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Greek and Etruscan Vases: Shapes and Markets

Panel 5.15

Dimitris Paleothodoros (Ed.)

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Edited by

Martin Bentz and Michael Heinzelmann

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PREFACE

On behalf of the 'Associazione Internazionale di Archeologia Classica (AIAC)' the 19th International Congress of Classical Archaeology took place in Cologne and Bonn from 22 to 26 May 2018. It was jointly organized by the two Archaeological Institutes of the Universities of Cologne and Bonn, and the primary theme of the congress was 'Archaeology and Economy in the Ancient World'. In fact, economic aspects permeate all areas of public and private life in ancient societies, whether in urban development, religion, art, housing, or in death.

Research on ancient economies has long played a significant role in ancient history. Increasingly in the last decades, awareness has grown in archaeology that the material culture of ancient societies offers excellent opportunities for studying the structure, performance, and dynamics of ancient economic systems and economic processes. Therefore, the main objective of this congress was to understand economy as a central element of classical societies and to analyze its interaction with ecological, political, social, religious, and cultural factors. The theme of the congress was addressed to all disciplines that deal with the Greco-Roman civilization and their neighbouring cultures from the Aegean Bronze Age to the end of Late Antiquity.

The participation of more than 1.200 scholars from more than 40 countries demonstrates the great response to the topic of the congress. Altogether, more than 900 papers in 128 panels were presented, as were more than 110 posters. The publication of the congress is in two stages: larger panels are initially presented as independent volumes, such as this publication. Finally, at the end of the editing process, all contributions will be published in a joint conference volume.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank all participants and helpers of the congress who made it such a great success. Its realization would not have been possible without the generous support of many institutions, whom we would like to thank once again: the Universities of Bonn and Cologne, the Archaeological Society of Cologne, the Archaeology Foundation of Cologne, the Gerda Henkel Foundation, the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, the Sal. Oppenheim Foundation, the German Research Foundation (DFG), the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), the Romano-Germanic Museum Cologne and the LVR-LandesMuseum Bonn. Finally, our thanks go to all colleagues and panel organizers who were involved in the editing and printing process.

Bonn/Cologne, in August 2019

Martin Bentz & Michael Heinzelmann

Greek and Etruscan Vases: Shapes and Markets – An Introduction

Dimitris Paleothodoros

The eight essays published in this volume were first presented in the session "Greek and Etruscan Vases: Shapes and Markets" in the 18th AIAC Congress in Bonn and Köln (May 2018). Since the special focus of the Congress was the economy of the ancient world, an effort was made to address topics relating to the production, consumption and trade of painted pottery, but at the same time, important questions on the use, function and role of vases at a broader social or religious level have not been neglected.

Archaic and Classical Greek vases present the widest distribution any ancient artifact might claim to, from northern Europe to Sudan and from northwestern Africa to eastern Iran. Thus, for most classical scholars the association of painted pottery to economy is usually equated to overseas trade, while the home production and consumption are usually overlooked, even if we possess adequate epigraphic and archaeological evidence for two of the most important production centers, Athens and Corinth.[1] The present collection of studies makes an effort to go beyond this dichotomy, by focusing on the response of individual clients to both imports and local vases (D. Tonglet, on the composition of southern Etruscan funerary contexts; V. Baldoni, on funerary sets from Numana in Picenum), or by examining specific shapes traded in both the home market and overseas (Paleothodoros, on mugs; Van de Put, on column-kraters). Special emphasis is paid to the matching of imports and local wares (especially in the case of the kyathos in Etruria [Tonglet] and the krater and skyphos in Picenum [Baldoni]), as far as shapes with precise ritual functions in given contexts are concerned. It is interesting that while a shape may have the exact function and use, whether it is imported from Greece or manufactured locally (i.e. the column krater in Athens and South Italy [W. Van de Put]), other shapes are received in different ways, according to provenance or even to the technique employed for the decoration (f.e. Attic black-figured versus red-figured amphorae in Tarquinia [A. Rhodes-Schroder]). It is thus evident that shape alone cannot account for the marketing of vases, but that technique, iconography and artistic accomplishment are also important factors affecting the commercialization of decorated vases.

Studies on the distribution of Greek vases are classed by Vladimir Stissi in three categories:[2] studies concerning imports in a certain geographic area or site; studies mapping the distribution of a single shape, or of the production of a single producing center, workshop or painter; and studies focusing on the producer and his response to the marketing of his production. The essays in the present collection deal with the interrelation between particular shapes and the markets of Greek pottery, a topic going back to Gisela Richter's pioneer study in the beginning of the 20th century, focusing on the distribution of different shapes of Attic pottery in Athens proper, as compared to the situation in Etruria.[3] While falling under the second category described above, the

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eight essays in this collection transcend the aforementioned classification, in the sense that they also address questions of workshop connections, "special commissions" in specific sites, correlation of local and imported vessels in funerary services, and above all, by putting special emphasis on the archaeological context of the finds. Thus, these essays speak as much about the producer and the economics of trade, as about the client and the social dimensions of the consumption of the shapes under study. In that respect, the present collection is in line with those recent studies laying particular emphasis to the context of painted pottery, not as a mere appendix to the biography of objects, but as an interpretative tool for understanding the role and function of vases in ancient societies.[4]

Winfred Van de Put (1. Markets and the Survival of Shapes: the Case of the Column-Krater) and Dimitris Paleothodoros (2. Attic Figured Mugs in the Market) focus on a single attic vase shape and its destiny abroad, but also in the home market, adopting a diachronic approach. Van de Put makes an attempt to locate the column krater inside the material culture of mainland Greeks, Greek colonists and indigenous inhabitants of Italy. From early on, Attic black-figured kraters were mainly exported, especially in Italy. Part of this success is the appropriation of the shape for secondary cremations in non-Greek communities in southern Italy and Sicily (see also B. Cavallaro, in that respect). This situation not only continues, but is rather reinforced after the transition from black-figure to red-figure in the decoration of the shape. It seems that from an economic point of view, the production of column kraters only continued after 500 BC, because of the Italian market. Another important transition point is the end of the 5th century, when the Attic version of the shape declines and shortly afterwards disappears altogether, while the demand from the part of indigenous populations of southern Italy is now met by the potters of Lucanian and Apulian workshops. Iconography also changes, since the Apulian column-krater is usually used for illustrations of rituals involving indigenous warriors and their wives.

Paleothodoros studies a less noted vase shape, the oinochoe of shape 8 or mug. For all its obscurity in recent scholarly literature, the shape enjoys a wide, if distinctly individual distribution pattern across the Mediterranean. Despite its humble status in art-historical studies and its meager appeal to collectors, the Attic figured mug is distinguished for being one of the few shapes whose provenance and find context is usually known to us. This rather extraordinary fact permits an in-depth consideration of both its distribution and use in specific contexts. The context is usually the tomb, although a noted number of mugs found their way to sanctuaries in Greece, southern Italy, Sicily and North Africa. At the same time, painted mugs appear in domestic and public contexts of secular use. It is interesting that similar functions are observed in the case of Athenian black-glazed mugs. The shape is quite popular in the home market and makes a noted presence in Sicily, southern Italy and Campania, as opposed to its modest presence further north. This peculiar distribution pattern is probably to be connected to the specific use initially ascribed to the shape as being a cup for the youth, one allowing for

a host of metaphors for excessive drinking using the ancient name of the shape, *κώθων* and various derivative words. In addition to the shape, however, the volume also plays a role in the distribution pattern, since Attic examples with oversized proportions are found mainly in Thracian tombs. Probably these examples were no longer seen as mugs, but functioned as alternatives to kraters.

Cécile Jubier Galinier (3. Shapes, Markets and Workshop Strategies between Specialization and Diversification. Case Study of the 'Sappho-Diosphos-Haimon' Workshop) in a paper as much devoted to the study of the commercial side of the products of a single workshop, as to important methodological and theoretical considerations, turns her attention to one of the largest workshops of late archaic Athens, where the Sappho and Diosphos painters and the Haimon Group worked in succession. Studying the distribution of different shapes produced in a single workshop may lead to results previously unsuspected about the exporting strategies of single workshops. In the case of the Sappho – Diosphos – Haimon workshop, the larger part of the production was always aimed at the local market, although the earlier ritual shapes (loutrophoroi-hydriae and funerary plaques) soon gave their place to the lekythos, a shape destined to become the main specialized product of the workshop. On the other hand, shapes destined to Italy (mastoid cups, small neck-amphorae and kyathoi) were never abandoned, despite the fact that overseas trade never represented a major concern for the potters and painters of the workshop, with the notable exception of Sicily for the lekythoi. Thus, a "holistic approach to the productions of a workshop permits to understand better the supply conditions of different shapes, and to highlight customers' choices in different places and regions".

The first three studies were concerned with the home as well as with overseas markets. Amalia Avramidou and Despoina Tsiafaki (4. Attic Kraters and Pelikai from Ancient Thrace) chose to emphasize the regional aspect of the diffusion of two of the most widespread shapes of late 5th and 4th century Attic red-figure, namely the pelike and the bell-krater in the region of Thrace. This study is part of an ongoing research of much broader scope, namely the mapping of all Attic imports to the geographic area of Thrace, including the Greek colonies, the emporia and the sites occupied by indigenous populations. While kraters are present from an early period on in the area, especially in sanctuaries in coastal Greek cities, they tend to occupy a very important sector of imports during the period of the *floruit* of the red-figured technique. The situation is not reversed during the 4th century, when the infiltration of Greek pots in Thracian areas is deeper, since such finds reached several indigenous sites. This pattern reveals the role of Greek colonies and emporia for the penetration of imports further inland. Political reasons might account for the rise of imports during the second half of the fifth century, but we are dealing here with a long established market for Athenian vases. While the finds from funerary contexts are predominant, it is to be noted that the situation might simply reflect the archaeological record, since numerous finds from domestic and religious sites are mentioned, although sometimes not specified. Pelikai,

on the other hand, appear during the 5th century in elite Thracian burials, while on Greek or Hellenized sites like Samothrace, they are more often used as cinerary urns. Kraters are widely used and appear in larger numbers, while pelikai are choice imports, with specific ritual connotations.

The remaining four papers are concerned with finds from the Italian peninsula and Sicily. Barbara Cavallaro (5. Vasi attici a Vassallaggi: possibili "special commissions" in un centro sicano) presents a thorough investigation of Attic pottery found in male graves in the Sican center of Vassallaggi in inland central Sicily. In addition to Attic pots put in these tombs, the analysis encompasses all items belonging to the funerary contexts (arms, strigils, local vases). Kraters in particular, but also oinochoai, pelikai and lekythoi are among the recurrent Attic forms found. The careful analysis of the iconographic programs of the more prestigious items put in tombs in Vassallaggi allows Cavallaro to formulate the somewhat audacious hypothesis that the inhabitants had direct access to the Athenian craftsmen and were able to commission specific iconographic themes on the pots of their choice. While the suggestion is tempting, and while it is true that the iconography of the Attic vases arriving at Vassallaggi in important numbers, especially during the second half of the 5th century, is consistent with the aristocratic ethos of this Hellenized community, there are no concrete proofs as for the existence of such a sophisticated procedure of acquisition of Attic vases in the site.

Aaron Rhodes-Schroder (6. Death Driving Deposition: Funerary Practice as a Motivator of Tarquinian Selection in the Attic Vase Trade) examines the evidence for Attic imports in the site of Tarquinia. Although conducted in a rather traditional manner, this study benefits from the use of an unusually richer statistical basis than every single one preceding it. Rhodes-Schroder focuses on shapes of painted vases, both imported and made in Etruria, found in tombs at Tarquinia. The study shows that shape preferences are notable in the record, with the amphora and the cup dominating imports, the former during the period of the flourishing of the black-figured technique, the latter down to the middle of the 5th century BC. Since this situation is not reflected in the overall production pattern in the Athenian Kerameikos, the author concludes that supply determines the choices, but demand is unable to influence the strategies of production in Athens. Thus, he concludes that the decline in imports in 475–450 BC has nothing to do with the "crisis" after the battle of Cumae in 474 BC but rather reflects a situation where Tarquinians were unwilling to acquire what the Athenian potters had to offer, in an indiscriminate way. It is held that the preeminence of the black-figured amphora is somehow connected to the much older tradition of placing the combusted rests of the corpse in a tronconical *olla*. For some reason, the clients did not attach the same symbolic value to the red-figured amphora, which is rarely found in Tarquinia. The point has been made repeatedly in the past,[5] but is made even more convincing here, thanks to the occurrence of quantitative data. An analysis of the finds from Civita and other areas of the city will be an excellent addition to the topic and might contribute in consolidating Rhodes-Schroder's argumentation.

Delphine Tonglet (7. Etruscan Melting-Pot: Some Considerations about Etruscan Banquet Sets in Funerary Contexts) examines the cultural exchanges between Greece and Etruria from the 9th to the 6th centuries BC, laying particular emphasis to the question of "mixed" banquet services (made up of local and imported vases) and the ritualized consumption of wine and food. From the point of view of methodology, Tonglet adopts the concept of "entangled pottery", first used in the study of prehistory, in order to define the fluctuating roles of Greek pots before and after being exported overseas. The interaction between imported shapes and local ones is dynamic; this is better illustrated in the case of the kyathos, which, once adopted by Greek potters, was re-exported to Etruria and influenced the rendering of the traditional form. Tonglet's study is a reminder that Greek and Etruscan contexts, even if implying the use of the same objects, need not assume the same symbolic or real functions for them.

In a similar vein Vincenzo Baldoni (8. Vase Shapes from Picenum Funerary Contexts: Imports and Local Production of Numana) examines the presence of Attic imports in the necropolis of the Davanzali area in Numana (Picenum). The evolution of Attic imports is interesting, since it presents two distinct facets, one in the fifth and one in the 4th centuries BC, divided by a transitional period of general decline of imports, in the years following the Athenian defeat of 404 BC. A careful assessment of individual tombs or groups of tombs allows to better understand the function of Attic red-figured and black-glazed sympotic vessels within the context of Picenian funerary traditions. The Greek banquet is a major reference for the Picenians, inasmuch as the richer tombs (usually dating to the years around the middle of the 5th century BC) are furnished with banquet sets consisting of Attic pots and locally made open shapes for food consumption. In the course of the 4th century, the necropolis is impoverished in terms of material wealth, as reflected in the small number of painted vases put in the tombs. However, the strong funerary symbolism of the banquet is retained, by the inclusion of a single pot, a krater for adult males and a skyphos for children. One of the merits of this study is that every single aspect of the tomb is taken under consideration (including the typology, the placement in the cemetery and the disposition, number and quality of the grave goods), so that different sets of data concur and support the conclusions. Following a tight chronological analysis, Baldoni is able to assert the rise of local and Alto-Adriatic pottery, first as a complement, and then as a substitute of the Athenian imports and to trace the evolution of the concept of the ritualized consumption of wine down to the last phase of the Picenian culture.

In selecting the contributors for the session "Greek and Etruscan Vases: Shapes and Markets", and the two discussants, Prof. Alan Shapiro and Dr. Alexandra Villing, the present author took care to offer a representative panel in terms of age, gender and provenance. Equally divided between male and female, and representing as many as nine countries (The Netherlands, Greece, France, Italy, New Zealand, Belgium, the United States, Great Britain/Germany) and three continents, evenly distributed between very young, young and elder scholars, the group of scholars involved in this collection

of essays offers varied and diversified views on the question of the economic role of painted pottery in the Archaic and Classical periods. Another goal attempted, and to a large extent fulfilled, was to present fresh material, newly excavated or recently studied. Above all, our aim was to present original studies that may be considered valuable contributions in vase scholarship. I would like to thank the public that attended the session for their lively participation in the discussions following each presentation and in particular our two discussants, whose thoughtful suggestions and ideas are imprinted in each one of the individual papers printed here.

Notes

[1] For both aspects, see Stissi 2002. For production see Esbach – Schmidt 2016. For the home market in Athens, see also Lynch 2011.

[2] Stissi 1999, 91–93; 2002, 326 f.

[3] Richter 1904–1905.

[4] Marconi 2004; Tsingarida 2009; Paleothodoros 2012; Carpenter et al. 2014; Carpenter et al. 2016.

[5] de La Genière 1987.

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Markets and the Survival of Shapes: the Case of the Column-Krater[1]

Winfred Van de Put

"Change of fashion", "the shape/technique had exhausted its possibilities", "fell out of favour" are often offered as explanations for the disappearance of certain shapes, techniques, iconographic motives. These expressions describe rather than explain a phenomenon, which may be well worth explaining. There may of course be cases when there is not much more to say, but it also echoes a 'rise and fall' kind of historicism. But what then may cause the change of use, the change of destination, of form and technique?

Not the whole answer, but at least a part of the explanation may be found in broader cultural and political movements, which may cause a change in consumption or distribution patterns, or religious changes ending, for instance, the custom of grave-gifts. In this paper I will try to explore the perhaps anachronistic explanation of economy and markets. I will try to follow the fate of a specific shape, the column krater, and specifically its red-figure phase, to see if its distribution and use sheds light on the role of the shape in different contexts and on its eventual disappearance.

The column-krater is a truly Greek shape with a venerable history. Distinguishing marks are the broad rim, the plates connecting the handles to the rim and the offset neck, for which the dinos may have been the inspiration as Payne suggested.[2] Its genesis in Corinth sometime in the 7th century BC gave rise to the name of 'Corinthian krater' for this specific shape variety. Fore-runners however are already present in the Mycenaean repertoire.[3] In the run of the 6th century, Attic production takes over, red-figure gets hold of the shape and it continues, with a peak in the early Classical and Classical periods (fig. 1) and in decreasing quantities toward the beginning of the 4th century, when production in Athens ceases. But this is not the end of the shape: it had been taken over by Apulian and Lucanian workshops and continued to be decorated in the red-figure technique until about the mid-fourth century (fig. 2).[4]

To answer the question, I look at dates, technique, artist or workshop, provenance, and a little iconography. As a basis I use the largest repository of painted (predominantly Attic) vases, the Beazley Archive Database.[5] Biased as it is,[6] it is still indicative of the distribution and popularity of the shape. The archive lists 386 Attic black-figure examples, 131 of which are of known provenance; of the 1294 red-figure entries, 667 have provenances. In black-figure, only 8 out of 131 vases with a known provenance hail from Athens or Attica (6%); in red-figure, a mere 9 out of 667 remained that close to home (slightly over 1%). From the start of the shape in Athenian vase-painting, it seems to have been an export product.

The fact that kraters were deposited in graves in non-Greek contexts, sometimes as funerary urns,[7] and hardly ever so in Greek contexts, will surely slant our image of its

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Fig. 1: Column krater by the Flying Angel Painter, ca 480 BCE. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum inv. no. 11.068.

Fig. 2: Apulian column krater by the Rueff Painter, ca 375–350 BCE. New York, Metropolitan Museum, inv. no. 1974.23.

distribution and survival, but the data from more or less domestic contexts may serve to correct this distortion. In a recent survey of Attic imports in the Cyclades, Paleothodoros noted remarkably few, and mostly very early, column kraters.[8] He also notes their virtual absence from Thessaly.[9] At Olynthos, there are two column kraters, one from a grave, very untypical for a Greek cultural environment, and one from a fill.[10] The 'public dining place' in Athens yielded about 5 column kraters out of the 87 krater fragments identified.[11] The date of this ensemble is around 450 BC, at the very peak of the production of the red-figure column krater. By far the preferred shape is the bell-krater, and this also goes for Olynthos. Finally, the agora symposium-ensemble analysed by Lynch did not contain a single krater. This could be because the krater was metal, retrieved and reused, or pillaged by the Persians, or a more modest plain lekane could have served as a mixing bowl.[12] Anyway, these contexts seem to indicate that the shape was very low on the list of preferred mixing bowls in the Greek world, while it obviously was available to the home public.

Was the Shape then Targeted at a Specific Market?

Workshops explicitly targeting one specific market are quite rare in the Athenian Kerameikos. Nikosthenes is the obvious, and quite unique, exception, deriving shape variants (amphorae, kyathoi, mastoi) from the intended Etruscan market.[13] Earlier, the Tyrrhenian amphorae are according to Kluiver thoroughly Athenian, yet targeted at the Etruscan market, where they were more readily imitated than at the place of origin.[14] The column krater, although not as exclusively targeted, may well turn out to be a similar case.

Looking at the figures it seems very clear for the Attic red-figured column krater (fig. 3). The north of Italy receives more than a third of the total of 667 provenanced kraters in the Beazley Archive Database (255, mainly Bologna and Spina). Second comes Sicily (156), the rest of Italy follows: Etruria proper (53), Campania (58), Puglia (51), Falerii/Latium (28). Lucania/Southern Italy account for 12 vases, while 13 hail from Central Italy. The total for the present day territory of Italy is 625 out of 667, or 94%. Most of these come not from Greek colonial sites but from indigenous settlements.[15] In contrast, Athens, and everything around and to the east of the city of origin, accounts for 36 items, a mere 5%. Athens and Attica account for only 9 (1 ½%). Again with the danger of economic anachronism, it still seems safe to say that the production of column kraters *without* the Italian component is not economically viable. It would have ceased production as early as Myson at the very beginning of the 5th century.

It is interesting to look at the late Archaic period. In general, the pattern of distribution is already in place, with important amounts going to Apulia, Campania, Etruria, Sicily and northern Italy. The latter is less important than later (14 out of 101), Falerii however relatively more so (8); more significantly, the amounts from Athens (4), Black

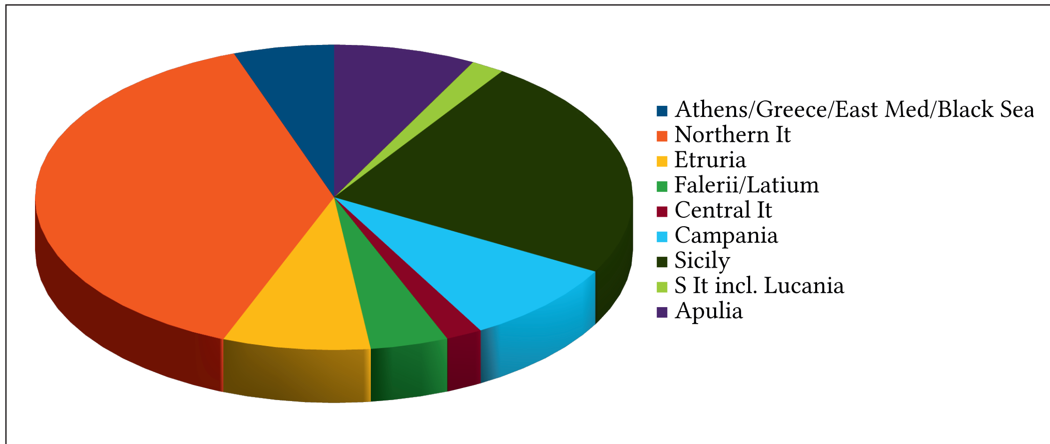

Fig. 3: Distribution of Attic red-figured column kraters. n = 667.

sea (3), eastern Mediterranean (2) and the rest of Greece (2) mean that 11% are not exported to Italy. Still a small segment, but it is clear the market grew ever more dependent on the export to Italy in the run of the 5th century BC.

The iconography of the column krater seems in line with that of Attic red-figure in general. Symposium scenes, not very complicated mythological subjects, fights, warriors departing. The latter may play a special role in indigenous Italic perception, as this theme is taken on in a somewhat different form in later Apulian red-figure vase-painting.

But catering to a market is not always limited to the adaptation of iconography. It may also influence the shape, and the column krater appears to have a slower morphological development in the run of the 5th century than for instance the bell-krater, ignoring the general tendencies toward elongation and concavity. In fact, the mid-4th century Apulian variant is still very close to the original, having found a decoration scheme that seemed to have persisted throughout its existence, with the ivy-berry frieze, reminiscent of the Attic mid-5th century Beldam Painter workshop, on the neck. Until deep in the 5th century, common secondary decorations for the broad rim of the Attic kraters remain friezes of archaic-looking outline animals (fig. 4), not too distant from that of early Archaic vases albeit somewhat sloppier in execution, and black lotuses and rays, also quite Archaic in outlook.

Also painting style may be affected: the 'mannerist' group, very well represented in the corpus of column kraters but also decorating other shapes, also seems to have worked almost exclusively for the Italian market, and they may well owe their stylistic reticence to their adaptation to the taste of their clientele.

Paradoxically, the demise of the column krater as a 'living', developing shape in the Athenian Kerameikos should be dated around the time when its numeric flourish started, sometime in the late Archaic/early Classical period. A fossilised version was made for a foreign market, and its actual survival was totally dependent on the

Fig. 4: Column krater by the Marlay Painter, ca 430 BCE. New York, Metropolitan Museum inv. no. 07.286.65.

continuity of trade with these markets. The sharp decline in the last quarter of the fifth century and the disappearance at the beginning of the fourth century may be seen in conjunction with severed lines of communication and trade during the Peloponnesian War.[16] Trade with Apulia picked up soon after the end of this conflict, witness for instance the magnificent Talos krater in Ruvo and many others, but in the meantime the Apulian production of column kraters had filled the gap with a version very similar in shape, but better adapted in iconography, depicting indigenous warriors instead of the Greek motives of the imported vases.

A last word about the appreciation of the column krater in Apulia: excellent work has been done in this field by Thomas Carpenter and others, for instance in *The Italic People of Ancient Apulia;* Carpenter's 2003 article already made the most important points.[17] The recent studies benefit from an increased availability of contextual information and aim to treat the indigenous population not as mere derivative of the 'culturally superior' Greek colonies, but as cultural identities in their own right. One insight is that the access to Attic ceramics does not seem to have been mediated by Taranto and Metaponto, but was direct through indigenous Adriatic ports.[18] It is also clear that the iconography of the Apulian column krater, more directly addressing the indigenous market, is remarkably uniform and appealing to the warrior elite (a fact that seems to be confirmed by physical anthropology).[19]

Derivation of cultural objects is an extremely complicated process[20] and its interpretation is strongly influenced by contemporary bias. For the indigenous cultures of Italy the tone has often been rather dismissive of their cultural achievements.[21] To counter this notion, I may be allowed to digress to a parallel closer to home (at least, closer to my home): the so-called tulip vase (fig. 5).[22] This impressive feat of ceramic ingenuity in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam became prominent at the end of the 17th century. Championed by the then king and queen of Great Britain, William and Mary, it was produced in Delft in a Chinese inspired pagoda like design (although the Chinese did not have similar flower vases; it was possibly inspired by the porcelain tower in Nanking), decorated with mainly Chinese motifs in a Chinese porcelain technique, to display a flower, which has come to epitomise Dutchness, but which arrived at our country from the Ottoman empire only in the early 17th century. What does all this hybridity and derivation mean? Did the 17th century British royal court consider the Chinese culture superior and worthy of imitation? And why did the Dutch embrace the flower, the blue-and-white porcelain, the shape of the vase as indelible aspects of their identity? The answer may lie in the celebration of connectivity and sheer joy in the ability to integrate such disparate elements into their culture rather than in a slavish submission to Ottoman horticulture and Chinese ceramic inventiveness.

I think we should look at the hybrid 'Apulian' column krater of the indigenous people of Italy in a similar way. Of course they were aware that the shape was Greek – they had been importing it for over a century before the Apulian version took over. If the recent publications mentioned above make one thing clear, it is that the Messapians, Peucetians

Fig. 5: Tulip pyramid, ca 1692–1700 CE. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-2004-4-B.

and Daunians had a very thorough grasp of Greek artistic and material culture. Yet they welcomed the adaptation of the iconography of one particular shape to their own material culture. They were as aware of the hybrid nature of the vessel as the Dutch were of the clash of cultures in their exuberant flower vase of choice. It shows simultaneously a conscious adaptation of an element of Greek culture and a conscious assertion of indigenous values, oppositions which were not ignored but rather accentuated.

Notes

[1] First and foremost my thanks goes to Dimitris Paleothodoros, who invited me to his session at the AIAC Conference in Bonn and Cologne, and who advised, guided and goaded the present article. Also thanks to Giada Giudice, Stephanie Kramer and Trifon Bambilis for their kind help and remarks and to Thomas Carpenter for his encouragement.

[2] Payne 1931, 300 f., a brief outline of the history and spread of the shape.

[3] E.g. the amphoroid krater from Maroni, illustrated in Mountjoy 2001, 73 fig. 153 (LH IIIA1-2, ca. 1375 BC).

[4] Carpenter 2003, 10–20, also on their use, distribution and iconography.

[5] Consulted 12 July 2017.

[6] I sketch the extend of the bias in Van de Put 2011, 34 f. It was illustrated in the conference by the intervention of M. Damianov, relating numerous finds Thracian in the hinterland, largely unknown to Beazley.

[7] De Cesare 2007 for Sicily.

[8] Paleothodoros 2018.

[9] Paleothodoros, personal communication.

[10] Cahill 2002, 185

[11] Rotroff – Oakley 1992.

[12] Lynch 2011, 130 f.

[13] Tosto 1999.

[14] Kluiver 2003, 19. 123 f.

[15] Carpenter 2003.

[16] There is abundant scholarship on trading routes and local preferences, especially regarding Etruria and Sicily, which I am unable to incorporate in the present discussion, e.g. Giudice 2007; Giudice et al. 2017; Giudice et al. 2015.

[17] Carpenter et al. 2014; Carpenter 2003.

[18] Carpenter 2003, 3 f.

[19] Carpenter 2003, 16–20.

[20] A key issue in anthropology; e.g. Eriksen 2001, 294–311 and elsewhere.

[21] "In the west the Greeks had nothing to learn, much to teach", Boardman 1980, 190.

[22] The 'Bloempiramide' (Flower Pyramid), Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv. no. BK-2004-4-B.

Image Credits

Fig. 1: Courtesy of Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam. – Fig. 2: Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. – Fig. 3: by the author. – Fig. 4: Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. – Fig. 5: Courtesy of Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

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Attic Figured Mugs in the Market

Dimitris Paleothodoros

The mug (or oinochoe of shape 8[1]), a "deep one-handled drinking cup of no special beauty",[2] has not attracted much attention in scholarly literature.[3] Yet, the fact that almost 2/3 of the 248 extant painted examples of this shape have been found in controlled archaeological contexts, or at the very least are of known provenance (Table 1), invites one to examine the ways, in which the mug was commercialized and received in Attica and abroad.

Beazley identified three main shapes of Attic mugs, but there are several variants, especially in south Italian pottery, which need not concern us here.[4]

Shape A is divided in two classes: the earlier and more numerous mugs have an outturned lip, sharply curving walls which come in slightly at the bottom, a low strap handle joining the rim and a molded underside (figs. 1. 2). The second class consists of mugs with a more sharply outturned lip and rounder walls (fig. 3).[5] For both classes,

Area	Shape A	Shape B	Shape C	Unknown	Total
Etruria	13	1	3		17
Campania	8	6	2		16
S. Italy	7	7	3		17
Sicily	16	2	5	1	24
Italy	3	5	4		12
Attica	15	3	9	3	30
Greece	13	7	12	1	33
N. Africa	4				4
Balkans		5	1		6
Black Sea		1			1
Cyprus		1			1
Unknown	35	25	25	2	87
Total	114	63	64	7	248

Table 1: Distribution of painted mugs by type

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Fig. 1: Louvre G 102. Type A mug by the Painter of Berlin 2268.

Fig. 2: Kerameikos 4003. Type A mug by the Painter of Berlin 2268.

Fig. 3: Munich 2562. Type A mug by the Group of Munich 2562.

height varies from 7 to 13 cm and the diameter of the rim is larger than the total height of the vase.

