoros was filled with plaster which disguised remnants of a lining layer (similar to that found on loutrophoros F 3264). An ancient fragment that accompanied the vase belonged to the foot, although a modern ceramic blank substitute was in its place. The presence of an unincorporated ancient fragment was a typical, yet mysterious, feature for all the vases. Because of the loutrophoros' poor condition, the excessive use of plaster on the interior, detached fragments and the need to reintegrate the original fragment with the foot, it was decided to completely disassemble the vase and follow the established treatment protocol.

During disassembly, the presence of a rusting iron armature was found embedded in the plaster within the foot. Traces of *colla* and modern fragments were confirmed, as well as the deliberate aggressive damage of the ancient ceramic. Scratches and gouges discovered on the interior of the foot may have been created to add texture to the ceramic surface for improved joining and attachment of the plaster. However, the gouged and abraded damage inflicted on the exterior decorated surface was distressing. Archived letters by Gargiulo heavily criticize the "heavy handed work" of his predecessor, sighting that he restored vases that were already damaged by being roughly filed.[14] However, Gargiulo may also have been guilty of this aggressive treatment while restoring the vessels, especially if he was involved in restoring the newly discovered Berlin vases.

Fig. 6 During treatment details of loutrophoros (F 3263) left, right Adobe Photoshop integration proposal.

When the reassembly of the loutrophoros was complete, the extensive network of breaks and fills, and the intentional deep gouges and abrasions, revealed a visually disruptive surface on the exterior of the ceramic. This incited discussion for aesthetic integration options *(Fig. 6)*.

Without experimenting on the vase, the various choices were presented virtually to Berlin for discussion through Adobe Photoshop mockups. This enabled the effective visualization of reintegration options to be assessed before in-painting. Through collaborative discussion, decisions were made on a case by case basis, with the ultimate goal of providing a balanced, integrated design without adding misleading information.

Krater (F 3256)

The volute krater arrived in poor condition with its neck, rim and handles detached and in fragments. The vase's separate base was also in poor condition. Joins along the fragmentary krater's body were separating and unstable as a result of adhesive failure. Because of its mostly complete condition (neck, rim, handles and foot) this krater was used as a model for recreating missing sections on its counterpart (F 3257). As with the loutrophoroi, various areas of the ceramic surface were flaking and discolor and a lining was present on the interior. Although the lining disguised the structural condition of the vase, it fortuitously assisted in keeping many of the failing joins together. Once the lining was removed modern ceramic sections and *colla* were exposed. The discovery of 36 brass staples bridging joins on the bottom section of the krater was unexpected *(Fig. 7)*. Numerous archived documents by Gargiulo mention the use of brass staples on the base and foot of vases for additional strength (Gargiulo 1826, 1833b, 1834, 1838, 1844). To better understand their composition, one staple was subjected to X-ray fluorescence (XRF) analysis. Based on its alloy composition and comparison to a comprehensive database of historic European brasses, the production of the staples likely occurred after 1800 but before the 1890s (Heginbotham 2012).[15] The associated base exhibited several restoration campaigns, indicated by the different types of repairs including the disguising of holes where staples once existed. The scientific analysis and historic documentation of the brass staples provided yet another connection to Gargiulo.

Fig. 7 Detail of krater (F 3256) interior revealing staples, small and large modern ceramic additions and colla.

Large modern sections, measuring approximately 26 × 34 cm, and made up of numerous smaller modern ceramic pieces, were identified on the body of the krater. The figures painted on the blank ceramic constructions are based on assumption, and although probably once very well integrated and not easily distinguished from the ancient surface, are now flaking and discolor. In fact, many areas were already noted in an 1885 publication by archaeologist Adolf Furtwängler as entirely modern (Furtwängler 1885, 916–918).[16] These large sections were covered with a modern lining (facing) on the interior so that the entire group could be safely removed as one piece and conserved to prevent further paint loss. The discovery of many ancient fragments that had never been incorporated, but were rather replaced with modern pieces, required reintegration. Thus the krater's condition required its complete disassembly and provided yet another unique opportunity to further explore Gargiulo's working methods.

A dialogue with Berlin ensued about whether to reincorporate the large removed sections of 19th century restoration back into the krater. Due to a slight change in the vessel's reconstructed shape, and the significant difference in color after cleaning, the restored sections no longer matched the krater. Therefore the approach taken was to fill the losses using rigid and stable materials and in-paint with a neutral harmonizing tone. Meanwhile the detached restorations were displayed in the public exhibition as didactic examples of Gargiulo's work and restoration trends during the 19th century *(Fig. 8)*.

During the disassembly and cleaning of the krater, damage disguised by overpaint was once again revealed on the ancient fragments. The solution for visually integrating these larger areas was more complex. Choices were made to balance the actual state of the krater by reducing the appearance of the more disfiguring damage. Deep gouges and loss of ceramic were filled and in-painted while minor surface abrasion and rasping remained untouched to minimize overpainting of the ancient ceramic.

Fig. 8 19th century sections removed from krater (F 3256) included in exhibition didactic display.

Fig. 9 UV image of krater (F 3257) showing fluorescence of 19th century interventions.

Krater (F 3257)

The second krater arrived at the Getty in completely different condition from the other three vases. The upper section neck, rim and handles (with no figural decoration) were clearly modern plaster additions, as were the large undecorated losses on the body; nearly 60 % of the ancient vase was missing. The structural condition, revealing numerous breaks and losses, were clearly evident as there was no interior lining to disguise them. The krater also arrived without its ancient base.

Returning to the historic records, an image of this krater on display in Berlin before World War II documents the presence of these added sections.[17] Curiously, the vase sits on a very different stand than krater F 3257 and it was likely that this had been a contemporary fabrication (now missing). Its unusual condition was documented as early as 1825 in the archival drawing, depicting the krater with the same undecorated modern neck, handles and foot.[18] Decoration of the large losses on the body are suggested/completed by the artist; however it is not clear whether they ever existed.

Further inspection of the krater revealed that the plaster repairs had not endured the years well. The large and heavy fills, the neck and rim with handles, had been damaged, removed and poorly replaced using different materials (adhesives and fillers). This was most evident on the interior where the repairs were equally careless. Ultraviolet illumination confirmed the degree of restoration and validated the need to follow the proposed treatment protocol in order to structurally stabilize and improve its appearance *(Fig. 9)*.

At least three different types of plaster (identified by hardness and color) were used to fabricate the modern neck rim, handles, and fill replacements. Additional plaster was smeared on the interior to reinforce the fragmented body. Hidden between the plaster, on a few areas of ceramic surface, was a patterned stain possibly related to a once-extant textile lining. Although this krater had evidently undergone several restoration campaigns, the presence of the stains suggests that a lining similar to that used on the other vases had probably existed.

As with the other two vases, the krater was systematically disassembled and desalinated. Once again, deliber-

ate damage was uncovered on the ancient fragments. Severe rasping, gouging and abrasion scarred the surface and disrupted the original painted design. As a result, reconstruction and visual integration was challenging, especially when the break edges were rasped, preventing the reconstructed fragments from properly joining. Although evidence for the use of *colla* was not immediately apparent, on closer inspection traces were found in the channels of the rasped break edges, suggesting that some of the heavily damaged fragments were in part the result of attempting to remove the *colla*.

It was discovered that the original ceramic bottom of the vase had been replaced by a thick piece of plaster shaped to fill the loss. After it was removed and inspected, tiny scraps of paper were discovered embedded inside the plaster. The paper, made of common cotton rag, was inscribed with Czech writing, in Germanic *Fraktur* style lettering. Its presence implies a possible time and place for when at least one of the restoration campaigns occurred; one associated with Gargiulo's acquaintance, Baron Franz von Koller.[19]

The unsightly condition of the restorations, along with the excessive weight of the plaster sections, supported recreating – rather than reusing – the neck, rim and handles. For this, improved and light-weight materials that are chemically inert, reversible and simple to fabricate were selected. To reconstruct the large losses on the body, a thin rigid support replicating the curvature of the krater was produced from a two-part epoxy compound. These modern sections were adhered in place and covered with layers of spackling compound (putty) which would enable them to be easily shaped, sanded and painted. The modern additions were in-painted using acrylic paints to integrate with the reserve and black gloss tones of the ceramic.[20]

The most challenging aspect of the krater's reconstruction was recreating the neck, rim, handles and foot. Preparation for fabricating these sections involved taking contours from the companion krater F 3256, as their dimensions were identical. Templates of the interior and exterior profiles were created from a thin sheet of rigid Plexiglas. Using these contours on a rotating table enabled the interior contour of the neck to be spun, followed by the exterior. From the interior outwards, layers of toned and untoned spackling compound, bulked epoxy embedded with polyethylene foam strips, bulked epoxy and finally more layers of pigmented spackling putty were used to form the neck. As these layers were added, the form was spun again against the contour to shape the outer profile of the krater's neck, producing an exact replica.

