

# Shaping Gender: Apulian Red-Figure Pottery and the Gender Expression of Ancient Italic Peoples



*Volute Krater, British Museum 1772,0320.14.+ , © The Trustees of the British Museum*

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*This is to certify that to the best of my knowledge, the content of this thesis is my own work. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or other purposes.*

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## Abstract

This thesis investigates how certain shapes of Apulian red-figure pottery produced in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, may have been associated with a specific gender and, subsequently, used to express aspects of gender in burial by Italic peoples. Until recent decades, the study of Apulian ceramics has taken a backseat to the scholarship of Attic vessels and has primarily focused on attribution and representations of theatre. As a result, the iconography on Apulian red-figure is not as generally well understood and, to date, there has been no wide-ranging and systematic study that has attempted to categorise its scene types in order to further an understanding. This thesis strives to develop a deeper knowledge of the Italic peoples of Apulia, who left no literary documentary evidence about their lives, through an examination of the iconography on Apulian red-figure ceramics which were made almost exclusively for Italic burials. As an extension, this study hopes to identify aspects of the relationships between Italic peoples and their Greek-speaking neighbours in South Italy, through an exploration of how Italic peoples may have adopted or appropriated elements of Greek culture.

Four shapes of Apulian red-figure ceramics, which had traditional gendered associations within Attic production, were chosen to determine if these same associations might have continued to exist in South Italy. The iconography on each vessel was examined using both qualitative and quantitative methods to identify the number of scene types that appear on each shape. Patterns in scene type, as well as iconographic motifs were visible in the data and with a focus on the funerary context of these vessels, it was possible to identify a strong probability that gendered links to vase shape had existed. The interesting results were, however, that the links were not entirely exclusive. Rather the images on the vases departed from Attic imagery in many ways that strongly support the notion that Italic people established their own customs, rituals and modes of representation in regard to these vessels. In particular, a possible connection between elite Italic females and wine drinking vessels emerges from the data on the ‘masculine’ shapes, which would suggest they had a potentially different experience of ritual wine consumption to Greek women. Overall, this study highlights the merits of categorising image and shape and analysing them both in relation to vase context as a means for the examination of the lives of the Italic peoples of South Italy.

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# 1 Introduction

Through the examination of Apulian red-figure pottery, which was produced in South Italy from the late 5th until the end of the 4th century BC, it is the aim of this thesis to develop a greater insight into the lives of the Italic peoples who purchased this pottery. The primary objective is to undertake a detailed analysis of correlations between pottery shapes, their decoration and their context within burials to examine how ceramics may have been used to express certain gender values and ideals in respect of Italic peoples. Furthermore, this thesis will consequently explore how the Italic people may have incorporated and adapted elements of Greek culture into their own cultural and social structures.

Literary evidence is unfortunately of limited assistance when it comes to understanding the ancient peoples of South Italy. The written documentation that exists for this time frame has derived solely from Greek sources which are scanty at best and most likely biased, particularly, when it comes to examinations of the Italic peoples. As a result, a study of material culture has endured as one of the most reliable sources of evidence with which to explore the cultural and social organisations of the ancient South Italians. Pottery was an integral part of everyday life and death for both the Italic peoples and the citizens of Greek cities in ancient South Italy. For a greater part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, research into ancient South Italy tended to focus on Greek cities and the ‘Hellenization’ of the local Italic peoples. It was also highly dismissive of Apulian red-figure pottery, deeming it inferior to the Attic models, which were considered exemplary.<sup>1</sup> Even Trendall, who spent much of his career studying the local pottery of South Italy, still considered that Greek colonists were the predominant intended audience for Apulian red-figure pottery.<sup>2</sup> It has since become evident that this opinion discounts the role Italic people themselves may have played in sharing cultural knowledge and practices. It is enlightening that even though a significant portion of Apulian red-figure has unknown provenance, the overwhelming majority of pots that do have a known provenance originate from Italic sites.<sup>3</sup> Throughout this discovery process, scholars

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<sup>1</sup> Carpenter et al. 2014, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Trendall 1989, 17.

<sup>3</sup> Carpenter 2003, 6.

have come to recognise that the picture of cultural exchange between Greek and Italic peoples was more complex and less 'colonialist' than first imagined.

It would seem probable that the decades of scholarly bias towards the study of Attic pottery may have resulted in some continuing cultural baggage when it comes to examining Apulian red-figure pottery and it becomes important, therefore, to consider how the two may differ. It is possible, for example, that particular shapes of Apulian vases recovered from Italic tombs have been associated with one particular gender, purely based on assumptions of gender expression that are rooted in studies of Attic pottery and culture. One area in which the current literature on Apulian red-figure is lacking, is a detailed exploration of how certain pottery shapes, in combination with specific iconographic themes, may relate to gender representation in Italic funerary rituals. Analysing how gender is constructed and represented through material objects is a critical concern in attempting to understand the structures and mechanisms of any society and its culture, whether it be ancient or contemporary. It is important to recognise that gender constructs can intricately influence a vast array of elements in a society, such as social hierarchies, methods of self-representation or complex social customs and that physical objects play an integral part in how these constructs would have been communicated. It is hopeful that the outcomes of such a study may further an understanding of how Apulian vases were adopted or appropriated by Italic peoples and subsequently were used to portray socially constructed gender roles in funerary contexts. This potentially could prove extremely useful for the analysis of various archaeological contexts.

Due to the sheer volume of Apulian red-figure pottery recovered from South Italy, the scope of this thesis will be limited to four pottery shapes, which have traditionally been associated with one gender or another. These shapes are hydriai, amphorai, volute kraters and lebetes gamikoi, which are further limited to specific examples from the 5th and 4th centuries BC, for which pictorial documentation exists. These will then be assessed individually, and the iconography will be analysed in both a quantitative and qualitative manner. The purpose of collecting quantitative data about the types of scenes and how often they appear will hopefully allow patterns to emerge which can test the theory that each shape was originally intended for the use by, or the representation of, a particular gender. They will also be approached chronologically, to assess any significant changes over time.

This thesis commences with a review of relevant literature on the topic of Apulian red-figure pottery, commencing with a brief history of its study. To provide a contextual background to this thesis, an overview of the relationship between the Greek-speaking and Italic peoples of South Italy is given, as well as a review of more recent examinations of imported Attic pottery in Italy to preface how Greek material culture may have become incorporated into the lives and practices of Italic peoples. Furthermore, key theoretical concepts are explored, such as notions of gender constructs and effective mechanisms for approaching and understanding the studies of both ancient art and iconography. Finally, an examination of studies of Attic and Apulian ceramics that have incorporated shape in conjunction with iconography is undertaken to provide insight into the current state of scholarship on this topic.

## 2 Literature Review

### 2.1 Introduction

The study of Apulian red-figure pottery arguably has been shaped by a history of antiquarianism and connoisseurship. The practice of collecting has an extensive history, with evidence that South Italian vases were being discovered and displayed in the homes of Italian noblemen and clergymen as early as the fifteenth century.<sup>4</sup> It wasn't until the latter half of the eighteenth century, however, that the collection of figured vases from Italy became popularised by wealthy aristocrats travelling Europe on the Grand Tour. The vases were prized mainly for their aesthetic beauty and displayed as part of private collections, alongside other ancient artefacts and curiosities. One collector of note was Sir William Hamilton, whose first collection of vases was so extensive, it was published across four volumes.<sup>5</sup> While they were mistakenly labelled Etruscan vases, a misnomer that would cause confusion for figured vase studies well into the nineteenth century, the bulk of Hamilton's collection was South Italian. His publication was one of the few ways the wider public was able to view Italic vases until Hamilton sold his collection to the British Museum in 1772.<sup>6</sup> Many private assemblages of vases, subsequently, were gifted or sold to museums, ultimately, becoming the foundations of their collections.

The practice of collection, including where and how the vases were procured and which vases were curated for display, has had numerous and long-lasting impacts on the way South Italian vases have been interpreted, studied and published. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, interest in the iconography of figured vases was often based on an education in the Classics. Subsequently, there tended to be a focus on iconography that related to Greek myth and literature.<sup>7</sup> Sometimes vases were chosen for display, simply because their imagery was more aesthetically pleasing or unique. More significantly, the huge demand for complete vases has meant that a substantial number have been illegally extracted from grave sites. Consequently, not only have the complete archaeological contexts of these vases been lost but the overall picture of vase production has also been affected, since household and

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<sup>4</sup> Masci 2014, 284.

<sup>5</sup> Higginson 2011, 31.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>7</sup> Robertson 1992, 3.

sanctuary vases remain marginally represented.<sup>8</sup> It is difficult to rectify this imbalance, as the positioning of modern settlements and structures often restricts access to the ancient ones buried underneath. Even when vases were legitimately excavated, in earlier times, details of their context and their relationship with other objects in-situ were rarely documented and, thus, for many vases in museums today, there is little more than a region recorded for their provenance. For most early scholars, museums and private collections were the only means of access to figured vases and, therefore, their studies were subject to the various whims and biases of individual collectors.

The nineteenth century saw a new phase in the study of figured vases, moving from what had been principally an art-historical perspective to a focus on typology, of which attribution and connoisseurship were leading practices.<sup>9</sup> It was during this century, however, that South Italian pottery largely fell out of favour. Due to the discovery of extensive amounts of Attic pottery, South Italian ceramics came to be regarded by many English-speaking scholars as an inferior product to Attic models and its imagery considered vulgar by comparison.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, this meant that it was less studied outside of Italian scholarship until the latter half of the twentieth century. One major exception to this phenomenon, however, was the work of Arthur Dale Trendall. Trendall was following in the footsteps of Sir John Beazley, whose work revolutionised the study of Attic pottery by adopting an approach which carefully analysed the stylistic details of unsigned Greek pottery.<sup>11</sup> Trendall spent the majority of his career cataloguing South Italian pottery, attempting to identify various artists and workshops. He and his colleague Alexander Cambitoglou published *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia* (RVAp) in 1978 and its subsequent supplements.<sup>12</sup> These publications were extremely important for imparting a sense of order to the field, by providing stylistic groupings and a proposed chronological framework. Since Trendall's focus was on attribution, he tended to record very little about vases' archaeological contexts.

Since Trendall's death in 1995, some scholars have attempted to continue his work with newly discovered vases or to re-examine his existing attributions. Others have critiqued or

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<sup>8</sup> Herring 2015, 1500.

<sup>9</sup> Sparkes 1996, 62.

<sup>10</sup> Trendall 1990, 229-230.

<sup>11</sup> It is sometimes debated whether Beazley was more influenced by art historian Giovanni Morelli's method for analysing unsigned Renaissance artworks or by German archaeological scholar Paul Hartwig. See for example Whitley 1997 and Oakley 1998.

<sup>12</sup> Trendall and Cambitoglou 1978.

criticised connoisseurship, for the complicated relationship it has produced between figured vases and the art market and for how it generally may have limited the scope of vase study.<sup>13</sup> The terminology of connoisseurship, with words such as ‘master’ and ‘apprentice’, chosen by Beazley in imitation of Renaissance art practices, has bestowed upon figured ceramics a status which, perhaps, was never intended. It can be argued that a vase is, first and foremost, a utilitarian object created by craftsmen, yet their figurative scenes have frequently been upheld by scholars and collectors alike as works of art. In terms of the ways in which ancient people themselves viewed and valued vase imagery, Martin Robertson points out that these lines are also blurred, since prior to the sixteenth century, there was no verbal distinction made between ‘art’ and ‘craft’.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, the art market has complicated the understanding of figured pottery’s intrinsic value, by frequently influencing, for a range of reasons, prices to be drastically inflated at auction.<sup>15</sup>

For the most part, modern researchers have tried to evaluate the ways South Italian pottery have been received and treated in the past, in an effort to propose new methods and pathways for moving forward in the field. At a seminal conference in Naples in 2000, one significant issue, which was highlighted, was how connoisseurship has encouraged an approach to the study of Italian ceramics that focuses on the vase as a collector’s item, rather than one which investigates its archaeological context.<sup>16</sup> The general consensus of the round table was that the future of the study of Italian ceramics needs to encompass a multidisciplinary approach and to understand the importance of context as a foundation stone for other lines of enquiry.<sup>17</sup>

## 2.2 Overview of relationships between Greek and non-Greek peoples of South Italy

When studying the material culture of Italic populations of South Italy, it is useful to explore the social, cultural, and political circumstances of their communities in an attempt to provide context for how specific materials might have been created, distributed and utilised. Until relatively recent times, studies of South Italy relied heavily on ancient Greek and Roman sources and have tended to focus primarily on the society and culture of Greek speaking

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<sup>13</sup> Arrington 2017, 22-23; Carpenter et al. 2014, 5.

<sup>14</sup> Robertson 1992, 2-3.

<sup>15</sup> Shapiro 1994, 164 notes the absurdity of collectors paying tens of thousands of dollars more for a “name” painter as opposed to a “painter in the manner of” despite these titles all being nicknames created by Beazley.

<sup>16</sup> Denoyelle et al. 2005, 9.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 9-10.

peoples and how they may have interacted with or influenced their Italic neighbours. Yntema notes the incongruity of this inclination towards a Greek centric view, when “large native tribes dominated well over 90% of the region”.<sup>18</sup> The relationship between the Italic and Greek speaking peoples in South Italy is, however, important to providing perspective on the production, purchase and use of figured pottery.

The region that is the focus of this thesis is Apulia in the south-east of Italy, which runs from the Gargano promontory, just above the Tavoliere plain, down to the Salento Peninsula in the heel. To the west, it is bordered by the Apennines and, to the east, by the Adriatic Sea. During the Iron Age, small groups of Greek migrants began settlements in South Italy, sometimes, within existing Italic settlements or just on their periphery.<sup>19</sup> During the sixth century BC, some of these Greek settlements increased dramatically in population and began to develop into more prominent Greek city-states, typically consisting of an urban centre along the coastline and a surrounding *chora* of cultivated farmland. In Apulia the singular major Greek settlement was Taras, modern-day Taranto. Ancient Greek and Roman sources named the region Iapygia and the Italic people who lived there Iapygians. Modern authors cite ancient sources as giving conflicting reports, however, on how Apulia was divided among ethnic sub-groups.<sup>20</sup> This predicament is further complicated by the fact that the Italic peoples themselves left no literary evidence to clarify the situation.<sup>21</sup> Archaeological evidence does seem to support the suggestion that Apulia was broken up into three distinct cultural regions, referred to as Messapia in the south, Peucetia in central Apulia and Daunia to the north. While these names are typically used as geographical indicators among scholars, it is generally understood that these may not be the actual names or groupings by which the Italic people self-identified. Lomas makes the point that Greek and Roman sources can only provide external perceptions and opinions of the Italic peoples and, thus, these divisions may not necessarily reflect their actual socio-political organisation or their internal views of ethnicity.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Yntema 2013, 2.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>20</sup> Herring 2007, 271; Herring, for example, references Polybius and Pausanias, whose writings disagree about whether Peucetians and Messapians were subsets of Iapygians, or if Iapygians were a separate group entirely; Small 2014, 18.

<sup>21</sup> Lombardo 2014, 39; It should be noted that we do have a small amount of epigraphic evidence for the Italic peoples.

<sup>22</sup> Lomas 2000, 79.

During the sixth century BC, as the Greek *poleis* began to take form, Italic settlements began exhibiting signs of increased complexity and urbanisation. By the mid-fourth century BC, small Iron Age settlements had gradually turned into larger, more densely populated urban centres. Some of the principal ones displayed advanced administrative capabilities and characteristics associated with cities, such as organised street layouts, monumental buildings and fortification walls.<sup>23</sup> Precisely how the Italic settlements were socially and politically organised is not entirely clear. Ancient Greek authors typically made mention of two types of political organisations when writing about Italic peoples, one being *poleis* and the other being *ethnos* societies.<sup>24</sup> The Greek term *ethnos*, can sometimes be translated to concepts such as ‘nation’ or ‘tribe’, though these translations may not be entirely suitable. Essentially, an *ethnos* society was viewed by ancient Greeks as being a group of peoples of common descent or shared cultural traditions who were socio-politically organised in ways outside the norms of the Greek city-state. They did not require each citizen to have a participatory role in the state and its government and, particularly in relation to the societies of South Italy, were often referred to as being ruled by a king or dynast.<sup>25</sup>

Herring, using Elman Service’s socio-political classifications as a model, postulated that if the Italic groups were chiefdoms, with leaders selected from elite families, then they would be hierarchical and rely on kinship for social cohesion.<sup>26</sup> Archaeological evidence, perhaps, supports these claims since Italic burials show that social stratification became more evident and abundant from the sixth century BC onwards. By the fourth century BC, while the majority of graves remained simplistic, examples appeared of grave goods and physical tomb structures becoming more elaborate, suggesting the presence of a wealthier, elite class of citizens.<sup>27</sup> Some of the tombs also displayed signs of multiple burials over time, which could imply kinship ties were likewise important to the social structure.<sup>28</sup> Lombardo believes, however, that the evidence for Italic societies resembling *poleis* is quite strong. He suggests further that it is possible that Italic groups had formed local districts that could govern themselves autonomously under aristocratic authority but that, in times of war, these districts

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 82.

<sup>24</sup> Herring 2007, 277.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 278.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 278-279.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 279.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 279; See also Hoernes et al. 2019.

could join to form a united ethnic group led by a chosen military or political leader.<sup>29</sup> This leader might have had the appearance of a ‘royal’ figure to Greek outsiders and thus explain the possible misconception. Lomas similarly has noted how plausible it seems that the Greeks, with their vastly different political structures, might have mistaken Italic aristocrats for kings.<sup>30</sup>

As previously mentioned, the study of the relationship between the Greeks and the Italic peoples in South-Italy, in the past, has often been skewed by bias or been viewed through the framework of colonialism. Scholars often spoke of Hellenization as if the Greeks were a superior group of people imposing their culture upon Italic natives.<sup>31</sup> In this scenario, the Italic groups are viewed as passive players, absorbing elements of Greek culture without any mutual cultural exchange. This is no longer the most popularly held opinion, as scholars have come to realise that the cultural contact was most likely more reciprocal. Greek sources have implied tension between the two groups, speaking of victories over Italic populations. This notion is ostensibly supported by such evidence as two early fifth century BC dedications at Delphi by the Tarentines for their triumphs against the Messapians and the Peucetians.<sup>32</sup> However, other archaeological evidence has suggested that the relationship was decidedly more nuanced and, in fact, some of the worst fighting occurred amongst the Greeks themselves.<sup>33</sup> Lombardo has stressed the importance of considering the specific needs and demands of Italic communities that might have prompted phases of intercultural exchange and highlighted that elite members of these societies, in particular, would have had the means of wealth and power to become agents of social and cultural change.<sup>34</sup> Whitehouse and Wilkens’ reading of the evidence has suggested that there was a generally peaceful coexistence that relied on the trade and exchange of prestige goods among elites, punctuated with incidences of hostility or war.<sup>35</sup> These notions would sit neatly within contemporary theories such as Richard White’s concept of ‘middle ground’. Malkin used this theory to explore the relationships between Greek settlers and Italic peoples in the bay of Naples in South Italy in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC. He hypothesised that two different cultural groups could

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<sup>29</sup> Lombardo 2014, 42.

<sup>30</sup> Lomas 2000, 85.

<sup>31</sup> Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989, 102.

<sup>32</sup> Lombardo 2014, 44.

<sup>33</sup> Yntema 2013, 157-158; Longo 2004, 28. Rivalries between the Greek Poleis in Southern Italy resulted in the total destruction of the Greek cities of Siris and Sybaris.

<sup>34</sup> Lombardo 2014, 52.

<sup>35</sup> Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989, 114-15.

accommodate one another by attempting to appeal to each other's perceived values and practices and, therefore, through inevitable misunderstandings and misinterpretations, new shared values and practices are constructed, and a "mutually comprehensible world" is created.<sup>36</sup>

While the ancient Greek and Roman sources can provide some insight into the society and culture of the Italic peoples of South Italy, it is ultimately an etic view only. While it can be valuable to have impartial observations of a culture taken from someone outside of their own society, it is difficult to imagine the ancient sources writing about Italic peoples without their own agenda or some level of bias. Without literary evidence from the Italic peoples themselves, the archaeological evidence remains our only window into how they may have operated and viewed themselves internally. Where the archaeological evidence deviates from the ancient literature, such as on the nature of the relationship between the Italic people and the Greeks, it can create an intensely complex situation to unravel. Irrefutably, the Italic people of Apulia had highly developed and urbanised societies by the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC and while they might have displayed certain influences from Greek society and culture, it is crucial to not assume that the Greeks themselves were the sole catalysts for any such developments. Rather, it is important to recognize that significant changes were happening within both groups simultaneously over time and the adoption of Greek features by the Italic peoples was part of a process of reacting to and adapting to these mutual societal changes.

### 2.3 Attic Exports to Italy

Apulian red-figure has often been considered a continuation of the Attic pottery tradition with the common view that it was created by Greek craftsmen for a Greek market within South Italy.<sup>37</sup> The technical aspects of Apulian red-figure production reproduce very closely those of Attic red-figure. Early Apulian painters such as the Painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl have been stylistically linked to contemporary Attic painters. Both these facts have led to suggestions that the first Apulian vase makers were either Greek immigrants from Athens or

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<sup>36</sup> Malkin 2002, 152.

<sup>37</sup> Trendall 1989, 17.

South Italians of Greek descent, who trained in Athens.<sup>38</sup> In terms of their market, however, evidence strongly suggests that a large proportion of their clientele was native Italic peoples. In some instances, vases were even being specifically tailored to them through the creation of native Italic shapes and scenes which deviate from those common to Attic pottery. A substantial amount of Attic red-figure has been discovered in the Greek settlement of Taranto and in over forty native Italic sites across Apulia, particularly the Peucetian settlements of Ruvo di Puglia, Ceglie Del Campo and Rutigliano.<sup>39</sup> There is a long history in Italy of the importation of Attic pottery and, as Yntema notes, it had been customary for elite Italic burials in South Italy, throughout the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, to have contained imported Corinthian and Attic pottery alongside locally produced wares.<sup>40</sup> In fact, as the number of Attic red-figure vases began to taper off in Taranto after 475 BC, the numbers in Peucetia only continued to increase.<sup>41</sup>

Trendall proposed that Attic vases were being imported to the native Italic sites by way of Taranto, however, this does not seem to have been the case.<sup>42</sup> Carpenter argues that it is more likely Attic vases came directly to Peucetia through native ports on the Adriatic coastline.<sup>43</sup> One persuasive reason, is that it would have been an expensive and more difficult route to transport vases overland from Taranto to central Apulia, rather than to simply sail along the coastline from Greece.<sup>44</sup> Carpenter cites as evidence, that the Etruscan port of Spina had well-documented trade with Athens and, thus, it was not inconceivable for the Athenians to continue sailing down the coast to other native ports. Furthermore, there is some evidence of Attic vases being created in native Italic shapes, suggesting there was a dialogue between Attic workshops and the native Italic peoples.<sup>45</sup> It seems probable then, that the native Italic settlements were a discerning market for Attic red-figure ceramics and as noted by Carpenter et al, “had developed a taste for and understanding of the language of Attic imagery, which made them particularly receptive to the Apulian vases that replaced them.”<sup>46</sup> For that reason, it can be useful to explore the relationship South Italians had with imported Greek ceramics.

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<sup>38</sup> MacDonald 1981, 159-160; Herring 2018b, 8; Denoyelle 2008.

<sup>39</sup> Carpenter et al. 2014, 6.

<sup>40</sup> Yntema 2013, 219.

<sup>41</sup> Carpenter 2003, 3.

<sup>42</sup> Trendall 1990, 218; Trendall infers that Attic pots found in Ruvo would have been seen by and subsequently influenced Tarentine painters.

<sup>43</sup> Carpenter 2003, 3.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.2003, 3.

<sup>45</sup> Carpenter 2009, 31.

<sup>46</sup> Carpenter et al. 2014, 6.

While early publications dedicated little attention to vase context, in the last thirty years, it has become more common to examine Attic pottery with more consideration of the locations in which they were found, particularly those outside Athens. This has allowed for more exploration into overseas markets, networks of trade, the differing functions of vessels and comparisons of iconography both at home in Athens and abroad.<sup>47</sup> These types of enquiries, particularly those which focus on Italian markets, can not only provide insight into Athenian production for export but also shed valuable light on the nature of the cultures to which they were exported.

A common line of questioning amongst academics is to inquire as to what extent, if any, the Italic market had an impact upon what was created for them by Attic producers and painters. The underlying question is whether Italic people had a vested interest in the types of shapes and subject matter displayed on the pots they purchased, or were simply drawn to the pots' exotic 'Greeknness' and their subsequent role as status symbols? On this topic, there has been substantially more research into the ties between Athens and Etruria, yet this can still potentially shed some light on why South Italians were also so interested in Attic vases. One example is Robin Osborne's study from 2001, *Why Did Athenian Pots Appeal to the Etruscans?*, in which he attempts to answer this question by comparing the imagery on Attic pottery from Etruria to that on pots found in Athens. He then proceeds to further assess this imagery alongside that produced by the Etruscans themselves on objects such as mirrors and tomb paintings. The vases Osborne chooses to examine are Attic black-figure pots, predominantly from the sixth century BC, taken from four find spots in Etruria and from the Athenian Agora. He separates the vases into two groups, mythological and non-mythological, each with a succinct list of particular scenes. He admits that the comparison is potentially problematic because the Etrurian vases come from burial contexts and are typically intact, while the vases from the Athenian Agora are mostly fragmentary and come from a wide array of contexts.<sup>48</sup> Despite these challenges, Osborne's conclusions from the study suggest that even though Etruscan demand for Attic pottery was immense and clearly impacted the range of shapes that were produced for export, there was no significant difference in painted scenes between Athens and Etruria and the trade did not seem, therefore, to have had a substantial

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<sup>47</sup> See Paleothodoros 2007, 2009; Osborne 2004b.

<sup>48</sup> Osborne 2001, 280. It is also interesting to note that Osborne chose not to include a comparison with vases found in Athenian tombs, arguing that this would only show differences in burial choices, not in vase iconography as a whole.

effect on the range of images that were produced for export.<sup>49</sup> The diverse range of imagery in Etruria is explained as being attractive to the Etruscans for the wide array of local contexts to which it could be adapted.<sup>50</sup> To a certain extent, this could be the case but the reasoning behind it seems to insinuate there was a deficiency of local mythology and native tradition for which Greek scenes could provide compensation.<sup>51</sup> This presents a rather traditional viewpoint, which strongly suggests that the Athenians continued to paint imagery directed at a Greek audience and the Italian market was chiefly preoccupied with the ‘Greekness’ of the objects and how, through appropriation, they could best reflect their own belief systems.

An article by Tara M. Trahey also attempts to explore the conscious choices made by Attic workshops exporting to an Etruscan market. Her standpoint, however, is influenced by ‘post-colonial’ methodology as she argues that vase imagery was created with the intent of being purposely vague or variable, so that it might take on different meanings within a variety of contexts.<sup>52</sup> To illustrate her point, Trahey focuses on one particular type of scene, examining 86 Attic black-figure vases with extremely similar imagery, all of a woman riding a bull. A substantial number of these vases, with known provenance, were discovered in or close to Etruria, suggesting they were likely products of an export market.<sup>53</sup> Citing Richard White’s notions of ‘middle ground’, as an example, Trahey posits that the identity of the woman, who traditional iconographers have usually attempted to classify as either Europa or a maenad, may have been deliberately ambiguous, as a means of cross-cultural understanding and interaction.<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, by employing visualization methods to draw links amongst producers, consumers and physical trademarks, Trahey is able to argue that certain workshops had strong links to the production of this particular imagery, as well as, to specific merchants or traders who were exporting these vases to Etruria. The suggestion is that this could signify a systematic trade network.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, markings on a small group of the vases imply the involvement of Etruscans in the actual trade process. Overall, this presents a less ‘colonial’ view of Attic vase trade into Etruria and one that did not indiscriminately export Attic imagery or aggressively attempt to Hellenize but rather one that was well considered and potentially contributed to mutual avenues of cultural exchange.

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<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 283.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 290.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 288-290.

<sup>52</sup> Trahey 2016, 109-110.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 116.

Sian Lewis also appears to form an opposing view to Osborne in her 2009 article *Athletics on Attic Pottery: Export and Imagery*. She questions the typical view of sporting scenes on Attic pots, which has traditionally seen pots from various dates and contexts grouped together for examination. Lewis recognises the value of interpreting imagery chronologically and deliberately separates vases by date, theme, shape and find-spot. In doing so, she challenges the traditional notion that athletic scenes were painted for Athenian viewers, as a reflection of their world and values. By separating scenes into specific thematic groups and relating these finds back to their specific shapes and locations, Lewis is able to view patterns and trends which differ between Athens and Etruria and, therefore, can ask more insightful questions about these relationships. Her conclusion offers a different point of view to Osborne, since she feels that the Attic producers and painters were, in fact, creating specific shapes with specific imagery in direct response to the demands of the Etruscan market.<sup>56</sup>

Context is an important factor to consider when exploring the intrinsic meaning and value of Attic pottery to native Italic peoples. Again, Lewis provides a particularly constructive example with her article, *Shifting Images: Athenian Women in Etruria*, published in 1997, as it explains how a focus on the funerary context of Attic pottery in Etruscan graves can be used to explore gender and cultural identity. Her study highlights how traditional readings of scenes of the everyday lives of Athenian women may be more accurately read as idealised views of the native deceased, their socially constructed gender identity and their social status.<sup>57</sup> This is emphasised by the fact that certain trends in female scenes, such as domestic labour and erotica, are common in Etruria but not in Athens. Looking more specifically at South Italy, Bice Peruzzi also highlights the importance of context in *Eggs in a Drinking Cup: Unexpected Uses of a Greek Shape in Central Apulian Funerary Contexts* (2016). In this work, she examines an Attic red-figure skyphos discovered inside a native tomb in central Apulia, amongst a mix of imported and local pottery. Its traditional purpose, as a drinking vessel, has obviously been subverted with the discovery of eggshells inside the cup. This challenges the seemingly logical assumption that the skyphos, as part of a sympotic set of vessels, represents the deceased's participation in communal drinking rituals. Peruzzi explores three hypotheses about what might have specifically appealed to the native Italic

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<sup>56</sup> Lewis 2009, 146-147.

<sup>57</sup> Lewis 1997, 53.

people, potentially iconography, ‘Greekness’ or shape. The conclusion she draws is that while all three are likely to have had some level of influence, it is, in this instance, the shape which attracted them. The skyphos has been viewed differently by the native Peucetians and appropriated to suit their own cultural practices by being employed as a storage or eating vessel.<sup>58</sup> Both of these articles are beneficial in their examination of the roles physical objects play in creating and projecting meaning of specific social and cultural values and belief systems.

This notion of appropriation and how the native Italic peoples chose to use Greek pottery invokes a discourse on how Greek material culture was understood and interpreted by them. In *What travelled with Greek pottery?* (2007), Osborne examines the networks created between Greece and Italy through pottery exchange and the kinds of information and practices that may have been transmitted through them, such as Greek customs, behaviours and beliefs. In this article, Osborne is doubtful that Attic pottery actively had a role in transmitting cultural knowledge. Rather, he gives evidence of mythology, values and customs being passed to the Etruscans via oral traditions and observations of physical activities.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, he alludes to the fact that the presence of specific Greek shapes in the archaeological record do not, by themselves, provide evidence of other cultures utilising them in the same way or practicing the same behaviours.<sup>60</sup> On the contrary, Greek shapes often appear to be incorporated into other cultures’ existing practices and rituals. This is important to keep in mind when examining Apulian red-figure and considering how and why certain Greek shapes were used by Italic peoples.

While there is no single definitive answer as to why Attic pottery attracted the interest of Italic peoples, recent academic debates have illuminated a vast array of interpretations and hypotheses. The complexity of this situation highlights, however, the importance of further study on the region of South Italy, in order to build a more comprehensive understanding of its people and their cultural beliefs and practices.

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<sup>58</sup> Peruzzi 2016, 76-77.

<sup>59</sup> Osborne 2007, 90.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.2007, 87.

## 2.4 Iconographic Approaches to Figured Vase Studies

The study of imagery on figured vases has evolved over the decades. Early scholars often considered it akin to photographic evidence, taking the imagery at face value as genuine scenes of everyday life and beliefs in ancient Greece and Magna Graecia.<sup>61</sup> Studies of South Italian imagery, for example, have often focused on how it differs from Attic scenes, with particular attention being paid to the representation of native Italic peoples and depictions of theatre. Frequently, scholars tended to place scenes into one of two categories, myth or reality.<sup>62</sup> Today, scholars appear more aware that the distinction between myth and reality is not always quite so clear, since it has been based on modern definitions of the terms. For instance, it is now commonly accepted, that for the ancient Greeks, myth was a part of their everyday experience and, thus, this separation of myth and reality may have seemed discordant to them.<sup>63</sup> It may be assumed that this could have also been the case for the native Italic peoples of South Italy. As a modern audience, we have no ultimately authentic way of comprehending an ancient peoples' understanding of reality.<sup>64</sup> An additional layer of complexity is added by the fact that we also cannot experience the imagery in the same ways ancient people did. Researchers do not always have the luxury of holding or viewing the physical vases they wish to study, as they are located in numerous collections around the world. In some cases, imagery has even become divorced from the vase itself, with reproductions of the images appearing flattened out and separated in scholarly publications. Despite these challenges, iconographic studies are still valuable for gaining greater insight into the social, cultural, and environmental contexts of those who made and viewed figured vases.

In the late twentieth century, there was a movement that reacted against connoisseurship and, instead, explored a broad range of theoretical frameworks and methodologies which analysed the iconography of vases. Mary Beard discusses this shift in approach in her introductory chapter of *Looking at Greek Vases* in 1991. Beard examines the limitations of Beazley's methods and argues that attention should shift not just from producer to viewer but also to the

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<sup>61</sup> Bundrick 2012, 11; Lissarrague 2015, 237.

<sup>62</sup> Ferrari 2003, 37-38.

<sup>63</sup> Bažant 1981, 15.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid. and Hölscher 2016 both give interesting discussions on the concept of the objective reality of ancient peoples.

actual system of visual meaning.<sup>65</sup> She discusses the intricacies of interpreting an image by using an example of a modern perfume advertisement to demonstrate how knowledge of our own culture and the “long-practiced skill in the decipherment of visual and cultural signs” allow us to almost subconsciously ‘read’ an image.<sup>66</sup> The value of this understanding, Beard believes, is that we could apply this same approach to ancient imagery and attempt to reconstruct how an ancient Greek viewer may have interpreted it.<sup>67</sup> An important factor to keep in mind, however, one which Beard does also concede, is that this interpretation can only ever be created within the framework of a modern perspective, for it is not possible to ever truly know and comprehend the thoughts and experiences of ancient peoples.

During the 1980’s and 1990’s, French authors, like François Lissarrague and Claude Bérard, took a particular lead in the field of iconographic studies of Greek vases. One of Lissarrague’s earliest book, for example, focuses on the Greek symposium with a special interest in how the iconography on sympotic vessels played an intrinsic part in the experience of the event for its participants.<sup>68</sup> A particularly influential publication both Lissarrague and Bérard contributed to, which studies Greek vase iconography using semiotic theory, is *A City of Images*, first published in 1989. In this book, Bérard et al postulate that Athenians were in contact with an abundance of imagery and were required to call upon their broader knowledge of all these images to be able to read a scene on a pot. They believe a modern viewer, with the appropriate training, would also be able to interpret a scene by analysing the rules of its composition.<sup>69</sup> These rules can only be defined, they propose, by having an entire body of imagery in mind and recognising repetitive figurative elements and gestures. Bérard believes that the people who painted the pots were themselves limited by a framework based upon already existing images. He refers to them as image-makers, rather than artists, as artists are imagined as having less restrictions imposed upon their work, and stated “The image-maker, whatever his technical and stylistic virtuosity, is more or less prisoner of a repertoire of grammatical and syntactic elements, figures and relations out of which he can only make a kind of bricolage.”<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Beard 1991, 17.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>68</sup> Lissarrague 1987.

<sup>69</sup> Bérard et al. 1989, 25.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 168.

There are a number of points in Bérard et al's theories which can be called into question and have been critiqued more recently by Robin Osborne.<sup>71</sup> Osborne draws clear links between the theories presented in *A City of Images* and the semiotic work of Roland Barthes, particularly his notions of 'myth'.<sup>72</sup> *A City of Images* hinges on a framework of repetitive iconography, insinuating that Attic pots present a 'mythologised' version of the Athenian city and that this leaves little room for ambiguity in meaning. The issue with applying Barthes' theories to ancient imagery, Osborne argues, is that they are grounded in a study of modern popular culture, where mass production and advertisement mean the repetition of objects and imagery far surpasses that of the ancient world.<sup>73</sup> Osborne maintains that if you look at the images on Athenian pottery, they are not nearly as repetitive as Bérard's book would have you believe. He notes that it is unlikely there were images that every household would own and if you focus, rather, on individual elements, they are rarely identical.<sup>74</sup> Osborne's conclusions on the subject are that despite repetition of scene genres, enough variety within the scenes themselves exists to argue that artists actually intended for the scenes they painted to be deconstructed and questioned.<sup>75</sup> Sian Lewis has, in the past, had similar criticisms of the theory of iconology. She believes that iconological studies have had the propensity to homogenise scenes by concentrating on the ideological thought systems behind the imagery as a whole, as if they were all "born from the collective consciousness of the polis".<sup>76</sup> This does not dissuade her from using iconology in her own work, however, but she highlights the importance of combining this methodology with archaeological evidence and taking into consideration such factors as provenance, use and the varying circumstances of possible viewers.<sup>77</sup>

Osborne suggested that an image may have multiple meanings depending on who is viewing it. The idea of polysemy and the boundaries of meaning interpretation are topics which are often debated.<sup>78</sup> Discussions have included who an intended audience may have been or what meaning an artist intended a viewer to draw from a scene. Such notions are explored by

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<sup>71</sup> Osborne 2012.

<sup>72</sup> 'Myths', in Barthes' terms, are cultural ideologies, values or beliefs which have become 'naturalised' or self-evident through tiers of semiotic signs and signifiers.

<sup>73</sup> Osborne 2012, 178-179.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 179.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 184.

<sup>76</sup> Lewis 2002, 6.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-7.

<sup>78</sup> See, for example, Marconi 2004 and companion piece Osborne 2004a for two alternative interpretations of the same group of Attic black figure pots.

Kathleen Lynch who considered the differences between the intended and perceived meanings of objects, utilising Attic vases as an example.<sup>79</sup> The two types of theories she concentrated on were intentionalism and reception theory. Intentionalism focuses on the image creator and while there are extreme forms of this theory, the most ideal form, Lynch believes, utilises various sources of information, such as archaeological material and find spots to help develop a likely meaning intended by the artist.<sup>80</sup> Reception theory, alternatively, focuses on the audience and a common line of reasoning is to assume objects can have many different viewers over physical place and time and, therefore, could potentially have an unlimited number of interpretations.<sup>81</sup> While this type of framework, which concentrates on pluralistic meanings, might appear to be an unruly method for understanding ancient cultures, Lynch argues that it could, in fact, be useful for avoiding the generalisation of the ‘hypothetical’ intended audience of Attic pottery. Rather than assume a generic group of Greeks or Athenians, it encourages us to draw attention to more specific groups of viewers and the diverse meanings they might translate from the same imagery.<sup>82</sup> These types of theories again highlight the importance of considering context when attempting to understand how an object was created, used, and interpreted. Being conscious that objects and images may have been created for a certain purpose could be crucial to assessing how subsequently they might have been understood. It is useful to use such theories to explore how specific audiences of Greek pottery, such as women or foreigners, may have read vase imagery differently or may have even been catered to by the pot producers. Alternatively, they can be used to investigate the potential for an intended audience to ‘misread’ imagery that a painter expected they would understand.<sup>83</sup>

Within the last few decades, it has become a more widely accepted practice within the fields of archaeology and anthropology to question whether both the term ‘art’ and the concept of art itself, is appropriate for use in studies of materials that are both ancient and created by

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<sup>79</sup> Lynch 2017

<sup>80</sup> Intentionalism, at one end of the spectrum, can rule out all meanings except for the one intended by the artist and at the other end, bring about the “death of the artist” by favouring the various meanings each viewer might interpret.

<sup>81</sup> Lynch 2017, 132.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 132.

<sup>83</sup> Kistler 2009, utilised an encoding/decoding model developed in the 1970’s for television broadcasts, to analyse how different Athenian viewers with different world views and beliefs might erroneously ‘decode’ the intended meanings of images of satyr-symposiasts on Attic pots.

cultures vastly different to our own.<sup>84</sup> This is a particularly pertinent question to ask of South Italian vases, since they have endured such a long history of connoisseurship, elevating them from functional objects to fine art. The issue with using the term ‘art’, is that in modern, western society, we have come to understand art as something that is highly subjective, selective, and entrenched in a socially constructed system of materials, conventions, practices and institutions. Drawing boundaries around what can be considered art is challenging, since even within our own contemporary society, there is much material that is excluded from falling into the category of ‘art’. John Robb explained how archaeological scholarship has often attempted to use the term ‘art’ outside of this construct to refer to ancient material that is figurative or representational, since there are simply no agreed upon alternatives.<sup>85</sup> Applying the term to material that is both ancient and from different cultures, however, can still imply a certain status that was never intended for the object. It can also insinuate that certain practices or behaviours, such as personal expression, were inevitably part of their creation or influence us to attach meaning to objects that were possibly created to perform a social function, rather than ‘mean’ something.<sup>86</sup> Such thinking can be seen in *A City of Images* when Bérard declines to refer to vase painters as ‘artists’ for risk of implying they had artistic freedom, or in Lynch’s article when she says that “...the very act of creating an image qualifies as artistic production, so it is worthy to receive theoretical consideration.”<sup>87</sup>

Robb offers three theoretical perspectives as alternatives, firstly, to question how art can be “affective material culture” by ascertaining what social functions the object might have had and how it performs them. Secondly, examining what social institutions, conventions or networks bring the objects into existence and finally, attempting to understand the broader system of aesthetics and visual culture within which the object was socially and culturally constructed. This last method expands upon the use of semiotic theory, as Robb believed that semiotics alone is inadequate, stating that “treating the interpretation of art simply as a matter of decoding cognitive representations misses the essence of the act of interpretation”.<sup>88</sup> Robb also considered an emerging theoretical pathway, that of the ‘powerful object’, a category of object which operates differently, or is interacted with differently, to an ‘ordinary’ object and

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<sup>84</sup> Dean 2006 and Miller 2017 both offer interesting discussions on the problematic use of the term ‘art’ in archaeology with a particular focus on cultures far removed from the western tradition such as Africa, Oceania and the Americas.

<sup>85</sup> Robb 2017, 589-599.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 589.

<sup>87</sup> Lynch 2017, 129.

<sup>88</sup> Robb 2017, 593.

exists within a context where the above three theoretical frameworks all overlap. There is potential for applying this thinking to the study of Greek and South Italian vases, as even though they can be considered functional objects, their use in such contexts as symposium, ritual and burial suggests they held a certain social significance. There is much to analyse, therefore, in terms of how people understood and interacted with vases and their imagery, as well as the social and cultural networks and institutions involved with their production and reception.

Several of the authors mentioned above, have touched upon the importance of context, a topic that has been at the centre of discussions for scholars of South Italian ceramics in more recent years, as they attempt to move forward in a post-Trendall era. Enzo Lippolis and Martine Denoyelle, for example, have both acknowledged that Trendall's work has provided an invaluable reference but believe stylistic research should only constitute one of many possible theoretical approaches and be supported by other modes of investigation.<sup>89</sup> In Lippolis' paper, *La ceramica apula a figure rosse: aspetti e problemi* published in 2005 with co-author Marina Mazzei, he argues how crucial context is to the study of Apulian vase iconography and how it might have been interpreted by native Italic peoples. Subsequently, this can also inform how the vases themselves may have functioned within their societies. Lippolis emphasizes the importance of taking into consideration such aspects as diffusion, chronology and the relationship between vases and associated finds. He does so by highlighting how examining patterns of consumption for the different regions of South Italy and how they change over time, reveals quite differing trends based on individual regions' own specific cultural and commercial needs. The inference is, that iconography could be interpreted and valued quite differently in the various regions. Similar objects could acquire new and varied meanings or be used for quite different cultural practices depending on the contexts in which they ended up. Lippolis notes this type of in-depth comparison is useful for considering how different native Italic groups distinguished their unique cultural identities. Similarly, it could be employed to better understand the cognitive choices related to the processes of production and procuring.

The examination of the above literature highlights the great diversity of theoretical approaches and with them the entrenched complexity, if not impossibility, in formulating any

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<sup>89</sup> Lippolis and Mazzei 2005, 13; Denoyelle et al. 2005 ; Denoyelle et al. 2018.

singular, ideal, and ultimately authentic method of studying ancient vase imagery. Not only are we so far removed from the environmental, social, and cultural contexts in which the imagery was originally created and viewed but we can never be unrestricted nor uninfluenced by a ‘modern lens’, created through our own knowledge and experiences of the world and informed by centuries of modern theoretical and critical thinking. These limitations being acknowledged, modern theoretical concepts and methodologies continue to provide a useful framework in which a modern scholar can best attempt to decipher meaning of an ancient object in a way a contemporary audience can understand. Although articles like Osborne’s and Robb’s may seem to discourage the use of certain modern theories, such as semiotics or iconology, it can, alternatively, be argued that they simply highlight the need for careful consideration of how these theories can be implemented appropriately, while bearing in mind an object’s context of production and use.<sup>90</sup> By being mindful of the various social and cultural contexts in which figured vases have been created and, subsequently, received and by setting clear parameters for how theories are being employed, scholars can provide a more substantiated attempt at image interpretation.

## 2.5 Sex and Gender

It is significant to discuss briefly, the definitions of sex and gender as they exist in modern archaeological scholarship. In the past, it was generally accepted that gender was a simple binary structure, associated closely with biological sex but this view is no longer the case.<sup>91</sup> In more recent scholarship, the term ‘sex’ refers to the modern understanding of biological characteristics including, but not limited to, genitalia and reproductive functions.<sup>92</sup> Whereas gender is considered to be constructed through socially and culturally imposed values “that assign gendered meaning to behaviour and affect that behaviour.”<sup>93</sup> Gender can be influenced by many factors including age, social class, ethnicity or a specific role that a person might play in their community.<sup>94</sup> Gender roles may also change when an individual reaches a transitional period in life, such as entering adulthood. Whitehouse also stresses, however,

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<sup>90</sup> Contemporary authors seem more conscious of justifying their use of certain methodologies and providing a clear framework for how it is being used and or integrated with an object’s archaeological context. See for example Lewis 2002 or Miścicki 2015.

<sup>91</sup> Herring and Lomas 2009, 1.

<sup>92</sup> Sørensen 2000, 42; Whitehouse 1998, 4.

<sup>93</sup> Sørensen 2000, 42.