There are 114 extant examples of painted mugs of shape A, but relatively few in either black-glaze or metal.[6] It is a red-figured shape, only occasionally encountered in the black-figure[7] or the white-ground[8] techniques. The origin of the form is Laconian: the production of the series of plain and glazed Laconian mugs begins in the end of the 7th century BC and continues down to the early Hellenistic period.[9] It is tempting to associate the introduction of the shape in Attica with the political situation during those years, when Spartan soldiers occupied the Acropolis in 510 and 507 BC (Hdt. 5.64–65, 5.73). The invention of the shape should be credited to a potter of the early red-figure workshop of the Epeleios Painter, active during the closing years of the 6th and the early 5th centuries, in close collaboration with the Painter of Berlin 2268[10] (figs. 1. 2), and Epiktetos in his maturity[11] (fig. 4), who painted most of the early type A mugs. Only a few examples date after circa 480 BC, while the shape becomes a rarity in the second half of the 5th century.

Type B, the "Pheidias mug" (fig. 5),[12] is extremely popular in black glaze from the first quarter of the 5th century onwards.[13] Mugs of this type have a fat body, a wall with full

Fig. 4: Louvre CA 3456. Type A mug by Epiktetos.

rounded outline, a concave neck and a low handle from body to rim. Black-glazed mugs usually have a ribbed body. Although this type of decoration derives from metal ware,[14] it is more tempting to trace the origin of the shape to the same potter who invented the type A mugs, since the earliest example is a red-figured mug from Padula by the Painter of Berlin 2268.[15] Painted versions are not very numerous (63 examples) and mainly date to the early Classical period. This type acquires truly gigantic proportions in Attica,[16] Laconia, Sicily and southern Italy[17] during the late 5th and early 4th centuries.

Type C (figs. 6. 7) is contemporary to the other two versions, since a fragmentary mug of this type is attributed to the workshop of the Epeleios Painter.[18] It is not common in either black-glaze[19] or metal,[20] but is fairly represented in the repertory of vase-painters (64 examples), mostly dating around 450. Type C mugs are connected to those of type A, but are taller, less well articulated and their handle usually joins below the rim. The curve of the wall is continuous, checked at the ring-shaped and projecting foot. Hybrid forms with two handles[21] and variants with a concave neck, wide mouth and conical foot[22] also occur.

Fig. 5: Athens 1355. Type B Mug. 450 B.C.

A Laconian mug in London is inscribed HEMIKOTYLION, which refers to its capacity;[23] a mug from Isthmia bears the word ΚΟΘΟΝ underneath the foot;[24] a painted example from the same site has HIAROS ΠΟSΕΙΔΟΝΟS inscribed on the rim. This proves that the shape's name was masculine.[25] Admittedly, a more general term like skyphos might have been used as well, as the graffiti SKY underneath the foot of a silver mug from Dalboki indicates.[26]

Κώθων is now widely accepted as the name of the mug;[27] indeed, the shape fits more than any other the general characteristics attributed to the *kothon* in ancient sources.[28] Polemo described it as an one-handled ribbed vase.[29] Heniochus noted that the handle is short and the mouth wide.[30] Archilochus, Kritias and Aristophanes refer to the *kothon* as a vessel used by soldiers and mercenaries.[31] An inscription from Epidaurus stated

Fig. 6: Athens 1655. Type C Mug. 460–450 B.C.

that a clay *kothon* had been used by a traveler.[32] The *kothon* is also described as a shape suitable for dipping and pouring.[33]

There are twenty vases showing soldiers, komasts, banqueters, itinerant heroes (Herakles, Orestes, Odysseus, Kephalos), travelers or hunters handling plain or ribbed mugs.[34] A depiction of Herakles drinking from a mug on a Paestan krater points to it being used as a cup;[35] on other vases, the shape appears in the context of the banquet.[36] Many mugs bear the names of their owners, a fact pointing to them being used as drinking vessels.[37] Also of relevance is the fact that several examples develop a second handle, like a glaux.[38] Iconography is relevant as well, since several mugs depict owls[39] or bear the motifs used for the decoration of Saint Valentine kantharoi and skyphoi.[40]

Fig. 7: Athens 1495. Type C Mug. 460–450 B.C.

On a pyxis of the Sam Wide Group, Herakles fills his mug from a fountain.[41] Wolfgang Schierring has postulated that the shape was especially designed for libations.[42] Other images point to its use as a dedication in sanctuaries.[43] In sort, the mug could be used for a variety of purposes, "as a dipper, a measure, a taster, or as a portable drinking-cup".[44]

The commonest find-places of mugs are Attica (30 examples), the rest of Greece (33) and Sicily (24). South Italy, Campania and Etruria have yielded 16 to 17 examples, but in the latter case half come from a single site, Gravisca.[45] Elsewhere, such finds are scant: there are four from Northern Africa,[46] six from the Balkans and Thrace, and a single find each from Marion and Vani (Table 1).

Distribution by shape variant reveals some interesting aspects: of the 79 type A mugs with known provenance, 28 are from Athens and Greece, 17 from Sicily, six from southern Italy, 13 from Etruria, eight from Campania, three of probable Italian provenance and four come from North Africa. The distribution of the 38 type B mugs is more haphazard, except for the late group of huge mugs from Thrace and the Balkans. Of the 38 type C mugs with known provenance, 21 are from Greece, the rest being distributed almost equally among the different regions of Italy. Finally, of seven very fragmentary examples, four come from Greece, two from Sicily and one is of unknown provenance. To sum up, types A and B are more prominent in Italy than in Greece, while type C is almost equally represented in the two regions. In general, earlier vases tend to appear in Italy and North Africa, while later ones are more frequently found in Greece and the Balkans.

It is particularly noticeable that no finds are reported from Vulci, Cerveteri, Chiusi and Adria, and only one from Spina, respectively. The only site in Etruria that relatively favors the shape is Tarquinia (three examples);[47] apparently, the fact that nine mugs were found in Gravisca, the port of the city, must have played some role in their distribution there.[48] Another reason for the noted presence of mugs of type A in Etruria might be the fact that the Epeleios workshop and Epiktetos had strong market ties with the region, through the export of cups.

A substantial number of mugs has been found in sanctuaries, namely on the Acropolis (four), in the Theban Cabirion (three), in Olympia (nine), in Perachora (four), at Isthmia (one), in the extramural sanctuary of Demeter in Cyrene (three), in the Samian Heraion, in Neapolis in Thrace, in Gravisca (nine), in Gela and Ravanusa (one each).[49] A mug was found along with pottery dating from the 8th to the 5th century in a deposit next to an altar dedicated to an anonymous hero at the edge of a cemetery on the island of Psara.[50] All four mugs of shape A from Morgantina originate from the Acropolis, and they could therefore come from buildings with a religious function.[51] Black-glazed mugs have also been discovered in the sanctuaries of Apollo and Aphaia on the island of Aegina,[52] the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia[53] and the Anakeion of Delos,[54] while a bronze example was excavated in Dodona.[55]

The most common destination for a mug is the tomb. There are about twenty published funerary contexts containing figured mugs: normally a single item is found in each tomb, although there are rare cases of a pair of mugs in tombs of Aegina,[56] Locri,[57] Taranto[58] and Sipka in Bulgraria.[59] Tombs in Bologna and the Kerameikos are identified as belonging to children,[60] while others belong to youths, such as the tomb from the Lucifero necropolis, where a sheet of bronze has been interpreted as an intrusive *defixio,* a second tomb from the same necropolis containing numerous black-glazed mugs, an early Classical red-figured mug, black-figured vessels apparently functioning as heirlooms, a strigil and a lyre.[61] A tomb in Agrigento should be also associated with a young male, judging from a male figurine deposited there.[62]

The elaboration of the tomb and the number of accompanying goods is considerably varied: tombs in Sicily, southern Italy and Aegina may contain a good number of figured and black-glazed vases forming banqueting sets, as well as other offerings.[63] A tomb in Novolo contained three vases of different shapes by the Pan Painter.[64] This is a strong indication that sometimes workshop traditions played as much a role in the distribution of mugs as the general demand for the shape. Another interesting case concerns a pair of mugs by the same workshop, apparently the work of the same potter, but decorated by different hands, found in a tomb at Taranto[65]. Most often, however, the mug is part of a relatively humble assemblage of finds, especially in Greece and Sicily; usually, it is the only painted item inside the tomb, accompanied by a few other objects.[66]

Domestic assemblages are rare;[67] of 20 finds in the Agora,[68] some were undoubtedly used in houses, but others have been found in public buildings and one had been used as an *ostracon.*[69]

A significant group of type A mugs depict youthful warriors (fig. 3) and Scythian peltasts (fig. 1),[70] thus prompting R. Osborne[71] to argue that the shape was especially designed as a drinking vessel for young males. As we saw, such a usage was also suggested by numerous tomb contexts, especially the numerous black-glazed finds from the Thespian Polyandrion,[72] or the finds from the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia, closely connected with athletes.[73] There are many more images of athletes, hunters and travelers, satyrs (fig. 4), youthful komasts (fig. 7), banqueters (fig. 2), musicians, men/youths and mythological figures (fig. 5). Women, on the other hand, are far less often depicted on mugs, the shape usually belonging to the banquet or the Dionysiac realm (Table 2).[74]

Another possible interpretation, not incompatible with the previous one, stems from the large number of literary references to the *kothon* and several derivative words as a deep drinking cup associated with the consumption of unmixed wine, particularly by youths.[75] A tomb context in the Kerameikos is particularly revealing in that respect: a mug (fig. 2) depicting a youthful banqueter and a psykter showing frolicking satyrs were found lying in a niche.[76] The psykter is another shape possibly symbolic of a drinking party that has broken all limits of dignity, embodying the inverted values of the aristocratic banquet. A clear example can be found in the platonic *Banquet* (213, 223b), where, among other irregularities, Alcibiades drinks unmixed wine directly from the psykter.[77]

If the *kothon* is indeed connected with the ideology of aristocratic extravagance and unruly drinking, then it is easy to explain the great preponderance of satyrs, as well as the noted presence of both Scythians and youths among the painted scenes decorating the shape. I wonder whether the trend to produce mugs of truly monumental size in the late 5th century is in some symbolic way connected with sympotic excess, since these vases, by their very proportions, blur the limits between a drinking cup and a mixing bowl.

These considerations might help to explain the enthusiastic adoption of the mug by southern Italian potters and painters. The starting point is graphically underlined on

Subject	Type A	Type B	Type C	Unknown	Total
Athletes	13	7	10	2	32
Satyrs	11	15	18		44
Other Dionysiac	3	3			6
Peltasts	8				8
Warriors	14	1			5
Komasts	18		2		20
Banquetters	13	2	1		6
Musicians	3	2	2		7
Hunters/travellers		2	2	1	5
Ritual		3	4		7
Men/Youths	7	10	8	1	26
Eros	6	4	2	1	13
Myth and gods	4	6	4		14
Women		3	1		4
Owls	6	1	7		14
Animals	3		1		4
Floral	2	2			4
Other	3	2	2	2	9
Total	114	63	64	7	248

Table 2: Iconography

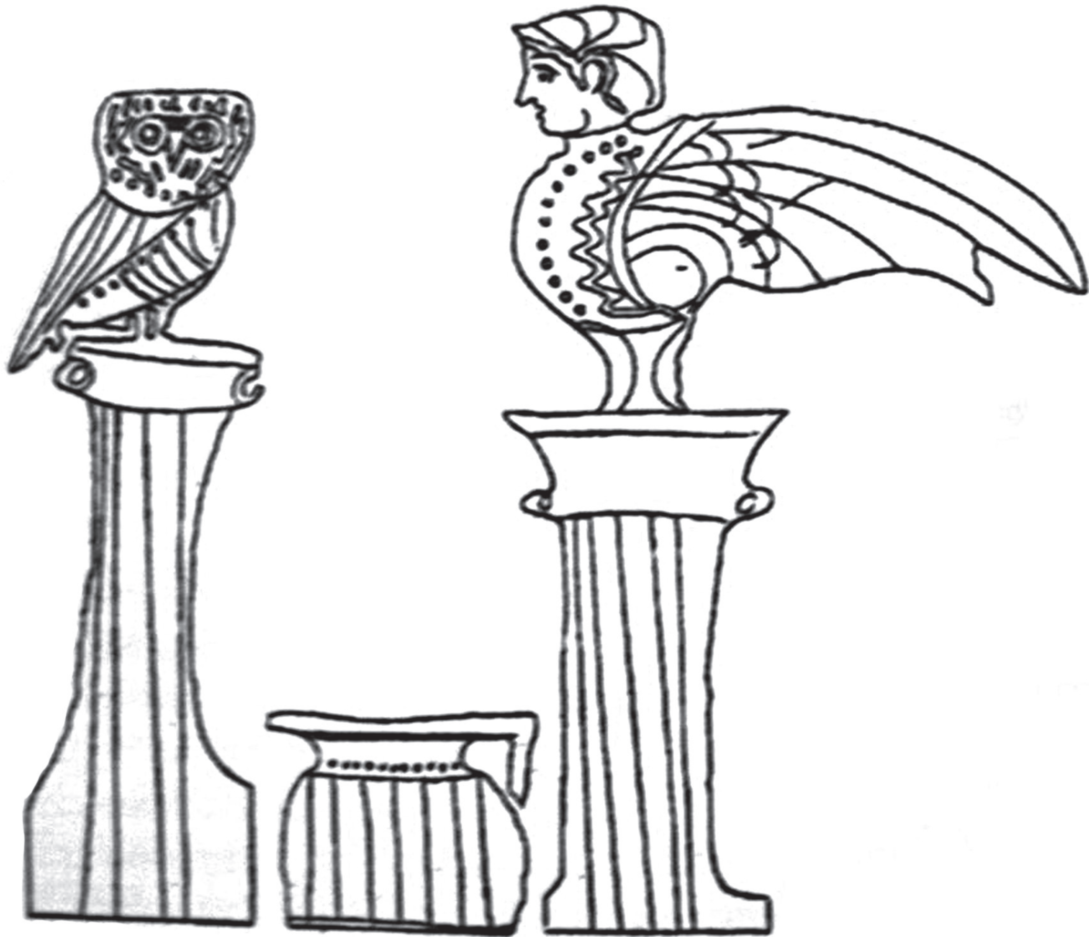

Fig. 8: St. Petersbourg 319. Campanian amphora by the Owl-Pillar Group. 475–450 B.C.

a Campanian amphora of the Owl Pillar Group, showing a mug flanked by columns surmounted by the Neapolitan Siren and the Athenian owl (fig. 8).[78] The popularity of the shape in southern Italy is also indicated by its appearance on Tarentine coins of the 4th and early 3rd centuries BC.[79]

The transformation of the mug, in the hands of Athenian potters and their clients, from a Laconian vessel serving travelers and soldiers to a drinking cup with complex associations to manhood and aristocratic drinking habits, contributed to the shape's conspicuous presence in the archaeological record, especially during the first half of the 5th century. These qualities seem to have been retained in Sicily and southern Italy. As far as Etruria is concerned, finds from secure archaeological contexts are quite few, and do not allow us to draw any conclusions as to the users of the shape.

Notes

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[2] Cambitoglou 1968, 9.
[3] Beazley 1926, 59 f.; Schierring 1964, 169–182; Broneer 1965, 817 f.; Scheibler 1968, 390–392; Sparkes – Talcott 1970, 70–76; Green 1972, 8; Sparkes 1975, 128 f.; Schauenburg 1983a, 1983b 1985a, 1985b; Miller 1993, 133; Osborne 2000, 36 f.; Fortunelli 2006, 57–59, 2007, 111 f.; Paleothodoros 2013, 440 f.
[4] ARV², L; Green 1972, 8.
[5] I.e. the mugs by the group of Munich 2562 (ARV² 158.1–3) and those mentioned in n. 8.
[6] Black-glazed (early): Agora P15919, P28077 (Sparkes – Talcott 1970, nos. 191. 192 pl. 11), Leiden S 701 (CVA 3, pl. 156.1), Germany, private (Hampe 1978, 105 fig. 2), Mainz ZRGM 01.4159 (CVA 1, pl. 41.3), Taranto 20324, 20313 (D'Amicis et al. 1997, 288 f. 302 f. nos. 81.14 and 64); Sabuccina, t. 1 (Panvini 2006, 212 pl. IV.1). Taranto, from Oria (Semeraro 1997, 143 fig. 86, n° 283). Metal: Weber 1983, 448; Tarditi 1996, 83 f. nos. 167–169, Settis – Parra 2005, 437 no. 345.
[7] Athens 17267 (ABV 444); Naples 82448 (Schauenburg 1985a, pl. 44.1); Germany, private (Hampe 1978, 108 fig. 1).
[8] Würzburg H 5356, Palermo 2132, 2139, Gela 34 (Wehgartner 1983, 99 nos. 1–4 pl. 33.1–2); Louvre (Once Paris Market, Christophe Kunicki: naked peltast facing panther); Gravisca 72/19060 (Huber 1999, 152 f. no. 883).
[9] Stibbe 1994, 43 s.; Williams 1979, 140–142.
[10] ARV² 153–158. On the chronology, see Ferrari 1988, 69 f.
[11] Basel Market, Orvieto Faina 148, Louvre CA 3456 (ARV² 77.97; 1676; Paleothodoros 2004, 170 nos. 160. 162 f. pl. L1–2); Agrigento AGS 10071 from Monte Saraceno di Ravanusa (Calderone – Tramontana 2009, 608 fig. 8.10).
[12] Named after the signed example from Olympia (Schierring 1964, 169 no. 1 pl. 64).
[13] Sparkes 1968, 8 f.; Sparkes – Talcott 1970, 72 f.; Zimmermann 1998, 151 f. Early: Taranto 6789, 6782, 6791 from Laterza (Dell'Aglio – Lippolis 1992, 121, nos. 49.25–27); Kerameikos, t. SW 66 (Knigge 1976, pl. 34, n° 162.4). For South Italian and Etruscan, see Schauenburg 1983a; 1983b.
[14] Miller 1993, 138. For examples, see Schierring 1964, 174 f.; Weber 1983, 449–452; Zimmermann 1998, 151; Platz-Horster 2003, 217–220 pl. 21–23; Mazarov 2005, nos. 100. 104. 106.
[15] ARV² 157.79bis; Beazley 1961, 388 fig. 11.
[16] Liverpool 42.5060 (Schauenburg 1985b, 429 fig. 41); Burgas, from Sladkite Kladenci (Para 481.6), Kavala 1937π, from Neapolis, sanctuary of Parthenos (ARV² 1691.7; Para 482), Sofia, two specimens from a Thracian tumulus near the town of Shipka in Central Bulgaria (Kitov 2005).
[17] Laconian: Karouzou 1985; McPhee 1986, 155–156. Sicilian: Paleothodoros 2013, 439–440. 450. fig. 1–2. South Italian: Schauenburg 1983b.
[18] Agora P 5009 (ARV² 152.1; Moore 1997, pl. 82 n° 800). See also the black-figured mug Kassel T. 571 (CVA 1, pl. 28.8–9: 500 B.C.).

[19] Sparkes – Talcott 1970, 71 f.
[20] Oxford 1948.104 (Weber 1983, 453); Sofia, private (Mazarov 2005, no. 85). Sparkes – Talcott 1970, 71 f.
[21] Malibu 86.AE.242 (CVA 7, pl. 367, 370.5–6); Castelazzo (Leonard 1980–1981, 946 f. pl. 244 fig. 4); once Athens market (ARV² 1676).
[22] Agora P 17971 (Moore 1997, pl. 82 n° 802) and P 30046 (Oakley – Rotroff 1992, pl. 7 n° 25).
[23] London F 595 (Schauenburg 1983a, pl. 11.5).
[24] Isthmia IP 2047a (Broneer 1959, 335 no. 9. pl. 70i).
[25] Isthmia IP 335 (Broneer 1955, 139 pl. 52a, n° 19). Note also the mug from Syracuse bearing the inscription HIAROS ARTAMITOS FERAIAS (Paleothodoros 2013, 440 f. 450 fig. 1–2).
[26] Oxford 1948.104 (n. 20).
[27] Broneer 1965, 817; Scheibler 1968; Green 1972, 8; Lazzarini 1973–1974, 365; Davidson 1997, 66; Fortunelli 2006, 57–59; Paleothodoros 2013, 441 f. Sparkes – Talcott 1970, 79, consider the inscription on the Isthmia mug as a possible reference to its owner's name. Earlier opinions connect the term with the pilgrim's flask (Mingazzini 1967; Colonna 1973–1974, 141 f.), the *lakaina* (Kirsten 1957; Ross 1970) or the *exaleiptron* (contra, Scheibler 1964; Brommer 1980).
[28] Mingazzini 1967, 354–361; Lazzarini 1973–1974, 365–369.
[29] Athenaeus 11.67.
[30] Athenaeus 11.66.
[31] Archilochus, fr. 4 Bergk and Kritias, *Constitution of the Lacaedemonians,* apud Athenaeus, 11.66, Aristophanes, *Knights* 599–600.
[32] *IG* IV, 951, l. 79–89. See also Theopompus, fr. 242 Meineke, apud Athenaeus 11.66 and Hesychius, s.v. *kotha. Kothones* dedicated to sanctuaries: IG ii/iii², 1416, l. 10; 1425 B, l. 393; 1524 B, l. 242–243; 1544, l. 53 (Athens); IG VII, 303, l. 56; 3498, l. 9 (Oropos); IG XI.2, 154 B, l. 55; 162 A, l. 49; 199 B, l. 88; 203 B, l. 31 (Delos).
[33] Xenophon, *Cyropedia* 2.8. The Etruscan loanword *qutun/qutum* refers to a pitcher: Biondi 1997.
[34] Green 1972, 15, n. 69; Schauenburg 1986, 147; Fortunelli 2006, 58, n. 36.
[35] Naples, private (Schauenburg 1986, pl. 36. 37.1).
[36] On the cup Tarquinia 704 (Ferrari 1988, pl. 44. 45, n° 31) the bell-krater London E 506 (Green 1972, pl. IVD) and the Apulian lekanis Ancona 25046 (Fabrini 1984, 60 f. n° 21).
[37] Apart from the examples from the workshop of Pheidias in Olympia (Schierring 1964, 173–174), see the red-figured mug of Timoxenos from Taranto (ARV² 385.227), the South Italian black-glazed mug of Kalleas (Schierring 1964, 175 fig. 51), the mug of Xymmachos from the Kerameikos, t. HW 66 (Knigge 1976, pl. 34 n° 162) and the mug of Lakon from a tomb in Athens (ArchDelt 28, B1, 1973, pl. 20b). Note also the mysterious Dadaleme on a silver mug from Duvanli (Platz-Horster 2003, 265 pl. 23.1). A mug from Knidos was a gift by Antimenes to an unknown recipient (Chaviaras 1912, 532–533 no 14).
[38] Shape C mugs: n. 21. Shape A, with two vertical, kantharos-like handles: Laon 37.1028 (ARV² 804.73). Huge shape B mug with two handles: Liverpool 42.5060 (n. 16).
[39] Gela 34 (n. 9), Capua 222, once Munich Preyss, Olympia K 4584, Halle 13, Sofia and Paris Market (ARV² 983.10-17), Castelazzo (n. 21), Gravisca (Fortunelli 2007, 115 f. nos. C144 and C146), Samos K 2271 (Kreutzer 2017, 75 no. 80 pl. 26, 33). A mug of shape C in the Louvre (CA 2192) depicts an owl with spear, shield and helmet (ARV² 983.14).

[40] Agrigento C 908 (ARV^2 985; Schauenburg 1983a, pl. 11.4). New York 50.152 (Howard – Johnston 1954, 196 no. 2).
[41] London E 814 (Scheibler 1968, 391 fig. 2).
[42] Schierring 1964, 172 f. This usage appears on the skyphos Tübingen F2 and the hydria Munich 3266 (Schierring 1964, 173 fig. 48. 49), the Lucanian amphora Ipswich L.R. 1921.120 (Cook 1997, pl. 54), a statuette from Pieria (ArchDelt 23, B2, pl. 286c–d) and 4th century staters of Kroton (SNG Danish National Museum 3, nos. 1800–1803).
[43] See the Arcadian statuette N. York 43.11.3 (Richter 1944, 6 fig. 11–15) and the Ninnion tablet from Eleusis (Athens 11036: LIMC IV, pl. 591, Demeter 392).
[44] Beazley 1926, 60.
[45] Huber 1999, 140 nos. 777–779; 152 f. no. 883; Fortunelli 2006, pl. IId; 2007, 113–116, nos. C139, C141, C144, C146.
[46] Naucratis: Oxford 1928.25 (ARV^2 157.80). Cyrenaica: McPhee 1997, pl. 33, nos. 78–80.
[47] Tarquinia RC 3245, 710 (ARV^2 157.73-4; Ferrari 1988, pl. 30); Berlin 2319 (ARV^2 157.78; *CVA*, pl. 144.1-3, 7).
[48] One should be cautious, however, in drawing rapid conclusions, since many unprovenanced mugs in European and American Museums were most probably found in Etruria and Campania.
[49] Acropolis: three examples by the Painter of Berlin 2268 (*ARV^2* 157.79, 158) and Acr. F130.1 (Langlotz – Graef 1925, pl. 41 n° 544). Olympia: K 10327, K 10098, K 10210, K 10279, K 10287, K 10288 (M. Bentz, pers. com.), K 10320 (Schierring 1964, 249 f. pl. 80.1), K 4584 (n. 39), K 1890 (Mallwitz 1999, pl. 6.2). Isthmia: n. 25. Cabirion: Athens 10460, 10452 (*ARV^2* 156.65, 779.1; Wolters – Brunn 1940, 58 pl. 22.3. 40.1–3) and K734, 850, 2384 (McPhee 1986, 156, n. 23). Perachora: Payne – Dunbabin 1963, pl. 146 nos. 3834. 3835. 3836. 3838. Samos: n. 39. Neapolis: n. 16. Gela: n. 8. Ravanusa: n. 11. Naucratis and Cyrene: n. 46. Gravisca: n. 45.
[50] Vlachopoulos 2005, 139 fig. 183 (satyrs kneeling: by the Painter of Berlin 2268).
[51] Aidonai 61–207. 59–1887. 90–187. 90–150 (J. Neils, pers com.).
[52] Margreiter 1988, nos. 234–238 pl. 21; Williams 1987, nos. B3–11.
[53] Gebhard 1998, 111 f.
[54] Delos B 10577, dedicated by Xenokydes to the king Anios (Prost 2002, 327 fig. 9).
[55] Weber 1983, 450 no. C II.13.
[56] Pharos, chamber-tomb XV (niche containing a type A and a type C mug depicting satyrs and various black-glazed vases: ArchDelt 1979 B1, 69 pl. 20Fb).
[57] Lucifero necropolis, T754 (Elia 2010, 410 f. 421 fig. 29.7–9),
[58] Taranto I.G. 4549–4550 (ARV^2 263.53; D'Amicis et al. 1994, 318 f. n° 102.1–2).
[59] Above, n. 16.
[60] Bologna, Balli t. 5bis, containing two silver fibulae, a mug by the Painter of Berlin 2268 (ARV^2 156.51), bucchero and plain vases (Grenier 1907, 343–345 fig. 6); Kerameikos, t. 619 (child tomb containing a black-glazed lekythos, a bowl and a mug of shape C showing a youth turned to the left: Kunze-Götte, Tancke – Vierneisel 1999, 151 pl. 97.2).
[61] T. 996 (Elia 2010, 411 f. 420 fig. 29.2–6).
[62] Contrada Pezzino T 238 (Dell'Orto – Franchi 1988, 348).

[63] Sabuccina, W. Necropolis, t. 44 (red-figured mug, Nolan amphora, olpe, column-krater and lekythoi, black-figured lekythos, various plain pots, Attic black-glazed drinking vessels, bronze vessels, a strigil and an iron knife: Panvini 2005, 43), Policoro, Chiaramonte S. Pasquale t. 227 (mug of shape B depicting Eros, red-figured Nolan amphora, head-kantharos, white-ground and patterned lekythoi, black-glazed krater and other shapes, local pottery, a transport amphora, bronze utensils, a kottabos stand, a bronze helmet and weapons: Bianco et al. 1996, 164, n° 2.30), Rutigliano, Purgatorio, t. 23/1976 (mug of type B showing a satyr, red-figured column-krater, three Attic black-figured cups, black-figured chous, two cup-skyphoi, black-glazed cup, stemless cup, dish, olpe, skyphos, local oinochoe and one-handlers, pyxis, bronze vessels and amber pendants: Greiner 2003, 142, fig. 144), Ruvo (Corso Catagno, tomba a semi-camera with a mug of shape B depicting a woman, a column-krater by the Leningrad Painter, gold ornaments and later vases including the name-piece of the Pronomos Painter, a hydria, a cup and an oinochoe: Montanaro 2007, 502–522); Locri, Lucifero t. 754 (n. 57) and 996 (n. 61), Aegina, Pharos (n. 56).

[64] Portaccio t. 2: a pattern lekythos, a black-glazed cup, a Nolan amphora, a large lekythos and a mug (Manino 2006, 99–101).

[65] Taranto I.G. 4449–4550 (the tomb also contained a skyphos from the workshop of the Pistoxenos Painter: D'Amicis et al. 1994, 318 f. n° 102.1–3).

[66] Agrigento, (n. 61), Gela (via Tucidide t. 1: mug by the Painter of Berlin 2268, two black-figured lekythoi and a black-glazed cup: Panvini – Sole 2009, 348 no. VI/413), Bologna and Kerameikos (n. 60), Pontecagnano (t. 1240, containing a mug by the Painter of Berlin 2268 and a black-figured lekythos: Pontradolfo – D'Agostino 1990, pl. 6 fig. 9), Monte Bubbonia (t. 10/1955, with a mug by the Painter of Berlin 2268 and a small metallic object: ARV² 156.63; Panucci – Naso 1992, pl. 31).

[67] Himera 72.54 (Allegro et al. 1976, pl. 44.16); Naxos, inv. 1062 (NSc 1984–1985, 235 fig. 47 no. 144).

[68] Moore 1997, nos 793–808 pl. 82; Oakley – Rotroff 1992, nos. 23–25 pl. 7.

[69] ARV² 157.82.

[70] ARV² 156.52–54, 57bis, 58, 59; Louvre (n. 8), Stuttgart KAS 117 (CVA, pl. 29.4, 10).

[71] Osborne 2000, 38.

[72] Schilardi 1977, pl. 7. 16–21 nos. 2. 54–106 (a boeotian red-figured and 73 black-glazed mugs).

[73] See n. 24. 25. 53.

[74] Banquet and komos: a flute-player accompanying a naked youth dancing (Boston 00.339: ARV² 385.226), a naked woman reclining and playing the kottabos (Copenhagen Abc 1014: CVA 4, pl. 158.12), a barbitos-player (Caltanissetta, inv. 1867: Panvini 2005, 43 no I 41). Maenads: Athens 17267 (ABV 444) Palermo (Adriani – Manni 1971, 188 f. pl. 46 n° 13), Kavala, Sofia and Sipka (n. 16). Other female figures include Nike (Gravisca inv 76/1708: Huber 1999, 140 n° 778; Lipari 9621a: Bernabò Brea et al. 2001, pl. CLXXII.2), a woman with a man holding a stick (Adolphseck 63: CVA, pl. 41.7) and a woman holding a flower (Oxford 1927.66, from Ruvo: Montanaro 2007, 508 fig. 413).

[75] Davidson 1997, 66–69.

[76] T. HS 90 (Banou – Bournias 2014, 137. 301). Dr. M. Padgett thinks that both the mug and the psykter might have been decorated by the Painter of Berlin 2268 (pers. com.).

[77] See also Menander, *Chalkeia,* fr. 443 (Körte). Davidson 1997, 48 f.

[78] St. Petersbourg 319 (Pontrandolfo 1996, 106 fig. 9). One may note the joking interplay between the vertical flutes of the column and the ribs on the body of the mug.

[79] SNG Euelpides 1, no. 178; SNG München 3, no. 794; SNG Oxford 1, no. 593 f./SNG Lockett Coll. 1, no. 309 (I am indebted to Prof. M. Steinhart for these references).