Silicone molds taken from the companion krater's (F 3256) ancient reassembled handles were created using the same materials. The new handles were cast using bulked epoxy mixed with polyethylene foam with final layers of toned spackling putty to produce ridged yet extremely lightweight replicas. Consequently the modern neck, rim and handle reproductions do not add any excess weight to the ancient fragmentary body of the krater. (The detailed procedures for producing the handles are in Kästner – Saunders 2016).[21]

The construction of the missing base was also replicated from the foot of krater F 3256. An exterior contour was created from it and a solid Plexiglas shape was turned on a lathe to generate an exact replica of the base. Due to its robust construction and ability to incorporate a mounting system for display, the krater can sit directly and securely on its new base.[22]

The final challenge was to visually integrate these large replicated sections by making them harmonize with the shape and overall appearance of the krater. As with loutrophoros F 3263, the options for how to complete the missing sections were presented in Adobe Photoshop and discussed with Berlin. The consensus was to produce neutral flat tones with minor, repetitive decorative details. The final in-painting was achieved by masking out the

Fig. 10 After treatment of krater (F 3257) presenting the choice for compensating new sections.

ancient portions and applying layers of paint over the additions using an airbrush delivery system. Choices for how to complete other decorative options were also presented in Adobe Photoshop and resolved case by case, in order to achieve the most visually integrated and pleasing appearance *(Fig. 10)*.

Conclusion

This profound six year journey taken with the Antikensammlung Staatliche Museen zu Berlin concluded with many important lessons. First was the value and benefit of documentation. Without the historic records we would have not understood the treatment history, materials or methods, not to mention the people who played an important role in their preservation, documentation and study. This supports the need and value for keeping all documentation of research and treatment methodology, both visual and written, for posterity.

Second was collaboration. The exchange of collegial information, opinions, skills and guidance enabled the project to overcome obstacles and progress successfully. Like many conservation endeavours, the path always involves more than just a simple treatment strategy, and typically unfolds into complex solutions, choices and decisions. The Berlin vase project was no exception.

Changes in the initial direction of the project, to preserve and display vases with their historic restorations when their condition permitted, were an important outcome. This decision, along with the documentation and preservation of 19th century restorations, and their inclusion in the exhibition narrative, communicates the full story of an ancient artefact to the public: a story that not only begins with fabrication but continues in different directions beyond the present day. Displaying the procedures, choices and challenges for the public can be successfully achieved through the use of didactic displays, labels and publications which provide a unique and enriching experience. Finally, the techniques and materials selected for this conservation campaign were chosen for their long-term stability, harmonizing appearance and effective means of distinguishing the modern from the ancient portions of the vases. It is hoped that this style of collaboration becomes a model for future projects.

PHOTO CREDITS

Fig. 1. 2	Antikensammlung Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.
Fig. 3. 7. 8	Marie Svoboda, JPGM.
Fig. 4. 9	Ellen Rosenbery, JPGM.
Fig. 5	Visible Rollout J. A.-R. Pozeilov; X-radiography Jeffrey Maish, JPGM.
Fig. 6	Teresa Navarro-Gomez, JPGM.
Fig. 10	Rebecca Truszkowski, JPGM.

ABBREVIATIONS

ASSAN	Archivio Storico Soprintendenza Archeologica Napoli.
Bentz – Kästner 2007	M. Bentz – U. Kästner, (eds.) Konservieren oder restaurieren. Die Restaurierung griechischer Vasen von der Antike bis heute, CVA Deutschland Beih. 3 (Munich 2007) 13 f.
Bourgeois 2007	B. Bourgeois, "Abili restauratori": Naples and the Art of Vase Restoration (Count Turpin de Crissé's Collection, Early 19th Century), in: Bentz – Kästner 2007, 41–47.
Castorina 1996/1997	A. Castorina, "Copia grande di antichi sepolcri". Sugli scavi delle necropolis in Italia meridionale tra Settecento e inizio Ottocento, RIA Ser. 3, 19/20, 1996/1997, 305–344.
Dufková 2006	M. Dufková, Sbírka barona Františka Kollera, in: M. Dufková (ed.), Historie Sbratelství Antických Památek v Českých Zemích/A History of Antiquities Collecting in the Czech Lands (Prague 2006) 49–69.
Furtwängler 1885	A. Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium (Berlin 1885).
Ganio – Walton 2009	M. Ganio – M. Walton, Unpublished internal scientific report, Getty Conservation Institute, July 23, 2009.
Garachon 2010	I. Garachon, From Mender to Restorer: Some Aspects of the History of Ceramic Repair, in: H. Roemich (ed.), Glass and Ceramics Conservation 2010: Interim Meeting of the ICOM-CC Working Group, October 3–6, 2010, Corning, New York, USA (New York 2010) 22–31.
Gargiulo 1822a	R. Gargiulo, Unpublished letter. ASSAN XXI D7/1.16 (29/01/1822; ref. 4748).
Gargiulo 1822b	R. Gargiulo, Unpublished letter. ASSAN XXI D7/1.16 (17/08/1822; ref. 4763).
Gargiulo 1823	R. Gargiulo, Unpublished letter. ASSAN XXI D7/1.17 (31/5/1823; ref. 46381).
Gargiulo 1825	R. Gargiulo, unpublished letter. ASSAN XXI D7/1.19 (11/05/1825; ref. 47077).
Gargiulo 1826	R. Gargiulo, Unpublished letter. ASSAN XXI D7/1.10 (25/09/1826; ref. 46916).
Gargiulo 1833a	R. Gargiulo, Unpublished letter. ASSAN XXI D7/1.13 (1833; ref. 15042).
Gargiulo 1833b	R. Gargiulo, Unpublished letter. ASSAN XXI D7/1.13 (12/7/1833; ref. 46720).
Gargiulo 1834	R. Gargiulo, Unpublished letter. ASSAN XXI D7/1.14 (16/10/1834–5/11/1834; ref. 46848).
Gargiulo 1838	R. Gargiulo, Unpublished letter. ASSAN XXI D7/1.18 (18/05/1838; ref. 46875).
Gargiulo 1843	R. Gargiulo, Cenni sulla maniera di rinvenire; i vasi fittili italo-greci sulla loro costruzione, sulle loro fabbriche piu distinte e sulla progressione e decadimento dell'arte vasaria ²(Naples 1843).
Gargiulo 1844	R. Gargiulo, Unpublished letter. ASSAN XXI D7/1.12 (20/12/1844; ref. 45743).
Giannini – Walton 2011	R. Giannini – M. Walton, Internal scientific report, Getty Conservation Institute 2011.
Halbertsma 2003	R. B. Halbertsma, The discorso preliminare of Raffaele Gargiulo: Classifying Greek Vases, in: Scholars, Travellers and Trade: The Pioneer Years of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, 1818–1840 (London 2003) 155–157.

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NOTES

1 Baron Franz von Koller (1767–1826) was a Bohemian military attaché who lived in Naples between 1815–1818 and 1820–1826 as an officer and lieutenant of the occupied Austrian army. He was a connoisseur of antiquities and was guided by Gargiulo in acquiring, restoring and cataloguing his art collection. For a complete history of Baron Franz Koller see: Dufková 2006.

2 Drawing of krater F 3256. 1825. Antikensammlung Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Archiv Gerhardscher Apparat XVIII 25. See Kästner – Saunders 2016, 86 Cat. 2.5.

3 Watercolor by Carl Wilhelm Götzloff, 1826, *Antiquities by a Balcony Overlooking the Gulf of Naples,* 2007.111.98. Pen and brown and gray ink with watercolor over graphite. 32.9 × 24.2 cm. The National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. See Kästner – Saunders 2016, 28 Fig. 1.5.

