THE NATIVE MARKET FOR RED-Figure VASES IN APULIA

T. H. Carpenter, Ohio University

Many fourth-century B.C. Apulian red-figure vases include scenes of remarkable complexity that assume a familiarity with Greek myth and customs. The traditional view has been that these images were painted by and for the Greeks of Magna Graecia. A. D. Trendall summarized this view succinctly in 1989 when he wrote that "the Greek colonists in South Italy and Sicily had been content to import their red-figured pottery from Athens; thereafter they began to supplement these imports with vases of local manufacture." However, a study of imagery, shape, and provenances of Early Apulian vases suggests that the principal market for those vases was, in fact, the native people of Apulia, not the colonial Greeks. If this is the case, the choice of imagery on the vases should be seen as a reflection, to some degree, of native tastes and interests. As such, it provides an opportunity to see the adaptation of traditional Greek forms for local purposes and gives an indication of ways in which native people were conversant with aspects of Greek culture.

The area under consideration in this study is southeastern Italy, from the tip of the heel up the Adriatic coast to the Gargano and inland to the Bradano River. In this area there were only two Greek cities, Taranto and Metaponto. Each of those cities controlled a chaora with a radius of no more than 15 km, and, outside of those, no "pure" Greek settlements have been found. The rest of that vast area was the domain of non-Greeks.

Unfortunately, none of the native people of South Italy left substantial written records, and the few references to them by Greek authors are problematic. Thus, knowledge of them depends primarily on archaeological evidence, which has allowed characteristics in the material cultures to be distinguished for various areas at least by the late eighth century. Greek

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1 Trendall 1989, 17.

2 From a range of unsatisfactory terms for the non-Greek inhabitants of South Italy during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. (e.g., Italic, native, local, indigenous) I have chosen "native" as the most neutral. As used here, it simply means "non-Greek." Trendall's term "Oscan" is unsatisfactory here if only because "Oscan [the language] is conspicuously absent from Peucetian territory" (Salmon 1988, 690), the area that is the principal focus of this study (it is also absent from Daunia and Messapia). See also Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989, 124 n. 1 for a discussion of the problem of terms.

3 Throughout this study the modern names for sites are used (e.g., Taranto not Taras, Ruvo di Puglia not Rubi).


5 For epigraphical evidence, see Santoro 1981, Penney 1988. with bibliography. For literary sources, see Polybius 3.88.4, Strabo 5.1.3, 6.3.1, 6.3.5–9. Plin. HN 3.102, Paus. 10.13.10. For a recent discussion of the literary sources, see Herring 2000, 48.

6 For local pottery, see De Juliis 1997; Yntema 1985.
sources refer to three groups of people inhabiting the eastern part of the peninsula: the Messapians in the heel, the Peucetians in the middle, and the Daunians to the north. While we can define characteristics of three “archaeological cultures” on the basis of pottery types and decorations as well as burial customs, there is reason to be cautious in attempting to define ethnic groups or cultures on the basis of this evidence.7

This study focuses principally on the material remains from the central region, Peucetia, which encompassed an area roughly equivalent to the modern Italian province of Bari. The term “Peucetian” as used here simply refers to inhabitants of that region. Vases and images on vases found in tombs in that area demonstrate that by the fourth century a not insignificant part of the population of Peucetia was far more conversant with Greek culture than has been recognized in the past (fig. 1).

By the last decades of the fifth century, when South Italian workshops began to produce red-figure vases, many native settlements, such as those at Ruvo di Puglia, Ceglie del Campo, and Rutigliano, had been obtaining Attic black- and red-figure vases for more than a century. Thus, for them, South Italian red-figure productions continued a well-established tradition in figure-decorated pottery, and there is reason to believe that the native settlements were the principal markets for South Italian red-figure from the very start.

The evidence for this conclusion is of two types, statistical and iconographic. A survey of Early Apulian vases with known provenances suggests that fewer than one-fifth come from Greek contexts. Furthermore, there is evidence that two shapes, volute and column kraters, were primarily produced for markets in Peucetia, as was imagery that often appeared on the latter shape. No one piece of this evidence can be conclusive, but taken together the results of the analyses support the conclusion that the principal market was native.

Though Apulian red-figure vases continued to be produced through the fourth century, this study focuses on the initial impulse, the beginnings and early development from roughly

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430/420 to 370/360 B.C., the period Trendall calls "Early Apulian." After 360 the production of Apulian red-figure vases increased dramatically, almost to the level of mass production. At the same time, red-figure workshops were probably established in a number of different settlements, and the nature of the markets for these vases would likely have changed as they became more common.

1. Attic Imports to the Region

During the second half of the sixth century and first quarter of the fifth, Attic vessels, black-figure and then red-figure, were common tomb goods at Taranto. Yet recent studies have shown a decline in the number of Attic red-figure vases in Taranto after 475 but a substantial increase in imported vessels at sites in Peucetia during the same period, particularly at Ruvo di Puglia, a native settlement c. 100 km northwest of Taranto, 13 km from the Adriatic coast. At Ruvo di Puglia, some Attic black-figure and early red-figure has been found; then, during the second quarter of the fifth century there is a significant increase in the number of imports, which continues to the beginning of the fourth.

Attic vessels almost certainly came to the settlements in Peucetia directly from Greece through a native port on the Adriatic. T. Dunbabin proposed that Bari and Noicattaro were likely ports through which Greek imports reached Peucetia even in the sixth century. It is highly unlikely that they came through Taranto, as Trendall several times implies when referring to Attic models for Apulian vases. J. de la Genière has shown that the fifth-century Attic workshops that produced vessels excavated at the east coast native sites are largely absent at Taranto, suggesting that Taranto remained outside of the commercial connection between Athenians and the native people of Peucetia and Messapia. Furthermore, the 100 km rough, overland route from Taranto to Ruvo would be a costly way to transport a large volute krater like the Pronomos Vase (h. 75 cm).

The most important market for Attic vessels on the Adriatic was Spina, the rich Etruscan

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8 It should be noted that Trendall's dating of South Italian vessels is based mainly on stylistic rather than archaeological grounds. For a discussion of the problematic nature of this dating, see Lippolis 1996b, 380–382. For this study, however, relative rather than absolute dates are the main concern.