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Fig. 1: Courtesy Réunion des Musées Nationaux, France. Photo: Chuzeville. – Fig. 2: Courtesy of DAI Athen. – Fig. 3: Courtesy of München, Antikensammlungen. – Fig. 4: Courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux, France. Photo: Chuzeville. – Fig. 5: Courtesy of Greek Ministry of Culture and Sport, National Museum of Athens. Photo: El. Galanopoulos. – Fig. 6: Courtesy of Greek Ministry of Culture and Sport, National Museum of Athens. Photo: El. Galanopoulos. – Fig. 7: Courtesy of Greek Ministry of Culture and Sport, National Museum of Athens. Photo: El. Galanopoulos. – Fig. 8: Drawing after Pontrandolfo 1997, 106 fig. 9.

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Shapes, Markets and Workshop Strategies between Specialization and Diversification. Case Study of the 'Sappho-Diosphos-Haimon' Workshop[1]

Cécile Jubier-Galinier

Introduction

Our understanding of Greek pottery markets (who produces what, who negociates, transports and who buys, how and what for?) obviously depends on find contexts but also on our understanding of production contexts. Starting from the corpus attributed to the Berlin Painter, D. Saunders demonstrated the primacy of shape over other selection criteria regarding the distribution of this painter's vases in the different areas concerned.[2] However, as the author reminds us, the data and maps are in no way exhaustive, but merely reflect our present state of knowledge. Many of the vases kept in museums are without any known provenance or just vague pieces of information such as "Italy", "Greece", that skew the data; concurrently the identification of painters and workshops depends on our definitions and attributions, which are not unanimously agreed upon.

Keeping in mind such important restrictions, one can state that the steady increase in published contexts and listed vases cannot but help us progress in the knowledge of both markets and productions. We therefore suggest reconsidering the specific case of the 'Sappho, Diosphos and Haimon painters' workshop', that enables to observe over two generations the distribution of the productions of the same workshop.[3] By taking into account the context of a workshop – any workshop –, one can study the different shapes produced, as well as the works of various painters, and thus consider the complementarity of craftsmen, their choices and strategies depending on an ever-changing market. After clarifying definitions and methodological aspects, we intend first to compare the different markets of the vases attributed to the first two painters who started the workshop, and then to focus on how distribution of productions in northern Greece evolved.

Methodological Aspects: Definition of the Workshop and Contexts

In the study of markets where Attic pottery was sold, the crucial starting point is our knowledge of workshops, a knowledge that remains subject to our definition criteria. Insofar as economic and material data elude us in most cases,[4] one has to bear in mind that the definition of such production structures closely depends on the study of objects. A joint analysis of shapes, techniques – including added colors, the quality of glazes and slips – secondary systems of decoration, style and iconography, permits to

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underscore how know-how was shared. The repeated combination of those elements, deliberately adopted by potters and painters reveals privileged relationships between craftsmen working in close contact[5]. The evolution of this particular workshop is to be grasped through the progressive changes in the aforesaid parameters.

Using as a point of departure the seminal study of C. H. E. Haspels,[6] it is currently possible to follow the organization of a single production unit created from the association between the Sappho Potter-Painter and the Diosphos Potter-Painter.[7] Typologies and decoration patterns are taken over by several workshop companions, more or less individually identified, who gradually influence production by introducing new types of shapes and of decorative schemes (fig. 1).[8]

When carefully considering the workshop, one can observe at a glance different shapes in contexts of use, without increasing uselessly the numbers of protagonists from Athens. The offerings of a tomb at Agrigento, consisting of a skyphos of the Pistias Class and of a black-glazed lekythos of the Little-Lion shape, are a telling example.[9] That tomb furnishing is not actually made up of two objects deemed unconnected on account of their different shapes, since the two vases were produced in the workshop after the Sappho Potter-Painter introduced these shapes.[10] The vases were produced and sold in Athens, transported, then purchased and finally placed together in the tomb, a fact that modifies the perspective regarding the modes of selection of these two small objects associated from the start.[11]

Let us examine now lekythoi found in three tombs of Krannon that are currently under publication.[12] Tomb VIII contains a typical Diosphos Painter bold-style vase[13] in association with a lekythos of Class HL, in the manner of the Haimon Painter.[14] In tomb VIII, there is a small white-ground lekythos, better executed than the latter, probably by the Haimon Potter-Painter;[15] in tomb VI, there is another vase whose shape appears to be a variant of Class DL.[16] These four vases are all typical of the production of the workshop, while production by the Haimon Potter-Painter and the Emporion Potter-Painter developed along with the last phase of the Diosphos Potter-Painter.[17] There is no point in multiplying here the examples of protagonists from Athens[18] since these different painters all work in the same structure, offering their own alternative to the DL and HL shapes. In so doing one needs to define what the actual pace of such imports to Krannon was, in other words whether one or several journeys where implied, since it appears that there is no significant chronological gap in the manufacture of the four lekythoi, for all the distinctively different styles of painting employed. One should examine not just those few vases more or less contemporaneous, but the entirety of imported vases to assess the frequency of exchanges with Athens.

However, focusing on the workshop does not mean looking upon its production as being a homogenous and undifferentiated whole, since the point precisely lies in the study of interactions and complementarities of craftsmen as regards market demands.

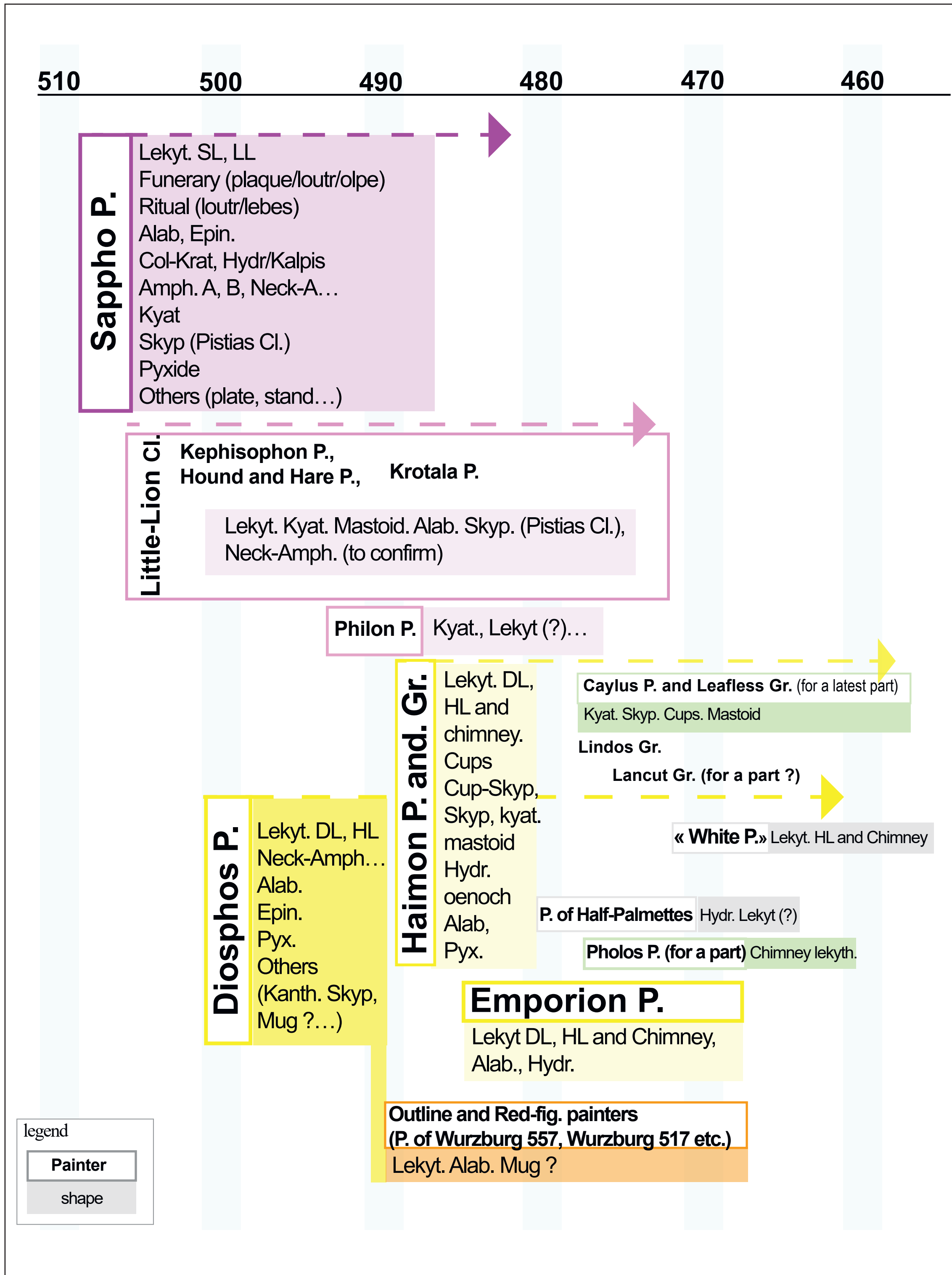

Fig. 1: The composition of the Sappho – Diosphos – Haimon Workshop

Productions and Markets of the Sappho and Diosphos Painters: Contrasts and Complementarities

Since C. Scheffer's[19] study on workshops and trade, it has become standard practice to consider without differentiation the distribution of the productions of these two painters.[20] However, the two painters, though related, were not strictly contemporary, each displaying very distinctive features. It has now become possible to assign around one hundred and thirty vases and pinakes to the Sappho Painter.[21] Lekythoi represent 61.5% of his output, according to present-day data (fig. 2, 1); however, the shapes attributed to this craftsman, who throws his vases himself most of the time, are more diversified than one used to think.

Distribution maps and charts created from ascertained proveniences highlight the importance of Athens and Attica (with more than 40%: see fig. 3). From the beginning of the practice of his craft, the Sappho Painter has been renowned for supplying the local market with funerary and ritual vases, and occasionally with lekythoi (fig. 4).[22] Recent finds have consolidated this aspect with, for example, a lebes gamikos found in a tomb in Glyka Nera.[23] The Sappho Painter has produced vases and pinakes for local customers, whose needs he knew perfectly well.[24] In the heart of Athens, he also provided young women with the loutrophoros-hydriae they offered to the sanctuary of Nymphe below the Acropolis. A small typical Little-Lion Class lekythos by this painter comes from the same context,[25] of which much material remains unpublished.

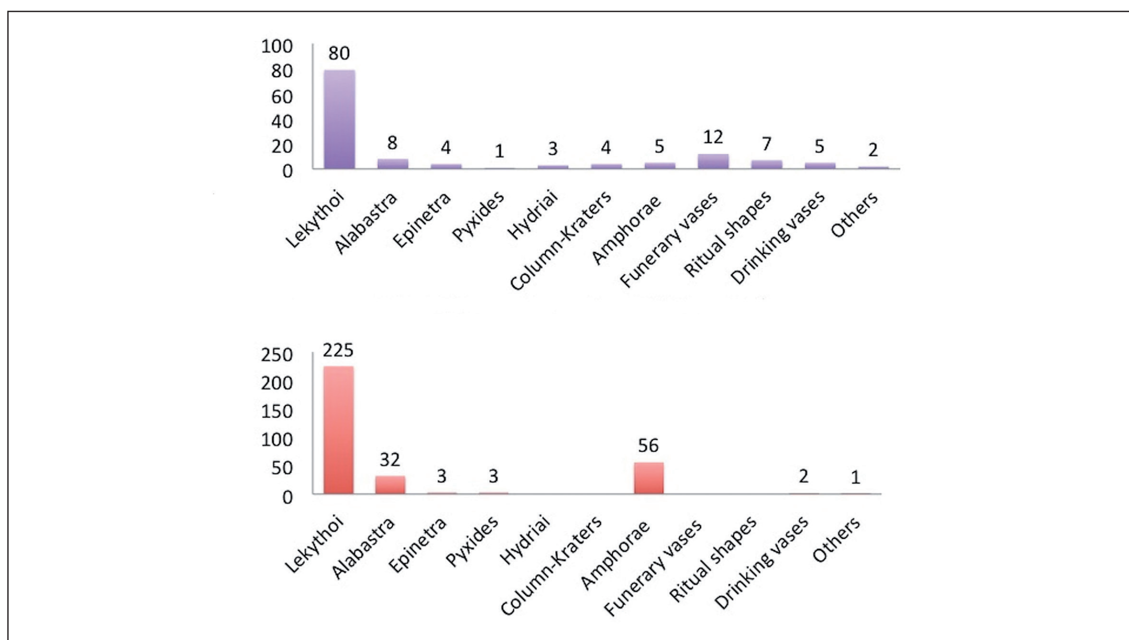

Fig. 2: 2,1: The production of the Sappho Painter by shape (130 vases and plaques). 2,2: The production of the Diosphos Painter (322 vases).

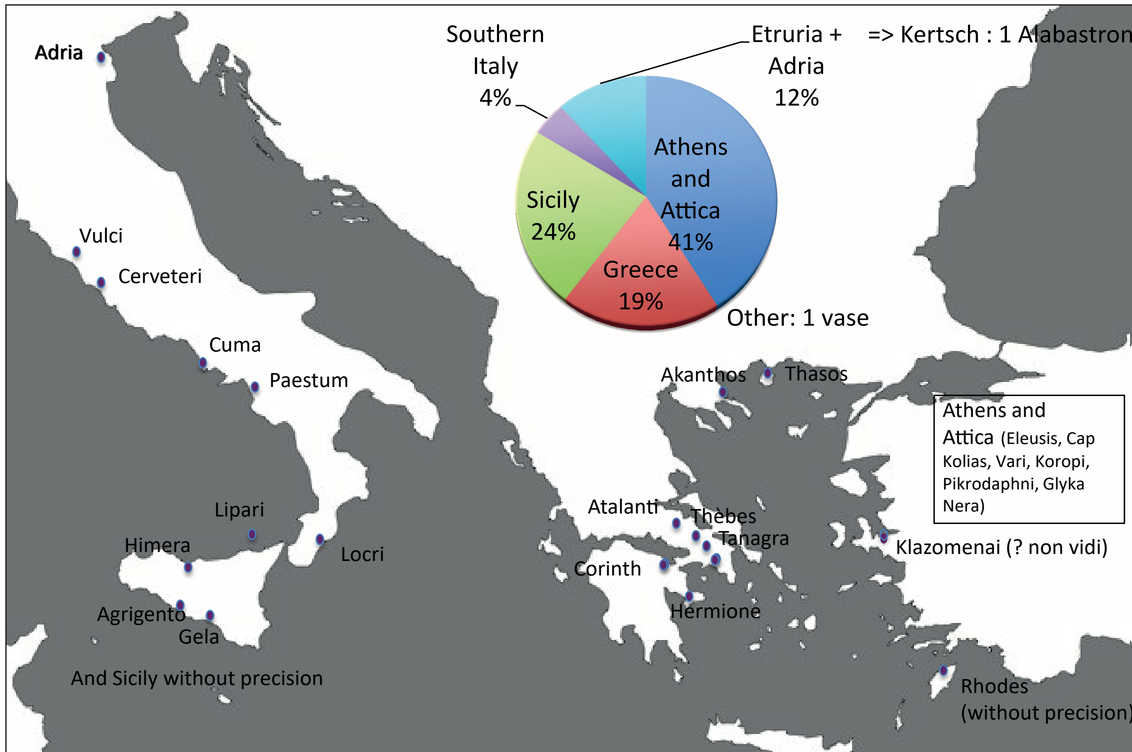

Fig. 3: Map and distribution of vases attributed to the Sappho Painter (70 recorded proveniences).

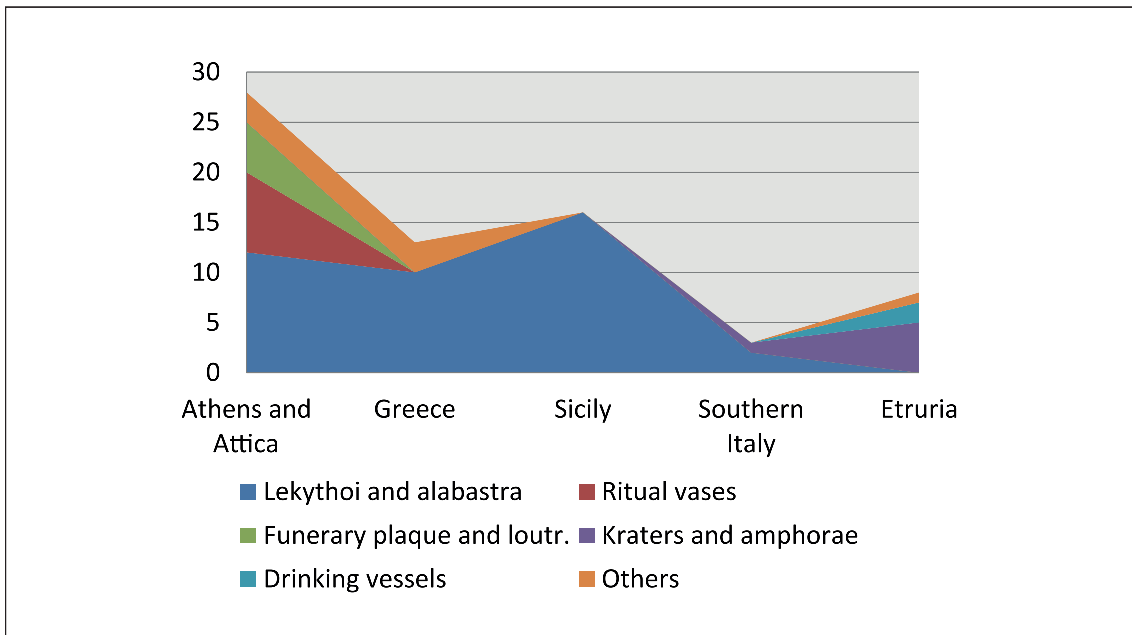

Fig. 4: Diagram of the distribution of shapes attributed to the Sappho Painter.

However the Sappho Painter does not restrict himself to the local market. Formerly deemed insignificant as a findspot, as far as Haspels' or Beazley's attributions are concerned, Etruria was actually supplied with several very specific shapes. To the three kyathoi, one of which had been found in Vulci,[26] recently attributed to the Sappho Painter, one must add an amphora with ribbon handles from Cerveteri, a piece that had long been connected with this painter without being explicitly attributed to him.[27] The kyathoi and amphora belong to the painter's first stylistic phase and confirm his links with the Nicosthenian tradition, passed on by Psiax, near whom the painter was trained.[28] Later in his career, he decorated for the Etruscan and Campanian markets neck-amphorae[29] found in Vulci, type B amphorae and probably pseudo-Panathenaics, some of which had been attributed by Beazley to the Painter of Brunswick 218.[30]

When reviewing the distribution of lekythoi, Sicily appears to be the main destination with fifteen vases, but the differences that exist between areas are not sufficiently relevant to be significant, given the low quantity of finds (fig. 4). On the other hand, some contexts in Greece show a carefully selected range of that shape. At Hermione (the Peloponnese), a Six's technique lekythos decorated with a horseman is the only perfume vase placed in a male tomb containing a bronze helmet.[31] Similarly, at Akanthos (Chalcidice), a vase displaying the Peliades is the sole offering, besides a silver coin, in a child's grave.[32] At the beginning of the 5th century BC, the Six's technique lekythoi undoubtedly represent for Greek customers in those different areas, a real alternative able to compete with the production of red-figure vases. Beyond such examples, it must be underscored that the Sappho Painter is not involved in the mass production of black-figure lekythoi for local or more distant markets; his production, far from being superabundant, precedes this phenomenon.

The situation is quite different in the case of the Diosphos Painter, with more than three hundred and twenty vases, of which 70% are lekythoi of Class DL and HL, produced throughout his long career (fig. 2, 2). Despite the fact that less than 40% of the corpus is of known provenience, the distribution map provides more information owing to the quantities involved and the expansion of concerned areas (fig. 5). One observes a penetration inland in Sicily and Greece alike, as well as a new interest for peripheral regions.

The distribution of shapes by region shows that the Athenian market remains the main destination, thanks, in this case, to lekythoi and Alabastra (fig. 6).[33] With the younger craftsmen training next to him, the Diosphos Painter meets the evolution of local demand to honor the deceased, and actively partakes in the mass production of perfume vases as from 480 BC onwards. Meanwhile, his lekythoi and alabastra are better distributed across the Greek world, while Sicily still holds a significant share. As for the neck-amphorae (doubleen and fat), they are produced for Etruria and Etruscan Campania (Nola and Capua).[34]

The two craftsmen therefore roughly supply the same regions but with a range of different shapes, especially for Etruria. More significantly, their productions reflect the

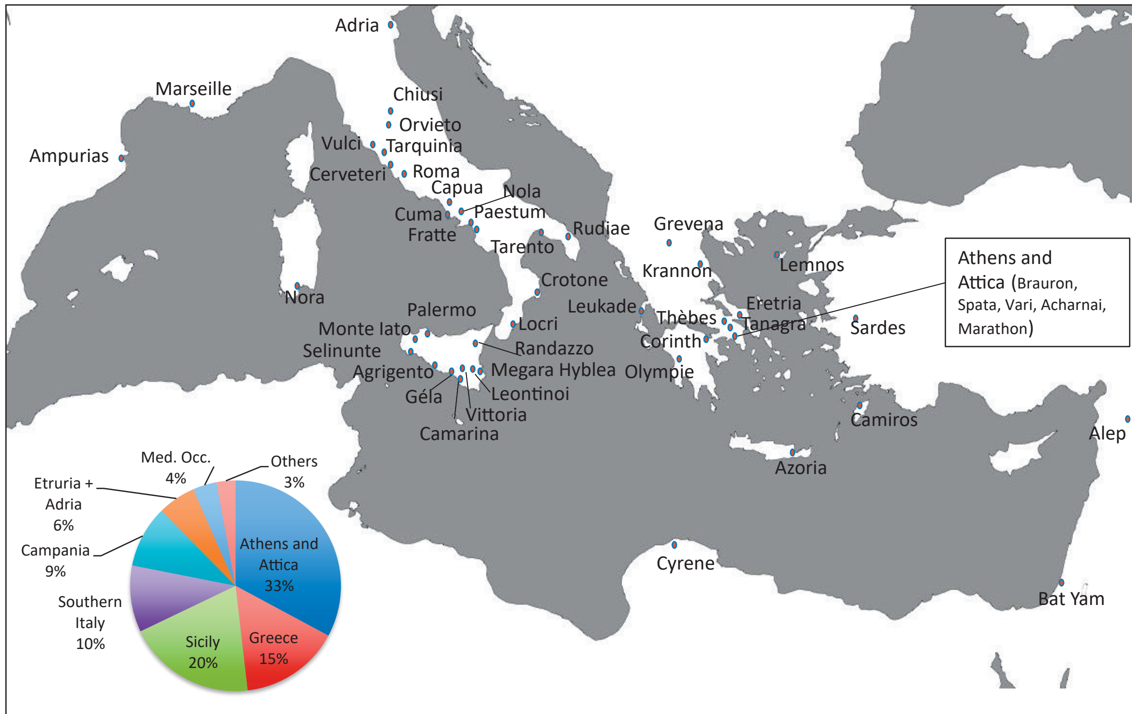

Fig. 5: Map and distribution of vases attributed to the Diosphos Painter (145 recorded proveniences).

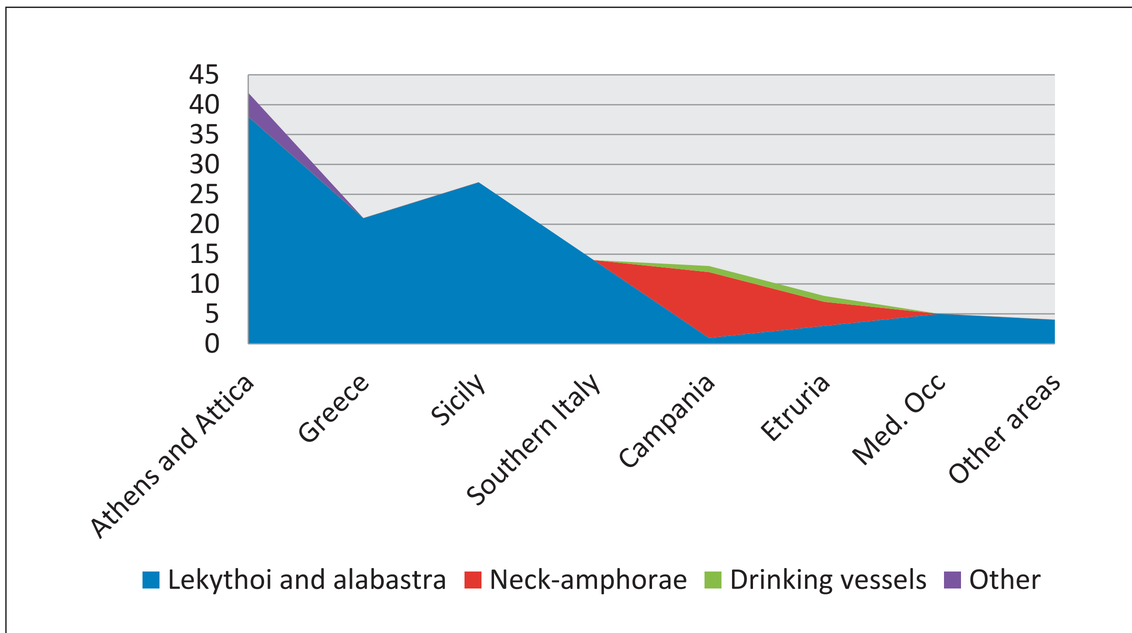

Fig. 6: Diagram of the distribution of shapes attributed to the Diosphos Painter.

deep change in local demand, with the disappearance of black-figured loutrophoroi and pinakes in favor of the lekythos, which alone account for more than two thirds of the workshop's production.

Evolution of the Workshop Towards Confirmed Specialization for an Expanding Market

The second-generation painters of the Little-Lion Class and those of the Haimon Group keep producing the workshop's traditional shapes: lekythoi, alabastra, but also kyathoi, skyphoi, and probably a few loutrophoroi-hydriae. They also favor skyphoi-mastoids,[35] pinchbase or Class K2 skyphoi-cups, and other types of cups (fig. 1).[36] Methodologically, it is not possible to draw a strict comparison between the first two painters of the workshop with what is known as the Haimon Group, which includes several hands with some sedentary craftsmen and others circulating between workshops.[37] As far as known proveniences are concerned, the share of Greece proper and eastern Greece increases (fig. 7). However, this estimate can only be provisional as available data are unequal depending on the regions, and attributions sometimes questionable.[38] On the basis of published objects whose typology – first discriminating criterion to identify a workshop – can be ascertained, it is possible to add to what is known of northern Greece, formerly poorly documented (fig. 8).[39]

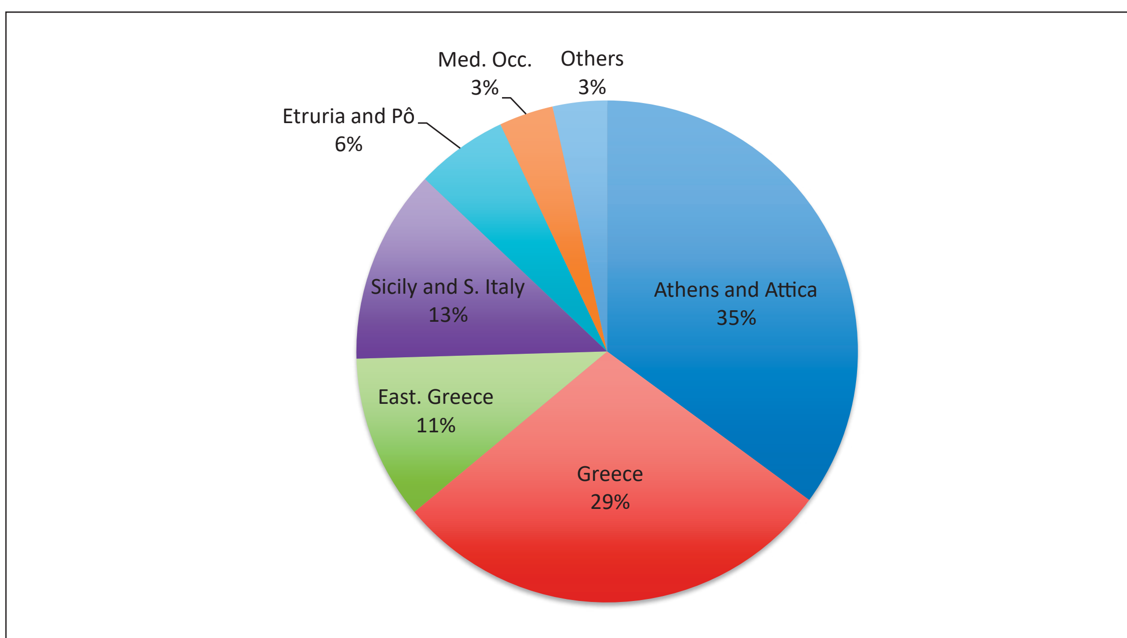

Fig. 7: Distribution of the vases attributed to the Haimon Group (approximately 1140 proveniences recorded).

Fig. 8: Distribution map of the vases of the workshop in Northern Greece.

The early productions of the workshop are but scantily documented in the area, with an epinetron in Thasos[40] and a lekythos in Akanthos,[41] both by the Sappho Painter. Nevertheless these objects herald the setting-up of a distribution circuit beneficial to the workshop.[42] In Akanthos, in particular, the examples found in different tombs are not the most repetitive ones, but rather a careful selection of what the workshop had to offer: in one instance, for example, a Little-Lion Class lekythos associated with a Pistias Class skyphos,[43] in another tomb a figured HL, a palmette lekythos, a black-glazed one, and a black-glazed alabastron, most likely from the workshop.[44] At Grevena, a large DL by the Diosphos Painter was placed in a tomb together with a later lekythos from the workshop.[45] In Nea Kallikrateia, two tombs show other choices and associations:[46] in the earliest tomb, small Little-Lion lekythoi were placed together with a DL by the Haimon Painter, one of the most remarkable offerings in this context. In the more recent tomb, a set of later chimney mouth lekythoi from the workshop were associated with black-glazed vases from the Beldam Painter's workshop; in that tomb, a red-figure lekythos stands out as the main piece. Black-figured vases, henceforth stereotypes, are now just additional offerings, while desire to deposit larger quantities of vases seems to prevail, in comparison to what is being done in Athens and many other Greek regions. This phenomenon is confirmed by the Sindos contexts; there, later productions of the workshop arrive in batches of both cup-skyphoi and lekythoi.[47] Lastly, Levea in the Macedonian hinterland yielded an unexpected context: no lekythoi but two cup-skyphoi and, notably, a mastoid.[48] How can the presence of this shape, normally

intended for the Etruscan market, be interpreted? Could it have been an "error" in the contents of the batches sent from Athens, or a proposal from the workshop wishing to broaden its clientele for this type of shape? In any case, the contexts of northern Greece induce to reassess the share of that region, now emerging as a promising market for traditional lekythoi, as well as for small drinking vessels.

To conclude: the holistic approach to the productions of a workshop permits to understand better the supply conditions of different shapes, and to highlight customers' choices in different places and regions. In the particular case of the workshop under study here, from the association between the Sappho Painter and the Diosphos Painter up to the Haimon Group, one notices that the same shapes are not always produced for a given region, as the examples headed to the Etruscan market show. In Athens, the evolution of the workshop reflects the fast-changing demands of customers, leading to the interruption of the production of loutrophoroi and pinakes to the benefit of lekythoi, which are in the meantime more and more widely distributed. The case of northern Greece presented above shows how, starting from coastal sites, the workshop's productions are integrated into a distribution network spreading into the hinterland.

Notes

[1] I warmly thank Dimitris Paleothodoros for offering me the opportunity to participate in this session on shapes and markets and for helping me update the data on the latest findings in Greece. Any lack would remain my own responsibility. This work was supported by Labex ARCHIMÈDE under the "Investissement d'Avenir" program ANR-11-LABX-0032-01.

[2] Saunders 2017.