<sup>94</sup> Norman 2009, 39; Herring and Lomas 2009, 3.

that gender and biology cannot be so easily disentangled from each other. She offers, as an example, the notion that cultural constructs can dictate factors which can physically alter a person's bodily appearance or reproductive abilities or, obversely, that an individual's biological characteristics may prescribe their status and role in society.<sup>95</sup>

The situation becomes more complex when evaluating grave goods for evidence of gender identity. Ritual contexts, such as burial, can also manipulate the ways in which gender is represented, often imbuing objects or visual representations with added layers of symbolic meaning. Furthermore, many burials without accompanying skeletal analyses, have had to rely on grave goods alone to identify the gender of the deceased, which can lead to circular reasoning where certain objects or assemblages, subsequently, are attributed assumed gendered associations.<sup>96</sup>

In the late 1990's, it was acknowledged that there had been a lack of attention given to gender and feminist studies within the area of Italian archaeology, an issue which needed to be addressed.<sup>97</sup> To date, studies that focus on gender within the context of ancient South Italy are not highly prevalent, though some scholars have attempted to analyse the data from more modern excavations of burials which have well documented contexts.<sup>98</sup> Herring et al, for example, presented a case study of eight Italic tombs dated between the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC in Botromagno, a site close to the border of modern day Puglia.<sup>99</sup> They undertook an examination of the grave goods to explore the ways in which aspects of status, gender and age intersect and are represented in burial. The grave goods of the deceased, who were understood to be elite members of an Italic community, highlighted evidence of gender differentiation. Males alone appeared to be buried with weapons and armour, to which the authors inferred an alignment with elite warrior or hunter ideology. Wine drinking paraphernalia, on the other hand, was found in both male and female tombs. The practice of wine drinking may have been adopted from the Greeks, however, the actual practice of wine consumption appeared to have unique local variation, since elite Greek women were not typically associated with wine drinking. Herring et al. surmise that elite Italic women likely

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<sup>95</sup> Whitehouse 1998, 4.

<sup>96</sup> Herring and Lomas 2009, 2.

<sup>97</sup> Whitehouse 1998; Cornell and Lomas 1997.

<sup>98</sup> It should be noted, however, that very few sites in South Italy have had skeletal analysis undertaken to determine the sex of the deceased.

<sup>99</sup> Herring et al. 2000.

held important roles as ritual servers of wine to returning warriors. This notion is explored more recently by Albanesi and Battiloro who look at the necropolis of San Brancato di Sant'Arcangelo in the region of Lucania.<sup>100</sup> They wanted to question the long-held belief that gender roles in ancient Lucanian society were a simplistic dichotomy of males aligned with war and politics and females bound to domestic duties. A significant number of elite female tombs here were also discovered to have grave goods related to banqueting and wine drinking. Albanesi and Battiloro also consider the possibility that these items represented what they refer to as a "marginal" role in wine consumption practices, such as the storage, preparation or serving of wine but they challenge if this is a correct interpretation given the significance of the funerary context. They note the incongruence that when banqueting items, used to prepare and cook meat, have been discovered in female tombs, they have been related to women's roles as organisers of the household, whereas the same items in male tombs have been aligned to men's ritual consumption of meat.<sup>101</sup> The authors argue that the evidence in Lucania suggests elite women were participants, in some capacity, in banqueting and wine consumption, though their exact roles are unclear.

In terms of iconography, Herring has undertaken a case study related to gender and Apulian red-figure.<sup>102</sup> He discusses the seeming 'invisibility' of Italic women on Apulian red-figure vases, as women, for the most part, look indistinguishable from those on Greek vases. Herring questions why women very rarely appear with any Italic cultural identifiers, while their male counterparts do. It is a question which is further confounded by the fact that vase painters in neighbouring Campania more frequently represent Italic women in their own cultural attire on their vases, as well as, by the existence of literary evidence describing women in Daunia wearing 'native' dress. Herring offers various ways to interpret this apparent lack of representation of Italic women. Simplistic reasons could be that Apulian women had simply adopted Greek costume or that ethnicity was not a crucial part of their female identity. A more complex interpretation could be that Apulian women were kept secluded and, thus, they could not be rendered accurately or, perhaps, that it was culturally unacceptable to depict them in art. Herring notes that these explanations are not entirely satisfactory as they do not reconcile easily with the literary sources, nor the fact that some female burials suggest women could achieve a certain level of social standing. Herring

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<sup>100</sup> Albanesi and Battiloro 2017.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.32

<sup>102</sup> Herring 2009

postulates that it was possible that women's Italic costume was reserved for ritual occasions that were either not observed or deliberately not depicted by Apulian vase painters. However, that ultimately their lack of appearance in Apulian red-figure does not necessarily mean they were socially invisible. His concluding thoughts are that vase-painting cannot necessarily be taken at face value. More recently, Montanaro examined the iconography on a number of red-figure vessels that were deposited in the graves of elite Italic males in South Italy, who are thought to have been 'warrior-chiefs'.<sup>103</sup> In his chosen examples, the funerary assemblages from which the vases were excavated have been recorded and, thus, Montanaro is able to compare the imagery on the vessels with the other types of objects in the graves, to analyse how they may have worked in conjunction to express certain qualities of the deceased. The examples provided reveal an alignment between images of heroes and warriors present on vases with grave goods such as weapons, armour, strigils, banqueting paraphernalia and exotic prestige goods. Together these objects and images, Montanaro surmises, culminate to denote the deceased's wealth and elevated social status and to memorialise them as a hero. There are a few notable studies that explore gender in South Italy, in correlation with vase shape, as well as iconography that will be discussed below.

## 2.6 Studies of Vase Shape and Iconography

Various studies have looked broadly at vase imagery, without specific regard for the shape that it appears on. F. Giudice and I. Giudice, as an example, recognised a demand for a chronological database of Attic vases categorised by scene type.<sup>104</sup> The vases which span from the seventh century down to the fourth century BC are organised into themes with the intention that scholars will be able to cross-reference certain thematic trends with a known timeline of Athenian events and culture. The database is divided into broad themes which are subdivided into more specific scene types that are quantified. The rationale for this subdivision is to allow for more nuanced levels of inquiry into the thematic choices of artists. For example, could particular social, political, or religious phenomena be responsible for certain scenes being popular at given points in time and were different scenes being created to suit the different needs of a variety of audiences? Other scholars have looked more

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<sup>103</sup> Montanaro 2018.

<sup>104</sup> Giudice and Giudice 2009.

specifically at certain themes as they appear across a variety of shapes. Lewis for example, as mentioned above, has studied the depiction of athletics and, quite extensively, the representation of women on Greek vases of all shapes.<sup>105</sup> In regard to women, Lewis is conscious of the fact that vase imagery is unlikely to present a literal depiction of the lived experiences of ancient Greek women. Therefore, she attempts to reconcile what the images illustrate about women's lives with what is known from literary and archaeological evidence. Lewis also progresses a step further by analysing the possible significance of and meaning underpinning why women are represented in the manner they are. However, to achieve this she does acknowledge, at least, the importance of considering the whole context of a vase, including how certain shapes may have functioned both physically and symbolically in Greek culture.

Many academics recognise Scheibler as one of the first scholars to explore comprehensively all the imagery that appears across one specific shape of Attic pottery. Her study of the Attic belly-amphorai, searches for meaningful connections amongst the shape's various scene types that may have otherwise gone overlooked.<sup>106</sup> In doing so, Scheibler is able to convincingly argue that this shape may have had particular importance to the physical initiation rituals of young Athenian males and may have symbolically represented the qualities and ideals that they should have aspired to. Shapiro later uses Scheibler's study as a model for his own exploration of the correlation between shape and imagery on Archaic black-figure pelike.<sup>107</sup> He observes that there is a fascinatingly high incidence of Panathenaic themes, despite the fact there is no evidence for this shape's use in the Panathenaic festival, as well as, frequent representations of the *banausoi*.<sup>108</sup> Shapiro is able to establish plausible links between the workshops who made the pelikes, their imagery and their function. He surmises that they were likely practical vessels, more commonly used by the class of people who were regarded as skilled professionals and, thus, decorated with imagery that celebrated their vocations, as well as the workshops who produced them. Hatzivassiliou uses this same methodology for studies of specific Attic vase shapes whose functions have not been well

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<sup>105</sup> Lewis 2002; Lewis 1997; Lewis 2009.

<sup>106</sup> Scheibler 1987.

<sup>107</sup> Shapiro 1997.

<sup>108</sup> The term *banausoi* refers to a particular class of people who were skilled professionals or artisans. Shapiro mentions that the pelike features such as examples as oil merchants, shoemakers, amateur athletes and musicians.

understood.<sup>109</sup> In cases where literary and visual evidence do not provide a clear picture of a vessel's use, such as the black-figure olpe and the phormiskos, Hatzivassiliou finds merit in a systematic examination of the vases' iconography for providing insights into how they may have functioned both physically and symbolically. Another scholar, Van De Put broadens this method, as he catalogues and subsequently compares the imagery across four specific Attic shapes.<sup>110</sup> His intention in doing so, is an attempt to explain why Dionysian imagery appears more frequently on black-figure lekythoi than it does on vessels which were specifically created for symposia.

Other scholars have also used a similar model for examining iconography in correlation with shape, as well as in conjunction with other forms of evidence. One example is Stissi's article, in which he questions if iconography was of importance to a vessel's function, or if it was simply arbitrary.<sup>111</sup> Subsequently, if it appears that the imagery is indeed of consequence, he queries what factors might be involved in the choice of specific iconography. To explore this, he undertakes a case study of Siana cups which, despite being a small selection, have a well-rounded catalogue of data including provenance, find spots and recorded iconography. Stissi concludes from his study that, aside from possible links to trade routes, it would not appear that the painters of the cups produced specific imagery for specific geographical locations or contexts, such as funerary, domestic or sanctuary usage. He recognises subtle trends of certain scene types appearing more frequently in some contexts and not in others, which leads him to believe it was consumers who were making these iconographic choices. However, he does not delve into why certain scene types may have been considered preferable for specific functions by the people buying and using them. Osborne is similarly interested in questioning who or what dictated the iconographic choices that appear on Greek vases. As discussed earlier in the chapter, he questions whether workshop organisation played a hand in the output of iconography and whether export markets dictated what images Attic workshops would produce.<sup>112</sup>

However, fewer similar attempts have been made in respect to South Italian pottery. One notable exception is Cassimatis, who has undertaken an extensive study of South Italian red-

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<sup>109</sup> Hatzivassiliou 2001; Hatzivassiliou 2009.

<sup>110</sup> Van De Put 2009.

<sup>111</sup> Stissi 2009.

<sup>112</sup> Osborne 2004b; Osborne 2001.

figure lebetes gamikoi.<sup>113</sup> She divides the lebetes into its different Italian fabrics to explore regional variations. While iconography is of a prime concern, she does not divide the vases into specific scene categories as she believes this is too limiting. Rather, she examines the imagery of each fabric, drawing out certain elements of the compositions, such as characters, objects, and gestures, with the aim of revealing insight into how these images were perceived and valued by Italic peoples. Cassimatis has also looked extensively at the way the character of Eros has been portrayed specifically on South Italian red-figure, though this study was carried out across a variety of shapes.<sup>114</sup> Other scholars' studies have focused specifically on how certain vase shapes and their iconography may reveal aspects of Italic identity such as gender and status. Herring and Colivicchi have both noted the recurring patterns of images on nestorides which are abundant with scenes that could be interpreted as related to love and marriage, as well as, returning warrior scenes depicting women in Italic dress honouring Italic male warriors.<sup>115</sup> Herring aligns this shape particularly with Italic women, whereas, Colivicchi holds the view that this shape was important to both young Italic men and women, in terms of encouraging and reinforcing specific social norms related to the ceremony of marriage. Colivicchi believes the appearance of the returning warrior scenes were intended to emphasise to young males, through the values of military success, the need to prove their worth to become ideal husbands and fathers.<sup>116</sup> Carpenter also has undertaken a case study of scenes featuring distinctive Italic warriors.<sup>117</sup> He explores the curious phenomenon of their appearance in Apulian red-figure occurring exclusively on the column krater shape for almost four decades. While the column krater only makes up a small percentage of the total number of Apulian kraters that have been discovered, they have predominantly been found in Peucetian tombs and are likely a shape chosen for their similarity to a local Peucetian shape, the olla-crater. The restriction of a particular image type, which was typically a departing Italic warrior or warriors, to one specific shape highlights the deliberate intention of the connection between image and shape. Carpenter believes that in correlation with other evidence from Peucetian tombs, such as armour, helmets, spears, horse armour and bronze belts, that these kraters were an intentional expression of identity and a possible sign of membership within exclusive social groups, such as warrior aristocracies or particular families.

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<sup>113</sup> Cassimatis 1993.

<sup>114</sup> Cassimatis 2014

<sup>115</sup> Herring 2018a; Herring 2018b, 121,134; Colivicchi 2014.

<sup>116</sup> Colivicchi 2014, 227.

<sup>117</sup> Carpenter 2018.

## 3 Methodology

### 3.1 Introduction

The primary aim of this thesis is to develop insights into the social and cultural practices of the Italic populations of South Italy and to explore the cross-cultural exchanges between the Italic and Greek communities, in this region, through an examination of their material culture. An important objective is to investigate how Greek cultural traits may have been understood, adopted or manipulated in non-Greek contexts. To accomplish this task, an exploration of the usages of red-figured pottery in South Italy, specifically within the context of burial, is undertaken to ascertain if any connections can be identified between specific vase shapes, vase imagery and the expression of gender identity in funerary practices. It is interesting to consider that even though there is a substantial amount of literature on South Italian red-figure, no scholar has yet attempted to categorise the scene types as an aid to understanding the productions, at least, not in a systematic and wide-ranging study. As discussed in the literature review, some efforts have been made in this direction for Attic pottery. Publications in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century by Schiebler and Shapiro were some of the earliest to examine pottery shapes that did not already have obvious connections to their subject matter, in an attempt to find potential patterns and theorise what they might reveal about the shapes' functions.<sup>118</sup> Scholars such as Stissi, Ven de Put and Hatzivassiliou have since used similar methodology, focusing on a particular shape and sometimes specific image themes, in conjunction with examinations of vase painters, provenances and find contexts, to assist in answering questions about distribution, use and the motivations of purchasers and painters.<sup>119</sup> Others, such as Osborne, Giudice and Lewis, have looked more broadly at categorising scenes that appear across a number of Attic shapes.<sup>120</sup> Lewis is particularly mindful of how vase origins, find contexts and chronology might affect reading of this type of data. A reluctance to create similar cataloguing of South Italian red-figure is probably incited, at least in part, by the fact that the significance and meaning of a much larger proportion of the South Italian corpus is still not understood with complete certainty. Only a few scholars have made an attempt, at least in regard to one particular shape. Helene

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<sup>118</sup> Scheibler 1987; Shapiro 1997.

<sup>119</sup> Stissi 2009 ; Van De Put 2009; Hatzivassiliou 2001; Hatzivassiliou 2009.

<sup>120</sup> Osborne 2001; Osborne 2004b; Giudice and Giudice 2009; Lewis 1997; Lewis 2002; Lewis 2009.

Cassimatis has looked extensively at the iconography that appears on the different South Italian fabrics of lebetes gamikoi.<sup>121</sup> Colivicchi and Herring have both analysed the imagery that appears on South Italian red-figure shapes that derived from “native” Italic shapes and Carpenter has explored the imagery of Italic warriors on column-kraters.<sup>122</sup> This thesis proposes a series of broad scene-types and while the validity of some of them will be open for debate, they will be applied consistently across four specific shapes so that similarities and differences, at least, can be observed.

### 3.2 Criteria for Vase Selection

To hone the focus of analysis, a number of criteria are employed in the selection of the material evidence. Chronologically, the material is limited to red-figure vases produced between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, as this was both a dynamic period of growth and change for the peoples of South Italy and the peak production period of South Italian red-figured pottery. Objects are sourced from Trendall & Cambitoglou’s catalogues of *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia* (hereafter *RVAp*) and their subsequent supplements. Furthermore, the fabric selected is exclusively Apulian red-figure for three primary reasons. Firstly, Apulian ceramics far outweigh the other fabrics of South Italy and, as such, provide a more extensive study sample. Secondly, Apulian red-figure is found predominantly within the region of Apulia itself and thus offers a defined geographical area of study.<sup>123</sup> Lastly, as established above, the vessels examined in this thesis which have a recorded context are all excavated from burials. For the remainder, it can be assumed that the vast majority of them also came from burials, as it is exceedingly rare to find intact vessels in other contexts. Additionally, large, red-figured vessels seem never to have been placed inside tombs of Taranto; it can be safely assumed that most, perhaps all, of the vases analysed below come from the cemeteries of Italic sites.<sup>124</sup>

Since there is such an extensive amount of material, only four shapes whose uses have been traditionally aligned with a particular gender, are chosen for this investigation. The shapes selected for females are hydriai, which are linked to the fetching of water by women and

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<sup>121</sup> Cassimatis 1993

<sup>122</sup> Colivicchi 2014; Herring 2018a; Carpenter 2018.

<sup>123</sup> Trendall and Cambitoglou 1978, xlvi.

<sup>124</sup> Large red-figured vases were used as semata at Taranto and always come to us fragmentary.

lebetes gamikoi, which were vessels used in Greek female nuptial rituals. The shapes selected for males are amphorai and volute kraters, which are typically considered masculine shapes for their roles in male-dominated Greek symposia. The traditional gender relations of these four vase shapes will be discussed in more detail in their corresponding chapter. The assumption is that these gender associations were created principally for Attic ceramics and may, therefore, have been different in Taranto and in the Italic sites of consumptions.

While these catalogues provided basic descriptions of the scenes for a large number of vases, these descriptions were usually quite limited and did not delve into the specific significances of the subject matter. Therefore, examining imagery first-hand is an essential factor in studying the iconography and, thus, only vases with adequate photographic documentation are chosen. The photographic documentation is predominantly sourced from *The Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum Project*, as well as, various museum publications and online collections, site reports, scholarly books and articles and auction house catalogues. Additionally, only whole, or predominantly whole vases are included since it may have proved problematic to comprehensively and accurately identify scene types from fragments. It should be noted that the database of vases compiled for this thesis, is not a complete list of all extant vases in each category but is intended to provide a sample group of a substantial, meaningful, yet still manageable size.

### 3.3 Examining Vase Iconography

Each of the four shapes is initially examined individually, in order to clarify any correlations between iconography and shape. Each vase is entered into a database consisting of Excel spreadsheets which catalogue scene subjects and notes any identifiable of figures or objects within each scene in case these also reveal any patterns. To maintain consistency across all four shapes, only the images on the main section of the body on the obverse sides of the vases are catalogued. If a vase has more than one major scene painted on the main body, and these scenes differ in theme or are distinct from each other in some way, then each scene type is placed into a separate category. Images that appear on the neck, handles, feet or lids of vases are not catalogued but may be discussed if relevant.

To categorise the scenes, imagery is divided into general categories that are then further subdivided into more nuanced scene types where applicable. This is to allow for both broad and more specific statistical analysis. In some cases, the figured scenes are quite generic and, therefore, may not show clearly where the scene is set, what the narrative or theme of the scene might be or what the relationships among the figures are intended to be. In these instances, scenes are grouped under arbitrary category titles, based on similarities in iconography and arrangement and then an analysis of possible interpretations is undertaken. The associated painter or workshop is also noted for each vase in order to provide a chronological framework and to test for any repetition in subject matter that could potentially be attributed to production trends or painters' preferences. A quantitative approach is used to provide statistics on the number and frequency of different subjects.

It is important, however, to take the iconographic analysis further by exploring the possible interpretations of subjects and objects that are either recurring with some frequency or that stand out as being unique in some respect. Specific attention is paid to the reasons why particular subjects or types of iconographies may have been purposely selected for a burial context and, furthermore, whether these subjects could be argued as signifying gendered traits or qualities of the deceased or representing social and cultural gender ideals.

### 3.4 Limitations

In a study of this nature, it is important to realise that several limitations are encountered. One such limitation, discussed previously, is that provenance and archaeological context for Apulian red-figured vases is usually unknown, so that the sexing of bones and the investigating of related objects is impossible. While care is taken to provide an adequate representative sample of vases to study, it is not possible to provide the full picture of vase use in burial. The chosen sample does not include every known example of each vase shape and, furthermore, some vases catalogued in RVAp do not have published imagery available. It should be stated that while using vases from RVAp provides a contained and chronological sample, vases that have appeared since the publication of the most recent RVAp supplement will have been professionally excavated and have actual contextual data. It would be extremely useful in future research to take these examples into account.

It is also crucial to reiterate here, as emphasised in the literature review, the process of categorising images is a complex and often subjective task and, thus, the categories employed in this thesis are not declared to be definitive. Rather, the interpretations made in this thesis are tentative ones and are more so intended to highlight the possibilities of using divisions for gathering exploratory statistics and looking for potential patterns in the data. The iconographic analysis undertaken in this thesis is completed with consideration of vase context, as part of funerary practices and is influenced by a number of contemporary approaches to image interpretation. However, as highlighted in the literature review, modern theories of image interpretation can never provide a completely accurate, authentic, and undisputed explanation of how ancient peoples understood and used vase imagery. Furthermore, it is also essential to remember that funerary practices can be ritualistic and, as such, may not always be characteristic of actual gender expressions of the living.

## 4 Hydriai

### 4.1 History of Hydria use in the Greek Tradition

The hydria has a long history in the repertoire of Greek vase shapes, dating back as early as the Late Helladic III.<sup>125</sup> It is one of the few vases whose name is clearly substantiated. For example, the image of a hydria is labelled as such on the “François Vase” in Florence. The hydria shape has a wide body, a narrow neck, two horizontal handles at the sides and one long vertical handle at the back. It is universally considered to have been suited to carrying and pouring liquids and there is a substantial amount of iconographical evidence that suggests it was typically used as a water vessel. There is both archaeological and literary evidence for its uses in everyday tasks such as cooking, drinking and personal hygiene.<sup>126</sup> The task of fetching water was an essential part of everyday life and it is believed that, in ancient Athens, this responsibility was typically carried out by females. To support this suggestion, there are a number of examples of figured pottery that feature women collecting water from fountain houses. As a functional object, however, hydriai may not have had a strictly female use as the requirement for water could also be found in male spaces such as the symposium, where water would need to be mixed with wine, and at the gymnasium, where water was used to fill wash basins.<sup>127</sup> While scholars have often described figured hydriai as part of typical Athenian sympotic sets, Lynch suggests that coarse-ware water jars may have been more common.<sup>128</sup>

Hydriai often appear in excavations of sanctuaries, since water would likely have been an important element of ritual. In some Greek sanctuaries outside of Attica, hydriai have been discovered as offerings left to female deities such as Demeter or Hera, dedicated by women on occasions such as their marriage or the birth of a child.<sup>129</sup> In South Italy, thousands of miniature water jars known as *hydriskai*, dating as early as the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, have been uncovered in the Sanctuary of Athena in Francavilla Marittima and assumed to be votive

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<sup>125</sup> Alexandridou 2011, 22.

<sup>126</sup> Trinkl 2009, 153.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.157-158.

<sup>128</sup> Lynch 2011, 76,78. Citing evidence from Shear’s study of Persian destruction deposits in Athens, Lynch has remarked that figured hydriai have not been found in significant enough numbers in household deposits to imply their common use in Athenian sympotic assemblages. This does not, however, rule out export models being used for communal drinking rituals.

<sup>129</sup> Alexandridou 2011, 23.

offerings to the goddess.<sup>130</sup> A more recent examination of material from the site, however, surmises that the hydriakai may have been integral to ceremonies relating to coming of age and marriage.<sup>131</sup>

Hydriai were also used in various ways within funerary contexts in Athens. They were possibly used to carry water for purification purposes in funerary rituals and sometimes were employed as urns for cremated remains or used to inter the bodies of children.<sup>132</sup> They were also often placed inside a grave as an offering or on top as a marker.<sup>133</sup> Boardman notes that, in Athens during the Protogeometric and Geometric periods, different vase shapes were often associated with the burials of different sexes.<sup>134</sup> Male cremations appear in neck-handled amphorai, while female cremations appear in belly or shoulder-handled amphorai. Boardman notes the similarity in shape of hydriai to belly amphorai and assumes by that resemblance that they also served the purpose of water jars. He postulates that, since the male-associated neck-handled amphorai were typically used for wine and oil storage and female-associated belly amphorai were possibly used for the transportation of water, the two types of grave markers related to their usage in everyday social contexts; that is men's social consumption of wine and women's domestic roles.<sup>135</sup> When hydriai were first used in burials in Athens they may have also been linked to a gendered domestic usage. The use of hydriai in funerary contexts may also have had some association with the nuptial bath. Although the vessel commonly connected with this practice is the loutrophoros, which is often depicted in vase scenes of wedding processions to and from the fountain house, Oakley has noted one scene of the rarely depicted bridal bath itself on an Attic red-figure pyxis in New York, featuring an Eros pouring water from a hydria over a kneeling bride.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Kleibrink et al. 2004. This paper connects the story of the Greek soldier and water-bearer Epeios, who was assisted by Athena to create the Trojan Horse, to the offerings of water to Athena in the sanctuary.

<sup>131</sup> Kleibrink 2016.

<sup>132</sup> Trinkl 2009, 161; Alexandridou 2011, 23.

<sup>133</sup> Alexandridou 2011, 23.

<sup>134</sup> Boardman 1988, 171.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 172.

<sup>136</sup> Oakley 2020, 193.

## 4.2 Examination of Scenes on Hydriai

This dataset consists of 234 hydriai. Their predominant scenes are separated into broad scene categories (Table 4.1) and then sub-categorised into more specific groupings when necessary. 245 scenes are catalogued overall.

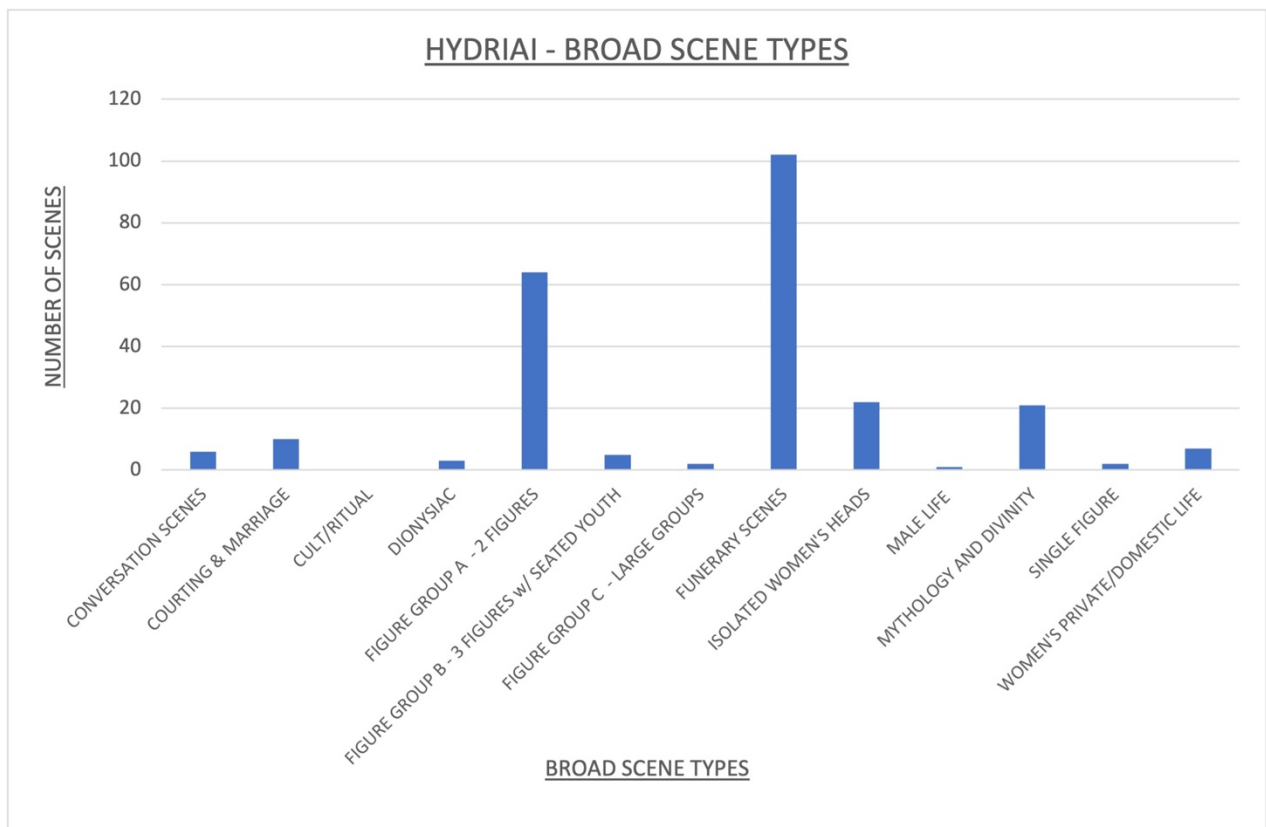


Table 4.1 Scenes on Apulian red-figured hydriai, divided by scene-type.

### 4.2.1 Funerary Scenes

The predominant type of imagery found on the hydria group is funerary scenes (Table 4.2). There are 102 scenes (42%) which fall into this category. To be considered funerary in nature, a scene is required to portray an object that could be considered a grave marker, such as a stele or a naiskos. Only three Early Apulian vases in the dataset present funerary scenes. The theme appears, however, more frequently on Middle and Late Apulian examples and the naiskos type of scene, in particular, does not appear until Middle Apulian.

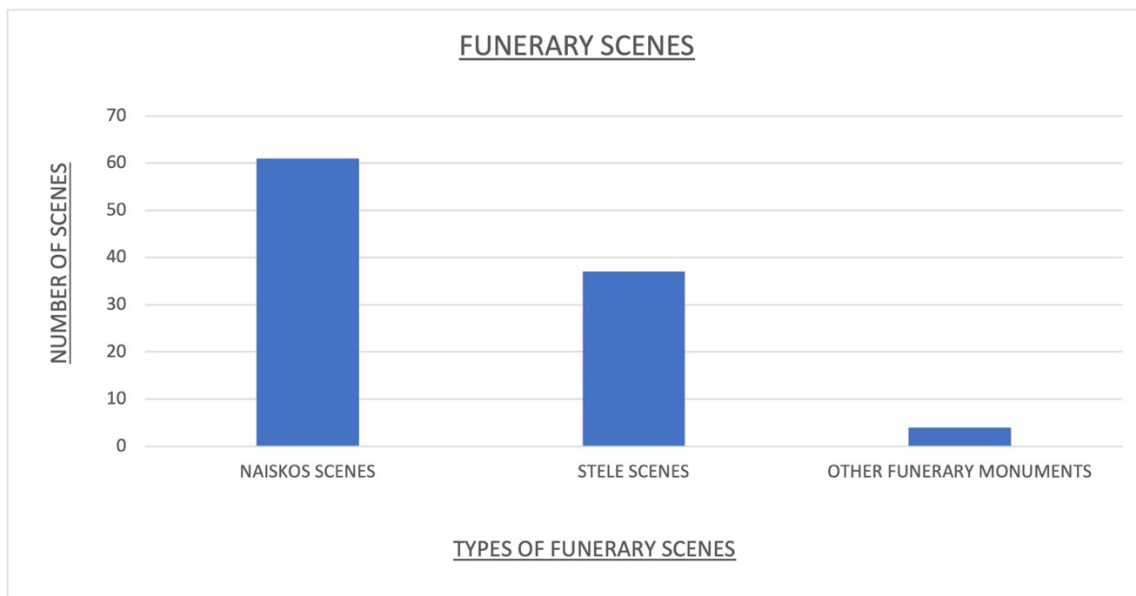


Table 4.2 *Types of funerary scenes on Apulian red-figured hydriai.*

Within this dataset, naiskos scenes are by far the most prevalent, comprising 61% of all funerary scenes, followed by stelai scenes at 37% and other monuments at just 4%. In Greece, naiskoi were grave monuments inspired by the architecture of temples. Early examples were typically wider stelai with shallow relief carvings, featuring figures of the deceased and members of their households framed by columns and pediments. This style gradually became more three-dimensional and realistic, with deepening recesses and figures sculpted in high relief or, occasionally, completely freestanding structures and sculptures.<sup>137</sup> Like Attic grave markers, naiskos scenes on Apulian vases typically depict the deceased within the naiskos structure, most often surrounded by mourners on the outside.

The naiskos scenes in this hydriai dataset overwhelmingly portray a female as the deceased (Table 4.3). Of the naiskos scenes, 85% show either a lone woman situated within the structure or two females who are sometimes referred to in scholarship as a ‘mistress and maid’ (e.g. RVAp 17/28c: Fig 4.1a). The ratio between these two alternatives is relatively even, as 23 vases picture a single female figure and 22 portray the ‘mistress and maid’. There is a single vase that depicts a group of three women inside the naiskos and one that features two women and a male child. Only one naiskos scene represents a male figure, a helmeted

<sup>137</sup> Margariti 2019, 127; Squire 2018, 527-541.

warrior carrying a shield and spear (RVAp 22/875a). This hydria is attributed to the Ascoli Satriano Painter, who seems to have been an immigrant from Campania working in the Daunian centre of Ascoli Satriano. The hydria shape in Campania seems to have had a different set of associations, and many more male-centred scenes appear on red-figured vases there.<sup>138</sup> There is, however, another intriguing vase that depicts a funerary monument topped by a nude male figure holding a spear (RVAp 3/95). It is difficult to determine in this particular image if the male, who is depicted comparatively smaller than the females, is intended to be a youth or a child. If he is a child, then perhaps the presence of the spear is to lament a warrior's role left unfulfilled by an untimely death.<sup>139</sup>

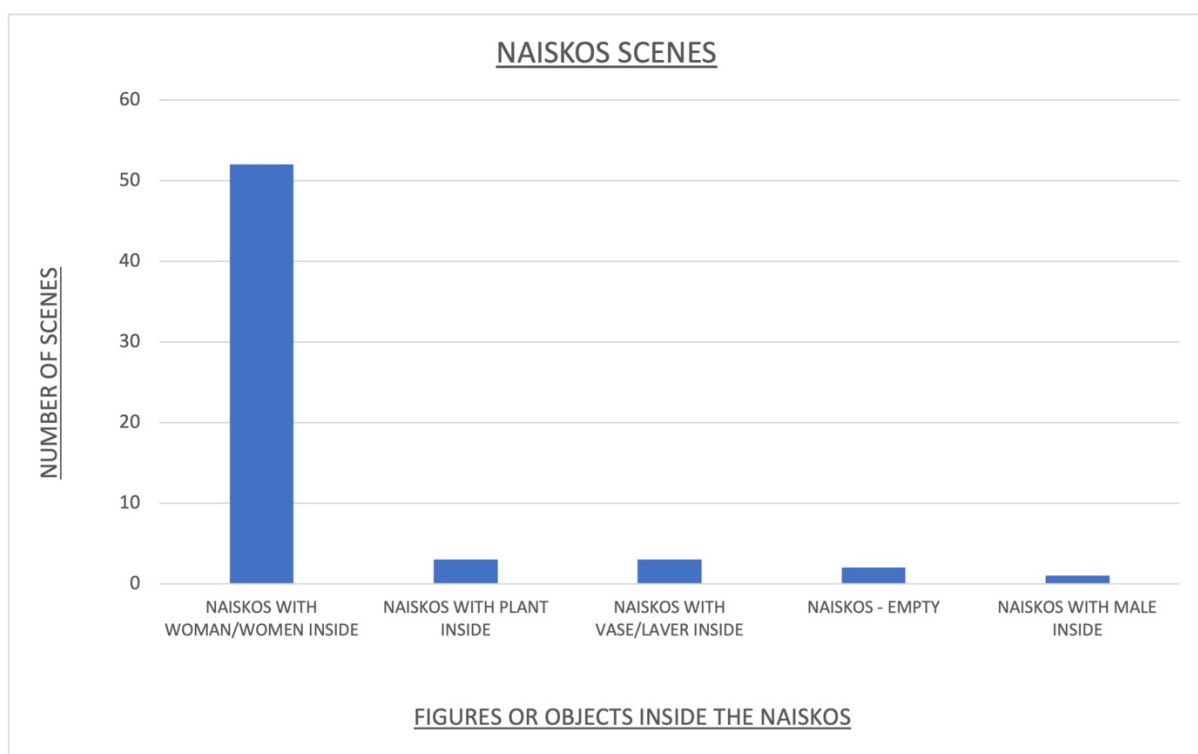


Table 4.3 *Naiskos* scenes appearing on Apulian red-figured hydriai, divided by characters or objects inside the naiskos.

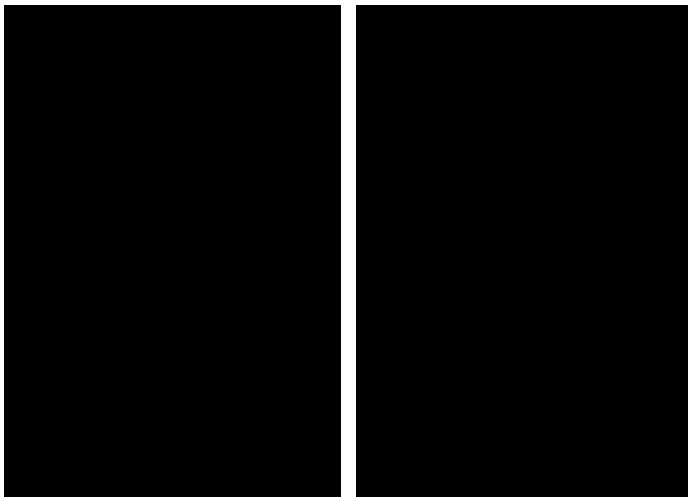
A smaller number of naiskos scenes present objects inside the naiskos rather than people. Three vases portray large flowering plants (RVAp 18/196c; RVAp 19/129; RVAp 19/127: fig

<sup>138</sup> RVAp II, 781; Rossi 2018.

<sup>139</sup> It is worth acknowledging here that it is reasonable to suspect a number of large Late Apulian vases were forged in the 1980s. It is possible that the unusual nature of this image could be attributed to it being a forgery.

4.1b), one portrays a laver (RVAp 17/33k) and two depict vases. One of these vases is a hydria (RVAp 14/128) and the other a loutrophoros (RVAp 18/196b).

Many of the funerary scenes illustrate mourners visiting graves with offerings or gifts. Recurring items include fans, mirrors, fabric fillets, wreaths, floral chains, branches, boxes, cistai, phialai, paterai and grapes. For the most part, the offerings themselves do not appear specifically gendered. The funerary items that are perhaps more easily connected to a specific gender on hydriai, are alabastra, which typically held perfume, and kalathos baskets, which are discussed in more detail below. The mourners depicted in the funerary scenes are most frequently women. Of the funerary scenes examined, 60% feature females only as mourners, while 34% illustrate a combination of women alongside youths or, occasionally, women combined with other characters such as Eros, Nike or older men. None of the funerary scenes on hydriai portray men alone as mourners. Montanaro has observed of the predominantly youthful figures, that they do not show obvious signs of sadness or mourning nor appear varied in age enough to represent family members. Rather they may potentially represent initiates in a mystery cult whose duty it is to attend to the deceased.<sup>140</sup>



*Figure 4.1 a) RVAp 17/28c b) RVAp 19/127*

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<sup>140</sup> Montanaro 2007, pg 727-9.

#### 4.2.2 Figure Group A – Two Figures holding objects.

The second largest category of images comprises scenes of two figures, which all have similar iconographic elements yet do not fit neatly within a recognisable theme. There are 64 vases (26%) featuring such figured scenes. These scenes all feature two figures in non-specific settings, appearing in a variety of poses which include seated, standing or moving in one direction. This category is further subdivided into three sets of recurring figure groups (Table 4.4). Of these two figure scenes, 47 vases feature a woman with a youth (e.g. RVAp 19/109: fig 4.2a), 13 vases feature a woman with Eros (e.g. RVAp 19/77: fig 4.2b) and four vases depict scenes with two women (e.g. RVAp 6/39: fig 4.2c). There are no instances where only men are represented together or with Eros.<sup>141</sup>

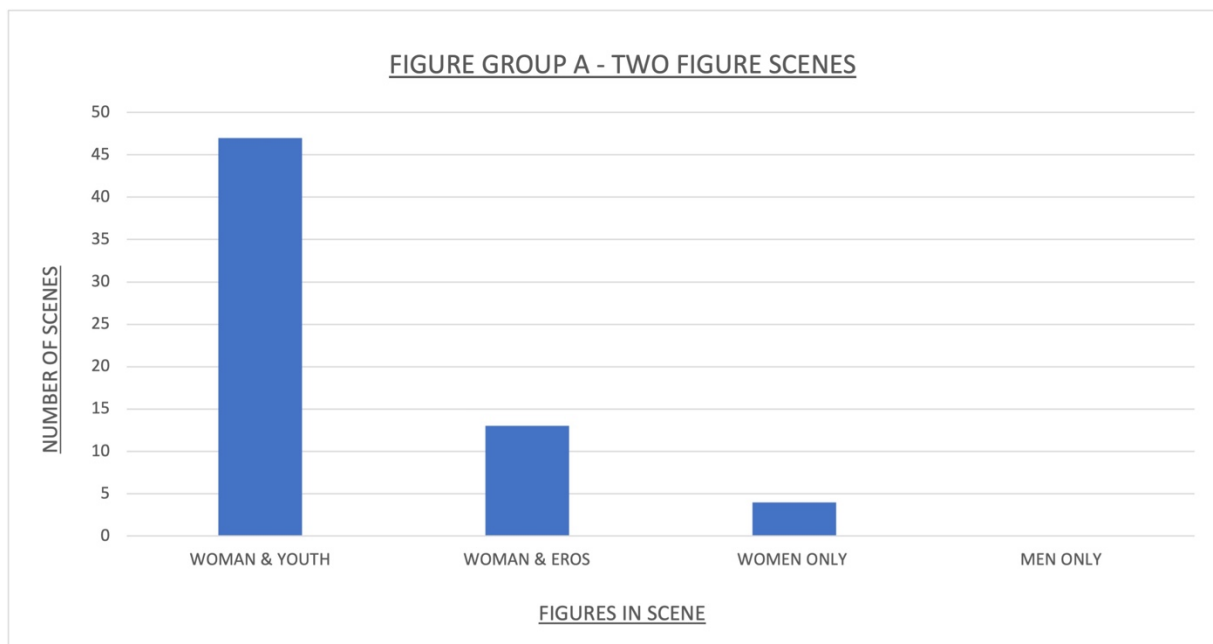


Table 4.4 Two figure scenes on Apulian red-figured hydriai, divided by figure combinations.

In all instances, the heads of the two figures' face each other, as if partaking in some joint activity, yet these particular scenes appear to differ from typical conversation, courting and pursuit scenes. In almost all cases, both figures are holding objects that could potentially be connected to cult or ritual practices. The occurrence of certain objects, such as grapes,

<sup>141</sup> In this study, it has been a subjective choice to consider Eros separately to other male youths. Though Eros is typically referred to as a male, in many of the renderings on Apulian vases, Eros appears quite androgynous, featuring male genitalia but a more feminine body, sometimes with women's hairstyles and jewellery.

branches, phialai, situlai and instruments such as the tympanon, are particularly suggestive of this. Minollari has examined similar scenes and believes these could be representations of Dionysiac festivities.<sup>142</sup> Heuer, also, in her analysis of South Italian vases which specifically portray figures in Italic dress, has noted the frequency with which they interact with these same objects that have connections to Dionysos and his worship.<sup>143</sup> Scenes where figures are pictured in motion could potentially be representations of a ritual procession or dance (e.g. RVAp 19/109: fig 4.2a). Heuer comments on a scene with a woman and youth moving in one direction, that closely resembles ‘Figure Group A’ examples in this dataset, that this could be a depiction of a Dionysiac *thiasos*. They also bear a striking resemblance to the mourners in the funerary scenes featuring naiskoi or stelai.

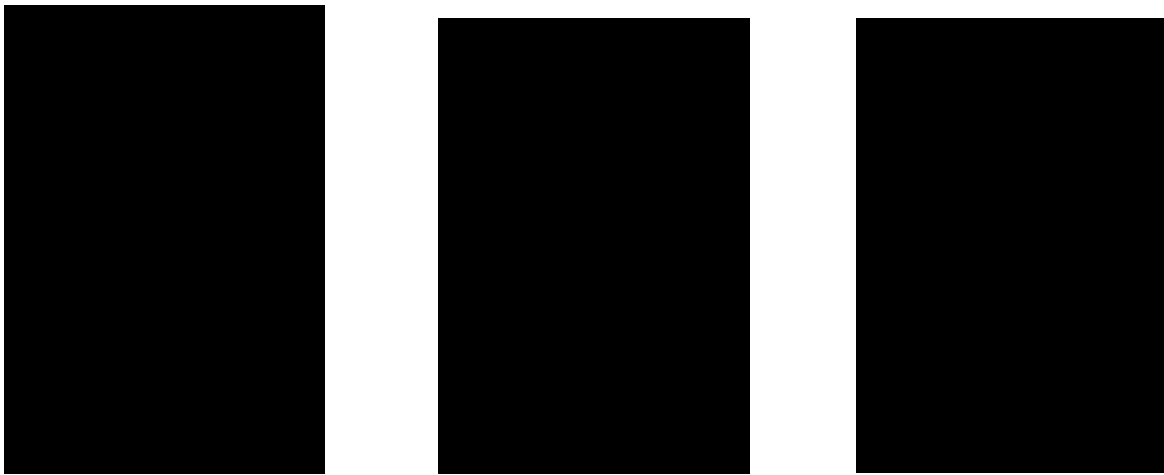


Figure 4.2 a) RVAp 19/109; b) RVAp 19/77; c) RVAp 6/39.

In the dataset, these two-figure scenes appear from the Early Apulian period onwards but are most prevalent in the Late Apulian period, in which a significant number were painted by the circle of the Darius and the Underworld Painters. Trendall has noted that hydriai from this workshop that feature these particular two-figure scenes have the hallmarks of mass production.<sup>144</sup> With this in mind, it is possible these scenes are an abbreviated form of the more complex funerary scenes, a modification that would have made them quicker and easier to create in high volume. It is difficult to determine if these particular scenes were intended to

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<sup>142</sup> Minollari 2018, explores a comparable series of images on a collection of red-figure pottery from the Greek colony of Durres in Ancient Illyria, which includes a variety of Attic and South Italian exports, as well as local variations and concludes that they are images of Dionysiac festivities. Minollari suggests there is eschatological significance to these images, believing the representation of joyful activities could be intended to be viewed as a celebration of life.

<sup>143</sup> Heuer 2018

<sup>144</sup> RVAp II, 548.

appeal to one gender more than the other. However, the fact that at least one woman appears in each image and there are no male-only examples might suggest these scenes were targeted more at females; a notion that seems likely considering how strongly women are associated with the hydria shape.

### 4.2.3 Dionysiac

Three scenes (1%) in the dataset have clear reference to Dionysiac cult. All three vases are from the Early Apulian period. The first scene, though damaged, appears to focus on the male deity Dionysos with his typical followers, male silens and female maenads (RVAp 2/20). The other two vases potentially have representations of Dionysiac worship in everyday life (RVAp 5/74: fig 4.3a and RVAp 5/193a: fig 4.3b). The two vases each portray a woman and a youth facing each other, holding objects, very similar in composition to the ‘Figure Group A’ examples. In each of these scenes one of the figures holds a thyrsus, a staff associated with the worship of Dionysos.