9 RVAp 183; Robinson 1990, 183.


11 A rough idea of relative numbers of Attic vessels in both Taranto and Ruvo can be derived from Beazley's list of provenances in ABV, ARV, and Beazley 1971. Taranto: 127 bf, 78 rf; Ruvo: 21 bf, 113 rf. See Lippolis 1997 for a revised list of Attic vessels from Taranto; he includes 219 black-figure vessels and 78 red-figure.

12 MacDonald 1979, 155.


14 RVAp 4 and 34; Trendall 1989, 23; 1990, 218, with reference to vases by the Attic Kadmos, Pronomos, and Talos Painters: "vases by all three have been found in Ruvo and should therefore have been accessible to local painters." Cf. Polybius 10.1.1–9, who claims that Taranto was an emporium for settlements on the Adriatic coast as well as those on the Ionic coast.

15 De la Genière 1989, 159.

16 That somehow the Pronomos vase was a hand-me-down, reaching Ruvo via the secondhand market (Trendall and Webster 1971, 3) seems unlikely and unnecessary. The only useful figures for the relative costs of transporting goods by sea and overland in antiquity are in the fourth-century A.D. Price Edict of Diocletian, where "transporting a 550 kg load of grain 100 miles overland increased the price by 56%, transporting the same load over the same distance by sea...would result in an increase of only 2%" (Meijer and van Nijf 1992, 133–134).
city in the Po delta. Spina appears to have had strong commercial links with Athens throughout much of the fifth century and was a rich market for Attic pottery. Well over 1,000 Attic red-figure vases have been recovered from tombs dating from the first quarter through the end of the fifth century. Thus, large numbers of Attic vases traveled from Athens up the Adriatic to Spina during roughly the same period that significant numbers of Attic vases appeared in tombs at Ruvo.\footnote{For a discussion of the relation between Attic imports to Peucetia and Spina, see De la Genièvre 1989, 160; cf. Ciancio 1998, 63. See also Giudice 1982 for the distribution of vases from the Mannerist Group, with a distinction made between “rotta adriatica” and “rotta ionica.”} The geography itself suggests that the vases should have come to the Peucetian settlements like Ruvo, Ceglie del Campo, and Rutigliano through a port or ports on the Adriatic coast.\footnote{D’Andria 1975.}

2. Establishment of South Italian Workshops

Early South Italian red-figure vases were produced in workshops, probably established by immigrant Attic potters, in southeastern Italy sometime after the middle of the fifth century. Two different schools have been identified, Lucanian and Apulian. The discovery of kilns at the Achaean city of Metaponto with fragments of vases by the Amykos, Creusa, and Dolon Painters showed that at least some Early Lucanian vases were produced there.\footnote{On the trade route, see Ciancio 1998, 63.} \textsuperscript{19} It has been generally assumed that Early Apulian vases were produced in the other Greek city in the region, Spartan Taranto, though, as Margot Schmidt has recently pointed out, there is still no solid evidence supporting that assumption.\footnote{Schmidt 1996, 447; see also Schmidt 2002, 351; Villard 1989, 182–183.}

Although the Lucanian workshops may have preceded the Apulian by a few years, the two seem early on “to have worked in close cooperation,” and through the first quarter of the fourth century Lucanian vases are often found at Apulian sites.\footnote{Trendall, 1989, 18. See, for example, a tomb at Ruvo from the end of the fifth century with Attic and Lucanian vases (Miroslav Marin 1981, 160–164); for a tomb at Ceglie, Labellarte 1988. At Rutigliano, Tomb 9 (1976) contained a column krater by the Amykos Painter, a bell krater by the Sisyphos Painter, and an Attic red-figure lekanis. See LCS suppl. 3, no. 135e. See also below n. 88 for a tomb at Gravina.} \textsuperscript{20} However, as the two styles, Lucanian and Apulian, develop, they become more distinct, and even from the start there are important differences in choice of shape and image.

Early on, Apulian red-figure begins to develop along two different stylistic lines, usually called Plain style and Ornate style. Vases decorated in the Plain style are for the most part of a size that might be used in a household: bell and column kraters, hydriai, pelikai, and the like, and the compositions on them are relatively simple, seldom including more than four figures. Vases decorated in the Ornate style are usually larger, often too large for use as household crockery, and the compositions are frequently much more elaborate, with many figures, often on multiple levels. Although the roots of both styles are established in works of the so-called Sisyphus Painter, one of the earliest Apulian painters, later painters tend to specialize in one style or the other.\footnote{Trendall, 1989, 24; RVAp 12–22.}

That early South Italian red-figure workshops employed vase painters from Athens is all but certain. J. D. Beazley and Trendall were both convinced that the Pisticci Painter, the
earliest of the Lucanian painters, was either from Athens or was trained there.\textsuperscript{25} Of the Apulian Sisyphus Painter, Beazley writes that he “and his companions must have been taught by the same master or at least inspired by the same models as the [Attic] Codrus Painter.”\textsuperscript{24} Furthermore, the complex and precise firing process necessary to produce fine red-figure pottery, which required careful control of temperature and oxidizing conditions, could not be intuited; it had to be learned at the hands of a master.\textsuperscript{25}

The large number of South Italian vases that came from native sites, as opposed to the few from Greek sites, led some scholars at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century to argue that the vases were, in fact, produced at native settlements, and the most forceful arguments were for Ruvo di Puglia.\textsuperscript{26} From the start, scholars have concurred that by the mid-fourth century red-figure workshops were established at native sites, yet few of them have accepted the idea that Apulian red-figure might have begun in a non-Greek setting.