[3] For a first approach see Jubier 2003.

[4] See Sanidas 2013, 69–102 for a recent inventory of archaelogical contexts in Athens.

[5] Studies on Athenian workshops are synthesized in Williams 2017; the author uses the terms workshop and workgroup.

[6] ABL, 94–130.

[7] For details about this interconnection involving not a single potter but two craftsmen who are both potters and painters see Jubier 1996 and 1999.

[8] On Potters-Painters of the Little-Lion Class, see Jubier – Laurens 1998, 737–739; CVA Amsterdam 3, 32 f. On Haimon and Emporion Potters-Painters, and on the Pholos Painter, see Jubier 2016, 135–137. On the Caylus Painter and his workshop, see Tonglet 2018, for example her synthesis, 207 f. The data on the latest vases are consistent with what is known of the workshop on Lenormant Street in Athens, Monaco 2000, cat. II D IV, 85–94. 213–231.

[9] Jubier 2003, 86 fig. 7.

[10] Two skyphoi of the Pistias Class are attributed to this painter, Louvre F 119 (*ABV* 627.10; BAPD 306393), and Madison Elvehjem Mus. of Art, 1979.122 (BAPD 5153). Numerous vases of this shape, but not all of them, are later produced in the workshop following simpler decorative systems.

[11] It is significant that the same type of association is to be found in several contexts, for instance Akantos (see below and n. 43).
[12] Tsiaka forthcoming; Smith – Volioti forthcoming.
[13] Tsiaka forthcoming, fig. 6, 8. In earlier publications, this lekythos was mistakenly attributed to the Sappho Painter. It is similar to the London B 634 vase (ABL 323.3; BAPD 390333).
[14] HL: for Haimon Lekythos, the main shape of the Haimon Painter. Tsiaka forthcoming, fig. 6, 9. The Haimon Painter has a quite personal way of drawing horses and further investigation would be necessary to strengthen this attribution.
[15] Tsiaka forthcoming, fig. 6, 4.
[16] Tsiaka forthcoming, fig. 6, 5: the secondary decoration is more typical of the Emporion Painter. However, the photo showing only one side of the vase makes it difficult to have a good idea of the style of the scene representing Herakles and the Wild Boar, not Theseus and the Minotaur.
[17] See Jubier 2016, 134 f.
[18] Contra Smith – Volioti forthcoming.
[19] Scheffer 1988, 538 table 1.
[20] Van de Put 2016, 127 fig. 13.
[21] One may recall that E. Haspels, who created the Sappho Painter, knew sixty-five of them (ABL, 225–229). Latest update: Jubier 2014 and 2016. The vases he threw for other painters and the vases close to his style are not included here.
[22] On the Athenian market of the Sappho Painter, see Jubier 2014.
[23] Jubier 2014, 181, cat. 33; Chatzidimitriou – Papafloratou 2008, 429 fig. 13.
[24] Two pinakes (Bournias 2013, fig. 6; Bournias 2017) and a loutrophoros (Kazo-Papageorgou 2015, 152 f.) similar to this craftsman's production but not by him, were discovered in recent years.
[25] Pandermalis et al. 2015, fig. 54.
[26] Munich Antikensammlungen SH 1988 (BAPD 306168). On the three kyathoi attributed to the Sappho Painter, see Tonglet 2014, cat. 1–3 pl. 1; Tonglet 2018, vol. 2, 70 f.
[27] Vienna K.M. 3607 (ABL, 102; ABV 319.10 and 507; BAPD 200049). Besides the painter's typical inscriptions, compare this citharode with the one on a lekythos in Six's technique (once Basle market: BAPD 188).
[28] Jubier 1999, 182; Tonglet 2014.
[29] Jubier 2016, 130–132 figs. 1–3.
[30] Louvre Cp 10608 (BAPD 301872). Only three other vases have been attributed to this painter (ABV 339; Para 151): they belong in fact to a later phase of the Sappho Painter, or are very similar to his style. This aspect of his production needs further examination.
[31] AΔ 49, 1994, B1, pl. 53g.
[32] Trakasopoulou-Salakidou 2012, 245–254 (BAPD 9028652).
[33] To which must be added three pyxides fragments found on the Acropolis, Acr. 2081, 2083 and 2084, with perhaps some epinetra whose attribution remains to be confirmed.
[34] Jubier 2009, 54–57.
[35] CVA Louvre 27, 85–100.
[36] For references, see n. 7.

[37] Jubier 2016, 134–136. Supra fig. 1. I propose to introduce a new painter, the "Painter of Athens 516". His type HL are bigger than those of the Haimon Painter, and he has a specific style. Several vases said to be by the Haimon Painter actually belong to him. The "White Painter" is a creation of E. Künze-Götte (Kunze-Götte et al. 1999, 106).
[38] Since Jubier 2003, the data (excluding the Lindos Group) are submitted here for information purpose only, owing to the still incomplete publication of the latest vases. Among attributions referenced in the Beazley Archive Database or attributed by various authors, none of the so-called Haimonian lekythos whose shape corresponds to the Class of Athens 581, has been selected, as (in my opinion) another workshop is concerned. The vases that have been added are those whose shape and style I was able to verify either by autopsy or by means of publications. As regards Etruria, I am indebted to D. Tonglet's work on kyathoi, what she calls Workshop V (Tonglet 2018).
[39] Contrast map 2 in Jubier 2003, 85.
[40] Thasos, without inv., Badinou 2003, cat. E 33 (with a different attribution)
[41] See above n. 32.
[42] For Thasos, skyphoi of the Pistias Class were reported by J.-J. Maffre but not published, ΑΕΜΘ, 20, 2009, 195.
[43] Kaltsas 1998, T 1638, pl.150.
[44] Id. T 1427, pl. 68. 69.
[45] ΑΔ, 66, 2011, B2 (2016), 837–838.
[46] ΑΕΜΘ, 20, 2009, 237–249 fig. 6. 7.
[47] Despoini 2016, 505. 508 f.
[48] ΑΕΜΘ 15, 2004 (2006), 543–550 fig. 11.

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Attic Kraters and Pelikai from Ancient Thrace

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This article stems from the research project *Attic Pottery in Thrace,* a collaboration between the Democritus University of Thrace and the Athena Research Center, which investigates the presence and diffusion of Attic vases between the sixth and fourth centuries in ancient Thrace, an ethnographically diverse area that expands over most of southeastern Balkans.[1] We focus here on Attic painted kraters and pelikai from Aegean Thrace, the Black Sea coast, and the Thracian hinterland. These two shapes are well-represented in the above areas, covering the Archaic and Classical periods, and were discovered in various contexts (ritual, funerary, settlements), giving us the opportunity to examine their function in different settings, raise questions on local practices and preferences, and explore the complex mechanisms of their diffusion.[2]

The krater appears frequently among the shapes imported in ancient Thrace. Being closely connected with communal drinking and the Greek symposion, the discovery of kraters in settlements as well as ritual and funerary settings of the Archaic and Classical periods invites several questions and interpretations. When cross-examined with the pelike, a storage vessel that occurs less frequently in ancient Thrace and mainly in funerary and ritual context, we may observe differentiations in local practices and preferences.[3] Even though new excavations and fresh publications may alter the preliminary results sketched out here, the current data from Aegean Thrace and the hinterland provide an adequate outline of the presence and role of those two shapes in the area.

Following a geographical order, we begin our exploration from the Black Sea littoral and the Attic painted pottery from Apollonia Pontica (Sozopol) (Map 1). According to our current data, the earliest example comes from the island of St Kirik: a black-figure column-krater by the Workshop of Sophilos (ca. 580). During the fifth century, Attic vases continue to be imported, including most types of red-figure kraters (e.g., a volute-krater perhaps by the Diogenes Painter, a bell-krater by the Group of Polygnotos, and a column-krater by the Nausicaa Painter).[4] No pelikai or kraters have been identified yet from the deposits of the Sanctuary of Demeter at Skamni.

From the earliest necropolis of Apollonia, Harmanite, we know of at least two dozen red-figure kraters dating between 450–400 (e.g., the column-krater by the Circle of the Hephaistos Painter depicting a dionysiac thiasos) and around 360–340 (e.g., the products of the Circle of the Black Thyrsus Painter). Based on the published material, the famous necropolis of Kalfata has produced fewer kraters, most of which date to the fourth century and are again attributed to the Black Thyrsus Painter or his circle. It is important to point out that kraters are rarely used as cinerary urns not only in Apollonia but in ancient Thrace in general, as well as in Macedonia and the northern Aegean, as a whole. The most frequent iconographic themes on the kraters are dionysiac, sympotic, and occasionally departures of warriors. In the fourth century, bell-kraters appear also in the periphery of Apollonia, as an example from the settlement of Ravadinovo (Malkoto

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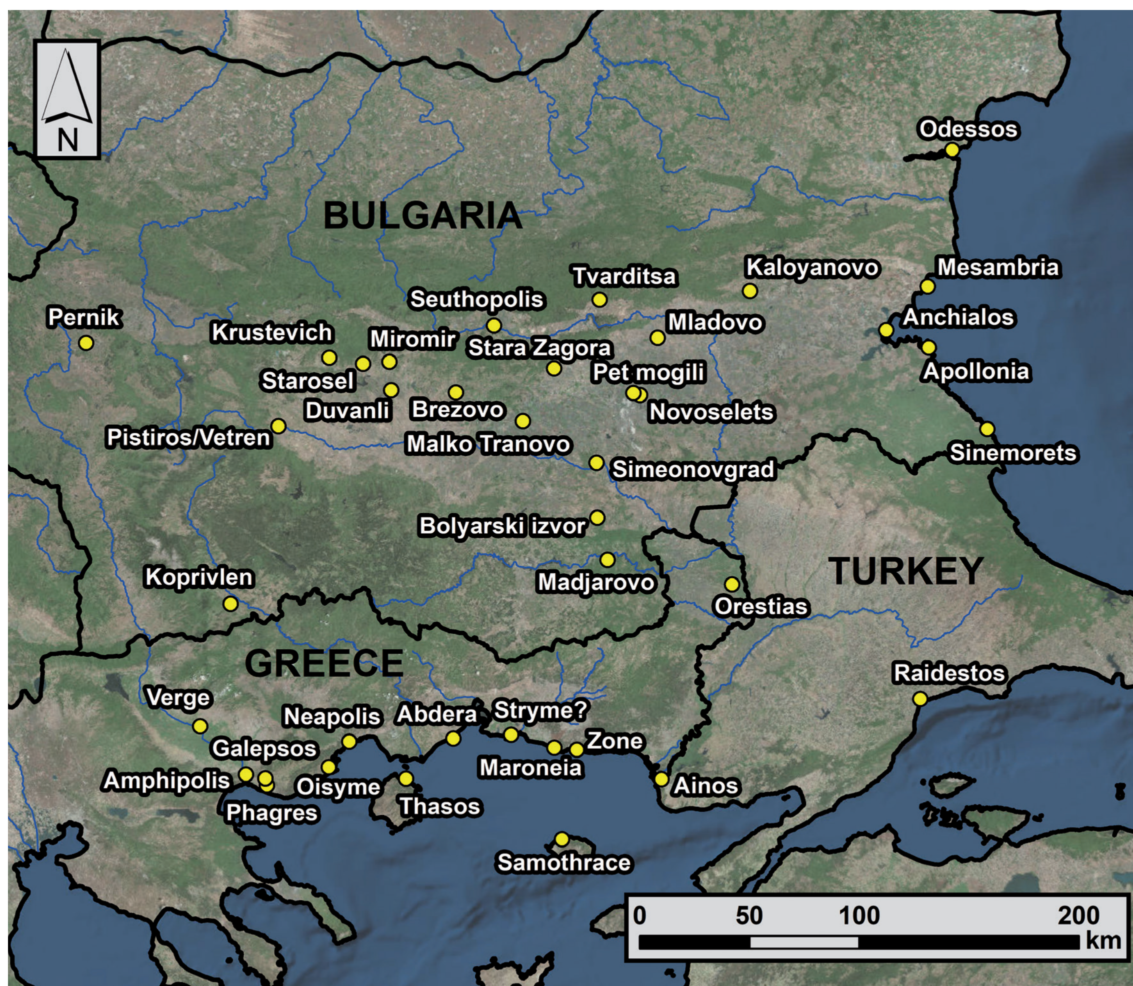

Map 1: Map of sites mentioned in text (J. C. Donati).

Kale) attests. Pelikai were discovered in Apollonia mainly at the necropoleis, although there is at least one example by group G from St Kirik. The published examples from Kalfata date between 380–360; another fourth-century pelike was found at the near-by site of Morskata Gradina, while from Harmanite comes an earlier pelike dating from the end of the fifth century.[5]

To the south of Apollonia and near the borders with Turkey lies the coastal town of Sinemorets. The archaeological remains at its environs are probable traces of the location of a Thracian ruler or a trading post. In particular, the excavation at the Potamya inlet produced fragments of a column-krater along with other pottery, anchors, and metal ship components.[6]

Moving north, the wealthy colony of Mesambria lies underneath the modern city of Nesebar, rendering excavations extremely difficult. The ceramic finds include two types of kraters: fourth-century bell-kraters with dionysiac iconography and earlier column-

kraters, dated to the third quarter of the sixth and the fifth century. The latter were found in disturbed strata, but still they are of significance as they attest to an early interest in the shape. Of note are two red-figure pelikai from the first half of the fourth century, one depicting a maenad mounted on a griffin and a satyr, and the other, two mantled youths, as well as a fifth-century example attributed to the Group of Polygnotos.[7]

At least two fifth-century kraters have been found at burials around Burgas (ancient Anchialos): a calyx-krater of ca 450–420 and a bell-krater by the Kadmos Painter, dated to 420–400 (Sladkite Kladenci). Of importance are the finds from settlements in the area, usually identified as trading posts that include a fragment of a black-figure krater and several fragments of fourth-century bell-kraters, thus offering valuable information about the use of this shape outside a funerary context.[8]

From the necropolis of Odessos (Varna), we know of nearly a dozen bell-kraters, most of which date to the fourth century and are attributed to the Circle of the Black Thyrsus Painter. Another bell-krater comes from a tomb at Balabanchevo, at the periphery of Odessos and has been recognized as the work of the Black Thyrsos Painter himself. Regarding the pelikai, so far, we have registered two red-figure pelikai of the first half of the fourth century.[9]

A similar picture emerges for the area by the Tonzos River and its northern offshoots. For example, we note the fourth-century bell-kraters from the tumuli at Mladovo, Prilep, and Zlatinitsa to the south, and a few fifth-century vases, as for example the bell-krater from Tvarditsa, Sliven – the northwesternmost site of this cluster – depicting three wreathed, mantled youths carrying a flute, a lyre and a rod respectively. Further inland, along the Tonzos River and near the famous city of Seuthopolis (now at the bottom of the artificial lake Koprinka), Attic painted kraters and pelikai are rather rare finds. Our records so far include only a handful of examples from the tumuli of Shipka (two pelikai) and Maglizh (bell-krater) and possible fragments from the settlements of Seuthopolis and Vasil Levski. Of note are also a pelike from Golemanite tumulus near Veliko Tarnovo (probably by the Agrigento Painter), the pelike from the tumulus at Kaloyanovo, depicting Apollo and the Hyperboreans on one side and a satyr with maenads on the other, and the pelike from the tumulus at Zlatinitsa, both dating around 350.[10]

Moving to the south, Attic kraters appear in the area south-southwest of the Hebros River, while, so far, no pelike has been recorded. For example, there are mentions of fifth-century column-kraters from Bolarski Izvor (dating from around 450 and attributed to the Orchard Painter) but its context is unclear; from Madzarovo (fr. of two column-kraters within a late Iron Age layer, depicting a winged figure and a bearded, mantled man with a scepter, dating from 460–450); and from Bolyarovo (fr.). Two fourth-century bell-kraters have been discovered at the Golyana and Milkova tumuli at Mezek, attributed to the Black Thyrsus Painter and his circle. Also, of interest are one column- and at least four bell-kraters from Simeonovgrad, an important settlement with tumuli in its vicinity, located on the Hebros River, that has produced significant pottery assemblages, local and imported, throughout its lifespan. The column-krater dates around 440 and

was found in a tumulus, used as a cinerary urn. It is decorated with a pursuit scene (satyr and maenad) on side A, and a single mantled, wreathed youth on side B. Most of the bell-kraters come from the settlement and date to the first half of the fourth century.[11]

Further inland, from the fertile valley between the rivers Tonzos and Hebros, there are several examples of kraters and occasionally pelikai, originating from tumuli and ritual pits at sites such as Novoselets (fr. of bell-krater, 425–400) and Stara Zagora (column- and bell-krater, 430–400), as well as other fourth-century burials at Venets, Troyanovo (bell-krater), Malka Detelina (bell-krater), Skalitsa (bell-krater), Gledachevo (bell-krater), Radnevo, Pet Mogili (bell-krater).[12]

To the west of these sites, is another cluster of tumuli and ritual areas, where kraters and pelikai have been discovered. In addition to the famous pelike by the Epimedes Painter from Chevenkova Mogila and a column-krater from Valchova Mogila at Brezovo, finds from this area include a fragmentary bell-krater from a tumulus at Opalchenets (ca 425–400) and two more from Sarnevets (bell-krater, 425–400, Workshop of the P. of Munich 2335) and Zetovo (bell-krater) respectively.[13]

An important assemblage of Attic painted pottery was discovered at the pit sanctuary at Malko Tranovo (Chirpan), excavated by Milena Tonkova and Anelia Bozkova. The pits date to the fifth and fourth century and have produced large numbers of imported pottery, particularly Attic, often found in combination with bronze vessels. Among the former, amphoras and kraters come in considerable numbers: from the eastern sector, the excavators report that out of a hundred painted vessels at least thirty fragments belong to kraters (mainly column-kraters, fewer bell-kraters), dated predominantly between 475–450. From the western Sector come another twelve fragments of column-kraters of the same date and are the focus of a study by Slava Vasileva.[14]

Turning to the area of Duvanli and neighboring sites, we have so far assembled information on kraters and pelikai from burials, ritual pits and settlements. From the so-called royal settlement at Kozi Gramadi (north of Starosel), fragments of a fifth-century column-krater and fourth-century kraters (perhaps also a pelike) were discovered. A field survey at nearby Struma strengthens the indications of another settlement in the area: among the pottery collected there were fragments of a mid-fifth-century (or even earlier) column-krater. From Miromir, near Hisarya, there are fragments of possibly five column-kraters of a 475–425 date, although in a context mixed with later Attic painted pottery. Scholars identify these settings as ritual pits, similar to the ones at Malko Tranovo, or alternatively as an ash-structure as in Brezovo. Regarding finds from funerary context, the tumuli at Krastevich and Toros (former Lazar Stanevo, Lovech) were equipped with fourth-century Attic bell-kraters, while the ones at Starosel and Duvanli (Bashova) each contained a pelike.[15]

As for the western Bulgaria, based on our current data, no kraters or pelikai are known so far from the northern site of Pernik, located by an offshoot of river Strymon. This comes in contrast to the situation in Pistiros/Vetren on the river Hebros and Koprivlen on Nestos. The latter is a site with many Archaic finds including a column-krater

of a slightly earlier date than the examples found between Tonzos and Hebros. Attic painted pottery is abundant in Adziyska Vodenitsa (Vetren), a site usually identified with the Greek *emporion* of Pistiros. Among the shapes recognized by the excavators are kraters, column- and particularly fragments of bell-kraters, dating to the fifth and fourth century. These fragments were discovered in pits and other structures, thought to have a ritual function or associated with a form of habitation. According to the most recent study of Vyara Petrova on kraters from the site, Dionysos and his circle are the most prominent iconographic subjects, followed by typically Greek symposion scenes with reclining symposiasts, wine-pourers, komasts, musicians and even a kottabos-player. Less frequent are other topics, such as a sacrifice scene.[16]

Turning to Aegean Thrace, between the area of Kavala and Mt Pangaion, kraters appear more frequently than pelikai. The earliest examples comprise black-figure column-kraters from ancient Neapolis, a trend that reflects the early Attic imports on the metropolis Thasos itself (e.g., sixth-century black-figure column- and calyx-kraters by the Antimenes Painter, Painter of Louvre F6, Exekias' workshop). Black-figure kraters were also found in burials at Oisyme (Nea Peramos), Galepsos (Karyane), and Phagres (Orphani), all dated in the second half of the sixth century, if not a bit later. Attic red-figure pottery continues to be imported to Thasos during the fifth century, including a few early examples (e.g., a calyx-krater of ca 500 and a column-krater by the Pan Painter) and several fragmentary kraters of the second half of the fifth century. A similar trend can be sketched out for the lifespan of pelikai on Thasos, albeit based on a smaller sample (for example, the pelike by the Kleophon Painter and fourth-century pelikai, usually attributed to Group G). As expected, Amphipolis has a large concentration of Attic pottery, including bell-kraters of the late fifth–early fourth century and fourth-century pelikai, a phenomenon mirrored at the burial finds from inland sites in the Serres region, e.g., the pelike and bell-krater from Verge (Neos Skopos), the bell-krater from Krinida (Vitasta), and the pelike from Tragilos.[17]

East of Nestos, Attic painted pottery continues to appear but not as abundantly as on the Thasian coast. The necropolis of Abdera has produced several red-figure kraters and pelikai, while of note are some late-fifth/early fourth-century fragments of pelikai from its suburbs, as well as a bell-krater from Linos, discovered at a countryside sanctuary at the northern limits of the Maronitan chora. To the list one should add the fragment of a late fifth-century krater and the late fifth/early fourth-century pelike from Makri, and the earlier pelike from the tumuli of Molyvote/Stryme. From the residential area of the latter have come to light fragments of kraters, particularly red-figure, dated mostly to the fifth and fourth century. Among the earliest pottery of the site however, which is rather limited, there is a fragment from a black-figure krater dated after the middle of the sixth century.[18]

On the island of Samothrace, Attic vases occur primarily at the Sanctuary of the Great Gods and the two necropoleis and are currently being studied by An Jiang. The most prevalent shape appears to be the krater, both in the black- and the red-figure

technique, often represented by high-quality examples. Attic imports continue on Samothrace through the fourth century, as the volute-krater attributed to the Circle of the Pronomos Painter attests. Pelikai are also present on the island, especially late black-figure examples.[19]

The recent publication of Zone, an important colony of Samothrace, includes various shapes of Attic pottery, discovered mainly at the sanctuary of Apollo. Among them there are at least twenty-five black- and five red-figure kraters, dated to the late sixth and primarily the fifth century, but no pelikai. Conversely, kraters are nearly absent from the necropolis, whereas several red-figure pelikai are registered in the finds. Noteworthy is an older find, a red-figure pelike, which may represent the Thracian king Tereus, an *unicum* so far in the repertory of Attic vases from ancient Thrace. Also from a funerary context comes a late fifth/early fourth century fragmentary pelike, forming part of the offerings to the earliest burial of the Ampelakia tumulus, near Orestias; it preserves the lower bodies of two mantled youths.[20]

Further to the east, at the site of ancient Ainos (Enez), large quantities of Attic pottery, both from the acropolis and the necropolis, have come to light. Reyhan Şahin speaks of nearly a hundred kraters from the necropolis (mainly bell- and fewer calyx- and volute-kraters) and of ca. thirty from the acropolis, excluding the Kerch examples, which, according to her graphs, amount to at least two dozen. The pelike is represented by only a few fifth-century samples, in contrast to the fourth century, when the shape becomes more popular.[21]

As we are currently in the process of collecting data for the area of eastern Thrace and Propontis, we do not have at the moment a clear picture of the Attic imports in that area. However, when discussing kraters from that region, one needs to highlight the red-figure column-krater from Raidestos/Bisanthe (Tekirdağ), a significant site on the Bosporus, depicting the sacrifice of Polyxena during Hektor's ransom and dating to the late sixth–early fifth century.[22]

The most current data allows us to draw some preliminary conclusions regarding the presence of kraters and pelikai in ancient Thrace:

a. Kraters from Aegean Thrace appear first at major centers and their colonies and are mostly of good quality. As a rule, the earliest examples are sanctuary dedications and soon after that (by the last quarter of the sixth century onwards), we encounter them in settlements and burials as well. Thasos, Neapolis, and Samothrace provide good examples of this phenomenon. The same distribution pattern occurs with Amphipolis and its territory in the second half of the fifth century. Pelikai are less frequently found in a non-funerary context, while their presence seems to peak during the first half of the fourth century.
b. At the colonies of the Black Sea littoral and their immediate zone of interaction, kraters first appear during the sixth century, at Apollonia and Mesambria, as dedications to sanctuaries or occasional settlement finds; then, by the middle of the fifth century, they occur more frequently in settlements and mostly in burials. Their numbers in-

crease in the last decades of the fifth and through the third quarter the fourth century, when bell-kraters and, in particular, those by the Black Thyrsus Painter and his Circle, become popular grave offerings as well as household equipment. Pelikai come in fewer numbers and their peak can be placed in the first half of the fourth century, their primary function being funerary;

c. At the sites around the Tonzos River, kraters (and occasionally pelikai) of the late fifth and mainly of the first half of the fourth century appear in tumuli; their numbers decrease as we move to the west. Between the Tonzos and Hebros Rivers, we have a similar chronological timeframe, only this time kraters (and less often pelikai) occur in ritual pits and burials, while at the area SW of Hebros, kraters appear at tumuli and settlements;
d. Lastly, from Duvanli and its periphery, kraters and pelikai from the fifth and mainly the first half of the fourth century are found in burials (one vase per burial), in settlements and pits, while from Pistiros/Vetren, a good part of the kraters discovered at the site originates from negative spaces (i.e. pits, ritual or other).

The increase of imports in the Thracian hinterland during the second half of the fifth and the first half of the fourth century reflects the Athenian power at the time and its close relations with the Odrysians under the rule of Sitalkes and Kotys I, which apart from political alliances, facilitated commercial and cultural exchange. Local Thracian tribes, and particularly the elite, had become increasingly more familiar with Greek customs and Greek products. Thus, by the fifth century, Attic painted pots were readily dispersed from the Greek colonies to the heartland, reaching the Thracians as gifts (diplomatic, friendship, exotic, trendy), as consumption ware (drinking equipment) or for their content (wine, oil, perfume). By the middle of the fourth century, Attic vases were adopted by a larger social base and used as funerary gifts, household items, and ritual vessels.

In terms of local preferences and traditions, we observe some interesting trends: for example, fifth-century pelikai appear in elite Thracian burials (e.g., Brezovo) and probably functioned as status symbols, while in the Aegean necropoleis (e.g., Samothrace, Thasos), they were often used as cinerary urns. Kraters had a wider use; it is noteworthy that column-kraters appear to be the earliest type of the shape (imported already in the sixth century) and they predominantly occur in fifth-century sanctuaries and ritual contexts (e.g., Pistiros/Vetren, Neapolis, Zone). They come in fewer numbers compared to bell-kraters found in fifth- and primarily fourth-century funerary contexts (e.g., Apollonia), as well in settlements and ritual settings. The presence of calyx- and especially volute-kraters is limited. From the rough data in our disposal, it appears that Dionysos and his thiasos, sympotic scenes, and the female sphere are the most popular iconographic themes on kraters and pelikai, a familiar repertory for Attic vases found in ancient Thrace.

Lastly, one should stress the role of Greek colonies and emporia in the distribution process: it is no coincidence that there are considerable amounts of Attic pottery at Pistiros/Vetren mainly after the middle of the fifth century, since it is located at the end

of the mountain road that connects Amphipolis and the Strymon valley with central Bulgaria, on the bank of the River Hebros. Similarly, the affluent city of Ainos, a close ally of Athens, controlled the delta of the same river, a major water artery that provided access to the heartland of Thrace. Likewise, at the hospitable harbors of the Black Sea, imported pottery did not cater exclusively towards the needs of the colonies, but was eventually diffused to the interior, at sites in the central valley or near riverbanks, that were easy to access and open to acquiring Attic painted vessels, even though not always of premium quality.

Notes

[1] All dates are BC unless otherwise noted.

[2] Our research project, "Attic Pottery in Thrace" (APT) has produced so far an e-textbook (Avramidou – Tsiafaki 2015) and two articles (Avramidou – Tsiafaki forthcoming; Tsiafaki – Avramidou forthcoming). It has also generated a Post-Doctoral project on the "Athenian Presence in Thrace through the Diffusion of Attic Painted Pottery (6th–4th century BC)" [*AtticPOT* http://atticpot.ipet.gr]. This publication has received funding from the Hellenic Foundation for Research and Innovation (HFRI) and the General Secretariat of Research and Technology (GSRT), under grant agreement No 929, within the framework of the Action "1st Call for H.F.R.I. Research Projects for the support of Post-doctoral Researchers".

[3] For an overview of Attic kraters and pelikai in Bulgarian Thrace, see Bozkova 2017, 39–43 with further discussion on context, iconography and diffusion, as well as an Appendix of the main pottery assemblages in the area between the Haimos and the Rhodope (179–188). Cf. Vasileva 2013 on the distribution of column-kraters in indigenous contexts. For column-kraters of various workshops in the Northern Aegean, see Manakidou forthcoming. On Attic imports in ancient Thrace, see Bouzek 1990; Reho 1990; Oppermann 2002; Lazarov 2003; Tiverios 2008 and 2012; Avramidou – Tsiafaki forthcoming; Tsiafaki – Avramidou forthcoming.

[4] E.g., BAPD 350100, 24019, 45459, 202477, 214673.

[5] BAPD 22724 (Hephaistos P.), 22725–22727, 41042, 41046, 41049, 260170, 275566 (Black Thyrsus' Workshop); Zaneva 1982; Reho 1990, 23–25. 32 f. 37–42. 79–139; Dimitrov 2004 with previous bibliography. Kalfata: Panayotova 1998, 2008; Hermary et al. 2010 with more bibliography and details on the ceramic finds: 179–192 (painted), 192–228 (black-glaze); Baralis 2013, esp. 271–273; Baralis et al. 2016; Vasileva 2017. St Kirik: Panayotova et al. 2015.

[6] Reho 1992, 20; Gyuzelev 2008, 276; Vasileva 2013, 136. For the site and its environs, see Agre 2016 with previous bibliography.

[7] BAPD 5411, 12943. 12944, 340124, 230275, 275444, 216153; Reho 1990, 78, no. 65 and 22 f. 31 f. 37 f. 77–79; Nessebre III [M. Reho] with previous bibliography and recently Nessebar IV. Bozkova 2017, 44 f.

[8] BAPD 276125 (Kadmos P.); Reho 1990, 25 f. 33 f. 139–143 no. 71. 399 f.; Reho 1992, 20; Vasileva 2013, 139 (Table); Bozkova 2015, 235 f. with previous bibliography. Balabanov 2016 on Debelt and other Thracian sites southwest of Burgas, where Greek pottery was found. Cf. Gyuzelev 2008, esp. 187. 189–191 (mug-type krater). 198. 268.