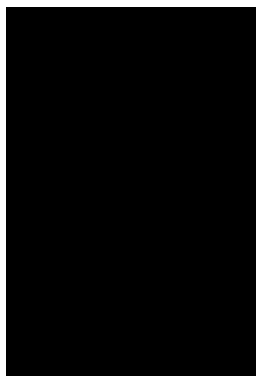


Figure 4.3 a) RVAp 5/74, British Museum 1824,0501.30, "The Trustees of the British Museum, Image Source: [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1824-0501-30](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1824-0501-30); b) RVAp 5/193a

### 4.2.4 Isolated Female Heads

In this dataset, 22 scenes (9%) depict an isolated female head as the main form of decoration. Across all shapes of Apulian red-figure, this form of decoration is generally restricted to the Late Apulian. Indeed, all of the hydriai with isolated heads from this dataset come from that time period. While the use of isolated heads as a decoration existed within the Greek

tradition, they were not commonplace. On Attic examples, isolated heads are often labelled or, at least, allocated identifiable attributes, such as Athena's helmet and shield.<sup>145</sup> In contrast, the majority of isolated heads, depicted on South Italian vases, are generic female heads with no obvious attributes that allow for reliable identification. Apart from a singular vase (RVAp 8/5) bearing the inscription "Aura" (breeze), the remainder of the South Italian vases simply appear as female heads displayed in side profile, in much the same fashion as typical full-length female forms (e.g. RVAp 24/258, RVAp 24/152a and RVAp 28/295: fig 4.4a-c).

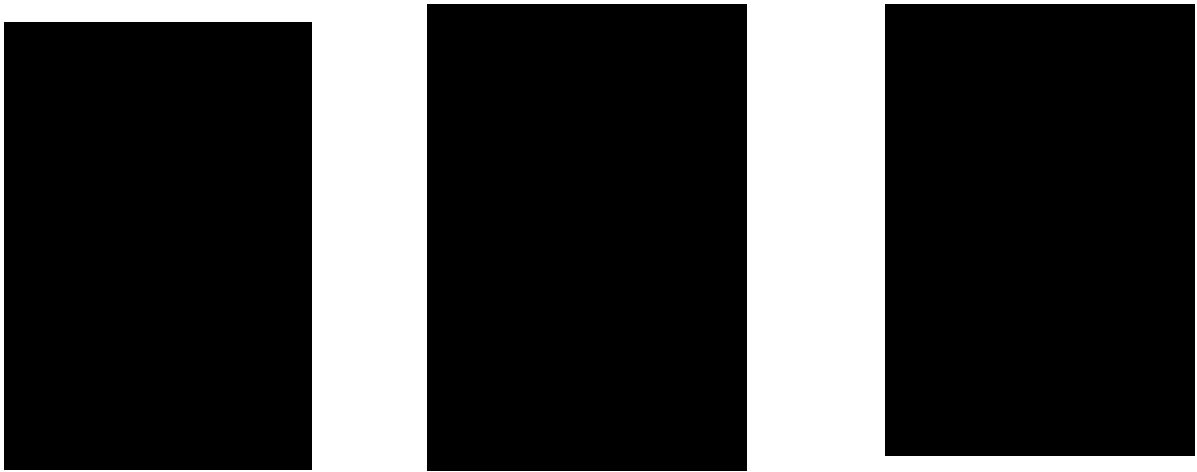


Figure 4.4 a) RVAp 24/258; b) RVAp 24/152a; c) RVAp 28/295.

Hueur notes that there has been disagreement amongst scholars as to whether these isolated heads could be representations of female deities or if they simply function aesthetically as attractive decorative elements.<sup>146</sup> Lewis discusses a particular trend in Attic vase painting where the births of certain goddesses such as Aphrodite or Pandora are portrayed as a large female head emerging from the ground. Similarly, this motif can sometimes represent the return of Persephone from the underworld.<sup>147</sup> If it can be assumed that, due to the funerary nature of these vases, the heads are a representation of a chthonic deity such as Persephone, Lewis postulates that the motif therefore could be a symbol of the importance of women's roles in religion, in particular, the rituals relating to death.<sup>148</sup> It does seem likely that, due to their discovery in funerary contexts, there could have been a deeper significance to this

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<sup>145</sup> Heuer 2015, 65-66.

<sup>146</sup> Heuer 2015, 68.

<sup>147</sup> Lewis 2002, 169.

<sup>148</sup> Lewis 2002, 169.

particular usage of the isolated head design than simply an appreciation of the female form. Indeed, Lewis discusses that in an Attic context, at least, such a theme as female beauty would be complicated by societal notions of women's visibility.<sup>149</sup> Heuer also suggests that the identity of the heads could have been left intentionally vague to allow for various interpretations by viewers of differing ethnic and religious backgrounds.<sup>150</sup>

As output of vases increased quite dramatically during the Late Apulian period, these isolated heads may be another example of painters using a simplified and repetitive theme like an abbreviated form of decoration to accommodate the large number of pots they needed to produce. A small number of hydriai from this dataset, that have not been counted as part of this group, also employ an isolated woman's head as a more diminutive and secondary form of decoration, often within a band of floral tendrils to separate two major scenes. In one instance, there is an identifiable head of an Amazon, which appears in a band above an Amazonomachy scene (RVAp 28/100).

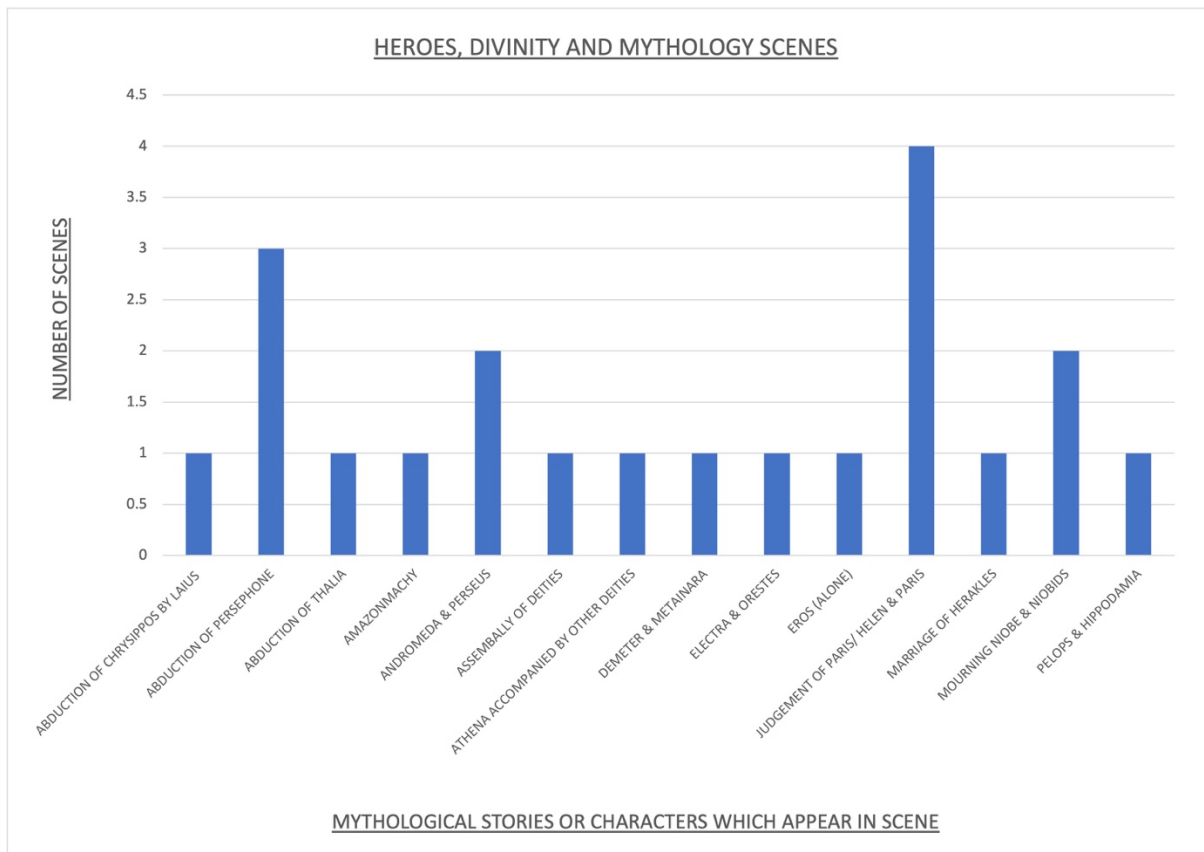
#### 4.2.5 Heroes, Divinity and Mythology

Included in this category are 21 scenes (9%) which portray recognisable mythological stories or representations of heroes, deities or other divine beings (Table 4.5). There is a range of mythological themes painted on the hydriai in this dataset. A few types of mythological themes recur, such as the courting of Helen and Paris, the abduction of Persephone, Andromeda being rescued by Perseus and the story of Niobe and her slain children. Overall, there are a significant number of mythological scenes that focus on female characters or deities or deal with themes that would be highly relevant to women. There is a distinct lack of overtly masculine mythological scenes, aside from one vase featuring an Amazonomachy (RVAp 28/100). This scene of men triumphing over wild, warrior women is, however, painted above what appears to be a courting scene and so there could be a metaphorical message about marriage which will be discussed in more depth below.

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<sup>149</sup> Lewis 2002, 166.

<sup>150</sup> Heuer 2015, 70.



*Table 4.5 Types of mythological and divine scenes appearing on Apulian red-figured hydriai.*

Scenes that can be connected to death, mourning and the afterlife are relatively common on hydriai, which seems appropriate considering their frequent use as funerary vessels. One hydria depicted a scene of Demeter, goddess of seasons and the harvest, with her worshippers painted below her holding wheat stalks (RVAp 13/30d). Three other vases portray Demeter's daughter, Persephone, being abducted by Hades, god of the underworld (RVAp 16/66, 27/57, 27/58). In mythology, Persephone had two roles: for part of the year she ruled over the dead with Hades in the underworld and, for the remainder, she was allowed to reunite with her mother above ground. Persephone's return to the world above signalled the end of her mother's mourning and, thus, the beginning of spring and the growth of new vegetation. In the Greek tradition, the stories of Demeter and Persephone contain clear motifs of death and

rebirth, indicating their worship was linked to both agrarian ritual and cult practices related to the afterlife.<sup>151</sup>

Some of the mythological scenes that appear are more obscure by Attic standards. Scholars have noted that, while Greek mythological themes are often used on South Italian pottery, the particular myths or scenes chosen are significantly different from those painted on Attic models. Carpenter proposes that the meaning or significance of these scenes may, therefore, have been quite different for Italic audiences.<sup>152</sup> One example of this in the dataset is the abduction of Chrysippos, which has not been found on any Attic vases and appears solely on South Italian pottery (RVAp 27/55: fig 4.5a).<sup>153</sup> In this instance, it is not clear why a scene of the abduction of a young boy, and by implication his rape, would be represented on a funerary vessel. While this myth is sometimes connected to the practice of pederasty in Athens, it was also typically considered a tragic event by the Greeks. To further complicate the matter, this scene appears on a vase with two registers, with the bottom register featuring a female naiskos scene. Female abduction scenes perhaps can be more easily understood to appear in a female burial, as it is believed they may have been symbolic of expected gender roles and certain beliefs relating to marriage rituals.<sup>154</sup> In Greek literature, women were likened to wild creatures that needed to be ‘tamed’ and controlled through the construct of marriage.<sup>155</sup> Abduction scenes, therefore, may have been a reminder of how a woman had transitioned to be a complacent and dutiful wife. Alternatively, abduction scenes where gods are the captors of men or women could have been symbolic for the deceased being taken away by the gods to an afterlife. Wypustek discusses how the untimely death of a young person in ancient Greece was sometimes metaphorically seen as a marriage to the gods and notes that epigrams would often mention the abduction of the deceased by various deities.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Evans 2010, 100-127; Mylonas 1961, 281-285.

<sup>152</sup> Carpenter 2014, 22.

<sup>153</sup> Carpenter 2014, 24.

<sup>154</sup> Dipla and Paleothodoros 2012, 216.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 217

<sup>156</sup> Wypustek 2013, 97. See also Bottini 1985 and 1990, for Italic representations of the Goddess Eos kidnapping youths. In some instances, the youths illustrated are lovers, such as Kephalos but others may be her son Memnon, whose dead body she stole from the battlefield to prevent it being defiled by Achilles.

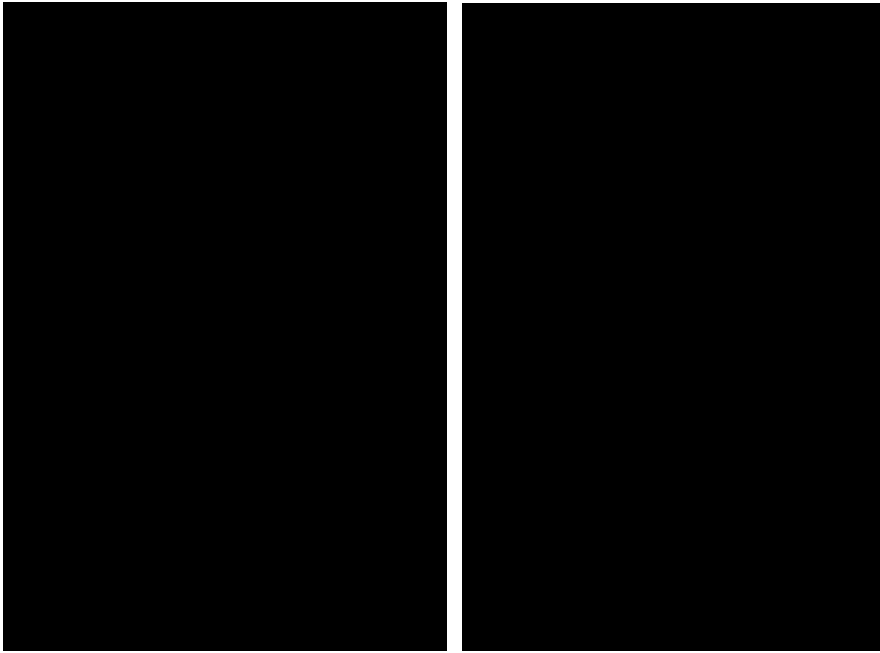


Figure 4.5 a) RVAp 27/55; b) RVAp 18/63e

It also cannot be overlooked that scenes of mythology on Apulian vases could potentially have been representations of Greek tragedy. The scene on one hydria showing a woman being carried away by a giant bird is thought likely to be a representation of Thalia being abducted by Zeus in the form of an eagle (RVAp 2/5). This narrative was part of Aeschylus' play *Aetnae*, which was supposedly commissioned to give mythological credence to the Greek presence in Sicily. Similarly, the scene of Niobe mourning the death of her children at the hands of Artemis and Apollo is sometimes thought to be a representation of theatre. This is an example of a scene which is not known to appear at all in the Attic tradition, which tends to favour the representation of the actual slaughter of the Niobids.<sup>157</sup> Even though in the narrative, Niobe suffers divine punishment for boasting of her parenting prowess, she was still considered to be a devoted mother and exemplary of heroic grief.<sup>158</sup> This inclusion of such a scene on a funerary vase could have been to parallel these qualities in the deceased and, perhaps as an extension, in their mourners too. In one particular example within this dataset (RVAp 18/63e: fig. 4.5b), Niobe is pictured turning to stone within a naiskos, effectively becoming her own tomb monument and, perhaps, symbolising her transition to the afterlife, where she may be reunited with her children. If that is the case, the presence of such a scene on a funerary vase may have been intended to be consolatory to the deceased's loved

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<sup>157</sup> Taplin 2007, 75.

<sup>158</sup> Taplin 2007, 75.

ones as a model of maternal devotion.<sup>159</sup> A further explanation could be the connection to the Chrysis scene discussed above; Gualtieri has commented on how these myths represent two episodes of the Theban cycle and family members of the royal house of Thebes. He suggests that they may have been used in burial to represent and reinforce the lineage of particular family groups in Apulia.<sup>160</sup>

It is possible, particularly with the earlier vases in this dataset, that they may have been physically used for other purposes before being placed in the tomb.<sup>161</sup> Mythological scenes are often found on Attic vessels associated with communal drinking rituals, like symposia, where it is assumed they acted as prompts for intellectual conversation and philosophical debate. Conceivably, the Italic people of Apulia may also have participated in similar events, particularly the more elite members of society, as a means of reinforcing their social status. The vessels may also have been used as part of banqueting and drinking rituals associated with the funeral itself.<sup>162</sup> The deposition of a used vessel into a grave, therefore, may have been more of a statement related to its function in life than the actual iconography.

#### 4.2.6 Courting and Marriage

This category excludes any courting or marriage related imagery that has already been covered in the previous section on mythology. In this section, there are 10 scenes (4%). Four scenes appear to be illustrations of courting between a youth and a woman. Five scenes, mostly mixed groups, could be images of courting or preparation of the bride for marriage. The final scene is possibly a depiction of a wedding ceremony. What differentiates the scenes of women with youths in this category from the other figured scenes are the appearances of objects and gestures that are generally considered to be typical of courting scenes. A youth handing particular gifts to a woman is perhaps the most identifiable motif. In this dataset, two vases portray such a scene. On one vase, a youth gifts a woman an open box (RVAp 4/23) and, on the other, a youth gifts a hare (RVAp 4/34: fig 4.6a), which is a common courting gift

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<sup>159</sup> Keuls 1978, 60.

<sup>160</sup> Gualtieri 2012.

<sup>161</sup> Peruzzi 2018, 248. Peruzzi notes that up until the second half of the fourth century BC, vases in Peucetian burials largely showed signs of use. However, see Robinson 2014, 228; who notes some early produced mythological vases feature large holes in their bases and were clearly made exclusively for the tomb.

<sup>162</sup> Peruzzi 2018, 249-250.

in Attic examples. A third vase depicts a youth handing an alabastron, another common courting gift, to a woman but he is also presenting her a dish of food, which may give the scene different connotations (RVAp 28/100). Another two vases portray a woman holding a box that may have been handed to her by the youth standing opposite (RVAp 3/58; 11/22). Boxes appear quite regularly in Attic scenes related to courting and marriage. They are often depicted as gifts being delivered to a bride as part of the *Epualia*, or sometimes in scenes of bridal preparation. This latter scene in particular would suggest boxes had a function related to adornment. In some courting scenes, males offer boxes to women that have items such as jewellery inside them. Another motif in these two vases, which suggests they may be courting scenes, is the iynx, a small wryneck bird which was typically used in magical love spells.<sup>163</sup>

In three of the potential courting scenes (RVAp 4/23, 5/134a, 28/100), the presence of Erotes could be indicative of romantic relationships being portrayed. Similarly, the appearance of a laver on three of the vases in this category may have been intended to reference the ritual of the bridal bath. Two images show a youth and a woman standing either side of a laver and, in both instances, a large bird, which could be a duck or goose, is also depicted (RVAp 6/32; RVAp 6/32b). If the birds are intended to be geese, it could be a reference to the deity of love and passion, Aphrodite, to whom geese were sacred.<sup>164</sup> The third vase depicts two women either side of a laver, one is holding a wreath and the other, who is holding a mirror and a musical instrument, is being crowned by Eros (RVAp 16/53: fig 4.6b). An alabastron, which typically contained perfume, and an open box are both visible on the ground. This scene may be symbolic of female nuptial preparations.

There is only one vase in the category which potentially depicts a scene of a wedding. It illustrates a youth clutching the arm of a veiled woman, a gesture which is commonly recognisable as representation of the marriage ceremony (RVAp 1/18: fig 4.6c). However, there is some question, particularly since the two youths in the scene both carry spears, that this could rather be a depiction of the myth of Antigone.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> Faraone 2001, 56-58. Faraone mentions the original 'spell' requires the iynx, or iunx, to be tethered to a wheel. This iynx wheel later became an object used on its own for love spells and images of this wheel also appear quite frequently on vases.

<sup>164</sup> Lewis 2002, 161.

<sup>165</sup> RVAp I, 8. Trendall suggests that this could be a portrayal of Antigone in the company of guards. In Sophocles' play, the titular character Antigone is used to explore a number of morality issues. She breaks

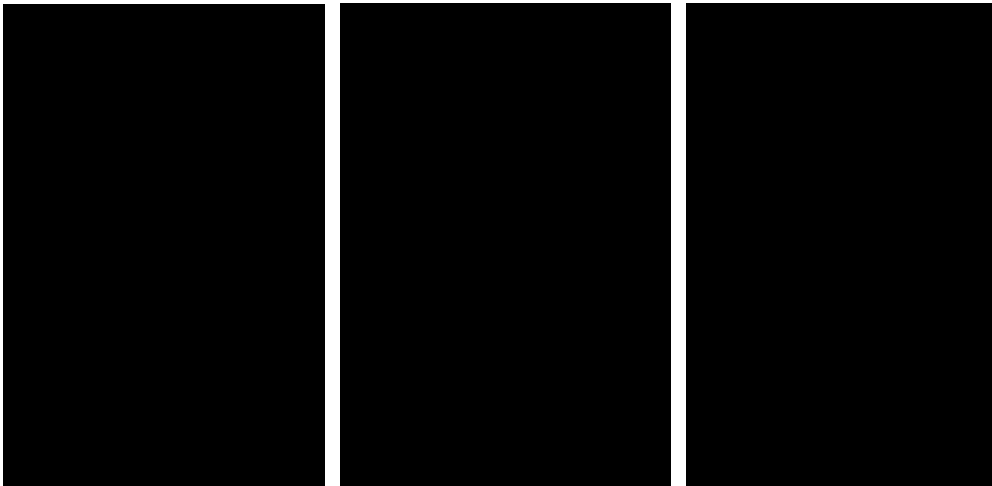


Figure 4.6 a) *RVAp 4/34*; b) *RVAp 16/53*; c) *RVAp 1/18*.

#### 4.2.7 Women's Private or Domestic Lives

There are very few images that illustrate women engaged in women-only activities, such as female leisure, adornment or domestic duties on Apulian hydriai. There are seven scenes (3%) which have been placed into this category.

There is only one vase in this dataset which portrays women undertaking domestic work. It should be noted here that 'genre' scenes of everyday life, though common in Attic ceramics during the second-half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, are rare in Apulian ceramics at the same time, becoming virtually absent in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. It is therefore, unsurprising that this particular vase, which pictures two women in an interior space working with wool (*RVAp 1/14*: fig 4.7a), is from the Early Apulian. It was painted by the Painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl, who was the first of the Apulian painters and whose work exhibits obvious Attic influences.<sup>166</sup> In this scene, a kalathos basket is being used: this vessel, though it probably had numerous practical uses, is commonly depicted with women and associated with the wool working process.<sup>167</sup> However, while there is only one example of these wool working scenes in this dataset, it should be noted that a kalathos appears on at least 19 other vases. Of

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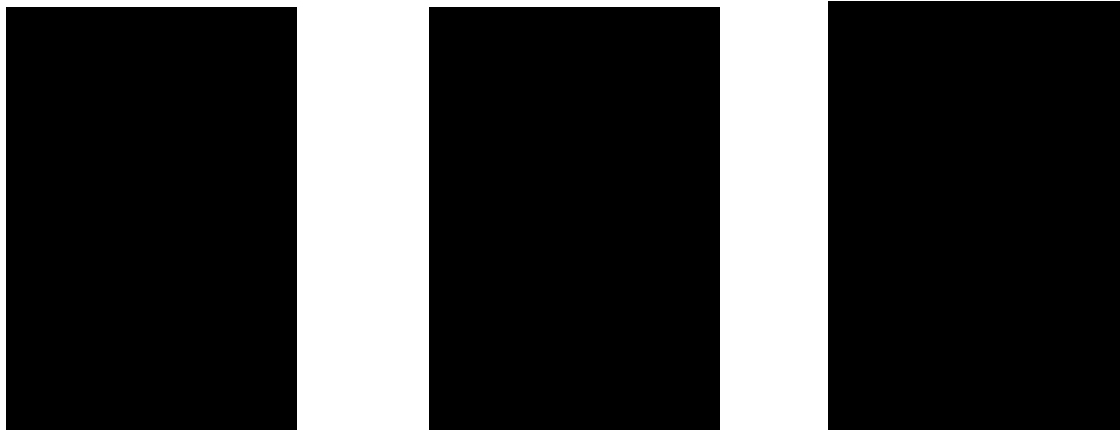
state laws by illegally burying her brother, choosing to be loyal to family and abide by the laws of the gods instead. Fidelity and appeasing the dead are both ideal themes for a burial vessel. However, Antigone's actions lead to her own execution, and it is interesting to note that she laments she will die unwed.

<sup>166</sup> *RVAp I*, 4.

<sup>167</sup> Lewis 2002, 63; Blundell and Rabinowitz 2008, 128.

those vases, 15 were funerary scenes where kalathos are being carried by visitors to a grave or had been left as an offering to the deceased. In these instances, it is not clear what the baskets might have contained but it may not necessarily be related to textiles.

One vase from the Group of the Vatican V5 could be interpreted as women's adornment (RVAp 3/121: fig 4.7b), as it portrays two women, one clothed and seated, holding an open box and the other standing, partially draped and holding a fillet, perhaps, depicting the process of dressing.



*Figure 4.7 a) RVAp 1/14; b) RVAp 3/121; c) RVAp 13/30b.*

In regard to the depiction of other leisurely pastimes, one vase by the Tarporley Painter illustrates two women facing each other, one looking into a hand mirror, while the other appears to be playing with a ball (RVAp 3/54). This vase, along with the domestic and adornment scenes mentioned above, are all from the Early Apulian period. Four vases portray larger groups of women within generic domestic spaces holding various objects such as mirrors, boxes, fans, alabastra and phialai (e.g., RVAp 13/30b: fig 4.7c). Three of these are by the Varrese Painter from the Middle Apulian period. The final vase, which is connected to the Perrone Group in the Late Apulian period (RVAp 18/231), has an upper register which presents a domestic scene of a seated woman with a hand mirror, attended by two women, potentially her maids, one holding a fan and the other bringing her a kalathos basket. Situated behind the fan-holding woman there is a xylophone-like instrument that is commonly seen on Apulian vases.

#### 4.2.8 Conversation Scenes

Six scenes (2%) are painted with generic images of figures that are difficult to prescribe any specific theme to and have thus been grouped together as possible conversation scenes. Five of these scenes feature a woman and a youth (e.g. RVAp 5/192: fig 4.8b or RVAp 3/96: fig 4.8c) and the sixth features a woman and two youths (RVAp 1/83: fig 4.8a). The locations of the scenes are not obvious and the particular interaction amongst the figures is also not clear. These scenes are reminiscent of those that scholars have termed ‘conversation’ scenes in which two or three generic male figures are painted in a group as if conversing. They appear in Attic ceramics and are extremely common in Apulian vase-painting. Whether they are depicting a real or an imagined situation, or representing another view of courtship, is unclear. Lewis notes that similar scenes in the Attic tradition are also puzzling, since it is generally accepted that women of status in Athens were not permitted to interact freely with men outside of their family.<sup>168</sup> If intended to depict genuine platonic conversation between a male and a female, this raises questions about the societal norms and autonomy of women in Italic society. Lewis, however, goes on to mention, the prevalence of these scenes on South Italian vases intended for burial, surmising that these images are not a comment on the relationship between men and women but a representation of the young men and women who play a part in the mourning process, possibly even an initiatory group.<sup>169</sup>

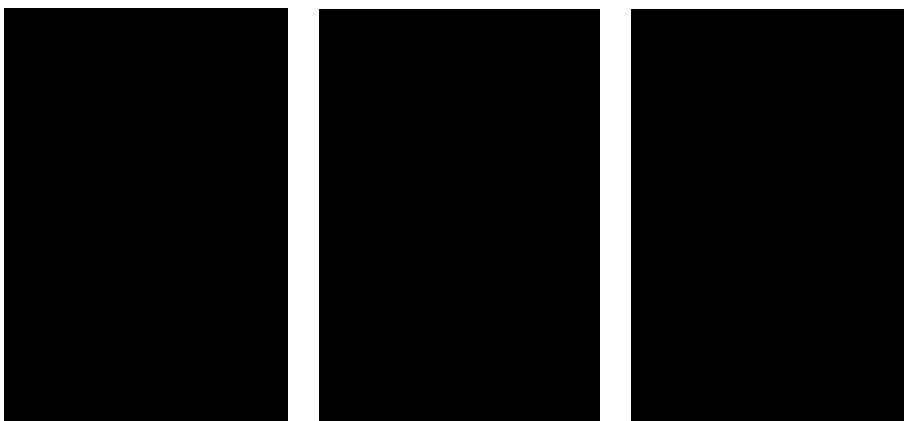


Figure 4.8 a) RVAp 1/83; b) RVAp 5/192; c) RVAp 3/96.

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<sup>168</sup> Lewis 2002, 206.

<sup>169</sup> Lewis 2002, 207.

#### 4.2.9 Single Figures

Two late vases featuring females are quite distinct from the other scenes. One vase is by the Baltimore Painter and the other by the Stanford-Conversano group and both display a seated female holding objects in an outdoor setting. In one image a woman holds a large flowering plant, kalathos basket and a wreath, with a phiale and another plant on the ground beside her (RVAp 23/260: fig. 4.9a). In the other image, a woman holds an open box and a fan and is seated on top of a large flower, surrounded by extremely elaborate and unusual florals and foliage that take up most of the picture (RVAp 27/60b: fig. 4.9b). Though plants and flowers are not uncommon design motifs in Attic pottery, this particularly ornate floral and tendril design is a style that is unique to Apulian red-figure and may have had distinctly eschatological meanings.<sup>170</sup>



Figure 4.9 a) RVAp 23/260; b) RVAp 27/60b.

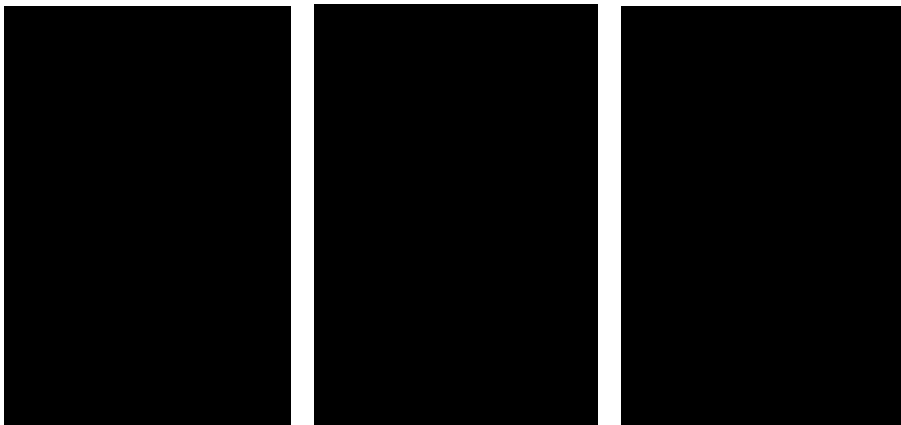
#### 4.2.10 Figure Group B – with Seated Male Youth

Five vases in this dataset depict a group of figures, which seemed to differ slightly from the generic ‘conversation’ scenes. Each of the five vases depicts a seated youth with standing characters around him. Four vases have two accompanying characters, either two women or a woman with another youth. The fifth vase just features a seated youth with a standing

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<sup>170</sup> See Heuer 2019 for a discussion on the various figures and accompanying scenes that appear on Apulian vases with these particular floral designs and how they may link to themes of death and the afterlife.

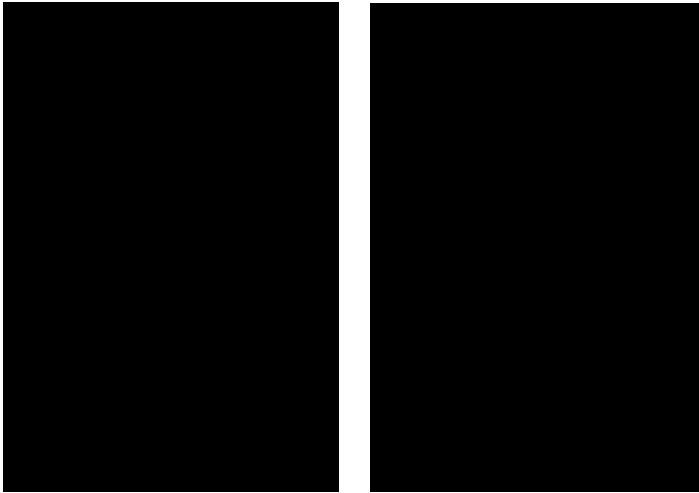
woman. In each case, the seated youth appears to be the intended main focus of the image. On three of the vases, the seated youth is the central figure with other characters either side turned to face him. On the fourth vase, the youth is painted to the left side but the two accompanying women both still face him (RVAp 1/118d: fig. 4.10b). On one vase, the seated youth is being handed a strigil by another youth while being crowned by a woman (RVAp 1/81: fig.4.10a). On the vase where the youth is seated to the left, he is being offered a libation from a woman and on a third vase, a woman is offering the youth a dish of food (RVAp 3/23). Another image portrays a woman holding a parasol over the seated youth's head, while another youth behind him is offering a phiale (RVAp 10/16: fig. 4.10c). The meaning of these images is not clear, but it could be inferred that the seated youth is meant to be viewed as being honoured in some way.



*Figure 4.10 a) RVAp 1/81; b) RVAp 1/118d; c) RVAp 10/16.*

#### 4.2.11 Figure Group C – Larger mixed groups

Two scenes by the Varrese Painter depict larger mixed groups of four or more figures, including men, women and Erotes in generic interior scenes (RVAp 13/30c: fig. 4.11a and RVAp 13/30a: 4.11b). Youths and women appear standing and seated, seemingly interacting with each other, but the actual occasion being represented is not clear.



*Figure 4.11 a) RVAp 13/30c; b) RVAp 13/30a.*

#### 4.2.12 Male Life

There is only one vase with a clear reference to male life, that of a young warrior arming (RVAp 3/25: fig. 4.12). On this vase a nude youth is holding a helmet, which presumably has been handed to him by the woman standing opposite, who is also holding a spear, shield and a sheathed sword. In Attic vase painting, this was a common theme, and it is interesting that it is often a woman who is pictured handing over the arms. Lissarrague cites the mythological archetype of Thetis bringing her son Achilles his armour as the inspiration for this scene and suggests it is intended to be a symbolic model of the role women play in birthing boys who would one day be warriors.<sup>171</sup>



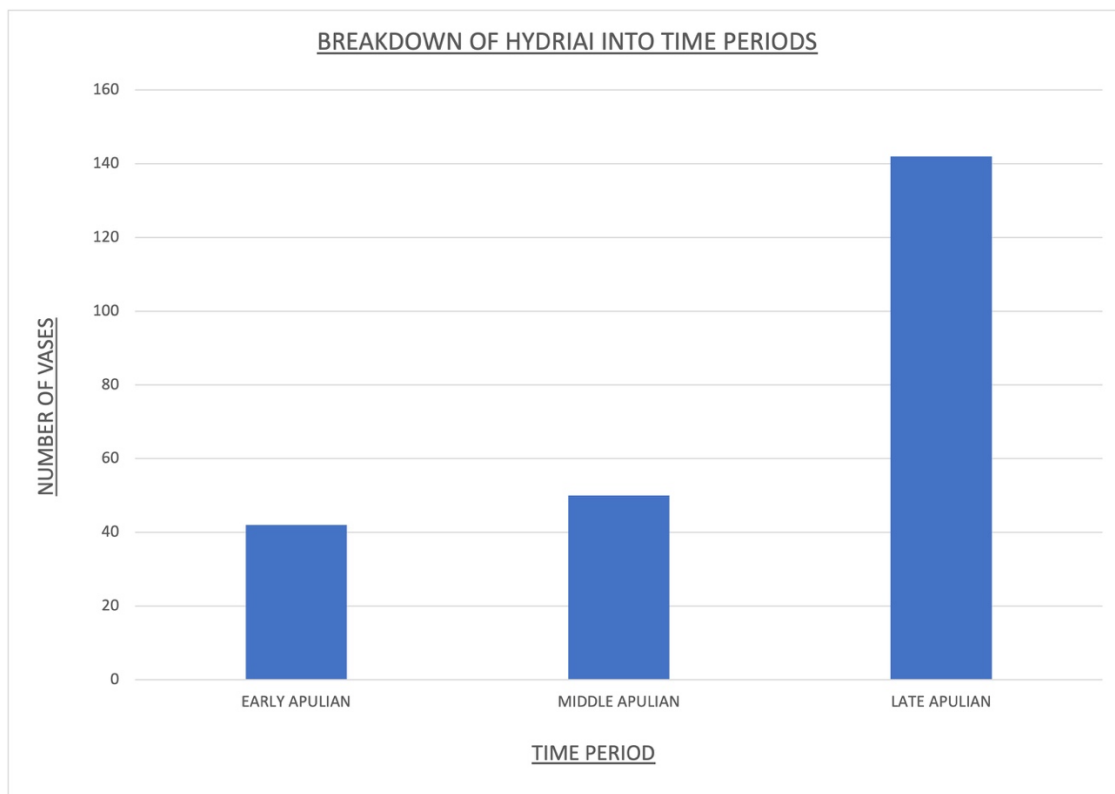
*Figure 4.12 RVAp 3/25.*

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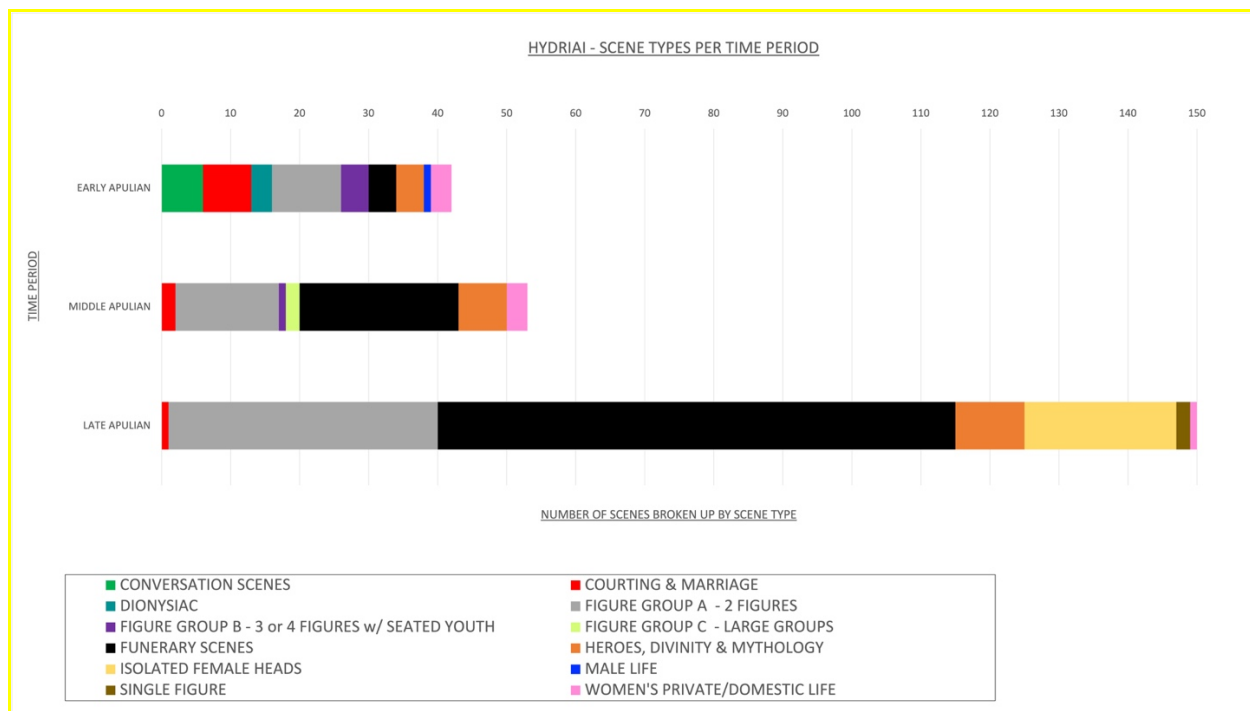
<sup>171</sup> Lissarrague 2015, 71.

### 4.3 Analysis of Scenes

It is clear, at least by the beginning of the Late Apulian phase, that the hydria was strongly associated with females. 85% of funeral naiskoi on hydriai are inhabited by females. Only one such naiskos contains a male and the painter of that vase, as mentioned above, likely learnt their trade in an environment where the norms were different. Furthermore, across all the scene types, those in which only females appear account for more than a third of the total scenes; by comparison there are no vases in the dataset which depict only men. There is at least one female depicted on each vase, apart from one vase which depicts a lone Eros. There is a clear bias towards the representation of deceased females in naiskos scenes, as well as, other female-related scenes. Overall, there is a distinct lack of masculine subjects and representations; for example there are no scenes of hunting, active athletics, symposia or Homeric battles. This absence of masculine imagery would appear to confirm the hypothesis that hydriai, continuing from the Greek tradition, were viewed and potentially utilised as a more feminine shape within Italic burial contexts.



*Table 4.6 Breakdown of Apulian red-figure hydriai into Early, Middle and Late Apulian time periods.*



*Table 4.7 Scene types that appear on Apulian red-figured hydriai in Early, Middle and Late Apulian time periods.*

When viewed chronologically, there are significantly more Late Apulian hydriai (Table 4.6), and there are clear changes in the type and prevalence of scenes that appear over time (Table 4.7). Early Apulian hydriai, though fewest in number, show the most variation in scene type, with a mix of themes including mythology, women’s private lives, courting and marriage, generic conversation and four of the five ‘Figure Group B’ scenes. The most prevalent scene type in this period is ‘Figure Group A’ and, in fact, the majority of the two-female examples occur in this early period. It is also the only time period to include a scene of male life with a depiction of a warrior arming. Furthermore, one of the funerary vases in this time period illustrates a male statue and another three are the only ones in the dataset to portray passive references to athletics, with naked youths holding strigils. The fact that the majority of the male-centric images appear in Early Apulian could support the notion that earlier vessels were used in symposia or similar drinking rituals.

The Middle Apulian period begins to show less variation and more repetition of scene types, with funerary scenes becoming common, as well as ‘Figure Group A’ scenes, particularly those of women with youths. This trend continues into the Late Apulian, where funerary and

‘Figure group A’ scenes of women with youths, as well as, women with Eros are all extremely common, along with isolated women’s heads which appear exclusively as a main form of decoration on Late Apulian hydriai. In this dataset, there is a relatively even number of mythological scenes across Early, Middle and Late Apulian. However, it is important to consider that since the actual number of vases increases dramatically by the Late Apulian phase; mythological scenes are not as prevalent at this later stage.

Though there is much imagery for which the meaning is uncertain, a significant number of scenes that appear on these hydriai may have been reinforcing gender norms and ideals for females. For example, though only one scene explicitly represents women undertaking physical work, the recurrence of the kalathos basket in domestic and funerary scenes is employed effectively as a signifier of a woman’s domestic duties. This might have suggested the particular domestic virtues expected of a good wife but also recognised the value of her labours for the successful running of a household and their contribution to its economy.<sup>172</sup> Ultimately, such a motif may imply that a woman’s role in her household was an important part of her female identity.

Women’s roles in religious and funerary rituals also appear to be of great significance. Closterman discusses how Athenian women were expected to look after the deceased, just as they would their living family members, by producing food and textiles for them and by providing them with other important post-burial gifts.<sup>173</sup> It is also a further indicator of the various responsibilities women undertook in regard to domestic chores. With the abundance of women depicted as visitors to the grave, in this dataset, it is tempting to interpret this as an indicator of the importance of this task for Italic women. This was often the case in Athens where women were responsible for the preparation of the dead, as well as the primary mourners. However, it will become clear in subsequent chapters, when compared with the results of the two ‘male’ shapes, that this might not necessarily have been the case in South Italy.

It cannot be known conclusively whether Italic peoples shared the view that hydriai were an inherently female shape and specifically requested or sought out this shape for deceased

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<sup>172</sup> Lewis 2002, 62-63.

<sup>173</sup> Closterman 2014, 162.

women, or whether Greek influence on the manufacture of hydriai still dictated that feminine scenes were painted on this particular shape. However, the fact that much of the imagery in this dataset of Apulian vases is quite unlike that of their contemporary Attic counterparts supports the idea that the vase producers were reacting to specific market demands. It seems likely then, based on this evidence, that the hydria may have held close connections to the gender specific roles of South Italian females.

## 5 Amphorai

### 5.1 History of Amphorai use in the Greek tradition

The amphora is a closed vessel, typically with a wide belly, narrow neck and two curved handles that reach from the mouth or neck to the body. While there are several stylistic variations, there are two main types of amphorai. The first is a one-piece amphora, with no joins and an uninterrupted curve between the neck and body. The second is the neck amphora, where the neck is more obviously attached, at an angle, to the body. Coarse amphorai were predominantly used as storage and transport vessels for numerous products but most commonly for oil and wine. This practice can be attested to by both literary and iconographic evidence. Attic iconography tends to portray amphorai as containers for agricultural products in market and festival scenes.<sup>174</sup> Lynch notes that the Getty skyphos pictures a storeroom with transport amphorai and suggests that once emptied, transport amphorai may have been reused in households to store staple items such as grain, dried fruit, meat, and wine.<sup>175</sup>

Fine painted amphorai may have been used as decanters, as their mouths were wider and, subsequently, harder to stopper. One clear exception to this is the Panatheanic amphorai, which held olive oil and were presented as prizes at the Panathenaic Games.<sup>176</sup> Many examples that have been discovered are not true Panathenaic prizes, however, but are copies of the shape, perhaps made for souvenir purposes.<sup>177</sup> The Panatheniac shape even continues into South Italian production. Fine ware amphorai apparently rarely appear illustrated in Attic sympotic scenes, though that does not rule out their having a place in symposia.<sup>178</sup> In Lynch's examination of sympotic vessels in domestic use in Athens, she postulates it is possible undiluted wine was brought to the symposium in table amphorai, though mentions that they have not been common in assemblages. Rather, she posits the wine is more likely to have been poured directly from a transport amphora into the krater.<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> Alexandridou 2011, 21.

<sup>175</sup> Lynch 2011, 158.

<sup>176</sup> Cook 1960, 208.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., 211

<sup>178</sup> Alexandridou 2011, 21.

<sup>179</sup> Lynch 2011, 115.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, male cremations were often found inside neck-handled amphorai in Athens during the Protogeometric and Geometric periods, which Boardman suggests is related to the shape's association with wine storage and the male consumption of wine.<sup>180</sup> During the Late Geometric, along with monumental kraters, neck-handled amphora were used as grave markers for men and belly-handled amphora for women.<sup>181</sup>

## 5.2 Examination of Scenes on Amphorai

The amphorai dataset consists of 228 vases with 254 obverse scenes on the main section of the body. The broad scene types catalogued are displayed in Table 5.1.