Stylistic analyses have clearly demonstrated connections among painters and workshops, but these links are of little use in establishing a location for them. Rather, the argument has been that “the earliest South Italian vases are so near to Attic types that it is difficult to dissociate the beginnings of the industry from the Greek colonies.”\textsuperscript{27} “that the mainstream of South Italian pottery would, in its initial stages, flow from one of the larger and more important towns,”\textsuperscript{28} and that “the claim of Taranto lies principally in the fact of her importance and prosperity during the early part of the life of the industry.”\textsuperscript{29} After acknowledging the existence of rich clay beds at Ruvo, A. Tillyard wrote that he could not believe “Ruvo, a town in which the Greek element was probably small, was able to build up so suddenly the beginnings of a great industry.”\textsuperscript{30}

In fact, material remains show that Ruvo was an extraordinarily rich site in the fifth and fourth centuries and had imported Greek goods at least from the beginning of the sixth. F. Lo Porto has written of Ruvo that “perhaps more than any other city in Magna Graecia, including Taranto, it offers us a series of extremely rich tomb complexes with magnificent Attic red-figure vases testifying to the high degree of culture and flourishing economy of the hellenized Peucetian city.”\textsuperscript{31} E. De Juliis has recently pointed to “the high level of civilization attained by the indigenous people of Apulia” as one of the factors that discouraged Greeks from colonizing the Adriatic coast,\textsuperscript{32} and a 1996 exhibition of finds from Ruvo in the Museo Archeologico at Naples hinted at the opulence of the culture, with its imported gold jewelry, carved amber, bronze armor, tomb painting, and relief sculpture in addition to vases.\textsuperscript{33}

This is not to argue that Early Apulian red-figure vases were, in fact, produced in Ruvo but rather to point out that the conviction that Taranto was the center of production is still

\textsuperscript{23} Trendall 1974, 1 and 4–5.  
\textsuperscript{24} Beazley 1928, 74.  
\textsuperscript{25} For a description of the process, see Schreiber 1999, 53–56.  
\textsuperscript{26} For a summary of arguments and bibliography, see Wuilleumier 1939, 443–445. See also Wuilleumier 1929, 209 and 1931, 250, where he argues for Ceglie. For a review of the various contexts to which Apulian red-figure vases have been assigned and a call for further study, see Lippolis 1996a.  
\textsuperscript{27} Oakeshott-Moon 1929, 48.  
\textsuperscript{28} Trendall 1934, 179.  
\textsuperscript{29} Oakeshott-Moon 1929, 48.  
\textsuperscript{30} Tillyard 1923, 11.  
\textsuperscript{31} Lo Porto 1981, 16 (author’s translation).  
\textsuperscript{32} De Juliis 1996, 550.  
\textsuperscript{33} De Carlo and Borriello 1996, 114–127.
based mainly on hunches and preconceptions rather than on evidence and to suggest that alternative sites should be considered, including the possibility of itinerant potters.

At the conclusion of her important 1929 article on early South Italian vase painting, Noël Oakeshott-Moon wrote:

[C]ould the problem [of the location of the South Italian workshops] be conclusively solved, it would clearly be a point of considerable interest in the history of Magna Graecia, and further study of the vases . . . should throw light on the condition and importance of the inland towns of Lucania and Apulia and on their relations with the Greek colonies.34

This conclusion holds true today, and further progress in determining locations of production can only come from a broad program of clay analysis.35

3. Distribution of Apulian Vases

Of the 1,581 vases in Trendall’s lists of Early Apulian vases, a provenance can be reasonably established for 345. Of the vases with a provenance, none comes from Metaponto, and only 52 come from Taranto, with more than half of those from the hands of a few painters in what Trendall has called the Early Ornate style.36 The remaining 293 come from native sites. These figures provide a significant indicator of the probability that a similar distribution between Greek and non-Greek provenances would appear in the remaining 1,236 vases of the sample (fig. 2).37

The paucity of Apulian vases found at Taranto has long been noted. To explain it, Trendall wrote that since “the ancient necropolis is deeply buried beneath the modern city and barely capable of scientific excavation, we shall probably never be able to discover the full range of contents.”38 But a recent estimate that 12,000 tombs have been excavated at Taranto since the late eighteenth century calls into question Trendall’s explanation.39 On the other hand, uncontrolled excavation of tombs at Ruvo by locals in search of vases that could be sold to collectors started during the latter half of the eighteenth century and continued through the nineteenth. The scale of this treasure hunting is indicated by one observer who wrote in 1836 that Ruvo had become a new center for the discovery of vases comparable to what Vulci had earlier been.40

34 Oakeshott-Moon 1929, 49.
35 See Cuomo di Caprio 1992, 74, who notes “un vase dont l'enduit à vernis noir montre un adhérence parfait peut difficilement avoir été fabriqué avec l'argile de Tarente.” See also Dell’Aglio 1996, 51.
36 Robinson 1990, 185. For Early Ornate see RVAp chs. 2 and 7. With Early Ornate vases removed, the percentage of Early Apulian vases from Taranto drops to 7 percent. Our knowledge of provenances varies from workshop to workshop, ranging from 64 percent of Early Ornate vases (RVAp ch. 2) to 10 percent for followers of the Tarporley Painter (RVAp ch. 5).
37 Cf. Lippolis 1996b, 392 n. 7, who raises questions about the use of statistical evidence, particularly for establishing the location of workshops, considering “l’alta percentuale del materiale inedito, sia a Taranto che nei centri indigeni e la diffusa decontestualizzazione di molti reperti inediti.” While this caution may well apply to attempts to establish the location of workshops, it is less significant for the broader issue of markets (Greek versus native) dealt with here.
38 RVAp xlvii.
Vases from Ruvo then traveled to collections all over Europe, and the provenance for many was lost, making it impossible today to estimate the number found during that time. Other Apulian sites continue to be illegally excavated even now. Of the flood of South Italian vases without provenances that came onto the art market during the past quarter century, it is highly unlikely that many came from urban Taranto, as opposed to rural native sites.

Evidence suggests that different workshops targeted different groups of people and that shape was an important factor in the appeal of a vase. So, as already mentioned, more than half of the vases with a known provenance of Taranto are of the "Early Ornate" style, yet many of the Early Ornate vases have also been found in native contexts. The main difference here is in the shapes; the favored Early Ornate shape at native sites is the volute krater, never the calyx krater, while the favored shape at Taranto is the calyx krater, with only one known example of a volute krater. The same painter can produce calyx krateors for Taranto and volute krateors for the native settlements. Throughout Early Apulian, the column krater only appears in native contexts, while the oinochoe, which is popular in Taranto, never does. In short, Taranto seems to have participated in the market for Early Apulian vases only in a minor and very specific way.

An examination of the occurrence of two shapes, the volute krater and the column krater, and of the imagery on them, helps to illustrate the way specific groups were targeted and also sheds light on the nature of those groups.