4 Raffaele Gargiulo's 1843 publication: Cenni sulla maniera di rinvenire; i vasi fittili italo-greci sulla loro costruzione, sulle loro fabbriche piu distinte e sulla progressione e decadimento dell'arte vasaria (Observations on how Italo-Greek ceramic vases are found, on their manufacture, on the most distinguished workshops and on the development and decline of the art of vase-making).

5 Analysis was performed by chemist, mineralogist and botanist Nicola Covelli (1790–1829) of the Academy of the Sciences in Naples. He was a pioneer of the application of physical and natural sciences to the arts and archeology. See: Gargiulo 1843, 21.

6 ARISTOS (Archivio Informatico per la Storia della Tutela degli Oggetti Storico-artistici) a database in Naples of archival documents related to the restoration and conservation of works of art. Abbreviation of ARISTOS archive documents are listed as: ASSAN: Archivio Storico della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Napoli.

7 Dangerous Perfection: Funerary Vases from Southern Italy. Exhibition at the Getty Villa, November 19, 2014 – May 11, 2015; Gefährliche Perfektion – Antike Grabvasen aus Apulien. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, July 17, 2016 – January 21, 2018.

8 Gargiulo worked closely with his "business partner" Onofrio Pacileo (who is believed to have reconstructed the vases with Gargiulo after they were discovered) and his assistant at the Museo Borbonio, Domenico Fortunato, often noted in numerous archived letters.

9 Hydria (89.562) in the Museum of Fine Arts collection, Boston is a 19th century reproduction of an Archaic period (530–520 BC) vase fabricated entirely from small rectangular pieces of modern ceramic.

10 Clay analysis: elemental analysis using x-ray diffraction (XRD) and induced coupled plasma-mass spectrometry (ICPMS) describes the ceramic blanks as composed of an alumina-rich silicate clay with calcite, quartz, albite and illite. Analysis by Covelli in Gargiulo 1843, 21.

11 In 1822 Gargiulo created a special adhesive *(colla)* for restoring ancient vases in the Real Museo Borbonico. Numerous documents claim its superior quality (Gargiulo 1822a). Gargiulo obtained official permission from the Ministro di Casa Reale in Naples to use the adhesive he formulated (Gargiulo 1822b).

12 While in Berlin, two vases had their ancient and modern fragments dated using optical stimulated luminescence (OSL) testing. OSL provided date ranges for two repairs: the modern foot on F 3242 dates to 1833 +/– 30 years, and the modern ceramic fragments in F 3241 to 1833 +/– 16 years. It is assumed that these support similar dates for the modern inserts and foot on the loutrophoros F 3264.

13 The entire foot, lower rosette and bottom portion of the cylindrical body are modern.

14 The following invoices in the ARISTOS archive are examples of Gargiulo's criticisms of his predecessors: ASSAN XXI D7/1.13 (1833; ref. 15042); ASSAN XXI D7/1.17 (31/5/1823; ref. 46381).

15 Composition of the analysed brass staple indicates relatively low levels of arsenic, antimony and iron; consequently there is a significant amount of silver (approximately 0.06 %) in the metal suggesting that the staple is unlikely to date before ca. 1890s.

16 Adolf Furtwängler (1853–1907) was a well-known German archaeologist, art historian, professor and director of the Glyptothek, Munich. He was assistant director of the Royal Museums in Berlin (1880), responsible for assigning the accession numbers used on the Berlin vases, hence the "F" in front of F 3256. His detailed descriptions of the iconography on the vases identified the modern sections. See: Furtwängler 1885.

17 Archival photograph showing the display of krater F 3256 and loutrophoroi F 3263 and F 3264 in the Neues Museum (1916–1939) Griechischer Saal. See Kästner – Saunders 2016, 37 Fig. 1.11.

18 Drawing of krater F 3257. 1825. Antikensammlung Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Archiv Gerhardscher Apparat XVIII 25. See n. 2.

19 Gargiulo created an inventory of Koller's art collection from 1826–1827 in the Bohemia Obistvy (Czech Republic): see Kästner 2010, 42 and Milanese 2007a, 67.

20 A complete description and list of the materials used for the conservation of the Berlin vases at the Getty can be found in Kästner – Saunders 2016, 71 f.

21 Teresa Navarro-Gomez, antiquities conservation intern 2010–2011 is sincerely thanked for the skillful and elegant handle molds and casts she created for krater F 3257.

22 The Getty antiquities conservation mount makers are acknowledged for reproducing the Plexiglas stand for krater F 3257, and the mounts for all four vases treated at the Getty Villa.

The Iconographical Context of the Ceglie Vases

David Saunders

The J. Paul Getty Museum's collaboration with the Berlin Antikensammlung for the *Gefährliche Perfektion* exhibition focused on the history of the vases after their discovery, and Marie Svoboda discusses our conservation project elsewhere in this volume.[1] I will not reiterate any of this material, other than to note that we were able to clarify certain details of the ancient iconography, such as the figure of Geryon on one of the kraters being triple- rather than double-bodied.[2] With the completion of the project, we now have a better understanding of the fourteen vases' original decoration, and so I use this occasion to examine them more fully in terms of their production and use in mid-to-late 4th century Apulia *(Fig. 1)*. The vessels were unquestionably made for funerary purposes – all save the dish have a hole in the base – but how much more can be said about them? How might the scenes on the vases have been perceived at Ceglie del Campo, where they were reportedly found?

I use the word 'reportedly' deliberately, as we do not have substantial evidence for the vases' discovery.[3] Raffaele Gargiulo's inventory of Baron Franz von Koller's collection, drawn up in 1827, gives their findspot as Ceglie, and further documentation, as well as the vases themselves, suggests that Ceglie del Campo, rather than Ceglie Messapica, was intended. The fullest account of their recovery comes from the correspondence of Colonel Jean Émile Humbert (1771–1839), who was an agent for what is today the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. Writing from Naples in 1830, he recorded that

Fig. 1 Group photograph of thirteen of the Ceglie vases (for the fourteenth, see Fig. 9).

> *"C'est le cas de faire particulierement remarquer ici … que bien peu de personnes qui s'occupent de l'étude des vases antiques ignorent qu'une douzaine des plus beaux que possedait le surdit général autrichien arriverent de Ceglia non loin de Bari à Naples dans plusieurs panniers entierement remplis de leurs fragments qui furent découverts dans trois tombeaux contigus qu'anciennement on avait violés, et bouleversés, et que ce général paya 6000 Ducats de Naples, environ 25,000 francs."*

He adds in a note

> *"Ces fragmens furent confiés à Mm. Gargiulo & Pacileo, qui sous les yeux du Général von Koller en firent renaître 12 vases; dont quelques uns portaient les traces visibles de coups donnés avec un fer tranchant par les anciens violateurs des tombeaux qui les récelaient."*[4]

Two years previously, in 1828, Karl August Boettiger recorded Koller's acquisition of a "dozen" magnificent vases from the Governor of Bari in Puglia. There are no other substantial vessels in Koller's collection that have Ceglie as their findspot, so we may fairly presume that those referenced by both Humbert and Boettiger are those conserved during the Berlin/Getty project. Yet these number fourteen, not the "dozen" cited by our 19th century sources. Perhaps this is to split hairs – "dozen" may simply be a casual reference. But Humbert does give the number of reassembled vessels explicitly as twelve. One explanation for the discrepancy is that one or two might not have been fully restored, and we have observed that the reconstruction of one of the volute-kraters may have been completed in Bohemia after Koller's death.[5] Nonetheless, even in Eduard Gerhard's *Apulische Vasenbilder in den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* (1845), the discrepancy continues. That volume covers thirteen of the vessels, omitting the dish – even though, judging from a previous publication, Gerhard knew of it.[6] In preparing this paper, therefore, I had hoped to resolve one of the questions that had been on my mind from the start of our collaboration: did these fourteen vases really belong together in antiquity?