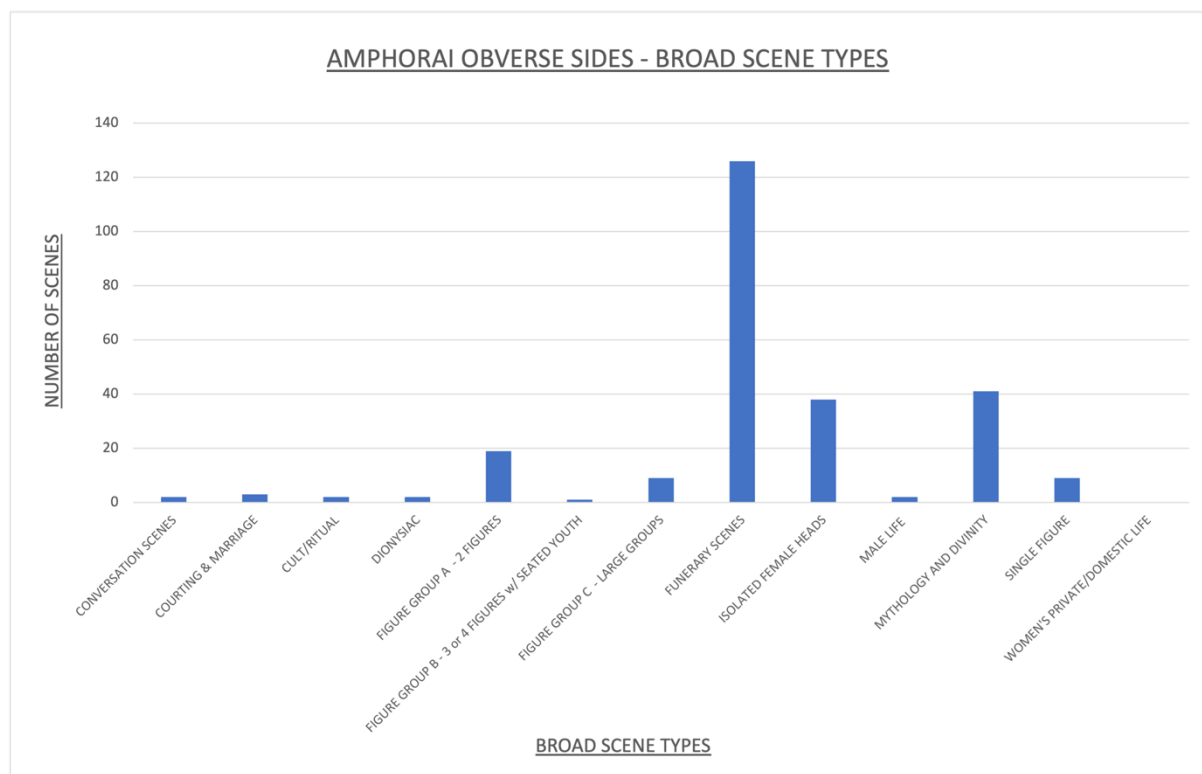
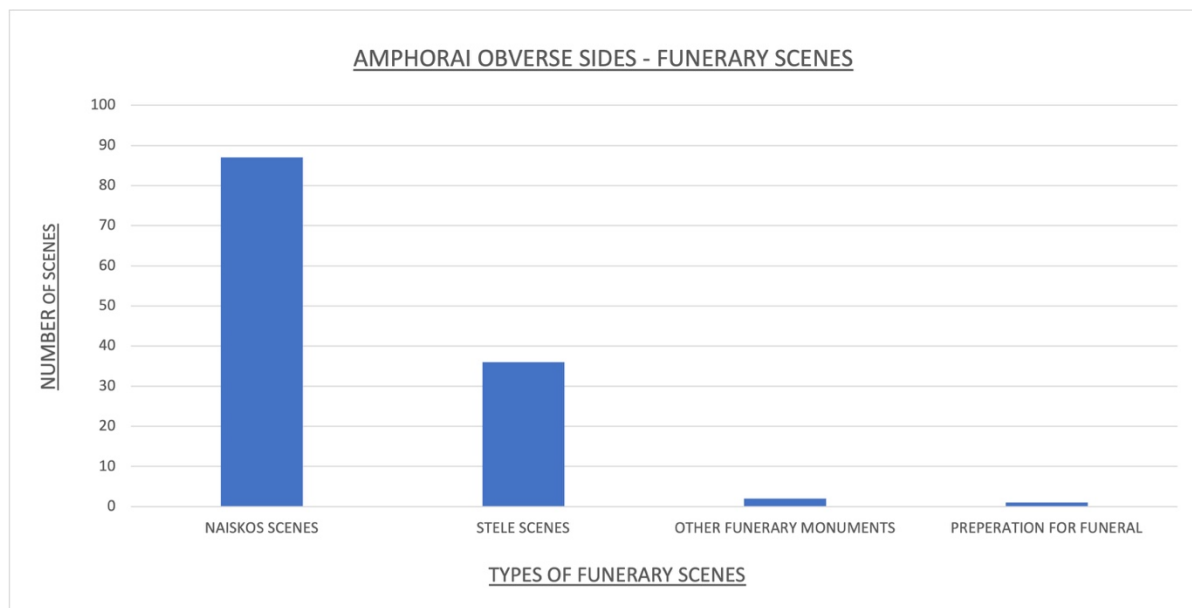


Table 5.1 Scenes on obverse sides of Apulian red-figured amphorai, divided by broad scene-type.

<sup>180</sup> Boardman 1988, 171 -172.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., 173; Mannack 2012, 42.

### 5.2.1 Funerary Scenes



*Table 5.2 Types of funerary scenes on obverse sides of Apulian red-figured amphorai.*

The leading category of scene types found on the obverse sides of the amphorai is funerary scenes. There are 126 funerary scenes (49%) in this category. They appear in comparatively high numbers across all three time periods but most significantly during the Middle Apulian period, where funerary scenes comprise 67% of all scenes from that time frame. Examining the different types of funerary scenes from the dataset, naiskos scenes comprise the vast majority with 87 examples (69% of all funerary scenes), which are followed by stelai scenes with 36 examples (29%) (Table 5.2). Only two scenes portray other types of funerary monuments, an amphora on a plinth (RVAp 14/122: fig 5.1a) and the statue of a youth (RVAp 9/160: fig 5.1b). The remaining scene does not portray the funeral itself, rather, what is possibly a representation of funerary preparations. This scene, painted by the Hearst Painter, was the earliest of the amphorai dataset (RVAp 1/46: fig. 5.1c). It depicts a slave woman, identifiable by her cropped hair, balancing a tray of food on her head. On either side of her is a nude youth holding a fillet, as well as a black-figure amphora with a branch inside. Trendall described this as a scene of “offerings to the departed”.<sup>182</sup>

<sup>182</sup> RVAp1, 10.

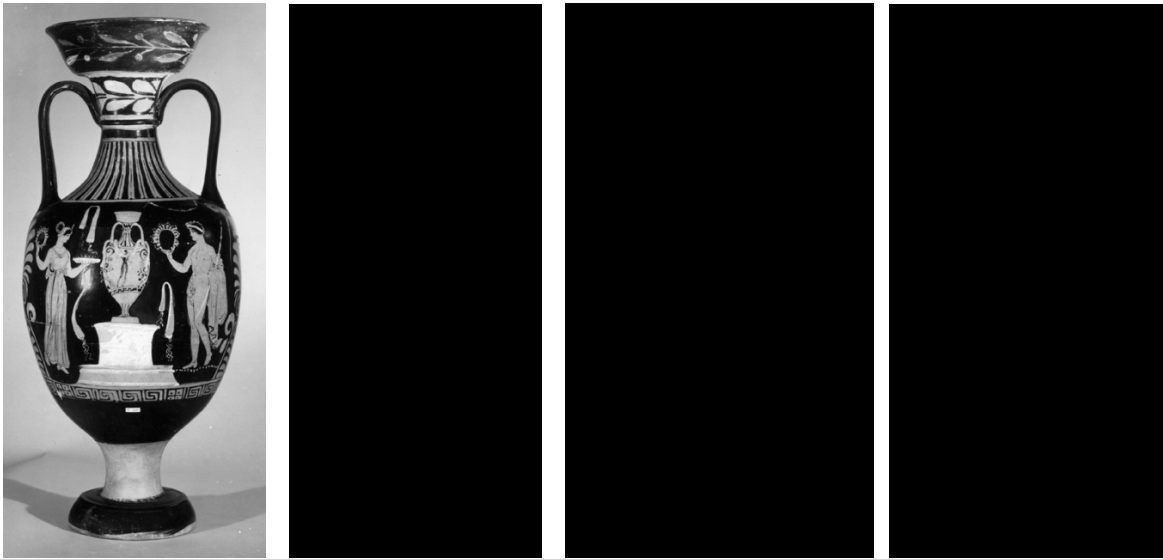


Figure 5.1 a) RVAp 14/122, British Museum 1772,0320.18.+, © The Trustees of the British Museum, Image Source: [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1772-0320-18-](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1772-0320-18-); b) RVAp 9/160; c) RVAp 1/46; d) RVAp 25/16a

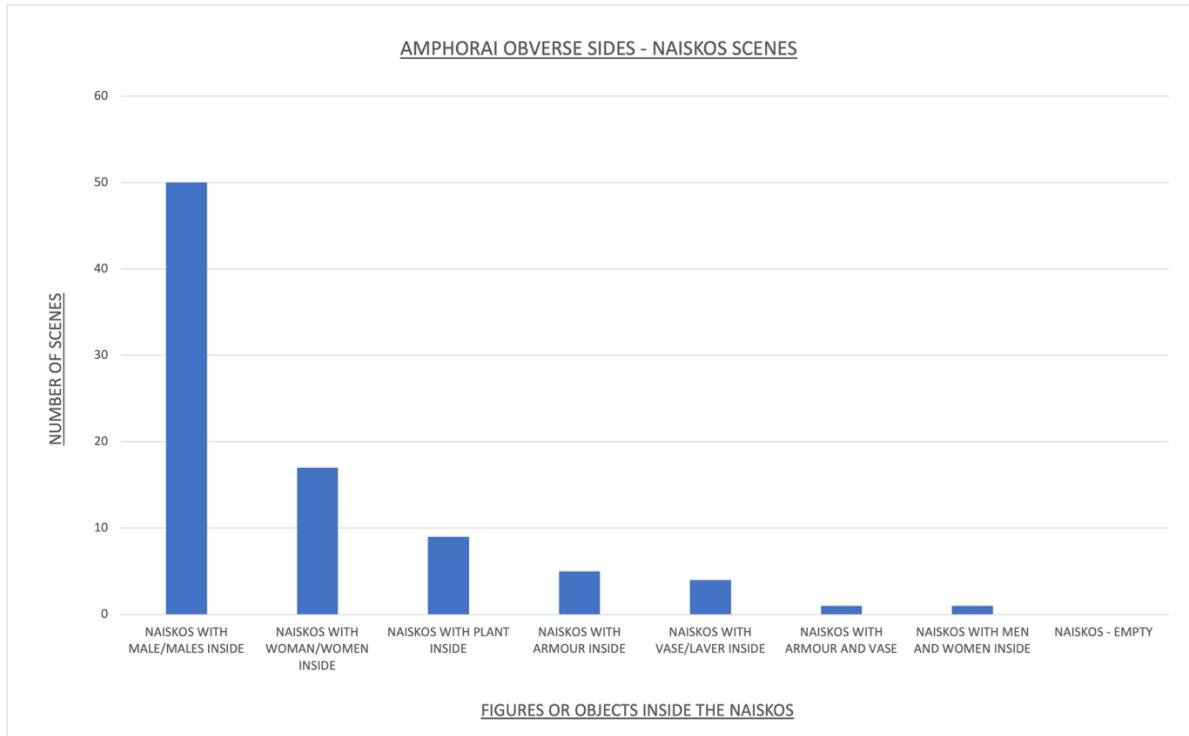


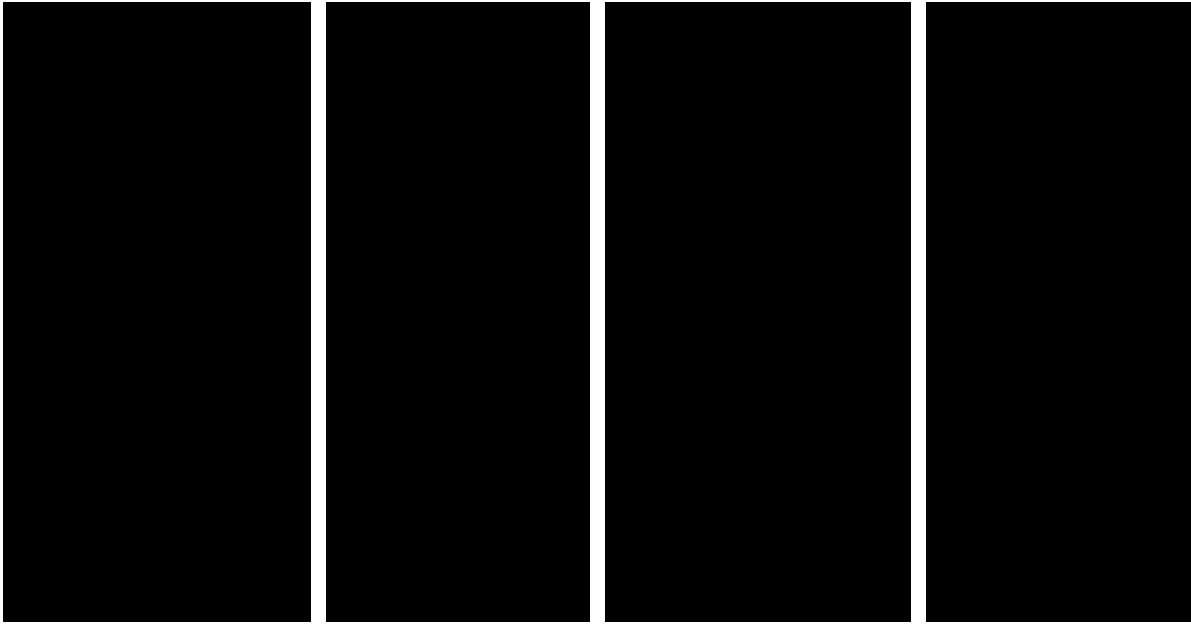
Table 5.3 Naiskos scenes appearing on obverse sides of Apulian red-figured amphorai, divided by characters or objects inside the naiskos.

For the naiskos scenes on the obverse sides of the amphorai, males are most frequently depicted as the deceased (Table 5.3). Male deceased figures account for 57% of the naiskos scenes with 42 scenes depicting one male inside a naiskos and eight scenes with two males inside. These males are predominantly youths portrayed partially or fully nude and are commonly depicted with weapons and armour including spears, swords, shields, cuirasses, greaves and helmets (e.g Fig. 5.2a-d). Occasionally youths appear holding other inside the naiskos, for example, one youth is holding a strigil, likely to highlight his athleticism (RVAp 20/13a). In another two naiskos scenes with youths inside, one is seen holding a kantharos (RVAp 23/198) and the other is being offered a kantharos by a male attendant (RVAp 27/39e: fig 5.2b). In Greek custom, this drinking vessel was specifically identified with male elite drinking rituals. The kantharos also happens to be a vessel sometimes associated in Greek art with heroes such as Herakles and, therefore, may have been chosen to signify something more intangible, for instance, the deceased's heroic nature or achievements.<sup>183</sup> In some instances, animals also appeared with males inside naiskoi. Horses appear in eight male naiskos scenes and the majority of these are presumably intended to enhance the males' portrayal as warriors and, perhaps, infer involvement in an elite cavalry class (e.g. RVAp 28/67c: fig 5.2c).<sup>184</sup> Two of the horse scenes also depict a hare, suggestive of the male pursuit of hunting (RVAp 27/37a and RVAp 29/200-11: fig 5.2d). Similarly, another two vases illustrate males inside a naiskos with a dog, which is likely to be a hunting companion (RVAp 17/13 and 17/58a). One other naiskos scene is interesting in that it depicts two males, a youth and an older man, with a loutrophoros (RVAp 25/16a: fig 5.1d), perhaps indicating that the young man died unwed. In Greek tradition, the loutrophoros was an important vessel for the wedding ceremony and was symbolically used in Athens as a funerary marker for young males and females who had died unwed.

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<sup>183</sup> Neils 2004, 32. In an examination of the iconography on a Greek white ground lekythoi by the Inscription Painter, which depicts a kantharos on top of a grave stele, Neils believed that the kantharos' association with famous heroes might signify that the grave belonged to a heroized male.

<sup>184</sup> Norman 2009, 52; Norman's examination of horse related iconography on Daunian stelae in combination with horse gear discovered in eighth century 'princely' tombs points to horsemanship being associated with elite classes in Apulia.



*Figure 5.2 a) RVAp 23/3a ; b) RVAp 27/39e ; c) RVAp 28/67c; d) RVAp 29/200-11*

The second largest number of naiskos scenes depicts females as the deceased. There are 17 vases with such a scene, comprising 20% of all the naiskos scenes (e.g. RVAp 23/162, 25/198 and 29/6c). While this is not an overwhelmingly large number, it is a significant one to find on a vase type that supposedly had distinct male associations. All but one of these scenes are from the Late Apulian, suggesting that perhaps this shape became more inclusive of females as time went on. It might be noted, as a point of difference here, that in the hydriai dataset there are only two male funerary scenes. In the amphorai dataset, there is also one naiskos scene which depicts two women and a male in the naiskos (RVAp 27/41). Since there are no explicitly male objects in this scene, it might be assumed the female is the deceased, shaking hands with an older bearded man, most likely her father. The remaining 19 naiskos scenes in the dataset, depict other objects inside the naiskos. There are nine which display a large flowering plant inside (e.g. RVAp 12/93 and 20/292), five with various types of armour (e.g. RVAp 12/126 and 20/69), one with a laver (RVAp 28/59) and three with different vessels. These vessels are a phiale (RVAp 16/62), a calyx-krater (RVAp 28/46) and an amphora (RVAp 14/124). The final scene has both a shield and a kantharos inside. It can probably safely be assumed, based on the way males were represented in the other naiskos scenes, that armour depicted inside naiskoi was also intended to signify a male deceased.

As with the hydriai, the majority of amphorai funerary scenes depicts mourners, typically bearing offerings or gifts. The most frequent objects are wreaths, fillets, cistai, phialai,

branches and mirrors. Some items appear to be gendered either in relation to the deceased or to the mourner carrying it. For example, mirrors and *cistai* are more often depicted being carried by females and fans are exclusively carried by females. Strigils, shields and weapons are alone carried by male mourners and appear only in male *naiskoi* scenes and one *stelai* scene. They do not appear in any female *naiskoi* scenes. The *kalathos* basket appears much less frequently in this dataset, being depicted on only 6 vases. Three of these are female *naiskos* scenes, one is a female group scene, one is a male *naiskos* scene and the final image is a *stela* scene. An interesting point of comparison with the *hydriai* in the previous chapter is that in the *amphorai* dataset, there are only 11 scenes which have only female mourners. Rather, the scenes predominantly show mixed groups of youths and women, making up 64% of the funerary scenes. Also, unlike the *hydriai* which have no scenes with male only mourners, the obverse sides of the *amphorai* have seven examples with exclusively male mourners. It is important to mention that these scenes with male only mourners are primarily *naiskos* scenes where a deceased male or male objects, such as armour are pictured inside the *naiskos*, never a female deceased.

### 5.2.2 Heroes, Divinity and Mythology

Containing 41 scenes (16%), this is the second highest category of images for the obverse sides of the *amphorai* (Table 5.4). When examined chronologically, the greatest number of mythological scenes occur in Late Apulian. The percentage of mythological scenes in Late Apulian equate to a similar percentage as Early Apulian, though that time period has significantly less vases in total. Middle Apulian, by comparison has considerably fewer examples of mythology. For the *amphorai*, deities are a popular subject and images of a lone Eros are the most common occurrence with five examples, followed by larger groups of deities that do not necessarily have an obvious theme. In terms of mythology, there is certainly more variety in the *amphorai* dataset than there is in the *hydriai* dataset and, it would be fair to say, a larger number of scenes with masculine subjects. Such subjects include scenes relating to the Trojan War, famous male heroes, battles and deaths. This is not to say, however, that scenes with female characters or more feminine topics are excluded. It must be acknowledged here that the large variety of scenes makes it difficult to unpack all the possible interpretations of intended meaning. However, an effort has been made to explore some of the more apparent and relevant themes.

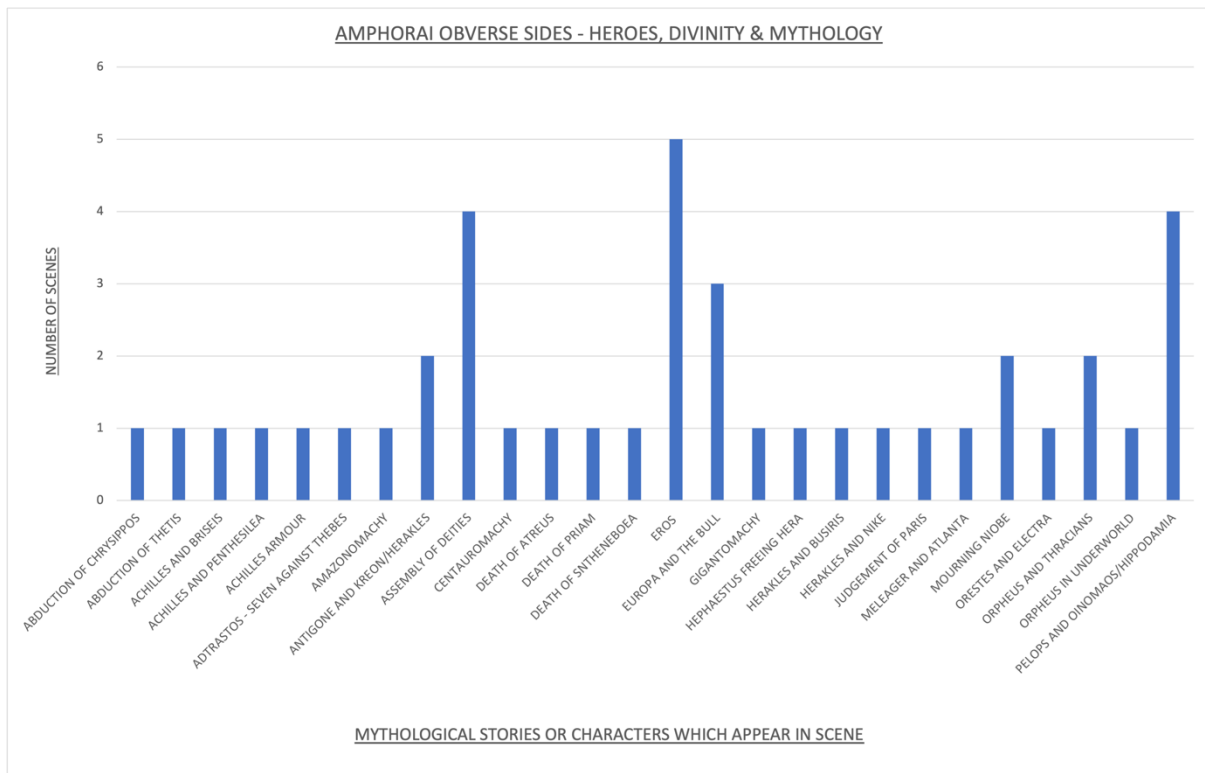


Table 5.4 Types of hero, mythological and divinity scenes appearing on the obverse sides of Apulian red-figured amphorai.

One of the mythological scenes which recurs is Pelops with Oinomaos. This is a segment of the story of Pelops' courting of Hippodamia where he must negotiate the terms of a chariot race with her father, Oinomaos, to either win Hippodamia's hand in marriage or alternatively, face death. Two of these scenes are on vases by the Baltimore Painter, with one appearing underneath a courting scene between Pelops and Hippodamia. The third is on an earlier vase by the Varrese Painter (RVAp 13/5). It is interesting that the focus of these scenes rests more upon the interactions of the two male characters and, particularly, that they depict this more restrained moment before the tumultuous action of the race takes place. Two of the examples clearly reference the formal oaths the men swear, with the scenes taking place in front of an altar. One of these depicts a ram being brought forward for slaughter and the other shows the two men taking libations. Both examples, however, reference the violent nature of the event to come with the severed heads of past suitors figured in the background. The third example, the one depicted under the courting scene (RVAp 27/40: fig. 5.3a), illustrates the two men in

conversation beside the chariots and it is fascinating that it is the courting scene above which features the severed heads. One might wonder if this was purely a device to signify which characters and story were being represented or if the inferred violence also made courting scenes more agreeable to male viewers and consumers.



*Figure 5.3 a) RVAp 27/40; b) RVAp 18/46*

The other mythological scene which recurs three times is the scene of Europa being abducted by Zeus in the form of a bull (eg. RVAp 18/46: fig 5.3b). In the narrative, she is taken from her home and family and carried across the water to the island of Crete where she becomes the first Cretan queen. Like the ‘abduction of Persephone’ myth that is depicted in the hydriai dataset, the tale of Europa and the bull has connotations to both the real-life situation of a young women’s journey from maiden to wife, as well as, to the passage from life into death. Europa’s journey to her new home was accompanied by Nereids, which can be seen figured on one of the amphorai scenes and, perhaps, mirrors the ritual procession that is known from Greek tradition, that would take place between a young woman’s childhood home to that of her groom, where she would ostensibly be transferred from one family to another. It is not a difficult stretch to imagine then how this journey could mirror the voyage of the dead, as “one marked by a separation, a transitional phase, and a reincorporation.”<sup>185</sup> In fact, in Greece, funerals were similarly marked with a procession of family and friends and

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<sup>185</sup> Barringer 1991, 665.

both events incorporated some comparable ritual behaviour, such as the purification of the bride and groom or the deceased with water.<sup>186</sup>

Other scenes which may have been intended to deal with themes of the afterlife are depictions of Orpheus, of which there are also three. Orpheus was supposedly a Thracian poet and musician believed by some ancient writers to have lived before Homer's time. Two scenes depict him amongst Thracians and one situates him in the Underworld. Stories of his life, such as how he descended into the Underworld to retrieve his dead wife Eurydice, combined with poems attributed to him, became the foundation for religious practices and a way of life referred to as 'Orphism'. It was believed by initiates that following the Orphic way of life would lead to a desirable afterlife in the Underworld or conversely, that being uninitiated would lead to punishment and suffering.<sup>187</sup> It is debated by some scholars, however, as to whether Orphism was prevalent or even practiced at all in Apulia.<sup>188</sup> An alternative reading of such imagery may be an interest in the mythology as transferred through Greek tragedy.<sup>189</sup> In either case, it may suggest that the Apulian peoples had preoccupations with what may await them after death.

As prefaced, masculine subjects appear more commonly on the amphorai than they do on the hydriai. Warfare is pictured in the form of mythical battles, such as Amazonomachies, a Centauromachy and a Gigantomachy. Murder and violence are also recurring motifs and appear overtly in scenes such as the killings of Atreus, Stheneboea and King Priam.<sup>190</sup> In other scenes, an impending act of war or violence is implied, such as Adrastos leading the Seven against Thebes or Herakles imprisoned by King Busiris of Egypt, whom Herakles will later kill to free himself. Notions of the heroic ideal are represented by scenes of Herakles and Achilles. Episodes relating to the Trojan War also appear, including one, possibly two, scenes of Achilles fighting Penthesilea, queen of the Amazons, one scene which seems to be Achilles leaving his war prize, Briseis, with Agamemnon and another scene of female Nereids carrying Achilles' new armour. Though Achilles is not present in this last scene, his armour represents both an important turning point in the Trojan War narrative and a significant Greek ideology, which was the importance of glory, honour, and fame. Achilles'

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<sup>186</sup> Redfield 1982, 188-189.

<sup>187</sup> Bernabé 2009, 98; Mylonas 1961, 265,267.

<sup>188</sup> Carpenter 2009, 34-35; see also Sekita 2019.

<sup>189</sup> Sekita 2019/2019.

<sup>190</sup> It is also thought this last vase (RVAp 28/12) could be a representation of the death of Penthesilea.

decision to accept the new armour and return to battle is significant, since he has the prophetic knowledge that he will either lead a long yet ordinary life or die a hero's death in his youth and he chooses the latter. It is a fitting theme for a funerary vessel, particularly, if the Italic people's shared similar values about pride and prowess in battle. There is also an interesting link to one of the Europa scenes (RVAp 18/234), since, in both instances, the motif of female Nereids could be seen as facilitators for the transition from one state to another. For Europa, as previously mentioned, the Nereids are reminiscent of a bridal or funerary procession. Similarly, "[Achilles] knows when he dons his armour to slay Hector, that he is sealing his fate. It is the Nereids who deliver this armour to him and, thus, serve as attendants to Achilles in his passage from life to death."<sup>191</sup>

As touched upon in the last chapter, scenes that can be linked to mythological stories of the Royal House of Thebes may have been specifically chosen for burial vessels to help emphasise the importance of family lineage or, more simply, be a response to a local interest in Greek theatre. Such scenes like mourning Niobe and the abduction of Chryssipos, which are present in the hydriai dataset, also appear here, as well as, a scene of Adrastos leading the Seven against Thebes and two scenes of Antigone brought before Creon, king of Thebes. All these mythological subjects are known to have been explored in theatrical works both extant and lost to modern times.<sup>192</sup>

### 5.2.3 Isolated Female Heads

In this dataset, there are 38 scenes (15%) which feature an isolated woman's head as a primary form of decoration. This is the third largest category, and all are on Late Apulian vases. Isolated female heads also appear as a secondary and much smaller form of decoration on at least 30 vases, which have not been added to the count here. These diminutive female heads are typically surrounded by florals and usually appear on the shoulder of vases with naiskos or mythological scenes. In a small number of cases, this female head is also

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<sup>191</sup> Barringer 1991, 666.

<sup>192</sup> One of the Antigone scenes in the dataset for example, presents Heracles appealing to Creon to spare the lives of Antigone and her husband. This version of the story does not appear in Sophocles' well-known play, however, it matches the description of a fable by Roman author Hyginus, which has encouraged debate as to whether it is perhaps part of Euripides' lost Antigone play or that of another playwright entirely. See for example Paton 1901.

surrounded by wings and, therefore, may be a representation of Nike (e.g. RVAp 25/198 and 28/134).

#### 5.2.4 Figure Group A – Two Figures holding objects.

There are 19 scenes (7%) that have been categorised as ‘Figure Group A’. There are three different subdivisions of characters that appear on amphorai (Table 5.5). 14 scenes are a woman and a youth (e.g. RVAp 6/24a: fig 5.4a and RVAp 9/128: fig 5.4b), three scenes are a woman with Eros (e.g. RVAp 20/216: fig 5.4c) and the remaining two scenes feature a woman with an Italic warrior (RVAp 23/199a and RVAp 23/199b: fig 5.4d). There are no examples of two males or a male with an Eros. Unlike the hydriai, there are no examples of two women together. The two Late Apulian amphorai by the Trieste Owl Group which each depict a youth dressed in Italic warrior’s attire, represent an example which was not present in the hydriai dataset.

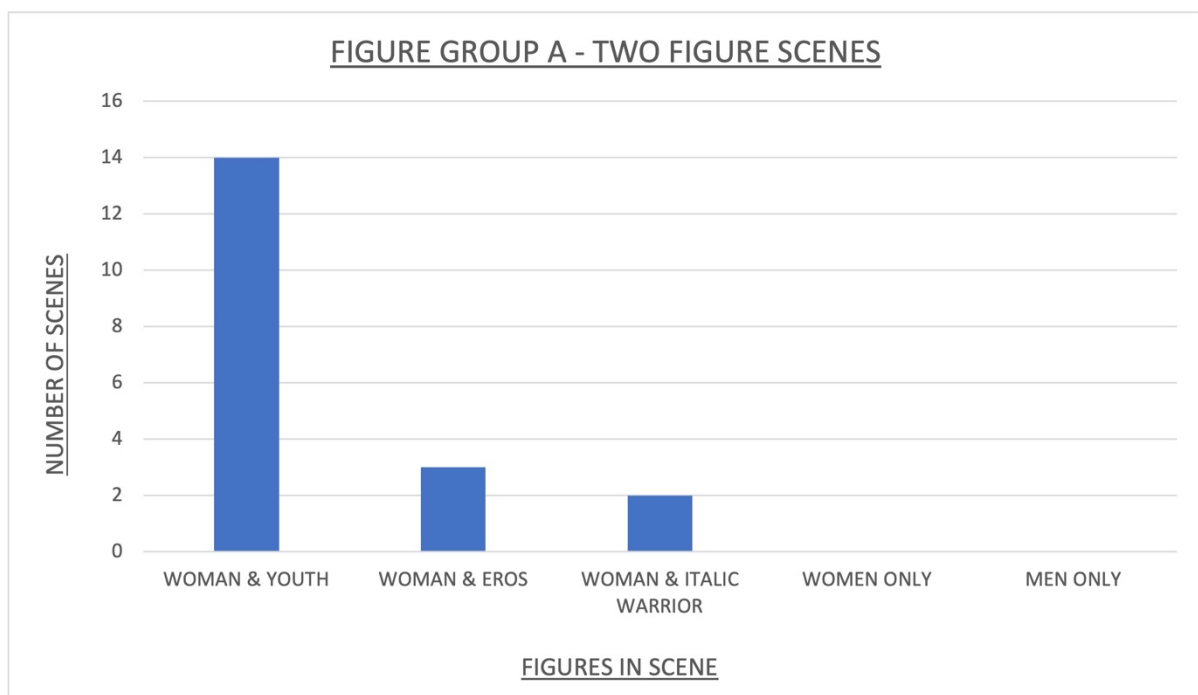
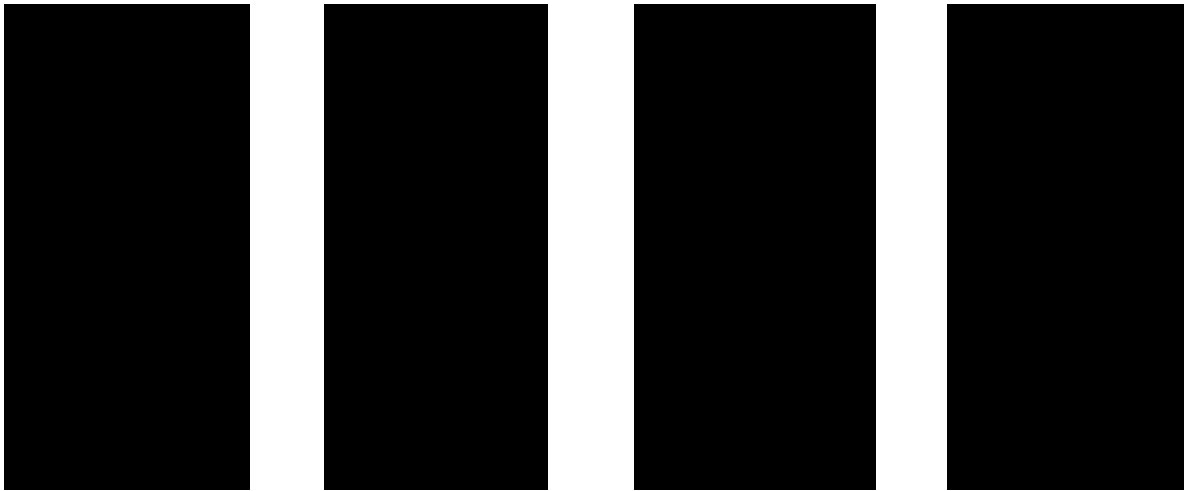


Table 5.5 Two figure scenes on the obverse sides of Apulian red-figured amphorai, divided by figure combinations.

As with the hydriai examples, there are certain objects which recur in these scenes including phialai, wreaths, cistai, situlai, mirrors, tympanon, grapes and what appears to be eggs or fruit. The majority of the scenes in this category come from the Middle and Late Apulian periods and only one is from Early Apulian.



*Figure 5.4 a) RVAp 6/24a; b) RVAp 9/128 c) RVAp 20/216 d) RVAp 23/199b*

### 5.2.5 Dionysiac

The two vases (less than 1%) that have been placed into this category (RVAp 20/210: fig 5.5a and RVAp 27/526: fig 5.5b) appear strikingly similar to the scenes in ‘Figure Group A’ in terms of composition. The main difference is that both of these vases appear to present a woman and a satyr.<sup>193</sup> The satyr, a typical companion of Dionysos, and the thyrsus, an object that appears on both vases and is emblematic of Dionysos’ followers, encourages the potential interpretation of these as Dionysiac scenes. Their similarity in composition to the ‘Figure Group A’ scenes, however, perhaps lends some weight to the suggestion that these scenes may also relate to Dionysiac cult or ritual as suggested in the previous chapter.

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<sup>193</sup> Admittedly, the damage to RVAp 27/526 makes it difficult to confirm this is a satyr. Its image looks as though it has a tail but the other adornments on the body are also similar to that of an Eröte. Trendall, however, labelled this character as a satyr.

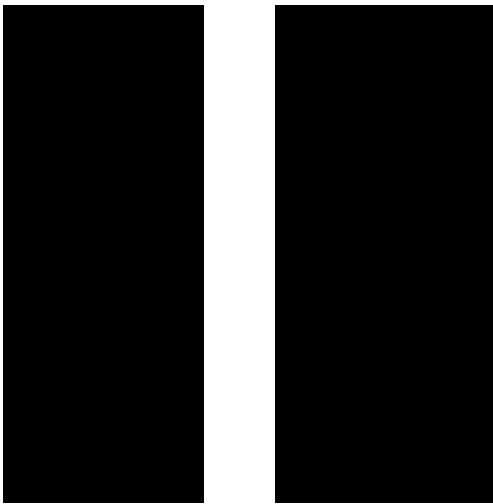


Figure 5.5 a) RVAp 20/210; b) RVAp 27/526

### 5.2.6 Single Figure

On the obverse sides of the amphorai there are 9 scenes (4%) featuring a single female character. Six of these scenes (RVAp 23/170a, 24/86, 24/159, 25/64a, 25/119 and 25/157) show a solitary woman seated and are very similar in that they are the only scene on that side of the vase and portray the woman seated on a rock formation, suggesting she is outside. In these six scenes, the women are both holding and surrounded by various objects that include situlai, fans, fillets, cistai, a mirror, a wreath, a phiale, a tympanon, a bunch of grapes and a dish of cake. These seated scenes, which are all Late Apulian, appear to symbolise that some ritualised activity is taking place in nature, perhaps in an outdoor sanctuary. There are also two scenes depicting a singular female standing, one holding a thyrsus, which is perhaps representing a maenad (RVAp 11/51), and the other holding a ball and a wreath (RVAp 11/144). The final scene portrays a female running, or dancing, to the left of the vase carrying a cista and a wreath (RVAp 23/223).

### 5.2.7 Courting and Marriage

Only three images (1%) fall into the courting and marriage category. On one vase, there is a scene of courting, which depicts a woman reclining in a chair with a parasol and an attendant. She is approached by a nude youth who offers her a bird, likely a duck (RVAp 4/203: fig

5.6a). The lower register of a second vase appears to show a classic pursuit scene (RVAp 1/97: fig 5.6b). Two couples, each comprising a woman and a youth, are shown running to the left with the males reaching out to the females. The central female is performing a nuptial gesture of *anakalypsis*, raising a section of her garments like she might lift a wedding veil. The final vase is more difficult to interpret and possibly presents an image of women preparing for the role of bride (RVAp 28/67e: fig 5.6c). It depicts two women either side of a laver, behind which is a large tree and a small flying bird. One of the women holds a bunch of grapes and a ball, while the other woman holds a large bird, likely a swan or goose.

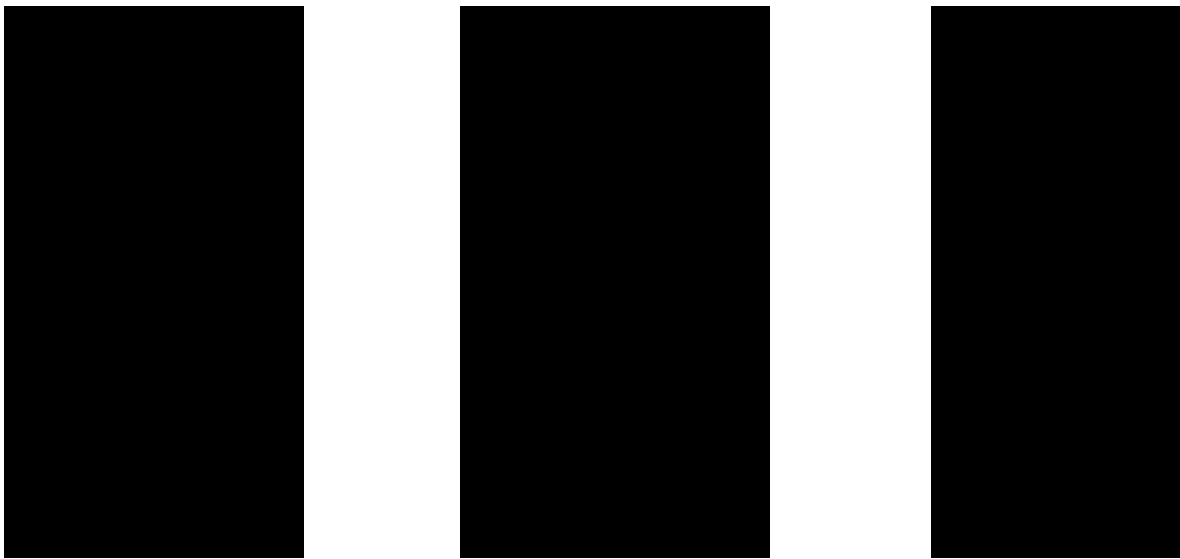
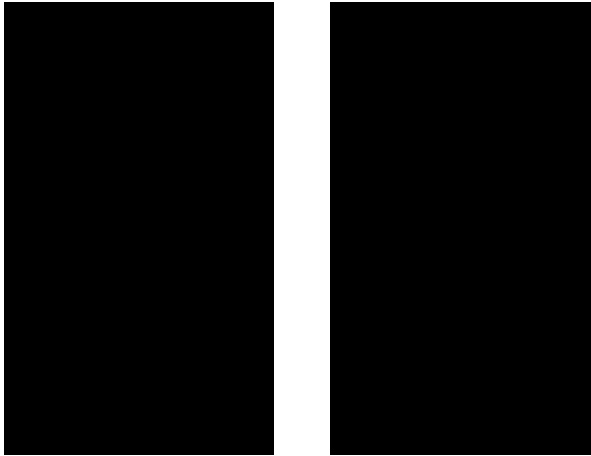


Figure 5.6 a) RVAp 4/203; b) RVAp 1/97; c) RVAp 28/67e

### 5.2.8 Conversation Scenes

There are two vases (1%) which have generic scenes of two figures, potentially in conversation. Both these scenes by the Tarporley Painter are Early Apulian and portray a male and female figure standing opposite each other. In one scene, the woman holds a large hydria and the nude youth holds a fillet (RVAp 3/8: fig 5.7a), in the other scene the woman is holding up a mirror and the nude youth has a staff (RVAp 3/51: fig 5.7b).



*Figure 5.7 a) RVAp 3/8; b) RVAp 3/51*

### 5.2.9 Cult and Ritual

There are only two scenes (1%) which, perhaps, present clearer depictions of cult or ritual practices. Both scenes appear on Late Apulian vases by the Darius Painter. They are each present on the lowest register of their respective vases, underneath scenes of an assembly of various gods. The first scene (RVAp 18/50: fig 5.8a) presents an ionic columned shrine at the centre of the image. Inside the shrine are five large corn stalks and to either side are male and female figures holding objects such as wreaths, rosette-chains, branches and a phiale. The corn stalks in the shrine are not a common image but it is quite possible that they are intended to denote worship of a divinity with connections to agrarian symbolism, such as Demeter or Dionysus. The second scene (RVAp 18/49: fig 5.8b) mirrors the first, in terms of composition, with an Ionic column building. In this instance, a fountain house features at the centre of the scene with figures to either side. Fountain houses sometimes set the scene on vases for specific mythological events, or for women undertaking idealised versions of everyday tasks, such as water collection or bathing. However, neither scenario seems to be the case in this instance. Evidence to the possible ritual nature of this scene is provided by the characters to either side, who are a satyr with a syrinx and a woman holding a branch and phiale, who is shown placing incense onto a thymeterion. Both burning incense and pouring libations were often part of religious ritual, formal ceremonies, or offerings to gods. The

satyr, as mentioned before, is a follower of Dionysus and the woman could be intended to be a maenad preparing an offering.<sup>194</sup>



Figure 5.8 a) RVAp 18/50, St Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum GP-4636, Image sourced: <https://hermitage-www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digitalcollection/10.+porcelain%2c+faience%2c+ceramics/289749>; b) RVAp 18/49

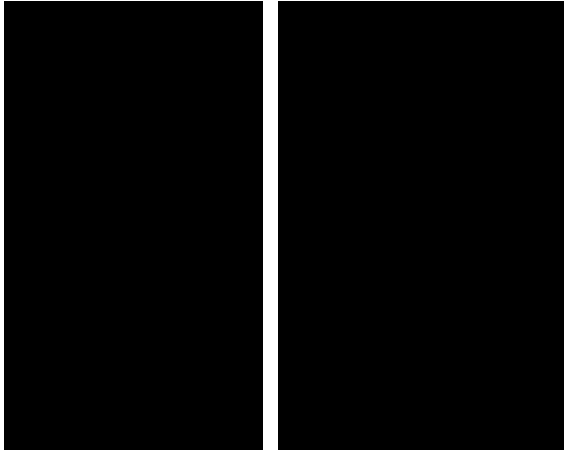
### 5.2.10 Male Life

Two scenes (1%) in the amphorai dataset potentially depict aspects of male life. The first vase by the Rainone Painter (RVAp 4/227: fig 5.9a) appears to portray a ritual departing or, perhaps, returning warrior scene. This is a common scene on both Attic and Apulian vases, though the Apulian versions tend to have distinct stylistic differences such as the nude warrior<sup>195</sup>. A second vase by the Hearst Painter (RVAp 1/46a: fig 5.9b) has a scene which shows three nude males that include two youths and an older, bearded man. All three men have spears, the two younger men have helmets and one of the youths also has a sheathed sword. The youth in the middle is wearing a chaplet around his head and is standing holding a pilos helmet in one hand and a spear with a fillet tied around it with the other. The youth to

<sup>194</sup> This scene can also be compared to another on a volute krater by the Darius Painter in the Princeton Art Museum, which has a clear Dionysiac scene on its reverse. Underneath a central depiction of Dionysus is a very similar fountain house, approached on one side by a satyr holding a thyrsus and torch and on the other by a maenad bringing grapes and other offerings, such as pomegranates and eggs.

<sup>195</sup> Carpenter 2011, 25. Carpenter notes that in Attic versions the warrior is rarely nude and is usually accompanied by a man and a woman, most likely his parents. In Apulian versions, the warrior is either in Italic dress or nude and only women tend to appear with him in the ritual.

the left is running forward, holding out a chaplet to the centre youth who is facing him. To the right, the bearded man is seated and appears to be observing the others. The location is not clear but the man is seated on a rock, suggesting this scene is taking place outdoors.