42 Graepler and Mazzei 1996.
43 E.g., the Painter of the Birth of Dionysos, RVAp 33–36.
44 For suggestions of other shapes specifically produced for the indigenous market, see Mannino 1996, 369. For the possibility that Attic workshops produced vase shapes specifically for the South Italian market, see Jentoft-Nilsen 1990, who discusses two Attic red-figure vases of a South Italian shape close to a nestoris in the collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu (81.AE.183A and B).
The volute krater appears to be a shape that had a particular appeal for people in Peucetia at the end of the fifth century and throughout the fourth. Beazley lists five Attic red-figure volute kraters with a provenance of Ruvo, and recently others have been found at Rutigliano and Gravina. There is no record of any fifth-century Attic volute kraters having been found at Taranto. Of Early Apulian volute kraters, twenty-one are included in Trendall's lists, and seventeen of those can reasonably be assigned a provenance. Only one of these, from the third generation of Ornate style painters, is from Taranto. Rather, sixteen come from Peucetia, including ten from Ruvo, and the remaining six from Rutigliano, Gravina, and Ceglie del Campo (fig. 3). Of the twelve volute kraters attributed to the "pioneers" of Apulian red-figure—those painters working during the last part of the fifth and very early fourth centuries—all are from Peucetia (seven from Ruvo, with others from Rutigliano, Gravina, and Ceglie). Lucanian potters rarely made volute kraters, but of the eight Lucanian volute kraters in Trendall's lists, the three with known provenances all come from Peucetia, two from Ruvo.

45 Halle inv. 211 (ARV 599.4) and Naples 2421 (ARV 600.13), both by the Niobid Painter; Ruvo 1093 (ARV 1184.1) by the Kadmos Painter; Naples 3240 (ARV 1336.1) by the Pronomos Painter; Ruvo 1501 (ARV 1338.1) by the Talos Painter.

46 Taranto inv. 141384 by the Peleus Painter and Taranto inv. 165276.

47 Gravina, Fond. Pomarci-Santomasi inv. 76127 by the Boreas Painter.

48 In ARV, Beazley has a provenance of Taranto for Würzburg inv. 4781 (ARV 1338), near the Pronomos Painter. However, museum records for those fragments simply state that they were bought from Ludwig Curtius in Rome. I am grateful to Dr. Irma Wehgartner for this information.

49 For the 59 Middle Apulian volute kraters listed by Trendall, the percentage of vases to which a provenance can reasonably be assigned drops to 42 percent. Of those, none comes from Taranto, while seventeen come from Ruvo and four from Ceglie.

Fig. 3. Provenances of the 21 Early Apulian volute kraters listed in RVAp and supplements.
and one from Ceglie. These figures point strongly to a special market for volute kraters in Peucetia, perhaps with its center at Ruvo. The all but complete absence of volute kraters from Taranto during the Early and Middle Apulian periods—through the middle of the fourth century—further highlights the native preference for the shape.50

A brief review of the provenances and iconography of volute kraters by the chief pioneers of Apulian red-figure helps to define the tastes and the degree of sophistication of the native people who obtained them. The earliest Apulian volute krater comes from the hand of the Painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl, the first of the Apulian red-figure painters. Of the total of twenty-seven vases associated with this painter, seventeen have known provenances, and the range of those is quite wide. Two are from Taranto, nine from Peucetia,51 two from Messapia, three from Campania, and one from Sicily. His one volute krater was found in a tomb at Rutigliano (Peucetia) together with six other vases by his hand (two amphoras, a hydria, a skyphos, a pelike, and an oinochoe) and several Attic vases.52 The imagery in the main scene on the volute krater shows the death of Memnon, with both Memnon and Achilles identified by Greek inscriptions. On the other side is a scene with athletes, and on the neck are an Amazonomachy and a horse race. Two of the other vases from the same tomb show figures from myth identified by inscriptions: Adrastos on an amphora and Peleus on a pelike.53 On the oinochoe is Herakles with Kerberos and Athena. Understanding the imagery on these vases, particularly of the lesser-known stories, would have required a broad knowledge of Greek myth.54

A total of forty vases have been attributed to the Sisyphus Painter, chief colleague of the Painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl and, according to Trendall, "perhaps the most important artist in the Tarantine workshop."55 Of those, thirteen can reasonably be assigned provenances. Two come from Taranto, nine from Peucetia,56 and one from Pisticci in eastern Lucania. Again the range is fairly broad. Of the four volute kraters assigned to him, three have known provenances, in each case Ruvo. The three vases from Ruvo feature complex depictions of narratives from myth, including the wedding of Sisyphus, Jason and Medea with the dragon, the rape of the Leucippidae, Peleus and Thetis, an Amazonomachy, and a Centauromachy. Another volute krater, also from Ruvo, said to be very close to the painter’s style, has a departing warrior on one side and an Amazonomachy on the other. Again, understanding the imagery requires a more than superficial knowledge of Greek myth.

Finally, a total of nine vases have been assigned to the Painter of the Birth of Dionysos, called the “chief pioneer” of the Ornate style, who is said to have flourished during the early decades of the fourth century. Of those, seven have known provenances, two from Taranto and the rest from Peucetia. Four volute kraters have been attributed to him, two from Ruvo, one from Ceglie, and one from Bari. Each of the vases has narrative scenes from Greek myth,

50 The large size of the Apulian volute kraters, the concentration of them in related Peucetian sites, and the absence of them from sites in or near Taranto might further support the argument that at least volute kraters were made close to their market. Though Trendall rejected the idea of itinerant workshops (RVAp xlvii), the production of volute kraters might support that possibility.

51 Eight come from Rutigliano and one from Ceglie.

52 For the contents of Tomb 24/1976, see Lo Porto 1977, 741–742. For the volute krater now in Taranto, RVAp 1.12a.

53 RVAp 1.12b, 1.15a.

54 The nature and implications of the natives’ understanding of these scenes are the subject of work in progress.


56 Five from Ruvo and one each from Ceglie, Gravina, Gioia del Colle, and Altamura.
including the birth of Dionysos, Orestes at Delphi, and the Apotheosis of Herakles. One has a complex depiction of a sacrifice to Dionysos. Another volute krater “connected with the painter,” also from Ruvo, includes a depiction of Herakles and Kyknos and a Dionysian scene. None of these scenes is intelligible without a solid knowledge of Greek myth.