Without new archaeological or archival evidence, the simple answer is that we still do not know. Based on Humbert's account, however, we may at least begin with the idea that the vases came from three contiguous burials. Given the size of the vessels and the funerary preferences in the region, I feel comfortable in speculating that these would have been *semi-camera* tombs.[7] Humbert was writing some years after the discovery of the vases, and we should be cautious in taking his observations at face value, but there are good parallels for adjacent burials of this type at Mt. Sannace and Gravina,[8] and these in turn raise the possibility that the deceased might have been related members of a local elite. But even if it is possible to establish the type of burial, it is difficult to say more regarding the contents of each grave. However, well-documented *semi-camera* burials at sites such as Timmari, Conversano, Altamura, Bitonto and Ruvo do provide some material for comparisons.[9] First, and most obviously, the Ceglie vases should have been accompanied by smaller vessels and other grave-goods. Of these, we have scarcely a trace.[10] Second, a typical assemblage of large vessels in a Peucetian *semi-camera* tomb might comprise at least one volute krater,[11] a loutrophoros, a hydria, a dish and perhaps a pair of amphorae. Here the Ceglie group conforms quite well, with three volute kraters and three pairs of amphorae for the three graves. The other vessels – the loutrophoroi, the hydriae and the dish – would not be out of place, but ascertaining which might have gone with which remains an open-ended question. It is certainly not clear to me that there are three chronologically distinct groups. Most of the vases – those attributed to the Darius Painter and his circle, as well as the Chamay, Phrixos and Underworld Painters – would sit comfortably between c. 340 and 320 B.C. The outliers are two of the kraters, associated with the Iliupersis Painter and the Group of the Moscow Pelike, which could be a decade or two earlier.[12]

Seeing that it is not feasible to reconstruct any groupings through comparison with other assemblages, might workshop or iconographical connections assist? Multiple vessels from a particular workshop or painter can be found in a single Peucetian burial,[13] which raises the likelihood of their being ordered or purchased together. There are instances too, where vases in a *semi-camera* tomb bear related scenes, and when they have been attributed to different painters or workshops[14] we could even argue for a deliberate choice on the part of the consumer. With this in mind, it is worth exploring the visual culture at Ceglie. I do not propose that there are iconographical preferences particular to the site, but – not least because we lack specific contexts for the Berlin vases – looking at other finds from the settlement will ground our reading.

With over five kilometres of circuit walls,[15] Ceglie was one of the largest Peucetian towns, and one might expect there to have been a number of grand burials. Of most interest are those from the Via Giuseppe Martino, discovered in 1898. The distribution of the finds has been elucidated by Mimma Labellarte,[16] and it seems that there were two *semi-camera* tombs – although which objects come from which grave remains unclear. The impressive array of Athenian red-figure vessels makes evident that the local elite already enjoyed good connections with the Greek world by the late 5th century B.C. The finds also testify to the importance of Dionysos, who is depicted in

fine style on the name vases of Trendall's Painter of the Birth of Dionysos and Karneia Painter. Furthermore, a number of the vases from these tombs depict satyrs. It is frustrating not to know which vessels were buried together with others, but the recurrence of Dionysiac themes suggests the deliberate juxtaposition of related scenes – evidence for what we might call 'visual literacy', rather than blind consumption. Granted, the recurrence of the god and his entourage on these vases may seem unsurprising, given Dionysos' connections with both the symposium and the afterworld, but a similar case can be made for Perseus. He appears with Medusa's head on one of the small kantharoi, and again on the other side of the Karneia krater.[17] Much has been written about the latter, and here I only draw attention to the juxtaposition of Dionysos with Apollo on the other side of the vessel. The depiction of the *Karneia*, a Doric festival that was celebrated in Sparta and her colonies,[18] has prompted discussion regarding the vase's place of production,[19] but I would stress its discovery in a grave at Peucetian Ceglie. Though it is impossible to argue without further evidence that native Ceglians had experience of the *Karneia,* the krater's Apolline subject – as indicated by the aniconic stele inscribed *Karneios* – must have been understood by some. For one of the amphorae found at the Via Giuseppe Martino also depicts the honouring of Apollo, with a cult statue of the god in a *naiskos*.[20]

Fig. 2 Bari, Museo Archeologico 1394, associated with the Iliupersis Painter (RVAp I 203, no. 101).

The vases from these graves predate the Berlin group by at least fifty years, but show that some of the local elite were already well acquainted with aspects of Hellenic culture. Continuing in this vein, I note three other vases found, or reportedly found, at Ceglie. The first *(Fig. 2)* is a volute krater that offers a rich example of how vase decoration, myth and funerary practices can intersect.[21] A group of mourners is depicted at a tomb, in front of which is an amphora, likewise decorated with figures assembled at a monument. If the scene has been correctly interpreted as Priam at Hektor's grave, the krater supports Claude Pouzadoux's thesis that mythical images on Apulian vases endorse or reinforce local practice.[22] A second krater, now in Boston, extends this theme.[23] Pouzadoux has demonstrated that the funerary significance of a complex mythical scene like this goes beyond simple consolation.[24] The aftermath of Achilles' beheading of Thersites offers a means of exploring the proper way for both individual and community to react to situations – like a death – which disrupt the status quo. In other words, mythical scenes on Apulian vases need not merely be funerary, but may have a broader social dimension as well. Related too is the possibility that those Ceglians who saw this vase needed to be familiar with the details of a particular narrative or performance in order to appreciate it fully.[25] We have already encountered a likely satyr play depicted on the Karneia krater, and Ceglie comes a respectable fourth after Ruvo, Taranto and Canosa as a find spot for tragedy-related vases.[26] A remarkable example is another monumental krater *(Fig. 3),* which, following Margot Schmidt, might depict episodes from Euripides' *Eurystheus* on both sides.[27] Moreover the scene on the neck – Melanippos killed by one Stornix – remains obscure to us, but would surely have been meaningful to what we should consider a cultured elite at Ceglie.

All this provides a grounding with which to consider the vases in Berlin. I will not survey all fourteen, but rather focus on individual vessels or pairs. In doing so, I wish to go beyond the vases' funerary significance, which should be the starting point for any interpretive approach. So, the marriage of Herakles and Hebe on the earliest of the three kraters has an unambiguously consolatory significance *(Fig. 4),*[28] at least to those familiar with the myth. Not only does Herakles transcend death, but he takes the hand of the goddess of youth – the very definition of everything ending 'happily ever after.' The only comparable Apulian scene of which I am aware is on a situla from Ruvo,[29] and the Ceglie krater offers something not only more elaborate, but specific, even

Fig. 3 Bari, Museo Archeologico 3648, associated with the Iliupersis Painter (RVAp I 210, no. 144).

intimate, with the marriage-couch and Olympian gods in attendance. Following Pouzadoux's analysis of the Thersites krater, there seems to be more to this composition than simply a nuptial celebration *à la Olympos*. Attention has been drawn to the juxtaposition in the lower frieze between Apollo, Artemis and Eunomia on the left and Euthymie and Dionysos on the right, and Christian Aellen in particular has demonstrated that the former can be associated with good order under Zeus, in contrast to the carefree Dionysos and his companions.[30] On the krater, therefore, the marriage of Herakles to Hebe constitutes the intertwining of two antithetical aspects to reach an ideal state, an end to troubles. To this, I would add that the bringing together of the Apolline and Dionysiac in this way is something to which the community at Ceglie may have been receptive. A comparable juxtaposition between Apollo and Dionysos has already been noted on the two sides of the Karneia krater, and we meet something similar again on the neck of another krater in the Ceglie group,[31] where Apollo defends Orestes while, on the other side, Dionysos is accompanied by his entourage.

Side A of this krater warrants further discussion *(Fig. 5)*. In his 1885 catalogue, Adolph Furtwängler described the scene as an "unerklaertes Widderopfer",[32] and where Furtwängler feared to tread, one ought to be wary. Nonetheless, since the 19th century restorations – many of which Furtwängler identified – have now been removed, we can consider the scene afresh. A winged female, probably Nike, slaughters a white ram,[33] and two groups flank the scene. On the left are Herakles and two women with hands touching, who pay close attention to the sacrifice. On the right, a figure in eastern attire with a spear gestures and looks back at a seated male with a sheathed sword and spear. Below, from left, a seated female with a shield and spear gestures toward a male wearing a helmet (not a fillet, as in the old restoration) and holding a spear. On the other side of the large void, a woman leans against the lap of a seated companion.