*Figure 5.9 a) RVAp 4/227; b) RVAp 1/46a*

### 5.2.11 Figure Group B – with Seated Male Youth

There is only one scene (less than 1%) which fits into the category of Figure Group B, in which four figures including a seated youth are depicted. This vase (RVAp 10/74: fig 5.10) by the Dechter Painter is Middle Apulian and depicts a seated nude youth holding a spear and being crowned with a wreath by a woman. A nude youth on the right, who is already crowned, puts his hand on the seated man's shoulder, while a third youth with a cape and spear watches from the left. Like the scenes on the hydriai, it appears as if the seated male is being honoured in some manner.



Figure 5.10 RVAp 10/74, Brooklyn Museum 62.147.6.,

Image Source: <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/80838>

### 5.2.12 Figure Group C – Larger Groups

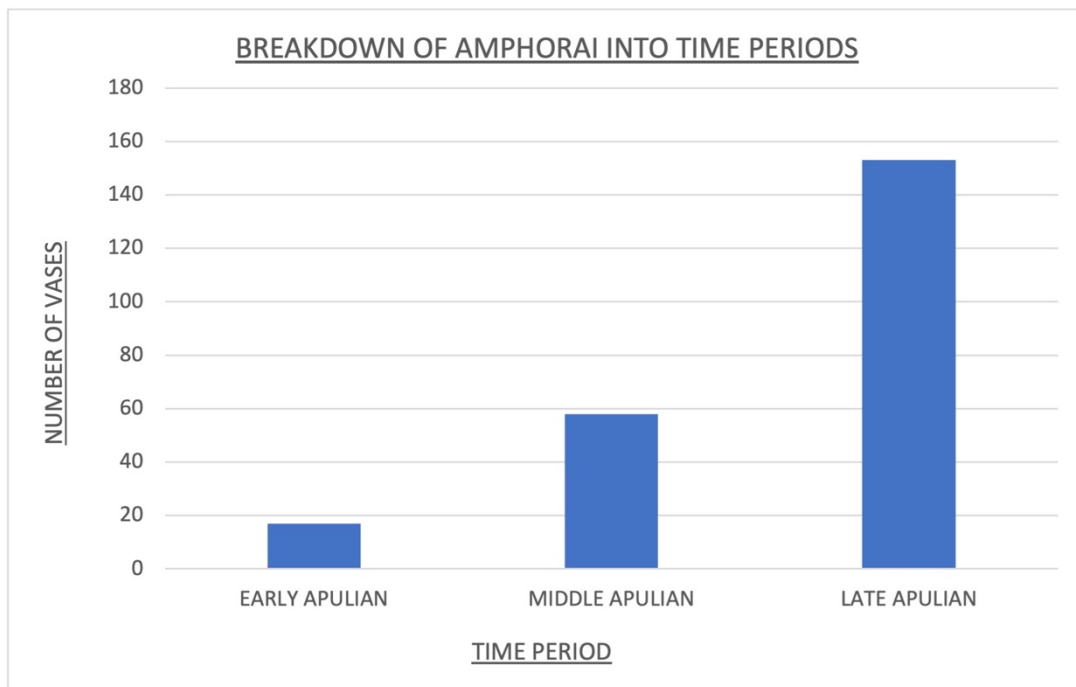
There are 9 scenes (3%) that depict larger mixed groups of women, youths or Erotes, where a clear occasion or meaning cannot be discerned.

## 5.3 Analysis of Amphorai Obverse Sides

For the amphorai dataset, there is a much stronger presence of male iconography, but it is important to mention that females still figure rather prominently. Scenes with only females constitute approximately 26% of all the obverse scenes on the amphorai. There are, however, 8% of scenes which depict only men, as opposed to the hydriai dataset in which there are none. Scenes with more realistic representations of male life are limited but there are no scenes at all of women's private or domestic life and very few scenes related to courting and marriage, which may be argued to represent more feminine interests. The mythological scenes also appear to gravitate towards more masculine themes, such as death, warfare, and heroic figures; though once again, they are not completely devoid of female characters or feminine imagery.

Chronologically, there are significantly more vases from the Late Apulian period, which constitute 67% of all the amphorai (Table 5.6). Observing the changes in themes over time (Table 5.7), considering the small number of Early Apulian vases, this time frame displays a

reasonable amount of thematic variety. They are predominantly funerary, typically stele scenes but they also have mythology, generic conversation, courting and marriage, one ‘Figure Group A’ scene and the only two examples, in the dataset, of male life. Numbers of vases begin to increase in the Middle Apulian period and more than half of these are funerary scenes. There is still a relative amount of variety with mythology, ‘Figure Group A’, the only examples of ‘Figure Group B’ and ‘Figure Group C’ and the first appearances of the ‘Single Figure’ imagery. In Late Apulian, numbers of vases increased greatly and there continues to be a high number of funerary images, along with mythological scenes, isolated women’s heads, scenes of single females, some cult and Dionysiac imagery and one scene that is possibly preparation of the bride.



*Table 5.6 Breakdown of Apulian red-figure amphorai into Early, Middle and Late Apulian time periods.*

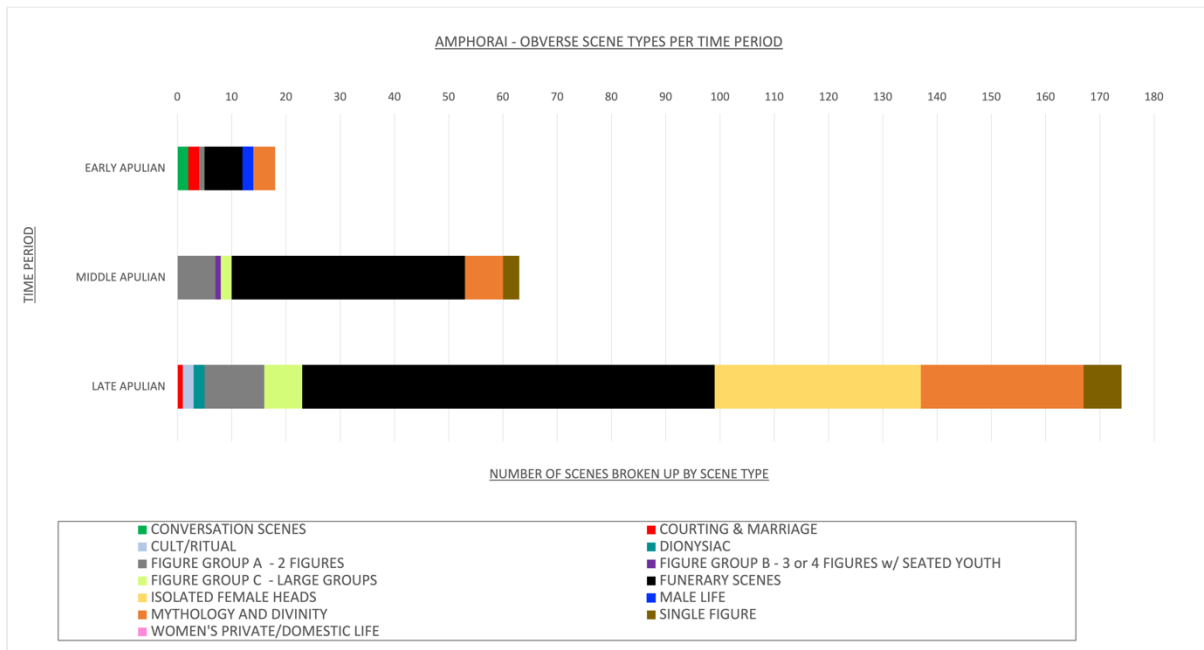


Table 5.7 Scene types that appear on the obverse sides of Apulian red-figured amphorai in Early, Middle and Late Apulian time periods.

Naiskoi with deceased males inside appear more than any other scene type and their association with masculine pursuits in these scenes, particularly warfare and to a lesser extent hunting, athletics, clearly seems to have been an important part of a male's gendered identity. There are very clear distinctions in the way men and women are represented in the naiskos scenes with women appearing with items that might suggest their elite or luxurious lifestyle but never with armour, weapons or horses like their male counterparts. An examination of burial assemblages from Italic tombs shows that males were frequently buried with weapons and armour. Spears were the most common weapons, followed by javelins and the most prevalent type of armour was bronze belts.<sup>196</sup> There is evidence, in some burials, that males were occasionally buried with considerably more armour, as well as, other types of weapons, including models that were Greek.<sup>197</sup> It is likely that warriors of lower status would have fought with only the most basic of armour and that the differences seen in burial may also have reflected the economic status of the deceased.<sup>198</sup> The presence of Greek armour does not necessarily imply that the Italic peoples employed Greek methods of warfare, rather, it is

<sup>196</sup> Small 2014, 28.

<sup>197</sup> Herring et al. 2000,

<sup>198</sup> Small 2014, 28.

possible Greek armour held symbolic expression of the idealised male warrior.<sup>199</sup> This might go some way to explain why the amphorai dataset does not have many representations of specifically Italic warriors and their traditional types of dress and armour as some other shapes do. Similarly, only males in this dataset are presented with the paraphernalia related to hunting or athletics. Based on the prevalence of spearheads in South Italian tombs, there is speculation that they represented the significance of hunting as an elite male pursuit and, by association, the importance of feasting to Italic cultures.<sup>200</sup> It is known that in Greek culture, male initiation rites included both military and athletic training and in some parts of Greece, such as Sparta, hunting too was a means of preparing young males for warfare.<sup>201</sup> Perhaps, this could also have been the case for Italic males in Apulia. In Athenian art, hunting imagery was often used to characterise aristocratic ideals, literally as an elite pastime and, metaphorically, as a representation of pederastic practices. Imagery of hunters, hunting dogs and hares appears on both Athenian funerary white-ground lekythoi and marble funerary stelai and may have been intended to suggest the deceased's skill at the amorous pursuit of other males.<sup>202</sup> In instances where signifiers for athleticism, such as strigils or aryballos, also appear in the image, these have been interpreted as further denotations of the deceased's desirability as an *eromenos*.<sup>203</sup> It is unlikely, however, that images such as these held the same meaning for people outside the context of Athens, who did not participate in pederastic relationships. This, nevertheless, does not rule out the possibility that these images were intended to convey some aspect of the deceased's sexuality and appeal.

The imagery in this dataset appears to favour the notion of amphorai continuing from Greek tradition, being also perceived as a more masculine shape in Apulia. However, it can be assumed, from the female naiskos scenes, that this shape was, at least, sometimes deposited in female burials. This raises some interesting questions about how amphorai may have been used differently by Italic peoples and, subsequently, communicated distinctly local cultural practices and ideals. While male athletic ability is referenced in subtle ways, there are no images of males practicing in the gymnasium or competing in sporting events. There is, however, a significant number of mythological scenes, a popular theme for Attic sympotic

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<sup>199</sup> Herring et al 2000, 252-253.

<sup>200</sup> Herring et al. 2000, 251.

<sup>201</sup> Barringer 1996, 50-51.

<sup>202</sup> Barringer 2002, 179.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, 180-1; Neils 2014, 314. Neils notes the pictorial analogy of the hunting dog chasing a hare being representative of the older man chasing a timid younger male.

vessels. This might suggest the amphora shape in South Italy was more closely associated with wine drinking practices than to its documented links to the storage and usage of oil. It can be surmised that while Greek drinking vessels were adopted by Italic communities this does not mean that the social constructs, such as the exclusively male symposium, were transferred with them. Italic women may have participated in localised wine drinking customs that included both genders, if not exclusively female ones.<sup>204</sup> This notion will be explored further in the next chapter which analyses the volute krater shape which was used almost exclusively as a wine mixing vessel.

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<sup>204</sup> It would appear, at least, from the popularity of ‘returning warrior’ scenes on South Italian pottery in general, where women offer up libations, that women had an important role in wine related ritual.

## 6 Volute Kraters

### 6.1 History of Volute Krater use in the Greek tradition

The krater is a bowl with a deep body and a wide mouth that was of particular importance in Greece, during the Archaic and Classical periods, as an essential vessel used in symposion. The krater was used for mixing wine and water together as it was considered quite uncivilised to drink wine undiluted.<sup>205</sup> This communal drinking event was only open to Greek male citizens, with the notable exception of female entertainers and servants, and was typically required to follow certain rules and include specific activities, such as the recitation of poetry and intellectual conversation. It was important, both socially and culturally, for Greek males, as it played an integral role in how they fostered relationships with each other, defined their place in society and reinforced shared cultural beliefs and practices.<sup>206</sup> Though the practice is thought to have evolved over time, it is generally believed that the krater was placed in a highly visible area for the participants to view while they were drinking, at least, for part of the event.<sup>207</sup> The imagery painted on these kraters, therefore, was intended to stimulate conversation and often depicted mythological and sympotic scenes.

Kraters could also take on a funerary role in Athens and during the Geometric period monumental kraters, typically over a metre in height and often decorated with images of male deceased, were used as markers for elite male graves.<sup>208</sup> Greek settlers of the eighth century BC in South Italy, also brought with them the practice of leaving kraters for the deceased. A prominent early example is the Shipwreck Krater, locally produced at the Greek colony of Pithekoussai and discovered in fragments in the necropolis there.

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<sup>205</sup> Lynch 2012

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*. Symposion evolved from aristocratic feasting and thus was originally a way for small groups of elite males to strengthen their bonds and reinforce their elite status. With the rise of democracy, however, the practice of symposion opened to a wider range of male citizens who also used the occasion to foster a sense of equality through sharing their political, social and cultural beliefs, while partaking in equal portions of wine.

<sup>207</sup> Langner 2014, looks at floorplans of Androns, the male rooms in ancient Greek households which were dedicated to hosting symposia, and how they changed over time. In conjunction with these floorplans, images of symposia on vases were used to consider where in the symposion space were the most likely places a krater may have been placed.

<sup>208</sup> Boschung 2014, 258; Coldstream 1991, 47.

There are several variations to the krater shape and the volute krater is so named for the scrolled handles that resemble the decorative volutes on ionic columns. They appeared in Athens around the sixth century BC and a century later both red-figure ceramic and metal varieties were being manufactured.<sup>209</sup> Metal volute kraters could be crafted from silver or bronze and were sometimes quite elaborate. An exceptional example is the Derveni Krater, which was used as a cinerary vessel for an elite burial, around fifty or sixty years after its manufacture.<sup>210</sup> Both ceramic and metal versions are likely to have been prestige items used by elites, produced in smaller numbers than other krater shapes and possibly reserved for special occasions.<sup>211</sup> There is evidence that across Greece they were used as votive objects or, at least, viewed as a vessel with ritual importance.<sup>212</sup> It would appear that the metal vessels, in particular, were more commonly used for ritual wine drinking or used in sanctuaries rather than in domestic symposium.<sup>213</sup> The volute krater was manufactured in Greece until the end of the fourth century, however, the shape remained popular beyond this date in Apulia where red-figure volute kraters gradually became larger and more ornate than their Attic counterparts.<sup>214</sup> In excavations from the Pantanello Necropolis in the chora of Metaponto, scattered fragments of Apulian red-figure kraters show that the Greek speaking inhabitants had likely used them as grave markers above ground.<sup>215</sup>

## 6.2 Examination of Scenes on Volute Kraters

The volute krater dataset consists of 321 vases and as they are typically larger and more ornate than most shapes, they can sometimes have extra scenes painted on their necks, feet and handles. For the purpose of maintaining a consistent comparison amongst the shapes examined in this work these were not included in the data collection, however, where relevant they may be discussed. There is a count of 339 scenes on the obverse sides of the vases.

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<sup>209</sup> Trendall 1989, 5; Pipili 2014, 33-34

<sup>210</sup> Ignatiadou 2014, 46-47

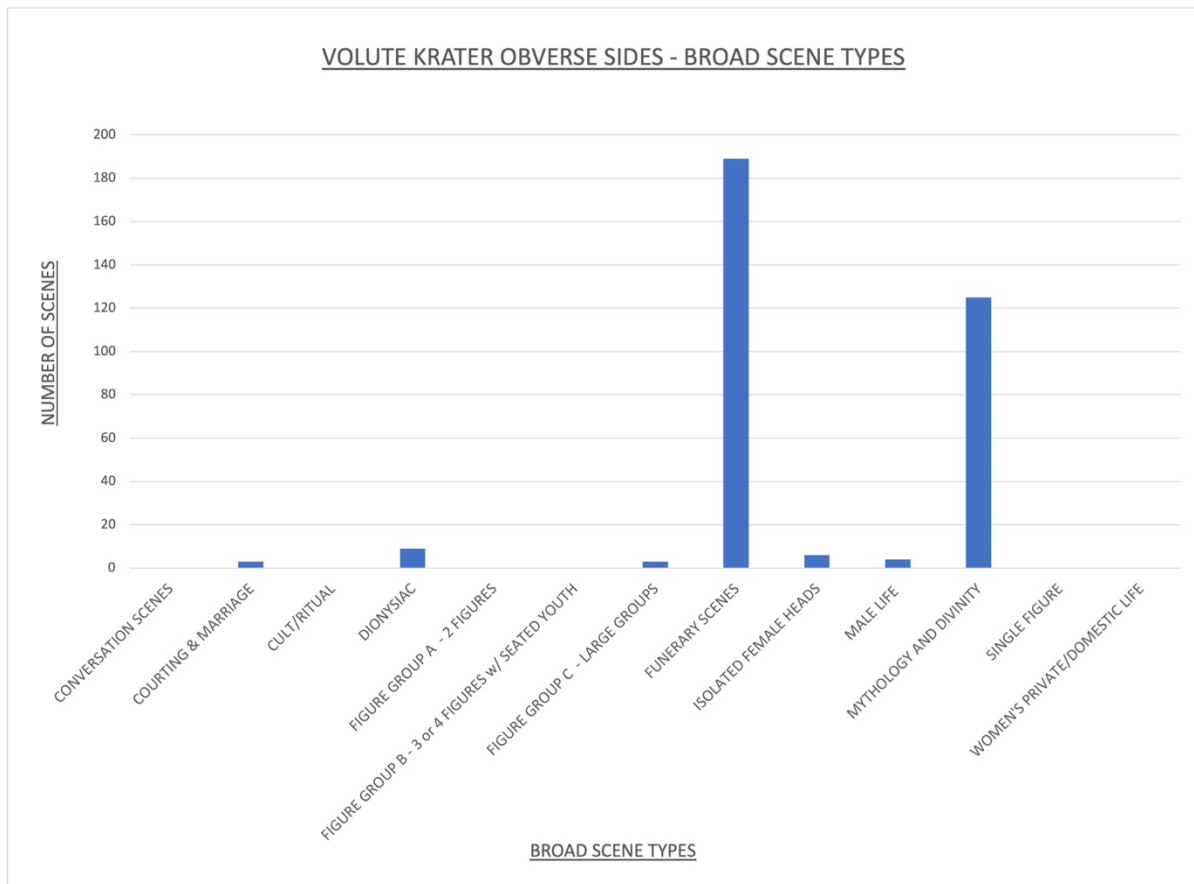
<sup>211</sup> Pipili 2014, 33

<sup>212</sup> Pipili 2014, 33-34; Outside of the Athenian Agora, fragments of red-figure volute kraters appear most frequently in Greek sanctuaries.

<sup>213</sup> Barr-Sharrar 2008, 63; Pipili 2014, 33-34; Many sanctuaries in Greece list metal volute kraters as part of their inventories.

<sup>214</sup> Trendall 1989, 5

<sup>215</sup> Carter 1998, 599



*Table 6.1 Scenes on obverse sides of Apulian red-figured volute kraters, divided by broad scene-type.*

### 6.2.1 Funerary Scenes

Funerary scenes are the most prevalent scene type found on the obverse sides of the volute kraters with a total of 189 examples (56%) (Table 6.1). When viewed chronologically, there is a clear increase in funerary scenes after 340 BC. There are no examples in the Early Apulian period, a mere 17 examples in Middle Apulian and 172 examples in Late Apulian, where this category constitutes 64% of all Late Apulian scenes. The majority of the funerary scenes are naiskos scenes (Table 6.2). There are 184 naiskos scenes, which comprise an overwhelming 97% of the funerary category. The remaining five funerary scenes include three stele scenes and two which feature male statues as funerary monuments.

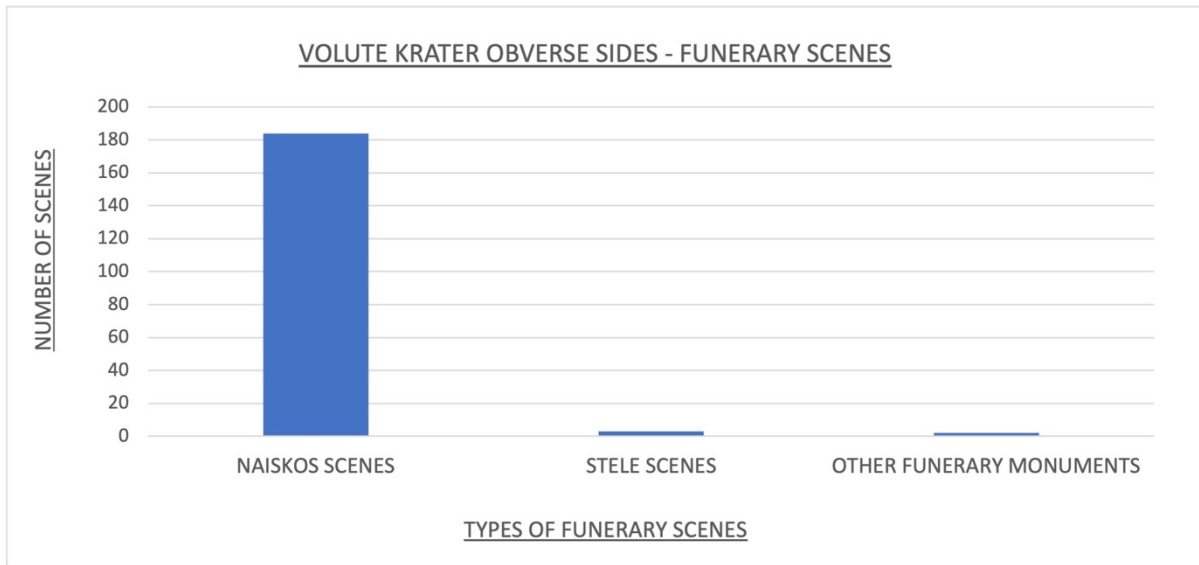


Table 6.2 Types of funerary scenes on obverse sides of Apulian red-figured volute kraters

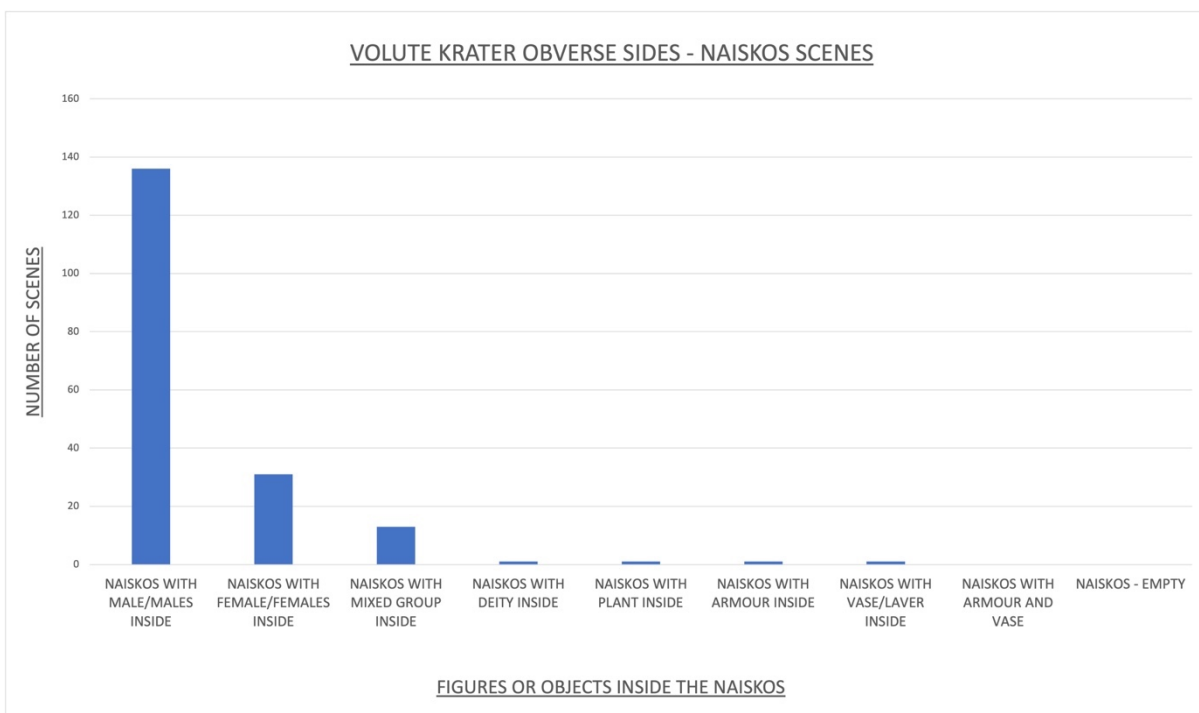


Table 6.3 Naiskos scenes appearing on obverse sides of Apulian red-figured volute kraters, divided by characters or objects inside the naiskos.

Regarding the naiskos scenes on the obverse sides of the volute kraters, there are significantly more males pictured as the deceased (Table 6.3). There are 136 vases portraying only males inside the naiskos which account for 74% of the naiskos scenes. This includes instances of a singular male inside the structure, or groups of two, three or four males. Most males inside

the naiskoi are nude youths, however, there is occasionally an older bearded man or younger boy, particularly in group naiskos scenes. Like the amphorai images, the youths in naiskoi most commonly appear with weapons and armour. They present most predominantly with spears, sometimes swords and armour such as shields, cuirasses, pilos helmets and greaves. Other items which appear, occasionally, in this dataset are chariot wheels, which tend to be featured hanging in the background (e.g., RVAp 17/71b, 18/16b). Prowess in battle is also more overtly represented in two naiskos scenes where a male is pictured attacking another male, (RVAp 13/21 and 17/76). As in the amphorai scenes, animals again appear with deceased males, however, in this dataset more prevalently. There are 33 instances where a horse appears inside a naiskos with only males and six where they appear inside the monument with a male and a female. There are seven naiskos scenes with dogs, six where a youth appears to be either feeding or playing with a dog and a seventh where a dog accompanies a youth as he greets a seated older male.

Other examples of symbolism that appear for deceased males on the volute kraters, that do not appear in the funerary scenes in other datasets examined are objects related to the theatre. There are three scenes which clearly allude to the deceased's association with theatre, including two where a youth is holding an actor's mask (RVAp 15/70 and RVAp 18/293b) and an intriguing scene where a white-bearded man stands in front of two actors who occupy a horse costume (RVAp 28/265a). A fourth scene by the same artist as this last vase (RVA 28/265b), may also be referencing theatre, as it portrays a white-bearded man again, this time with an imitation horse on wheels. He is holding up one of the horse's legs and, perhaps, this is intended to represent a prop Trojan horse. The character in these last two scenes can be recognised as a comic actor and it is possible that these scenes reference early Roman theatre.<sup>216</sup>

There are 31 scenes which depict only females inside the naiskos, constituting 17% of all naiskos scenes. This, like the amphorai data, represents a significant number of females for a supposedly masculine shape. Two of these scenes depict only an isolated female head inside the naiskos. There are 27 scenes which illustrate a singular female inside a naiskos and two which display two women in a 'mistress and maid' scene. The majority of the women inside the naiskoi are pictured as seated and holding objects. The main objects being held are most

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<sup>216</sup> Robinson 2004, 208-209.

commonly cistas, followed by fans, alongside secondary objects, typically mirrors, wreaths and balls. There is a peculiar exception to this regular occurrence of objects on one vase (RVAp 28/086-25) which depicts a seated woman holding a helmet and a spear. She does not appear to be a deity and it is unusual for a mortal woman to be depicted holding objects related to warfare, unless she is handing them over to a male in a departing warrior scene. Another vase (RVAp 17/20-4) is also substantially different from its counterparts in that it depicts a woman dancing inside a naiskos. Visiting her monument is a white-bearded man, who might be recognised as a paidagogos by his older age, costume and kithara. The appearance of a paidagogos as a mourner in a female naiskos scene is perhaps unusual. This figure, while traditionally known to be a teacher of young boys in Greece is sometimes recognised by scholars of South-Italian ceramics as a messenger character from tragic plays.<sup>217</sup> This character appears on a large number of Apulian vases, whose scenes are possibly representations of tragic theatre, and may have come to be emblematic of tragedy in and of itself.<sup>218</sup> Furthermore, there is one naiskos with an image of Nike alone inside it, which is the only example of its kind across all four vase shapes in the database.

There are considerably more scenes depicting mixed gender groups inside the naiskoi on the volute kraters than appeared in the amphorai dataset, which only had one, or the hydriai dataset which had none. Thirteen scenes depict mixed gender groups on the volute kraters, which constitute 7% of the naiskos scenes. In two scenes, the deceased can easily be identified since the other character represented is a deity. There is one scene where a single female is attended by a small Eros inside the naiskoi and another where Nike stands opposite a male warrior. Other scenes may also be interpreted, with reasonable confidence, to be representing one particular gender as the deceased, such as those that appear as departing warrior scenes occurring inside the naiskoi (e.g., RVAp 27/11 and 28/2). It is likely, in these instances, that the male is the intended focus. Some scenes with a male and female inside the naiskos depict their male mourners carrying armour. In this instance also, it is likely to be the male who is deceased (e.g., RVAp 23/231 and 25/1).

A small number of vases also present scenes with objects alone inside the naiskos. There is one scene with armour inside, consisting of a cuirass and shield (RVAp 30/5b) and it is

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<sup>217</sup> Trendall 1991, 169-70. In some plays, the paidagogos character would narrate action that has taken place off stage.

<sup>218</sup> Taplin 2007, 40.

probably reasonable to assume this was created for a male burial. There is also one scene with an oversized plant with large, tiered flowers inside the naiskos (RVAp 27/574) and one with two kalathoi and three alabastra inside (RVAp 28/181). In these latter two scenes, it is difficult to discern if a specific gender was intended to be represented. The mourners on the vase with the large plant are a pair of Nikai, a symbol of victory and triumph, which may be a more fitting character for a male deceased. For the vase with the kalathoi and alabastra, the first assumption might be that it is for a female, since perfumed oil and kalathos baskets can be closely linked to female life. Greek men, however, also used oil in various settings, particularly in the gymnasium and, as it has been established, women are sometimes portrayed bringing kalathos baskets full of offerings to male graves also. This scene also sits below an image of Nike's head on the neck of the vase, which again might sway the interpretation towards it being for a male deceased. Another possibility, perhaps, is that no gender was specifically intended, rather, it was the prerogative of some artists to produce generic funerary imagery that could be readily available to families organising a funeral.

As with the previous two shapes examined, a significant portion of the funerary scenes depicts mourners visiting the deceased or the grave monument. In the case of the volute kraters, 69% of the funerary scenes depict mixed groups of males and females as mourners, typically women with youths but, sometimes, with an older bearded man and, in one instance, with a satyr. There are 27 scenes that depict females alone as mourners, accounting for 14% of all the funerary scenes. The female only groups of mourners are found across both male and female naiskos scenes. In one of these scenes, the females are a pair of Nikai rather than regular women. The volute kraters' funerary scenes also display two examples of male only mourners, and both these are depicted in male naiskos scenes. As with the amphorai examples, male deceased are the only ones presented with gifts of weapons and armour and these objects are exclusively carried by male mourners.

## 6.2.2 Mythological Scenes

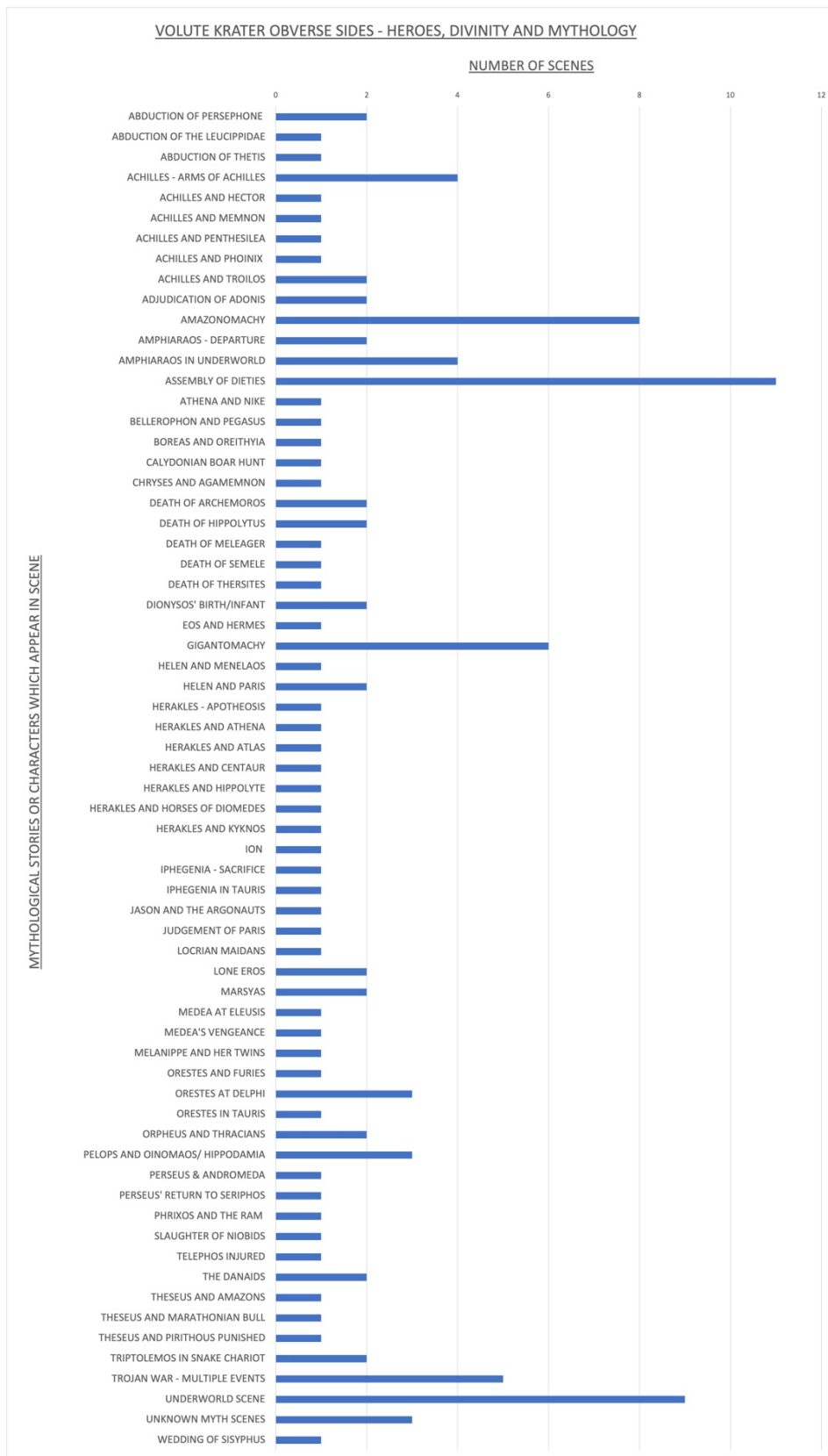


Table 6.4 Types of hero, mythological and divinity scenes appearing on the obverse sides of Apulian red-figured volute kraters.

The number of mythological scenes on the obverse sides of the volute kraters is considerably extensive. There are 125 scenes (37%), featuring imagery of heroes, divinities, or other mythological subjects, representing the highest percentage of mythology across all four shapes. The distribution of mythological scenes across the three time periods shows that the greatest quantity appears in the Late Apulian period, however, the highest number of mythological scenes as a percentage of all scene types occurs in the Early and Middle Apulian periods. Mythological scenes equate to 82% of all scenes in the Early Apulian, 60% in Middle Apulian and then the percentage drops to 29% in Late Apulian. Understandably, given the large volume of mythological scenes, there is considerable thematic variety (Table 6.4). The primary recurring scene type is assemblies of various deities which appears 11 times. It should be noted, however, that groups of deities appear in many more of the mythological scenes yet are not counted as separate if they are obviously connected to the story being presented. There is also a significant preoccupation with scenes of the afterlife, which quite likely held a universal appeal to all people, regardless of gender. One of the more obvious examples is that there are thirteen illustrations of the Underworld. Generally, these scenes depict a cast of well-known Underworld characters with Hades and Persephone at the centre. Other recurring figures include Hecate, Hermes, Herakles, Cerberus, Orpheus, Amphiaraios, the Dioscuri and the Danaids. The remaining mythological scenes have a significant focus on male characters and a large concentration of themes that could be considered primarily masculine. Female characters and themes potentially relevant to women still appear, though not as abundantly.

Scenes of battle are plentiful, with mythological battles such as Amazonomachies and Gigantomachies being particularly prevalent. At certain points in the history of Attic vase painting, both these scene types were popular due to their depiction of Greeks and their gods in battle with the 'barbaric' and the metaphorical 'other'. The Gigantomachy, for example, which depicts the Olympian gods at war with the earth born giants may have initially asserted the importance of the gods and their divine order. This theme evolved over time, particularly after the Persian wars, to make the giants appear increasingly more uncivilised. Both Gigantomachies and Amazonomachies later came to be metaphorical representations of the Greek victory over the barbarous Persians, as well as, to celebrate the superiority of the

Athenian polis generally.<sup>219</sup> Hildebrandt notes of the Gigantomachy theme, that by the time it appears in Apulia, it is no longer a popular subject in Athens due to the changing socio-political situation there. He points out that some South Italian examples of this theme, particularly those of the Darius Painter depict the giants in distinctly Italic armour, suggesting it could have intended to be representative of tensions or conflicts between Greeks and Italic peoples in South Italy.<sup>220</sup>

A number of scenes which relate to the Trojan war also appear. There are four vases which depict multiple key events that occurred in Troy, such as the abduction of Cassandra by Ajax, Menelaus pursuing Helen, physical battle between the Greeks and Trojans and the death of King Priam. The exploits of one of the great heroes of the Trojan war Achilles are represented in ten scenes. The most popular Achilles narrative is the arms of Achilles which is portrayed four times, and the possible significance of which is discussed in the amphorai chapter. The remaining scenes mostly portray, or at least allude to, some of the brutal acts that Achilles inflicted on others. Such scenes include the slaying of Troilos, Memnon and the dragging of Hector's corpse behind Achilles' chariot. In one scene, the violence has already occurred, and Achilles holds the dying Penthesilea, the Amazon he has defeated. Some versions of this narrative note that at her death, Achilles falls in love with Penthesilea whose battle prowess he respects. Possibly, this may be the specific narrative depicted on this vase.

Another hero who appears popular is Herakles as he is present in seven scenes. Other famous heroes also appear, such as Theseus, Perseus and the Argonauts. Some of the scenes of Herakles are quite dynamic or violent, such as Herakles about to duel with Kyknos, son of Ares, Herakles battling a centaur<sup>221</sup> and Herakles' eighth labour which required him to bridle the man-eating Mares of Diomedes. Some of the scenes are more passive, however, such as one scene which depicts Herakles' ninth labour, which required him to retrieve the belt of the Amazon queen Hippolyte. Often this story is depicted with a battle scene of Herakles fighting the Amazons. In this instance, however, Hippolyte is depicted simply handing her belt over to

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<sup>219</sup> Lynch 2012, 538; Hildebrandt 2014, 73-74. In the Greek tradition, depictions of the myth of the Olympian gods battling giants may have initially been intended to comment on the importance of divine order. However, the scene evolves over time on Attic pottery, particularly after the Persian wars, with the appearance of the giants eventually becoming more barbaric. They no longer wear hoplite armour, rather they are nude and athletic and, later still, are depicted wearing furs and animal skins. Their regular weapons are also swapped for extremely rudimentary ones, such as rocks and tree trunks.

<sup>220</sup> Hildebrandt 2014.

<sup>221</sup> This is likely the centaur Nessos who had tried to rape Herakles' wife Deinaeira.

Herakles with no hint of violence. The choice of representation here may well have had nuptial connotations. As part of Greek wedding rituals, a groom would loosen a bride's belt, or girdle before entering the bedroom together for the first time. A woman's belt or girdle was often symbolic on Greek vases of the major transitional periods in her life; when she enters adolescence and wears a girdle for the first time, when she becomes a wife and then again when she becomes pregnant.<sup>222</sup> While this may not have necessarily been the Italic custom, Italic viewers may have nonetheless understood this symbolism. When viewed alongside the scene of Achilles and Penthisilea and the many Amazonomachies, which are thought to represent allegorically the taming of a woman into a wife (as discussed in the hydriai chapter), it seems plausible that matrimonial life was deemed an important aspect of manhood also.

Scenes on the volute kraters that relate to female characters include abductions such as that of Persephone, Thetis and the two daughters of Leucippus. There are also female characters represented whose stories may have found relevance with a female audience. There are two scenes with Iphigenia, whose story, unlike many female characters, actually contains some positive outcomes. One scene depicts the moment where she is supposed to be sacrificed by her father Agamemnon so that the gods will allow the Greek army's passage to Troy. However, the deer witnessed behind her on the vase is an indication to the viewer of the substitution Artemis will secretly make to save Iphigenia's life. The other scene presents Iphigenia in Tauris where afterwards she has been appointed as a priestess of Artemis, despite the fact she longs for home. It is at this point, she is reunited with her brother Orestes, whom she rescues from a sacrificial death, and as a result of doing so, is able to return home. Though Iphigenia's fate has been manipulated by her father and the gods, the latter part of her story depicts some aspects of female agency in that she chooses to save her brother and leave her religious duties. While perhaps women were not realistically entitled to such freedom of choice in their own lives, Iphigenia's dedication to her family may have been a relatable trait. Conceivably, her story may have also had general consolatory appeal for loved ones at a funeral, as they are allegorical representations of passage into the afterlife and the possibility of reuniting with loved ones there. Not all the female characters appear as ideal models for a woman's conduct, however, as the vase with Medea's revenge would illustrate (RVAp 18/283). Medea feels scorned by her husband Jason, to whom she has gone to great

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<sup>222</sup> Sutton 1997, 30; Sabetai 1997, 328.

lengths to assist in his heroic quests, only to be replaced by a new lover. The vase illustrates Jason's new bride, who has just been poisoned by Medea and below Medea herself is pictured murdering one of her own sons whom she shares with Jason. The scene is chaotic, with animated characters displaying varied emotional responses of fury, grief, and despair. In this instance, perhaps, it is the emotions of the characters surrounding Medea that are intended to resonate with the family and friends of the deceased. Another example which appears a number of times in the dataset is the Danaids, or water-carriers. They are sisters who have committed the atrocious crime of murdering their husbands on their collective wedding night, at the behest of their father. Scenes on two vases, solely depict their punishment<sup>223</sup>, but they also appear as prominent characters on at least four of the underworld scenes. The Danaids are an interesting choice of funerary scene, in that they are women who are guilty of betraying their husbands and are sentenced to eternal atonement in the afterlife, but, like Iphegenia, have been loyal and compliant to their father. Perhaps, the notions of family loyalty and familial ties were important to the Italic peoples, and it was significant to them to highlight and recognise this in death.

### 6.2.3 Dionysiac

There are 11 Dionysiac scenes (3%) on the obverse sides of the volute kraters. This is the largest number of Dionysiac scenes that appears across all four shapes. Given the krater's role in communal wine drinking, it is not unusual that it would display the most representations of the god associated with wine and theatre. The majority of the scenes feature Dionysos in the accompaniment of his followers, satyrs and maenads and some also picture him with his wife Ariadne. Recurring objects in these scenes that relate to Dionysiac cult include thyrsi, situlai and tympanons. In five scenes, Dionysos is riding in a chariot pulled by big cats, such as, panthers in four scenes and lions in the fifth. These animals, particularly the panther, were commonly associated with Dionysos. In the earliest of the Dionysiac scenes, Dionysos is pictured playing kottabos, a Greek drinking game known to have been played during symposion (RVAp 7/45: fig 6.1a).

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<sup>223</sup> To atone for their sins in Hades, they are required to fetch water and empty it into a tub until it is full. It is a fruitless exercise, however, as the tub has holes in the bottom.

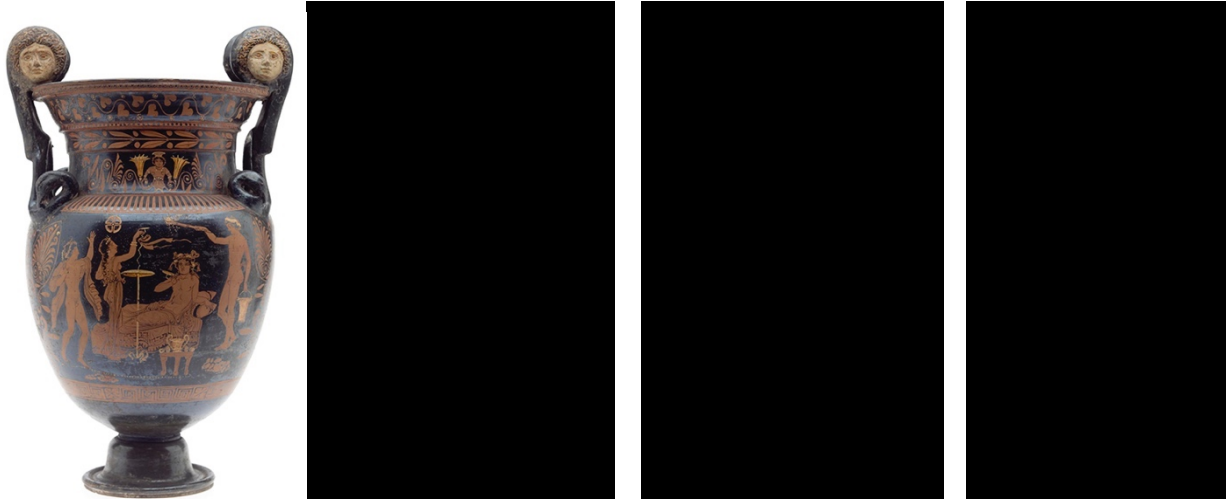


Figure 6.1 a) RVAp 7/45, Edinburgh A.1873.21.1, Image " National Museums Scotland, Image Source: <https://www.nms.ac.uk/explore-our-collections/collection-search-results/volutekrater/408583>; b) RVAp 14/217; c) RVAp 23/226; d) RVAp 27/23f

Ariadne is present in four of the chariot scenes (e.g. RVAp 27/23f: fig 6.1c and RVAp 27/28), and these representations may have been intended to have marital symbolism. Dionysos himself has marital connotations that may be linked to the Anthesteria festival in Athens, which required the wife of the Archon Basileis to be ritually married to Dionysos for the wellbeing of the people. In Attic imagery, it appears Ariadne became an archetypal bridal figure and her relationship with Dionysos not only represented the happy marriage between a mortal and a god but was also the model of the ideal marriage for mortals.<sup>224</sup> This type of scene then, would naturally make an appropriate image for celebrating a wedding but, like the abduction scenes discussed previously, could also plausibly represent a deceased's union with the gods in the afterlife.