The range and complexity of the imagery from myth on the volute kraters is noteworthy. If the vases of this shape were produced specifically for people in a group of native settlements (Ruvo, Ceglie, Gravina, Rutigliano), then it is logical to assume that the imagery on the vases was comprehensible to the people who obtained them, a conclusion that points to a high degree of familiarity with Greek culture in segments of the populations of these settlements.

5. Column Kraters and Their Imagery

A total of eighty-seven Early Apulian column kraters appear in Trendall’s lists. Of these, a provenance can reasonably be assigned to nineteen, which in each case is in Peucetia, predominantly Ruvo. None has been found in a Greek context (fig. 4). Warriors are the most common figures on them, often in departure scenes that follow the Attic model. These column kraters provide another opportunity to examine well-defined links among shape, images, and the native market.

Of the shapes decorated by Apulian vase painters, the column krater is relatively rare, comprising only about 7 percent of Early Apulian vases. \(^{57}\) Likewise, warriors are relatively

\(^{57}\) This figure is based on “Early Apulian” vases made between c. 420 and 360 B.C., listed in RVAp with suppl. 1 and 2.
rare as subjects in non-myth scenes during the same time period, appearing on about 8 percent of the vases. But 75 percent of the column kraters from this period have warriors on them. Of particular interest is the fact that the majority of those warriors wear distinctive, non-Greek (native) clothing.58 Furthermore, figures wearing this clothing appear only very rarely on other Apulian red-figure shapes, and Greeks are almost never included in scenes with them.59 The linkage of shape, image, and market demonstrates unambiguously that the column kraters were specifically designed for the native market, and evidence from excavations helps to refine the nature of that market.

**SHAPE**

Archaeological evidence shows that the column krater as a shape became the favored type of large grave vase in Peucetia during the fifth and fourth centuries, with roots going back in local productions at least to the seventh.60 A local vase resembling a column krater became the usual large vase in burials in Peucetia in the mid-sixth century,61 and from the sixth century there is a preference for column kraters when including imported vases in tombs, even to the extent that local imitations of Attic black-figure and Laconian kraters were produced;62 in fifth-century Peucetia, the Attic red-figure krater is the dominant imported shape. The column kraters found in Peucetian tombs are always of a functional size; the Apulian examples discussed here range in height from 38.5 to 61 cm.

In Greece the column krater was developed in Corinth during the late seventh century and was adopted by Athenian potters in the early sixth.63 It became a common shape decorated by red-figure painters by the mid-fifth century, but after the 430s it was gradually superseded by the less labor-intensive bell krater, which is by far the most common type of vase decorated by Apulian Plain style painters, often representing as much as half of a workshop’s output.64

Early Apulian column kraters come from the hands of relatively few of the painters identified by Cambitoglou and Trendall. Most Apulian painters do not paint them, but those who do often paint many. So, for example, among the followers of the Tarporley Painter there is not a single column krater from any of the 15 painters of the “Hoppin-Lecce Workshop,” to which more than 300 vases have been assigned. On the other hand, 20 of nearly 100 vases by the Dijon Painter are column kraters, and 16 of those include native dress. The production of column kraters in general and those with native people on them in particular seems to have developed as a kind of specialization.

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58 For a comprehensive study of representations of native people on Apulian vases throughout the fourth century, see Frielinghaus 1995.

59 For rare exceptions, see St. Petersburg 583 (RVAp 4.140), a volute krater with Greeks fighting native warriors; Athens Market (RVAp 6.186a), a bell krater with a fight between native warriors, one on horseback; London Market (RVAp 7.88a), an oinochoe with a native youth on it. Similar percentages of column kraters, warriors, and figures in native dress hold true for Trendall’s “Middle Apulian” as well, but after the middle of the fourth century Apulian potters also produce nestorides on which native people are sometimes depicted.

60 Robinson 1990, 187–188. By contrast, the trozzella/nestoris is the traditional large vase from tombs in Messapia.

61 For the development of the shape, see Ciancio 1985, 45–107, particularly pl. 40.


63 Amyx 1988, 504.

64 RVAp xlix–l, with chart.
IMAGERY

The imagery used to depict native people on the column kraters deserves some attention here because it represents something new in Greek vase painting. The shape and visual language remain Greek, but the nature of the characters has changed. While “barbarians” (Thracians, Scythians, and even Persians) appear on Attic vases, and ornately costumed Amazons are a common subject on Apulian vases, they are all distinctly “other,” lesser beings than the Greeks. On the column kraters the native people are the protagonists.

Native people on Early Apulian red-figure column kraters, like other “barbarians,” are distinguished from Greek figures only by their dress and accoutrements. Body type and facial profile are the same. Male dress is the primary indicator, and a wide belt is the common element in all male costumes. Men can wear a short, belted tunic decorated with various geometric designs that range from rays around the edges to vertical lines running from top to bottom—rarely horizontal lines. One or two swastikas can be included in the decoration. Men can also be naked except for a kind of triangular loincloth, also sometimes decorated with a swastika. A conical hat (piilos) with stippling on it that seems to indicate animal fur is also a common characteristic. Males usually wear boots or shoes of some sort, though bare-foot warriors are not uncommon. Spears, swords, and shields identify most of the males as warriors. Helmets are only occasionally included in the scenes. Most males are beardless, presumably indicating, as in Greek paintings, that they are young. These warriors almost always have long hair, as opposed to “Greek” warriors by the same painters, whose hair is usually short.

Native women, who only appear in scenes where native males are also present, usually wear a long chiton and often have earrings and a necklace; most wear shoes of some sort. A wide belt, similar to that worn by men, is often the only thing that distinguishes them from Greek women, though their chitons can also be richly decorated.

The phenomenon of native warriors on South Italian red-figure vases starts virtually at the beginning of the Lucanian and Apulian styles before the end of the fifth century with two of the “pioneers,” the Amykos and Sisyphus Painters. Each painted two native scenes, the Amykos Painter on a native shape called a nestoris, the Sisyphus Painter on column kraters, and both showed variations on a traditional Attic scene of warriors departing or returning (figs. 5 and 6). While the Lucanian examples, on nestorides, have few later parallels, the Apulian scenes mark the beginning of a series of such representations on column kraters that continues for at least a century. The warrior departing is, in fact, the subject of more than three-quarters of the Early Apulian depictions of native people.