[9] BAPD 45457, 275567, 275563; Reho 1990, 22. 31 f. 37. 47 f. 63–77.
[10] Prilep: Georgieva – Momchilov 2007 and 2010, 12 f. fig. 7 (Painter of Ferrara T 463). Veliko Tarnovo: Tsurov 2008, 65–72 supporting the association of the pelike's dionysiac iconography with eschatological (orphic) Thracian beliefs. Kaloyanovo: Reho 1990, 146 no. 449; Kisyov 2005. Shipka: Dimitrova 2016, fig. 15. 16. Other tumuli: Reho 1990, 145–150. 152 f. Overviews: Avramidou – Tsiafaki 2015, 127 f.; Bozkova 2017, 40–42.
[11] BAPD 260179 (Milkova), 27563 (Bolarski Izvor); Reho 1990, no. 437. For banquet sets from Thracian settlements (such as Simeonovgrad), see Bozkova 2016b; cf. her discussion on context, Bozkova 2017, 117–141. Krater from the Simeonovgrad tumulus: Reho 1990, 34 f.; Vasileva 2013, 137; Bozkova 2017, 165 fig. 1. On the commercial relations across the Rhodope and the presence of Attic painted and black-glaze pottery, see Nekhrizov – Mikov 2000.
[12] Reho 1990, no. 442 (Novoselets); Kamisheva 2010, 192 pl. IX.7b (Stara Zagora); Vasileva 2013, 140.
[13] Reho 1990, 145–150. 152 f. nos. 449. 451 (Brezovo). 447 (Opalchenets). 445 (Sarnevets); BAPD 213559.
[14] Tonkova 2010, esp. 207 pl. XI.2; Vasileva 2013; Bozkova 2016 (discussing ritual pits) and 2017, 119–122; Bozkova – Tonkova 2017.
[15] Reho 1990, 145–150. 152 f. 156 no. 460 (Duvanli pelike). Vasileva 2013, 137. 140 f.
[16] BAPD 9024550; Reho 1990, 148 f. 157–159; Archibald 1996, 2002; Bouzek – Musil 2003; Vassileva 2013, 138. 141; Bozkova 2015, 235; Petrova forthcoming.
[17] Thasos: Ghali-Kahil 1960; Bonias 1990; Maffre 2009, esp. 194 f. fig. 15 n. 40; BAPD kraters 4231, 9915, 9917, 16991, 16993, 16994, 17013, 17014, 25703, 25704, 25711, 25837, 30678, 44605, 44609, 200123, 206406, 206407, 206747, 306515, 350358, 350391, 20008, 9031609; pelikai 4409, 4410, 9916, 24918, 230306. On three pelikai used as urns, see Koukouli-Chrysanthaki et al. 1996, 771. 774 fig. 6. Kavala and Thasian peraia: Bakalakis 1936, 1937, 1938a, b; Lazaridis 1971; Mandala 1990, fig. 3; Nikolaidou – Patera 2005, figs. 13. 14; Nikolaidou-Patera 2017b; BAPD 9017979, 350359, 340118, 340120, 340122, 9017979. Oisyme: Giouri, Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1987; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki – Papanikolaou 1990; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki – Maragkou 2012, esp. 328 f. (Archaic); Manakidou 2012; BAPD 9031484 (P. of Louvre F6). Galepsos: Malama – Milkaki 2007; Malama 2012; Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2012, 195. Phagres: BAPD 25799, 25733, 24002, 29818; Nikolaidou-Patera 1996, 2017a; Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2012, 193. Cf. Avramidou – Tsiafaki 2015, 117–119. Amphipolis and Serres region: Nikolaidou-Patera 1993 and 2011; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2000; Malama 2000, 64. 69 fig. 19 and 2001, 118 figs. 9. 12 (pelikai); Malamidou 2006; Peristeri – Garoufa 2007, fig. 25; Peristeri et al. 2011, fig. 1; Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2012, 213–216; Rhomiopoulou 2017; Malama – Vasilikoudis 2019; BAPD 9026149 (Tragilos), 43617, 43618 (Verge), 3920 (Vitasta), 24973, 30363, 30560, 44597 (Amphipolis). For an overview of luxury pottery in the Archaic period in the Northern Aegean, see Tiverios 2012; cf. Giudice – Santagati 2019; for column-kraters of various Archaic workshops in the same region, see Manakidou forthcoming.
[18] Abdera and chora: Lazaridis 1971; Kallintzi 2012; Anagnostopoulou-Chatzipolichroni 1997; BAPD 24972 (Linos). Makri: BAPD 42022; Kallintzi 1992; Eustratiou – Kallintzi 1996, 901. 914 fig. 19; Molyvoti/Stryme: BAPD 276103; Bakalakis 1967; Triantafyllos 2000; Triantafyllos – Terzopoulou 2017; Arrington – Padgett 2019; 2021; Tsiafaki 2021.

[19] BAPD 1726, 2345, 2346, 2655, 3630, 20021, 20027, 20028, 202274, 205912, 9017634, 9024726, 9031447; Moore 1975; Dinsmoor 1992; Dusenbury 1978 and 1998; Fritzilas 2012; Jiang 2019. Cf. Avramidou – Tasaklaki 2019.
[20] E.g., BAPD 22909, 25750, 25768, 9031510; Tsatsopoulou 1997; Pardalidou 2012 and 2015; Iliopoulou 2015; Avramidou – Tsiafaki 2015, 122–123. On Tereus: Tsiafaki 1998, 194 pl. 63a. Ampelakia: Triantafyllos 1994, 355 fig. 7. Cf. Bakalakis 1988, 200 on fourth-century kraters from Plate, Evros, NW of Orestias.
[21] Şahin 2016 and 2017.
[22] BAPD 9022290 (Syleus P.); Tuna-Nörling 2001. On the Tekirdag Ganos Survey: Koçel-Erdem 2009. More information will be available after the publication of the proceedings of the Conference in Istanbul in 2017: Koçel-Erdem – Şahin forthcoming. Cf. Stoyanov 2020.

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Vasi attici a Vassallaggi: possibili «special commissions» in un centro sicano

Barbara Cavallaro

La cittadella sicana di Vassallaggi sorta sul monte omonimo e sviluppata su cinque colli, vicino Caltanissetta, era situata a dominio dell'antico *Himera,* odierno fiume Salso, che in antico consentì l'arrivo di genti e merci dalla costa centro-meridionale dell'isola fino al suo entroterra. La necropoli di età classica, presso la seconda collina, è già nota nella letteratura archeologica: il settore indagato da P. Orlandini nel 1961 fu dallo stesso pubblicato ben dieci anni dopo in *Notizie degli Scavi,* in cui egli forniva solo un elenco delle tombe e del contenuto dei relativi corredi, allorquando le ceramiche attiche a figure rosse erano già state visionate da J. Beazley e da costui attribuite alle officine di importanti ceramografi.[1] Diversamente, il settore scavato nel 1956 da D. Adamesteanu, è rimasto inedito per quasi cinquanta anni e i risultati hanno visto la luce solo nel 2000, nell'ampio e analitico lavoro di M. Pizzo.[2]

Le indagini dei due archeologi individuarono 262 sepolture, alcune già violate, che attestavano i riti dell'incinerazione e dell'inumazione in sarcofago, in tombe alla cappuccina e in fossa terragna destinate indifferentemente a uomini e a donne; le sepolture ad *enchytrismos,* invece, erano esclusivamente riservate agli infanti. Il settore di cui ci occupiamo, scavato da P. Orlandini, ha restituito 181 sepolture di cui: 44 attribuibili a donne, 41 a uomini, 31 a bambini. Furono trovate molte tombe violate e non più distinguibili, poiché prive del corredo ovvero non se ne riconobbe il rito funerario. La frequentazione della necropoli è distinta in due momenti. Una prima fase è datata nella prima metà del V secolo e riconoscibile da un nucleo di sepolture ad inumazione del tipo a fossa o alla cappuccina localizzate a nord-ovest, i cui corredi sono ancora contraddistinti da produzioni locali in associazione con pochi vasi d'importazione. La seconda fase è invece datata a partire dal 450/440 a. C. fino alla fine dello stesso secolo e distinguibile per i due nuclei di sepolture, di cui il primo e più numeroso si concentra ad ovest, mentre il più piccolo a nord-est.[3] Le tombe di questa fase sono ormai quasi del tutto inumazioni in sarcofago, tranne qualche inumazione del tipo alla cappuccina ed ora quasi tutti i corredi contengono vasi d'importazione attica.

La nostra attenzione è rivolta ai corredi rinvenuti per la maggior parte in sarcofago e riconosciuti come maschili per la presenza dello scheletro o di poche ossa assegnati ad individui di sesso maschile o, nella maggior parte dei casi, poiché l'attribuzione all'uomo è frutto della composizione del corredo stesso.[4] Il set è formato in media da quattro a sette pezzi. Il vaso principale è sempre un cratere, d'importazione attica o talvolta di produzione indigena e si trova in associazione con un vaso secondario per contenere, come la *pelike*[5] o l'anfora attica[6] o una forma per versare come l'*oinochoe,* importata o prodotta localmente. Il set è completato da pregiati unguentari, pissidi e pochi vasi potori. Tra gli strumenti in metallo troviamo solo strigili e coltelli. Vi è un cambia-

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mento nella composizione qualitativa dei corredi: infatti se nel secondo venticinquennio del V secolo i set funerari sono composti da poche ceramiche attiche, è dal 450 a. C. che le importazioni prendono il sopravvento sulle ceramiche locali, pur restando queste ultime ampiamente documentate all'interno dei contesti, quali testimoni dell'abilità delle maestranze artigiane nell'imitare i più pregiati crateri attici, riprodotti nelle varianti a volute, a calice, a colonnette e con anse a nastro, talvolta decorati da motivi fitomorfi al di sotto dell'orlo. Ciò indicherebbe in ogni caso la presenza di gruppi il cui status sociale non sempre consentiva l'acquisizione di beni di prestigio.[7]

L'esame dei corredi maschili permette di delineare un quadro complessivo in relazione agli aspetti socio-culturali della comunità di Vassallaggi, che certamente godeva di un'economia florida, capace di innescare una cospicua domanda di prodotti greci. Se da una parte questi corredi rimarcano la volontà di rappresentare i defunti come simposiasti, apparendo essi come veri set per l'occasione, dall'altra forniscono preziose informazioni sul gusto della committenza. In tal senso, la grande richiesta di crateri è riflesso della tradizione del banchetto greco, oramai acquisita dagli indigeni, i quali, sebbene abbiano scelto ceramiche locali, non hanno comunque rinunciato a simili forme: una scelta già indiziata dai *krateriskoi* presenti nelle tombe della necropoli tardo-arcaica.[8] La preferenza è indirizzata ai prodotti realizzati dalle maggiori officine del Ceramico ateniese, alle quali da sempre le committenze d'*élite* si sono rivolte richiedendo forme e raffigurazioni frutto di scelte ben precise, dietro alle quali si cela la volontà di veicolare messaggi sociali oltre ad esaltare tramite il simbolismo delle immagini, momenti del proprio vissuto. Gli uomini di questa cittadella sono stati sepolti con crateri di dimensioni contenute, in media non oltre i 30 cm d'altezza, riscontrandosi una netta prevalenza per il tipo a calice. Guardando ai temi figurativi, la predilezione per la sfera dionisiaca non è casuale, poiché essa trova un preciso riferimento nel consumo del vino durante il simposio, non escludendo, tuttavia, una lettura in chiave apotropaica. Dioniso rappresentava la promessa della felicità dopo la morte ed era custode di quei riti di passaggio legati all'identità del cittadino, celebrati con appositi rituali.[9] In questo senso il banchetto si poneva essenzialmente come un augurio di felicità per i defunti,[10] diventando momento di gioia e spensieratezza espresso nella licenziosa vitalità di Satiri e Menadi. Questo è il tema che possiamo ammirare sul cratere a calice della Cerchia del Pittore d'Eretria o di Meidias[11] (fig. 1.3), su quello del Pittore Giudice (fig. 1.4) e sugli esemplari rispettivamente della Maniera di Kleophon e del P. di Efesto[12] (fig. 1.1–2).

Tra i temi selezionati troviamo anche quelli legati al mondo del gineceo, della danza e dell'inseguimento talvolta connesso ad episodi mitici, nonché il commiato e le attività ludiche. Tra gli esemplari presi in esame, la scena del commiato, che ritorna sui crateri rispettivamente del P. di Napoli e della Cerchia del P. di Eretria o Meidias[13] (fig. 2.1–2), fa riferimento alla partenza di uomini armati di giavellotto, non solo rimandando nel modo più diretto alla sfera funebre, ma permettendo di leggere la destinazione dei crateri verosimilmente a giovani guerrieri,[14] che lasciano l'*oikos* per un destino che si prefi-

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Fig. 1: 1. Cratere a campana, maniera del P. di Kleophon (tomba 12, 440–430 a. C.); 2. Cratere a colonnette, P. di Efesto (t. 69, 440 a. C.); 3. Cratere a calice, Cerchia del P. di Eretria o Meidias (t. 28, 430–420 a. C.); 4. Cratere a calice del P. Giudice (t. 149, 420–410 a. C.).

Fig. 2: 1. Cratere a colonnette, P. di Napoli (t. 150, 450 a. C.); 2. Cratere a campana, Scuola del P. di Eretria (t. 8, 430 a. C.).

gura glorioso. Ad essi furono donati anche gli strigili, a sottolineare la loro giovane età, durante la quale sono esaltati i valori dell'efebia e dell'atletismo.

La nostra attenzione si rivolge, adesso, all'unico cratere a volute della necropoli, proveniente dalla tomba 7 e realizzato dalla Scuola di Polignoto (fig. 3.1). L'isolamento della sepoltura, quasi «emergente» rispetto a tutte le altre tombe dell'area cimiteriale, denuncerebbe lo status sociale del defunto. In questa interpretazione il primo indizio è dato da un pugnale di grandi dimensioni, unico nel suo genere e legato alle attività sacrificali, durante le quali il defunto avrà svolto un ruolo importante, probabilmente alla stregua di un sacerdote. Le scene raffigurate sono incisive: l'Amazzonomachia tra Greci, in nudità eroica, e le Amazzoni vestite all'orientale, potrebbe indicare non solo che dopo un quarantennio era ancora vivo il ricordo delle Guerre Persiane, ma soprattutto che queste ultime avevano acquisito per i Sicelioti il valore delle vite umane sacrificate alla guerra,[15] quale poteva essere stata, ad esempio, la battaglia d'Himera del 480 a. C. al culmine del conflitto tra Greci e Punici. L'incoronazione dell'auriga sul lato principale, invece, si riferirebbe all'eroizzazione del defunto, in stretto legame con una sfera equestre, il cui nesso percepibile è l'appartenenza dell'uomo ad alto lignaggio. Qualora il defunto sia stato un tempo un giovane guerriero o un atleta partecipe degli agoni, sembra confermata la sua appartenenza ad un ceto elitario, al quale alluderebbero, non solo la conformazione del corredo, ma anche i cavalli che, appannaggio degli aristocratici o dei cittadini più ricchi, consentivano nella gara con la quadriga di ostentare il proprio prestigio. Nel nostro caso, il tema della vittoria atletica assume il significato del raggiungimento

Fig. 3: 1. Cratere a volute, Scuola di Polignoto (t. 7, 440 a. C.); 2. Cratere a campana, Scuola di Polignoto (t. 52, 440 a. C.); 3. Oinochoe, P. di Shuvalov (t. 81, 430–420 a. C.); 4. Pelike, P. del Louvre G539 (t. 32, 420–410 a. C.).

metaforico di un fine agognato, la vita oltre la morte. La vittoria intesa come allegoria della vita proiettata al miglioramento trova così riflesso nelle fasi culminanti degli agoni sportivi.[16] E secondo tale chiave interpretativa andrebbe letta la *pelike* del P. del Louvre G539 (fig. 3.4), dove la rappresentazione di due giovani pugili che si fronteggiano prima della gara, indicava come l'allenamento fisico fosse una tappa fondamentale nella formazione di un uomo.

Verosimilmente la stessa metafora agonistica può celarsi nella rappresentazione, piuttosto rara nel panorama ceramografico attico, della quarta fatica di Eracle, la cattura delle cerva di Cerinea,[17] che appare su un'eccellente *oinochoe* del P. di Shuvalov (fig. 3.3), tra i migliori artisti presenti a Vassallaggi ed attivo nel 435–415 a. C.[18] Apparentemente enigmatiche risultano le scene di gineceo, se pensiamo alla loro collocazione su crateri destinati agli uomini. Il tema ricorre su un bel cratere a calice del P. di Kassel[19] (fig. 4.2), su un altro cratere della Maniera di Polignoto (fig. 4.1) e sull'*oinochoe* del P. di Ferrara T264 (fig. 4.3). Tutte le scene sono caratterizzate dalla presenza di oggetti d'uso femminile, quali specchi, unguentari e portagioie. È possibile leggere in questa scena la fiducia che l'uomo riponeva nella moglie, come curatrice dell'*oikos*? La tematica meriterebbe un maggiore approfondimento,[20] poiché l'interpretazione di un'immagine di gineceo pone delle difficoltà, soprattutto in relazione allo sviluppo cui è andato incontro il tema dalla fine del VI secolo. C'è una valenza ideologica dietro una scena femminile, ed essa rimanda ad una sfera erotica ma creata e guardata con gli occhi dell'uomo.[21] Infatti, se tra la fine del VI e l'inizio del V secolo le scene raffigurano le donne nude mentre si prendono cura di sé – con l'esplicita finalità di esaltare la seduzione e la bellezza, fungendo non da scene di gineceo ma da preludio all'incontro con l'uomo – la tematica cambia nel 450–425, quando le donne abbigliate ed un kit composto da unguentari, *plemochoai* e specchi subentrano nell'immagine. L'atmosfera erotica della toilette sedu-

Fig. 4: 1. Cratere a calice, Scuola di Polignoto (t. 134, 450–425 a. C.); 2. Cratere a calice, P. di Kassel (t. 83, 45–440 a. C.); 3. Oinochoe, P. di Ferrara T264 (t. 85, 420 a. C.).

cente è ormai attenuata per lasciare lo spazio ad una più intima e signorile.[22] L'erote che compare sul cratere del P. di Kassel (fig. 4.2) in associazione con la lyra, alluderebbe ad una doppia sfera semantica: il desiderio erotico suscitato dalla poesia lirica ed enfatizzato dalla presenza del sandalo porto alla donna, oggetto di seduzione femminile, si unisce all'esaltazione dei valori dell'aristocrazia efebica, quali giovinezza, bellezza e raffinatezza. Non è da escludere, tuttavia, una lettura più semplice, indicata a partire dalla metà del V secolo dalla presenza di Eros e dei suoi compagni nelle scene femminili, al fine di propiziare alla fanciulla una felice vita coniugale,[23] attraverso il rito del sandalo.

Un altro tema selezionato è quello della musica connesso alla danza, leggibile sul cratere a calice della Cerchia del P. di Lugano (fig. 5.2), su un medesimo esemplare dalla tomba 70 (fig. 5.1) e su un cratere a campana del P. di Marlay (fig. 5.3). Il tema apollineo del secondo cratere, avanzato da A. Bellia, che vi vede Museo (oppure Orfeo o lo stesso Apollo) tra le Muse, rimanderebbe al modello di educazione raffinata a cui i giovani si ispiravano.[24] Laddove il tema apollineo della musica si lega a quello dionisiaco, indicato dalla presenza dei satiri, è evidente che l'allusione vada al mondo del simposio che si fondeva con quello del *komos,* in una sorta di augurio per una vita felice nell'oltretomba. La danza ditirambica[25] del piccolo cratere a campana, il cui momento conclusivo della vittoria è suggellato dalle bende che pendono dal tripode, accentua il richiamo gli agoni musicali, dove l'*aulos* accompagnava gli esercizi sportivi. Ancora una volta sono richiamati i valori del ginnasio e la partecipazione alla celebrazione di feste religiose, pratiche svolte da tutti i cittadini. Di alto valore simbolico è il mito di Eos e Kephalos ricorrente sul cratere a colonnette del P. del Duomo (fig. 6.1) e su una *pelike* (fig. 6.2): seppur rientri in quella serie di miti d'inseguimento a carattere erotico, esso ha ormai perso il valore metaforico del rapimento come premessa delle nozze. Il mito diventa nella seconda metà del V secolo strumento per veicolare l'allegoria del trapasso nell'aldilà,

Fig. 5: 1. Cratere a calice, Scuola di Polignoto (t. 70, 450–440 a.C.); 2. Cratere a calice, Cerchia del P. di Lugano (t. 32, 420–410 a.C.). 2. Cratere a campana, P. di Marlay (t. 10, 430–420 a.C.).

Fig. 6: 1. Cratere a colonnette, P. del Duomo (t. 76, 450–440 a. C.); 2. Pelike (t. 30, 430–420 a. C.).

dove la dea della luce insegue un mortale per accompagnarlo verso una nuova vita ultraterrena,[26] alludendo in ciò all'adesione da parte della comunità a dottrine salvifiche. Allo stesso modo, il mito di Andromeda, raffigurato sul cratere a campana di Scuola Polignotea (fig. 3.2), probabile riflesso dell'omonima tragedia di Sofocle, assumerebbe un forte valore escatologico.[27]

La disamina dei corredi funerari ci ha fino ad ora indicato che buona parte della committenza vissuta nella seconda metà del V secolo doveva far parte di un ceto elitario molto esigente – formato allo stesso modo da Greci e da Indigeni, in parte, ormai radicalmente ellennizzati – che si identificava in una serie di ideali professati in vita e che volle perseguire nell'aldilà attraverso il richiamo a precise espressioni ideologiche. Questa società elitaria possiamo ipotizzare abbia innescato un particolare processo di *special commissions,* che non intendiamo finalizzato alla scelta o creazione di forme vascolari, in quanto esse già chiariscono la loro specifica destinazione d'uso, quanto rivolto a preferire determinate scene piuttosto che altre, riprodotte dagli ateliers attici secondo le precise richieste dei fruitori. L'aver privilegiato temi strettamente connessi al mondo funerario ha fatto sì che i soggetti si ripetano con una certa sistematicità. A ciò si aggiunga un dato importante, rappresentato dalla sparuta presenza di vasi potori,[28] nella quale ravvisiamo la precisa volontà dei committenti di autorappresentarsi non con i vasi che consentivano il consumo pratico del vino, bensì con i crateri che servivano a

mescere la bevanda, facenti bella mostra di sé sulle tavole dei banchetti, richiamando con le iconografie alle ideologie della pratica simposiaca e dei rituali della vita cittadina o alla guerra eroica; crateri che adesso occupavano il proprio posto nel simposio dell'aldilà, rappresentando degnamente il defunto.

Sebbene i contesti fin qui esaminati, ci mostrino una comunità di uomini che si identifica in un complesso ideologico che va oltre il banchetto, i corredi contengono anche strigili e *lekythoi,* associati quali simboli dell'atletismo e di adesione alla *paideia* greca. Ad essi si aggiunga anche una serie di coltelli i quali, sempre deposti dentro i crateri, connotavano il defunto come partecipante ai riti sacrificali. Gli strumenti, legati alla spartizione delle carni durante il sacrificio, sancivano l'atto di suddivisione delle carni ai *polites* che in modo paritario partecipavano ad attività comunitarie, secondo uno stato di uguaglianza vigente presso la cittadella.

Il sito di Vassallaggi, vero e proprio «central place», si distingue per una rinascita economica accentuatasi dal 450 a. C., a sostegno dell'ipotesi di riconoscervi il *phrourion* sicano che Diodoro Siculo cita con il nome di *Motyon,* allorquando i Greci di *Akragas* se ne impossessarono dopo l'assedio di Ducezio, promuovendo un programma di ricostruzione che fece della cittadella una roccaforte a dominio di una delle più importanti vie che giungeva nell'entroterra montuoso.[29] In termini demografici è verosimile che gli Akragantini vi abbiano stabilito un congruo numero di uomini, alcuni dei quali, probabilmente, avranno sposato donne locali.[30] Questo quadro potrebbe chiarire l'omogeneità dell'elemento ellenico in molti corredi, appartenuti a uomini che si identificarono in un complesso di ideali, acquisiti anche dagli abitanti di *ethnos* sicano, i cui riferimenti si colgono chiaramente nella presenza delle ceramiche indigene che compongono, talvolta per intero, i loro corredi (figg. 7. 8). La compagine locale fu investita da un inarrestabile processo di trasformazione, basato sull'assimilazione dei modelli culturali greci attraverso una serie di contatti, già nella seconda metà del VI secolo, quando i gruppi sicani erano ancora legati alle proprie radici, soprattutto in ambito funerario. E anche quando, di fronte all'immaginario della morte, i sicani scelsero di rappresentarsi con la propria cultura materiale, laddove la ceramica indigena si pone quale testimone della vitalità delle locali officine, questo avanzato e profondo processo d'integrazione, un secolo dopo, fu definitivamente compiuto.

Fig. 7: 1. Corredo della t. 134 (450–425 a. C.): cratere come da fig. 4.1; pelike, Tardo Manieristi; lekythos, P. del Londra E614. 2. Corredo della t. 28 (430–420 a. C.): cratere come da fig. 1.3; due lekythoi, pelike vicina al P. di Shuvalov. 3. Corredo della t. 10 (430–420 a. C.): cratere come da fig. 5.2; lekythos, pelike vicina al P. di Shuvalov.

Fig. 8: 1. Corredo della t. 177 (475–450 a. C.): oinochoe trilobata, cratere a volute e lekythos di produzione indigena. 2. Corredo della t. 167 (470 a. C.): oinochoe trilobata e cratere di produzione indigena, due lekythoi attiche. 3. Corredo della t. 45 (450–400 a. C.): cratere a calice e oinochoe trilobata di produzione indigena, lekythos attica.

Note

[1] Orlandini 1971, 7. Per le altre necropoli: Orlandini 1971, 9–12; Gullí 1991.
[2] Pizzo 1999. L'abitato e l'area sacra sono rimasti oggetto di notizie preliminari (Adamestenau 1956; Adamesteanu 1962; De Miro 1962; Orlandini 1962; Romeo 1989; Tigano 1993).
[3] Orlandini 1971, fig. 5.
[4] Cavallaro 2018; Cavallaro 2019.
[5] Essa è associata come vaso secondario per aumentare la capienza dei liquidi oppure fungeva da vaso principale (cfr. tombe 44 e 125).
[6] Il raddoppio dell'anfora enfatizza la sua destinazione d'uso simposiale nell'ambito dell'ideologia funeraria. Il tipo nolano induce ad ipotizzare, secondo un recente studio, la presenza di mercenari campani stanziati in Sicilia, la cui presenza è suggerita da ceramiche realizzate da pittori presenti sul mercato etrusco-campano e alla cui richiesta si devono la circolazione e la diffusione di determinati prodotti (De Cesare 2006, 432–434).
[7] Il modello compositivo dei corredi è frutto, peraltro, del rinnovamento nel tessuto sociale, attraverso la totale apertura alla nuova cultura, i cui risultati sono corredi connotati in senso greco. Di contro, il recupero della tradizione, con la parziale accoglienza dell'elemento allogeno, ha comportato la creazione di corredi misti. A queste due visioni si oppone, con i corredi interamente indigeni, un senso di conservatorismo, da intendersi come una sorta di respingimento della cultura materiale allogena a fronte della preferenza e del mantenimento della propria, ciò dovuto ad esigenze ideologiche ovvero economiche.
[8] Gullì 1991, pls. 15. 3; 16. 2; 19. Da non sottovalutare una diversa ricezione delle forme vascolari legate al simposio di tipo greco in contesti anellenici, laddove gli Indigeni avrebbero usato i piccoli crateri di fabbrica locale nell'ambito di pratiche conviviali attinenti alla propria tradizione (Albanese Procelli 2003, 192–193. De Cesare 2010, 122).
[9] Isler-Kerényi 1990, 49.
[10] Allo stesso modo, il cratere cinerario per l'infante della tomba 151, indicherebbe la possibile adesione a dottrine salvifiche legate al culto dionisiaco, laddove la rappresentazione di giovani efebi a cavallo sottolineava la mancata crescita del piccolo defunto (cfr. De Cesare 2008, 113).
[11] Bellia 2003, 125.
[12] Giudice 2007, 85. 119 s. 139 s.
[13] Cfr. Lezzi Hafter 1988, pls. 105, g–h; 106, a–b.
[14] Panvini 2003, 84.
[15] Cfr. Arias 1990, 15.
[16] Giboni et al. 1997, 87.
[17] Cavallaro 2017, 199–214.
[18] Il vaso è stato attribuito da A. Lezzi Hafter al P. di Eretria (Lezzi Hafter 1971; Lezzi Hafter 1988, 352, pl. 182.284), mentre P. Orlandini vi riconobbe un'opera del P. di Shuvalov (Martelli 1968; Orlandini 1964), con il quale concordiamo sulla base delle caratteristiche delle figure, riscontrabili sulle *oinochoai* da altre tombe del sito (Orlandini 1971, 102–105; Pizzo 1998–1999, 264–271).
[19] Giudice 2007, 96–97.

[20] Sull'interpretazione di complessi temi figurativi: De Cesare 2012, 106–108. Sul tema dell'*oikos:* Sutton 2004.
[21] Lambrugo 2008, 163. 169.
[22] Lambrugo 2008, 175. 177.
[23] Bellia 2003, 130 s.
[24] Bellia 2003, 119.
[25] Cfr. Froning 1971, pl. 7, 1.
[26] Conti 1998, 41–44. 47 s.; De Cesare 2008, 117; Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 16–21; Mugione 2000, 140.
[27] Mugione 2000, 94 s. Cfr. Phillips 1968; Schaeunburg 1967.
[28] Nei corredi esaminati si contano solo quattro *skyphoi,* una *kylix* ed una coppetta. Cfr. Pizzo 1999, fig. 43.
[29] Belvedere 1986, 93. Diversamente Micciché 2011, 108 s. Sui nuovi vettori culturali nell'ambito dei mercati: Panvini 2003, 85.
[30] Non è privo di significato che ai corredi riconosciuti come femminili siano destinate poche importazioni e molta ceramica locale.

Indice delle figure

Fig. 1–8: Foto dell'Autore, autoriz. prot. n. 10505 ©Regione Siciliana – Assessorato Regionale dei BB.CC. e dell'I. S. – su concessione del Polo Regionale di Agrigento per i Siti Culturali-Museo Archeologico di Agrigento «P. Griffo».

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Death Driving Deposition: Funerary Practice as a Motivator of Tarquinian Selection in the Attic Vase Trade[1]

Aaron Rhodes-Schroder

For much of the twentieth century the *communis opinio* regarding the diffusion of Attic pottery operated on the assumption that non-Athenian consumers bought whatever was available without discrimination.[2] This notion has long been at the heart of most studies concerning Attic pottery in Etruria to date, and has shaped the political and economic narrative of Etruscan progress in the 6th and 5th centuries BC.[3] Yet this approach largely precludes any consideration of Etruscan social or cultural explanations which may lie behind the fluctuations in the vase trade in favour of the implicitly Hellenocentric view that these wares carried a high prestige simply because they were Greek. Such an approach does not take into account Etruscan agency in this trade, and it often does not consider the specifically funerary context from which the majority of our Attic pottery derives.

My research has aimed to address this by a quantitative and context-based approach to Attic pottery found at one particular Etruscan site – Tarquinia. The database on which the research is based was derived from two main sources – the catalogues published in the *materiali del museo archeologico nazionale di Tarquinia* series, and the Beazley Archive Pottery Database.[4] Taken together, these sources not only offer a significantly more expansive dataset than many previous statistical studies have used, but they also help to avoid some of the methodological issues which have been noted for studies based solely on Beazley's original lists in *ARV* and *ABV*.[5]

The present study aims to look beyond a simple count of the total number of Attic vases from this site. The analysis has examined the differences in shape and decorative technique and charted these differences over 25-year periods from 550–450 BC, with the intention of examining any preferences evident in the results and whether or not these preferences changed over time. The Etruscan black-figure pottery has also been considered alongside these results to assess the degree to which the local production echoed the trends evident in the imported wares, though it is worth noting that the quantity of the Etruscan black-figure that is preserved is much lower than that of Attic wares, and so it can only offer an indication in this regard.