There are three scenes which do not show Dionysos himself but appear to depict his followers. Two by the Painter of Berlin F 3383 (RVAp 28/64b: fig 6.2a and RVAp 28/64g: fig 6.2b) depict a woman with a youth who holds a thyrsus. There are other indicators of Dionysian worship in these scenes, such as the grapes and large ivy leaf that appear in one and the phiales that appear in each of them. Both scenes also depict a crossbar torch, which is a motif sometimes associated with Dionysos, but as will be discussed below, can also be

<sup>224</sup> Sabetai 2012, 90-91; Moraw 2011, 235.

related to marriage. Interestingly, there are other romantic motifs in these two scenes, such as the Eros flying to crown the youth in one scene and the youth holding out a ball towards the female in the other. In Greece, balls were often recognised as nuptial gifts, as well as, symbolic of a young person's transition from childhood into the next stage of life, which was typically marriage.<sup>225</sup> This scene with the ball also includes a small bird flying between the pair, which could be an inyx, and, thus, a further indication of a romantic relationship. The third scene to note is (RVAp 8/143: fig 6.2c) which has been designated as Dionysiac in this database, though its description by Trendall in RVAp simply describes it as a youth and woman on a couch under an arbour attended by Erotes. It is arguable that the headdress worn by the youth, the arbour of grapes, the Erotes holding a kantharos and phiale and the satyr feeding a goat with a tendril of ivy are all strong signifiers that this scene is related to Dionysiac ritual in some manner. It may be an idealised representation of symposium or, since it is depicted outdoors, some other type of drinking ritual.

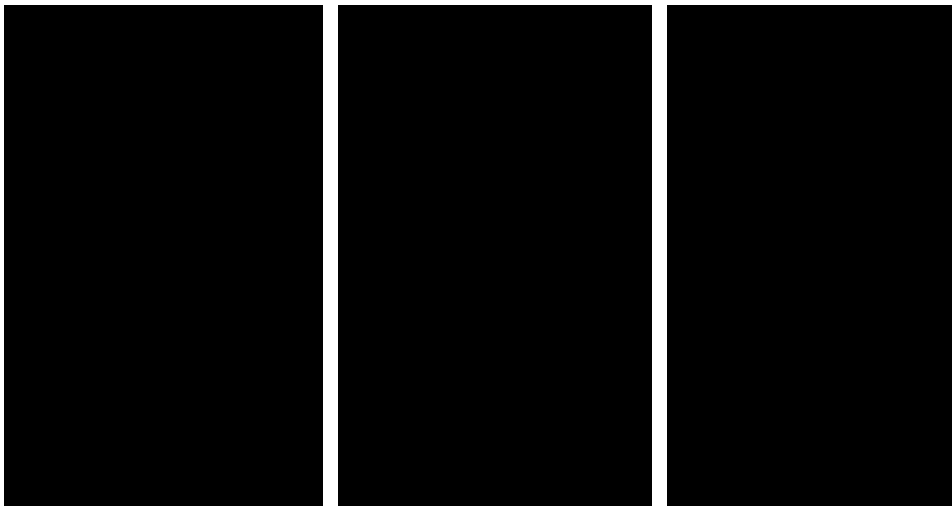


Figure 6.2 a) RVAp 28/64b; b) RVAp 28/64g; c) RVAp 8/143

#### 6.2.4 Isolated Female Heads

There are only 6 scenes where the main imagery is an isolated female head. This may be attributed in part to the fact that there is such an expansive space on volute kraters, which perhaps is better suited for more complex imagery to be displayed on. As previously explained, secondary imagery that appears outside of the main body is not included in the dataset. However, it is prudent to mention that small, isolated female heads do appear as

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<sup>225</sup> Avronidaki 2014, 89-90

secondary images on the obverse sides of a considerable number of volute kraters, particularly on their necks.

### 6.2.5 Figure Group C – Larger Groups

The volute kraters display three examples of larger mixed groups. The first of these scenes, which is on the lower register of a vase painted by the Baltimore Painter (RVAp 27/23g: fig 6.3a) has three youths, three women and Eros. The women and youths are illustrated as three facing pairs. Eros flies between the first of these pairs to crown a seated woman with a wreath. The youth to the extreme right is also placing a wreath on a seated woman's head and the centre youth leans on a laver. It is possible the laver, in this instance, is symbolic of the nuptial bath and these pairs are intended to be viewed as courting. This would be a fitting theme, since the register above it represents the adjudication of Adonis, where Persephone and Aphrodite are rivals for his affections.

The lower register on the body of another vase (RVAp 18/3: fig 6.3b) has two pairs of figures facing each other, a woman with a youth and a woman with Eros. The youth in the centre is holding a shield and spears and the woman to his right is unusually nude from the waist up, which may imply that she is a maenad. While brides too are occasionally rendered in this way, this image does not appear to be a typical nuptial scene. Both women in this scene are holding phialai and one also holds an oenochoe, suggesting a libation is taking place. It appears underneath a scene of Menelaus reclaiming Helen at Troy, which, in turn, appears under a scene of Dionysos on the neck of the vase. It seems possible that this bottom scene is also intended to represent Dionysiac or other ritual practices. However, this is not entirely clear and may have other potential interpretations. This is similarly the case for the third group scene (RVAp 30/58: fig 6.3c) which depicts a woman seated on a rock with two Erotes and a kneeling figure who is difficult to identify clearly. This figure is described by Trendall as a youth, however, he or she wears a feminine hairstyle and beaded garlands, the same as the Erotes. All four characters are holding phialai and two of them hold large ivy leaves, a plant typically associated with Dionysos.



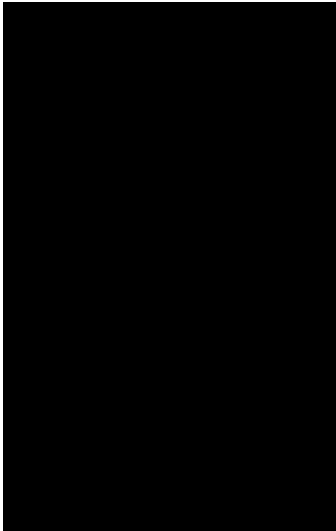
Figure 6.3 a) *RVAp 27/23g*; b) *RVAp 18/3*; c) *RVAp 30/58*

### 6.2.6 Courting and Marriage

There is only one scene which has been designated here as courting. This scene by the Painter of Berlin F 3383 (*RVAp 28/64a*: fig 6.4) contains some clear nuptial symbols, as it depicts a youth holding a rosette-chain, facing a seated woman who is holding an open cista, a mirror and what appears to be an *inyx* charm. A small Eros flies towards the woman, also with an *inyx* charm, a fillet and an *aryballos*. The fillet, which might be used to tie up a woman's hair and the *aryballos*, which usually held perfumed oil, both suggest the preparation of a bride. There is also a torch on the ground which can have nuptial connotations, though typically in Attic tradition it would be depicted being carried by a woman. In Greece, mothers of the couple being married would carry torches as part of the formal wedding procession.<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>226</sup> Sabetai 1998, 326.



*Figure 6.4 RVAp 28/64a*

### 6.2.7 Male Life

Scenes related to everyday male life appear only four times (1%) on the obverse sides of the volute kraters. This may seem to be a low number for a masculine shape, though genre scenes, in general, are rare across all four shapes. Three of these scenes are related to warfare. The earliest of these depicts a classic departing warrior scene (RVAp 1/90: fig 6.5a), where a youth standing beside a horse and holding a spear shakes hands with a seated, bearded male. Behind this older man, a woman holds a phiale and oinochoe to pour the traditional parting libations. A second scene depicts eight young warriors in both seated and standing postures, interacting with each other, seemingly in conversation (RVAP 13/36a: fig 6.5b). They are holding various objects of warfare including shields, spears, swords and helmets. The third scene is quite dynamic and depicts a battle between Greek and Italic men (RVAp 4/140: fig 6.5c). The Italic men are identifiable by their long hair, patterned tunics and broad belts. The final scene that relates to male life consists of two tiers of the well-known Darius vase, after which the Darius Painter is named (RVAp 18/38: fig 6.5d). The vase depicts, on one tier, Darius himself amongst his courtiers in what is possibly a war council and, on the tier below, the process of collecting taxes from conquered peoples.

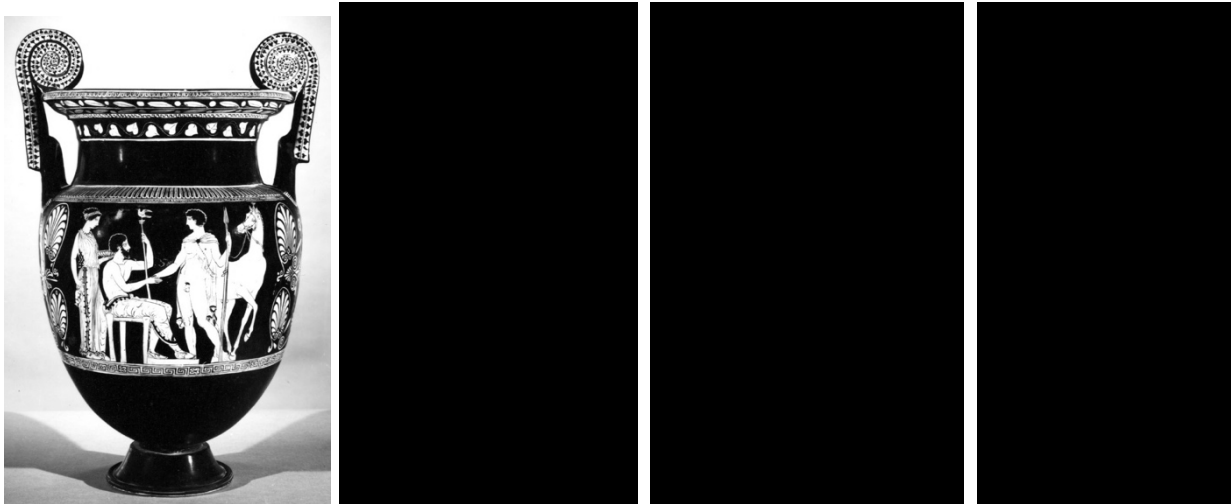
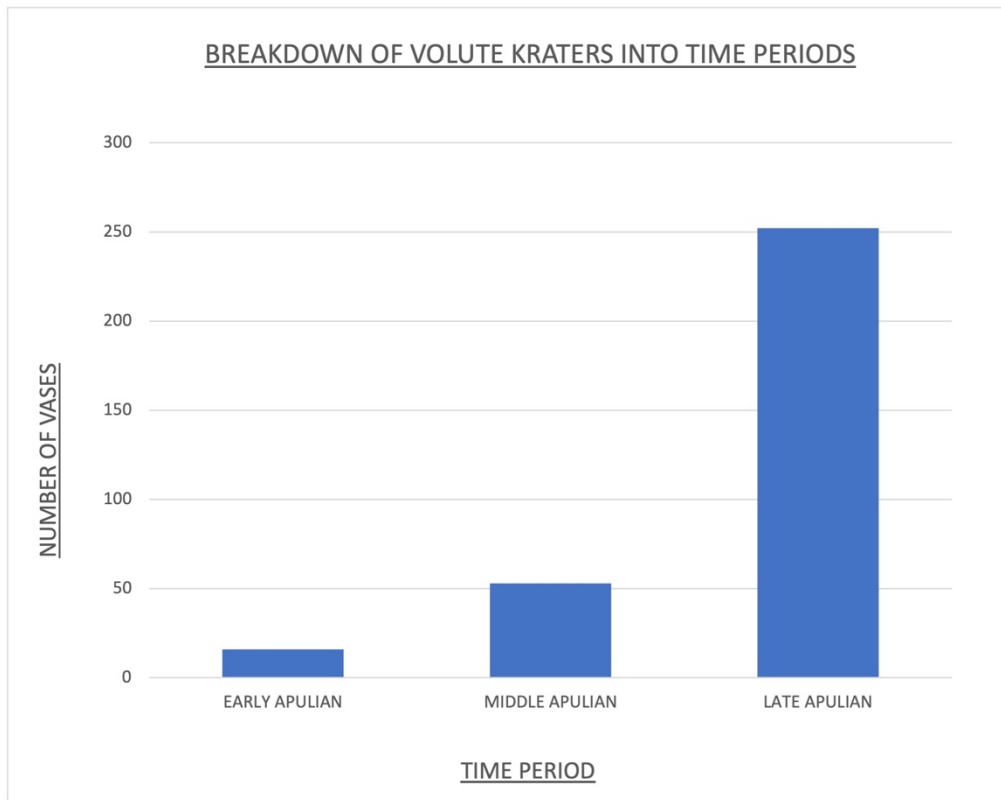


Figure 6.5 a) RVAp 1/90, British Museum 18,561,226.30, © The Trustees of the British Museum, Image Source: [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1856-1226-3](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1856-1226-3); b) RVAp 13/36a c) RVAp 4/140; d) RVAp 18/38

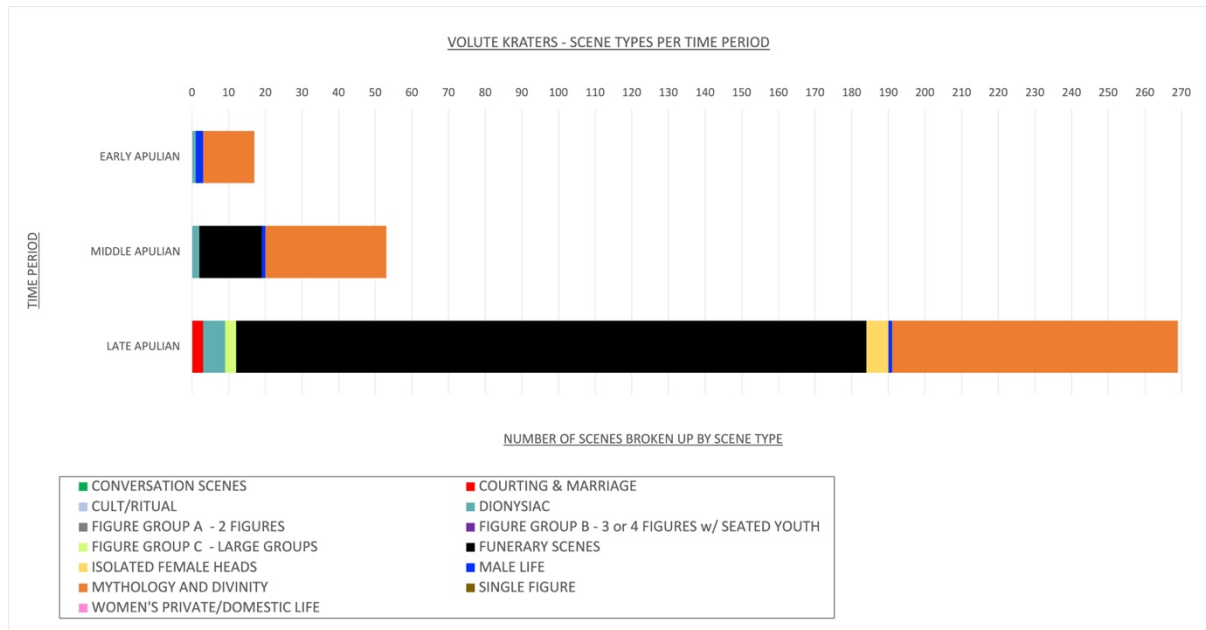
### 6.3 Analysis of Volute Krater Obverse Sides

The obverse sides of the volute kraters have less diversity of broad scene categories in comparison to both the amphora and hydria datasets. They have a high concentration of funerary and mythological scenes and both these categories skew towards more masculine representations. There are substantially fewer examples of isolated female heads, no examples of the scene type featuring a lone woman and, like the amphorai dataset, no examples of women's private or domestic lives. Overall, there are fewer incidences of scenes that centre on women or feminine subjects. Furthermore, there are no examples of figure group A, figure group B, generic conversation or other cult and ritual practice scene types in the volute krater database.



*Table 6.5 Breakdown of Apulian red-figure volute kraters into Early, Middle and Late Apulian time periods.*

The volute kraters follow the same pattern as the hydriai and amphorai in terms of general numbers increasing drastically in the Late Apulian period (Table 6.5). The diversity of broad themes by comparison, is however, much less than the other two shapes (Table 6.6). The Early and Middle Apulian time periods predominantly contain mythological scenes, with a small number of Dionysiac and male life scenes. These particular themes may support the notion that some of these earlier vessels were used prior to burial, as they are similar to those that appear on Attic sympotic vessels. The Middle Apulian period is the point where funerary images begin to appear on this shape. The greatest diversity of scenes occurs in the Late Apulian period, yet, nevertheless, this period is dominated by funerary scenes, followed by mythology scenes.



*Table 6.6 Scene types that appear on the obverse sides of Apulian red-figured volute kraters in Early, Middle and Late Apulian time periods.*

The most prevalent scene type that appears on the volute kraters is male naiskos scenes, where, like the amphora dataset, the deceased males are typically represented in a youthful, heroized manner. They are most often depicted heroically nude, accompanied by weapons and armour, exemplifying both their physical beauty and their warrior status. These gendered stereotypes are reinforced in the few examples of male life found in this database which also depict nude youths in preparation for, and participating in, battle. This idealised male image also occurs widely across the mythological category which seems to favour scenes of heroes, battles, violence, and other themes that are recognisable as highly masculine.

As with amphorai, it would appear for the most part, that the volute krater shape in South Italy continued to have masculine associations that may have stemmed from its traditional use in Greek symposium. Herring has noted that wine consumption in South Italy was likely to have been of great importance, since over a quarter of the surviving Apulian red-figure vessels are shapes designed for wine mixing.<sup>227</sup> Some scholars believe that the agricultural production of wine was transported to South Italy by Greek settlers. However, there is some convincing evidence that wine drinking was already a conventional part of Italic culture

<sup>227</sup> Herring 2018b, 25

before the Greeks arrived. In Apulia and Lucania, standard grave goods of the eighth and seventh centuries BC included two local pots, a large olla and a kantharoid, the design of which varied between regions.<sup>228</sup> After the sixth century BC these shapes were gradually replaced with a Greek shape, most commonly, a column-krater in place of the olla. The most plausible reasoning for this would be that the Greek shape performed a similar function to the Italic one, in this instance, as a receptacle for wine.<sup>229</sup> Imagery on some red-figure column kraters also depict Italic people using local shapes like the nestoris, for the serving and consumption of liquid, most likely, wine.<sup>230</sup> Furthermore, linguistic evidence would suggest viticulture was already an existing practice in South Italy before the Greeks arrived.<sup>231</sup>

It would seem an unlikely assumption then, with established drinking rituals of their own, that the Italic people would readily adopt the practice of the Greeks' all-male symposion simply because they had begun using Greek ceramic shapes. In fact, a variety of shapes associated with wine preparation and consumption appear in both male and female Italic tombs.<sup>232</sup> Across all four shapes in the dataset women are depicted holding items, such philai, grapes and situla that are related to the ritualised consumption of wine, though they are not shown drinking it. In the scenes illustrating a departing warrior, it is women who appear with the ritual libation for the male. Combined with the number of women who appear as the deceased in naiskoi scenes on kraters, a vessel so intertwined with wine consumption, it seems evident that, at the very least, Italic women had important roles in the ritualised preparation and presentation of wine. The idea cannot be excluded, however, that elite Italic women were also entitled to join in feasting, or other occasions of ritualised drinking, or even participated in exclusively female occasions where wine was an important element.

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<sup>228</sup> Colivicchi 2014, 216

<sup>229</sup> Colivicchi 2014, 216

<sup>230</sup> Colivicchi 2014, 226

<sup>231</sup> Colivicchi 2014, 217; the name for the Messapian festival which celebrated vine pruning was *Bisbaia*, after *bisbes*, the tool used for pruning. Colivicchi surmises that having Italic technical words for viticulture, rather than Greek ones, suggests the practice was not an introduced one.

<sup>232</sup> Herring et al 2000, 250

## 7 Lebetes Gamikoi

### 7.1 History of Lebetes Gamikoi use in the Greek tradition

The lebes gamikos is a small, deep bowl created in one piece with a stand. It has handles on the shoulders and it is typically lidded. It appeared in Attic red-figure in early sixth century BC and continued being produced until midway through the fourth century BC. The Greek name for this vessel means ‘marriage bowl’ and it is believed to have been used in Greek wedding rituals. Attic examples are almost always decorated with nuptial themes and the shape is typically depicted on vases as an object being gifted to the bride.<sup>233</sup> The specific function of the shape is not known, however, there has been much speculation about what it may have been. Potential uses include those that may have related to the ritual nuptial bath<sup>234</sup>, such as housing or keeping warm the water, which would be used to bathe.<sup>235</sup> It could also have been used as a container for creating aromatic water<sup>236</sup> which may then have been sprinkled with a myrtle branch.<sup>237</sup> Since it is believed nuptial baths were taken by both bride and groom, cleansing being an important precursor to many ritual activities, it might suggest that this vessel was not exclusively used by females.<sup>238</sup> Some scholars suppose that the vessel was simply used for storing food or wine for the wedding festivities,<sup>239</sup> or for presenting a symbolic meal to the wedding couple.<sup>240</sup> Sabetai and Oakley have both suggested, however, that it belonged to a wife’s dowry and may have contained wine or grain to allude symbolically to her domestic role of looking after food supplies in the household.<sup>241</sup> The fact that two lebetes gamikoi are occasionally depicted being gifted to the bride and pairs have been discovered in graves, could suggest that the vessels were symbolic of each spouse and their joining to create a successful new *oikos*.<sup>242</sup>

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<sup>233</sup> Rehm 1994, 32.

<sup>234</sup> The water for the nuptial bath was typically fetched in a loutrophoros during a special procession.

<sup>235</sup> Boardman 1958/1959, 161-162; Boardman posits that water was heated and then transferred to the lebes, which was wrapped in fabric to keep the water warm for the nuptial bath. It is generally now accepted that the lebes gamikos itself was not suited to the physical act of heating the water.

<sup>236</sup> Hartwig 1897 as cited in Robinson 1936, 507; Hartwig believed images of flowers and branches depicted inside lebetes gamikoi may possibly have been evidence for the scenting of water.

<sup>237</sup> Rehm 1994, 32

<sup>238</sup> Hague 1988, 33; The ritual cleansing of both the bride and groom is mentioned in ancient literature but images of the bride bathing on pots is more common than images of the groom bathing.

<sup>239</sup> Rehm 1994, 32

<sup>240</sup> Brueckner 1907, 98; Sabetai 2014, 53.

<sup>241</sup> Sabetai 2014, 53-54; Oakley 2020, 192.

<sup>242</sup> Sabetai 2014, 53.

Sgourou and Sabetai both consider the lebes gamikos to have been a vessel important to the bride and likely kept in her household after the ceremony, rather than dedicated to a sanctuary as the other wedding vessel, the loutrophoros, commonly was.<sup>243</sup> It would seem that in Greece, lebetes gamikoi were not generally created with the intention of being funerary vessels, since they very rarely depict funerary imagery, or appear with pierced or hollow bottoms.<sup>244</sup> They have been found in graves, however, occasionally with signs of repair, which indicates they had been used for some time before their deposition.<sup>245</sup> Like loutrophoroi, which could be funerary vessels for unwed women and men, it is possible that lebetes gamikoi were also deposited in the graves of young people to fulfil symbolically a life stage they never achieved in their actual lifetimes. It is also speculated, however, that the lebes gamikos was more commonly a funerary gift for deceased women who had been married.<sup>246</sup> These theories would fit neatly with the funerary evidence from the Greek speaking community of Metaponto in South Italy. Burials from the Pantanello Necropolis, which have been sexed through osteology, have revealed the majority of lebetes gamikoi were deposited with females of ages who were most likely to have been married, while a fewer number were found with adult males and children under the age of 15.<sup>247</sup> In Taranto, fragments of lebetes gamikoi have been found within the area of the “Trinity” sanctuary, suggesting they may have also had a votive use in the Greek speaking communities of Apulia.<sup>248</sup>

## 7.2 Examination of Scenes on Lebetes Gamikoi

There are 67 vases in the dataset, each with a singular scene on the obverse sides of their bodies (Table 7.1). Some of the vessels are lidded but the imagery on the lids is not considered for the purpose of consistency in this work.

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<sup>243</sup> Sgourou 1997, 72.

<sup>244</sup> Sabetai 2014, 54.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

<sup>246</sup> Sgourou 1997, 72.

<sup>247</sup> Carter 1998, 187.

<sup>248</sup> Fontannaz 2014, 74.

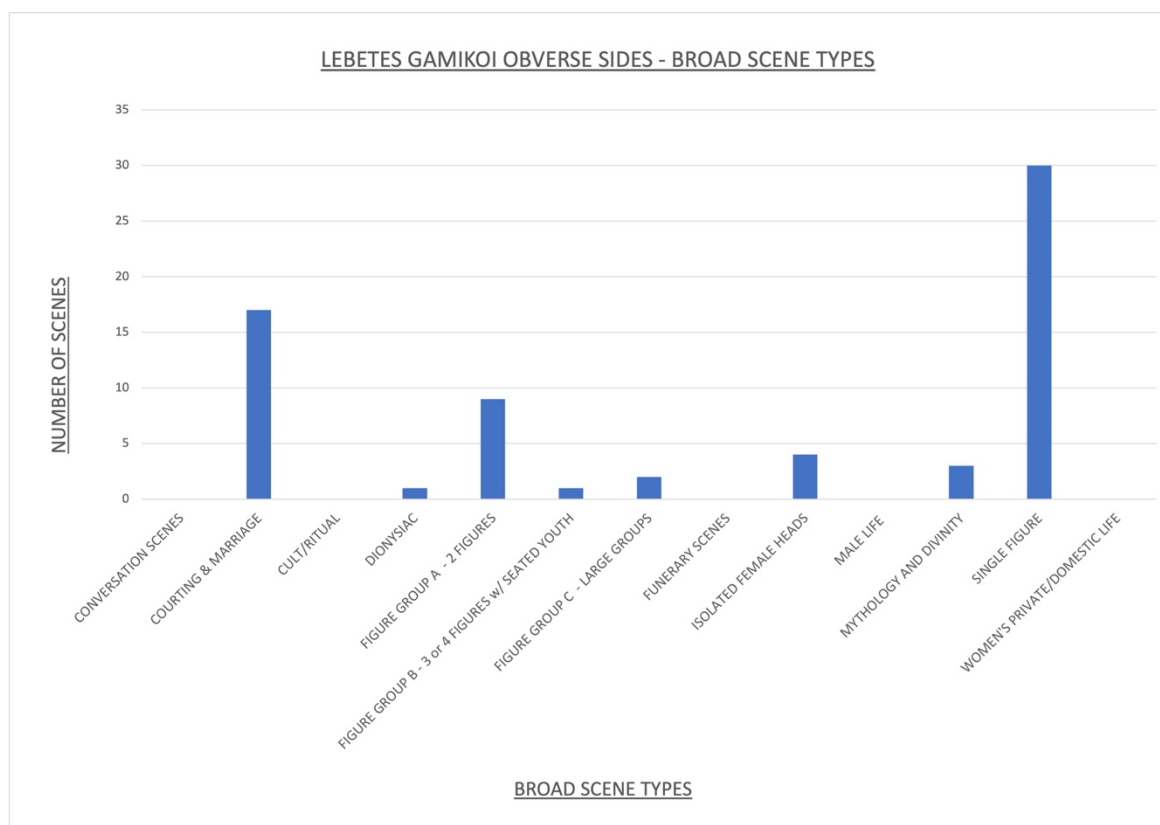
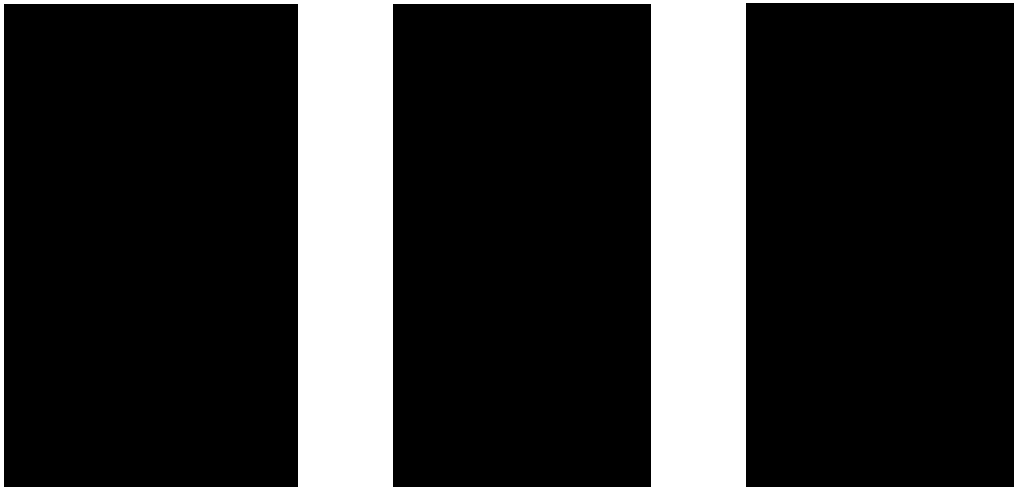


Table 7.1 Scenes on obverse sides of Apulian red-figured lebetes gamikoi, divided by broad scene-type

### 7.2.1 Single Figures

The category with the largest number of examples is single figures. There are 30 scenes (45%) which all feature a solitary female. Two of these vases are Early Apulian, 10 are Middle Apulian and the remaining 20 vases are from the Late Apulian period. There are three different poses that the women are depicted in. Thirteen women are seated (e.g. RVAp 11/5: fig 7.1a), nine are standing (e.g. RVAp 26/79: fig 7.1b) and eight are ‘running’ (e.g. RVAp 11/234a: fig 7.1c). Almost all hold objects, including cistai, phialai, bunches of grapes, mirrors, wreaths, fillets, and tympanons. As in similar images in the amphorai dataset, most of the seated women are shown to be sitting on piles of rock, objects perhaps denoting an outdoor setting. Cassimatis notes that the Apulian representation of rock appears rough and, occasionally, surrounded by plants, an image suggestive of an uncultivated space. She

proposes when characters are seated in such places this could be representative of an outdoor sanctuary or some other imagined realm of the dead.<sup>249</sup>



*Figure 7.1 a) RVAp 11/5; b) RVAp 26/79; c) RVAp 11/234a*

It would be prudent to mention that for the small number of vases with single figure scenes in this dataset, where an image of the reverse side is also available, a single figure is typically present on that side too. Most frequently the single figure is Eros (e.g. RVAp 26/77 reverse: fig 7.2b) or, sometimes, a nude youth (e.g. RVAp 11/193 reverse: fig 7.2d). Both are generally holding similar objects to the females who appear on the obverse sides. If the artists had intended for the two sides to be considered in conjunction with each another, the resulting combination of images calls to mind the appearance of the ‘Figure Group A’ scenes (e.g. RVAp 25/24: fig 7.2e).



*Figure 7.2 a) RVAp 26/77 obverse; b) RVAp 26/77 reverse; c) RVAp 11/193 obverse; d) RVAp 11/193 reverse; e) RVAp 25/24*

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<sup>249</sup> Cassimatis 2014, 248.

## 7.2.2 Courting and Marriage

The second largest category of images in this dataset is that relating to courting and marriage. There are 17 scenes (25%) that fall under this category. This is the largest number across all four shapes. In some cases, the Apulian images appear to adopt some of the elements of Attic scenes of courting and marriage and, seemingly, use them as shorthand symbols for referencing the nuptial sphere, sometimes incorporating many such elements into one scene. Thus, for many scenes that have been placed into this category, the occasion being presented is not entirely clear, but they contain certain identifiable elements or symbols, which suggest they may be linked to courting or marriage in some manner.

One Early Apulian vase presents a simple scene of a seated woman with a flying Eros (RVAp 5/267: fig 7.3a). It can be assumed that this woman is to be recognised as a bride due to her peplos, veil and the *anakalypsis* gesture of pulling at her veil. There are three scenes with a seated woman facing a youth with an Eros between them that may be intended to represent a courting couple (RVAp 8/254a: fig 7.3b, RVAp 17/68 and RVAp 4/155a). In one of these scenes, the woman is also veiled and, therefore, can reasonably be assumed to be a bride (RVAp 8/254a: fig 7.3b). In another (RVAp 4/155a: fig 7.3c), a laver with Eros standing inside, is centred between the couple, possibly an allusion to both the bride's and groom's prenuptial cleansing ritual. An interesting point to observe about this image is that the female is holding what looks like an egg and the male is holding a short stalk of a plant, possibly grain (fig: 7.3d). These rather small details may suggest that there is actually a cult or specifically funerary element to this image, as well as, a nuptial theme.<sup>250</sup>

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<sup>250</sup> See Edmonds 2013, 164-168 for how eggs were symbolic in Orphic religion and possibly linked to Dionysiac rituals.



Figure 7.3 a) RVAp 5/267; b) RVAp 8/254a, Krannert Art Museum, University Illinois Urbana-Champaign 1970.9.5, Image source: <https://collection.kam.illinois.edu/objects-1/info/3455>; c) RVAp 4/155a; d) Closeup detail of RVAp 4/155a

Another vase that may also be interpreted as a courting scene has a nude youth touching the arm of a woman who is holding up a mirror (RVAp 8/160: fig 7.4). This gesture can be seen repeated by other women in this category. The mirror is one of the interesting objects, that's meaning may be interpreted quite differently depending on how and where it is portrayed. Hand mirrors appear across many of the scene types including funerary scenes, women at leisure or the many ambiguous figured scenes of women, youths and Eros all holding objects. In the instances where a mirror appears held by a woman in a nuptial setting or, at least, with other marriage related objects, it may be a reference to the idealised concepts of a woman's femininity, youth, and beauty.<sup>251</sup>



Figure 7.4 RVAp 8/160

<sup>251</sup> Avronidaki 2014, 90.

There are five group scenes in which a seated female is the central figure (RVAp 18/135: fig 7.5a, RVAp 18/145: fig 7.5b, RVAp 18/190: fig 7.5c, RVAp 18/191 and RVAp 18/194: fig 7.5d). These five scenes have very similar compositions with one or two female attendants, a singular nude youth approaching with a gift and one or two small erotes flying above. Various symbols of courting and marriage appear, such as hares, birds, balls, mirrors and, in one instance, a laver and an iynx-wheel. It might be inferred that this is a pre-wedding ritual of some kind, where a groom would bring gifts for his bride-to-be. In one of these scenes (RVAp 18/145: fig 7.5b), the central woman is playing the harp and it is noted that in Attic imagery, brides are sometimes represented as playing music for their companions before the ceremony.<sup>252</sup>



Figure 7.5 a) RVAp 18/135; b) RVAp 18/145; c) RVAp 18/190, Metropolitan Museum of Art 17.46.2, Image Source: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/249164>; d) RVAp 18/194

There are another two, larger group scenes which also appear to refer to nuptial ritual, albeit, in a more ambiguous way. It is not clear what situation or event is being presented in these images but they are filled with symbols that are common to courting and marriage scenes. To the left side of one scene (RVAp 18/116: fig 7.6a), a woman playing a harp is approached by a nude youth offering a garland. Above this couple is a small Eros holding up a mirror and dangling an iynx-wheel and to the right side, a youth is seated playing the kithara.<sup>253</sup> A

<sup>252</sup> Ibid., 92.

<sup>253</sup> RVAp II, 507; Trendall identifies this character as Apollo, but this does not seem to be the common interpretation.

woman with a mantle covering her head, gestures towards him with one hand and a second flying Eros above approaches him with fillets. The other group scene depicts two women in the centre who appear to be communicating with each other (RVAp 18/143: fig 7.6b). One holds out the Apulian ‘xylophone’ instrument to the other, as if she is encouraging her to play it. A nude youth to one side holds a large bird, perhaps, a goose or swan, and there is a kithara situated at his feet. As discussed previously, goose imagery could be associated with the goddess Aphrodite. Swans, likewise, might have had this connection to the goddess but may also have alluded to aspects of perceived manliness, such as virility, strength, and aggression.<sup>254</sup> Furthermore, swans are known to mate for life and be fiercely protective of their young, characteristic traits that might arguably be desirable in a husband.<sup>255</sup>



*Figure 7.6 a) RVAp 18/116; b) RVAp 18/143*

There are a further three vases with courting scenes of a slightly more erotic nature, which makes them somewhat more complicated to classify. All three depict a couple embracing in the company of female attendants and Eros. One of these vases depicts a woman with one bare breast, reclining against a nude youth and caressing his head (RVAp 7/45a: fig 7.7a). A lyre lies on the ground next to them. The scene is not entirely clear, due to damage, but a female attendant bending towards the couple can be identified, as can a small Eros with a bow. A second scene also shows a seated couple with the youth touching the woman’s breast

<sup>254</sup> Avronidaki 2014, 90; Avronidaki 2015, 240.

<sup>255</sup> Avronidaki 2015, 241-243.

(RVAp 8/162: fig 7.7b). Here the woman indicates that she may be a bride by performing the *anakalypsis* gesture. However, one of the three female attendants also makes this gesture which confuses this interpretation. Finally, the third vase depicts a nude youth standing with a woman who is reaching up to touch his face, as he places his hand on her hip (RVAp 18/193: fig 7.7c). Again, in this scene, the couple are being observed by other females. It is possible these scenes depict a bride and groom in a way that idealises the intimacy and spiritual bond a married couple should aspire to. A review of Attic nuptial imagery overtime reveals there was a move away from the realistic, almost transactional representations of the bride's journey to her new household, to depictions of couples embracing that allowed for a more emotional rendering of the event.<sup>256</sup> This may have been a method for comforting young women, whose lived reality in Athens, at least, was that they were unlikely to have even met their husband before the wedding took place. An alternative reading of the more intimate scenes, is that they may depict paid hetairai, or as Cassimatis suggests, they could depict young people undertaking a kind of sexual apprenticeship<sup>257</sup>, most likely, the sexual initiation of young males through the guidance of a female attendant.<sup>258</sup>



Figure 7.7 a) RVAp 7/45a; b) RVAp 8/162; c) RVAp 18/193

Finally, two vases may relate to the preparation of the bride. The first depicts three women alone indoors with a small Eros, suggesting this scene might be taking place in a female only

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<sup>256</sup> Sutton 1997, 28-32.

<sup>257</sup> Cassimatis 2014, 266.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid., 287.

space such as the gynoecium (RVAp 7/37: fig 7.8a). The seated woman with Eros on her lap holds a hand mirror. The central woman standing, appears to be the person whom the other figures in the scene are looking at. She is the only female with her hair loose and a veil, which might insinuate she is the bride in this scenario. The other vase depicts two women at a louterion with Eros above, which may be a representation of the bridal bath (RVAp 8/254: fig 7.8b). One woman is naked with her hair loose and is washing herself at the basin. The other woman is nude to the waist and leans on the basin, holding a cista in one hand and a mirror in the other, which she gazes up into. An erote pouring perfumed oil from an alabastron into the basin, further encourages a nuptial interpretation of this scene. Perhaps, it is not as straight forward as this, however, since in Attic examples of bridal preparation scenes only the bride is nude. It is possible that what is being represented here is more simply a women's toilette scene. In fact, Lewis has commented on how erotes do sometimes appear seemingly arbitrarily as attendants in scenes of women at leisure.<sup>259</sup> However, the second erote carrying a phiale, suggests that there is some ritual element to the action taking place<sup>260</sup>. Cassimatis comments on a similar scene of two naked women next to a basin on a Paestan lebes gamikos, that it could be referencing a ritual bath that takes place before some unspecified ceremony.<sup>261</sup>

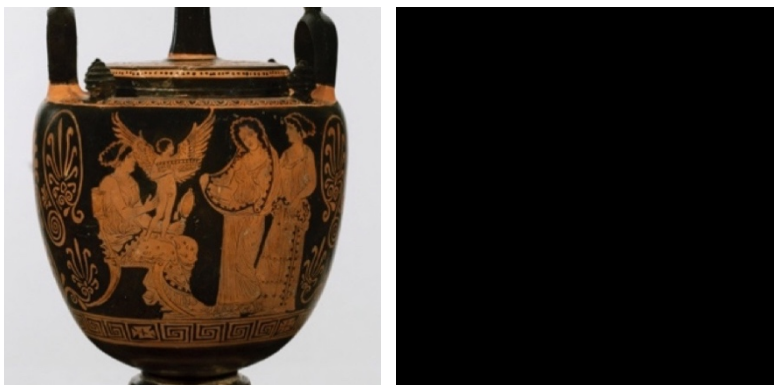


Figure 7.8 a) RVAp 7/37, Paris, Petit Palais ADUT319, Image Source: <https://www.parismuseescollections.paris.fr/fr/petit-palais/oeuvres/lebes-gamikos-vase-de-mariage-a-anses-dressees-cva-332#infos-principales>; b) RVAp 8/254

<sup>259</sup> Lewis 2002, 143-144.

<sup>260</sup> Cassimatis 1993, 123; In her assessment of Paestan lebetes gamikoi, Cassimatis notes a significant recurrence of phialai and basins in the same scenes, therefore, suggesting that these are to be understood as ritualised spaces.

<sup>261</sup> Ibid., 123; The vase in question (Melbourne, Coll. Geddes, P2:1) depicts a naked woman who may be a bride as she is adorned with a polos, jewels, and sandals. Her companion on the other side of the laver is partly nude and holds up a mirror as does the female companion on RVAp 8/254.

### 7.2.3 Mythological Scenes

Three vases (4%) in the dataset portray mythological and divinity scenes. The two mythological scenes are both from the Middle Apulian period. One depicts Helen and Paris in what appears to mimic a traditional bridal dressing room scene with Helen preparing to be married (RVAp 15/13: fig 7.9a). Helen is nude with two attendants helping to adorn her, one attaching a hair garland and another tying on her sandal. These are common motifs of bridal preparation, as is the Eros that flies above Helen with a fillet, which is likely the type used to bind up a bride's hair. The second scene presents an episode from the fall of Troy with Cassandra being abducted by Ajax (RVAp 10/52: fig 7.9b). It is a dynamic scene with Cassandra clinging tightly to a statue of Athena, while Ajax forcibly tries to pull her away. Ajax's rearing horse, on one side, is counterbalanced by a terrified woman on the other. As discussed in previous chapters, abduction scenes may be linked allegorically to marriage. Particularly in this case where a mortal, rather than a god, is abducting another mortal with implied violence. Interestingly, though it encourages the patriarchal notion that women can be taken as property, this particular myth may in fact have been commenting on appropriate social boundaries and behaviour. The story does not end well for Ajax, however, who offends Athena by brutally raping Cassandra in Athena's sanctuary. It is unlike some other abduction scenes that have a more desirable outcome, such as Peleus and Thetis whose abduction leads to marriage and children.<sup>262</sup> The final vase, which is from the Late Apulian, displays an illustration of a lone Eros (RVAp 21/26: fig 7.9c). The deity is pictured standing on top of a large flower and holding a beaded fillet. He is surrounded by other flowers and tendrils.

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<sup>262</sup> Stansbury-O'Donnell 2009; 348-351; uses these two abduction stories to exemplify how pursuit scenes on Attic pottery may have had different intentions, to encourage certain social norms, while dissuading others.



Figure 7.9 a) RVAp 15/13; b) RVAp 10/52; c) RVAp 21/26, Edinburgh A.1881.44.23 B, Image © National Museums Scotland, Image Source: <https://www.nms.ac.uk/explore-our-collections/collection-search-results/lebes-gamikos-lid/408589>

#### 7.2.4 Dionysiac

There is a single vase (1%) by the Thyrsus Painter with Dionysiac imagery (RVAp 10/133: fig 7.10). It is a simple scene, which is typical of this painter's work and presents a standing woman facing a small flying Eros. They are both holding on to the one thyrsus in the centre of the scene, perhaps, to be interpreted as if one is handing it to the other.

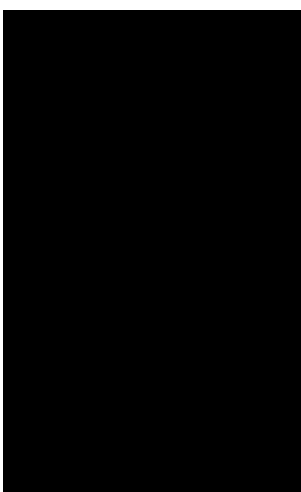


Figure 7.10 RVAp 10/133

### 7.2.5 Isolated Female Heads

Four vases (6%) are illustrated with an isolated female head. Three of these are the typical side profile design (RVAp 22/151, 28/166, 28/175: figs. 7.11a-c), while one displays the female head in a three-quarter view (RVAp 22/688: fig 7.11d). As is the case with the other shapes, diminutive versions of the isolated female head appear on many of the vases outside the main body. Often, they are illustrated on the lid or on the shoulder of the vase. It is fascinating that scholars writing about lebetes gamikoi tend to identify these as the head of a bride. It is an interesting and plausible notion that the isolated head, like other motifs, may change in identification and meaning based on the actual context in which it appears.

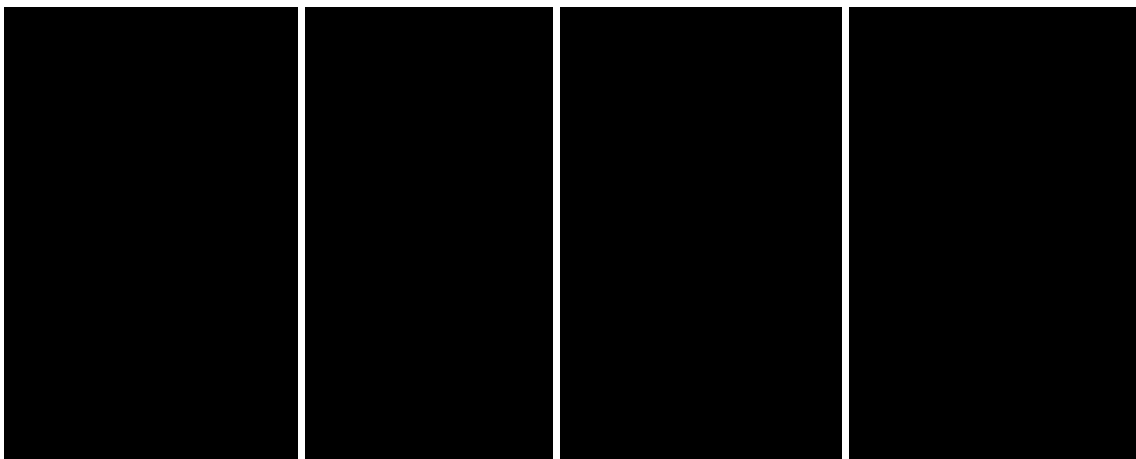


Figure 7.11 a) RVAp 22/151; b) RVAp 28/166; c) RVAp 28/175; d) RVAp 22/688

### 7.2.6 Figure Group A – Two Figures holding objects

Nine vases (13%) are categorised as ‘Figure Group A’ in the lebetes gamikoi dataset. In this dataset, there are only two different character combinations (Table 7.2). There are 3 vases with a woman and a youth (e.g. RVAp 26/108: fig 7.12a) and 6 vases with a woman and Eros (e.g. RVAp 11/194: fig 7.12b). Some of the scenes with a woman and Eros in this dataset, interestingly, vary slightly to the ones presenting on the other shapes examined, in that there is more perceived interaction between the characters. The scene on one vase by the Painter of the Long Overfalls (RVAp 4/156a: fig 7.12c) depicts a woman holding out a dish of food, possibly eggs, fruit or cakes, towards Eros who is reaching out to take one. On another vase by the Baltimore Painter (RVAp 27/89 fig 7.12d) a woman and Eros sit side by side, their

heads turned to face each other. The woman has her hand on Eros' shoulder, which gives an impression of intimacy.