Prior to treatment, this void contained a seated Athena and a youth with a mirror leaning against a post. Gargiulo's restoration offers a test-case for the dangers of "dangerous perfection", as 19th century scholars sought to link all the scenes together, and identify an overarching theme concerning Thyestes, Atreus and their descendents.[34] As noted, Furtwängler left the interpretation open, but almost a century later, Margot Schmidt made reference to the vase when discussing two other ram-sacrifice scenes in the context of Herakles' encounter with Kyknos.[35] She suggested that these might preserve a now-lost episode in Herakles's career. Yet the hero seems too removed from the action on the Ceglie krater to be a protagonist. One element that does bear noting in this puzzling scene is the spear-head that emerges beside the ram. This presumably would have been held by another male figure, a counterpart to the warrior at left. Both would be standing at ease, and it appears that we have a mythical pre- or post-battle sacrifice. But without knowing what originally occupied the central void, an identification with a particular story remains elusive.

I return to more solid ground with the krater depicting Herakles and Hebe *(Fig. 4)*. It is striking that the hero's protectress, Athena, appears to be absent from this scene.[36] With Aphrodite and her entourage in attendance, the focus is on the feminine, nuptial aspect. This is underscored by the Erotes firing arrows under the handles, and quite possibly extends to the other side, which could be reconstructed as Poseidon's rescue of and love for Amymone.[37] There is, certainly, a palpable contrast between this krater, and its romantic themes, and the other two in the Ceglie group, which both bear depictions of heroic activity and violent action. Could this vase have been intended for a female burial? At the very least, it justifies looking for further erotic or nuptial themes across the group.

Immediately relevant are the two hydriae.[38] The shape

Fig. 4 Berlin, Antikensammlung F 3257, attributed to the Group of the Moscow Pelike (RVAp I 169, no. 32).

Fig. 5 Berlin, Antikensammlung F 3256, associated with the Iliupersis Painter (RVAp I 210, no. 145).

is commonly associated with female burials, and a number of examples do depict women in naiskoi.[39] The two Ceglie vases show a male figure in an explicitly feminine milieu – the Judgement of Paris *(Fig. 6)* and Herakles amongst women *(Fig. 7)*. Both are attributed to the Chamay Painter, but even if they were produced together, it is uncertain whether they were actually buried in the same grave. Comparing other Apulian *semi-camera* tombs that have been well documented, the most that can be said is that a single hydria per burial seems more typical.[40]

Exactly who's who in the Herakles scene remains a puzzle, but Omphale seems the most likely candidate for the seated woman.[41] If so, the scene makes no overt reference to Herakles' enslavement, but – like the Herakles and Hebe krater – emphasizes the love enjoyed by the couple. Omphale holds her hand to her face in an expression that conveys wonder or decision-making. Paris does something rather similar on the other hydria as he faces Hermes. Eros recurs on both vases, bringing a fillet to Herakles, and crowning Aphrodite as victor in the Judgement of Paris. This scene is depicted again by the Chamay Painter – in even more luxuriant detail – on another hydria from Ruvo.[42] Found with it in the same rich burial was a loutrophoros attributed to the Darius Painter, the reverse of which shows a woman in a naiskos, suggesting that the grave could have been that of a woman.[43] Two other Judgement of Paris scenes from Ruvo may also come from female graves,[44] and this could in turn support a similar association for the Ceglie vase.

The Judgement of Paris occurs on two other vessels in the Ceglie group. Both provide good examples of the ways in which these vases were conceived of – and appreciated – as pairs. The pairing of amphorae in Apulian tombs finds numerous parallels, such as two attributed to the Darius Painter with related scenes from the warrior burial at Conversano.[45] I cannot prove that Berlin F 3243 and F 3244 were deposited in the same grave at Ceglie,[46] but the Judgement of Paris scene on the front of F 3243 is certainly enriched when seen with F 3244, which de-

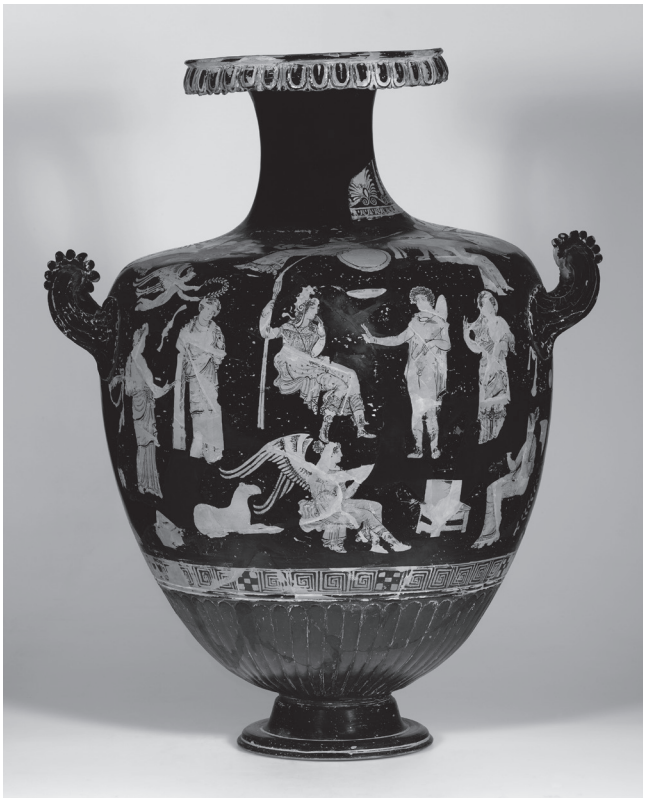

Fig. 6 Berlin, Antikensammlung F 3290, attributed to the Chamay Painter (RVAp I 426, no. 58).

Fig. 7 Berlin, Antikensammlung F 3291, attributed to the Chamay Painter (RVAp I 426, no. 60).

picts Paris and Helen together at Troy (and note Aphrodite and Eros again on the left).[47] Significantly there is no inkling of the disaster that will ensue from their relationship. The focus is on their pleasure together, much like that of Herakles and Hebe *(Fig. 4)*, Herakles and Omphale *(Fig. 7)*, and the woman-and-youth scenes that recur on side B of both amphorae.

This is worth bearing in mind when looking at the third Judgement of Paris scene in the Ceglie group *(Fig. 8)*.[48] By no means is the subject unusual in Apulian vase-painting, but whether all three vases were buried together, or one apiece in each of the three graves, this is a notable cluster. As I will discuss further below, it is Aphrodite's victory that explains the scene's popularity. In this third example, the judgement is clearly the nub of the matter. This is emphasised not only by the central placement of Hermes and Paris, but also through their direct juxtaposition with a similar encounter above – Herakles before Kreon, discussing the fate of the bound Antigone. There is, to my knowledge, one other extant Apulian depiction of the Antigone scene – an amphora of similar date from Ruvo.[49] Whether the painters of these vases were inspired by a performance or text has been extensively discussed,[50] but at very least, the story should have been familiar to those looking at these vases (the Ceglie amphora lacks inscriptions). There is a version of the myth recounted in Hyginus's *Fabulae* in which Herakles intercedes for Antigone, only for Kreon to disregard his advice. Yet the Apulian vase-painters depict Herakles so prominently – almost like a *deus ex machina* on the Ruvo amphora – that we might think of an alternative version in which his intervention was successful and Antigone wins a reprieve. I propose that looking at the scene on the Ceglie amphora together with its mate, now in Moscow *(Fig. 9)* – and particularly the presence of Aphrodite – goes some way to support this reading.[51]

The goddess is depicted at the death of Aktaion on the lower frieze of this amphora. The myth itself is not particularly unusual on Apulian vases, but Aphrodite's presence is, and puts an erotic spin on Aktaion's crime. Her potency is underscored when we look back at the other amphora (Berlin F 3240; *Fig. 8*), and see her in precisely the same location – and with Eros again – as the victor in the Judgement of Paris. Returning to the vase now in Moscow, the upper frieze depicts the Rape of Chrysippos.[52] The story was the basis for a tragedy by Euripides, but other versions were in circulation, and as Thomas Carpenter has argued, it seems that Apulian vase-painters put a positive aspect on the narrative, with the figure(s) in front of the chariot trying to stop its progress. Eros, who flutters over Laios and Chrysippos on the Berlin vase, lends approval to the act, and the Darius Painter depicted Aphrodite herself in two other versions of the scene.[53] The goddess is thus present or potent in three of the four

Fig. 8 Berlin, Antikensammlung F 3240, attributed to the Darius Painter (RVAp II 490, no. 23).