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66 E.g., London F 174 (RVAp 1.55); Altenburg 343 (RVAp 6.163). For the swastika as a native motif, see Yntema 1985, 108.

67 E.g., New York 17.120.241 (RVAp 3.61).

68 E.g., Ruvo 879 (RVAp 4.172).

69 E.g., Ruvo 412 (RVAp 4.217), Chalcidian helmet held by warrior; Trieste S 394 (RVAp 4.242), Phrygian helmet in the field; Ruvo 1090 (RVAp 4.240), naked youth contemplating Phrygian helmet he holds; Bologna 501 (RVAp 4.234), seated warrior wearing Phrygian helmet; Basel S28 (RVAp 4.243).


71 Boston 1971.49 (LCS 137b) and Louvre K 539 (LCS 215).

72 London F 174 (RVAp 1.55) and Boulogne 635 (RVAp 1.56).

73 So-called Samnite warriors of fourth-century Campania are better known than the Apulian warriors, in part because of the representations of them in well-published
The key element of most Attic departure scenes is a libation prepared by a woman for which an oinochoe and a phiale are the necessary vessels. A youth with armor usually faces her. The Amykos and Sisyphos Painters, who both include traditional Greek elements on other vases, have taken the basic form of the Attic departure scene and consciously modified it, not only by including distinctive, non-Greek dress but also by introducing non-Greek implements. On the vases by both these painters the libation is implied, but the traditional oinochoe is replaced by the local nestoris. Both painters, at approximately the same time, have used clothing and libation vessels to create new imagery for a native market.

Two vases by the Tarporley Painter, a major figure in the next generation of Apulian painters, are particularly useful in illustrating the way the Greek imagery for the departure is adapted as a native scene (figs. 7 and 8). A “pupil” of the Sisyphus Painter, the Tarporley Painter had “a very profound influence over Plain style Apulian in the first half of the fourth century.” More than seventy-five column kraters have been attributed to him and his followers, with depictions of native people on more than fifty of them, mostly in departure scenes. Nearly twenty others have Greek warriors on them.

The scenes on both of the vases have similar compositions of four figures in two groups,
a woman and a youth in each. In both, women prepare a libation, and the youths hold arms. But the scene on one is unambiguously Greek, while on the other the scene is distinctly native. In the Greek scene both youths have short hair and are naked, while the native youths have long hair and wear a kind of belted loincloth, each decorated with a swastika. One Greek youth holds a traditional hoplite shield, while the native youths hold shields of local shape. All the women wear chitons, but the Greek women have thin ribbons tied around their waists, while the native women wear wide belts. The most striking difference, however, is in the vessels used for the libation. In the Greek scene they are the traditional oinochoe and phiale, while in the native scene the local nestoris has replaced the phiale. In early Apulian departure scenes it seems that the nestoris can take the place of a variety of Greek shapes, such as the oinochoe and phiale as here, or, as elsewhere, a krater or even a kantharos.77

By including unmistakably non-Greek dress and vessels, each of these early painters makes clear that the figures in the native scenes are not Greeks, though the subject and the shape of the vases are. The subjects and the compositions of most of the other scenes with native people in them are also clearly derived from Attic models. So, for example, in a scene on a column krater in Boston three youths, one of whom wears a short belted tunic with swastikas on it, attack a wild boar (fig. 9).78 Beneath the boar lies a dead dog. The

77 For the nestoris, see Schneider-Herrmann 1980. The nestoris is not a shape that is potted in Early Apulian workshops, nor is it a form that regularly appears in Peucetian tombs. Rather, it is related to the trozzella, the standard type of large vase found in Messapian tombs. Yntema 1985, 457.

subject, originally the Calydonian boar hunt, has a long history on Attic vases, and the dead dog beneath the boar goes back at least to the mid-sixth century, as on a band cup in Munich and a hydria in Florence.  

One scene that does not have clear Greek parallels appears toward the end of the period under discussion (370s). It shows warriors fighting in the presence of a bound prisoner. Most of these have been attributed to a painter Trendall called the Prisoner Painter because of the captive who appears in four of the six scenes. On column kraters in Ruvo and London, a youth whose wrists are bound sits by a tree and watches as one warrior attacks another, wounded warrior who has dropped his weapons (fig. 10). In all of the combat scenes all of the weapons are spears, and the shields are of a native form. On the Ruvo vase the captive and a wounded warrior wear short belted tunics, while the attacker wears a himation over his shoulder and a belt. He has long hair, while the hair of the other two is short. All three wear boots. On the London vase, the captive is naked, but the attacker and the wounded warrior wear native garments and belts. Again the attacker’s hair is long, while the other two have short hair. In both cases all the figures, both attackers and captives, display some native attribute—clothes or hair. While it is difficult to know precisely how to interpret these scenes,

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79 Munich 2243 (ABV 163.2); Florence 3830 (LIMC VI, pl. 209, Meleagros 17). See also the François Vase (ABV 76.1). For another early Apulian depiction of the boar hunt on a column krater with native youths, see Göttingen F 47 (RVAp 6.171).

80 For the Captive Painter, see RVAp 73-7.

81 Ruvo 1790 (RVAp 4.71); London F 173 (RVAp 4.73). A similar scene appears in an eighteenth-century drawing (Passari 1767–1775, pl. 256) of a column krater once in Bologna, Bentivoi (RVAp 4.74).

82 The scenes on the Ruvo and London vases have on occasion been identified as Achilles and Lykaon, most
the important point about them is that native warriors are shown fighting each other, not Greeks. In other words, these are local battles or native versions of mythic battles.  

**ARCHEOLOGICAL CONTEXT**

Evidence from excavations helps to put these Apulian column kraters into the proper native context. At least from the end of the seventh century, the various settlements of Peucetia show common burial customs. Tombs are usually pit graves or stone-cut sarcophagi, and the body is always placed in a flexed (*ranneccbiato*) position. From the start, grave goods are placed with the body and usually include a large krater-like pot and a smaller cup or cups. Greek pottery begins to appear at some sites, including Gravina and Ruvo, by the end of the seventh century. During the sixth century imported vases represent only about 10 percent of grave goods, while during the fifth century the figure for imported and colonial ceramics rises to 46 percent. It is during the fourth century, however, that most sites reach their greatest level of prosperity, as demonstrated by an increase in the number and quality of grave goods and more elaborate tombs. Lucanian red-figure vases appear in tombs toward the end of the fifth century, soon to be followed and ultimately replaced by Apulian vases.