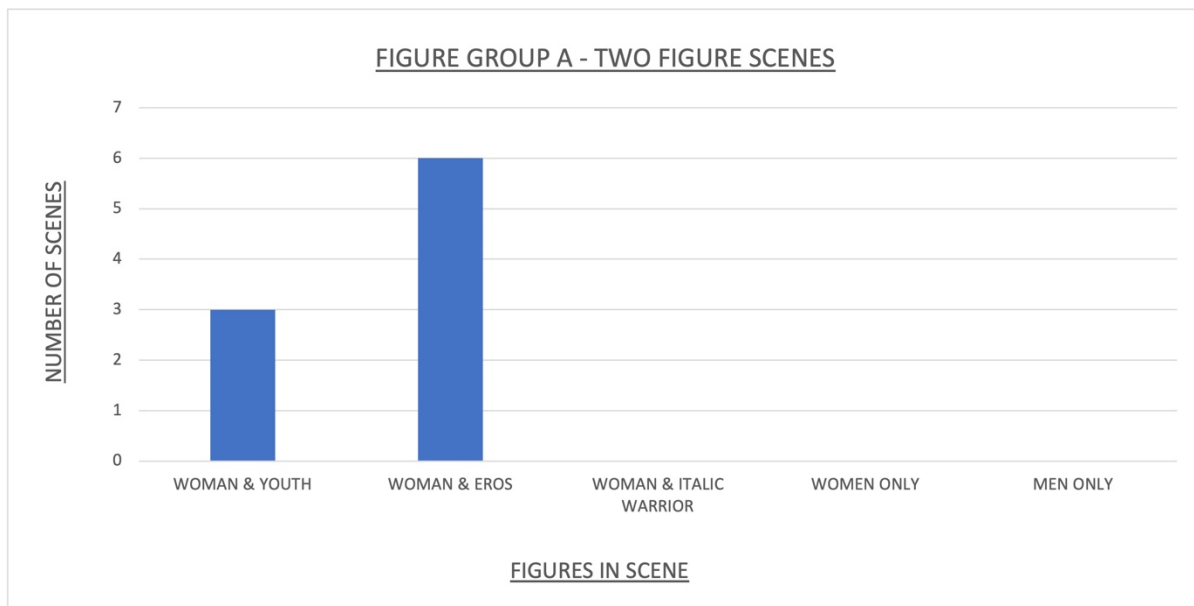


Table 7.2 Two figure scenes on the obverse sides of Apulian red-figured lebetes gamikoi, divided by figure combinations.

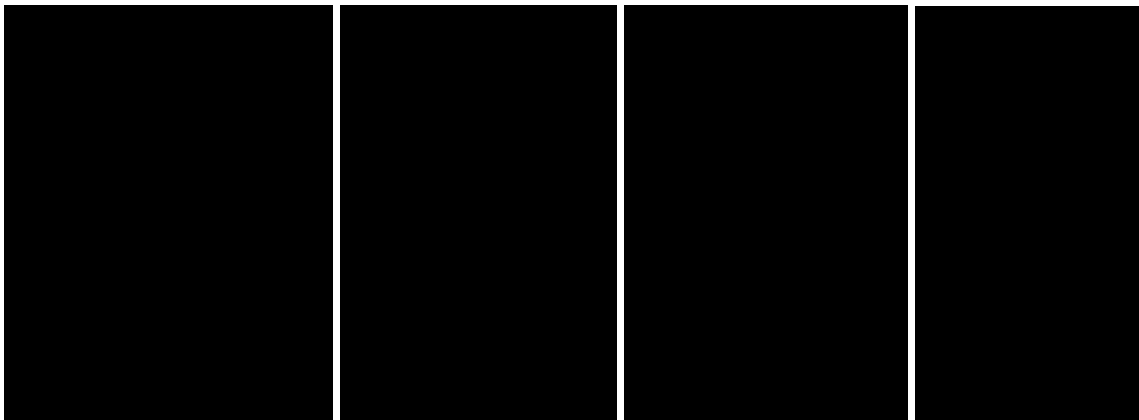
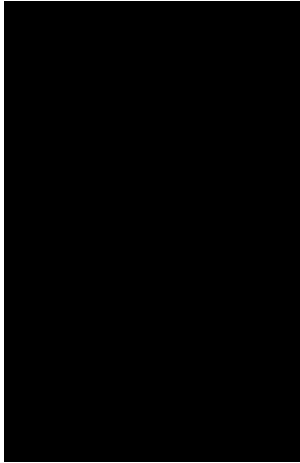


Figure 7.12 a) RVAp 26/108; b) RVAp 11/194; c) RVAp 4/156a; d) RVAp 27/89

### 7.2.7 Figure Group B – with Seated Male Youth

There is only one instance (1%) of a 'Figure Group B' scene (RVAp 15/25: fig 7.13). In this image, the seated nude youth is the centre of the attention of the two women either side of him. The woman behind him holds a fan in one hand and places her other hand on his

shoulder. The woman, whom the youth is facing, hands him a small bird, perhaps a dove, on a string. Above the youth, a small Eros flies holding a chaplet and fillet, though he looks as though he might be about to crown the woman holding the bird, rather than the youth, who is already wearing a crown. It is not an unreasonable assumption that this image has wedding associations and is intended to celebrate a young groom. However, it cannot be definitively identified as such.



*Figure 7.13 RVAp 15/25*

### 7.2.8 Figure Group C – Larger Groups

There are two vases (3%) which are designated here as ‘Figure Group C’, as they feature a mixed group of three or more characters without a clear indication of the occasions being depicted. The first scene (RVAp 8/161: fig 7.14a), illustrates a seated woman at the centre of the image, presenting what appears to be a dish of food to a youth, who reaches out to take something from the dish. A second woman stands to the left, with one hand on the seated woman’s shoulder and a ball in the other hand. Depicted behind the group is an open window, where a third woman’s face can be identified. The second scene (RVAp 27/90: fig 7.14b) is very similar in composition to three of the courting scenes. It depicts a woman and youth facing each other with an Eros flying between them, about to crown the youth with a garland. The primary reason it has not been integrated into the courting category is due to certain objects held by the woman and youth, including a phiale, a situla and a branch laden

with fruit. These particular items rather imply that the scene may hold some kind of cult or ritual significance.

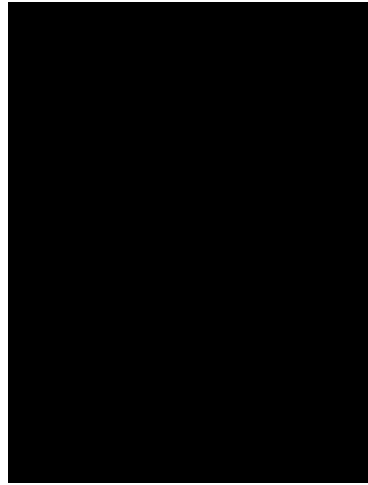


Figure 7.14 a) *RVAp 8/161, Louvre K 196.1, © 2005 RMN-Grand Palais (Louvre museum) / Hervé Lewandowski, Image Source: <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010252813>; b) *RVAp 27/90**

### 7.3 Analysis of Lebetes Gamikoi Obverse Sides

From the outset, the lebetes gamikos is a shape that appears to have strong female connotations that continue through into the Late Apulian period. At least one female appears on 66 scenes and the one remaining scene is a depiction of Eros. By comparison, youths only appear on 22 of the scenes and they obviously never appear without a female. As pointed out above, however, the largest category of ‘single figures’ with only females on their obverse sides, has depictions of a lone Eros and occasionally a lone youth on their reverse sides. It should be acknowledged that the recognition of the female side as the ‘obverse’ is dictated purely by subjective choices made by Trendall and Cambitiglou in *RVAp*. However, had the designated sides been reversed, or even arbitrarily mixed, these results would have varied quite drastically. Another aspect to observe concerning the imagery on the lebetes gamikoi, is that in contrast to the other three shapes, there are no examples of funerary scenes and very few of mythological scenes. The three mythological scenes that do appear are related to the nuptial realm, which seems logical considering the shapes historical connection to the Attic wedding ceremony.

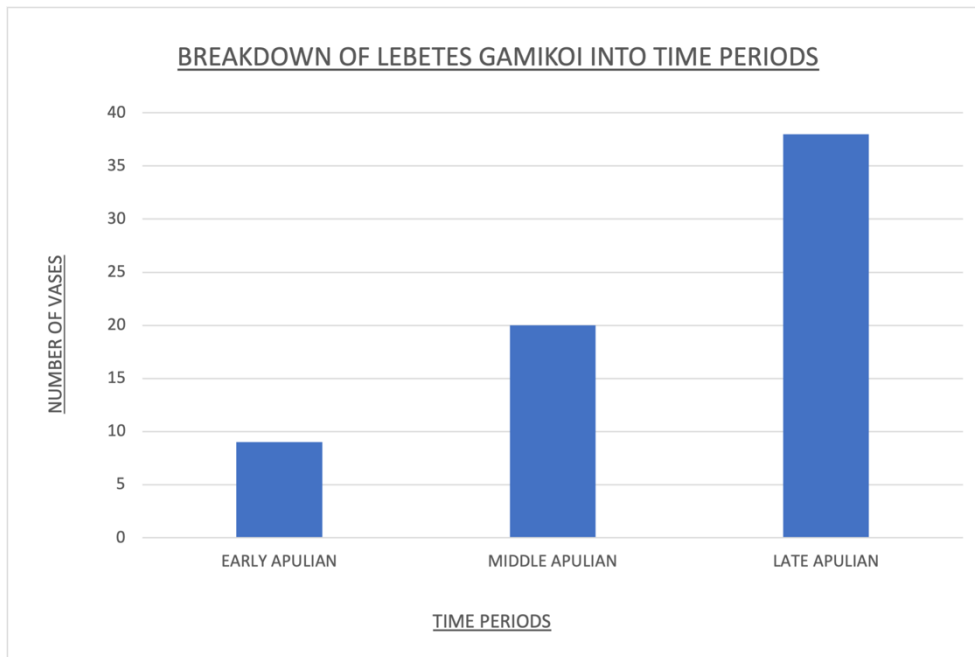


Table 7.3 Breakdown of Apulian red-figure lebetes gamikoi into Early, Middle and Late Apulian time periods.

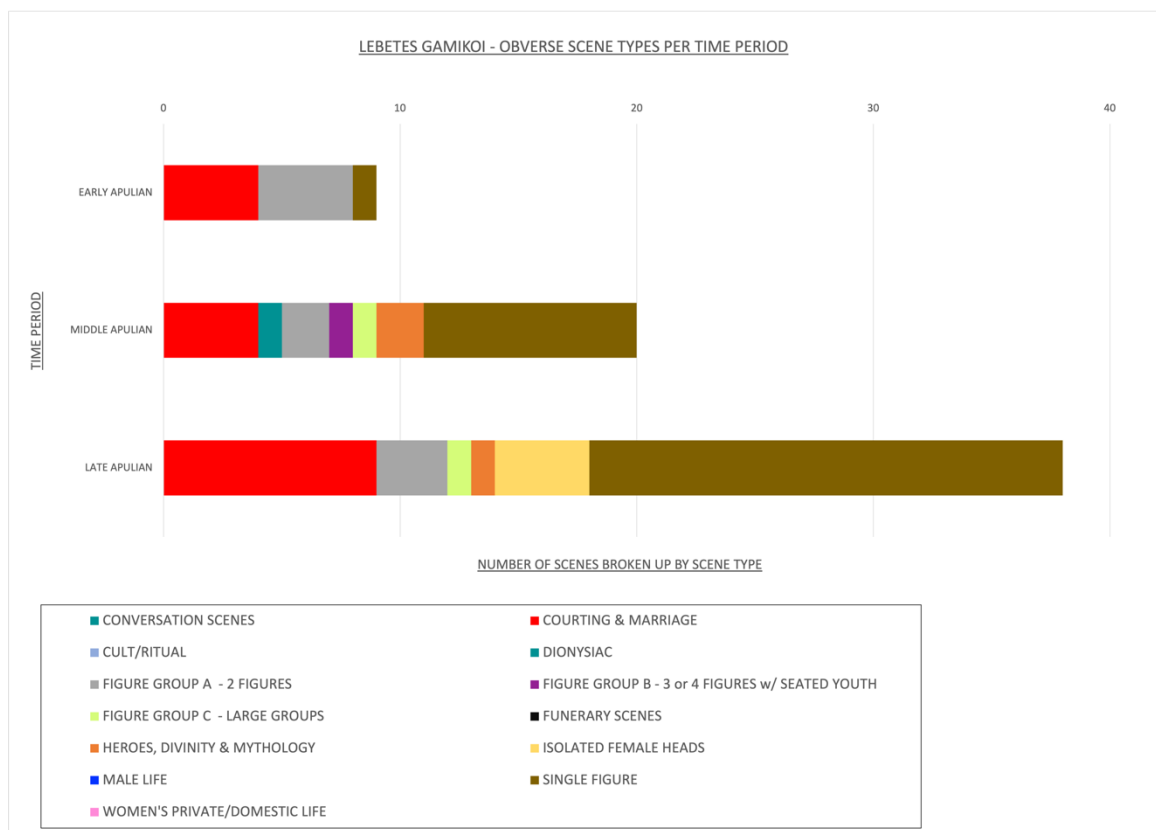


Table 7.4 Scene types that appear on the obverse sides of Apulian red-figured lebetes gamikoi in Early, Middle and Late Apulian time periods.

The trend witnessed in the other three shapes of vase numbers increasing considerably after the Middle Apulian period continues here with *lebetes gamikoi* (Table 7.3). When the trends in themes are viewed chronologically (Table 7.4), the Early Apulian period displays the least diversity, though it is important to recognise that this dataset only includes nine examples from this period. There are only three themes, ‘figure group A’, courting and marriage and single figures. In the Middle Apulian, there is more variety with the appearance of some mythological scenes and group scenes whose absolute meanings cannot be known with any certainty. However, it cannot be ruled out that these scenes, with larger casts of characters, were intended to present certain aspects of nuptial customs or aspirations. Finally, in the Late Apulian period, the isolated female head motif is introduced (as is the case with other shapes) and, in addition, there is a vast increase in the output of the lone female figure. As discussed in previous chapters, the rationale behind these comparatively simplistic scenes becoming abundant in later times, could be correlated with the greater output of vases in general during this time and, thus, may be indicators of mass production.

The smaller numbers of *lebetes gamikoi* in comparison to other shapes of South Italian red-figure likely point to this shape being of some significance to a small or niche section of the Italic population. It is possible, that this group is matrons, perhaps, being honoured by their spouses who outlived them. Though it is unlikely that the Apulian vessels, particularly the later ones, were ever used as part of the deceased's wedding ceremony or later as a household item. This does not mean, of course, that they could not have become a symbolic vessel in South Italy to represent marriage and, perhaps, deposited in female graves as a marker of their status as wives. It also cannot be ruled out that these vessels were not exclusively deposited in female graves in South Italy. In the case of *lebetes gamikoi* with nuptial imagery, it is possible that many of these scenes are not illustrating specific or real events that took place as part of the process of courting or marriage in South Italy. They may, however, have intended to be representative of the ritual transitional periods that took place in both young male and female lives. The primary relevance of the scenes may have been to celebrate the sexual maturity of a young person. They might highlight desirability and fertility, with the notion that these qualities would be significant to the next stage of life,

which would include marriage and children.<sup>263</sup> Given their context as funerary vessels, however, one assumption might be that they were placed in the graves of young people who in reality were not able to achieve this important life milestone. The vessel, perhaps, was placed in the tomb for use in the next life instead. In a similar vein, it is not hard to imagine that some of these scenes, particularly, the more intimate ones, could have been appropriate grave gifts for someone who had wished to be reunited with a loved one in the afterlife.

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<sup>263</sup>Cassimatis 2014; Cassimatis 1993,111; Cassimatis discusses the possibility that the imagery on Apulian lebetes gamikoi were aimed at both male and female youths and that these vessels were possibly gifted to both of them as part of their transition into a new stage of life. She postulates that this may have been a stage of sexual initiation rather than marriage specifically.

## 8 Conclusions

It has been the primary aim of this thesis to determine whether certain shapes of Apulian red-figure pottery may have had specific gender associations, within the context of burial, for the Italic peoples of Apulia in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. Four shapes of Apulian red-figure ceramics, that have a history of being associated with one gender or the other, in the Attic tradition, were examined to ascertain whether these same associations were also relevant for the Italic peoples of Apulia. A comprehensive database of the imagery that appears on each shape was created and analysed to identify any patterns in iconographic themes that might suggest a correlation with a particular gender. Subsequently, if these specific correlations were shown to exist, how might such vessels have been used by Italic peoples to express gendered notions of identity. Furthermore, it was also hoped that this investigation might assist in shedding light on the relationships between the Greek speaking and Italic communities of Apulia by observing ways in which the Italic people may have adopted or appropriated various objects and elements of Greek culture.

Categorising scenes into different themes has been an extremely useful method, not only for establishing which themes commonly appear on a shape but also which themes might be meaningfully absent. Significant differences between the results for each shape, suggested that iconography was not arbitrarily chosen, but rather was deliberately selected with regard to vessel type and the Italic markets the vessels were created for. On the surface, the analysis of the data supports the idea that some shapes of Apulian red-figure may have been strongly associated with one gender, at least, within Italic burial contexts. Furthermore, these gender associations, for the most part, align with how these shapes likely had been perceived historically within Greek culture. The hydria and lebes gamikos, which are believed to have been associated with females in Greece, both arguably display trends towards more feminine imagery and an obvious absence of overtly masculine imagery. Similarly, the amphora and the volute krater, which are both male related shapes, in the Greek tradition, were revealed to have a very high occurrence of male orientated scenes. A more detailed analysis of the imagery, however, suggests that the reality of how vessels were employed to express gendered qualities of the deceased is perhaps more nuanced. While gender associations are apparent, they do not appear to have been exclusive, and the data suggests that these vessels

may have been used both physically and symbolically by Italic peoples in ways that differed from their Greek-speaking neighbours.

Over time, the funerary function of the Apulian vessels appears more overtly through the iconography, at least, for hydriai, amphorai and volute kraters, which all had funerary scenes as the leading category for their Late Apulian examples. Funerary scenes, particularly those depicting figures we might imagine to be the deceased inside a naiskos structure, offer the most compelling evidence that, for at least these three shapes, there was a definitive link between shape and gender. All but one figured naiskos scene on the hydriai featured females only. In comparison, the naiskos scenes on the volute kraters and amphorai depicted predominantly males. An unexpected detail that arose from comparing the funerary scenes, across the three shapes, was the differing gender composition of the mourning groups visiting the graves. In the hydriai dataset, female-only mourners constituted 60% of the funerary scenes and mixed gender groups only 34%. However, the most prominent configuration of mourners was comprised of mixed gender groups for both the volute kraters and amphorai, constituting 69% and 64% respectively. Female-only mourners constituted only 14% of volute krater funerary scenes and a mere 9% of amphorai. Furthermore, the two ‘masculine’ shapes produced the only examples of male-only mourners. These male-only mourners were exclusively in naiskoi scenes with deceased males or with male objects, such as armour, inside the naiskoi, or otherwise, in stelai scenes where the gender of the deceased was not discernible. This latter detail would align with heroic Greek ideals of warriors lamenting fallen fellow warriors. For centuries in Attic tradition, women are understood to have had the predominant role in funerary ritual and commemoration of the dead. Attic red-figure vases are known to depict women as the main mourners, though Attic white-ground lekythoi did shift focus to the mourning of the whole *oikos* and introduce depictions of male mourners. The Apulian vases suggest this role was, perhaps, also more evenly dispersed amongst the genders in the Italic communities, at least for male deceased. A conspicuous bias appears to exist for women alone mourning other women, as well as it being seemingly inappropriate for males alone to be depicted mourning females. It is unclear if this reflects a lived reality, however, it is possible it suggests there were different expectations of males and females to perform certain roles during funerary ritual, or that perhaps, male and female burial rites could differ in some way.

Across all four shapes and almost all scene categories, males typically appear as nude youths. This is a departure from Attic scenes, where male nudity was generally restricted to depictions of situations where it would have realistically been found, such as in the gymnasium or erotic scenes, or else, would have been used in the portrayal of mythological characters and heroes. The vases in the dataset illustrate nude youths in all kinds of highly unlikely settings, from conversing with a female to fighting on the battlefield. It is probable, therefore, that the nudity is used symbolically, perhaps referencing the warriors and heroes of myth and projecting their desirable qualities onto Italic males. On a similar note, the males inside naiskoi are almost always youths. Therefore, are we to imagine that all these deceased were young men? An alternative rationale might be that this representation was potentially another means of idealising the deceased by memorialising them in the prime of their youth, when they likely would have been at the peak of their athleticism, strength and beauty. Also, across all four shapes, women are never depicted with Italic cultural identifiers, a phenomenon also noted by Herring.<sup>264</sup> They are illustrated in the same manner as Greek women on Attic vases, with the same Greek manner of dress and hairstyling. As Herring points out, it is exceedingly difficult to determine why this would be the case, on vessels that are clearly being tailored to an Italic market. As discussed in the literature review, some of his suggestions, such as Italic women being sequestered from public view or merely adopting Greek fashions are not so convincing in light of other evidence to the contrary. It is possible, rather, that as in the case of the idealised male mythic hero, women are also being represented in a symbolic manner to highlight desirable traits. Often Attic vessels portray goddesses, nymphs and mythological characters no differently to the average mortal woman. It might be reasonable to assume then, that the Greek appearance of women is not a representation of reality in Apulia, rather an idealisation of the virtues of mythical females and deities that Italic women should aspire to.

The ways that deceased males and females inside naiskoi were represented are quite distinct from each other. The presentation of females appears to highlight a wealthy and luxurious lifestyle, depicting those individuals in relaxed postures often with attendants and items that primarily identified them as women of status. Males, by contrast, were typically portrayed as nude young men, most often associated with items that identified them as warriors and, occasionally, objects that hinted at athleticism, hunting capability or wine consumption.

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<sup>264</sup> Herring 2009.

While males sometimes appeared with items that denoted wealth and luxury, deceased females, inside the naiskoi, never appeared with weapons or armour. These gendered ideals seem to be supported by the types of mythological scenes that presented on each shape. The mythological scenes on the two 'feminine' shapes, differed quite significantly from the two 'masculine' shapes. The lebetes gamikoi in the dataset only had three mythological scenes which unsurprisingly related to the nuptial sphere. The hydriai had a greater range of mythological subjects with a few recurring topics, such as heroes rescuing females or competing for their hand, romantic couples such as Helen and Paris and Niobe mourning her slain children. Overall, for the 'feminine' shapes, there was a significant number of scenes that revolved around female characters or deities and dealt with themes that we might assume were highly relevant to women. If we imagine that these mythological scenes were purposely on display or even explained through oration during the funeral, then it makes sense to assume they were intended to express something about the deceased person. The mythological scenes chosen for the feminine shapes might be expressing patriarchal ideals and suggesting that ultimately a female's best qualities were her ability to be a good wife and loving mother. Furthermore, a more telling indicator for the lebes gamikos and the hydria that suggested they were shapes intended for females, was the obvious lack of overtly masculine mythological scenes. This was a stark contrast to the amphorai and the volute kraters, which were abundant with warriors, heroes, battle scenes and violence. Amazonomachies, Gigantomachies, Herakles, Achilles and scenes from the Trojan War were all particularly popular and emphasised the male warrior ideal that was also highly visible in other scene types across these two shapes. This is not to say that all the mythological scenes were blatantly masculine on the volute kraters and amphorai. There was some overlap of mythological themes with the feminine shapes which suggests a couple of possibilities. One is that some scenes being eschatological in nature or symbolic of the importance of ancestral ties, were likely universal in appeal. The second is that certain scenes in connection to specific shapes may have expressed different gendered qualities. For example, abduction scenes appeared across all three shapes, and could be symbolic of any person's passage into the afterlife but might be especially relevant to women to whom it would also have represented the marriage journey they may or may not have experienced in life. Lastly, it may also indicate, as will be discussed further below, that the 'masculine' shapes were not exclusive to males.

Based on iconographic patterns, it appears that specific shapes may have been utilised in funerary ceremonies to denote certain qualities of the deceased that can be associated with gender. This might have included their social status, roles they played in the community or how they might have conformed to specific social and cultural ideals. For example, the hydria would appear to be a shape closely associated with Italic females that not only denoted their elite status but perhaps, also reinforced women's importance to their households. As a shape, which was generally connected with essential domestic tasks, it was also the only one which portrayed women with kalathos baskets in larger numbers. The kalathos basket, typically used for wool-work, arguably could have been employed as a visual symbol of women's domestic duties in general. The lebes gamikos appeared to have been a vessel closely connected to aspects of gender that were also influenced by age. Smaller in physical numbers, it had an extremely high occurrence of female figures and large quantities of scenes related to courting and marriage, that would suggest it was likely symbolic of a small proportion of the community, such as unwed young women. This is possibly only the case, however, if we believe that marriage was as an important rite of passage for young Italic females, as it was for young Greek females. A surprising finding was that the types of nuptial imagery that presented on the Apulian lebetes gamikoi were in ways dissimilar to Attic nuptial imagery, which possibly insinuates that nuptial rituals themselves could also have been different for Italic peoples. The often ambiguous and, in some respects, more explicit scenes have led Cassimatis, for example, to interpret the Apulian images as relevant also to young males. The amphora and the volute krater, as discussed in their relevant chapters, reveal historical connections to the storage and mixing of wine, which makes their connection to males relatively unsurprising. These vessels would seem to denote both elite status for males, as well as emphasise male roles as warriors, hunters and participants in ritual wine consumption and banqueting. One of the fascinating results from the data, as mentioned above, was that the two 'masculine' shapes, though unquestionably laden with masculine imagery, also displayed a small proportion of female naiskos scenes. The ways that women in naiskos scenes were represented on the 'masculine' shapes did not differ to their hydriai counterparts. This is not to suggest that these shapes were not perceived as masculine by Italic peoples. Rather, that as discussed in chapters five and six, for the Italic community, these shapes were not tied to specifically Greek drinking practices, such as the all-male symposium. This would go some way to support the conclusions of studies such as Herring et al and Albanesi and Battiloro, both discussed in the literature review, where evidence from studies carried out on a relatively small amount of contextual grave data

suggest, as a niche group in the community, some elite women may have also participated, in some way, in banqueting or ritualised wine consumption.<sup>265</sup> It cannot be known for certain, however, if their roles were limited to the ritual serving of wine to their male relatives, such as witnessed in departing warrior scenes, or if they too were permitted to take part in drinking wine. The fact that volute kraters were such large, prestige items, often with detailed and complex imagery, may go some way to suggest that the deliberate presence of one in a female grave is evidence of more than just that females' role as a wine server.

The Italic peoples' interest in the afterlife was apparent in the dataset. Not only in the ways the deceased are pictured in an idealised fashion in naiskos scenes, but also in the specific choices of mythological scenes and stories which metaphorically represent the journey with the gods into the afterlife, depict scenes and characters of the Underworld and reference the immortalisation of famous heroes and warriors. The presence of Dionysiac symbolism across all shapes is perhaps another indicator of this preoccupation with what happens after death. While obvious Dionysiac scenes, featuring the god himself and his recognizable followers, such as satyrs and maenads, are not overly abundant in the dataset, Dionysiac symbols and objects pervade many of the other scene types. The category labelled 'Figure Group A', for example, could very convincingly be representative of ritual Dionysiac activities and worship. This scene type appears most prevalently on the hydriai, in smaller numbers on the amphorai and lebetes gamikoi and not at all on the volute kraters. The leading sub-category of figure combinations is women with youths, however, at least one woman appears on every 'Figure Group A' scene. The fact that women are consistently present and that this category appears most frequently on a 'female' shape may suggest that Dionysiac worship or, at least, specific ritualised activities related to this deity, were an important part of the Italic female identity. Dionysos is, of course, highly recognised as the god of wine and, as an extension, the mental and physical changes induced by alcohol, but also as a god of other transitions, seems to have been, in Apulia particularly, a deity who ensured a positive transition into the afterlife. Furthermore, as discussed in chapter 6, he appears associated also with marriage. In fact, Dionysian symbols permeate many of the scenes in the dataset, which have a seemingly nuptial theme. Similarly, in many scenes, particularly those in the 'Figure Group A' and 'Courting and Marriage' categories, there is a fascinating overlap between references to Dionysos and the appearance of the deity Eros. Eros is often depicted often holding symbolic

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<sup>265</sup> Herring et al. 2000; Albanesi and Battiloro 2017.

objects associated with wine drinking, such as a phylai, cistai or grapes. Furthermore, the physical traits of Eros in a large majority of the scenes in the dataset are distinctive in comparison to how he is portrayed on Attic vases. Over time, his appearance on the Apulian vessels becomes more feminine, often featuring female hairstyles and adornments. All these factors strongly suggest that both Dionysos and Eros may have been worshipped in unique ways in Apulia compared to their Greek-speaking neighbours, or in fact, that these representations are actually syncretic deities, reflecting the amalgamation of Greek and local Italic belief systems. Overall, it would appear that a safe passage into a blessed afterlife was something that was considered an entitlement for both genders and that, perhaps, the pervasiveness of the mingling of marriage and funerary symbolism was a testament to the importance of family, and of the continuation of elite family groups for Italic peoples.

### 8.1 Future Directions

The principal merit of this study is that creating a database of imagery, as it relates to specific shape and chronological order, allows for patterns and, sometimes, the lack thereof, to be observed. Also, it may well help answer questions when there are gaps in our existing knowledge, such as where literary evidence is absent or insufficient or where find contexts have not been recorded. The limitations of this specific study are that, for the sake of being consistent amongst the chosen shapes and confining the scope to a manageable sized dataset, not all imagery on the vases was considered, such as that on reverse sides, necks, lids and feet. It also does not consider vases which have been discovered since the publication of Trendall and Cambitiglou's catalogues. Additionally, it must be noted that there is always an inescapable element of subjectivity and personal bias involved in all investigations that analyse and draw conclusions from objects of material culture. Should past scholars and writers have focused on different aspects of those objects, relied on different sources, elicited different interpretations, or drawn different conclusions regarding context and meaning, then proceeding works, this one included, potentially may be impacted in some alternate way. In a similar vein, future discoveries and emerging avenues of thought may suggest that those conclusions preceding them are either valid or conversely are inaccurate. Therefore, the relevance of any work seemingly only sits, in its own precarious position, along a timeline situated somewhere between the two possible constructs. Regardless of any possible outcome

here, however, the significance of examining elements of material culture to obtain a deeper understanding of the past cannot be denied.

To legitimise the merit of this thesis' analysis, it would be beneficial to carry out case studies of shapes and images that appear in well documented Italic burials, where sexing of the remains has been carried out. This way it may be possible to confirm if the above conclusions concerning gender associations and shape are potentially accurate. Scholars such as Montanaro and Herring et al have demonstrated the value in being able to compare vase imagery with other grave goods from the same context.<sup>266</sup> Lippolis also, as discussed in the literature review, has highlighted the importance of vase context in relation to associated finds in conjunction with geographical diffusion and chronology.<sup>267</sup> Assuming that individual sites hold a reasonable amount of burial data, then such a study would also be useful for establishing whether patterns in the shape and iconography were site specific or rather spread more uniformly across larger regions. This exercise could potentially provide more detailed information regarding how the production of Apulian red-figure might have been influenced by Italic customers. Furthermore, expanding the chronological database of imagery to include other shapes and more recent finds, would broaden the range of questions which could be asked about how specific vessels or iconography may have been important to Italic peoples. The scope of this study has been limited to looking specifically at what imagery might be associated with gender identity. However, even within this relatively small database, other patterns and themes have emerged in the data that would be beneficial to explore further. One such example in point would be the overlap of Dionysiac symbolism and the deity Eros discussed above, which for the most part, sits outside the scope of this study. There is a distinct possibility that a more in-depth analysis of this imagery may well provide evidence of, and greater insight into, specifically Italic cult and ritual beliefs and practices and how they possibly may have been intertwined with or adapted from traditionally Greek ones. There are a number of possible avenues for further research in the area of iconography and how it relates to vase shape. Hopefully then, this study has achieved some small steps towards informing positively any future research directions that attempt to gain greater understanding of the Italic peoples in South Italy.

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<sup>266</sup> Montanaro 2018; Herring et al. 2000.

<sup>267</sup> Lippolis and Mazzei 2005.

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## Appendix 1. Images of Hydriai

	RVAp NUMBER	CATALOGUE	PAINTER	SIDE A - BROAD SCENE CATEGORY	SIDE A - SCENE SUB-CATEGORY
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	3/99c	Once London Market	The Painter of Bologna 498	FUNERARY SCENE	Funerary monument - females w/gifts
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	5/193a	Ruvo 670	The Truro Painter	DIONYSIAC	Female and youth with objects & thyrsus
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	13/30a	Once London Market, Christie's, Sale Cal. 10 Dec. 1986, no. 225, colour-ill. on p. 61; p. 51.	The Varrese Painter	FIGURE GROUP C - LARGER MIXED GROUP SCENE <b>AND</b> WOMEN'S PRIVATE LIFE	Mixed group of females, youths & Eros <b>AND</b> group scene of females w/objects

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	13/30c	Once London Market, Thomas Howard-Sneyd.	The Varrese Painter	FIGURE GROUP C - LARGER MIXED GROUP SCENE <b>AND</b> WOMEN'S PRIVATE LIFE	Mixed group of females, youths & Eros <b>AND</b> group scene of females w/objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	13/30d	Berlin 1984.46	The Varrese Painter	THE DIVINE	Demeter & metanaira surrounded by other gods and ritual participants below.
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	13/140a	Once London Market, Christie's, Sale Cal. 6 June 1989, no. 500, ill. on p. 47	The Varrese Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Stele - mixed group w/ gifts
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	19/80	Karlsruhe B 38.	The Circle of The Darius And The Underworld Painters	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth with objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	19/83	Brussels, Errera coli. D 14.	The Circle of The Darius And The Underworld Painters	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth with objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	19/86a	Monopoli, Meo-Evoli coli. L. 157 (old no. 942).	The Circle of The Darius And The Underworld Painters	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Woman and Eros holding objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	19/86	Naples, private coli. II.	The Circle of The Darius And The Underworld Painters	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Woman and Eros holding objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	19/87	Hanover, W.M. V I.	The Circle of The Darius And The Underworld Painters	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth with objects

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	19/97	Cork, University College, J. 1272.	The Circle of The Darius And The Underworld Painters	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Women with objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	19/100	Bologna 557.	The Circle of The Darius And The Underworld Painters	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth with objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	19/101	Bologna 559.	The Circle of The Darius And The Underworld Painters	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth with objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	19/106	Zagreb 308.	The Circle of The Darius And The Underworld Painters	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth with objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	19/108	Frankfurt Market, De Robertis.	The Circle of The Darius And The Underworld Painters	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth with objects

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	19/109	Copenhagen 283 (B-S. 224). Much repainted.	The Circle of The Darius And The Underworld Painters	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth with objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	19/110a	Bari, Lojudice coll.	The Circle of The Darius And The Underworld Painters	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth with objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	19/110	Vatican V 30 (inv. 18063).	The Circle of The Darius And The Underworld Painters	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth with objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	19/111	Leece 801.	The Circle of The Darius And The Underworld Painters	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth with objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	19/113	Once London Market, Christie's, Sale Cat. 21 Nov. 1978, no. 193, pl. 34, 2.	The Circle of The Darius And The Underworld Painters	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth with objects

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	19/117	Turin 4484.	The Circle of The Darius And The Underworld Painters	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Woman and Eros holding objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	19/119	Once London Market, Christie's, Sale Cat. 21 Nov. 1978, no. 192, pl. 34, l.	The Circle of The Darius And The Underworld Painters	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Woman and Eros holding objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	19/123	Bologna 558	The Circle of The Darius And The Underworld Painters	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth with objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	19/124a	Once London Market, Christie's, Sale Cat. 26 Nov. 1980, no. 271, ill. on p. 64.	The Circle of The Darius And The Underworld Painters	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth with objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	19/127	Turin 4142.	The Circle of The Darius And The Underworld Painters	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - plant inside - females w/gifts

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	19/134	Cambridge GR 48. 1865 (G 247).	The Circle of The Darius And The Underworld Painters	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - female 'statue' - mixed group w/gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	19/135	Frankfurt HM 259.	The Circle of The Darius And The Underworld Painters	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - female 'statue' - females w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	19/138	Potenza.	The Circle of The Darius And The Underworld Painters	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - females x 2 inside - mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	20/159	Trieste S 428	The Group of Zurich - The Painter of Vatican Z 20	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth with objects

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	22/279	Winterthur 313.	Vases Connected In Style To The Chur Painter	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	22/307	New York X. 22.49.	(li) The Perth Group	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	22/332a	Frankfurt {3 63 3	The Ugento Painter	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	22/603	Mainz, RGZM 0. 12455.	The Painter of Vienna 334	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	22/648	Chur K 48.	The Painter of Como C 62	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	22/875a	Melbourne, Geddes coll. A 5:5.	The Ascoli Satriano Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - warrior inside - females w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	22/875	Foggia 129321.	The Ascoli Satriano Painter	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Woman and Eros holding objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	23/58	San Simeon 5513 (SSW 9852).	The Patera Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - female 'statue' - females w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	23/60	Copenhagen Abc 858 (B-S. 222).	The Patera Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - female 'statue' - mixed group w/gifts

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	23/237	Warsaw 198110.	The Group of New York 17.120.240	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth with objects

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	23/260	Warsaw 199444.	The Stanford-Conversano Group	SINGLE FIGURE	Female with objects
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	23/288	Trieste S 435.	The Group of Berkeley 8/61	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - female 'statue'
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	23/290	Wiirzburg 859.	The Group of Berkeley 8/62	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - female 'statue'
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	23/291	Turin 4486.	The Group of Berkeley 8/62	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - female 'statue'

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	24/136	Once Castle Ashby 99.	Connected In Style with The Amphorae Painter	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	24/141	Stuttgart 4.256 (old no. 156).	The Group of Louvre Ca 3205	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	24/151	sevres 42.	The Group of Louvre Ca 3205	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	24/258	Karlsruhe B 149.	The Group of The Temple Hydria	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	24/329	Stuttgart 4.284 (KAS 169). In bad condition.	The Painter of Altenburg 244	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/52a	Once London Market, Christie's, Sale Cat. 16 Dec. 1982, no. 237, ill. on p. 42.	The Baltimore Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - females x 2 inside - females w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/52e	Once London Market, McAlpine Ancient Art GR 657.	The Baltimore Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - females x 2 inside - females w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/52f	Once London Market, McAlpine Ancient Art OR 658.	The Baltimore Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - females x 2 inside - females w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/52g	Geneva, private coll., inv. III.	The Baltimore Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - females x 2 inside - females w/ gifts

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/53	Foggia 132730.	The Baltimore Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - female 'statue' - females w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/53e	Melbourne, Geddes coll. A 1:9, ex London Market, Sotheby's, Sale Cat. 21 May 1984, no. 222, ill. on p. 43.	The Baltimore Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - female 'statue' - females w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/53 h	Geneva, private (M.e.) coil., inv. 60.	The Baltimore Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - female 'statue' - females w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/54	Fiesole, Costantini coli. 152.	The Baltimore Painter	FUNERARY SCENE <b>AND</b> THE DIVINE	Naikos - female 'statue' - females w/ gifts <b>AND</b> Assembly of deities - Athena, Apollo, Hecate, Nike, Hermes, Artemis

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/55	Fiesole, Costantini coli. 153.	The Baltimore Painter	FUNERARY SCENE <b>AND</b> MYTHOLOGICAL SCENE	Naikos - female 'statue' - females w/ gifts - <b>AND</b> abduction myth (abduction of Chrysispos)
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/56	Mattinata, Sansone coli. 685.	The Baltimore Painter	FUNERARY SCENE <b>AND</b> MYTHOLOGICAL SCENE	Naikos - female 'statue' - females w/ gifts <b>AND</b> Helen & Paris)
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/57	Bari, Macinagrossa coll.26	The Baltimore Painter	FUNERARY SCENE <b>AND</b> MYTHOLOGICAL SCENE	Naikos - female 'statue' - females w/ gifts - <b>AND</b> myth ( abduction of persephone)
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/58	Foggia 132733, from Arpi. Badly damaged; the upper part and much of the back is lost.	The Baltimore Painter	FUNERARY SCENE <b>AND</b> MYTHOLOGICAL SCENE	Naikos - female 'statue' - females w/ gifts - <b>AND</b> abduction myth ( abduction of persephone)
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/60a	German private coil., ex Basel Market, MuM, Auktion 60, 21 Sept. 1982, no. 43, ill. on pl. 20.	The Baltimore Painter	MYTHOLOGICAL	Andromeda and perseus

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/70c	German private coil. Broken and repaired; much of the pediment of the building is missing.	The Painter of Berlin F 3383	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - females x 2 inside - mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/91	Foggia 132726, from Arpi.	(I) The Arpi Painter	MYTHOLOGICAL	Slaying of niobids
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/100	Basel Market, MuM	Associated with The Arpi Painter	MYTHOLOGICAL AND COURTING SCENE	Amazonmarchy <b>AND</b> group scene - men, females, Eros & objects

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/295	Copenhagen inv. III (B-S. 285).	The Bitonto Group	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	30/26a	B.M. F 351.	The Bassano Group	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - female 'statue' - mixed group w/gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	30/59	Milan 247.	The Painter of Rodin 971	THE DIVINE	Eros with object

## Appendix 2. Images of Amphorai

	RVAp NUMBER	CATALOGUE	Painter	SIDE A - BROAD SCENE CATEGORY	SIDE A - SCENE SUB-CATEGORY
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	1/12b	Taranto, from Rutigliano, T. 24.	The Painter of The Berlin Dancing Girl	MYTHOLOGY	Adrastos preparing for the expedition of the Seven against Thebes
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	1/13	Lecce.571, from Ruggè.	The Painter of The Berlin Dancing Girl	MYTHOLOGY	Achilles leaving Briseis with Agamemnon
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	1/46a	Geneva, private coil.	The Hearst Painter	MALE LIFE	Nude Warriors
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	1/46	Mississippi, University (ex Robinson coli.).	The Hearst Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Preparing offerings for deceased

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	1/97	Taranto, from Gravina.	Connected To the Sisyphus Painter	MYTHOLOGY AND COURTING/MARRIAGE	Orestes and Electra at the tomb of Agamemnon AND Pursuit
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	2/2	Taranto, from Gravina.	The Gravina Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Death of Stheneboia. Killed as revenge by hero Bellerophon
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	3/8	Philadelphia 31.36.17.	The Tarporley Painter	GENERIC - 'CONVERSATION' SCENE - TWO FIGURES	Female and youth in 'conversation'
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	3/51	Matera 11999.	The Tarporley Painter	GENERIC - 'CONVERSATION' SCENE - TWO FIGURES	Female and youth in 'conversation'
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	4/203	Ruvo 1197.	The Painter of Bologna 425	COURTING/MARRIAGE	COURTING SCENE

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	4/227	Ruvo 612.	The Rainone Painter	MALE LIFE	Returning Warrior
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	4/237	Bologna 494	The Painter of Bologna 501	FUNERARY SCENE	Stele - Mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	5/89	Ruvo 1148.	The Painter of Stockholm 1999	FUNERARY SCENE	Stele (column) - oenochoe on top - Mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	5/92	Milan, "H.A." coil. 423.	The Painter of Stockholm 1999	FUNERARY SCENE	Stele - Mixed group
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	6/24a	Göttingen F 19.	The Painter of Karlsruhe B 9	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth with objects

<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	6/24	Milan, "H.A." coli. 315	The Painter of Karlsruhe B 9	FUNERARY SCENE	Stele - Mixed group w/ gifts
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	6/25	Ruvo 417.	The Painter of Karlsruhe B 9	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - objects (shield & kantharos) inside - Males w/gifts
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	6/130	Leningrad inv. 504.	The Dijon Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Stele - women w/gifts
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	8/26	Naples 2147 (inv. 82138), from Ruvo.	The Iliupersis Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Stele - Mixed group w/ gifts
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	8/32	Leningrad inv.1702 St.810.	The Iliupersis Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - Male x 2 inside - youths w/ gifts

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	8/107a	Ruvo 416.	Associated With The Iliupersis Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Armour inside - Youths w/ objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	8/172	Milan, "H.A." coil. 246.	The Painter of Athens 1714	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Male inside - youths w/objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	8/175	Warsaw 198118.	The Painter of Athens 1715	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth with objects (BESIDE ALTAR)
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	9/45	Milan, "H.A." coli. 311.	The Painter of Geneva 2754	FUNERARY SCENE	Stele - Males w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	09/127	Lecce 843	The Painter of Athens 1680	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth w/ objects

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	9/160	Amsterdam 3478 (Gids 1506).	The Schlaepfer Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Funerary monument - statue of youth - Mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	9/182	Adolphseck 183.	The Montpellier Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Stele - Mixed group w/ gifts
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	9/261	Bologna 530.	The Rueff Painter	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth w/ objects

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	10/28	Brussels R 403.	The Judgement Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Male inside - Mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	10/57	Deruta (Perugia), Magnini coli. 4.	The Berkeley Painter	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth w/ objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	10/74	Brooklyn 62.147.6.	The Dechter Painter	FIGURE GROUP B - SEATED YOUTH	Seated youth with companions - possibly being honoured
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	10/85	Bari, Lagioia coli.	Related In Style to The Dechter Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Stele (column) - Mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	11/51	Aberdeen 681.	The Waterspout Group	SINGLE FIGURE	Standing female with object

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	12/66	Mannheim Cg 315. Badly preserved.	Comparable To Group of Lecce 660	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Male inside
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	12/73	Bologna 529.	The Woburn Abbey Painter	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth w/ OBJECTS
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	12/76	Bologna 527.	The Woburn Abbey Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Stele - Mixed group w/ gifts

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	12/80	Trieste S 392.	Related In Style to The Woburn Abbey Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Stele - Mixed group w/ gifts
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	12/92	Milan, "H.A." coli. 276. The obverse much repainted.	The Painter of Ruvo 407-8	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - Male inside - Mixed group w/gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	12/93	Milan, "H.A." coil. 314.	The Painter of Ruvo 407-9	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - Plant inside - Mixed group w/gifts
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	13/3	Bonn 99.	The Varrese Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Mourning Niobe