Fig. 9 Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts AB 3207 (until 1945, Berlin, Antikensammlung F 3239), attributed to the Darius Painter (RVAp II 490, no. 22).

figural friezes on this pair of amphorae, and I'd suggest that she plays a part in the Antigone story too. If Herakles' intercession is a success, Haemon will be reunited with his beloved. It is telling that just as Herakles and Kreon are visually linked with Hermes and Priam, Haemon is juxtaposed vertically with Aphrodite. The relevance of Antigone's story is not simply funerary – the correct treatment of the deceased – but another instance of a union blessed by Aphrodite.

Whilst I am cautious in following Smith's proposals regarding the goddess's position in Apulian eschatology,[54] it should be clear by now that Aphrodite plays a key role in appreciating the scenes on many of the Ceglie vases. Love endures and transcends, and Eros occurs not only in depictions of mythical narratives and with groups of youths and women, but also in one of the Dionysiac scenes. These are another of the recurrent themes across the Ceglie vases, and such images present an idyllic vision of life beyond, in which it is hoped that the deceased will participate. The fullest depictions occur on the two loutrophoroi, which will be the last pair of vases that I will address.[55] Even though we cannot know whether they were deposited in the same grave, seeing them side by side today is fruitful for considering their decoration. Both pair a Dionysiac group with a battle-scene. The Amazonomachy poses few iconographic surprises.[56] The battle is fairly evenly matched, but the expectation should be that the Amazons, as the 'enemy', will be defeated. Ought a similar assumption carry over to the battle-scene on the second loutrophoros *(Fig. 10)*? This fight consists of four warriors moving to the right, against a trio of opponents from the other direction. The four are rather a motley crew, and all the more so once one acknowledges how much is not ancient.[57] The legs and lower body of the warrior standing at the rock are reconstructed, as are the legs and shield of the attacking warrior, and virtually all of the rider. Of their opponents, though, enough survives to be confident that their distinctive costume is to be trusted – pointed fabric hats, and buttock-revealing tunics bound with broad belts – and the differ-

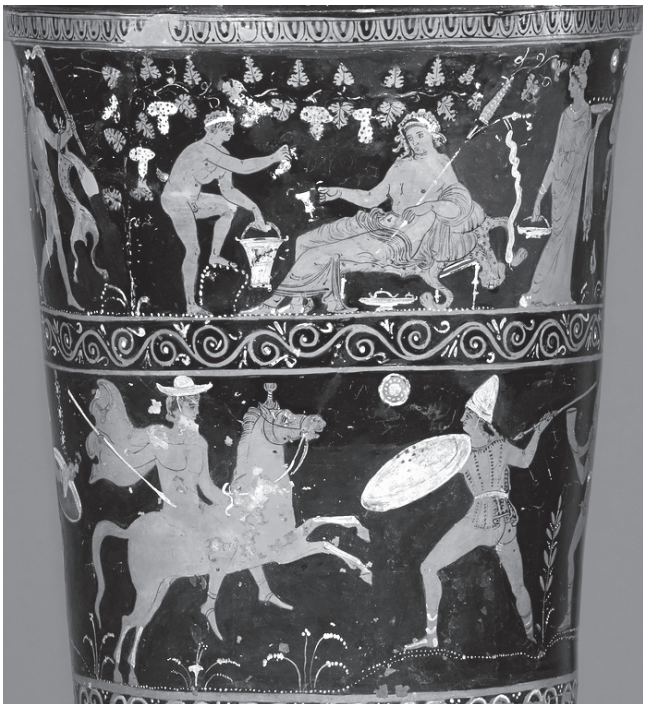

Fig. 10 Berlin, Antikensammlung F 3264, attributed to the Darius Painter (RVAp II 500, no. 61).

ences between the two sides extend to their trumpeters. That Apulian vase painters had their market in mind when they depicted figures in local costume is now well-established. But what is going on here, and who is the intended audience? Given that the Amazonomachy on the other loutrophoros depicted a battle against a foreign 'other', should we apply the same model here? Is there a clear 'us' versus 'them'?

In her study of indigenous figures on Apulian vases, Heidi Frielinghaus examined this and other battle scenes that depict warrriors in native attire.[58] The majority – and it bears stressing that the corpus consists of just a dozen examples – present battles amongst locals. There are variations in attire or armour, but there is nothing like the differentiation – at least to modern eyes – that occurs on the Berlin loutrophoros. The best parallel is a volute krater from Ruvo, which shows a clash of riders and horsemen, and even another trumpeter.[59] Like Frielinghaus, I think that it is unsound to term this an encounter between 'Greeks' and 'natives'. Indeed, looking more closely at the loutrophoros, the trumpet player wears a long patterned tunic which finds parallels in other indigenous scenes, and the same holds true for the warrior with his mantle secured inside his belt. Given what we know from ancient sources regarding shifting alliances in Southern Italy during the 4th century B.C., perhaps a mixed ensemble of warriors – not purely 'Greek', nor purely indigenous – is to be expected. But if the painter were seeking to distinguish two sides, this would be all the more noteworthy given that the vase is something of a chronological outlier. It should date to the 330s, some twenty to thirty years later than any of the other Apulian battle scenes involving indigenous warriors.[60] Furthermore, the period during which the vase was produced was witness to a number of local conflicts.[61] In 342 B.C., the Tarentines had requested that the Spartan king Archidamas III assist them against the Lucanians and Messapians. That venture proved unsuccessful, and after Archidamas had been killed in 338 B.C., the Tarentines sought help again, this time from Alexander of Molossos, king of Epiros. Alexander came to Italy in 334/3 B.C. and, having secured the port at Brindisi, reached an agreement with the Messapians and later the Peucetians. Now, I do not suggest the Ceglie loutrophoros depicts a particular event during these battles, but, given the historical background, it is difficult to see this being simply a generic battle-scene. In fact, the proposal that Gerhard made in 1845 seems rather appealing.[62] Comparing the Amazonomachy on the other loutrophoros, he proposed that this battle should be mythical too, and suggested Diomedes fighting the Messapians. That tale chimes rather closely with the historical events just cited. A local ruler, in this case the king of the Daunians, invited a Greek warrior to help in combatting local opponents. In other words, might recent events be manifesting themselves here through the lens of myth? At the very least, stories surrounding Diomedes, and particularly his Aetolian connections, appear to have been known to some in Ceglie. The Greek hero is depicted on the Boston krater mentioned earlier,[63] where he seeks to avenge Thersites' death. Accompanying him is a warrior labelled 'Aetolian'.

This brief consideration of battle scenes provides a counterweight to the nuptial, arguably feminine, focus that I have highlighted in surveying a number of the other Ceglie vases. It is by no means isolated. The Underworld Painter's krater presents heroes prevailing over fearsome opponents[64] – ostensibly masculine themes – while the group of five young horse-riders racing around the base of the sacrifice krater could offer another pointer for a male deceased.[65] But without context and other associated finds, the gender(s) of the deceased cannot be identified. Indeed, even in weaving together linked pictorial themes, it remains impossible to assign these fourteen vases to the purported trio of adjacent graves. Perhaps the most we should conclude is that they were intended for, or selected by, a local elite, who were well acquainted with Greek myths, and for whom Dionysos, Apollo, Aphrodite and Eros were potent divinities when it came to thinking about death and beyond. Some of the vases – such as those with gravestone scenes – look like 'stock' products. Others – such as the pair of amphorae with Chrysippos and Antigone, or the now-enigmatic sacrifice krater – may have been special commissions. The very absence of information for the Ceglie group renders it even more imperative to understand the processes of producing and marketing monumental funerary vases in Peucetia.

PHOTO CREDITS

Fig. 1	J. Paul Getty Museum.
Fig. 2. 3	Image courtesy of the Museo archeologico della Città metropolitana di Bari.
Fig. 4–8. 10	Images by Johannes Laurentius, and courtesy of the Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.
Fig. 9	Andrey Kudriavitsky.