Two intact tombs, each with an Early Apulian column krater among the tomb goods, were recently excavated in a necropolis called Padre Eterno at Gravina. The tombs, from the early fourth century, are particularly valuable in giving archaeological, as opposed to statistical, evidence for Apulian column kraters. Excavations were carried out at the necropolis at the foot of Botromagno hill, the site of the ancient settlement, from 1988 to 1990 and again in 1998 and 1999. The several hundred tombs that have been located date from the seventh to the fourth centuries B.C. The two tombs of particular interest here were found close to each other in what seems to have been an exclusive sector of the necropolis belonging to aristocratic family groups.

Gravina, probably the site of ancient Silbion, mentioned by Strabo (6.3.8) as the innermost city of Peucetia, is c. 55 km inland from the coast at Bari and c. 80 km northwest of Taranto. Controlled excavations conducted there during the past thirty years on the hill of Botromagno and tombs in the vicinity of it provide a well-defined archaeological context for the two tombs under discussion. A comparison with other sites shows that the material culture of Gravina is fairly typical of native settlements in Peucetia.

Each of the tombs, cut into the rock and covered with tufa panels, contained the skeleton of a man about fifty years old, legs contracted in the *ranneccbiato* position, along with rich tomb goods, both ceramic and bronze. Each contained armor as well as vessels and implements designed for the consumption of food and drink. Study of the bones has shown that

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recently in *LIMC* I, Achilles 549 and 550). In the context of native warriors on column kraters, this identification seems highly unlikely.  

83 For a rare exception, see St. Petersburg 585, above n. 59.  

84 In Messapia the flexed position had given way to supine burials by the first quarter of the fifth century; see De Juliiis 1989.  


86 Riccardi 1989, 75–79.  

87 Small 1992, 10; Depalo 1989.  


90 Ciancio 2000, 59.  

91 Small 1992; Ciancio 1997; Whitehouse, Wilkins, and Herring 2000 with bibliographies.
both of the men had suffered numerous fractures in the past, and one may have died from more recent, unhealed wounds. It seems safe to conclude that both were, in fact, warriors.

Tomb 4/II, excavated in 1988, contained more than fifty objects.92 The armor included a bronze Apulo-Corinthian helmet,93 greaves and a belt, an iron spear point, and a javelin cusp. Also present were a bronze lebes, a grater,94 an iron strigil, and spits. Of ceramic material, only three were local pieces; the majority of the vases were black glaze, including three trefoil oinochoai, more than a dozen stemless cups of various sizes, and a black glaze skyphos. The largest vase was the Apulian column krater, tentatively attributed by the excavator to the Tarporley Painter. One handle and part of its rim had been mended with lead staples in antiquity. In addition, there were two red-figure pelikai, one of which is attributed to the Creusa Painter, a Lucanian contemporary of the Tarporley Painter. The scene on the column krater is of a warrior departing, and the figures in it, three youths and a woman, are unambiguously Greek. The youths have armor and weapons (spears, hoplite shield, Corinthian helmet), while the woman has a phiale and an oinochoe. All of the youths have short hair and bare feet.

Tomb 10/II, excavated in 1999, contained a similar, if richer, array of tomb goods of more than seventy objects.95 In addition to a column krater, which may also be by the Tarporley Painter, there was a late Attic red-figure hydria, a red-figure pelike attributed by the excavator to the Eretria Painter, and a late Attic black-figure cup. Here too the principal scene on the column krater is Greek, comprising a procession with Dionysos, a young Pan-like satyr, and a woman with one bare breast who swings a knife with her right hand and holds out a hare with her left.96 Eros with a situla and a kottabos stand brings up the rear of the procession.

All of the tomb goods from both tombs fall into one of two categories: warfare or communal dining and drinking. The imagery on the one krater refers to the former, while that on the other alludes to the latter. In fact, the imagery on all of the Tarporley Painter’s column kraters alludes to one or the other of these two subjects. The mended krater in Tomb 4 and the spread of dates—more than fifty years separate the cup and the krater—represented by vases in Tomb 10 together suggest that at least some of the tomb goods had been in use before they were put in the tombs.97 In other words, at this date the tomb goods are not simply symbolic; rather, communal eating and drinking and warfare were both parts of the lives of the deceased.

Similarities between the grave goods from the warrior tombs at Gravina and those from a tomb at Ruvo di Puglia from half a century earlier suggest a continuity in corredi over time and space. Unlike Gravina, Ruvo has had few controlled excavations, and the site of the ancient settlement itself has not yet been convincingly identified.98 Rather, as mentioned above, tombs have been dug there by treasure hunters and amateur archaeologists since the eighteenth

92 See above n. 88. For a photograph of the tomb during excavation, see Venturo 1987–1988, 272, fig. 9. Finds from both warrior tombs are on exhibit in the Museo Civico in Gravina.
93 For the form, see Bottini 1988, 135, Type C.
94 A grater was also found in Tomb 10/II. For cheese grated into wine, see Iliad 16.638–640. See also Ridgway 1997, who discusses bronze graters found in tombs in Euboea and Etruria; also West 1998.
95 See above n. 89.
96 A similar figure appears on two other vases by the Tarporley Painter, Zurich 3585 (RVAp 3.34) and Copenhagen 3633 (RVAp 3.41).
97 On mended South Italian vases, see Schmidt 1982, 23.
century. Fortunately, however, extensive records of finds exist, in no small part because of the antiquarian interests of a local family.99

The contents of the mid-fifth-century warrior tomb found at Ruvo in 1908 are unusually well documented for that period.100 The tomb was in the form of a stone-cut sarcophagus with two covers, one above the other, and with bronze objects, including arms and armor, placed in the space between the two. Skeletal remains are not mentioned in the reports. From within the tomb itself twelve vases are listed, including an Attic red-figure column krater, two Attic black-figure cups, four black glaze cups, and several other small vases, including oinochoi and a lekythos. The bronze objects between the two covers include an Apulo-corinthian helmet,101 two swords, and a spearhead in addition to several utensils, including a bronze lebes, two dishes, and a strainer. As with the tombs at Gravina, all of the tomb goods were made for either warfare or communal dining and drinking. Iconography also reflects similar themes. The Attic column krater, which has been dated to the mid-fifth century, has a depiction of a warrior departing on one side (fig. 11).102 The black-figure cups are both eyecups from the Leafless Group with Dionysiac scenes and date to the beginning of the fifth century.103

Dating several decades earlier is a rich warrior tomb from the necropolis of “Purgatorio” near Rutigliano, c. 45 km southeast of Ruvo. The tomb, that of a young man, contained among


100 There is a brief notice of the discovery in A. Jatta 1908, 87, then a thorough discussion of the find in M. Jatta 1908, 330–348.