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	13/4	Taranto 8935, from Canosa (Tomba Vlmese).	The Varrese Painter	MYTHOLOGY <b>AND</b> FIGURE GROUP C - LARGER MIXED GROUP SCENE	Mourning Niobe <b>AND</b> Mixed group of women, youths & Eros
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	13/5	B.M. F 331.	The Varrese Painter	MYTHOLOGY <b>AND</b> FUNERARY SCENE	Pelops and Oinomaos before race <b>AND</b> Stele with amphora on top - Mixed group w/gifts
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	13/30e	New York, Shelby White/Leon Levy coli. 245.	The Varrese Painter	FIGURE GROUP C - LARGER MIXED GROUP SCENE	Mixed group of women, youths
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	13/39	Bologna 525.	The Varrese Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Stele - Mixed group w/ gifts

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	13/40	Bologna 526.	The Varrese Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Stele - Mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	13/41a	Pulsano, G~arini coli. 35.	The Varrese Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Stele - Mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	13/45	Agrigento R 193.	The Varrese Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Stele - Mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	13/189	Brussels R 404	The Wolfenbuttel Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Male inside - Mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	14/31	Bologna 528.	The Crossed Diptych Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Stele (column) - Mixed group w/ gifts

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	14/102	Taranto 51011, from Ginosa (2/7/33).	The Ginosa Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Male inside - Mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	14/103	Taranto 51012, from Ginosa.	The Ginosa Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Male inside - Mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	14/104	Philadelphia L. 64.26.	The Ginosa Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - objects (helmet & shield) inside - Mixed group w/gifts

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	14/122	B.M. F 336	The Painter of B.M. F 336	FUNERARY SCENE	Funerary monument – Amphora on plinth - Mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	14/123	Bari 20027, from Gioia del Collet. 2, no. 22.	The Painter of B.M. F 336	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - PLANT inside - Mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	14/124	Sevres 47.	The Painter of B.M. F 336	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - object (amphora) inside - Mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	14/133	Milan, "H.A." coli. 411.	The Nimes Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Female inside
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	14/134	Frankfurt. Foot mostly modern.	The Nimes Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Male inside

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	14/225	Louvre K 84 (N 2405).	The Pittsburgh Group	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth with objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	15/41	Ruvo 423. Repainted.	The Group of Ruvo 423	MYTHOLOGY <b>AND</b> MYTHOLOGY	Herakles, Antigone and Kreon <b>AND</b> Amazonomachy
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	15/42	Ruvo 425.	The Group of Ruvo 423	FUNERARY SCENE <b>AND</b> MYTHOLOGY	Naikos - Male & horse inside - Mixed group <b>AND</b> Nereids bring Achilles' armour
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	15/71	Naples 2203 (inv. 82385). Much repainted.	The Painter of Lecce 3544	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - Male & horse inside - Mixed group w/gifts

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	16/62	Altenburg 339.	The Chamay Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - object (phiale & fillet) - Mixed group w/gifts

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	17/13	Amsterdam 3477. In very bad condition	THE GIOIA DEL COLLE PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Male x 2 inside & dog - Mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	17/58a	Pulsano, Guarini coli. 2.	VASES VERY CLOSE IN STYLE TO THE PAINTER OF COPENHAGEN 4223	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Male x 2 inside (YOUTH & BOY) & dog - Mixed group w/ gifts

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	18/23	Berlin F 3240, from Ceglie.	THE DARIUS PAINTER	MYTHOLOGY <b>AND</b> MYTHOLOGY	Antigone and Kreon <b>AND</b> Judgement of Paris
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	18/44	Bari 872, from Canosa.	THE DARIUS PAINTER	MYTHOLOGY <b>AND</b> FIGURE GROUP C - LARGER MIXED GROUP SCENE	Meleager bringing boar skin to Atlanta <b>AND</b> Mixed group of women and youths
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	18/46	Naples 3218 (inv. 81952), from Canosa.	THE DARIUS PAINTER	MYTHOLOGY <b>AND</b> FIGURE GROUP C - LARGER MIXED GROUP SCENE	Europa and the bull <b>AND</b> Mixed group of women, youths and Eroses[==
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	18/47b	Once New York Market, Atlantis Antiquities.		MYTHOLOGY <b>AND</b> FIGURE GROUP C - LARGER MIXED GROUP SCENE	Death of Atreus <b>AND</b> Mixed group of women and youths
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	18/49	Swiss private coli.	THE DARIUS PAINTER	THE DIVINE <b>AND</b> CULT/RITUAL	Assembly of gods - Zeus, Hermes, Nike, Artemis and Dionysos(?) - Possibly gods preparing for battle against Giants <b>AND</b> Cult practices - possibly Dionysiac

<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	18/50	Leningrad inv. 1703 = St. 428.	THE DARIUS PAINTER	THE DIVINE <b>AND</b> CULT/RITUAL	Assembly of gods - Zeus, Hermes, Hecate, Dionysos <b>AND</b> (Is this possibly a shrine to Demeter or Dionysus?)
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	18/226	Vatican X 5 (inv. 18105).	THE PERRONE PAINTER	MYTHOLOGY <b>AND</b> FUNERARY	Peleus abducting Thetis <b>AND</b> Stele - Mixed group w/ gifts
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	18/227	Vatican X 7 (inv. 18106).	THE PERRONE PAINTER	MYTHOLOGY <b>AND</b> FIGURE GROUP C - LARGER MIXED GROUP SCENE	Europa and the bull <b>AND</b> Mixed group of women, youths and Eros.
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	18/234	Berlin F 3241, from Ceglie.	VASES CONNECTED IN STYLE TO THE DARIUS <b>AND</b> PERRONE PAINTERS	MYTHOLOGY <b>AND</b> MYTHOLOGY	Europa and the bull <b>AND</b> Centaureomachy
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	18/325	Bari 873, from Canosa.		MYTHOLOGY <b>AND</b> FUNERARY	Orpheus and Thracians <b>AND</b> Stele - Mixed group w/ gifts

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	20/13a	Once Paris Market, Galerie Antonovich 926.	The Painter of the Truro Pelike	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Male inside - Mixed group w/gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	20/13	Altenburg 348.	The Painter of the Truro Pelike	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Male inside - Mixed group w/gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	20/42a	Pulsano, Guarini coli. 34.	THE HAIFA PAINTER	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth with objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	20/69	Malibu 79 AE 25, 2.	THE HAIFA PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - objects (armour (cuirass) & fillet) inside - Mixed group w/gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	20/71	Como C 56.	THE HAIFA PAINTER	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth w/ objects

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	20/102	Bologna 531.	THE GROUP OF VATICAN Z 16	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth w/ objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	20/103	Lecce 845	THE GROUP OF VATICAN Z 16	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and Eros w/ objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	20/104	Zagreb 1083.		FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth with objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	20/210	Copenhagen 44 (8-S. 281).	THE COMO GROUP	DIONYSIAC	Woman and Satyr w/ objects

<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	20/212	Florence 4063. The mouth is modern.	THE COMO GROUP	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - PLANT inside - Mixed group w/ gifts
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	20/216	Wiirzburg 853.	THE PAINTER OF WURZBURG 853	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and Eros w/ objects
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	20/225	Bologna 514.		FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - PLANT inside - Mixed group w/ gifts
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	20/270	Zagreb 1082.	VASES CLOSELY CONNECTED IN STYLE TO THE FLAT-HEAD PAINTER	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth w/ objects
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	20/334	LouvreS 1585.	GROUP OF VIENNA 751	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Male inside - Mixed group w/ gifts

<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	20/339	Verona 163 Ce.	THE BARCELONA GROUP	FUNERARY SCENE	Stele (KYLIX ON TOP) - Mixed group w/ gifts
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	20/359b	Once London Market, Sotheby's, Sale Cal. 13-14 Dec. 1990, no. 291, ill. on p. 190.	late descendants of the Group of Vienna 751 (cf. nos_ 327 and 333) and of the Painter of Matera 10178-9.	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Male inside
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	22/608			ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	22/894	Pulsano, Guarini coil. inv. 6.	The Ascoli Satriano Painter	MYTHOLOGY/ THE DIVINE	Herakles and Nike
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	23/1	Naples 2272 (inv. 82380).	THE PATERA PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Male inside - women w/ gifts

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	23/3	Trieste S 381.	THE PATERA PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Male inside - Mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	23/45	B.M.F 332.	THE PATERA PAINTER	THE DIVINE <b>AND</b> FIGURE GROUP C - LARGER MIXED GROUP SCENE	Assembly of deities - Hades, Persephone, Hermes <b>AND</b> Mixed group OF women, YOUTHS & EROS
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	23/52	Rome, Villa Giulia 15689.	THE PATERA PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Female inside - Mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	23/100	Wurzburg 854.	THE PATERA PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Female inside - Mixed group w/ gifts

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	23/101	B.M. F 334	THE PATERA PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - Male inside - Mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	23/102	Brussels A 729.	THE PATERA PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - Male inside - Mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	23/103	Milan, "H.A." coli. 221.	THE PATERA PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - Male inside - women w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	23/108a	Once Cologne, private coli.; later, London Market, Christie's, Sale Cat. 20 May 1981, no. 261,	THE PATERA PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - Female inside
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	23/108b	Once Paris Market, Galerie Mythes et Legendes.	THE PATERA PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - Female inside - women w/ gifts

<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	23/109	Nara, Tenri University Museum E 116.	THE PATERA PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - Male inside
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	23/111	Foggia 132736, from Arpi. Upper part missing.	THE PATERA PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - Female inside
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	23/118	Milan, "H.A." coll. T. 01.	THE PATERA PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Stele - Mixed group w/ gifts
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	23/119a	Malibu 79 AE 25, I.	THE PATERA PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Stele - Mixed group w/ gifts
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	23/120	Milan, "H.A." coli. 451.	THE PATERA PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Stele - Mixed group w/ gifts

<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	23/123b	Okayama, R.O . coli. 21.	THE PATERA PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Stele - women w/ gifts
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	23/162	Lecce 842, from Ruvo.	FIGURED SCENES BY THE PATERA PAINTER ON THE OBTVERSE <b>AND</b> FEMALE HEADS OF THE AMPHORAE GROUP ON THE REVERSE	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Female inside
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	23/164	Trieste S 387.	FIGURED SCENES BY THE PATERA PAINTER ON THE OBTVERSE <b>AND</b> FEMALE HEADS OF THE AMPHORAE GROUP ON THE REVERSE	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Female inside
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	23/165	Bari 6379.	FIGURED SCENES BY THE PATERA PAINTER ON THE OBTVERSE <b>AND</b> FEMALE HEADS OF THE AMPHORAE GROUP ON THE REVERSE	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Female inside
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	23/170a	Gottingen F 23.	The Patera Painter	SINGLE FIGURE	Seated female with objects

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	23/199a	Bari, from Bitonto, T. 14 (1981). Ruvo 1382.	THE TRIESTE OWL GROUP	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Woman and 'Oscan' Warrior w/ objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	23/199b	Bari, from Bitonto, T. 4 (1981).	THE TRIESTE OWL GROUP	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Woman and 'Oscan' Warrior w/ objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	23/210	Milan, "H.A." coll. 341.	THE GROUP OF BOLOGNA 572	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Male inside - women w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	23/214	Louvre K 82.	THE GROUP OF BOLOGNA 572	FUNERARY SCENE	Stele - women w/ gifts

<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	23/215	Louvre K 83.	THE GROUP OF BOLOGNA 572	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and Eros w/ objects
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	23/223	Mannheim Cg 250. Top and foot broken off.	VASES CONNECTED IN STYLE WITH THE THE GROUPS OF (I) THE TRIESTE OWL AND (II) BOLOGNA 572,	SINGLE FIGURE	Running Female w/ objects
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	23/251a	Trieste S 577.	THE SEATED WOMEN GROUP	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Female inside
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	24/10	Hamburg 1875.37.	Vases associated with the Amphorae Painter	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	24/15	Brunswick A T 290.	Vases associated with the Amphorae Painter	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	

<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	24/16	<p>Monopoli, Meo-Evoli coli. L. 155 (old no. 971).</p>		<p>ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD</p>	
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	24/73	<p>Taranto 9243 (2996), from Ceglie del Campo (T. I; 1908).</p>	<p>THE GROUP OF TARANTO 9243 (FORMERLY 2996)</p>	<p>ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD</p>	
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	24/82	<p>Lecce 840, from Ruggie.</p>	<p>THE GROUP OF TARANTO 9243 (FORMERLY 2996)</p>	<p>FUNERARY SCENE</p>	<p>Naiskos - Female inside</p>
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	24/86	<p>Como C 58.</p>	<p>THE GROUP OF TARANTO 9243 (FORMERLY 2996)</p>	<p>SINGLE FIGURE</p>	<p>Seated female with objects</p>

<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	24/87	Dzikow, Count Z. Tarnowski.	THE GROUP OF TARANTO 9243 (FORMERLY 2996)	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	24/88	Stuttgart 4.254 (old no. 158).	THE GROUP OF TARANTO 9243 (FORMERLY 2996)	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	24/124	Trieste S 427.	THE GROUP OF TRIESTE S 427	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	24/125	Bologna 523	THE GROUP OF TRIESTE S 427	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	24/126a	Monopo6, Meo-Evoli coli. L.I53 (old no. 957).	THE GROUP OF TRIESTE S 427	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	24/173	Monopoli, Meo-Evoli coli. L. 154 (old no. 319).	THE BUNCRANA GROUP	THE DIVINE	Eros with objects, running
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	24/222	Zagreb 1084.	THE LAUNCESTON GROUP	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	24/234	Gotha.	THE LAUNCESTON GROUP	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Male inside

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	24/269	Karlsruhe B 74	THE GROUP OF THE TEMPLE HYDRIA	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	25/14a	German private coil. Much repainted.	THE GANYMEDE PAINTER	MYTHOLOGY	Orpheus and Thracians
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	25/16a	Munster 797.	THE GANYMEDE PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Male x 2 inside (Youth and Bearded Man) - Mixed group w/gifts

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	25/64a	Gottingen F 22.	FIGURED SCENES BY THE GANYMEDE PAINTER <b>AND</b> FEMALE HEADS BY THE ARMIDALE PAINTER	SINGLE FIGURE	Seated female with objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	25/64	Cremona, Museo Civico (Dordoni coli.).	FIGURED SCENES BY THE GANYMEDE PAINTER <b>AND</b> FEMALE HEADS BY THE ARMIDALE PAINTER	THE DIVINE	Lone Eros with objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	25/83	Bassano del Grappa, Chini coli. 85.	THE ARMIDALE PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - PLANT inside
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	25/85	Trieste S 419.	THE ARMIDALE PAINTER	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	25/86	Bologna 518	THE ARMIDALE PAINTER	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	25/113	Tokyo, Bridgestone Museum 93.	THE ARMIDALE PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Male inside
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	25/120	Compiègne.	THE GROUP OF BOLOGNA 585/TRIESTE S 403	THE DIVINE	Seated Eros with objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	25/156	Bologna 516.	THE PAINTER OF NEWARK 50.320	THE DIVINE	Lone seated Eros with objects

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	25/157	Bologna 517.	THE PAINTER OF NEWARK 50.320	SINGLE FIGURE	Seated female with objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	25/180	Lecce 879.	THE BRISTOL PAINTER	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	25/198	Verona 162.	THE SPLIT-MOUTH GROUP	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Female inside
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	25/199a	Reading RM 78.13.47.	THE SPLIT-MOUTH GROUP	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Male inside - Mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	25/199	Reading R.M 159.51	THE SPLIT-MOUTH GROUP	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - women x 2 inside

<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	27/35	Foggia 132728, from Arpi. Obverse in bad condition.	THE BALTIMORE PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - Male & horse inside - Mixed group w/gifts
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	27/37a	Zurich, private coll.		FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - Male & horse & hare inside - Mixed group w/gifts
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	27/39e	Geneva, private (M.C.) coil., inv. IV . In poor condition.	THE BALTIMORE PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - Male x 2 inside - Mixed group w/gifts
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	27/39i	Urbana-Champaign (Ill.), World Heritage Museum 84.6.2.	THE BALTIMORE PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos – Male & Horse inside - Mixed group w/gifts
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	27/39k	Urbana-Champaign (Ill.), World Heritage Museum 84.6.1.	THE BALTIMORE PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - Female inside - Mixed group w/ gifts

<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	27/40a	Once California Market, I.A.C. 3987.	THE BALTIMORE PAINTER	MYTHOLOGY <b>AND</b> FUNERARY SCENE	Herakles and Busiris king of Egypt <b>AND</b> Stele - women w/ gifts
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	27/40f	Geneva, private (M.e.) coli. inv. VII.	THE BALTIMORE PAINTER	MYTHOLOGY <b>AND</b> FUNERARY SCENE	Gigantomachy <b>AND</b> Stele - KYLIX ON TOP - Mixed group w/ gifts
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	27/40g	Geneva, private (M.C.) coil., inv. VIII.f	THE BALTIMORE PAINTER	MYTHOLOGY <b>AND</b> FUNERARY SCENE	Orpheus in underworld with Hermes, Hades, Persephone and Hecate <b>AND</b> Stele - Mixed group w/ gifts
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	27/40h	Geneva, private (M.C.) coil., inv. V.	THE BALTIMORE PAINTER	MYTHOLOGY <b>AND</b> FUNERARY SCENE	Oinomaos and Pelops before their race <b>AND</b> Stele - Mixed group w/ gifts
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	27/40	Bari, De Blasi Cirillo coli. 15.	THE BALTIMORE PAINTER	MYTHOLOGY <b>AND</b> MYTHOLOGY	Pelops and Hippodamia <b>AND</b> Pelops and Oinomaos before the chariot race

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/41	Toledo 77.46. Recomposed from fragments, with some restoration and a modern foot.	THE BALTIMORE PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - Female x 2 & male inside - Mixed group w/gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/250d	Gottingen Hu 581 .	The Stoke-on-Trent Painter	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/454a	Malibu 79 AE 190.	THE LAVELLO GROUP	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/516d	Seraing (Belgium), Florimond L'Hoir coli. 231.	The Painter of the Macinagrossa Stand	THE DIVINE	Eros seated with objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/526	Pulsano. Guarini coll. 162, from the area of Stornara.	The Painter of the Macinagrossa Stand	DIONYSIAC	Woman and Satyr w/ objects

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/9	Frankfurt. Much repainted.	THE HELMET PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Male x 2 inside - Mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/10	Louvre ED 195.	THE HELMET PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Male x 2 inside - Mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/11	Louvre S 1583.	THE HELMET PAINTER	THE DIVINE <b>AND</b> FUNERARY SCENE	Assembly of gods (Eros, Aphrodite, Apollo, Athena, Hermes) <b>AND</b> Stele (KYLIX ON TOP) - Mixed group w/gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/12	Louvre K 88.	THE HELMET PAINTER	MYTHOLOGY <b>AND</b> FUNERARY SCENE	DEATH OF PRIAM( OR PENTHESILEA?) <b>AND</b> Naiskos - Male inside - Mixed group w/gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/46a	New York, private coll. (Randall Klose).	The Group of Taranto 7013	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Male x 2 inside - Mixed group w/gifts

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/46b	New York, private colli. (Randall Klose), from same sale as no. 46a, no. 91B (ill.).	The Group of Taranto 7013	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Male & horseinside - HERMES & YOUTH w/gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/46	Louvre K 86.	THE GROUP OF TARANTO 7013 ("LASIMOS" GROUP)	FIGURE GROUP C - LARGER MIXED GROUP SCENE AND FUNERARY	Larger Mixed group of women with Eros AND Naiskos - OBJECT inside (CALYX-KRATER) - women w/gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/48	The Group of Taranto 7013	The Group of Taranto 7013	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Female inside
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/52	Rome, Villa Giulia 15690.	The Group of Taranto 7013	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Male inside - Mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/59	Naples 2311 (inv. 82308), from Canosa.	THE PAINTER OF BERLIN F 3383	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - object (laver) inside - Mixed group w/gifts

<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	28/67c	German private coll.	THE PAINTER OF BERLIN F 3383	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Male & horse inside - Mixed group w/ gifts
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	28/67e	Melbourne, Geddes coll. A I: 16, ex London Market, Sotheby's, Sale Cat. 10-11 Dec. 1984, no. 598 (ill.).	THE PAINTER OF BERLIN F 3383	COURTING/ MARRIAGE	(possibly) Preparation of bride
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	28/90	Foggia 132723, from Arpi.	THE ARPI PAINTER	MYTHOLOGY <b>AND</b> FIGURE GROUP C	HEPHAESTUS FREEING HERA FROM MAGIC THRONE <b>AND</b> Larger Mixed group of women with Eros
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	28/131	Monopoli, Meo-Evoli coll. L. 152 (old no. 954).	THE MEO-EVOLI PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - plant inside
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	28/132	Monopoli, Meo-Evoli coll. L. 151 (old no. 648).	THE MEO-EVOLI PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - plant inside

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/133	Lecce 841.	THE MEO-EVOLI PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - plant inside
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/134	Lecce 882.	THE MEO-EVOLI PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - PLANT inside
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/136	Lecce 866, from Ruvo.	THE MEO-EVOLI PAINTER	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/137	Lecce 867, from Ruvo.	THE MEO-EVOLI PAINTER	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/139	Bologna 524	THE MEO-EVOLI PAINTER	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	

<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	28/194	Zurich 2644. The surface of the reverse is badly worn.	THE FORRER PAINTER	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	28/210	Zurich 2643.	THE ROUND-EAR GROUP	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Male inside
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	28/211	Zurich 2645	THE ROUND-EAR GROUP	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	28/212	Taranto 4593	THE ROUND-EAR GROUP	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	28/234	Lecce 876.	THE PAINTER OF LECCE 876	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	

<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	28/235	Altenburg 324.	THE PAINTER OF LECCE 876	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	28/236	Altenburg 308.	THE PAINTER OF LECCE 876	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	28/237	Bitonto, private coli.	THE PAINTER OF LECCE 876	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	28/254	Erbach 72 (1185).	THE PAINTER OF SEVRES I	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	28/292	Bari 22021 from Bitonto	The Bitonto Group	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	

<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	28/316	Zagreb 1085.	THE COPENHAGEN HEAD PAINTER	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Male inside
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	28/327	Copenhagen, inv. Chr. VIII 107 (B-S. 282), from Bari.	THE COPENHAGEN HEAD PAINTER	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	28/328	Copenhagen, inv. Chr. VIII 16 (B-S. 283), from Bari.	THE COPENHAGEN HEAD PAINTER	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	28/329	Udine 1652.	THE COPENHAGEN HEAD PAINTER	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	29/D3	Bari. Louidice coli.	The White Saccos Painter	MYTHOLOGY <b>AND</b> FUNERARY SCENE	Abduction of chrysispos <b>AND</b> Stele - women w/ gifts

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	29/5	Milan, "H.A." coll. T. 03.	VASES LINKING THE BALTIMORE AND WHITE SACCOS PAINTERS	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - Female inside
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	29/6c	Once London Market, Sotheby's. Sale Cat. 13-14 Dec. 1990, no. 292, ill. on p. 190.	The White Saccos Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - women x 2 inside
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	29/200-11	Once London Market, Sotheby's, Sale Cal. II Dec. 1989, no. 175, ill. on p. 110.	The Stuttgart Group	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male & horse & hare inside
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	30/18		THE FOGGIA GROUP	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - MALE & HORSE inside - Mixed group w/gifts
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	30/101	Lecce 865, from Ruvo.	THE PAINTER OF B.M. F 339	ISOLATED FEMALE HEAD	

## Appendix 3. Images of Volute Kraters

	RVAp NUMBER	CATALOGUE	Painter	SIDE A - BROAD SCENE CATEGORY	SIDE A - SCENE SUB-CATEGORY
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	1/12a	Taranto, from Rutigliano, T. 24.	The Painter of The Berlin Dancing Girl	MYTHOLOGY	Memnon slain by achilles
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	1/51	Munich 3268.	The Sisyphus Painter	MYTHOLOGY AND MYTHOLOGY	Wedding of Sisyphus AND Jason and the Argonauts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	1/52	Ruvo 1096, from Ruvo.G4	The Sisyphus Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Abduction of the Leucippidae
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	1/53	Warsaw 142296 (ex Goluchow 57), from Ruvo.F5	The Sisyphus Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Abduction of Thetis

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	1/90	B.M. F 158.	Closely Associated Works To The Sisyphus Painter	MALE LIFE	Warrior departure
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	2/1	Taranto, from Gravina.	The Gravina Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Calydonian boar hunt
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	2/6	Taranto I.G. 8264, from Ceglie del Campo.	The Painter of The Birth of Dionysos	MYTHOLOGY	Birth of Dionysos
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	2/9a	Geneva, private coll.	The Painter of The Birth of Dionysos	MYTHOLOGY	Herakles & centaur

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	2/23	Ruvo 1088, from Ruvo.	The Painter of The Birth of Dionysos	MYTHOLOGY	Herakles & Kyknos
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	3/43	Geneva I5036.	The Tarporley Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Amazonomachy
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	4/140a	Once Bari Market.	The Sub-Group of Ruvo 820	MYTHOLOGY	Marsyas
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	4/140	Leningrad inv. 585 =St. 854.	The Sub-Group of Ruvo 820	MALE LIFE	Battle between Greek and Italic peoples
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	7/13	Naples 3249 (inv. 82270).	The Black Fury Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Orestes in Delphi

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	7/45	Edinburgh 1873.21.1	Related To The Painter of Ruvo 1364	DIONYSIAC	Dionysos with followers
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	8/1	Leningrad inv. 577 =St. 352. Recomposed from large fragments, with some repainting.	The Iliupersis Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male & laver inside - mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	8/2	Milan, "H.A." coli. 377.	The Iliupersis Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Theseus and the Marathonian bull
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	8/3	Naples 3223 (inv. 82113).	The Iliupersis Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Orestes in Tauris

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	8/5	B.M. F 277. In bad condition,"with most of the reverse missing.	The Iliupersis Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Abduction of Persephone
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	8/6a	Princeton University 1989.40.	The Iliupersis Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Perseus' return to Seriphos
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	8/7	B.M. F 283.	The Iliupersis Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male & laver inside - mixed group w/ gifts

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	8/8	B.M. F 160.	The Iliupersis Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Trojan war - multiple events - sack of troy, abduction of Cassandra, sacrifice of Polyxena, Anchises and Ascanius fleeing.
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	8/9	Naples 3228 (inv. 82921). Broken and repaired.	The Iliupersis Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Achille's dragging hector's body
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	8/10	Milan, "H.A." coli. 285.	The Iliupersis Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Stele & statue of male - mixed group w/gifts
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	8/12	Leningrad inv. 567 =St. 878.	The Iliupersis Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Statue of male - women w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	8/13	Vatican AA 2 (inv. 18255).	The Iliupersis Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Unknown scene
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	8/102	Ruvo 1722A =XIX (Cat. p. 992). Some repainting on the restored reverse.	Associated with The Iliupersis Painter	THE DIVINE	Athena, Nike making a sacrifice
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	8/102b	B.M. F 276. Broken and repaired.	Associated with The Iliupersis Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - males x 2 (youth & boy) & horse inside - mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	8/102d	Melbourne. Geddes coll. A 4:7.	The Geddes Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male x 2 inside (possibly Dioskouroi) - Males w/ gifts

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	8/103	Leningrad inv. 2085; W. 987. In bad condition and much repainted.	Associated with The Iliupersis Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Achilles & Troilus
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	8/104	B.M. F 159.	Associated with The Iliupersis Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Iphigenia - sacrifice
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	8/119	Ruvo 413	The Mound Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Possibly Apollo and Marsyas
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	8/143	Dresden 521.	The Group of Vienna 4013	DIONYSIAC	Ritual drinking
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	8/146	Louvre CA 227.	The Painter of Athens 1714	MYTHOLOGY	Chryses supplicating Agamemnon

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	8/260	Basel Antikenmuseum, on loan.	Closely Associated To The Iliupersis Painter And Associates	MYTHOLOGY	Achilles & penthesilea
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	13/9	B.M. I933.6-I3.7. Broken and repaired, with several large fragments missing.	The Varrese Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male inside - mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	13/21	Vatican X 6 (inv. 17163). Much repainted.	The Sub-Group of Vatican X 6	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - males x 2 (warrior & youth being speared) & horse inside - mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	13/27	B.M. F 282, from Bari (found with F 284). Foot is missing.	The Sub-Group of Vatican X 6	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male inside (warrior) - mixed group w/ gifts

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	14/126a	Geneva 24692.	The Painter of Barl 12061	MYTHOLOGY	Unknown scene
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	14/126b	Once Italian market, now Matera, Mus. Arch. (See Post-script, p. 479)	The Painter of Barl 12061	MYTHOLOGY	Iphigenia in tauris
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	14/142	Basel, Antikenmuseum (on loan from Dr. F. Chiesa).	The Chiesa Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - male & laver inside - mixed group w/ gifts

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	15/40	Kassell T 749	The Group of Ruvo 423	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male inside - mixed group w/gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	15/58a	New York Market, Merrin Gallery.	Connected To The V. & A. Group	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male inside - mixed group w/gifts
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	15/68	Ruvo 414. Much repainted.	The Group of Vatican W4	MYTHOLOGY	Possibly the Locrian maidens
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	16/12	Leningrad inv. 1714 =St. 523.	The Lycurgus Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Gigantomachy

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	16/41	Bari 6270.	Connected To The Painter of Boston 76.65	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male inside - mixed group w/gifts plus apollo and Hermes
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	16/81	Karlsruhe B4.	Related To The Lycurgus Painter And His Circle	MYTHOLOGY	Underworld scene with orpheus
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	16/82	Naples 3222 (inv. 81666), from Altamura	Related To The Lycurgus Painter And His Circle	MYTHOLOGY	Underworld scene with orpheus

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	17/4	Bologna 563.	The Gioia Del Colle Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male & horse inside- mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	17/5	Brussels R 402.	The Gioia Del Colle Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male inside (warrior) - mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	17/7	Warsaw 198145.	The Gioia Del Colle Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male inside (warrior) - mixed group w/ gifts
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	17/20-3	Once New York Market, Almagia.	The Strotgen Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - male & horse inside- mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	17/20-4	Bari, Rizzon coll.	The Strotgen Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - woman inside - mixed group w/gifts

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	17/38	Taranto 51010, from Ginosa (25/1/33).	The Painter of Copenhagen 4223	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - males x 2 (youth & boy) inside - mixed group w/gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	17/39c	Once California Market, I.A.C. 3981	The Painter of Copenhagen 4223	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - males x 2 (youth & bearded man) & horse inside - mixed group w/gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	17/39f	Once Basel Market.	The Painter of Copenhagen 4223	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - males x 2 (youth & boy) inside - mixed group w/gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	17/39	Basel Market, MuM, Sonderliste R (Dec. 1977), no. 69, ill. on p. 59.	The Painter of Copenhagen 4223	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male & horse inside - mixed group w/ gifts

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	17/39-4	New York, Ariadne Galleries (ex Santa Monica, Holland Coins and Antiquities - The Ancient World 4, no. 108, ill.	The Group of Copenhagen 4223	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - males x 2 (youth & bearded man) & dog inside - mixed group w/gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	17/39-6	Once New York Market, Andre Emmerich Gallery GR 280 (ex Zurich Market, Nefer).	The Group of Copenhagen 4223	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - males x 2 (youth & boy) inside - mixed group w/gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	17/39-8	Melbourne, Geddes coil. A I :22.	The Group of Copenhagen 4223	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - males x 2 (youth & boy) inside - mixed group w/gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	17/39-10	Lugano, private coil.	The Group of Copenhagen 4223	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - males x 2 (youth & boy) & horse inside - mixed group w/ gifts

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	17/49-12	La Louviere (Belgium), Anciaux coil. 12 IT.	The Painter of Copenhagen 4223	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - males x 2 inside - mixed group w/ gifts

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	17/50-6	Scottsdale (Arizona), L.M. Cutler coli. RF 14.	The Painter of Copenhagen 4223	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - male inside - mixed group w/gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	17/50-8	New York, private coll. (N. Zoullas).	The Painter of Copenhagen 4223	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - male inside - mixed group w/gifts
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	18/104	Leningrad inv. 584 =St. 1077.	In The Manner of The Darius Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male inside - mixed group w/ gifts
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	18/286	Brussels, once Errera coli, formerly in the Barone coli. in Naples.	The Underworld Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - males x 3 (2 youths & bearded man) inside - mixed group w/gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	18/287	Bochum S 993. Recomposed from fragments, with parts missing.	The Underworld Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Gigantomachy
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	18/289	Japan, private coli., ex Basel, MuM.	The Underworld Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - males x 3 (youth, boy & bearded man) & horse inside - mixed group w/ gifts
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/11d	Once London Market. Sotheby-s. Sale Cal. 10-11 July 1989, no. 262. ill. on pp. 128-9.	The Baltimore Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - males x 2 & horse inside - women w/ gifts
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/12	Malibu 77 AE 113. Recomposed from frr., large parts missing.	The Baltimore Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - males x 2 & horse inside - mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/13	Toledo 77.45. The mouth, one handle and foot are restored.	The Baltimore Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - women x 2 & male inside - mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/14e	Once New York Market, Sotheby's, Sale Cat. 20 June 1990, no. 74 (ill.); ex Royal-Athena Galleries SLY 48 and London Market, Sotheby's, Sale Cat. 17-18 July 1985, no. 346 (ill.) and 22 May 1989, no. 188, ill. on p. 55.	The Baltimore Painter	THE DIVINE AND MYTHOLOGY	Assembly of dieties and amazonomachy
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/14f	Once New York Markel, Royal-Athena Galleries.	The Baltimore Painter	THE DIVINE AND MYTHOLOGY	Assembly of dieties and amazonomachy

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/14g	Laguna Hills (Calif.), private coli. (formerly in Santa Monica). Recomposed from fragments, with a good deal missing.	The Baltimore Painter	THE DIVINE AND MYTHOLOGY	Assembly of dieties and herakles & horses of diomedes
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/14	Okayama (Japan), Kurashiki Museum.	The Baltimore Painter	THE DIVINE AND MYTHOLOGY	Assembly of dieties and amazonomachy
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/15	New York 69.11.7, from Ruvo. Gift of Mrs. J. J. Rorimer.	The Baltimore Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Judgement of paris
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/16	Bari 2396. Recomposed from frr., with much missing.	The Baltimore Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Amphiaraos in underworld
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/19	Leningrad inv. 1716 =St. 426.	The Baltimore Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Underworld scene with the danaids

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/21a	Swiss Market, Galerie Nefer. In fragmentary condition.	The Baltimore Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Trojan war - multiple events - abduction of cassandra, menelaos persuing helen, battle of greeks and trojans
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/21b	Melbourne, Graham Geddes coll. A.1:1. Foot missing.	The Baltimore Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Helen & paris
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/21	Baltimore 48.86.	The Baltimore Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Possibly underworld scene
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/22a1	New York Market, Royal-Athena Galleries HNH 47, ex Hesperia Arts Auction Ltd. - Antiquities, Sale Cat. 27 Nov. 1990, Part II, no. 40,2, with colour-ill.	The Baltimore Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Amphiaraos in underworld
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/22a2	Pulsano, Guarini coil.	The Baltimore Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Amphiaraos in underworld

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/23a	Urbana-Champaign, University of Illinois- World Heritage Museum 82.6.1.	The Baltimore Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Underworld scene with the danaiids
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/23b	Brussels Market, Deletaille.	The Baltimore Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Gigantomachy
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/23c	Brussels Market, Deletaille.	The Baltimore Painter	THE DIVINE AND DIONYSIAC	Assembly of dieties and dionysos & ariadne with followers
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/23d	Brussels Market, Deletaille. Substantial part of (b) missing.	The Baltimore Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Arms of achilles
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/23e	Geneva, Sciclounoff coll.	The Baltimore Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Arms of achilles

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/23f	New York Market, Royal-Athena Galleries HNH 46, ex Hesperia Arts Auction Ltd. - Antiquities, Sale Cat. 27 Nov. 1990, Part II, no. 40,1, with colour-ill.	The Baltimore Painter	MYTHOLOGY AND DIONYSIAC	Adjudication of adonis and dionysos & ariadne with followers
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/23g	Geneva, Sciclounoff coli.	The Baltimore Painter	MYTHOLOGY AND FIGURE GROUP C - LARGER GROUP	Adjudication of adonis and women, youths & eros
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/23h	Toledo, John Orr coli.	The Baltimore Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Death of hippolytus
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/24	Ruvo 424.	The Baltimore Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Slaughter of the niobids
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/27	Naples, private coli. 370.	The Baltimore Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Pelops, oinomaos & hippodamia

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/28	Foggia 132732, from Arpi. Recomposed from fr., with much missing.	The Baltimore Painter	THE DIVINE AND DIONYSIAC	Assembly of dieties and dionysos & ariadne with followers
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/29	Foggia 132724, from Arp1. Some of the obverse and almost all the reverse missing.	The Baltimore Painter	THE DIVINE AND DIONYSIAC	Assembly of dieties and dionysos & ariadne with followers
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/251	B.M. F 285.	The Stoke-On-Trent Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male inside
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/516c	Seraing (Belgium) , Florimond L'Hoir coil. 223 .	The Painter of The Macinagrossa Stand	THE DIVINE	Lone eros with objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	27/516	Pulsano. Guarini coil. 164. from the Lupara area.	The Painter of The Macinagrossa Stand	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - woman inside - women w/ gifts

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/1	New York 56.171.63. Formerly in the collection of the King of Naples at Capodimonte; later, Hearst Estate 5603.	The Capodimonte Painter	THE DIVINE AND MYTHOLOGY	Assembly of dieties and amazonomachy
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/19	Karlsruhe B 94.	The Helmet Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - woman inside - mixed group w/ gifts
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/24	Louvre K 71 (N 2813).	The Helmet Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male inside - mixed group w/gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/36	Louvre K 66 (N 3147).	The Group of Taranto 7013 ("Lasimos" Group)	THE DIVINE AND MYTHOLOGY	Eos in quadriga & hermes and death of archemoros

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/37	Warsaw 138541.	The Group of Taranto 7013 ("Lasimos" Group)	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male inside - women w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/39	Bari 6380. A large fissure down the middle of the obverse	The Group of Taranto 7013 ("Lasimos" Group)	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male inside - mixed group w/gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/41	Bassano del Grappa, Chini coli. 74.	The Group of Taranto 7013 ("Lasimos" Group)	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male inside - mixed group w/gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/63e	Once Swiss Market, Ascona , Galleria Casa Serodine.	The Painter of Berlin F 3383	FUNERARY SCENE	Stele - mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/63g	Forte dei Marmi (Lucca), private coli.	The Painter of Berlin F 3383	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - woman inside - mixed group w/ gifts

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/64a	Once New York Market, Sotheby's, Sale Cat. 15 June 1988, no. 115 (ill.), ex Almagill.	The Painter of Berlin F 3383	COURTING & MARRIAGE	Courting
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/64b	Once Paris Market, Antonovich.	The Painter of Berlin F 3383	COURTING & MARRIAGE	Courting
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/64g	Avignon, Musee Calvet 23.505.	The Painter of Berlin F 3383	COURTING & MARRIAGE	Courting
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/86b	New York, private coli.	The Virginia Exhibition Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male & horse inside - mixed group w/ gifts (woman & satyr)

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/86c	New York, private coli.	The Virginia Exhibition Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male x 2 inside (youth & boy) - mixed group w/gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/86-24	Once Paris Market, Galerie Mythes et Ugendes, Cat. 16, no. 3404 (i1l.).	Vases Probably Associated with The Virginia Exhibition Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male inside
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/86-25	Once Paris Market, Galerie Mythes et Ugendes, Cat. 16, no. 3405 (ill.).	Vases Probably Associated with The Virginia Exhibition Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - woman inside
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/87	Naples, private coli. 369.	The Arpi Painter	MYTHOLOGY	The danaids
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/93a	German private coil.	The Arpi Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male & horse inside - mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/93	Foggia 132725, from Arpi. Upper part missing	The Arpi Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - women x 2 inside - mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/96	Basel Market, MuM. Upper part of obverse and r. handle missing.	The Arpi Painter	MYTHOLOGY AND MYTHOLOGY	Death of semele and infant dionysos w/ nymphs of nysa

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/118	B.M. F 278.	The Painter of Louvre K 71	MYTHOLOGY AND MYTHOLOGY	Trojan war - multiple events - abduction of cassandra / helen & menelaos and trojan war - multiple events - greek warrior attacking hecuba & death of priam

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/141	Bologna 569.	The Meo-Evoli P Ainter	ISOLATED WOMAN'S HEAD	Isolated woman's head
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/142	Bologna 570.	The Meo-Evoli P Ainter	ISOLATED WOMAN'S HEAD	Isolated woman's head
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/143	Verona 160.	The Meo-Evoli P Ainter	ISOLATED WOMAN'S HEAD	Isolated woman's head
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/180	Once Vienna, Maisch coli.; then New York Market, Parke Bernet, SQ/e CQt. 28-9 Jan. 1959, no. 207.	The Deri Group	ISOLATED WOMAN'S HEAD	Isolated woman's head

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/181	Louvre K 275.	The Deri Group	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - objects inside (2 x kalathos & 3 x alabastron)
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/185a	Once London Market, Christie's, Sale Cat. 26 Nov. 1980, no. 273, ill. on p. 65.		ISOLATED WOMAN'S HEAD	Isolated woman's head
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/187	Bari 1393, from Rutigliano.	The Lundh Group	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - isolated female head inside
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/192	B.M. 1772.3-20. 16 (=old cat. 1427). Unfinished.	The Forrer Painter	ISOLATED WOMAN'S HEAD	Isolated woman's head
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/261	Sevres I.	The Forrer Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - woman inside

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/263	Bologna 566.	The Forrer Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - woman inside
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/265a	Bari, private coli., from Arpi.	The Painter of Sevres 1	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male & stage horse inside
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/265b	Bari, private coli., from Arpi.		FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male & imitation horse inside
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	28/363	Zurich 2646.		FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male & dog inside

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	29/a2	Bari, Rizzon coll. 51.	The White Saccos Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Underworld scene
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	29/b	London Market, Heim Gallery.	The White Saccos Painter	MYTHOLOGY	The danaids
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	29/c	Malibu 77 AE 14.	The White Saccos Painter	MYTHOLOGY	Achilles & phoinix
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	29/1	Swiss private coli.	The White Saccos Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - males x 4 (youth, bearded men & boy) inside - mixed group w/ gifts

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	29/2d	Santa Monica, private coll.	The White Saccos Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male inside - women w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	29/2 d3	Once New York Market, later London Market, Sotheby's, Sale Cat., 3 Dec. 1991, no. 197, ill. on p. liS.	The White Saccos Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male inside - women w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	29/2 d5	Once Lugano Market, Donati. Repainted.	The White Saccos Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - males x 3 (2 youths & bearded man) inside - mixed group w/gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	29/2e	Bari, Lorusso coli.	Vases linking the Baltimore and White Saccos Painters	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - woman & eros inside

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	29/2	Swiss private coli.	The White Saccos Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - woman & males x 3 (youth, bearded man & boy) - mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	29/3	Once Athens Market, Acheloos Gallery inv. 50.	Vases linking the Baltimore and White Saccos Painters	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - woman inside
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	29/200-4	San Diego (Calif.), Higgle coil. 100.	The Stuttgart Group	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - male & horse inside - mixed group w/ gifts
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	29/200-10	Once London Market, Sotheby's, Sale Cal. II Dec. 1989, no. 169, ill. on p. 107.	The Stuttgart Group	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - woman inside
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	29/336b	Malibu 80 AE 141,2.	Attributed to the White Saccos-Kantharos Group	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - woman inside
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	30/1	Nara (Japan), Tenri University 36/50.	The Tenri Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - male inside

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	30/2a	Harrow School Museum T 68.	The Tenri Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - woman & male inside - women w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	30/5a	Melbourne, Graham Geddes A.1:3, ex London Market, Sotheby, Sale Cat. 13 July 1981, no. 354, ill. on p. 166.	The Tenri Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos - male inside
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	30/6a	Essen, Strotgen coli. 81.	The Tenri Painter	THE DIVINE	Lone eros
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	30/12	Bari 5604.	Connected In Style To The Tenri Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naikos – male (boy?) & cat inside

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	30/21	Bassano del Grappa, Chini coli. 75.	The Bassano Group	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male inside
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	30/31p	Melbourne, Geddes coil. A 3:8	Related In Style To The Moonen Painter	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male inside - women w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	30/33	Zagreb 1031.	Vases Associated with The Group of Taranto 7013	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - male inside - mixed group w/ gifts
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	30/39	Louvre N 3512.	Vases Associated with The Group of Taranto 7013	FUNERARY SCENE	Naiskos - woman & male inside - mixed group w/ gifts

<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	<p>30/42</p>	<p>42 Monopoli, Meo-Evoli coli. L. 60 (old no. 582). Much restored and repainted.</p>	<p>Vases Connected In Style with The Group of Taranto 701</p>	<p>FUNERARY SCENE</p>	<p>Naiskos - males x 2 inside - mixed group w/ gifts</p>
<p>This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons</p>	<p>30/58</p>	<p>Paris, Rodin 971</p>	<p>The Painter of Rodin 971</p>	<p>FIGURE GROUP C - LARGER GROUP</p>	<p>Woman, youth and erotes</p>

## Appendix 4. Images of Lebetes Gamikoi

	RVAp NUMBER	CATALOGUE	PAINTER	SIDE A - BROAD SCENE CATEGORY	SIDE A - SCENE SUB-CATEGORY
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	04/38	Cork, University College J. 1269.	Associated with The Schiller Painter	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and Eros with objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	04/155a	Once New York Market, Christie's International, Sale Cat. 25 Jan. 1979, no. 33, ill. of(a) on p. 17, and 5 Dec. 1979, no. 56, ill. of (b) on p. 24.	Sub-Group of Ruvo 820	COURTING/MARRIAGE	
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	04/156a	Scottdale (Arizona), L.M. Cutler coll. RF 36.	The Painter of The Long Overfalls	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and Eros holding objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	04/159a	Bassano del Grappa, Chini coli. 118.	Connected In Style to The Sub-Group of Ruvo 820	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and Eros holding objects

This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	04/161	Once London Market, Sotheby, Sale Cat. 29 March 1971, no. 94.	Connected In Style with The Painter of The Long Overfalls	SINGLE FIGURE	Standing female with object
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	05/220	Lecce 720.	The Lecce Painter	FIGURE GROUP A - TWO FIGURES W/OBJECTS	Female and youth holding objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	05/267	Taranto 8268	The Iris Painter	COURTING/MARRIAGE	Female and Eros
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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	08/161	Louvre K 196.	The Painter of Athens 1714	FIGURE GROUP C	Three women and youth
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	08/162	Basel, Antikenmuseum (on loan from a Swiss private collection).	The Painter of Athens 1714	COURTING/MARRIAGE	Courting - erotic scene
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	08/254a	Urbana-Champaign, University of Illinois-Krannert Art Museum 70. 9. 5. Gift of Harlan E. Moore.	Associates of The Painter of Athens 1714	COURTING/MARRIAGE	Possibly courting
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	08/254	Karlsruhe B 41.	The Painter of Vatican V 2	COURTING/MARRIAGE	Preparation of the bride

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This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	10/136	Bari 20150, from Gioia del Colle, T. 6.	The Thyrsus Painter	SINGLE FIGURE	Running female with objects
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	10/193	Lecce 725.	Near In Style to The Thyrsus Painter	SINGLE FIGURE	Running female
This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons	11/1	Zaandam, Takens Bremma coll.	The Zaandam Painter	SINGLE FIGURE	Standing female with objects

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