ABBREVIATIONS

ARV²	J.D. Beazley, Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters ²(Oxford 1963).
Gerhard 1845	E. Gerhard, Apulische Vasenbilder in den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin (Berlin 1845).
Kästner – Saunders 2016	U. Kästner – D. Saunders (eds.), Dangerous Perfection. Ancient Funerary Vases from Southern Italy (Los Angeles 2016).
LCS	A.D. Trendall, The Red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily (Oxford 1976).

Montanaro 2007 — A.C. Montanaro, Ruvo di Puglia e il suo Territorio: Le Necropoli (Rome 2007).

Montanaro 2015 — A.C. Montanaro, Ornamenti e Lusso nell'Antica Peucezia (Bari 2015).

RVAp — A.D. Trendall – A. Cambitoglou, The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia I–II (Oxford 1978/1982).

Todisco 2003 — L. Todisco (ed.), La ceramica figurate a soggetto tragico in Magna Graecia e in Sicilia (Rome 2003).

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NOTES

1 Fully documented in Kästner – Saunders 2016. See Marie Svoboda in this volume. Thirteen vases were conserved and displayed in Los Angeles and Berlin. The fourteenth vase, now in Moscow, was studied by Ludmila Akimova and Elena Minina, and we are grateful to them for their willing collaboration.

2 Berlin, Antikensammlung F 3258, attributed to the Underworld Painter (RVAp II 533; Kästner – Saunders 2016, 89–95).

3 See M. Dufkova – U. Kästner, The History of the Ceglie Vases, in: Kästner – Saunders 2016, 21–41.

4 Quoted, with further references, in: Dufkova – Kästner loc. cit. (n. 3) 24f.

5 See D. Saunders – M. Svoboda – A. Milanese, Exactitude and Mastery: Raffaele Gargiulo's Work as a Restorer, in: Kästner – Saunders 2016, 57.

6 See Dufkova – Kästner loc cit. (n. 3) 35.

7 On *camera* or *semi-camera* tombs at Ceglie, see M.M. Marin – R. Moreno Cassano – A. Fornaro – M. Chelotti (eds.), Ceglie Peuceta I (Bari 1982) 42f. 59. 184–186. Note also the large *tomba a fossa* discovered in 2003, discussed by A. Riccardi, Apulian and Lucanian Pottery from Coastal Peucetian Contexts, in: T. Carpenter – K. Lynch – E. Robinson (eds.), The Italic People of Ancient Apulia (Cambridge 2014) 148.

8 On Mt. Sannace, see A. Ciancio, Tombe a semi camera sull' acropoli di Monte Sannace: scavi e restauro (Fasano 1986) and R. Capozzi – A. Montanaro – M. Campanale, Tombe aristocratiche dall'Acropoli di Monte Sannace. Indagini sulle strutture, sui contesti e sulle decorazione dipinte, Taras 32, 2012, 73–75. On Gravina, see A. Ciancio, Silbíon. Una Città tra Greci e Indigeni (Bari 1997) 27–32. 69. See also A. Ciancio, Necropoli e Aree Urbane: l'uso 'Apulo' di seppellire *intra* ed *extra muros* nella Peucezia del periodo tra VI e III secolo a.C., ScAnt 14, 2007/2008, 895–918.

9 For good overviews, see Montanaro 2015, 105–138 and the Apulian assemblages catalogued in Todisco 2003, 541–568, both with further bibliographies. On Timmari, see M.G. Canosa, Una tomba principesca da Timmari (Rome 2007). On Conversano, A.M. Chieco Bianchi Martini, Conversano (Bari). Scavi in via Pantaleo, NSc 18, 1964, 148–164 and A. Ciancio, Conversano nel quadro dello sviluppo della Peucezia tra VI e III secolo a.C., in: A. Ciancio – V. l'Abbate (eds.), Norba-Conversano. Archeologia e storia della città e del territorio (Bari 2013) 258–260. On the woman's grave at Bitonto (tomb 4/1981), A. Riccardi (ed.), Gli Antichi Peucezi a Bitonto (Bari 2003) 46–49. 148–161.

10 Four other vases from Ceglie in Koller's collection have been identified. See Dufkova – Kästner loc. cit. (n. 3) 33.

11 See A. Riccardi, Diffusione ed uso del cratere à volute in Peucezia, in: J. de la Genière (ed.), Le CVA aujourd'hui. Le cratère à volutes: destinations d'un vase de prestige entre Grecs et non-Grecs. Actes du Colloque international du Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Paris, 26–27 Octobre 2012 (Paris 2014) 179–200.

12 Berlin, Antikensammlung F 3256 (RVAp I 210, no. 145; Kästner – Saunders 2016, 75–81) and F 3257 (RVAp I 169, no. 32; Kästner – Saunders 2016, 82–87). For examples of the reuse of Apulian tombs, see Montanaro 2015, 64. 106; A. Ciancio, The Diffusion of Middle and Late Apulian Vases in Peucetian Funerary Contexts, in: T. Carpenter – K. Lynch – E. Robinson (eds.), The Italic People of Ancient Apulia (Cambridge 2014) 157; A. Ciancio, Ruoli e società: il costume funerario tra VI e IV secolo a.C., in: L. Todisco (ed.), La Puglia centrale dall'età del bronzo all'alto Medioevo: Archeologia e Storia – Atti del Convegno di Studi (Rome 2010) 235; M.R. Depalo, Le necropoli della Peucezia nel IV secolo a.C: Elementi di continuità e modifiche, in: A. Ciancio (ed.), Archeologia e territorio l'area Peuceta: atti del seminario di studi Gioia del Colle, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 12–14 novembre 1987 (Putignano 1989) 98.

13 *E.g.*, the vases from the Timmari and Conversano tombs (see Canosa and Chieco Bianchi Martini loc. cit. [n. 9]) or those attributed to the Gravina Painter in Gravina tomb 1/1974 (see E. Mugione, La Selezione dei Temi Figurativi della Tomba 1 [1974 Prop. Ferrante] di Gravina di Puglia, in: I. Colpo – I. Favaretto – F. Ghedini [eds.], Iconografia 2001. Studi sull'immagine [Rome 2002] 175–186).

14 See, for example, the vases attributed to the Darius, Underworld and Patera Painters in a semi-camera tomb at Altamura (Montanaro 2015, 114–116 with further references). Amongst the tomb-groups at Ruvo, see tomb 321 (presented in Montanaro 2007, 883–888) with vases attributed to the Darius, Varrese and Lycurgus Painters depicting scenes involving Pelops, Hippodamia and Myrtilos.

15 M.M. Marin – R. Moreno Cassano – A. Fornaro – M. Chelotti (eds.), Ceglie Peuceta I (Bari 1982) 27–35.

16 M. Labellarte, Via Giuseppe Marino, in: G. Andreassi – F. Radina (eds.), Archeologia di una città. Bari dalle origini al X secolo (Bari 1988) 304–306.

17 Taranto, Museo Archeologico 8274 (ARV2 1361.1); Taranto, Museo Archeologico 8263 (LCS 55, no. 280). See Labellarte loc. cit. (n. 16) 312–314. 325 fig. 444.

18 On the Karneia, see N. Richer, Les Karneia de Sparte, in: S. Cataldi – E. Bianco – G. Cuniberti (eds.), Salvare le poleis, costruire la concordia, progettare la pace (Alessandria 2012) 39–69; N. Robertson, The Religious Criterion in Greek Ethnicity: The Dorians and the Festival Carneia, AmJAncHist 1.2, 2002, 36–74; M. Pettersson, Cults of Apollo at Sparta (Stockholm 1992) 57–72.

19 M. Denoyelle, Style individuel, style local et centres de production. Retour sur le cratère des "Karneia", MEFRA 114.2, 2002, 587–609, attributing the vase to two different painters.

20 Taranto, Museo Archeologico 8275, attributed to the Hamburg Painter (LCS 72, no. 369). See Labellarte loc. cit. (n. 16) 317f. fig. 426.