101 For a drawing of the helmet, see M. Jatta 1908, 335 fig. 4; Bottini 1988, 135, Type C, no. 6. For a similar piece, see De Juliiis 1983, pls. 80–81. Another similar helmet found at Ruvo had inset eyes of ivory and glass, while yet another from Ruvo had uncut eyes. See Bari 7697 (De Juliiis 1983, pls. xxvii, 81); Bottini 1988, 136, Type E, no. 1; Di Palo 1987, 207.

102 Richter and Hall 1936, pls. 71, 75.

103 London Market (ABV 633.11) and once Rome Signorelli (ABV 634.30), where a satyr stands between the eyes with Dionysos.
the fifty objects comprising the tomb goods two Attic black-figure column kraters with Dionysiac scenes in addition to a Laconian column krater. Also present were a bronze lebes, a sword, and an iron spear. There too the themes of warfare and communal dining and drinking are repeated. Other Attic black- and red-figure column kraters from Rutigliano and from nearby Monte Sannace, however, show that the subject depicted on Attic column kraters is not always connected with either warfare or Dionysos.

Consistent imagery of warriors on Early Apulian column kraters together with the recently excavated warrior tombs at Gravina suggests that column kraters had a special significance for what might be called a warrior class of Peucetians at the beginning of the fourth century. Other finds elsewhere allow the additional hypothesis that the shape may have held special significance for similar classes at various sites in Peucetia during the fifth century as well. Extensive excavations at Gravina and intensive study of the materials have shown that, from the latter part of the fifth century through the fourth, burials of the wealthy tended to become more and more ostentatious in both form and grave goods, while ordinary burials continued to be made in simple pits. This has led excavators there to conclude that the “great difference between burials must be a sign of increasing social stratification in the community,” and they note that a similar trend can be recognized at some other sites in Peucetia as well. This increased wealth and social stratification come at precisely the time the workshops in Apulia begin to produce red-figure vases aimed at the native market. The bell krater becomes the standard form in Apulia, while the producers of column kraters target a particular group within Peucetia, not only with the shape but with warrior imagery as well.

An upper stratum of the population of Peucetian settlements appears to have been the target for both column kraters and volute kraters during the late fifth and early fourth centuries. The more complex and labor-intensive processes necessary for producing them instead of the more common bell kraters lend support to this suggestion. The two types of kraters had different functions. While the column krater was of a size appropriate for use in communal drinking, such as a symposion, the volute krater, due to its large size, was more likely intended for display. The imagery on the column kraters, related to war and drink, was appropriate to its use. The complex imagery from myth on the volute kraters was more appropriate for display.

Most of the vases for which we have a specific context were found in tombs, and it is probably safe to assume that most of the others come from funerary contexts as well. Whether they were obtained with a funerary use in mind is difficult to say for Early Apulian vases. As mentioned earlier, the mended column krater in Tomb 4/II at Gravina and the spread of some fifty years between the earliest and the latest vases in the tomb would point to use before burial. Occasional finds of Apulian red-figure fragments in domestic contexts would

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105 Monte Sannace, a site near Gioia del Colle, is c. 25 km from Rutigliano. For excavations, see Scarfi 1961 and 1962; De Juliis 1978; Ciancio et al. 1989.

106 From Rutigliano, see Lo Porto 1977, 736–744, Tombs 6 and 17; De Juliis 1979, pls. 24–25, Tombs 54 and 55. For Attic black- and red-figure column kraters and a range of local column kraters from Monte Sannace, see Ciancio 1995, pls. 12–13, 17–18, 21–22, 27–29.

107 Small 1992, 10. See also Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989, 118–121; Herring 2000, 68.

108 Small 1992, 10 n. 58.

also point to such use.\textsuperscript{110} In any case, depictions of a departing warrior are appropriate for a warrior's table as well as his tomb. Likewise, Dionysiac scenes can have sympotic as well as funerary implications. Yet reading funerary implications into imagery from Greek myth, particularly as it is filtered through the lens of tragedy, is, to my mind, a hazardous undertaking. Even if vases were obtained with the intention of eventual use in the tomb, they must have been admired above ground before their final deposition—sometimes for many years.

6. Conclusion

The main purpose of this discussion has been to present evidence showing that from the start, Apulian red-figure vases were directed principally at the native people of Peucetia rather than at the Greeks of Taranto and Metaponto. The argument is based on find places and preferences for shapes and iconography. The difference between the number of vases found at Greek sites and those found in Peucetia (15 percent versus 85 percent) is difficult to explain away. In addition, the particular appeal of Early Apulian volute kraters in Peucetian settlements and their all but complete absence from Taranto suggest that Apulian potters were influenced by the preferences of the native market. The case of column kraters with warriors dominant in the imagery, the majority of them in native dress, further emphasizes this point.

It has been demonstrated here that Apulian potters could be influenced by native preferences for certain shapes and that some painters catered to the market by producing scenes with native people in them. With the bulk of all Apulian vases going to markets in Peucetia, it seems likely that imagery in general was also influenced by native tastes. The visual language is Greek, but the nature and frequency of subjects depicted may well reflect values, attitudes, and beliefs of the native people who obtained them.

In the past, Apulian and Lucanian vases have often been seen as inferior imitations of Attic models made for Greeks of Magna Graecia. If, however, the vases and images on them were made principally for native people, they become important sources of information about people for whom we have no written record. As such, their imagery needs to be reconsidered with new questions in mind.

\textsuperscript{110} E.g., see fragments of an Apulian red-figure krater and other red-figure sherds from the excavation of houses at Gravina (Taylor 1977, 103–110).
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ABBREVIATIONS


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