Results

Even with the expanded database included here, the total number of vases imported for each quarter century broadly resembles the trends already noted in past studies (fig. 1).[6] There is an initial rise in the mid 6th century BC, with the imports peaking in popularity

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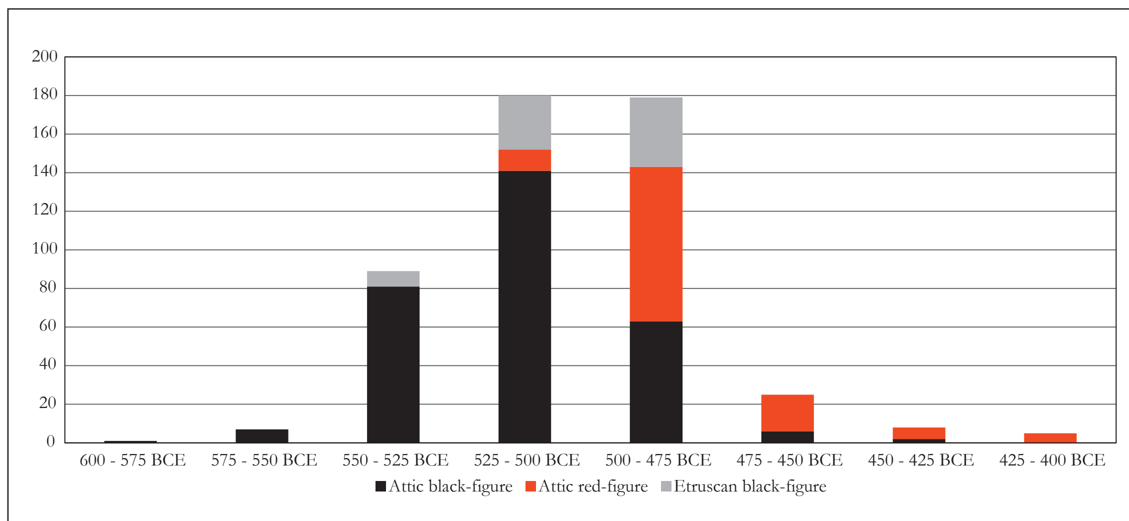


Fig. 1: Total of each fabric per quarter century.

in the last quarter of the 6th and the first quarter of the 5th, followed by a sharp decline after 475 BC. Yet when we take a closer look at the breakdown of the statistics by shape and fabric over each quarter century, some distinct trends emerge.

550–525 BC (fig. 2)

There is a definite preference for two main shapes with 38 amphorae (46.91%) and 32 cups (39.51%) making up the majority of the dataset analysed here. This period also saw the introduction of Etruscan black-figure pottery, with a modest number of 7 vases, all of them amphorae reflecting the preference for this shape found in Attic black-figure.

525–500 BC (fig. 3)

The final quarter of the 6th century BC sees a substantial rise in the number of vases catalogued at Tarquinia, with the pottery peaking at a total of 180 examples across three fabrics: Attic black-figure, Etruscan black-figure, and the newly developed Attic red-figure. With 141 vases attributed to this period, Attic black-figure makes up the majority of this sample set (73.44% of vases for this period). We again see a major preference in shapes, with 73 amphorae, which account for 51.77% of all black-figure pottery in this period. While the total number of black-figure cups is comparable to the preceding period, with 30 examples, their percentage of the total share decreases to 21.28%. We also see a greater diversity in other shapes at this point, although the total number for these remains fairly low.

The total number of Etruscan black-figure grows to 40 vases, accounting for just over 20% of all vases for this period. With 23 examples, amphorae remain the domi-

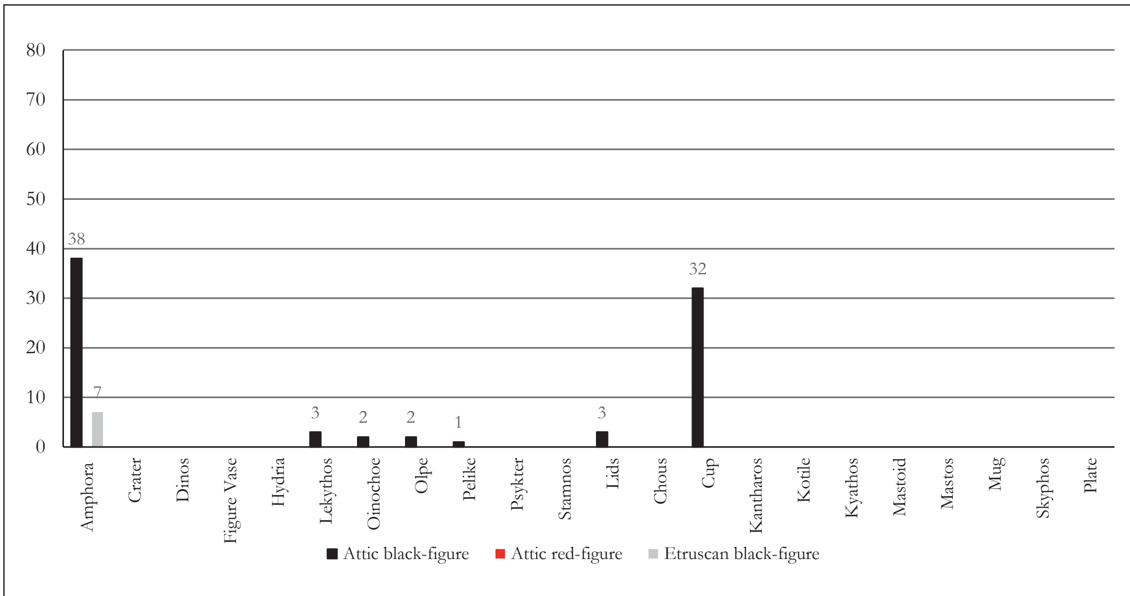


Fig. 2: Vase shapes by fabric c. 550–525 BC.

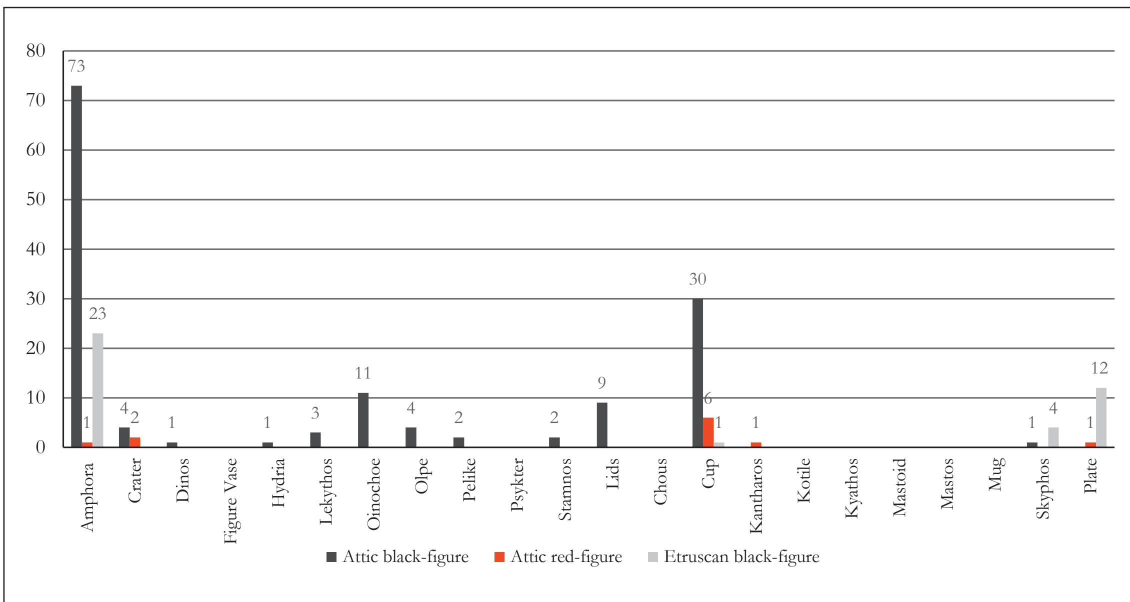


Fig. 3: Vase shapes by fabric c. 525–500 BC.

nant shape in this fabric. The total number is also boosted by the appearance of 12 plates.

Attic red-figure vases begin to appear in the record here, though only in modest numbers. There are only 11 vases in this category (5.73% of all vases), and while the low numbers preclude any statistical certainty, it is worth noting that the cups are the most popular shape in this quarter-century, accounting for 54.55% of this fabric.

500–475 BC (fig. 4)

Although the total number of vases catalogued for this period remains the same as the last, there is a significant shift in the patterns for each fabric coming into the 5th century BC. The total number of Attic black-figure vases drops off significantly with only 57 examples, now only accounting for 37.72% of all vases for this period. In particular there is one exceptional difference in the shapes of Attic black-figure pots, where a sharp change in trends is most evident: Attic black-figure amphorae, which until now had dominated the share of all vases in this ware. With only 8 examples, they now only make up a handful of all of the pottery attributable to this period. This is in stark contrast to the numbers of black-figure amphorae in the previous period.

The total number of cups in Attic black-figure maintains its relative share of this fabric from the preceding period at 20.63%, although the total number has dropped to 14. Of the other shapes, it is perhaps significant that other forms of drinking vessel are also popular. Taken together, all of the drinking vessels comprise 60.32% of all Attic black-figure vases in this quarter century, representing a significant shift away from closed

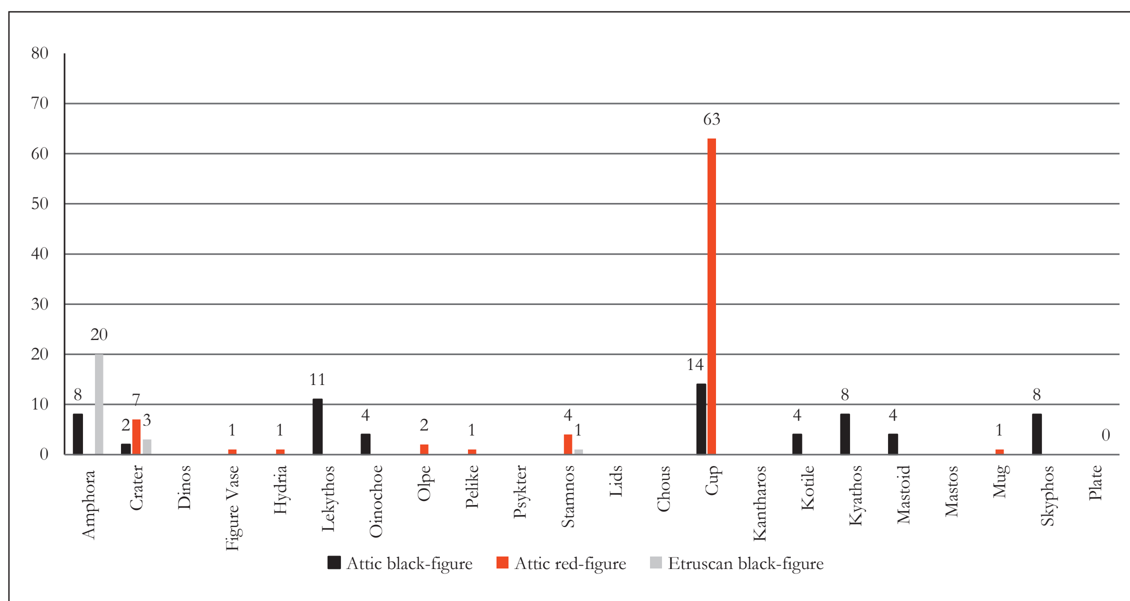


Fig. 4: Vase shapes by fabric c. 500–475 BC.

vessels, and amphorae in particular. In contrast to the Attic wares, Etruscan black-figure pottery retains its preference for amphorae, with 20 examples datable to this period.

With 80 vases, accounting for 47.90% of all vases for this period, Attic red-figure takes over as the dominant fabric and technique for this period. This technique had been developed and perfected in Athens by this point, yet it is notable that the shapes of red-figure vases catalogued here for Tarquinia do not precisely correspond to the trends evident in the earlier black-figure importation. There is an overwhelming preference for cups in Attic red-figure, with 63 examples comprising 78.75% of all vessels in this fabric for this period. The big omission here is amphorae, which had been the dominant shape in black-figure. Their popularity in black-figure is not translated into red-figure, nor are there any major increases in either kraters, or in other closed forms of pottery which could conceivably act as a substitute – such as stamnoi, pelikai, or hydriai. Numbers for these remain fairly low and consistent across all periods and regardless of decorative technique.

475–450 BC (fig. 5)

In the final quarter century considered in this study, the deposition of Etruscan black-figure ware in tombs seems to have largely stopped by this point, with no vessels catalogued in this database, while we see the continued decline of Attic black-figure pottery in Tarquinia, as well as a marked decline in Attic red-figure. There are only six Attic black-figure vases recorded, two lekythoi, three oinochoai, and a single mastos. Both amphorae and cups, which were dominant in earlier periods, are absent by this time.

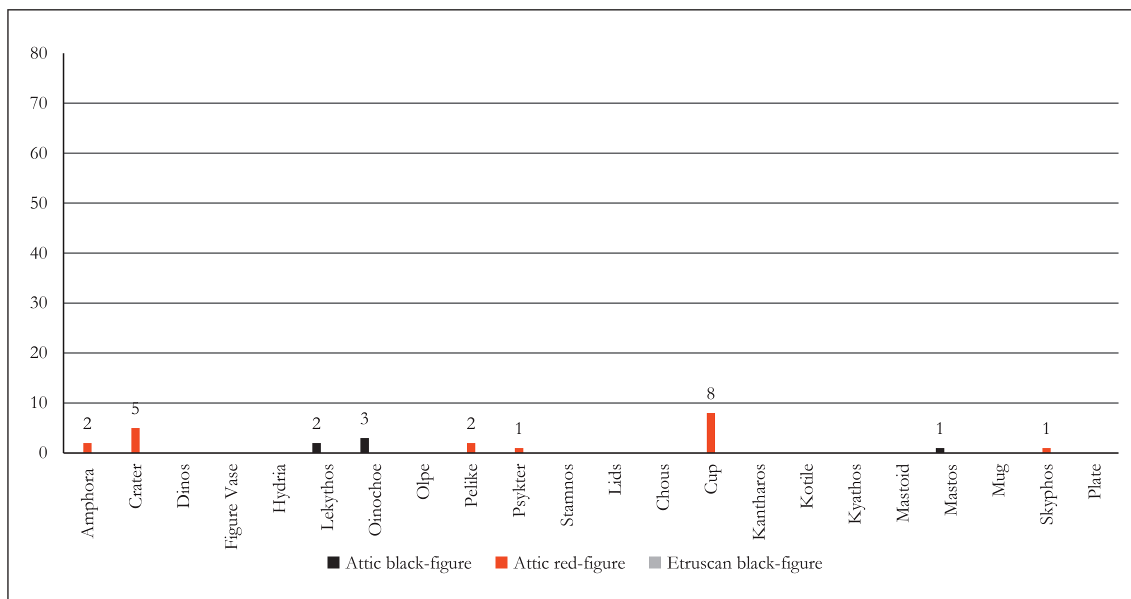


Fig. 5: Vase shapes by fabric c. 475–450 BC.

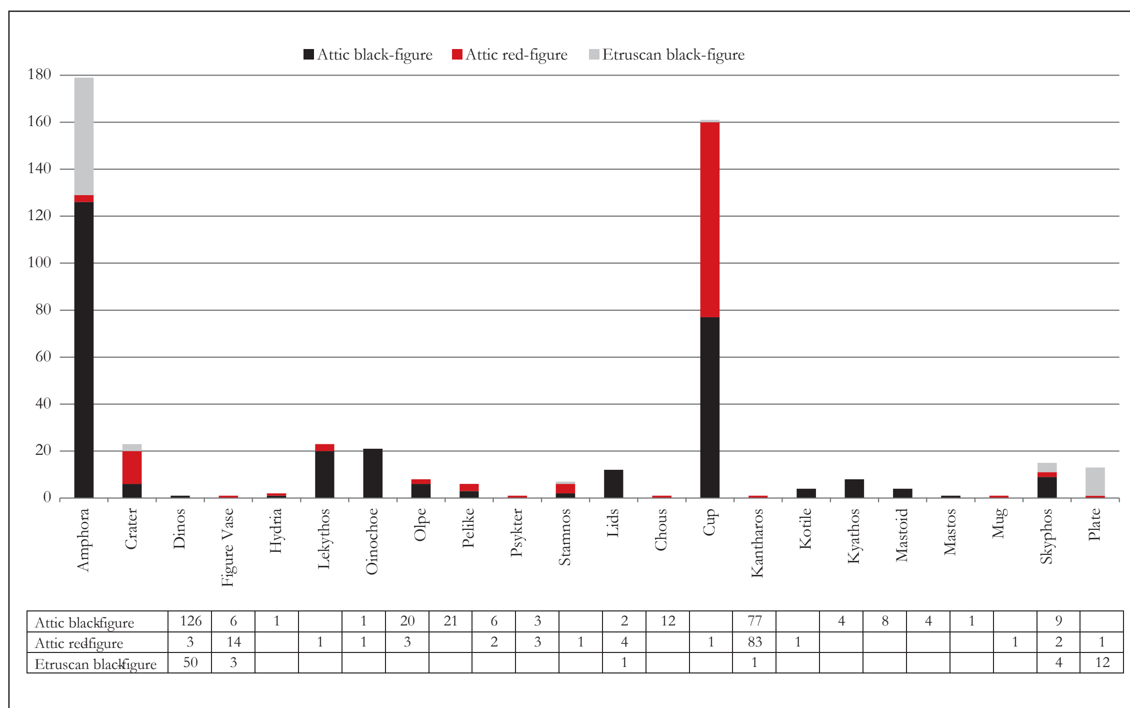
For Attic red-figure, we only have 19 vases: two amphorae, five kraters, eight cups, two pelikai and a single skyphos and psykter.

Sporadic finds of Attic pottery occur in the funerary record for the rest of the 5th century BC, with two Attic black-figure and six Attic red-figure vases attributable to 450–425 BC, and five Attic red-figure vases for 425–400 BC. This selection consists solely of drinking vessels and lekythoi.

Discussion of the Data

There are two main shapes which stood out in this analysis of the data: amphorae and cups (fig. 6). This in and of itself is significant, as there were comparatively fewer numbers of the other vase shapes considered to be an integral part of the 'symposium set'. This indicates that the deposition of a full symposium set of Attic pottery was not the primary motivating factor for the inclusion of these vases within tomb contexts in Tarquinia. Furthermore, these two different shapes followed two very different trends, perhaps indicating a different role within the funerary ritual.

Cups became the predominant shape of drinking vessel preferred in Attic pottery by the Tarquinians for grave goods, and this shape remained a popular choice for deposition in tombs from the mid-sixth through to the mid 5th century BC. When red-figure



	Amphora	Crater	Dinos	Figure Vase	Hydria	Lekythos	Oinochoe	Olpe	Pelike	Psykter	Stamnos	Lids	Chous	Cup	Kantharos	Kotile	Kyathos	Mastoid	Mastos	Mug	Skyphos	Plate
Attic blackfigure	126	6	1		1	20	21	6	3		2	12		77		4	8	4	1		9	
Attic redfigure	3	14		1	1	3		2	3	1	4		1	83	1					1	2	1
Etruscan blackfigure	50	3									1			1							4	12

Fig. 6: Total number of each shape by fabric/decorative technique.

pottery was developed in Athens in the late 6th century, this was quickly exported to Etruria, where the Tarquinians seem to be just as willing to deposit the newer technique of cups in their graves as they had been to use the black-figure cups.

However, this is not the case with the amphorae. Like the cups, these were very popular in the early imports of black-figure. This shape alone accounts for roughly 40% of all the Attic black-figure pottery found in Tarquinian tombs from across all periods. It is also worth noting that the amphora is by far the most preferred shape for the Etruscan black-figured vases, accounting for 70.42% of all shapes in this ware. However, when Attic red-figure was introduced, the newer technique was clearly not preferred for the amphorae – we have only three Attic red-figure amphorae from Tarquinia, in contrast to the total of 126 Attic black-figure examples. We know that large red-figure amphorae were being produced in Athens, so this is not an issue of supply[7]. Therefore the reason for the near complete absence of this shape in this decorative technique in funerary contexts must lie with Etruscan choice – for whatever reason they preferred not to deposit red-figure amphorae in their tombs, even though they readily used red-figure cups.

Indeed, based on a preliminary count of the data from the Beazley archives, we can see a similar pattern from the other major find spots of Attic pottery in Etruria: at Cerveteri, Orvieto, and Vulci. Amphorae account for 40–50% of all Attic black-figure at these three sites (fig. 7). The other notable shape here is the cup, which varies in popularity between 10–30% of all vases in this ware. In Attic red-figure, by contrast, amphorae generally account for less than 10% of all vase shapes at Cerveteri and Orvieto, while at Vulci they reach a share of 14% (fig. 8). At all three sites too, cups are also more popular in the newer technique – generally accounting for over 50% of all Attic red-figure shapes. At Orvieto they appear even more popular, where they make up nearly 80%

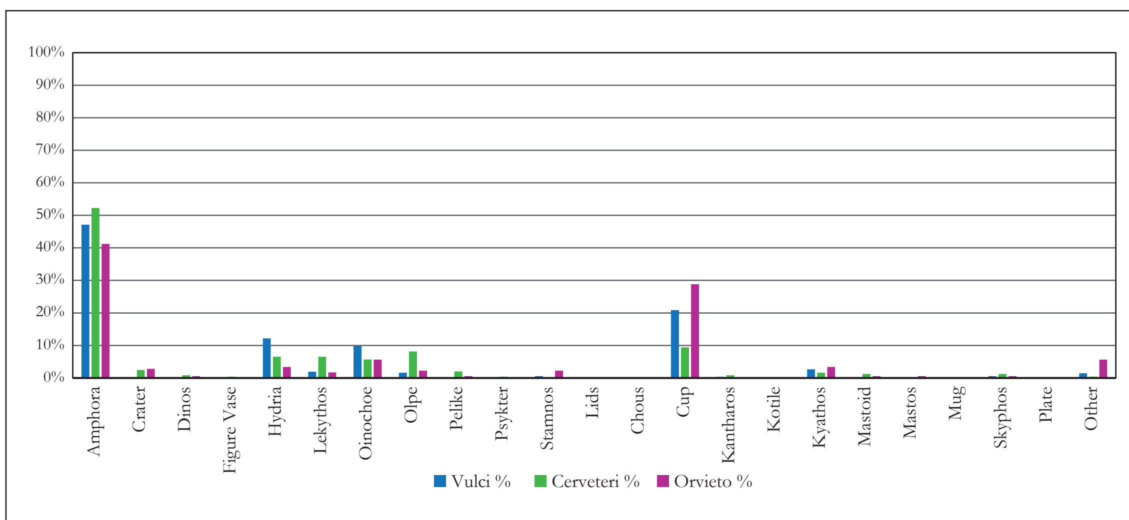


Fig. 7: Shapes as a percentage of the total Attic black-figure.

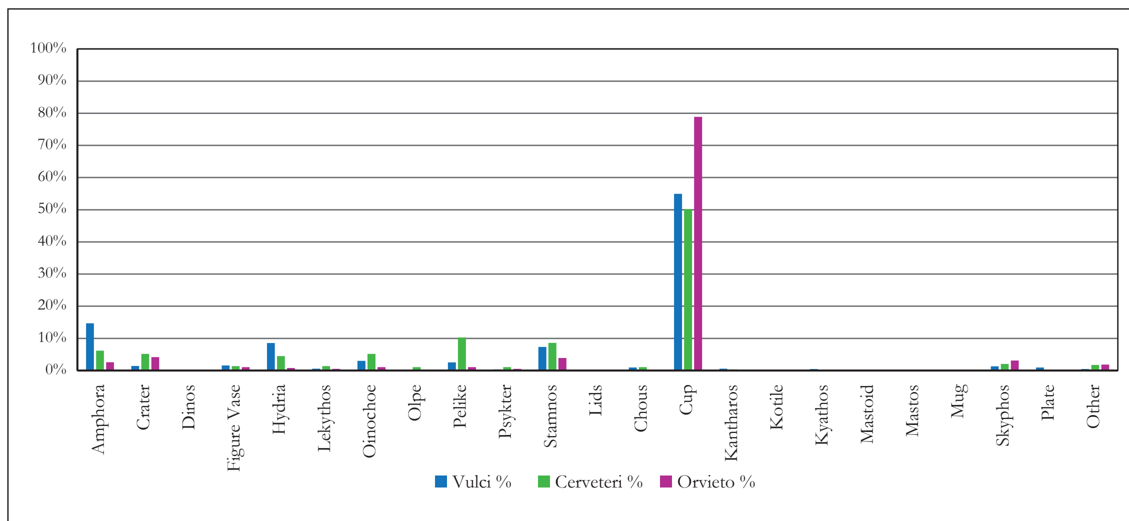


Fig. 8: Shapes as a percentage of the total Attic red-figure.

of the total. While this is only a preliminary count of the data available on the Beazley Archives, the results are indicative that the trends established in the detailed analysis for Tarquinia seem to be broadly applicable to the other major centres of Etruria.

It is likely that the preference for black-figured amphorae in the tombs was tied to Etruscan funerary practice; de la Genière noted that the popularity of these amphorae in Tarquinia is likely tied to their frequent use as a cinerary urns in cremation burials, a feature which may be seen to echo the earlier Villanovan practice of depositing cremation burials in biconical vases.[8] If the Attic black-figure amphorae were primarily serving as receptacles of the ashes of the deceased, rather than as symposium vessels, then it may be that the choice of decoration of these particular vases would have been related to its intended funerary function. In particular, Attic red-figure features a very different repertoire of images than the earlier black-figure, and this likely factored into the Etruscans choice of vases for funerary deposition, particularly for those vases serving as cinerary urns.[9]

The continued popularity of cups, however, is more difficult to ascertain with our current understanding of Etruscan funerary rituals, yet it is clear that the specific technique of Attic pottery did not affect the Tarquinians' choice of these vessels in the same way it did for the amphorae. Perhaps their choice was driven by the functional need for a drinking vessel for libations or food offerings in their funerary ritual.[10] Or it may be that the imagery of the cups (and the changes between black-and red-figure therein) did not factor in the choice of these shapes in the same way that it does for the amphorae.

In light of these results, the characterisation of the Etruscans as voracious, non-discriminating consumers of Attic pottery cannot stand. The clear preference exhibited among the data for amphorae and cups shows that they were discerning in which products they chose to inter in their graves. Furthermore, this discerning preference for

particular shapes in particular decorative techniques has much wider implications beyond the funerary contexts within which these vases are found.

The earlier conception of the Etruscans as non-discriminating consumers is integrally related to the theory of the fifth century crisis.[11] As a result of the assumption that the Etruscans would purchase these pots if they had the means, the disappearance of Attic pottery from funerary contexts was interpreted as evidence that the Etruscans no longer had the economic resources available to acquire these wares. However, my research demonstrates that there was a clear buyer preference for black-figure amphorae destined for use as grave goods, and this shows that the Etruscans were very discriminating in their acquisition of these vases.

Furthermore, it is worth noting that the period of the sharpest decline in the deposition of Attic pottery in funerary contexts is from 475–470 BC. While this has traditionally been ascribed to the economic and political consequences of the Battle of Cumae in 474 BC, this shift also coincides chronologically with a different and more important development at Athens in terms of pottery production. Shortly before this point, the best potters and painters in the Athenian Kerameikos had largely abandoned the black-figure technique in vase painting in favour of red-figure.[12] Simply put, the clear preference that the Etruscans had displayed for black-figured amphorae could no longer be met by the Athenian market, because the Athenians had stopped producing high quality black-figure vases. We can see the last of this production trickling into Etruria in the low numbers of black-figure amphorae in the first quarter of the 5th century BC, and by the second quarter, the deposition of Attic pottery in Etruscan funerary contexts had all but ceased. While these data clearly show that the Etruscans had agency in selecting which vases to purchase from the Athenians, it also highlights the fact that they did not have direct agency in dictating what the Athenians produced for export.[13] Furthermore, it is notable that they did not seek out other markets of black-figure vases to fill the void left by the shift in Athenian production, nor did they increase production of their own black-figure workshops for this purpose. The data presented here suggests that the decline of Attic pottery appearing in Etruscan funerary contexts is a direct result of the Athenian market no longer supplying the vases which the Etruscans desired for this explicit purpose, and this in turn indicates that the place which Attic pottery holds as a pillar of evidence for the 5th century crisis in Etruria needs to be reassessed.

Notes

[1] I would like to thank Prof. Dimitris Paleothodoros and the organizers of the AIAC for the opportunity to present my research. Thanks also go to the University of Auckland for providing the grants to allow me to attend the conference. I am indebted to Associate Professor Anne Mackay, Dr. Jeremy Armstrong, and the anonymous reviewer for their perceptive comments and suggestions in the formulation of this article. All errors, naturally, remain my own.

[2] A number of more recent studies have aimed at addressing this issue, most notably Reusser 2002, but see also Arafat – Morgan 1994; Paleothodoros 2002; Osborne 2010; Bundrick 2015; Saunders 2017.
[3] Torelli 1984, 55 f.; Haynes 2000, 261–264; Osborne 2004, 27.
[4] Pianu 1980; Tronchetti 1983; Campus 1984; Pierro 1984; Ginge 1987; Ferrari 1988; Nati 2012; BAPD <https://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/pottery/default.htm> (15. 09. 2020). The data set used here was compiled in 2015 for my Masters thesis. The incorporation of the pottery from the MMAT series nearly doubled the number of vases from the initial data taken from the BAPD. This expanded data set largely agreed with the broad trends already evident from the BAPD, especially in regard to the two most popular shapes, cups and amphorae, when considering the overall popularity of these shapes; however, the chronology of these vases was more evenly distributed in the MMAT material, whereas in the BAPD, the amphorae tend to be clustered around 525–500, and the cups often postdate 500. There is also a notable increase in the proportion of certain shapes, such as the lekythoi and oinochoai, and the introduction of other shapes not represented in the BAPD material, such as kotylai and kyathoi.
[5] Hannestad 1988, 113–116; Small 1994, 40.
[6] Boardman 1979, 36 f.; Meyer 1980, 53.
[7] Boardman 1975, 216.
[8] de la Genière 1987, 206 f.
[9] See Tonglet, this volume, for a detailed discussion of such uses for cups.
[10] Rhodes-Schroder 2021, for a more developed discussion of this idea.
[11] Torelli 1986, 55 f.; Haynes 2000, 261–264.
[12] Boardman 1974, 146.
[13] I am grateful to the reviewer for raising this point.

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Etruscan Melting-Pot: Some Considerations about Etruscan Banquet Sets in Funerary Contexts[1]

Delphine Tonglet

This paper is a short synthesis of ongoing research devoted to cultural exchanges between ancient Greece and Etruria, from the 9th to the 6th century BC. More specifically, it aims at a better understanding of the Etruscan banquet and other practices involving ceremonial consumption of food and drinks during this long period.[2]

As we know, many of the Greek vases imported in Etruria were used in the banquet and, more specifically, wine drinking activities. In Etruria especially, where we lack written sources, banquet (and other types of) sets in funerary contexts offer good case studies for analyzing social and cultural practices and intercultural exchange with the rest of the Mediterranean world.[3]

While earlier, but also more recent, scholarly works tend to treat the Etruscan borrowings of Greek cultural elements as a strong sign of Hellenization, a more recent line of research – on which I base my approach – have shown that this process of cultural reception is neither passive nor simple.[4]

At the outset, a clarification of the term "banquet set" is necessary. Several scholars have worked on banquet assemblages, but space does not allow a full review in this instance.[5] I will instead propose a definition, which is partly inspired by the work of G. Bartoloni, V. Acconcia and S. ten Kortenaar in an article on early Orientalizing wine-drinking services from funerary contexts in southern Etruria.[6] A banquet set in an archaeological context is the recurring assemblage of different vase shapes and utensils used for the service of food and drink in a banquet. This assortment of objects reflects a codified practice and its presence in a tomb can be symbolic, representing ritualized actions. An assemblage and its uses do not necessarily coincide with actual practices of everyday life. As shown by the study of Bartoloni and her colleagues, the concept of "recurring assemblage" is very flexible, because the Etruscans of southern Etruria did not seem to follow strict rules in the composition of their sets. Rich tombs manifest the desire to express status by the ostentation and the multiplication of objects, sometimes repeated in luxurious and/or imported versions[7]. While some very rich tombs contain different separate sets,[8] many simpler graves reveal only the part for the dead, probably selected from a larger funerary banquet. In a tomb, not all the eating and drinking vessels can be related to a banquet. One of the criteria for determining the use of a set is its position within the tomb or around it, which can refer to other types of rituals/ceremonies.[9]

Building on the concept of *services mixtes* developed by J. Gran-Aymerich for sets composed of local bucchero, Greek and other vases,[10] my definition takes into account the full range of banquet-objects found in an archaeological context: metal vessels and utensils, local, Greek, Near Eastern wares etc. See for instance, the vases gathered on

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the bronze stand in the *Tomba del Carro di Bronzo* from the Osteria necropolis in Vulci (fig. 1).[11] In this example we find a local bucchero vase imitating a Corinthian cotyle, an *impasto* kantharos of local origin, a Protocorinthian kylix and an eastern Greek lekythos.