21 Bari, Museo Archeologico 1394, associated with the Iliupersis Painter (RVAp I 203, no. 101). The findspot has sometimes been queried, e.g., H. Lohmann, Grabmäler auf unteritalischen Vasen (Berlin 1979) 179 ("Rutigliano? Ceglie?").
22 C. Pouzadoux, Immagine, cultura e società in Daunia e in Peucezia nel IV secolo a.C., in: G. Volpe – M.J. Strazzulla – D. Leone (eds.), Storia e archeologia della Daunia. In ricordo di Marina Mazzei (Bari 2008) 205–220. See also C. Russenberger, Zwischen Elektra und Orest: zu einigen Objekten im Trauerdiskurs rotfiguriger unteritalischer Grabgefäße, AK 51, 2008, 30.
23 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 03.804, connected with the Varrese Painter (RVAp II 472, no. 75).
24 C. Pouzadoux, Mythe et culture politique dans la céramique apulienne, in: M. Osanna (ed.), Verso la città. Forme insediative in Lucania e nel mondo italico fra IV e III sec. a.C. (Venosa 2009) 29–43.
25 See O. Taplin, Pots and Plays: Interactions Between Tragedy and Greek Vase-painting of the Fourth Century B.C. (Los Angeles 2007) 233 f.; Todisco 2003, 449.
26 Todisco 2003, 761 fig. 41.
27 Bari, Museo Archeologico 3648, associated with the Iliupersis Painter (RVAp I 210, no. 144). See M. Schmidt, Makaria, AK 13, 1970, 71–73 and also Todisco 2003, 429.
28 Berlin, Antikensammlung F 3257, attributed to the Group of the Moscow Pelike (RVAp I 169, no. 32; Kästner – Saunders 2016, 82–87).
29 Genoa, Museo Civico 1177, attributed to the Group of New York 2857.10 (RVAp II 518, no. 188).
30 C. Aellen, À la recherche de l'ordre cosmique: forme et fonction des personnifications dans le céramique italiote (Kilchberg/Zurich 1994) 169 f. (with earlier references).
31 Berlin, Antikensammlung F 3256, associated with the Iliupersis Painter (RVAp I 210, no. 145; Kästner – Saunders 2016, 75–81).
32 A. Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium (Berlin 1885) 906.
33 On the motif, see A. Borbein, Camapanareliefs. Typologische und Stilkritische Untersuchungen (Heidelberg 1968) 43–115 (noting this vase on 58).
34 See Kästner – Saunders 2016, 58. 77.
35 M. Schmidt, Adler und Schlange. Ein griechisches Bildzeichen für die Dimension der Zukunft, Boreas 6, 1983, 61–71. See also Aellen loc. cit. (n. 30) 56 fn. 64, and C. Roscino, CVA Italy 80, Ruvo 2, 43.
36 Reconstructions of the scene place Zeus and Hera at the upper left; see Kästner – Saunders 2016, 82.
37 As proposed by Gerhard 1845, 26 and see further Kästner – Saunders 2016, 82.
38 Berlin, Antikensammlung F 3290 and F 3291 (RVAp I 426, no. 58 and no. 60; Kästner – Saunders 2016, 144–155).
39 The association is by no means strict: a hydria with a mistress and maid in a naiskos was found in the prince's grave at Timmari (see A. Hoffmann, Loutrophoren im Grabkontext. Die Gefäßform und ihre Funktionen im Grabritual, in: K. Hitzl [ed.], Kerameia. Ein Meisterwerk apulischer Töpferkunst. Studien dem Andenken Konrad Schauenburgs gewidmet [Kiel 2011] 154 f.).
40 See, *e.g.*, Altamura tomb 1/1974 (RVAp II p. 763 f.); Timmari tomb 33 (Canosa loc. cit. [n. 9]). Two hydriae, of different sizes, were found in Gravina tomb 2/1994 (see Ciancio loc. cit. [n. 8] 204–215).
41 See discussion in Kästner – Saunders 2016, 150.
42 Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 82419 (RVAp I 426, no. 59).
43 Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 82268 (RVAp II 500, no. 62). On the grave, see Montanaro 2007, 106 f. 717–738.
44 Apulian volute krater, New York 69.11.7 from Ruvo grave 322 (RVAp II 863, no. 15; Montanaro 2007, 893 f., with mention of a female skeleton on 889). Montanaro 2015, 94–96 considers Ruvo grave 152 to be a female burial, and the vessels it contained include the Attic red-figure kalpis, Karlsruhe B36 (ARV² 1315, 1; Montanaro 2007, 643).
45 Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Gioia del Colle (Bari), inv. 20882 and 20883 (RVAp II 499, no. 54 and 55; A. Ciancio, La tomba del guerriero nella necropoli di via T. Pantaleo, in: Ciancio – l'Abbate loc. cit. [n. 9] 295–300).
46 Berlin, Antikensammlung F 3243, attributed to the Darius and Perrone Painters (RVAp II 525, no. 238; Kästner – Saunders 2016, 120–124) and Berlin, Antikensammlung F 3244, near the Perrone Painter (RVAp II 525, no. 239; Kästner – Saunders 2016, 125–131).
47 Note a comparable scene from an earlier burial at Ceglie, on a hydria attributed to the Sisyphus Painter (Bari 4394; RVAp I 17, no. 71; R. Cassano, Stazione Ferrovie del Sud-Est, in: Andreassi – Radina loc. cit. [n. 16] 352).
48 Berlin, Antikensammlung F 3240, attributed to the Darius Painter (RVAp II 490, no. 23; Kästner – Saunders 2016, 103–107).
49 Ruvo, Museo Jatta 423, attributed to the Group of Ruvo 423 (RVAp I 403, no. 31).
50 See Taplin loc. cit. (n. 25) 185 f.
51 Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts AB 3207 (until 1945, Berlin, Antikensammlung F 3239), attributed to the Darius Painter (RVAp II 490, no. 22; Kästner – Saunders 2016, 97–101). The decorative band of creatures, which struck Trendall as reminiscent of Tarentine appliqués (RVAp II 486) finds no parallels on other amphorae attributed to the painter, encouraging the conclusion that these two were made as a pair.
52 One of nine extant depictions; see most recently, T. Carpenter, Regional Variation: Pelops and Chrysippos in Apulia, in: J.H. Oakley (ed.), Athenian Potters and Painters III (Oxford 2014) 24–26.
53 Amphora, Naples, Museo Nazionale 81942 (RVAp II 498, no. 48) and bell krater, Berlin, Antikensammlung 1968.12 (RVAp II 501, no. 66).
54 H.R.W. Smith, Funerary Symbolism in Apulian Vase-Painting (Berkeley 1976).
55 Berlin, Antikensammlung F 3263 and F 3264, attributed to the Darius Painter (RVAp II 500, no. 60 and 61; Kästner – Saunders 2016, 132–143). Both loutrophoroi are unusual in having removable upper parts, leading to some confusion as to which belongs with which body; see further Kästner – Saunders 2016, 135 f.
56 The subject is found on two other amphorae from the Ceglie group: Berlin, Antikensammlung F 3241, attributed to the Darius Painter and the Perrone Group (RVAp II 524, no. 234; Kästner – Saunders 2016, 108–114) and F 3242, attributed to the Perrone Painter (RVAp II 524, no. 235; Kästner – Saunders 2016, 115–119).
57 See Kästner – Saunders 2016, 139–141.
58 H. Frielinghaus, Einheimische in der apulischen Vasenmalerei (Berlin 1995) 62–71.
59 St. Petersburg, Hermitage 585, attributed to the Long Overfalls Group (RVAp I 85, no. 140).
60 See Frielinghaus loc. cit. (n. 58) 71. 202 f.
61 For a good summary and sources, see M. Lombardo, Iapygians: The Indigenous Populations of Ancient Apulia in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.E., in: T. Carpenter – K. Lynch – E. Robinson (eds.), The Italic People of Ancient Apulia (Cambridge 2014) 43–46.
62 Gerhard 1845, 3 f.
63 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 03.804, connected with the Varrese Painter (RVAp II 472, no. 75).
64 Berlin, Antikensammlung F 3258, attributed to the Underworld Painter (RVAp II p. 533; Kästner – Saunders 2016, 89–95).
65 Berlin, Antikensammlung F 3256, associated with the Iliupersis Painter (RVAp I 210, no. 145; Kästner – Saunders 2016, 75–81).

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