It has become of crucial importance to extend this comprehensive approach to the material connected with eating activities.[12] Eating and drinking activities in Etruscan contexts, should not be separated, as scholars usually do in a desire to follow the Greek sympotic model.[13] For instance, the aforementioned tomb from Vulci still presents the *instrumentum* for meat,[14] including a huge bronze cauldron. It still contains animal bones from the "meat broth" in the funerary banquet (fig. 1).

The functional ambiguity in the use of certain shapes further supports this observation. G. Bartoloni and her colleagues observed a tendency for multifunctionality in many shapes in the Etruscan repertoires, implying variability and interchangeability in the composition of sets.[15] A good example – deliberately selected outside southern Etruria – is offered by the 7th century material from the Tolle necropolis of Chianciano Terme.[16] One of the most frequently recurring shapes in those tombs is the *scodella su piede* (a high footed cup), often associated with local globular jars or amphorae (fig. 2).[17]

Fig. 1: Reconstitution of the *Tomba del Carro di Bronzo* from the Osteria necropolis in Vulci in the Villa Giulia museum (Rome), ca. 680–670 BC.

Fig. 2: Reconstitution of Tomb 603 from Tolle necropolis in the Museum of Chianciano Terme, ca 700–650 BC.

When isolated, the two shapes form a set for drinking or for pouring libations.[18] However, the *scodella* is also adapted for the service of food in small quantities: archaeologists of the necropolis found bird bones inside several examples.[19] This major shape in the local repertoire is basically multi-functional.

Another much later example, further north in the Etruscan Po Valley, is offered by Tomb 415 from the Certosa cemetery in Bologna (fig. 3).[20] The grave contained a female inhumation. Though it had been plundered, the remaining Attic vases formed a wine-drinking set, however without any surviving pouring shape: 2 figured column kraters, 1 owl skyphos, 1 kantharos of the *Saint Valentin* type, 1 lost red figure skyphos, 1 lost black glaze bowl, 1 bronze grater, and 1 black glazed kylix, which still contains eggshells.

In Greece, it is not unusual to find non-liquid funerary offerings in a kylix, notably eggs – real or manufactured.[21] However, a study by L. C. Pieraccini demonstrated that archaeological finds and iconographic observations do not allow for a direct derivative link between Greek and Etruscan practices around eggs.[22] In Etruria, real eggs are a typical – if not the most typical – and very symbolic funerary offering. Also, they constitute an important part of the menu in the Etruscan aristocratic banquet.[23] In the Po Valley, eggs and other food offerings appeared in connection with the practice of depositing banquet vessels in tombs (from the early 8th century BC).[24] It is interesting that, in Tomb 415, the kylix mentioned above was selected among other drinking shapes to receive the eggs. Indeed, its shape might recall the locally footed dishes used for food – especially

Fig. 3: Material from Tomb 415, Certosa cemetery, Bologna, ca. 480–450 BC.

eggs and poultry[25] – in many tombs, but absent or lost in this case.[26] Those dishes go back to the second half of the 8th century BC in the region and are common in Etruscan material culture.[27] This case might offer an example of shape substitution, in which a kylix can be perceived as a food dish rather than a drinking cup, and is integrated to an ancient local practice.[28]

The three examples mentioned above remind us that banquet sets must be regional and chronologically defined. At the same time, there are larger methodological considerations, to which I shall now briefly turn.

The first is theoretical. In order to approach the question of the relation between Etruscans and Greeks with a more open mind, I chose to follow the concept of "entangled pottery", as proposed by Ph. Stockhammer.[29] Without entering into too many details, I will only mention Stockhammer's idea that when an object arrives from abroad into a new cultural context, accompanied or not with the knowledge of its original function, it can have an impact on people and their practices.[30] Also, the "receptive" culture will have an impact on the object, whether physical (an imported object can be modified or imitated with modifications) or functional. The "entangled object" is culturally

redefined in its new context and it becomes something more than the simple mix of the two cultural traditions. This line of thought can usefully be applied to Greek vases in Etruscan contexts. For example, the Warrior Tomb in Tarquinia, recently published by A. Babbi and U. Peltz.[31] Dated to ca 730–720 BC, it offers one of the first examples of an Orientalizing assemblage in an Etruscan funerary context. The tomb also revealed a real melting pot of different traditions regarding the shapes and the manufacture of the vases.

In this instance, I will only point out two groups of objects. First, four local impasto one-handled cups (kyathoi) and a two-handled cup (kantharos) can be considered together with two exceptional silver vases of the same two shapes (fig. 4). Those local shapes in precious metal – among the first examples in Etruria – reiterate the common impasto versions, following a newly adopted Near Eastern tradition for luxurious drinking cups.[32] The second group is the set – for wine and food service, as well as other ritual uses – of fine geometric ware, probably locally made (fig. 5). The vases of this second

Fig. 4: Three impasto and two silver one- and two-handled cups from the "Warrior Tomb" in Tarquinia.

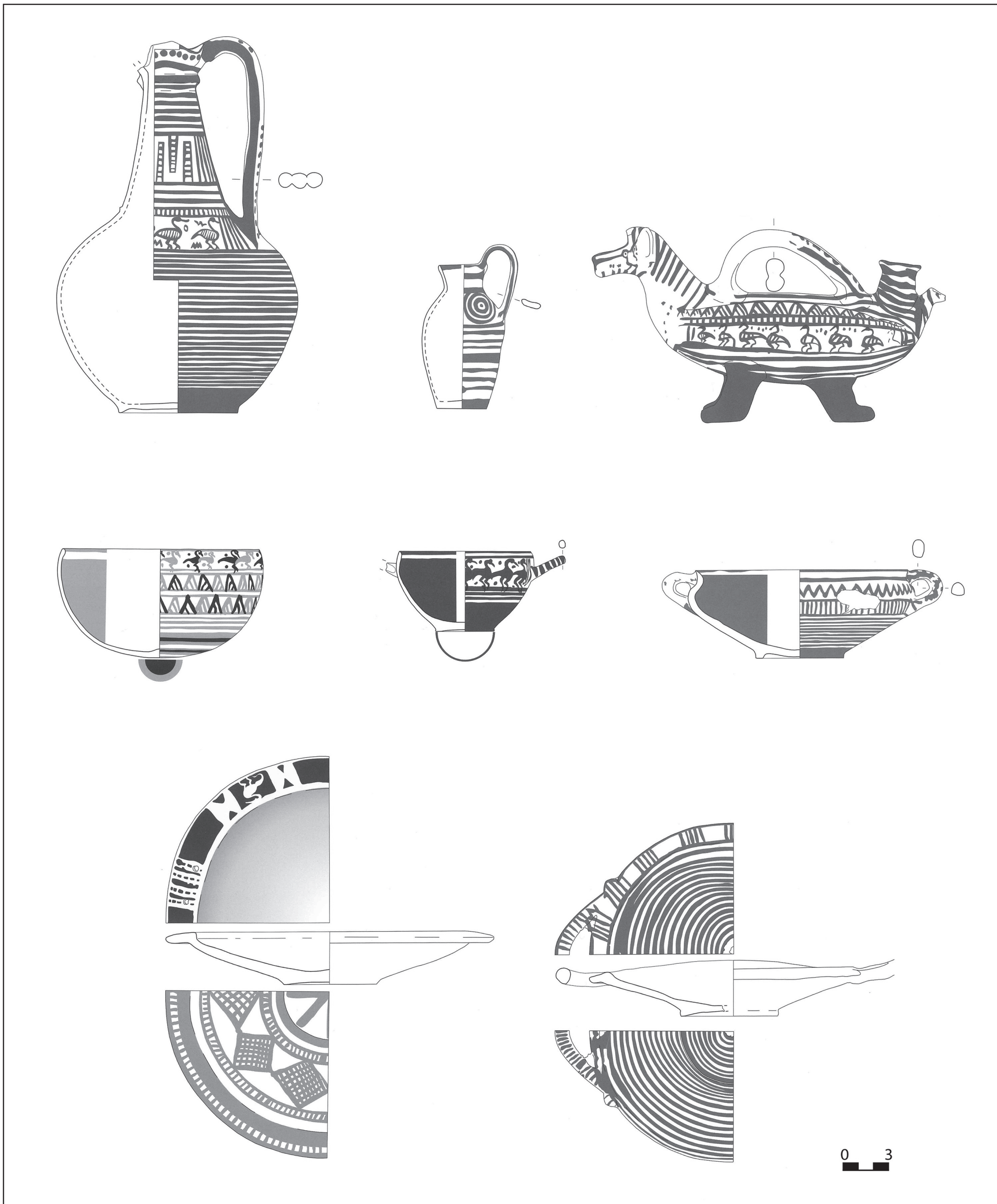

Fig. 5: Selection of the fine Italo-geometric ware from the “Warrior Tomb” in Tarquinia.

group present Greek and Levantine shapes.[33] As shown by A. Babbi, their painted decoration combines – through a complex game of successive filters and influences – patterns and decorative techniques from varied Greek and Phoenician areas: Euboea, the Cyclades, Cyprus, Crete, Corinth, Pithecusae and Rhodes.[34]

Those two groups of objects show that the non-Etruscan traditions represented have been already mingled, transformed and integrated into the local Villanovan tradition, which in turn was also changed. Those objects are "entangled" and we can suspect that the "ritual" or actions performed with them were also "entangled". Here, we are facing neither an Homeric banquet nor an actual *symposion* nor a royal Assyrian feast. The result was a new kind of Villanovan banquet, with an equipment assembled for a very high-ranking individual connected with his world.

The other methodological subject to be raised is the identification of ancestral traditions through the study of the origins of shapes. C. Iaia showed that the consumption of fermented drinks was already an important activity in central Italy before the arrival of Greek communal practices during the early Iron Age.[35] He traced those activities to middle and final Bronze Age cultures of different Italic areas.[36] Some objects connected with those earliest practices survived through time and cultural changes, to be then adapted to the new needs of the Villanovan/Etruscan cultures.

The Etruscan one-handled cup, also called *kyathos,* is one of those "primitive" shapes.[37] According to Iaia, it appears that Proto- and Villanovan one-handled cups, inherited from Bronze Age antecedents, were influenced by bronze types from northern and central Europe.[38] This ancient local and European background for formal drinking habits is significant and places the origins of the Etruscan one-handled cup in a non-Aegean tradition. From the Orientalizing period on, the kyathos appears in different types of Etruscan ceremonial sets (not always connected with the banquet[39]), whether in "poor" or prestigious material, as shown by the Traquinian Warrior Tomb.

Regarding sets in funerary contexts, M. Torelli observed that in southern Etruria and ancient *Latium* the one handled cup is part of a set, together with a type of globular amphora (also called Latial/spiral amphora), from the 9th century on.[40] Torelli recognizes this association as the reflection of "a primitive rituality connected with wine", preceding contacts with the Greek symposion, and involving local wine production.[41] This ancestral tradition survived at least until the late Archaic period in the tombs of Caere, where the deposition of bucchero and Attic descendants of the two shapes are found: the small kyathos and the "Nikosthenic amphora".[42]

Tracing back the long history of the one-handled cup/kyathos – and its variants in impasto, metal, bucchero and Attic black-figure (fig. 7) – helps us to identify the local traditions and their development. It clarifies how foreign elements were selected, transformed and finally incorporated into local habits and how they affected them without actually replacing them.

My paper concludes with a last famous example involving the Attic kyathos: the pair of tombs known as *Tomba del Kottabos* and *Tomba dei Vasi del Pittore di Micali* from

Fig. 6: Material from the *Tomba del Kottabos* and the *Tomba dei Vasi del Pittore di Micali* from the Osteria necropolis in Vulci, Villa Giulia museum (Rome).

the Osteria necropolis in Vulci (fig. 6).[43] Dated to the last quarter of the 6th century BC, those two chamber tombs shared a common atrium and belonged to a young man and a woman, respectively.

When we look at the contents of late 6th century tombs in southern Etruria, such as those examples in Vulci, we are almost blinded by the dominant black and red colors of the Attic pottery and its local derivations by the Micali Painter. The influence of the Attic symposion is certain and strong, especially marked by the poverty of bucchero, impasto and *acroma* ware in those assemblages[44].

However, the presence of a monumental kyathos in each tomb (fig. 6.1–2), one in bucchero, the other in Etruscan black-figure, and of two small Attic black-figure kyathoi (fig. 6.3–4 and fig. 7), reminds us of the still surviving Villanovan funerary banquet. Food is also represented by local dishes and the iron knife in each tomb. In the female grave, the knife – generally connected with dividing meat, perhaps within a sacrificial practice[45] – was found in a bronze basin, probably serving for food.[46] Meat consumption, and possibly sacrifice, are further implied, in the male grave, by the iron spits and might be connected with the iron ax as well.[47]

Fig. 7: One of the two Attic kyathoi in the *Tomba dei Vasi del Pittore di Micali* in Vulci, Villa Giulia museum (Rome) inv. 131316.

The assemblages in our two tombs offer incomplete sets from a Greek point of view (fig. 8). There is no shape for mixing water and wine, as kraters are almost absent from Vulcian tombs in the Archaic period.[48] It has been suggested that they were made of metal and therefore too precious to be deposited in tombs. The question arises whether the amphorae and hydriae present in both graves could have fulfilled the function of mixing shapes.[49] If we cannot reject those hypotheses, we can neither exclude the possibility of the absence or the rarity of the wine and water mixing practice, especially in the rather middle class social level represented in those two graves. The absence of a pouring shape in the Kottabos tomb is striking, and it contrasts with the redundancy of oinochoai and olpai in the female tomb.

The Attic kyathoi (fig. 6.3–4 and fig. 7) offer the only drinking shape in the female tomb, which points out to an exclusively local practice, as this production (or its Etruscan model) was virtually never used in Greece.[50] Regarding the drinking function, the Kottabos Tomb presents four Attic kylikes, among which a monumental eye cup attributed to Oltos (fig. 6.5).[51] Sh. Bundrick's research on Attic eye-cups showed that red-figured and bilingual kylikes with large eyes seem to have been, at least in part, catered to

the Etruscan market, where we find the earliest, best and biggest examples.[52] Oversized kylikes, with or without eyes, have been found broken or upside down at the entrance of tombs or at the feet of the corpse, which is the case of the Oltos cup in the Kottabos grave.[53] While we do not know if and how we should distinguish several sets in those graves, we should at least eliminate this big kylix from the banquet service of the Kottabos Tomb. It was rather part of another ritual.[54] Bundrick concludes that the presence of Attic eye cups in Etruria is not at all a sign of Hellenization. As the other Greek vases, they were integrated and functionally transformed for the local uses.

D. Paleothodoros, who studied the iconography of the figured vases in those two tombs, showed that the "completeness" of funerary assemblages could be a matter of iconography, not only shapes or functions.[55] He also emphasized the possible, deeply re-

Functions/Uses	***Tomba A2/1998 dei Vasi del Pittore di Micali*** ♀	***Tomba A9/1998 del Kottabos*** ♂
Mixing	0	0
Storage/Mixing ?	2 Attic amphorae 1 Etruscan bf amphora 1 Etruscan bf hydria	3 Attic amphorae 1 Attic hydria 1 transport amphora (Greek)
Dipping/Pouring	1 bronze oinochoe 2 Attic oinochoai 1 Attic olpe	0
Drinking	2 Attic kyathoi	3 Attic kylikes (1 Attic kylix, monumental)
Food	1 local dish 2 bronze basins 1 iron knife	1 local bowl 1 iron knife 11 (?) iron spits (1 iron ax)
Other banquet/ sympotic items	1 bone plectrum (music?) Bronze elements of a foldable table?	1 bone plectrum (music?) 1 bronze kottabos game
Presenting liquids/other ritual?	1 Etruscan bf kyathos (monumental)	1 bucchero kyathos (monumental)
Other (gender, status/role, funerary)	1 Attic lekythos 1 bronze mirror Silver collar (elements)	1 Samian lekythos Bronze elements from a shield (?) and from a leather helmet 1 iron ax

Fig. 8: Table showing the repartition of the grave goods from the *Tomba del Kottabos* and the *Tomba dei Vasi del Pittore di Micali* according to their functions.

ligious value of Attic vases in Etruscan contexts and demonstrated how the local figured pottery completes the imports with symbolic images, absent from the Attic repertoire.[56]

Our conclusions concerning the two tombs are similar to those of the ones observed by Bartoloni and her colleagues for the early Orientalizing graves of southern Etruria. The principle is of accumulation and ostentation rather than of fixed sets. Of course, the survey is here, with our few examples, very reduced and it should reach a quantitative quality before getting conclusive. However, our observations remind us that the older rituals did not completely disappear in front of Greek influences and imports; they were sometimes "disguised" in a prestigious Attic mantel.

A better understanding of the practices connected with local and imported vessels in Etruscan cemeteries, requires study of the composition, content and the place of objects within their Etruscan contexts. We have to look from what we think might be an Etruscan perspective. Slowly, a complex panorama of interactions appears, revealing parts of the Etruscan culture from a more autonomous point of view.

Notes

[1] I warmly thank my colleagues of the CReA-Patrimoine (ULB, Brussels), Dr. Joan Mertens and Dr. A. Babbi for their precious suggestions. I also want to express my gratitude to Dr. D. Paleothodoros for organizing the panel in the friendliest atmosphere.

[2] I use here the word "banquet" with the same meaning as "feast".

[3] See Iaia 2016, 31 with bibliography.

[4] For instance, the works of Kohler – Naso 1991, 45; Tuck 1994; Torelli 2000; Iaia 2007; Isler-Kerényi 2009; Bundrick 2015.

[5] For Early Iron Age drinking sets in Southern Etruria: Iaia 2016; 2006. For the Orientalizing period: Batino 1998, 24; Rathje 1983.

[6] Bartoloni et al. 2012, 207. 216.

[7] Bartoloni et al. 2012, 258. 260. 266–268.

[8] Batino 1998, 17, nn. 27. 24.

[9] Bérard 2014; Bundrick 2015, 314.

[10] Gran-Aymerich 2017, 193–200.

[11] Partly published in Moretti Sgubini 2000, 568–570.

[12] Batino 1998, 24.

[13] For the Greek symposion, see for instance Wecowski 2014. For a synthetic and useful definition of the Attic symposion: Lynch 2015, 231–233.

[14] Kohler – Naso 1991.

[15] Bartoloni et al. 2012, 216 f. 260. 266. 268.

[16] For the *scodella su piede:* Paolucci 2015, 34, n° 8.

[17] Paolucci 2015, 234.

[18] For instance, the four *scodelle* and four amphorae assembled in the vestibule of Tomb 401: Paolucci 2015, 135–138. For libations: Paolucci 2015, 67. 375.
[19] Paolucci 2015, 376.
[20] Govi 1999, 51 f. n° 22.
[21] Algrain 2013, 54–56.
[22] Pieraccini 2014, 284–288.
[23] Pieraccini 2014; Bertani 1995, 59.
[24] Bertani 1995, 53.
[25] Bertani 1995, 58 nn. 142; 59 and table 2.
[26] Mattioli 2013, 228 f.
[27] Tovoli 1989, 244 f.; Bertani 1995, 53 f. n. 110.
[28] For imported kylikes and skyphoi used for eggs and poultry: Bertani 1995, 59 and table 2.
[29] Stockhammer 2010, 89–103. For a large reflection on the concept of entanglement applied to archaeology see: Hodder 2012.
[30] Stockhammer 2010, 89 f.
[31] Babbi – Peltz 2013.
[32] Babbi 2013, 65 (silver: Kat. 4 and 5, impasto: Kat. 97–100).
[33] Babbi 2013, Kat. 97–100.
[34] Babbi 2018, 341 fig. 5 "transculturality map"; Babbi 2013, 65 tab. 2.
[35] Iaia 2016, 32 f.; Iaia 2007, 268–270.
[36] Iaia 2013, 374 f. 379 f.
[37] Zanini 2000; Torelli 2000, 92 f.; Gran Aymerich 2017, 93 (shape 5900). 191; Tonglet 2018, 30–35 fig. 1–8.
[38] Iaia 2007, 262 f. 268–270.
[39] Ceremonial sets found all over Etruria (8th–6th centuries BC) and composed of several small kyathoi buried (sometimes within an *olla*) in different kinds of contexts: Bartoloni et al. 2012, 201–206.
[40] Torelli 2000, 92 f.
[41] Torelli 2000, 92. Following the aforementioned observations, I think we have to include the small dishes and larger bowls for the service of food to that set.
[42] Tonglet 2018, 34. 268 f.
[43] Moretti Sgubini – Ricciardi 2001, 220 f.
[44] About the progressive disappearance of bucchero pottery in funerary contexts of Southern Etruria by the end of the 6th century BC and its replacement by Attic pottery: Gran-Aymerich 2017, 160; Batino 1998, 10.
[45] For the connection between the meat instrumentum and sacrifice, at least for earlier periods: Kohler – Naso 1991; Iaia 2016, 40 f.
[46] Moretti Sgubini – Ricciardi 2001, 228.
[47] Moretti Sgubini – Ricciardi 2001, 221. 238. About the "meat service": Kohler – Naso 1991. About knives: Batino 1998, 24.
[48] Hannestad 1988, 125.
[49] Bundrick 2015, 324.
[50] Tonglet 2018, 252–261.

[51] Moretti Sgubini – Ricciardi 2001, 233 f. III.B.7.5; Bundrick 2015, 321 f.
[52] Bundrick 2015, 295. 331.
[53] Bundrick 2015, 319.
[54] Bundrick 2015, 310–314. 322.
[55] Paleothodoros 2009, 56. 58 f.
[56] Paleothodoros 2009, 50. For the religious value of Attic vases in Etruscan contexts: Paleothodoros 2002, 153.

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Fig. 1: Courtesy of the Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia. – Fig. 2: Courtesy of the Museo Etrusco delle Acque di Chianciano Terme. – Fig. 3: Courtesy of Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, Photo Archive. – Fig. 4: ©Antikensammlung Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz – inv. Misc. 6326, B90; Misc.6326, B91; Misc. 6326, B92; Misc. 6326, C96; Misc. 6326, C97. Photographer: Johannes Laurentius. – Fig. 5: Drawings by Dr. Andrea Babbi (from Babbi – Peltz (eds), 2013, kat. 77–79, 81, 83, 85, 90–91). – Fig. 6: Courtesy of the Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia. – Fig. 7: Su concessione del Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia. – Fig. 8: by the author.

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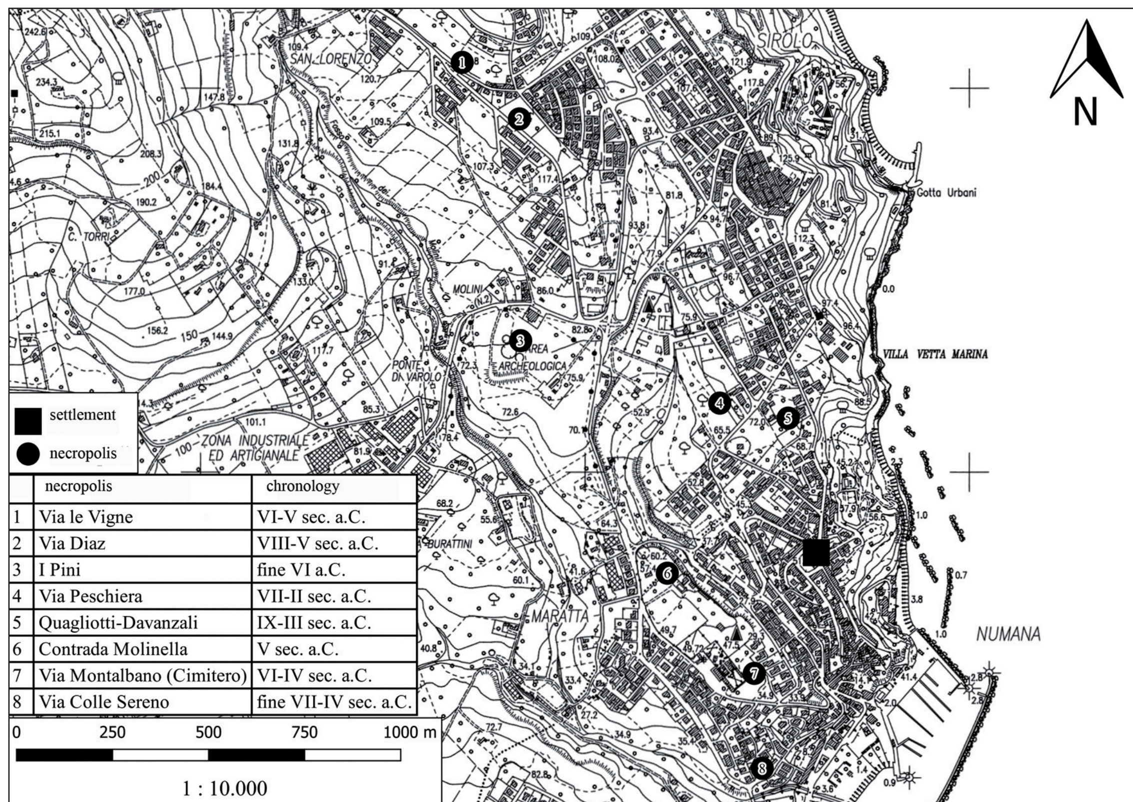
Vase Shapes from Picenum Funerary Contexts: Imports and Local Production of Numana

Vincenzo Baldoni

As it is well-known, the ancient Numana was located in a privileged position. In ancient texts, its territory is described as a fertile countryside opening to a rocky coast, the Conero promontory, where Numana was the most important natural harbor of the Median-Adriatic coast. We do not have a complete topographical perspective of Ancient Numana: until now, the greatest part of the archaeological findings which were published are related to the necropolis spread on this territory – the widest one is known as "Quagliotti-Davanzali", on which this contribution focuses.

As we have scarce evidence of the settlement and cult places for the 1st millennium BC of Numana, our knowledge mainly relies on funerary documentation, pertinent to differing necropolis (fig. 1). The Davanzali area was excavated in detail during the 1970s when more than 300 tombs were brought to light, while the Quagliotti area consists of 186 tombs. These two parts, with other recently excavated nearby areas, form a unique



	necropolis	chronology
1	Via le Vigne	VI-V sec. a.C.
2	Via Diaz	VIII-V sec. a.C.
3	I Pini	fine VI a.C.
4	Via Peschiera	VII-II sec. a.C.
5	Quagliotti-Davanzali	IX-III sec. a.C.
6	Contrada Molinella	V sec. a.C.
7	Via Montalbano (Cimitero)	VI-IV sec. a.C.
8	Via Colle Sereno	fine VII-IV sec. a.C.

Fig. 1: Ancient Numana territory (now Numana-Sirolo, Ancona), with locations of necropolis and inhabited area.

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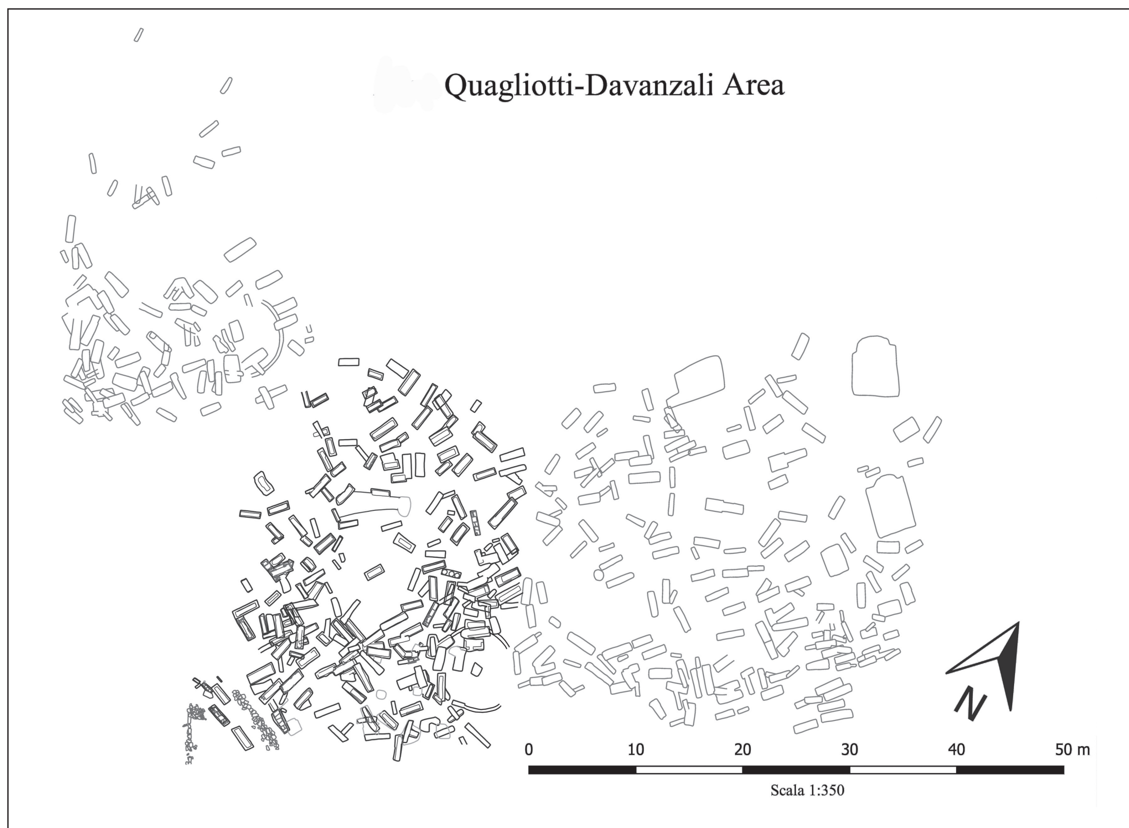

Fig. 2: Plan of the Quagliotti-Davanzali necropolis; on the right, the Davanzali area; in the middle, central sector of the Davanzali necropolis studied by the équipe of Bologna University.

and large necropolis (fig. 2). Despite the abundance of finds, few contexts have been published as yet, while there is a lack of systematic study of consistent and topographically homogenous groups of burials. On the other hand, the available documentation for these excavations is very detailed.

In recent years, a research project on the Davanzali necropolis has been taken up by the University of Bologna; the project aims to study the large central part of the necropolis (241 tombs in total).[1] The Davanzali area had been in use for a long period (9th–2nd centuries BC) and has a complex stratigraphy nowadays. In light of the complexity of this excavation, it is thus necessary to adopt a recording methodology and to interpret that archaeological palimpsest in its historical development.

The data management is carried out by a GIS implemented with a data-base;[2] this allows to co-relate all the information on tombs and funerary sets in a dynamic way, along with spatial data. It is therefore possible to investigate many aspects of the occupational dynamics of the necropolis and of the funerary rituality, through a necessary diachronic and spatial perspective.

With the view opened by this investigation methodology, this contribution aims to give attention to some aspects connected to the distribution and use of Attic pottery in Numana's funerary sets, from the second half of the 5th to the 4th century BC, with particular reference to the distribution of various vase shapes. Basing on the large amount of available data and the investigation methodology, it is possible to consider Attic vase shapes in connection with many other aspects, such as the funerary rituals, the arrangement of the tombs in the necropolis, the composition of funerary sets, the presence of other locally produced or imported pottery, with particular regard to fine pottery, as for example south Italian or the so-called Alto-Adriatic wares.[3] The topics I am going to analyze are extremely wide and controversial and it is difficult to examine them fully in this contribution, but I will try to point out some of the most relevant phenomena emerging from the investigation in process, being aware that my reflections might be reconsidered upon the completion of this research project.

First of all, it is necessary to point out that I am here examining data from 241 tombs, belonging to the Davanzali area and for the greatest part unpublished; in addition, I take into consideration some other finds, already known in literature from the Numana necropolis.[4]

I believe it is possible to start with some general quantitative data, related to imports of Attic pottery in Numana. The Beazley Archive Pottery Database (BAPD) lists 77 Attic vases from Numana, dating from the end of the 6th to the 4th centuries BC, 90% of which are in the red-figure technique.[5] Previous studies concentrated mainly on figured vases, omitting the black-glaze ones, which were extremely abundant in the period we are concentrating now. It is thus fundamental to consider these vases as we are reflecting on the use of vase shapes.[6]

It is immediately clear that the number of Attic red-figure and black-glaze pottery is larger than we thought before, once we consider all the Attic vases from Numana (including the Davanzali area). We deal with a total of about 200 vases,[7] a number meant to increase further when the research continues. We can observe two interesting phenomena: the predominance of certain shapes (skyphoi, kylikes, cups, stemmed plates and kraters) and a variation in documented forms within the end of the 5th century as opposed to the situation during the 4th century BC. In the 5th century we can detect numerous shapes, but around the beginning of the 4th century their number decreases (only some kylikes detected); from the central decades of the 4th century BC on, we find for the most part skyphoi and bell-kraters, with little else.

This reduction in the number of shapes only partially mirrors the Athenian production trend:[8] as a matter of fact, it is relevant to compare what happens in the Adriatic area and in Spina, where there are far more attested shapes during the 4th century BC, a phenomenon that appears more and more clear from another project we are carrying out in the Valle Trebba necropolis with the Bologna University.[9]

We think that the Picenians' choice of Attic shapes only partially depends on the offer from the Athenian Kerameikos, while the picture sketched above is also the re-

sult of intentional choices made in order to meet the requirements for the composition of funerary sets. We shall see how this hypothesis can be confirmed by the analysis of other elements characterizing burials. Besides, a clear element discernible in the data for the whole period in question is the adoption of the Greek banquet set as a basis for the composition of many funerary sets, in a typically Greek fashion. This phenomenon is evident mainly from the second quarter of the 5th century BC on,[10] and becomes even more visible in tombs dated toward the end of this century. Three monumental tombs of the Quagliotti area (tombs no. 64, 178, 185) dating from the end of the 5th century BC display particularly rich banquet sets.[11] One should point out that a restricted élite of this type was probably responsible for managing banquet rituality within the society in Numana, since these tombs contain extremely articulated sets for wine-mixing and food consumption. The exceptional monumental structure of these tombs – with no comparison in Numana – is another distinctive feature, among many, marking them apart from the rest of the tombs in the necropolis.

Scholars have pointed out that the Hellenization of choice funerary sets of the 5th century corresponds to a change in the Numana society and reflects upon tomb arrangements, being coupled with the rearrangement of several aspects in the funerary record noticed in the previous period, as for example the exhibition of the warrior status in men's tombs, where several weapons were buried.[12] Besides the three tombs already mentioned, other tombs showing this change in the composition of the funerary sets appear at the end of the 5th century BC: these tombs are situated in the internal part of the Davanzali area – like t. 407, containing only a spear, but many imported and locally produced vases. The same shape occurs in numbers in a funerary set, according to a practice, documented not only in Numana, but in other funerary contexts as well, for example in Spina.[13] Up until this period, the duplication of specific vase shapes linked to the banquet sphere was found on a limited number of funerary contexts only; this particular aspect needs to be investigated further in the funerary sets of the entire Davanzali necropolis, in order to understand its meaning.

Other unpublished tombs from the same necropolis – coeval to or a little more recent than tomb 407 – show wide banqueting sets, with different solutions in the composition of the funerary set: these are characterized by the presence of a prestigious element, a transport amphora.[14] No. 471 (fig. 3) contains the rests of a male. It was realized with exceptional care: there was a wooden coffin, with pebbles under its bottom, according to an ancient Picenian ritual; the body was given some ornamental objects on (three fibulae an one ring), while an iron spear was found on the right of the head. Although partially lost due to the superimposition of a later tomb which cut part of no. 471 – the funerary set was placed outside the wooden coffin, at the dead's feet: there was a transport amphora of type B, possibly Corinthian or from the eastern Adriatic area (fig. 4),[15] underlining the use of a large quantity of prestigious wine to which only one red-figured vase is associated, a stemless kylix.[16] The other vases belonging to the funerary set are locally produced and the same shapes appear in numbers:[17] these are functional

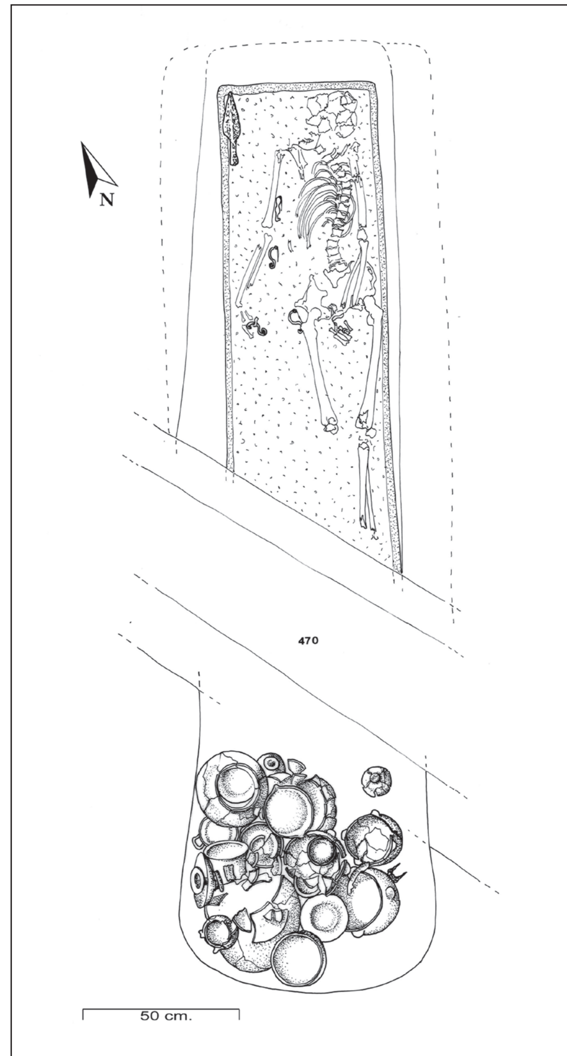

Fig. 3: Plan of the tomb 471 Davanzali, partially cut by the superimposition of a later tomb.

vases for ritual feasting, possibly a funerary banquet; the presence of the amphora instead of a mixing bowl such as a krater (either local or imported), in association with local vase-shapes, may suggest a specific local practice.[18]

A similar criterion to compose a funerary set is found in other tombs, such as t. 360, a male's tomb, where there is only one Attic black-glaze skyphos from the first half of the 4th century BC, along with a Corinthian amphora type B, or t. 466, with black-glaze Athenian vases (a skyphos and two bowls with outturned rim), a transport amphora, a rich sympotic set, along with typically female objects (spindels).

In the period between the last decades of the 5th century and the beginning of the 4th century BC, south Italian vases began to arrive in quantities. The specific frequency

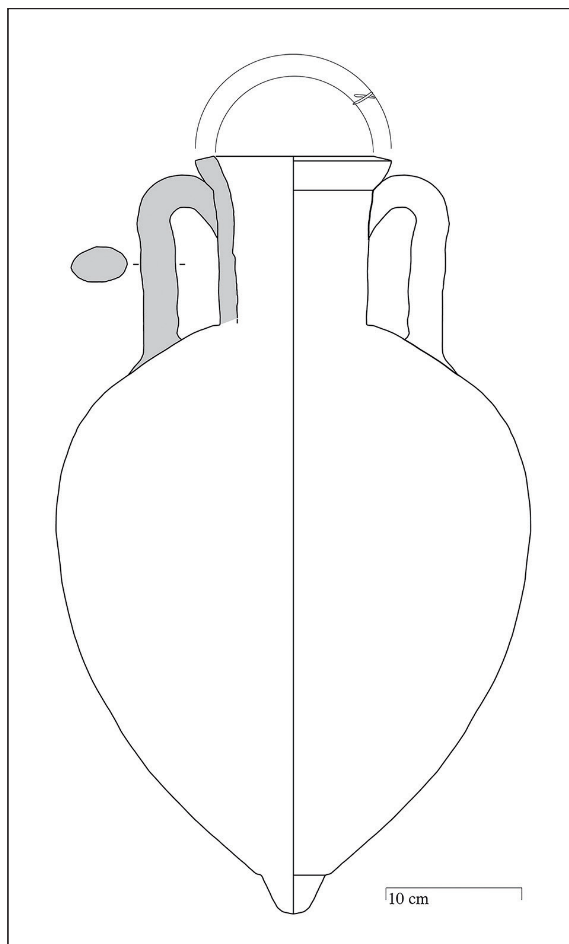

Fig. 4: Corinthian transport amphora from tomb 471 Davanzali, Museo Archeologico Nazionale delle Marche, inv. 75618.

of these importations in Numana is a phenomenon interpreted by some scholars as an attempt of south Italian workshops to enter the Picenian market in a weak moment for Athens.[19] On the other hand, some scholars more convincingly argued that the south Italian workshops exploited already established Athenian commercial routes directed to Picenian emporia.[20]

The research on the Davanzali necropolis increased the number of south Italian vases known from Numana, and it has confirmed the importance of Piceno as a market for south Italian pottery starting from the end of 5th century BC: following the results of our research, there are at least 40 South-Italian vases, some of them still unpublished, in the Davanzali tombs. The earliest south Italian pottery imported in Numana is of Lucanian manufacture. These vases were belonging in the more articulated funerary sets: kraters, skyphoi, some small plates. The latter shape is correctly interpreted as a special commission,[21] since it was not a well-known shape in the south Italian repertory, while it

was widely spread in the Adriatic area, both in locally produced versions and in Attic imports.[22]

In the richer funerary sets we can observe the association between south Italian and Attic vases, for example in the aforementioned tomb 407,[23] where a Lucanian skyphos attributed to the Schwerin Group was found in association with several Attic red-figured and black-glazed vases, or in the three tombs no. 64, 178, 185 – Quagliotti area, mentioned above, with vases from the workshop of the Creusa Painter and from the Schwerin Group (the later in tombs 176 and 185).[24]

During the 4th century BC, some products from Apulian and Campanian workshops were added, sometimes in association with Attic pottery, as for instance in the unpublished tomb no. 219 – Davanzali, where a rich male funerary set includes an Apulian skyphos by the Group of Altenburg 331 (fig. 5)[25] and an Attic stemless cup;[26] an owl skyphos, most likely of south Italian origin[27] and a transport amphora (mentioned in the excavation notes, but now lost), were also included. In the rich set, alongside a unique spear, there are some fibulae, a ring and several locally produced vases; again, we find the repetition of some shapes functional to the symposium.

As opposed to the situation during the 5th century BC,[28] the only large Attic vase found in the funerary sets in the Davanzali area in the 4th century is the red-figured bell-krater. Tomb no. 195 – a female one – is an exception in the scenario coming from this period's tombs of the Davanzali necropolis, since there are many vases of different provenance (Attic, south Italian, Alto-Adriatic),[29] thus presenting a funerary set comparable to those richest burials already commented above.

The remaining four funerary sets (tombs 353, 362, 368, 377) from the Davanzali necropolis with Attic kraters from the second half of the 4th century BC are much different, since the krater is the only ceramic vessel included, other objects being ornaments or weapons.[30] A glance at the necropolis plan reveals that all these tombs are associated: as a matter of fact, all these tombs are located closely in the eastern sector and, inside them the krater is systematically put at the dead's feet (figs. 6–7). In these tombs – dating

Fig. 5: Apulian Red-Figure Skyphos, Group Of Altenburg 331 from tomb 219 Davanzali.

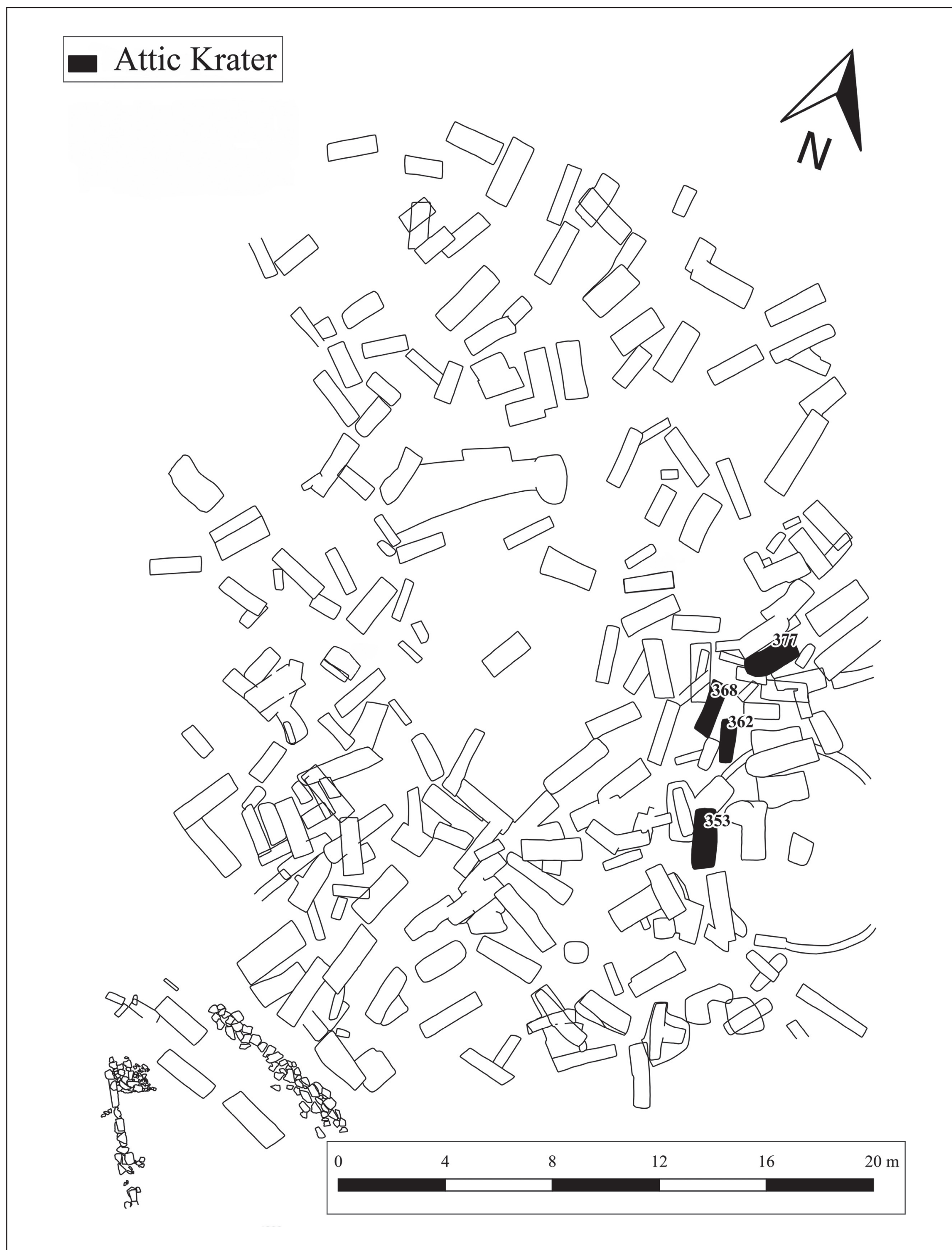

Fig. 6: Plan of the central sector of the Davanzali necropolis, with localization of 4th century BC tombs with Attic red-figure kraters.

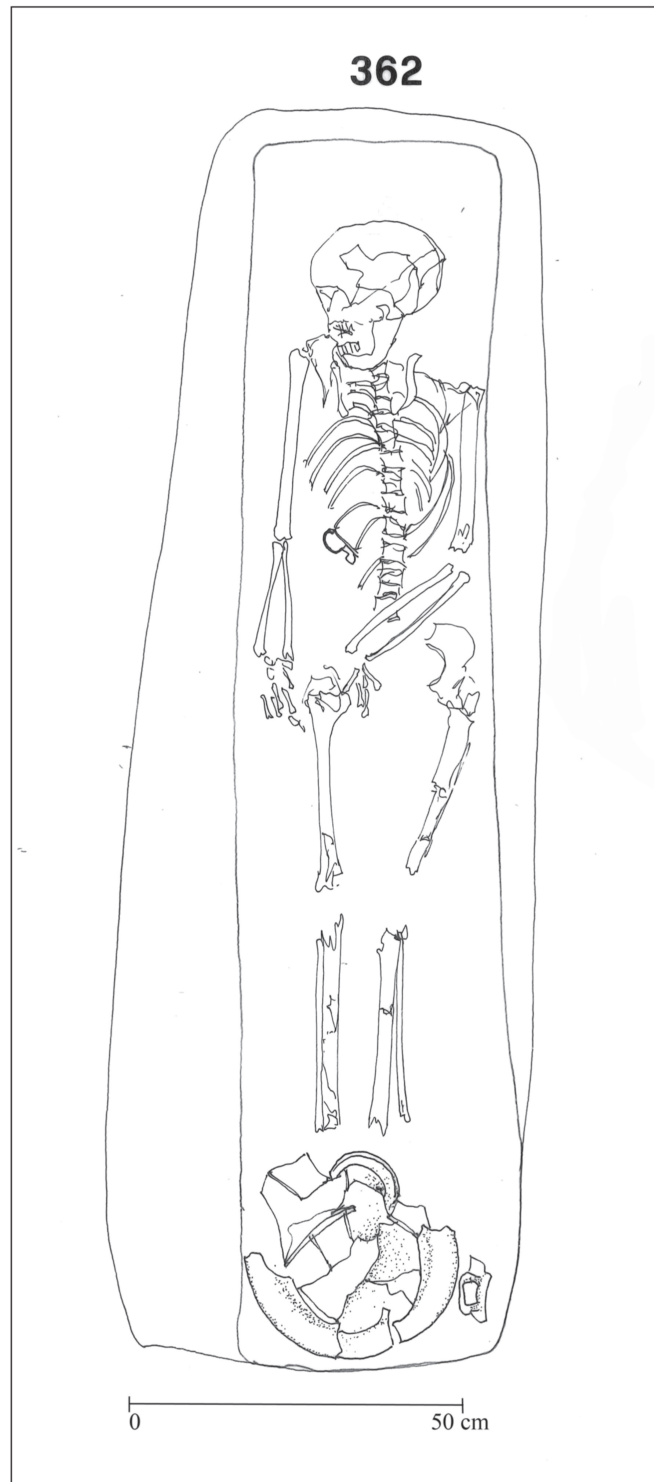

Fig. 7: Plan of the tomb 362 Davanzali, with an Attic red-figure krater as unique vase of the funerary set.

Fig. 8: Attic red-figured bell-krater from t. 362 Davanzali.

from around the middle of the 4th century BC – the presence of the Attic krater (fig. 8) as unique vase could be interpreted as a signal of modesty, or even poverty, of the funerary sets. However, it is more convincing to think that the choice of this unique shape and its preeminent position in the funerary set is linked to specific ritual action, according to which the krater is entrusted with the task of evoking the adhesion to the symposium and its system of symbolic meanings, in a way we may define synthetic and essential.[31] As the central element of the symposium, the krater can evoke the status of the dead, through his participation to the social feasting, but it could possibly also refer to his adhesion to a salvation belief.[32]

A further confirmation of the high symbolic value of the krater is given by the analysis of other late funerary sets, in which the Attic krater is replaced by an Alto-Adriatic one: what really matters is the shape and its figurative meanings. This relevance is confirmed by the fact that the Alto-Adriatic krater or a similar shape – such as the skyphoid krater in the Gnathia – is the only vase buried in a few tombs until the last Picenian phase of the necropolis, at the beginning of the 3rd century BC, at a period when Attic pottery has not been imported to Numana for several decades.[33]

Generally, Alto-Adriatic figured pottery in Davanzali necropolis seems to be chosen in a limited number of funerary sets,[34] thus having a precise meaning. We must also point out that Alto-Adriatic pottery is produced in a limited number of shapes in Numana: bell-krater, chous and skyphos. Apparently those are the shapes believed to be indispensable, as we already noticed for Athenian imports.[35]

Alto-Adriatic shapes from Numana should be investigated in the light of the context of all the locally produced vase shapes, in order to understand the significance of the

selection. As a matter of fact, there are some typical Picenian shapes of coarse ware, persisting for a long time: these shapes are likely to recall different or complementary social (or funerary) rituals, rather than the typical Greek symposium.

Going back to the repertory of Attic shapes in the 4th century BC in Numana, even the skyphos seems to enjoy a ritual role, at least in the funerary sets, when it is the only ceramic vessel included. This is significantly recorded in at least three child burials (tombs 515, 513, 347).[36] Between the end of the 5th and the middle of the 4th century BC the ritual significance of the skyphos is also confirmed in tombs where an Alto-Adriatic or a locally produced skyphos is found as being the unique object of the funerary set. Starting from the third quarter of the 4th century BC, the ritual becomes more and more frequent: locally produced black-glazed and red-figured skyphoi are found, systematically placed at the dead's feet.[37] The relevant number of children's tombs, in which the ritual is repeated, allows one to think that there was a specific relation of the skyphos with this particular age range or with a liminal condition, as it had been recently pointed out.[38] Furthermore, it seems that the presence of the skyphos may be linked to some form of participation in the symposium, ruled by social norms or depending on the social role of the deceased. This is one of the topics requiring further investigation in the Davanzali necropolis, as the anthropological analysis undertaken in cooperation with colleagues from the Bologna University evolves.[39]

To sum up: Attic, Alto-Adriatic and local – both figured and black-glazed – vase shapes were carefully chosen for inclusion in the funerary sets, according to diversified rituals, and in different combinations, following the various chronological phases.

Evidence for continuity in terms of ritual between the 5th and the first half of the 4th centuries BC is clear. Several funerary contexts are characterized by a definite recalling of the ideology of the symposium and of wine consumption. In general, however, different articulations of the ritual characterize the burials in the 4th century BC, following the relevant historical and social transformations of Numana – and more in general of the Picenum, in that period.[40] While some tombs still show composite banqueting sets, as was mentioned above, there are also burials in which the adhesion to the symposium is represented by a unique and meaningful vase, a krater or a skyphos, either locally produced or imported: this is particularly noticed in the second half of the century.

In conclusion, I would like to focus briefly on the methodology adopted in this research and to list its future goals. As we tried to demonstrate in this study, it is necessary to take into account various elements observed in the funerary record, in order to deal with a complex topic such as the diffusion, reception and use of Attic pottery in Numana funerary sets, its several meanings and its role within the funerary sets. Aspects like the composition of funerary sets, the relationship of vases with other classes of material, the geographic distribution of the tombs within the necropolis, the chronology of the tombs (to sum up with one word the context in its different meanings) are indispensable tasks of study. It is also fundamental to consider other parameters, which I can only mention in this contribution. First of all, the iconographies are crucial, because

they contribute to define the meaning of figured vases along with shapes and they can shed light on the reasons behind the selection of vases for funerary sets. In the future, the studying of Numana Attic pottery should be extended as much as possible to other funerary areas and to the settlement, in order to ground the investigation on the broadest possible data base. Besides, the analysis should not only consider the vase style, as it has often been done in the past.

The documentation on Attic pottery from Numana offers many opportunities to think about: among these, I would like to mention the theme of influences or connections among productions, especially in relation to the Alto-Adriatic vases from Numana. Among the goals of our work is the experimentation of new technologies to document vase shapes, carried out through image-based photogrammetry and laser scanning, necessary to reach the most objective determination of the profiles of shapes for imported and locally produced vases.[41] The study of these elements should lead to a more documented analysis for the relationship between Attic, southern Italian and locally produced vases (both figured and black-glazed ones) and for a deeper understanding of the functioning of the local pottery workshops. As a matter of fact, vase shape – on which scholars have been particularly concentrating their attention recently[42] – deserves our greatest consideration, since it conveys important information on the role and functioning of decorated pottery in closed contexts, as this study tried to document.

Notes

[1] The project is coordinated by the author and carried out in cooperation with the Soprintendenza Archeologica, Belle Arti e Paesaggio delle Marche (S. Finocchi) and the Polo Museale delle Marche (N. Frapiccini). For an overview of the project and its goals: Finocchi – Baldoni 2017; Baldoni forthcoming; Finocchi et al. forthcoming.

[2] The GIS has been designed by E. Zampieri using open source software.

[3] The study of the distribution of locally produced or imported fine pottery in the Davanzali necropolis is carried out by the author in collaboration with M. Natalucci, S. Seccamonte, E. Zampieri (Bologna University). For a first presentation of research results, Natalucci et al. forthcoming and Baldoni forthcoming.

[4] Fabrini 1984; Baldelli et al. 1991; Landolfi 1992; Percossi Serenelli 1998; Landolfi 2000b; 2001; Lefèvre – Novaro 2001; Antoniucci 2007.

[5] Beazley Archive Pottery Database consulted on May 2018.

[6] A larger amount of imported Attic vases is estimated in a growing trend from the first imports of 530–520 BC to the half of the 5th century BC, while in the second half of the century, especially towards the end, the amount of Attic vases decreased: this is due to the Attic trade in the Adriatic area passing through a crisis; only during the central decades of 4th century BC a new recovery for this trade in the north-central Adriatic area, especially in Numana and Spina is observed: Landolfi 2000b, 78; Lefèvre Novaro 2001; Giudice 2004.

[7] A similar evaluation in Giudice 2004, 174 fig. 4.

[8] For the general production of Attic pottery shapes: Giudice et al. 2015, 293–312.
[9] The project focuses on the entire Valle Trebba necropolis (over 1220 tombs) and it is carried out by an équipe of the Bologna University coordinated by Elisabetta Govi: for an overview of the research, see Govi 2017.
[10] For example, in the rich funerary set of the "Giulietti-Marinelli" tomb: Antoniucci 2007.
[11] Lefevre Novaro 2001 pointed out that these tombs surely belonged to a very restricted Numana élite, probably involved in trade activity.
[12] See Landolfi 1992.
[13] Curti 2004, 126; Govi 2006, 124; 2017, 106.
[14] In some of the richest coeval tombs of Numana (185 and 64 Quagliotti) we found a couple of transport amphoras, accompanied by very articulated banqueting sets: Percossi Serenelli 1998, 140 f.
[15] For production of wine in Pharos (Hvar, Croatia), its trade in transport amphorae type B and their diffusion in the Western Adriatic coasts (Spina, Adria, Numana) in see Kirigin 2018.
[16] The shape of the kylix recalls closely those Attic ones, belonging to the late 5th century BC, but some aspects make it similar to the early South-Italian or Etruscan red-figure productions.
[17] Eight stemned bowls, four stemned plates, a mortar, a cinerary urn and finally six pocula, which is a typical shape in the Picenian repertoire. Three of these pocula contained selected animals' bones (swine, sheep and goat) as food offering. We must keep in mind, though, that the tomb was partially cut by a subsequent tomb whose filling showed some pottery fragments, maybe belonging to the more ancient tomb.
[18] For different sets pertaining to diverse rituals of wine consumption in tombs of italic people in Magna Graecia, see Colivicchi 2004, 54 n. 185, with previous references. On the different rituals of the banquet, see Esposito 2015.
[19] Landolfi 2000c, 117 f. On the other hand, recent researches on the commerce of Attic and South-Italian pottery clarified that Attic pottery was actually present in Spina and Adria in the same period.
[20] Baldoni 2015, 79–80, with literature; see also Gadaleta – Todisco 2015.
[21] Gadaleta-Todisco 2015, 9.
[22] Curti 2001.
[23] Landolfi 1992, 312–325.
[24] Silvestrelli 2003, 290–292.
[25] Museo Archeologico Nazionale delle Marche, inv. 27416; cf. New York, Metropolitan Mus. inv. 06.1021.213.
[26] Museo Archeologico Nazionale delle Marche, inv. 27414; the cup can be assigned to the Workshop of the Jena painter.
[27] Museo Archeologico Nazionale delle Marche, inv. 27424; the skyphos is similar to Silvestrelli 2018, 642 fig. 51. 52.
[28] Fabrini 1984, 103–117; Landolfi 1987, 187–191; Landolfi 2000a, 125–148; Lefèvre Novaro 2001, 71–93.
[29] Landolfi 1997, 91–96. The funerary set can be dated to the third quarter of the 4th century BC and includes an Attic bell-krater by the Group G three skyphoi by the Fat Boy Group, black-glazed pottery (cups, plates and a lekanis), an Alto-Adriatic chous, among the earliest known of the ware and a Campanian olla attributed to the Kemai Group.

[30] There is a similar composition of the funerary sets in tombs 23, 37 and 119 – Quagliotti, with Attic red-figure bell-kraters of the Filottrano Painter. For the kraters by the Fiolottrano and Amazon painters and by the Group G from the Quagliotti-Davanzali necropolis, see Landolfi 2000b, 79–89.
[31] Natalucci et al. forthcoming.
[32] Cf. Pontrandolfo 1995.
[33] Alto-Adriatic kraters are buried in tombs 411 and 457; Gnathia skyphoid kraters of the RPR Group are placed in tombs 224 and 247.
[34] In the investigated area of the Davanzali necropolis, the earliest Alto-Adriatic pottery (second half of the 4th century BC) appears in only four tombs (no. 192, 195, 199, 395).
[35] Such a phenomenon could only partially be ascribed to the brevity of the production of local figured pottery, from the middle of the 4th to the beginning of the 3rd centuries BC: Landolfi 1997, 28; Landolfi 2000c, 115 f. On the contrary, the repertory of Alto-Adriatic shapes in Spina is wider; as already noticed, Attic vase shapes are also very diversified in Spina, as opposed to the situation in Numana.
[36] Tombs no. 513 and no. 515 have a black-glazed skyphos each (first half of the 4th century BC); tomb 347 has an Attic red-figure skyphos by the Fat Boy Group (second-third quarter of the 4th century BC; for the chronology of the Group, see Langner 2016, 145).
[37] The same rituality is documented in the Quagliotti area too (tombs no. 16, 24, 51).
[38] Batino 2002; Bertesago – Garaffa 2015, 107 n. 51.
[39] Prof. M. G. Belcastro and Dr. S. Fusari.
[40] On the last phase of the Picenian Civilisation ("Piceno VI": beginning of the 4th-first half of the 3rd century BC), see Landolfi 2000, 36, with previous references. For the Davanzali necropolis in this period: Baldoni forthcoming; Finocchi et al. forthcoming.
[41] A specific research project has been developed to investigate these themes: "Dal reperto al paesaggio: analisi archeologica e modellazione virtuale nelle necropoli picene di Numana (AN)". The project is coordinated by the author, conducted in collaboration with scholars of the University of Bologna (S. Garagnani, A. Gaucci, M. Silani) and funded by the "AlmaIdea Grant Junior" of the University of Bologna.
[42] See for example Eschbach – Schmidt 2016.

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The eight essays published in this volume address topics relating to the production, consumption and trade of painted pottery in the Ancient Mediterranean World, during the Archaic and Classical periods, with special emphasis on the Italian Peninsula, Greece and the Balkans. Important questions on the use, function and role of vases at a broader social or religious level have also been taken into account, by focusing on the response of individual clients to both imports and local vases, or by examining specific shapes traded in both the home market and overseas. Another goal attempted, and to a large extent fulfilled, was to present fresh material, newly excavated or recently studied. Above all, our aim was to present original studies that may be considered valuable contributions in vase scholarship.

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